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From The Chairman

This Journal represents a further hallmark in the continuous growth of the Division of Sociology and Social Welfare. Throughout the years, we have had opportunities to hear many thoughtful papers presented at the sessions sponsored by our Division. The decision to create this Journal was aimed at meeting a basic need for having the papers selected for presentation at the Conference have a more permanent existence. We did not request and did not receive financial support from the S.S.S.P. for this issue. Our faith in the worthwhileness of this project is demonstrated in our willingness to risk financially to support it. The price for the issue is designed to pay the cost of printing. All other labor to bring it to fruition was volunteered.

If this, in fact, does meet a pressing need, we are prepared to continue and expand this Journal. We will need your help in this endeavor. We welcome all interested persons. Please write Norman N. Goroff, University of Connecticut, School of Social Work, 1800 Asylum Avenue, West Hartford, Connecticut 06117.
From The Editor

The Division on Sociology and Social Welfare has a long history in the S.S.S.P. In the past five years, it has become more active and has drawn on the fields of Sociology and Social Work in an attempt to bridge "the two realms of knowledge."

Papers of the past five years (plus one article from the 1973 meetings) have been selected for this volume. Articles which were previously published in the United States were not included. Appropriate papers presented at the SSSP meetings and related meetings on Sociology and Social Welfare were considered.

This Journal is the only one which presents a view of the insights of Sociology on Social Work and of some of the research findings. Of 17 articles, eight are by faculty members of Schools of Social Work. The remaining nine articles are by faculty members of departments of Sociology.

The first two articles deal with the relationships of the two fields. Three articles deal with problems of alienation among social workers and clients. Others are concerned with special settings of social work including the family, services to delinquents, welfare, maternity homes, and housing. The balance of the articles focus on problems of social policy and the application of research to social work.

The launching of a project such as the Journal is an important event bringing the two fields together. It is a pleasure to participate in it.

Ralph Segalman, Department of Sociology, California State University, Northridge, California 91324.
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Department of Sociology, California State University, 91324.

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A Theory of Decision-Making
A.K. BASU

Department of Sociology, California State University, Los Angeles, California 91314.
Nearly thirty years ago, C. Wright Mills asserted that "present institutions train several types of persons - such as judges and social workers - to think in terms of 'situations.'" "Their activities and mental outlook," he added, "are set within the existent norms of society; in their professional work they tend to have an occupationally trained incapacity to rise above series of 'cases'.... [This] emphasis upon fragmentary, practical problems," Mills continues, "tends to atomize social objectives" and to mitigate against any attempts at social change.1 Mills made these statements in a study aimed at seeking out typical perspectives and major concepts of social pathologists, as exhibited in key text books in the field.2 He assumed that such textual presentations in college courses both reflected current thinking and influenced the conceptualizations and subsequent actions of their readers.

If we were to employ a similar method in examining the perspectives and value commitments of the social work profession, and were to look at present educational approaches to the training of new members, would we find any support for Mills' assumptions? Could such a study suggest ties between the nature of text book presentations and the conceptualizations of their readers? In particular, do major social work texts organize their contents in such a way as to promote or to hinder students' abilities to think analytically about social institutions?

The question about analytical thinking is posed because it seems that some theoretical approach to the study of institutions is paramount to any confrontation with basic social work issues. One might argue that meaningful social work education should aim at developing the ability to think sensitively about one's professional role and the settings and society in which it is carried out. Once in practice, social workers require an analytical framework within which to grapple with such professional problems as: 1) Should social workers concentrate on interacting with individuals and small groups or on changing social conditions; 2) How can the worker reconcile institutional goals and requirements with client needs, and 3) Can a social worker perform as a social change agent, or is he inevitably a force for social control?3


2. By "social pathology" Mills means the sociological field of "social disorganization."

Such questions, particularly the last, have increasingly occupied professional thinking. Social work has been rediscovering its traditional stress on social and institutional change, and this has led to a discrepancy between stated professional goals and aspects of professional training. The social worker as change-agent, "social broker," and "humanizer" of institutions has begun to appear more and more in the literature.\textsuperscript{4} Perhaps the most succinct statement of this thrust, viewed in terms of social work education, lies in the following passage from the Council on Social Work Education's 1967 guide for undergraduate programs in social welfare:

The suggested curriculum...is designed to...foster an understanding and a critical evaluation of the philosophical values which underlie social welfare.... In tracing the origins and development of our current social welfare institutions, emphasis should be placed on previously acquired knowledge regarding the nature of social institutions, the process of institutional innovation and change, the sources of social control. New content should be introduced analyzing the social worker as an agent of social change....\textsuperscript{5}

Any such critical evaluation of social welfare values and of the nature of social institutions will largely depend on the student's ability to think analytically about institutional patterns, professional roles, and the relationship of institutions to the larger social structure, and to fit this analysis into a theoretical framework. It follows that a major requirement of social work education should then be a focus on analyzing and comparing agency practice settings, studying the effects of the institution upon individuals within, and relating agencies and institutions to the overall political and economic system. The student would then possess a sociological framework within which to apply his own values to social work goals and practice.

Although I myself would tend to hope for the growth of social action measures as a result of such analytical thinking, this paper does not argue that active social reform or institutional change is in itself always "liberal," humane, or desirable. What does seem important is that any professional education should allow for options of action based on an analysis of the roles of the profession within its institutional settings. Such actions could include supporting the institution when it upholds a desired principle, changing an institution when it violates certain values, or replacing institutions with new structures


embodying specific ideals. The key factor is that decisions are based on a recognition of the issues involved, stemming from a knowledge of the relationships between institutions, individuals, and principles.

Do existing social work texts contribute to a student's recognition of professional values and issues and of the implicit ideological bases of these? The following study contends that they do not, and that their failures are quite similar to those found by Mills in his examination of social pathology texts.

Mills criticized the social pathologists for their "informational" or descriptive approach, and their "failure to consider total social structures." Such an approach, he argued, allows readers to avoid taking stands, and encourages them to ignore any thoughts about total structures of social norms and the relationships of these to distributions of power. Similarly, certain basic social work texts, particularly those used in introductory social welfare courses, present the student with a descriptive, non-analytical picture of an array of social welfare agencies. Those texts which appear to be the most widely-used in the area show an almost complete failure to draw conclusions about general institutional or bureaucratic patterns and their relationship to the total social system. This lack of analysis seems related to a particular form of organization within the text books, in which most of the books are divided into separate discussions of different agency settings. Such a division in itself seems to mitigate against comparative and critical approaches to the study of social welfare.

The books examined here are all designed to be used in basic undergraduate and graduate courses on the structure and function of social welfare institutions. The survey includes both widely adopted books and recent texts in the field. The books chosen for this study appear, in fact, to represent the universe of introductory social welfare texts currently in print. It is recognized that text books do not represent a total picture of course material, but it seems obvious that they play a role in shaping course content. This is particularly important in a discussion of introductory courses, which may constitute a student's first close look at social work and social welfare, and where texts may be relied upon more heavily than in advanced courses.

The picture of the field of social welfare presented by most of these texts is that of an unrelated collection of specific agencies and institutions, and of a profession fragmented into a number of practice settings. The fragmentation is illustrated in the following table, which outlines the content organization used in the books surveyed: (see Figure 1).

As this diagram demonstrates, four out of the seven texts devote most of their time to chapter by chapter discussions of specific agency settings. Having once divided the field into seemingly separate practice areas, do these four authors at any point convey a sense of the interrelatedness of the various agencies? Although several of the writers profess to do so, in actuality they rarely make any attempt at the kind of comparative analysis which would be an obvious step in creating a theoretical perspective. It is as if the very act of separation has precluded thoughts of comparison. Crampton and Keiser, for example, purport to offer an "integrated approach to social-welfare institutions." Yet in their book, as in the others, each chapter stands as a separate entity, with little comparison made between the institutional settings, and no summary chapter existing to draw common themes together.

Within each chapter, the several authors offer perfunctory and non-critical descriptions of the various social welfare agencies. The practice settings are generally accepted as "givens," immune to processes of social change. That these settings might share certain bureaucratic structures and problems is rarely recognized. Friedlander, in his section on "Public Assistance and Social Insurance," offers a descriptive summary of existing programs. While he discusses certain punitive aspects of welfare legislation, no comments are made regarding internal difficulties in the welfare system or possible alternative programs. The chapter leaves out any reference to the problems of bureaucracies and their implications for the welfare structure. In speaking of "The Impact of Industrialism on the Occupational Ladder," Crampton and Keiser similarly describe various employment and Industrial programs in an informative, but never analytic manner. Any reference to the bureaucratic

Social Welfare: Charity to Justice (N.Y.: Random House, 1971);
Russell E. Smith and Dorothy Zietz, American Social Welfare

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Figure 1

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Particularist (descriptive chapters covering specific programs & agency settings)  
Generalist (comprehensive chapters, although not necessarily analytical)  
Other (chapters on social work methods or historical chapters)
structure seems limited to the level of references to the excess of paper work demanded by the welfare department. In Ferguson as well, the theoretical look at institutional functioning rarely occurs; her only real critique of a setting relates to aspects of public welfare - a relatively safe institution to attack since it is viewed by Ferguson as created largely by "legislators," rather than social workers.12

Do any of the authors offer insights into the role of the social worker within his particular practice setting and the influence of the setting upon him? Once again, stated intentions are not carried out. Crampton and Keiser speak of examining the role of social workers in various institutions, yet their book makes little mention of social workers in reference to any of the institutions or programs discussed.13 Friedlander confines his comments to non-analytical descriptions of social work jobs in particular agency settings, and Ferguson and Fink rarely note the effects of agency frameworks upon individual workers.

The four texts thus ignore any thought of the general phenomenon of institutional influence upon the actions of workers, and do not recognize the possibility of a dilemma arising between meeting clients' needs and fulfilling institutional requirements. For example, in his short discussion of school social work, Friedlander's emphasis lies mainly on the function of social workers in changing attitudes of parents, teachers, and children. Such attitudes need to be altered, he states, when they are "detrimental to the adjustment of the child and to the requirements of the school."14 In a corresponding chapter on school services, Crampton and Keiser describe the major goal of pupil personnel as supporting "the broad objectives of the total educational program."15 Neither book recognizes the possibility of a worker seeking to alter institutional demands to fit the child's needs. Such comments in text books are dangerous; they present a particular stance toward institutions and workers without calling attention to the issues and values involved, and without recognizing that a position has been taken.

Although it is difficult to judge which came first, form or content, the "fields of practice" division in the four texts is also accompanied by a lack of attention to any of the ways in which institutions relate to the larger social structure. All of the texts discuss schools, for example, as separate organizational entities with no relation to a larger social framework. Similarly, Friedlander's description of the welfare system never analyzes the connections between public welfare programs

13. Crampton and Keiser, op. cit., p. 3. The omission seems most glaring in a section on social services to immigrants over the years; here neither social workers or settlement houses are mentioned. pp. 77-79.
15. Crampton and Keiser, op. cit., p. 90.
and the larger political and economic system. None of the four authors makes any attempt to pose questions as to why certain institutions exist in the first place, and what functions they might serve within the larger system.

It is not the immediate concern of this paper to ascertain why some social work text writers avoid a theoretical approach to their subject. We might note in passing, however, that these failures to discuss institutional patterns, professional roles, and relationships of agencies to larger structures are accompanied by a general tone of optimism and naivete regarding social institutions and social change. Friedlander, for example, makes the assumption that social reforms are brought about for purely humanitarian reasons. Such optimism is linked to a more pervasive tendency to view existing institutions as "given," in which change is seen only in terms of the improvement of the social work role within the particular setting. Again, one danger seems to be that positions have been taken without explicit analysis or confrontation of the issues.

The absence of an analytical sociological framework in these texts seems particularly puzzling when we consider the present needs and dimensions of social work practice. It is paradoxical that while many current texts present a "fields of practice" division which obviates an analytical framework, the social work profession itself has been gradually evolving toward a unified state where analytic thinking is much more possible. As the following brief look at the history of social work indicates, the general trend in the profession has been a move away from emphasis on adherence to agency goals alone, and towards a stress on common professional values. As a result, today's practitioners seem better able to handle basic social work issues.

Historically, social work has been a divided field. Its early development can be traced to the growth of two main streams of theory and practice: the charity organization and the settlement house approach. Each area boasted its own theorists, and workers in each field clung to a separation and even an occasional suspicion of each other. The transformation of charity work into the case work method may at first have only widened the rift, even though early case work's leading spokeswomen, Mary Richmond, counseled that social reform and social case work must of necessity progress together. The wisdom of Richmond's insight into the interrelated aspects of the various methods and fields of social work gradually became apparent to other practitioners, who increasingly stressed the commonality of techniques and goals.

In this movement toward a single profession, the social reform emphasis of the settlement workers became more broadly accepted by others in the field. Recalling our discussion of the non-analytical implications of a fragmented, particularist text book approach, it is interesting to note that the reform urge of the settlement workers may have originated with them because they were the more generalist of the first two social work groups. Perhaps their focus on evaluating institutions related to their relative freedom from ties to agencies supporting the status quo, and their tendency to be individuals with sociological training who viewed settlement houses as social laboratories.

Further evidence of the move towards unification of the field of social work can be seen in the history of national social work organizations. At first, social workers belonged to the national groups representing their particular work setting, such as the American Association of Hospital Social Workers (formed in 1918) and the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers (1926). But by 1955, responding to the concepts that one's identification as a social worker appeared to be more significant than the setting in which one operated, and that fields distinctions tended to promote artificial division in social work practice, the then seven separate social work professional groups united into a single membership organization, the National Association of Social Workers.

Professional thinking, then, has developed from a particularist approach to a tendency to view social workers as applying certain basic techniques within specialized, but interrelated settings. Furthermore, practice in the last few years has become increasingly directed to work in quite generalized settings, such as community mental health, where the worker must relate both to other professionals on the team and to other institutions in the community.

A more cohesive profession, with broader practice settings, seems better equipped to cope with various social work problems, such as the social control-social change issue, than does a fragmented body of workers. If social workers can move from setting to setting, and if

17. See, for example, his description of causes of the American Revolution, ibid., p. 17.
18. Also, while no direct connection need exist between the failure to think analytically about institutional structures and the adherence to a particular political ideology, it is interesting that Crampton and Kaiser's treatment of labor unions and the AMA reflect not only a conservative ideology, but one more characteristic of the 19th century than of the present. Crampton and Kaiser, op. cit., pp. 72, 119-22.
21. The movement toward a unified view of social work practice received additional emphasis in the 1930's debate regarding "generic" vs. "specific" practice. Roy Lubove, op. cit., p. 120.
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practitioners in different fields can employ a common language, it would seem that comparisons between settings can be more easily made, and commonalities of institutional structure more readily seen. Furthermore, the existence of a body of professional ideals, however loosely organized, provides one standard for evaluating institutional goals and performance. The chances for analytical thinking may increase when workers are not as dependent on agency values for their conceptualizations, but can draw upon an external and more general fund of goals and principles.

Can a broader and more unified view of practice in social welfare texts be equally conducive to the building of an analytical framework within which to view professional problems? The assumption that a difference in textual organization can contribute to critical thinking is at least partially borne out by two recent books in the field. Carol Meyer's Social Work Practice: A Response to the Urban Crisis and John Romanyshyn's Social Welfare both offer a form of organization quite different from the "fields of practice" framework, and each suggests methods of analysis and evaluation of existing institutions.24 Meyer has chosen to organize her book around a single large theme, the "urban condition" in America, while Romanyshyn divides his discussion into explorations of broad issues and areas within the field of social welfare. These generalist forms of organization, outlined in the preceding table, are accompanied by at least partially successful attempts to build a critical perspective from which to view social institutions and social work practice.

By focusing on the present urban crisis, for example, Meyer is able to explore the functions and efficacy of traditional social institutions, such as the family and private charity, and to relate these to current human needs in the urban environment. She can thus compare and contrast existing agencies along at least one standard of analysis, that of their effectiveness in coping with existing urban problems. Utilizing a transactional analysis of social institutions, the text looks occasionally at the organizational structure of social agencies, and views social work itself as a social institution. Meyer's focus is displayed in the following chapter headings: "The Critical State of Social Work Practice," "The Rise and Fall of Social Institutions," and "The Process of Individualization."25

Romanyshyn, who disclaims any attempt "to present the reader with a detailed overview of social welfare programs," focuses his discussion on three social welfare areas. He talks about "social services" (these services supporting, supplementing, or replacing the family, and constituting part of society's means for socialization and social control), "social provisions" (services supplementing and replacing market allocation of goods), and "social action" (efforts aimed at system intervention). The text explores alternative institutional and agency struc-


25. Ibid., pp. 36-38, 93-96.
tures for dealing with human needs in each area. This analysis of alternative structures includes a look at the bureaucratic organization of social welfare programs, the problems of professionalism, and the dilemma faced by all social agencies of a conflict between the social control function and the innovative changing of institutions function. Unlike Friedlander, Romanyshyn has organized his book into categories relating to areas of human life, rather than to the particular agencies developed to deal with these areas.26

Both authors suggest methods of analysis to the student, tentative tools which offer some hope of objective evaluation. Meyer's proposal is the fairly simple question: do present institutions, and social work practice, respond adequately to present problems? Romanyshyn's more sophisticated schema allows for evaluation of existing institutions in terms of their relationship to various ideals regarding what kinds of human beings are valued and what sort of society is desirable. Analytical thinking based on some set of ideal goals can then lead to a critique of existing institutional arrangements.27 In each case, the author openly displays his own value systems, but the methods of evaluation offered the student are basically objective ones.

Using broader frameworks of analysis, and avoiding the narrow "fields of practice" approach, Romanyshyn and Meyer take steps to help the student see relationships between institutions, individuals, and values. This strengthens our assumption that particular kinds of organization in text books can encourage or obstruct analytical thinking, which in turn affects evaluation and action. The fragmented approach seems to lead away from the building of a generalized sociological perspective. Texts organized along broader lines can more effectively present analyses of institutions, professional practice, and values. These then, are the books most likely to equip students for effective confrontation with the important professional issues.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


COMMUNALITIES AND STRAINS BETWEEN
SOCIOMETRY AND SOCIAL WORK

Ralph Segalman
California State University at Northridge

Both Sociology and Social Work seem to have arisen out of concern for humans and their problems. Parsons refers to Mannheim on the difference between the earlier European sociologists and their American inheritors, in that the Europeans placed their concern with "the diagnosis of the larger social-political problems... while American sociology had been much more concerned with specific and limited empirical studies..." (1) Ruitenbeek also notes the utopian and humanitarian quality of Continental sociology, something of an attempt "to create a science of society" for the sake of "liberating" man from many of the social problems of his time. (2)

Social Work, according to Kohs (3), Konopka (4) and McCormick (5) (6) (7) (8), also had its roots in humanitarian soil. Eaton indicates that both Sociology and Social Work were unified at one time in the American Social Science Association and held other origins in common (9). He traces the separation of the two fields; Sociology in its quest for acceptance as a "science" and Social Work in its quest for acceptance as a "profession." Pressures from within and without sociology and social work each provided the impetus for separation, almost as a parent and adolescent child find it necessary to separate, in order that each may develop in his own right.

Sociology, the "parent," was not itself too secure in its identity. As a university or college department it had, usually, only recently found itself no longer tied to other social sciences as a combined college entity. In its quest for identity it selected physical or biological sciences models, which were, at the time of self-induced parturition, highly valued in society for their exactitude and promise. Decades later it became clearer that physical scientists themselves were unsure that that which they observed with great exactitude and objectivity was not in itself a product of their observations rather than the scientific realities (the "Heisenberg principle"). C.W. Mills, among others questioned the relevance of the scientific method for the social sciences, because, he said, "truth and objectivity have application and meaning only in terms of some accepted model or system of verification," and Mills indicated that the so-called "scientific method" in sociology was actually based upon an unwavering acceptance of the American social organization as it was, and upon a set of assumptions which made sociology a symbiotic element of the social organization rather than the scientific observer it claimed to be. (10) Friedricks (11), Winch (12), Mills (13), Janowitz (14), Tumin (15) and many others have also raised the question of how "value-free" social science can remain and still be related to its institutional base.
Greenwood, in his explanation of the relationship between sociology and social work, describes the nature of the scientific disciplinary approach as contrasted with the professional approach. (16) The sciences, theoretically, possess a generalizing rather than a singular character, seeking to discover a "thread of uniformity," based on heuristic models which are tested for accuracy by controlled experimentation which can be replicated. The scientist, ideally, is motivated to his particular research task by a search for knowledge rather than overt or covert personal goals, or general social needs or the needs of those sub-sectors of society which sponsor his research. His conclusions, supposedly, are held in abeyance until all relevant data is received, and his activities are not concerned with the applicability of his findings.

The professional, according to Greenwood, cannot wait for generalizations which can be applied to the individual problem with which he is concerned. He may, if possible utilize scientific generalizations in diagnosis and treatment, but although such generalizations have been developed by the physical and biological sciences to a considerable degree for adoption and application by the medical profession, this is far from the case in the matter of social science information development, understanding and use by social work.

Mill's typology of sociologists may explain, in great part, the lack of the natural bridging of social science theory and social work practice.17 Mills described three "camps" in sociology; the "scientists" whom he viewed as "rational and empty optimists ..." "who were out to do with society ... what they believe physicists have done with nature ..." The most frequent occupant of this "camp" was what he described as the "High Statistician ... who breaks down truth and falsity into such fine particles that we cannot tell the difference between them. By the costly vigor of their methods, they succeed in trivializing men and society, and in the process, their own minds as well."

A second "camp," and by far that of the highest status, was described by Mills as "the Grand Theorists" who "in turgid prose ... set forth the disordered contents of their reading of eminent nineteenth century sociologists, and in the process mistake their own beginnings for a finished result (of great wordiness and sentence complexity). ... Those who do not claim to understand it and who do not like it-- ... will feel indeed that the emperor has no clothes."

The third "camp" of sociologists are those who seek "meaning" for society in that which they examine, for subgroups, and for future directions. It is this last "camp" which apparently shows greatest promise in terms of applicability of the substance of sociological investigation to the social issues of the present and future. Despite their adoption of a value system other than pure "scientism," this "camp" of sociology was not successful in finding a basis for involvement with social work which would otherwise have been assumed to be its natural ally in the development of an applied sociology relevant to the issues and times of the day. Unfortunately, this "camp" was
small in both number and status in its own discipline, and social work was far from ready (and may still be so) to be motivated to forge a model for itself which would make such a bridge possible. Social work was off in its own direction of Freudianism, or some other version of psychoanalytic treatment, which only recently has begun to be viewed in terms of myth as well as method. Ehrenwald, for example, indicates that patients treated by virtually all schools of psychotherapy usually confirm their therapist's propositions. (18) He believes that this is due to "doctrinal compliance" rather than logic—a circular feedback method which might as well be a reactivation of magic and myth as a scientifically based conclusion.

More recently, Horowitz, in his examination of "Mainliners and Marginalis" (19) in Sociology has provided us with an analytic methodology which is not only applicable to both Sociology and Social Work, but is probably more useful in tracing the continuities and discontinuities between the two fields than is provided by the Mills models.

(Table I about here)

Table I is a reproduction of Horowitz's model of Sociologists in a "double interchange system." Table II is a presentation of a "double interchange system" of social worker types, based upon Horowitz's schema.

(Table II about here)

Tables III, IV, V and VI present comparative characteristics for Horowitz's Sociological Models and counterpart Social Worker Models.

(Tables III, IV, V, and VI about here)

Table VII presents the four sociological models and the four social worker models in combination, making possible and examination of the continuities, discontinuities, communalities and strains between the eight models.

(Table VII about here)

It is obvious that the professionalist sociologists and the professionalist social workers are both oriented to a structure, but it is the differential structural loyalties which keep them isolated from each other. The occupationalist sociologists and the occupationalist social workers differ in that the sociologist tends toward meaningful sociological analysis where the social worker tends more toward social action. Their interdisciplinary and interprofessional qualities (low boundary-line valuations) make communication more possible between them than is the case among the professionals. The "Antisociologist" and "Antisocialworker" positions are non-institutional to the degree that communication between them is possible, but quite improbable due to lack of structural channels. The "Unsociologist" and "Unsocialworker" are similar in their loyalty to an institution (and their use of the institution for their own upward mobility). Such a relationship,
however, is, in most cases, a mutually sought non-interaction, except where inter-institutional symbiosis is possible and necessary.

Similar examinations can be developed for the nature of normative interactions between each of the possible 28 relationships. It would be interesting, for example, to examine the nature of the symbiotic relationship between the "unsocial worker" agency executive and his professionalist workers. It might also be useful to examine the nature of forces which make possible interactive cooperation between malinliners in Sociology when it is often more difficult to achieve such malinliner cooperation in Social Work.

Horowitz's posed continuum between Professionalists and Occupationalists is supported by Becker who describes the professionals as "Hobbesians who stand for perpetuation. These are the Institutionals... who seek the rule of law, the perpetuation of order, the continuity and durability of the proven forms of social arrangements... even over and against the wishes of segments of people. People, to their mind, are in some ways dangerous, and must be protected against themselves. People need orderly institutions... and when they run afoul of these institutions, it is the people who must bend. Innovation is dangerous and hard to control... Institutional process... is the best guide for social life... Utopias are unreal as well as dangerous (and) impractical." (20)

Becker describes those who are opposed to the Institutional perpetuators, the Rousseauian charismatics who "believe that the center of truthfulness lies in individual subjectivities rather than in the objective network of Institutions... they trust individuals, favor experimentation by minorities, are willing to risk unorganized success. They believe that the few may be able to save the many, even from themselves. In sameness and continuity, they see and feel the forebodings of real disaster; in innovation they sense rebirth..." (20).

Fisher has raised the issue of claims and credibility in relation to occupational identity. (21) According to her analysis, view from the comparative viewpoints of agent, consumer, and occupational frameworks, there is a consumer-perceived inevitable credibility gap which develops between the field's claimed ideals and its real performance, as the field leans closer toward institutionalism. This phenomenon is applicable, according to Fisher, both in Social Work and Sociology.

A similar but pragmatic observation was made by Argyris in his study of the State Department. (22) He and the professional diplomats who participated in his analysis found a preponderance of what they labelled "Type A" behavior, which is clearly related to the institutionalism of Horowitz's Professionalists and UnSociologists and Becker's Hobbesian "order perpetuators." This behavior is characterized by limited personal risk-taking, retreat from open expression of feelings, considerable dependence upon peer group, loyalty to the work group, and unaggressive activity, even at the expense of ineffective performance of the organization's manifest purposes. Argyris and his collaborators found a strong pressure of type A persons to stand together and to firmly but gently expel from the organization "Type B" persons despite the obvious need for such persons in achieving the group's espoused purposes.

The Argyris typologies "A" and "B" are obviously related to individual "value screens" presented by the individual which "push" or "pull" him in institutional or functional directions. Becker (20) states that the great "forebears" of Sociology had the hope that "some compromise could be made between the two sides." He states that the science of man is an active, innovative, interventionist science... founded on the belief that man must continually modify cherished life-ways to accord with future goals and continuing historical changes. If this science is to be a vital part of modern life, then it must swing to the innovators. If this science is to be peripheral and impotent then... all we can do is endure and preserve our institutions as best as we can... (The Institutionalists) want their scientific niche and the sameness of their institutions too... The charismatics threaten not only general social order for the masses, but the accustomed disposal of power and privilege in... science." Becker concludes that both institutionalists and charismatics are necessary for fulfillment of a discipline's purpose. This probably also applies to a profession such as social work.

A study of positional relationships and the underlying personal "value-screens" of the dramatis personae in Sociology and Social Work might make possible a reduction of status and role inconsistencies in both fields, an increase in communication and mutual productivity, a clarification of the terminology of productivity and its meaning for the actors, and perhaps an increased relevance on the part of both fields to the society in which they practice. (See Table VIII for a tabulation of role interactions in Sociology and Social Work).

The obvious symbiotic patterns in both fields of the professionalists and "unsociologists" or "unsocial workers" and the greater power positions of the two over the occupationalists apparently operate as a screen to keep out potential occupationalists, to "push out" practicing occupationalists, and to convert occupationalists, both directly and by "self-fulfilling prophesy methods," into "anti-sociologists" or "antisocial workers." This process, although comforting for the short run to the structurally oriented, is probably a loss to both fields and to society in the long run.

Despite the seeming intolerance between the discipline and the profession, and the seeming communications gaps between each of the four models in each of the fields, it is clear that each of the models serves a purpose in the discipline, in the profession, and in society. If the social distance between these models can be bridged and if increased tolerance for the seeming mutual incongruity of concepts and behavior is achieved, we may yet be successful in making Sociology and Social Work as useful, relevant and necessary as was manifested in their original purposes posed by their forebears.
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TABLE 1

A Double Interchange System of Sociological Types*

Organization

MAINLINERS

(A) Professionalism  (B) Occupationalism

ETHOS

Structuralism  Functionalism

ETHOS

(C) UnSociologists  (D) AntiSociologists

MARGINALS

Organization

TABLE II

A Double Interchange System of Social Worker Types*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>MAINLINERS</th>
<th>MARGINALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A')</td>
<td>(C')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professionalism</td>
<td>Occupationalism</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Social Work)</td>
<td>(Social Work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Structuralism</td>
<td>Functionalism</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un-'Social Workers'</td>
<td>Anti-Social Workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE III

A Parallel Comparison of the Professionalist Sociologist (A) with the Professionalist Social Worker (A')

(A) Based on Horowitz description; (A') Based on Segalman description.

**Definition of Professionalist:** "Loyal to an ideological set of beliefs based upon an organizational structure."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Professionalist Sociologist (A)</th>
<th>Professionalist Social Worker (A')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Premium placed on the &quot;boundedness&quot; of the discipline.</td>
<td>Defined only as those who have been educated in the discipline and earn their living in it.</td>
<td>Defined only as those who have received a Master's degree in Social Work and earn their living in it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Professional associationism is highly valued. High degree of separation from other disciplines and professions.</td>
<td>High premium on sociological terminology and professional sociological associations.</td>
<td>High Premium on NASW membership and Social Work use of terminology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Institutional functionality is the accepted norm. Normativity is the focus. Deviants from norm are lower in status.</td>
<td>&quot;Defense of Social Myths&quot; (Horowitz), Right of Institutions to define their actions and consequences of actions.</td>
<td>The Agency Orientation. Right of Agency to define its function regardless of other societal factors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**TABLE III (Continued)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Professionalist Sociologist (A)</th>
<th>Professionalist Social Worker (A')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Emphasis on &quot;team&quot; or peer approaches and &quot;consensus&quot; of colleagues.</td>
<td>Premium on reliability, measurability, etc., agreed to by all.</td>
<td>Premium on individual adjustment to group as &quot;healthy&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Methodology and training techniques can compensate for individual differences and set the &quot;floor&quot; for Individual standards of competence.</td>
<td>Model building, methodology, statistical emphasis implied in standards for competence.</td>
<td>Skills in Intervention methods predominate in curricula rather than basic theory of foundations and study of value systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Values of professional have no place in stance of discipline. Separation clear between facts and values. Holds to his &quot;neutralitY&quot; of disciplinary activity.</td>
<td>Assumed value neutrality of experimental processes, choice of experimentation, scale designs and interpretation of findings. Develops rationalizations for &quot;value neutrality&quot; stance which become defensive in nature when challenged by the critics of &quot;value neutrality&quot; as a pose for taking a &quot;value position&quot; supportive of system values.</td>
<td>Assumed neutrality of agency and worker in choice of clientele served, retained for service, sought out for service, etc. Develops rationalizations which appear rigidly defensive when challenged as to value position taken by Agency or profession in relation to social system dysfunction perpetuation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristic</td>
<td>Professionalist (A)</td>
<td>Professionalist (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The discipline is useful to society in its own right. Its utility is increased with sharpening of technique, and improvement of research methods which resolve intellectual doubts.</td>
<td>The methods of the discipline lead to a clarification of doubts and questions facing society. The discipline and its methods exist for someone who can use them (but in practice become a subsystem of the total social system).</td>
<td>The profession provides a two-fold service (Kahn) in &quot;helping&quot; those who fall out of adjustment with the social system and in serving as a part of the social system in carrying out social system functions and thus serves the total social system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. High grade of systematization and qualification, and clear separation of theory building vs. historical antecedents.</td>
<td>Building a model of the discipline along lines of physical or biological sciences which tend to lend status as a science to the discipline. &quot;Systems orientation&quot; is an example of the tight conceptualization base for professional sociology.</td>
<td>Building a model of profession along the lines of medicine and psychoanalysis, which lends status to the profession. Emphasis on clinical rather than problem location setting with gain in status image. &quot;Freudian Dynamics&quot; as an explanation of human behavior or some other &quot;right explanation of human dynamics becomes the basis of explanation of social functioning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. High degree of routinization (in effect, treats his field as a &quot;job&quot; rather than a &quot;calling&quot;).</td>
<td>Emphasis on professionalism for informational dissemination, with high authority placed with professional organization. Parochial reading of journals of sociology primarily.</td>
<td>Emphasis on profession for informational dissemination with high authority placed in professional organization. Parochial reading of social work journals primarily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Operates within an assumed framework of clear rules, rites of passage and social order stability concerned with maintenance of standards (derived by consensus) and dongrades novelty and individuality.</td>
<td>Concerned more with problems of mobilization in the discipline based on &quot;consensus&quot; operational research conceptualizations are established.</td>
<td>Concerned with recruitment for &quot;training&quot; and continuance and expansion of &quot;delivery of service&quot; with established framework and pattern. Avoidance of realistic quantititive evaluation approaches which may reshape established hierarchies and delivery systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Emphasis on technique, on formal presentation elegance and on peer approval. Thinks in terms of adjusting, correcting and ameliorating.</td>
<td>Thinks in partialities. Information &quot;explosion&quot; on many small researches rather than major &quot;systems to systems to individuals&quot; analysis.</td>
<td>Emphasis on clinical skills, assessment methodologies, agency structural rituals and &quot;process.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IV
A Parallel Comparison of the Occupationalist Sociologist (B) with
the Occupationalist Social Worker (B')

(B) Based on Horowitz description
(B') Based on Segalman description

Definition of Occupationalist: Belief in the primacy of the
Interests of the recipients over those of the dispensers (while
remaining within the active subsystem of sociology or social
work).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Occupationalist Sociologist (B)</th>
<th>Occupationalist Social Worker (B')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Specialty content.</td>
<td>Discipline is defined more in terms of its content than its training products. Thus one can be a sociologist without sociological training ritual. Close linkage to related disciplines and social problems.</td>
<td>Professional is defined by what he can do rather than his past training ritual experiences. Emphasis is upon priority social problems and their resolution. Close tie to other disciplines and professions as related to problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inclusivity in specialty with other related professions and disciplines of relevant content and &quot;inclusivity.&quot;</td>
<td>Places high premium on a common language with other related disciplines. Membership in disciplinary organization considered peripheral when compared to importance of substantive content, in or out of the discipline. High premium placed on relevant interaction with other disciplines.</td>
<td>Places high premium on clarity of meaning of terminology both in the profession and transferability of terminology meaning with other disciplines and professions related to social work. High premium placed on relevant interaction with other disciplines and professions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relative irreverence for institutions and authority and reluctance to accept the institutions' &quot;self-definition&quot; of the social situation.</td>
<td>Rather than a loyalty to the disciplinary group, academic department, the university or the community institutions, this sociologist examines actual content and substance of institutions, both those with which he is affiliated and those he consults and judges the efficacy of their manifest function independently and places his loyalties according to their congruence and his own internalized value system.</td>
<td>A loyalty to the larger purposes of social work and the potential priority clientele takes major preference over loyalty to the social agency which employs him, other affiliated agencies and institutions, and to the social work profession generally and its organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Strong emphasis on individual uniqueness accompanied by varying intensities of disaffection and disaffiliation.</td>
<td>A Romantic Image of Innovation and quality of mind, rather than quality of work related to forms of measurement.</td>
<td>A consistent thrust for the &quot;ideal&quot; rather than the &quot;real.&quot; Seeks true innovative approaches to move from reality to idea. Method utilized is usually &quot;lone wolf.&quot; Eschews &quot;innovation&quot; when used as a &quot;cover&quot; for old routines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristic</td>
<td>Occupationalist (A)</td>
<td>Social Worker (B)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Emphasis on dialogue between disciplinary content of the past and &quot;insights&quot; derived from the present.</td>
<td>Methodology is viewed as no substitute for disciplinary competence. Standards of excellence relating to theory building based on past knowledge and present experiences are valued.</td>
<td>Methodology of assessment and intervention is viewed as a means to the ends sought for and with social work clientele. As a tool it is valued but primary emphasis is put upon knowledge of social and behavioral science, its integration and application in line with a value system related to the clientele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Feels free to examine the values and ethical questions underlying the discipline.</td>
<td>Views sociology in terms of an interplay of fact and value, of description and prescription. Thus, he holds sociological findings to imply values in terms of proper and improper application and considers that all applications of findings from data contain value implications of the investigator and/or disciplinary nexus.</td>
<td>Views social work as an interplay of social system dynamics, human dynamics, social work skills and, most importantly, the value positions (conscious or unconscious) of the social worker and/or the social work profession, which are not always congruent with client desires or aid. Thus feels free to examine his own value system, the value systems of his colleagues, his agency, his profession and social welfare institutions generally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Views the discipline as of use only to the degree of its integrity. The immediate utility and the effectiveness of the discipline's methodology are of less importance than the occurrence of &quot;dialogue&quot; for the resolution of doubts prevalent in the discipline.</td>
<td>Usually rejects sociology as a marketable service in favor of sociology as knowledge in a humanistic conceptualization. The efficiency of the discipline is less important than the existence of an active intellectual dialogue, even when conflict is necessarily involved in the dialogue. Technique and efficiency do not assure him that a resolution of debate is either possible or desirable. In rejecting efficiency as a canon in favor of conflict-ridden dialogue, he rejects the unwritten middle class norm of conflict avoidance even at the expense of principle in the search for issue resolution.</td>
<td>Usually rejects social work as a service to &quot;bolster the larger social system,&quot; but accepts it only if it can be reasonably effective in social change for individuals or clientele generally, and based on relative degree of social need. Seeks to relate social work program to a congruence with nature of clientele services required. Becomes restive and seeks reexamination of integrity of profession when congruence is not clearly present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Maintains a high degree of interest in fields which resist systematization, despite their usual lower status in relation to other disciplines.</td>
<td>Emphasis on auto-consciousness, on historical continuities of social problems and forces, etc.</td>
<td>Seeks to maintain a perspectival as well as a historical view of social work programs, in order to call attention to causes of current program ineffectiveness and prevention of future social dys-function.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristic</td>
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<td>Occupationalist Social Worker (B')</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Places a high degree of interest and importance on quality writing and teaching. Emphasizes reexamination of disciplinary assumptions.</td>
<td>Has a disinterest in and disavowal of agencies which impersonally disseminate information. Views his position as a &quot;calling&quot; rather than a &quot;job,&quot; thus working at erratic hours, at varying speeds and with Catholic Journal reading patterns continuously seeking information and new insights on subjects which interest him. Tends to associate with other charismatic interdisciplinary figures from other fields, based upon common interests and concerns.</td>
<td>Tends to read social work journals with &quot;grain of salt&quot; caution because of his own high degree of interest and priority for quality writing and teaching. Seeks out original sources of social work journal abstractions from other social and behavioral science journals. Questions the assumptions of social work in terms of client service effectiveness and utilizes wide variety of non-social work information in the process. Views his position as an &quot;applied-scientist&quot; and &quot;calling&quot; rather than as a job (although many social workers treat their positions as &quot;jobs&quot; but call themselves professionals). His style is charismatic both with clientele and those colleagues with whom he succeeds in relating. Tends to make people like him or dislike him intensively because of his fervor for integrity in client and service improvement. Tends to &quot;make it&quot; with other non-social workers from social sciences who are activists in their fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Operates within a framework of a high degree of social conflict and a low degree of disciplinary cohesion.</td>
<td>Usually operates with an unstructured image of his discipline. Takes a pragmatic and looser view of roles to be played in the discipline. Provides considerable incongruity in behavior for his peers and has a high tolerance for incongruity from them. Generally comes up with novel conceptualizations and new modalities of relations between concepts. Presents a &quot;different&quot; figure of his discipline to the public and encourages it.</td>
<td>Tends to operate within and around the agency and professional structure. What is best for clientele or more effective takes precedence over established procedures. Like sociological counterpart, gives and takes considerable colleague incongruity and develops new modalities of thinking and operating continually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Emphasis on mutual criticism, on deftness of presentation, on totalities rather than parts.</td>
<td>Thinks in terms of overhauling and transforming rather than continuing to do something because of tradition. Seeks approval from amorphous but relatively large sized public. Takes a revolutionary image of social structure and process. Tends to appreciate rather than sneer at the application of his research to pragmatic matters in society.</td>
<td>Thinks in terms of service reexamination, reevaluation for priority services effectiveness and in improvement, overhaul and transformation of services. Seeks to go beyond his profession to others, in other disciplines, in key roles in society, etc., to achieve changes after evaluating and planning. Tends to leave his colleagues behind in presentation of such restructuring and in turn develops a well of resentment among them for suggesting the discomfort of true change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE V
A Parallel Comparison of the Un Sociologist (C) and the Un Social Worker (C')
(C) Based on Horwitz description
(C') Based on Sagalman description

Definition of Un Sociologists: Lives out the process of marginality from sociology within an institutional environment. The un sociologist is concerned with immortality, and conceives of it as remembrance for services rendered to the alma mater.

Definition of Un Social Worker: Lives out the process of marginality from social work within an agency setting, and when concerned with immortality, conceives of it as remembrance for services rendered to the institution. Both un sociologist and un social worker have set of values related not to the field but to institutionalism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>UnSociologist (C)</th>
<th>UnSocial Worker (C')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Has a profound sense of obligation not to a movement, a field of study, or a clientele, but to an institution—usually the one which employs him. Tends to &quot;mold himself&quot; to the needs of that institution as he perceives them. (He can change from one institution to another if the change is one which is convenient or upwardly mobile for him and the loyalty goes with it.)</td>
<td>The unsociologist perceives himself as a defender of his educational institution or subdivision of the institution. He may even seek to &quot;build it up&quot;—even at the risk of diluting the content, substance or basic conceptualizations of sociology. Budget, staff, material departmental objects become important, without too much concern for their purpose of integrated utilization.</td>
<td>The unsocial worker is an &quot;agency man&quot; (or woman). The &quot;function&quot; of the agency often becomes sacralized, and its public relations become a basic concern for him. He fights for budget, staff quarters, &quot;agency image,&quot; etc., and will willingly enter into unspoken &quot;flank-protection&quot; arrangements with other agency representatives against mutual threats to agency autonomy, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tends to do little writing beyond the requirement of his position. Writing and research are not viewed as values for themselves since his promotion and upward mobility depend on his institutional loyalty and his institutional &quot;build-up&quot; process successes.</td>
<td>Writing, when done, is limited to requirements for graduate training status maintenance. Writing is more &quot;educationist&quot; than social scientist in nature, and often relates to the &quot;how-to&quot; of teaching, or procedural or report matters.</td>
<td>Writing, when done, is more often related to enhancement of status of agency or institution rather than to social work dynamics. Writing is related to what it can do for the agency and for his position in the agency rather than for the substantive content. Much of the writing can be classified as reporting of achievements rather than analysis of dynamics of profession.</td>
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<td>3. Tends to be &quot;local&quot; in view, concerned with a small range of problems, related more to administrative matters and apparatus than to analysis of the concerns of the discipline.</td>
<td>The unsociologist, by focusing on administrative rather than substantive materials, tends to develop attitudes which are conventional and non emotive about sociological issues. He can and does become emotive, however, when his institution, or his institutional position, is threatened, perhaps by an occupationalist or anti-disciplinarian. The &quot;local&quot; view may be bureaucratic or parochial in nature, defined by institutional subsystems, power subsystems, cliques, etc.</td>
<td>The unsocial worker tends to focus on agency administrative structure, supervision processes, agency board policies, etc., and thus develops attitudes which are conventional and non emotive about clientele, agency manifest purpose etc. Emotive explosions and defensiveness can, however, be expected when agency status, &quot;professional standards&quot; (power position) or personal advancement are at stake. The &quot;local&quot; view may be bureaucratic or parochial in nature, with &quot;local&quot; definition limited to a limited &quot;cultural island&quot; of other social workers or executives, the &quot;psychiatric crowd,&quot; etc. This also includes extra community power subsystems, past and present.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Characteristic</td>
<td>UnSociologist (C)</td>
<td>UnSocial Worker (C')</td>
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<td>4. Tends to do little to gain adherents. Those adherents gained are administratively &quot;hedged-in&quot; or part of a &quot;power subsystem&quot; or structure perceived as necessary for continued institutional structural positioning.</td>
<td>Avoids activity which may engage in fundamental sociological interchange where possible. Intellectual processes are undergone only as a part of routine which &quot;goes with the discipline&quot; rather than as a manifest purpose. Makes great &quot;to do&quot; of small administrative decisions at expense of intellectual interchange activity, since such administrative processes are a display of infra-institutional power.</td>
<td>Unsocial workers function not as recruiters for a movement but as administrative &quot;wheeler-dealers&quot; and administrative processors. Routines must be defined, written, followed, and carried out, regardless of their final relevancy or irrelevancy to agency manifest function. Power derives from such administrative routines and their enforcement.</td>
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<td>5. Usually found in &quot;small&quot; locales, where his administrative prowess is appreciated, and where demands for his continued professional achievement are at a minimum. He may display a &quot;cultivated&quot; exterior but essentially does not become involved in ongoing interchange of professional conceptualizations.</td>
<td>Usually is a Sociology Department head and has been for many years, in a small college where he can &quot;serve&quot; his administration and &quot;control&quot; his department &quot;without visible waves.&quot;</td>
<td>Usually is an agency executive in a small city or a bureau chief in the governmental structure. Serves those above him with acumen, and &quot;controls&quot; those below him by administrative rather than leadership processes.</td>
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<td>6. Usually adopts a &quot;consensual&quot; position, based on organizational agreements and oriented toward &quot;getting the job done,&quot; whatever the job may be. Ignores entirely the possibility that in pressing for consensualism, his agency or department may be the loser, in terms of new ideas or formulations. (Would be shocked by Horowitz's conclusion that &quot;Consensus is... the idealization of coercion&quot;) (Horowitz, Irving Louis, &quot;Consensus, Conflict and Cooperation,&quot; in Horowitz, I. L., Professing Sociology: Studies in the Life Cycle of Social Science, Aldine, Chicago, 1968, p.6.)</td>
<td>The unsociologist adopts a consensualist approach to sociology, based on a probably unattainable agreement in the department and geared toward getting students through the assigned courses, regardless of content, substantive retention and integrative questions. The unsocial worker adopts a consensualist approach to delivery of service in the agency. This requires an agreement on service policies and patterns usually achieved by &quot;group dynamics&quot; pressure upon internal minority views. By supervision, staff pressure, etc., those who are not in the consensus, no matter how &quot;right&quot; they may be, find it easier to leave or &quot;shape up&quot; (usually the former) and in turn the unsocial workers tend to screen out the others, since power remains with the consensus.</td>
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<td>7. Takes a &quot;gentlemen's&quot; or &quot;lady's&quot; view of the field. Enjoys the formalisms of the discipline or profession and the &quot;halo effect&quot; of his position in it. Respectability and ritual are seemingly inseparable for him, and although new ritual may seem innovative to him, the substance of his discipline remains unchanged.</td>
<td>The unsociologist enjoys academic ritual, academic status and college formalisms. He views his position as an important addition to the college's constellation of functionaries. Academic courtesies are valued and adhered to carefully in public. The unsocial worker enjoys his organizational position and his agency's contribution to his status. He views his position in the agency as an asset to its &quot;image.&quot; Agency interrelations and intrarelations are carefully followed in terms of courtesies, etc. The client is served with high regard for preferred social work ritual, and similar ritual. Sacralization occurs in intersection between peer professionals. Service process outweights service goals in worker's valuation.</td>
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TABLE V (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>UnSociologist (C)</th>
<th>UnSocial Worker (C')</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Often comes from a small town with a rural background (or perhaps from an unsophisticated circumscribed “lifespace”).</td>
<td>As an ”unsophisticate,” the unsociologist tends to direct his attention to local and small or middle range problems, susceptible to immediate control, and subject to resolution without having to resolve theoretical issues which may ”rock the boat.”</td>
<td>As an ”unsophisticate” (or as one who has backed away from larger issues in other disciplines) the unsocial worker tends to focus on small or middle range service programs which can be routinized, programmed and comfortably processed within the agency setting. As such, he cannot conceive of broader relationships between social problems and the social systems in which they arise.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Tends to be an anti-philosopher. He approaches his discipline with a “commonsense” viewpoint, which fit easily into his bureaucratic program development.</td>
<td>The unsociologist tends to adhere to the established “value-free” approach to sociology because it is the established and accepted procedure for the field. He is comfortable in the established value policy, and avoids philosophical analysis of the position taken because it does not fit into his bureaucratic structural concept.</td>
<td>The unsocial worker begins with a set of conferred assumed “human values” without an examination of the philosophical questions and foundations of these values. To examine these values would require evaluation of ends and means in relation to this value stance. This creates an incongruity which is intolerable to bureaucratic process and routine. Instead, emphasis is placed on methodological minutiae, which can be refined, relabeled, and recombined again and again; thereby gaining an image of innovation without disturbance of intra and interagency structure and interaction.</td>
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TABLE VI

A Parallel Comparison of the "Antisociologist" (D) and the AntiSocial Worker (D')

(D) Based on Horowitz description
(D') Based on Segalman description

Definition of Antisociologist and AntiSocial Worker: The Antisociologist and AntiSocial Worker employs marginality as a response to traditionalism. Behind his marginality is the suspicion that nuclear membership in an organization or profession is in itself destructive of some major value of the manifest purpose of the discipline or profession. The power necessary to maintain oneself in a central organizational position in the discipline or profession tends to negate the basic purpose of the disciplinary or professional service. The marginal man is concerned with immortality, and his immortality is related to the functional effectiveness of his discipline, retaining a relief in the primacy of the manifest purpose of his discipline or service.

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<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>AntiSociologist (D)</th>
<th>AntiSocial Worker (D')</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Owes his functional allegiance to a source of authority or set of ideas emanating from outside of the control system of his discipline.</td>
<td>Conceptualizations may emanate from a critique of academic life generally or from judgments found in either mathematics or humanities. (Methodological model builders, literary or metaphysical scholars or others outside of sociological discipline).</td>
<td>Conceptualizations may emanate from other service fields which may appear more effective (such as vocational rehabilitation), or, more action oriented (such as the Alinsky type worker) or related to the sponsoring organization of the agency which may be somewhat incongruent in goals with those of social work organizations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Characteristic</td>
<td>AntiSociologist (D)</td>
<td>AntiSocial Worker (D')</td>
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<td>2. By virtue of his ideological orientation, does considerable amount of writing, which he views as transcendental in comparison with most writings in his discipline. Other writings seem transient in value and temporary in significance, compared to his works.</td>
<td>In his writings he converses both with the sociologists of the past and present, dead and alive, and often invokes models from them which fit the concepts he poses.</td>
<td>In his writings, he converses both with social work leaders of the day but of the past, invoking at times, a Jane Addams or similar model for comparison with current social work practice.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Tend to be drawn from the cosmopolitans. They view their discipline as placing arbitrary limits to debate and discussion.</td>
<td>Considers sociology to be a parochial activity, with dubious scientific merits.</td>
<td>Considers traditional social work to be a parochial activity, which, by resisting research of robust controls and measurement, proves itself to be of doubtful scientific merit or effectiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tend to be messianic in nature. Men with a mission, seeking to proselytise not the heathens but the orthodox and entrenched colleagues.</td>
<td>The &quot;Anti-classified research&quot; group, the pro-Mexican American study-actionist group, the pro-Indian group, the &quot;revise the culturally weighted&quot; intelligence test group, the &quot;knowledge for whom group,&quot; etc.</td>
<td>The &quot;remove the artificial credentials&quot; group, the client-advocacy group, the behaviorist-sensitization school, the social worker sector of the welfare rights group, etc. &quot;Movement&quot; rather than agency policy oriented.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Usually located in larger institutions and programs, where he acts as a pivot, addressing himself to the larger dilemmas of the discipline.</td>
<td>Usually found in larger Sociology Departments in major universities, where he acts as pivot between different currents of the discipline.</td>
<td>Usually found in larger agencies or communities, where he serves as a professional pivot for re-examination of otherwise accepted social work services.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Begins with a critical ideological posture—generally well thought out and sometimes involving radical political promises.</td>
<td>Politics and Sociology become intermingled.</td>
<td>Various examples of organizing &quot;the poor&quot; against &quot;the system.&quot; Sees ameliorative &quot;ameliorators&quot; programs as perpetuating social pathology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Adopts an alienated view of the world. Identifies with marginal groups in society, and considers himself as part of the breakdown in the solidarity of the discipline.</td>
<td>Considers his own role as being alienated to the work processes of the discipline concerned.</td>
<td>Considers his role in traditional social work or welfare setting as contributing to the problem solving processes of the marginal groups of society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Prefers the urban setting and works with problems which derive in part from big issues in world affairs.</td>
<td>Tends to view his discipline as &quot;good&quot; when it addresses itself to &quot;total issues in a total way&quot; and &quot;bad&quot; when it ignores such issues, or derives into them from a &quot;social problem&quot; or partial &quot;manner.&quot;</td>
<td>Tends to view his profession as &quot;good&quot; when it moves toward massive social change and &quot;bad&quot; when it operates without such change and places emphasis on &quot;professionalism&quot; above &quot;concern for client totality.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Has a well thought out philosophical system which draws upon a network of doctrines or conceptual systems which interrelate in his views of social organization.</td>
<td>Examples include integrative use of dialectic materialism, neo-Thomism, existentialism, Intuitionism, etc. Empiricism to him is a philosophically crude system which systifies the terms of ordinary language by leaving them in a &quot;repressive&quot; universe of discourse.</td>
<td>Examples include an integrative use of human behavior concepts involving Maslow and &quot;downgrading&quot; of specific personality systems into placement at appropriate levels of a hierarchy of needs. Thus, for the priority needs group in society (poverty group) he tends to see the necessities of life as a matter of concern and a basis for rational planning rather than Freudian, neo-Freudian or ego-oriented theoretical scheme on which to base social work planning. Similarly, he tends to ignore pure systems theory in community organization for more immediate concerns expressed by clientele or for a &quot;taking of power&quot; approach to resolution of social system dysfunction.</td>
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TABLE VIII
A TABULATION OF ROLE INTERACTIONS OF MAINLINERS AND MARGINALS IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK (POLARITY POSITION PROBABILITIES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Between</th>
<th>And</th>
<th>Probable Interaction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) (Professional Sociologist)</td>
<td>(C) (Unsociologist)</td>
<td>Symbiosis: &quot;Gung Ho,&quot; (C) department head can't operate without faculty (A) who &quot;stay in line&quot; and they don't make waves because they need his administrative expertise to &quot;push&quot; for their advancement. (A) may consider (C) as a &quot;plastic&quot; sociologist but this is probably seldom discussed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) (Professional Sociologist)</td>
<td>(B) (Occupational Sociologist)</td>
<td>Struggle over theory and purposes of discipline. (A) considers (B) unprofessional and unscientific -- &quot;no better than a layman,&quot; &quot;moved by his own emotions&quot; at times. (B) considers (A) an &quot;object of the system&quot; and irrelevant to society's basic concerns. At best, there is academic toleration and mutual struggle both over theory and structural loyalty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) (Professional Sociologist)</td>
<td>(D) (Anti-Sociologist)</td>
<td>(A) considers (D) &quot;Just a rabble rouser&quot; who is &quot;all action and no goal&quot; because he doesn't operate scientifically and thus doesn't know what he's doing or is doing it &quot;for himself.&quot; (D) considers (A) a basic beneficiary of the dysfunction-creating establishment. At best, (D) sees (A) as one whose sociology has little or no meaning or impact. In this view, he comes close to (B)'s view of (A).</td>
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### TABLE VIII (Continued)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Between</th>
<th>And</th>
<th>Probable Interaction</th>
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<tr>
<td>(C) (Unsociologist)</td>
<td>(D) (Anti-Sociologist)</td>
<td>Department head (C) is disturbed by external &quot;expert&quot; whom he considers a &quot;fraud.&quot; The &quot;Saul Alinsky&quot; approach in his view is not &quot;through channels&quot; and shakes up community and campus. Administration looks to (C) to &quot;handle&quot; (D) and he can't. (D) views (C) as a &quot;kept man&quot; of the establishment. Difference between them is that (C) is loyal to an institution and (D) is loyal to a clientele. At times, the relationship between (B) and (D) can be symbiotic. After (D) has visited a city and &quot;shook it up,&quot; the power elements are more open to (B)’s advice and ideas. And when this begins to dissipate, (D) or his surrogate may come back again. Both are concerned with relevance and people, but the disagreement is that (B) remains within the subsystem of sociology and (D) scoffs at the discipline. This difference can wax quite hot—when a (B) type reformer is written off by a (D) publicly after the (B) has invested much energy and time into a system’s reform effort.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B) (Occupationalist Sociologist)</td>
<td>(D) (Anti-Sociologist)</td>
<td>(B) views (C) primarily as a &quot;plastic&quot; sociologist. He's a department head, but his department does not necessarily have to be sociology. He sees him as someone who serves a purpose in the college bureaucracy, and to the extent that bureaucracy is part of the systems dysfunction of society, he is either consciously or unconsciously &quot;at odds&quot; with (C). (C) sees (B) as a &quot;maker of waves&quot; in what might otherwise be a calm department. Every wave which (B) makes probably costs (C) &quot;Brownle Points&quot; with the administration. Since upward mobility within the administration, or at least security within it is (C)’s purpose in life, (B) is a dangerous wild person. When (B) produces creative achievements which reflect well on his department, he swells with pride for having secured him, but this is soon deflated when (C) stands his ground on a principle. At best, (C) can never understand (B), because he deals in coin unknown to (C)—a coin based on expansion of sociological knowledge relevant to society.</td>
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<td>Between</td>
<td>And</td>
<td>Probable Interaction</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A') (Professional Social Worker)</td>
<td>(C') (Un-Social Worker)</td>
<td>A Symbiotic Relationship, A Social Agency Director cannot operate a social agency (or claim to do so) without professional social workers. The Professional Social Worker who &quot;stays in line,&quot; follows agency routines, gets along with his peers, doesn't step out of role, etc., can be quite satisfying to an ambitious agency director who is, in reality, a &quot;plastic&quot; social worker, not really involved in the espoused broader ideals of social work and the same condition probably prevails despite all the &quot;hand-wringing&quot; with the true Professional Social Workers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A') (Professional Social Worker)</td>
<td>(B') (Occupationalist Social Worker)</td>
<td>(A’) sees (B’) as a very difficult person. Why does he have to keep bringing up issues such as the agency's responsibility to clients on the waiting list, or those who don't come to the office for help? Why does he have to try to relate issues about Viet Nam with the day-to-day purposes of social work? Doesn't he realize that social work is a profession and that if we go out far and wide into social action programs, we will detract from the profession's status? (B') sees (A') as primarily an &quot;empathic provincialist,&quot; a person limited to a narrow spectrum of skills on which he has placed his whole focus, and in the process has lost sight of what he sees as the real goals of social work. (A') sees (B') as someone who is confused about what social work is—namely a peer profession.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A') (Professional Social Worker)</td>
<td>(D') (Anti-Social Worker)</td>
<td>Often (D') does not have the Master's degree credentials which will make him acceptable as a social worker (A')'s eyes. Thus he sees him as a neighborhood troublemaker, or at best, an &quot;untrained person&quot; who really couldn't be expected to know better. (A') often believes that (D') does not really know what he's doing, that really (A') is equipped to know, because of his professional training. Even if (D') has the educational credentials, he views him as a renegade who has &quot;left the fold.&quot; Most often, (A') will ignore (D') while (A') remains in secure cultural isolation from the larger social problems. (D') sees (A') as a professional &quot;cop-out,&quot; someone who uses the &quot;poor&quot; to maintain a secure position in society. Often he is right, because many of the (A') people, who may claim to know how to deal with problems of the poor and multi-problem families, have more often than not, &quot;creamied&quot; such clientele out of their service loads. Many have joined the flight of the middle class to the suburbs in seeking employment in suburban middle-class &quot;private&quot; social agencies, despite their espoused concern and occasional &quot;white paper&quot; on major social issues. Basically, the struggle, if it does occur, is between someone tied to a peer profession versus someone motivated by a cause. Professional (A') believes that (D') stirs up people unnecessarily. (D') sees (A') as a status seeker using the profession as a &quot;ladder.&quot; (D') actually defines Social Work as a Jane Addams craft, and (B') wants the Jane Addams label but not the content.</td>
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**TABLE VIII (Continued)**

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<th>Between</th>
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<th>Probable Interaction</th>
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<tr>
<td>(C') (Un-Social Worker)</td>
<td>(D') (Anti-Social Worker)</td>
<td>The (C') agency director views the Anti-Social Worker with great anxiety at times. (D') is expected to seek system change which may eliminate his job, or cut his power as an agency head, or reveal something which will devalue him and his agency. (C') likes to work through channels, using the &quot;right people&quot; and (D') disturbs him because of his nonconformance to channels or even social worker procedures, let alone middle class formalities and courtesies. (D') sees (C') as a &quot;kept man&quot; of the establishment—and may deal with him as an antagonist—or worse yet for (C'), may ignore him as an &quot;office boy&quot; of the power elements and go around him. When (D') goes into action, (C') is often left as isolated as an &quot;Uncle Tom&quot; during a civil rights confrontation—he becomes irrelevant to all elements. Since (C') is usually ambitious and agency oriented, he will seek to discredit (D') with the power elements. (D') ignores this, and seeks power with the potential clientele whom he seeks to lead.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B') (Occupational Social Worker)</td>
<td>(D') (Anti-Social Worker)</td>
<td>As with their sociological counterparts (B') and (D') have, at times, a symbiotic relationship, and at other times, one which is strife ridden, (B') seeks to work out reform within the social work system, or at least, dragging the social workers along in the change. (B') is more prone to accept small changes over a prolonged and planned time period. (D') seeks action &quot;in a hurry.&quot; (D') tends to seek cut issues and make something of them—often something much bigger than they deserve. (B') seeks to operate by priorities, or at least by choices expressed by the clientele. In some cases, (D') sees (B') as an antagonist because he is arranging for change, but (B') can be truly shocked by the tactics utilized by (D') in building an organization and building up local power. Often (D') distrusts (B') as a &quot;pseudo-reformer&quot;—a chameleon type (C') who is acting like a (B') when it serves his own ambitions or agency purposes. (Many (B') people are themselves fooled, at times, by a (C') who &quot;makes like an Innovator&quot;—until he makes the position he's sought and then he becomes agency stabilizer and pyramid builder again.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B') (Occupational Social Worker)</td>
<td>(C') (Un-Social Worker)</td>
<td>The agency head (C') would not hire a (B') if he could recognize him for what he is—a sincere reformer. Often the (C') has used the sincere reformer pose himself to good purpose, and so he fools himself, perhaps, in believing that the (B') he sees as applicant is really like himself—a chameleon who is motivated to be a &quot;plastic&quot; social worker—one who uses social work and a social work agency as a vehicle for personal advancement or at least security. (B') makes too many waves for (C')s comfort as an agency head. (B') goes through too many Informal channels for (C')s tolerance. (C') is often seen by (B') as someone who is holding down a position under false pretenses—&quot;an agency director in social work should have courage and lead the move for day-to-day social reform.&quot; (B') can't see, often, that (C') couldn't care less about social reform. If he did, he wouldn't be an agency head. (B') often views (C') and the (A') people as blind to the dysfunctions of their agency and profession and its irrelevance to current social problems. (C') often confuses (B') with a (D') type, and suspects a nonexistent collusion between them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A) (Professional Sociologist)</td>
<td>(A') (Professional Social Worker)</td>
<td>Probable Interaction</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B) (Occupationalist Sociologist)</td>
<td>(B') (Occupational Social Worker)</td>
<td>The relationship between the (A) and (A') group, or (B) and (B') group is often primarily one of status. The Sociologist mainstreamers pride themselves on their scholarship and research methods—or at least on their theoretical bases. The social workers tend to isolate themselves from sociologists, perhaps for fear of rejection, or because of lack of perceived commonalities. In any case the horizontal relationships of Table VII are often based on status and status strains rather than on theory differences. A case could be made for the theoretical differences between social work and sociology in terms of purpose and function but this is often less discussed except in broad analytical terms, and never on a pragmatic basis. The remaining interrelationships could be and should probably be studied in detail, but this would be a project for which time and resources are currently unavailable to the author.</td>
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**TABLE VIII (Continued)**

NOTES

COMMUNALITIES AND STRAINS BETWEEN

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK


THE SOCIOLOGY OF CLIENT ALIENATION IN RELATION TO
SOCIETAL STRUCTURE

by

William D. Poe and Jerry H. Borup

Weber State College
Department of Sociology
Ogden, Utah

1970

And these are the things that we remember
of America, for we have known all her thousand
lights and weathers, and we walk the streets,
we walk the streets forever, we walk the streets
of life alone.

- Thomas Wolfe

A society that is dominated by the forces of alien-
ation stifles the creative forces. Fritz Pappenheim
refers to alienation as one of the basic trends of our
age.1 Robert A. Nisbet in his book The Sociological
Tradition, lists five essential unit ideas in sociology
as follows: community, authority, status, the sacred,
and alienation.2 Robert Merton examines five types of
individual adaptations: conformity, innovation, ritualism,
retreatism and rebellion. In the Merton formulation,
rebellion represents alienation.3 Within a sociological
framework alienation views man as rootless, estranged,
anomic and separated from society and community. Alien-
ation can include both individual components and societal
components. Amitai Etzioni defines alienation as . . .
a social situation which is beyond the control of the
actor, and hence unresponsive to his basic needs.4 Melvin
Seeman postulates five basic ways in which the concept of
alienation has been used: Powerlessness, Meaninglessness,
Normlessness, Isolation and Self-estrangement.5

1Fritz Pappenheim, The Alienation of Modern Man (New
2Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New
3Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure
4Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society (New York: The
5Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation",
STUDY DESIGN

The purpose of the present study is to explore the relationship between client alienation and efforts by the social work profession to intervene in behalf of the welfare poor. Specifically, this investigation focuses on the ideas, proposals, and studies that have appeared in the social work literature that would indicate efforts by social workers to increase or decrease client alienation. Social work is practiced primarily in agency and organizational settings. Attention will be given to the nature of these structures to determine how they affect client alienation and prevent social workers from relieving alienation. The dimensions of client alienation will be discussed using Melvin Seeman's classification of powerlessness and meaninglessness. A further expansion of the concept of client alienation will be obtained by looking for ways to prevent alienation by combining social work concepts with the concepts of micro-macro society as suggested in the writings of Amitai Etzioni.6

POWERLESSNESS AND CLIENT ALIENATION

As defined by Seeman, powerlessness has a double aspect. It means first that the person has no confidence in being able to influence the events of his life. The external, outside environment, they, the establishment, are not responsive to his needs, and not changeable by his efforts. The second aspect of powerlessness is the effect it has upon the individual. These internal factors have been characterized in the literature as apathy, despair, hopelessness, constant depression, estrangement and lack of motivation. Factors that have to do with the outside environment are a lack of leadership ability, an inability to organize and an inability to solve the continuous crises that are said to be a part of the lives of the welfare poor.7

Seeman found in recent studies of learning tasks that, "a person will definitely learn less from experiences he conceives to be dominated by outsiders, or by chance,

which he feels he cannot influence". In the welfare system there is a growing recognition that the amount of the grant, the offer of job rehabilitation and casework services have less significant impact on clients' lives than do the accompanying restrictive controls, the demeaning attitudes displayed toward recipients and the humiliating psychological alienation involved in the donor-donee relationship. Undoubtedly the close connection between the old poor law residues and much of current welfare thinking and practice perpetuates alienation. Client alienation is closely tied to the stigmatizing aspects of the service. This is illustrated in the following quotation:

For the clients, fear, hatred, and distrust block the impulse toward self-betterment. Rehabilitation as a long-range objective is hampered. In the immediate experience, clients withhold information that may be helpful in identifying and articulating those needs for which resources are available in the community or the agency. Instead of openness and a sharing of concern with the agency, there is a guardedness that reduces the helping process to a game of outwitting "the welfare".

Although it is true the welfare system creates some of the characteristics of powerlessness, futility and apathy, it is equally true that these are not permanent characteristics. Since the early 1960's following efforts made by the Mobilization for Youth in New York, there has been a growing unrest by welfare recipients and organizations have been created to eliminate, correct, or reform welfare inequities. This unrest culminating in the formation of the Welfare Rights Organization has resulted in changes in welfare recipients. Martin Rein explains this change by his "energy displacement theory". The experience of meeting in groups, being involved in decision making, participation in the organization's efforts to bring about

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10Ibid., p. 6.
There are three aspects of professional social work response to client powerlessness:

1. The low level of actual power possessed by social workers available to decrease client powerlessness. The solution to the problem of client alienation is not reform of individual welfare recipients, but a major reform effort needs to be made with the total collective of welfare recipients that would meet their needs, include their thinking and involve their participation.

Social Work Response to Client Powerlessness.

The amount of power social workers can exercise is dependent upon organizational structure. Social work is primarily practiced in agencies and large bureaucratic organizations. Brager remarked, "Social Welfare organizations are socially dependent. Since they are not financially self-supporting, they must accommodate to relevant publics. A relationship inevitably exists between an organization's fund-raising barge and its willingness to press for institutional change." The social worker works within the organization and agency structure. He is not free to act on his own initiative.

The conservative nature of the profession has been repeatedly discussed and documented recently by Irwin Epstein. In a survey of 1,020 New York City professional social workers he found that, "social workers revealed general disapproval of protest as a strategy of social action for groups representing the profession." In our society, social service delivery systems that deal with so-called pathological behavior and with clients from the lower classes are afforded low power status. This means low power status for welfare recipients, low power status for social workers and low potential to influence those who actually command power positions.

Elliot Studt examined this aspect in his "Field of Social Work Practice: Organizing Our Resources for More Effective Practice". He says:

When we examine many fields of practice in the light of these questions, we observe that the organizational role provided for the client tends to institutionalize social degradation, diminish his status in other significant roles, segregate him from normal participation in his community, add unnecessary stress, expose him to conflicting expectations in subroles, and discourage joint action with his fellows to modify either the service organization or other commonly experienced problem areas.

George Brager's angry comment on the 1968 version of the worst welfare bill in history illustrates this point. It reads, "For if we have learned anything at all, we know that welfare workers and administrators, wittingly and unwittingly, professionally trained or not, will inevitably respond to its repressive and punitive tone."

The Prevention of Client Powerlessness.

The exercise of power is dependent upon the availability of power positions, the ability to maintain power positions and to have at least elementary knowledge about

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power strategies. Daniel Thursz suggests "Social workers must do more than provide information to the policy-makers. One of their professional functions must be to influence policies based on their best judgments as to the needs of the society."18

Social workers have seldom given much thought to client decision making. Decision making and access to the levers of change are the determinants of power and power relationships. Etzioni points out, "For an active society to be possible, consensus formation must be in part upward, allowing for the authentic expression of the members preferences and for a real, and not co-opted participation."19 The distribution of power in a society is the key to the amount of alienation. When large segments of the population are disfranchized, alienation is high.

Repressive social work practices are a prime cause of client powerlessness. Etzioni suggests there are three kinds of power: persuasive power, utilitarian power and power backed up by force.20 The application of persuasive power tends to be the least alienating, then utilitarian, and the most alienating type of power is repressive.

MEANINGLESSNESS AND CLIENT ALIENATION

In this context, meaninglessness is concerned with the individual's lack of understanding of the full dimension of problems. Meaninglessness involves restricted, partial understanding. Client alienation results when the individual is not able to satisfy basic needs through the service delivery systems set up to fulfill such needs. Client alienation comes about from the use of a restricted narrow clinical-therapeutic view of problem solving. Clients are alienated by a minuscule effort to solve problems with methods that have only limited application to the problems of the welfare poor. The cop shares with the social worker the dubious distinction of being the most hated person working in the ghetto areas. This hatred and alienation is brought about by programs that are peripheral to client needs, and by using individual approaches to problems that are not basically problems of the individual or problems of the community, but national problems that require a macro approach. Client alienation is caused by patching

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up discredited programs, doing just one more government survey to discover an inadequate service really is inadequate, and calling for advocacy and then supporting business as usual. Programs have been based on palliation rather than prevention and method over structure change.

Social Work Response to Meaninglessness.

The knowledge base for social work has been gradually expanding outward from a concentration on Freudian casework to at least some recognition of the fact that something called either social action or social advocacy will more nearly extend into the area of change of institutions or change in social conditions. The current state of social work knowledge has deeply embedded three trends that operate to increase alienation among the welfare poor. The first trend has to do with the dilemma of whether or not social work will retain its clinical-therapeutic rehabilitation emphasis or whether it will concentrate on advocacy and societal change. The second trend has to do with a retreat of social workers from the welfare poor. The third trend is whether or not social work will insist on reducing much of the knowledge it possesses to the individual level and ignore the broader context of societal structure and social change.

The traditional focus of casework has been on the "man-in-the-situation" — 90% man and 10% situation. That this narrow focus is inadequate is well known. Helen Perlman recognized the need for change in her article "Social Work Methods: A Review of the Past Decade", "On the other hand, when casework moves into dealing with other sorts of problems — for example, those of crisis situations — and with certain kinds of people — for example the socially antagonistic and alienated — and with new sorts of goals — for example that of prevention — its clinical model may well need radical change." 21

One of the first projects funded by OEO and involving a collaborative approach of many public and private agencies to aid the poor, concluded that agency caseworkers had been concerned about the problems of the poor, but like the poor, felt powerless to help. A statement by one of the workers in the project explains her feelings, "I have changed my views of the poor radically and my over-all practice of social work. I am very impatient with psychoanalytic interpretation of all behavior and very critical

of practice that eliminates the majority of the poor from benefiting from services because of worker biases and agency practices."  

The dominant emphasis in social work education has been training geared to helping students understand individual behavior and a disproportionate emphasis on methods—casework, group work and community organization.  

Herbert Bisno has proposed a theoretical framework that eliminates the three traditional methods and expands to nine methods. The difficulty with expanding methods and the curriculum, would be the probable necessity of increasing the MSW to a three-year degree with some specialization, and the doctorate degree to specialize at least partially.

The concentration of the social work profession on individual-oriented methods, and the retreat from the poor are related phenomena. At a very early date (1934), the Federal Relief Administration eliminated all money payments to private agencies for cash payment to the needy. This started an extensive referral of those in need to public agencies and a retreat of social workers from the welfare poor. This retreat has been well documented in the literature. Scott Briar declares:

One new element is the complaint that the casework method, the very method that caseworkers worked so hard and long to perfect, systematically excludes many of the persons most in need of attention from caseworkers . . . And the proportion of such persons is greatest among the poor and

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disadvantaged, groups to whom the profession has an historic commitment.26

Perhaps the most persistent trend in social work is an attempt to avoid analysis on all levels from micro to macro, but to take concepts from one level and reduce them to the individual level. This reductionistic trend or psychological explanation for all phenomena has done much to help perpetuate the other trends. Implicit in most of the man-in-the-situation theories, interaction theories and balance between demands of the social environment and people's coping efforts theory is a marvelously simplistic explanation that sooner or later gets back to social works preoccupation with problem solving at the individual level. Harriett Bartlett's new pamphlet, "The Common Base of Social Work Practice", substitutes methods for a variety of "interventive measures and techniques". The concept rests on the idea of interaction between people and environment.27

Ann Hartman states in her article "Anomie and Social Casework", "If we take the position that anomie is purely a societal state, the concept of anomie has only limited usefulness with regard to individuals. If we take the opposite position, that anomie is purely a psychological state, we have gained no theoretical advantage, and the term anomie simply becomes a synonym for apathy or depression or sociopathy."28

A great deal of social science analysis has followed this penchant to move toward psychologistic reductionism. Inasmuch as a great many of the problems and solutions to social problems lie at the macro-analysis level, social work needs to expend some effort in this direction.

The Prevention of Client Meaninglessness.

The more knowledge the social worker possesses about the causes, structure and broad societal context of social problems the greater will be his capacity to treat problems. There is a tendency for the knowledge base in any profession to become fossilized. The more stable and unresponsive

the knowledge base becomes the more difficult it becomes to accomplish wide spread changes.29 It is evident that the profession of social work is slowly expanding outward to include larger and larger units. Alfred Kahn illustrated this trend in the following way:

Certainly it is new preoccupations that have moved social work, in its relationship to behavioral and social science, from its early and major reliance on psychiatry to its increased post-World War II borrowings from cultural anthropology, role and stratification theory, and small group theory; then its concern with organizational theory (as it shed light on the therapeutic milieu); to the present interest in political science, political sociology, theory of planned change, urban sociology, and, after long neglect, economics (while the psychiatric-psychological focus, still the major one has moved toward the ego psychologies).30

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29Heidt and Etzioni, op. cit., p. 33.
The overall framework to explain the components of social work practice are shown in figure 1.

**FIGURE 1**

SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

within a

SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

operating through

ORGANIZATIONAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITIES

confronts

PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL FUNCTIONING FROM MICRO TO MACRO LEVELS

with a goal of

RESOLVING, MAINTAINING, OR CHANGING THE FUNCTIONING AND/OR ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES OF INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES, GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS, COMMUNITIES, STATES, REGIONS OR SOCIETAL SYSTEMS

expressed through social workers

occupying a variety of

OCCUPATIONAL ROLES AT THE

VARIOUS LEVELS

AND WORKING WITH BROAD BASE,

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL,

INTERCONNECTED PROBLEMS

by use of multiple methods

and techniques

EMPLOYED IN INTERACTION WITH CLIENTS AND ALL OTHER LEVELS AND SYSTEMS SUBJECT TO ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION
A theoretical model aimed at the expansion of the social work knowledge base is shown in figure 2.

**FIGURE 2**

THE METHODS AND MICRO-MACRO LEVELS

**Methods**

Consensus-Conflict
Resource Mobilization
Education, Teaching, Supervision
Research-Evaluation
Therapy, Casework, Group Work, Counseling
Social Planning Social Activism
Power Management
Prevention of Alienation

**Levels**

Macro

Society
Region
State
Community
Organization

Micro

Group
Family
Individual
**THE METHODS of this model include:**

**Conflict and Consensus.** These methods have to do with differences of opinion and the creation either of control mechanisms or the resolution of differences. At the societal level there is a direct relationship between structure and the amount of consensus. The more sensitive the sub-units are to the needs of all other units, the easier it is to establish consensus. The more fixed positions, the less communication and the fewer shared goals, the more conflict.

**Resource Mobilization.** At the society level there is an increasingly restricted use of resources and consequent mobilization of poorer collectives to reverse the imbalance. Societal projects aimed at equitable distribution of resources automatically reduces alienation.

**Education, Teaching and Supervision.** These methods relate to the transmission of the knowledge base to others. The wider the knowledge base and the more flexible, the more nearly the material taught will benefit students and client populations.

**Research and Evaluation.** Societal units differ in their capacity to collect, process and use knowledge. There is a tendency to invest highly in collecting information and display less ability to process and evaluate information. At all levels there is selective use made of information. Knowledge that flies in the face of tradition may have only limited usefulness.

**Therapy, Casework, Group Work, Counseling.** These methods should involve a wide base of practice, a variety of functions and multiple skills and techniques. There should be less concern about adjusting clients to impossible situations and at least some effort expended toward changing damaging social situations.

**Social Planning, Societal Guidance and Social Activeness.** The emphasis on social planning is not one problem at a time but broad base multilevel planning. High activeness between sub-units leads to consensus and greater use of symbolic exchanges, less prescriptive control and lower levels of alienation.

**Power Management, Project Management and Prevention of Alienation.** The application of coercive power rather than persuasive power increases the amount of alienation. Projects set up at all levels that do not fulfill client needs, do not involve client planning or participation, increase conflict and alienation. Projects are like catalysts, even if they fail they set up chain reactions throughout the sub-units and cause at least partial changes and new foundations upon which to operate.
MARGINAL AND NON-MARGINAL PERSONS IN THE PROFESSIONS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RECRUITMENT IN
LAW, MEDICINE, AND SOCIAL WORK*

Pranab Chatterjee
Case Western Reserve University

ABSTRACT

A sample of students from the Schools of Law, Medicine, and Social Work of a Midwestern University (N=1,319), which consisted of all students enrolled in these schools for over a given number of years, suggests that there are at least three discernible types of marginality which are related to the status of the given professions. Such marginality may depend on one or more of the following: class origin, academic performance, and sex roles. The students of social work are high in both class- and role- marginality, but are favorably comparable to law students in performance-marginality. The study suggests that prestige of a given profession (as was rank ordered by North and Hatt in 1947) is neither necessarily nor always dependent on performance-marginality, but is related to role-marginality of persons in the professions.

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The author wishes to acknowledge the help of his former student, Mrs. Margaret Seelbach Watterson, in gathering and tabulating the data for this study. He also wishes to thank Professor Morris Janowitz of the University of Chicago and Professor Sumati Dubey of The Tata Institute of Social Sciences (Bombay) for valuable criticism and comments in various stages of preparation of this paper.

A brief descriptive report on recruitment in law, medicine, and social work on the basis of this research was published by The Council on Social Work Education in The Social Work Education Reporter, 21, 1 (December-January, 1972-73).
THE PROBLEM

This paper undertakes a comparative study of the recruitment patterns in the professions of law, medicine, and social work. It is anticipated that such a comparative work on these professions, all of whom require a baccalaureate degree for entrance, will contribute to the study of professions in general and to the subject of manpower in the professions in particular.

Existing literature on these professions deals mostly with various practice and research issues within each of these professions (cf. Hyman, 1967; Meyer, et al., 1967; Zeisel, 1967). Comparative studies of these professions are only a handful (Warkov, 1966; Etzioni, 1969). On the basis of an earlier study of comparative prestige of occupations and professions, medicine would seem to hold a relatively high status among the professions, the status of law would seem close to that of medicine, while that of social work would be substantially low.\footnote{\textsuperscript{1} It is to be remembered that the occupational category "physician" ranked second in the North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale, whereas the occupational category "lawyer" ranked eighteenth. In this ranking of ninety occupations, social worker was not listed. However, the category "welfare worker for a city government" ranked forty-sixth. Since most such welfare workers are not trained professional social workers, it would be inappropriate to assume that a category of "social worker" would necessarily rank low, but it is extremely doubtful that such a category will be closer to "lawyer" in prestige ranking. See Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," \textit{Public Opinion News} 9 (September 1947), pp. 3-13.} Social work not only has low prestige by popular opinion, but, according to Greenwood, is an "easily accessible profession" which is "used as avenues for social mobility by working class members who aspire to surpass the occupational levels of their parents" (Greenwood, 1960).

Additionally, in a typology of the professions by Carr-Saunders, law and medicine were classified as old established professions.
whereas social work was a semi-profession. To these theoretical formulations, Warkov added a body of data, showing that students of social work have the lowest grade-point average, and make their career choice much later in life than students of other professions (Warkov, 1966).

The prestige rating of occupations and professions cited above, along with the classification by Carr-Saunders, places social work in a relatively low status in the hierarchy of professions. Such rank order, considered with Greenwood's comments and Warkov's data, would suggest that marginal persons enter low status professions. Such marginality in low status professions seem to depend on either class (i.e., those moving from working class or blue collar to middle class or white collar), or performance (i.e., those performing academically or otherwise, below the achievement norms of high status positions) (cf. Lipset and Bendix, 1962: 236-254). A theoretical formulation of low status professions being filled by persons of either class- or performance-marginal status (or both) would therefore be in order.

The classic definition of marginality was offered by Park when he suggested that persons in cultural duality and functioning in cultures antagonistic to each other are marginal persons. See Robert E. Park, "Introduction," Everest V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man, Scribners, New York, 1937, pp. xiii - xviii. Park's concept of marginality, while developed for explanation and description of the fate of migrants, can be reformulated to mean persons who come to be guided by two or more forms of contradictory or antagonistic socialization patterns. It is clear that such multiple socialization patterns may be produced not only by corresponding multiple societies or cultures, but also by multiple reference groups or social strata within the same culture (for a discussion of the term 'socialization,' see John A. Clausen, "Introduction," John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society, Little, Brown, Boston, 1968, pp. 1-17; for a discussion of the term 'reference group,' see Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957, pp. 281-386). The term 'marginality' as used in this paper should be understood in its reformulated meaning as outlined here.

The term 'class' should be understood as consisting of upper, middle, working, and lower classes, as operationalized by Ellis, Lane, and Olesen from the concepts of Richard Centers, Joseph A. Kahl, and Kingsley Davis. See Robert A. Ellis, W. Clayton Lane, and Virginia Olesen, "The Index of Class Position: An Improved Intercommunity Measure of Stratification," American Sociological Review 28 (April 1963), pp. 271-277. However, the upper and middle classes can be subsumed under the term white collar or non-manual classes, whereas the working and lower classes can be subsumed under the term blue collar or manual classes. Existing research suggest that mobility between these two categories (i.e., blue collar and white collar) is the most difficult. See Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1962, pp. 11-75.
suggest that marginal persons\(^3\) enter low status professions. Such marginality in low status professions seem to depend on either class (i.e., those moving from working class or blue collar to middle class or white collar),\(^4\) or performance (i.e., those performing, academically or otherwise, below the achievement norms of high status positions) (cf. Lipset and Bendix, 1962: 236-254). A theoretical formulation of low status professions being filled by persons of either class- or performance-marginal status (or both) would therefore be in order.

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The present study proposes to explicate the concepts of such marginality, and then derive implications for manpower in the professions.

HYPOTHESES AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

The foregoing discussion of exiting literature and theoretical formulations suggest the three hypotheses outlined below.

1. Social work is a "relatively easily accessible" profession, while law and medicine are not.

2. More persons of high "class-marginal status" are in social work than in law or medicine.

3. More persons of high "performance-marginal status" are in social work than in law or medicine.

The term "relatively easily accessible" is defined as longer time-lapse between college graduation and entry into a chosen profession (hereafter referred to as distance from college graduation) by the students of a profession than such time-lapse of students in other professions in comparison. In other words, the higher the time lost between college graduation and entrance into a profession, the more "easily accessible" is that profession in comparison with other professions where such time loss is comparatively lower.

The term "class-marginal status" is defined as attendance in less competitive colleges for undergraduate education. The degree of competitiveness of colleges is ascertained from Fire's list. Thus the criteria by which this classification was arrived at are as follows: The criteria for a college to be ranked as most competitive, the students must come from the top 10 to 25 percent of their graduating class, must have median SAT scores of 675-800, and between B+ to A grade-point average. These same criteria are used in descending order for other classifications as highly competitive, very competitive, etc. Some examples for most competitive: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Dartmouth, Harvard, etc.; highly competitive: Antioch, Brandeis, Case, Chicago, etc.; for very competitive: Albion, Knox, Rutgers, Tulane, etc.; for competitive: Adelphi, Elmira, Florida State, Ohio State, etc.; for less competitive: Alabama State, Arkansas Polytechnic, Howard, Morehouse, Roosevelt, George Peabody, etc.; and for non-competitive: Bethany Bible of California, Eastern Montana, George Williams of Illinois, Walla Walla, etc. Benjamin Fire, Barron's Profiles of American Colleges. Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Services, 1968.
lower the rank of one's college of undergraduate education in Fire's list, the higher his class-marginality. If the students of a given profession come from high quality (i.e., "most competitive" and "highly competitive" classifications by Fire) colleges, then their class-marginal status is defined to be low. Students coming from a medium quality (i.e., "very competitive" and "competitive" classifications by Fire) college would be defined as persons of medium class-marginal status. Students not fitting any of the two above classifications would be defined as persons of high class-marginal status.6

The term "performance-marginal status" should be understood in the following terms: low performance-marginal as undergraduate grade-point average of 3.0 or above in a four-point system (where A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, and F = no points); medium performance-marginal as that between 2.5 to 2.9; and high performance-marginality is 2.4 or below.

METHODS

A sample of 1,319 students from the Schools of Law, Medicine, and Social Work of a Midwestern University (hereafter referred to as the University) during a five-year period is chosen for the study. In this sample, each cohort within each school is identified by the year it entered school rather than the expected year of graduation. Thus the 1964 cohort of the medical school here means the group of medical students who started their medical training during the academic year 1964-65, and is referred to as the "class of 1968" by the University, since their expected year of graduation is 1968. Similarly, the 1964 cohort in law school means "class of 1967" (law training takes three years), and the 1964 cohort in social work school means "class of 1966" (social work training takes two years). The reason for identifying the cohort by year of entry rather than expected year of graduation is convenience in tabular representation for the purposes of this paper.

6The rationale for using the quality of undergraduate college as approximation of class position of students is twofold: (a) detailed data on family positions of students were not available in the admissions offices; and (b) the most prestigious and competitive colleges in the U.S. are frequently colleges attended by persons of higher class origin than the non-prestigious and less competitive colleges. See Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis in Education, Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, Varieties of Modern Social Theory, Dutton, New York, 1963, pp. 341-362; and Christopher Jencks and Davis Riesman, The Academic Revolution, Doubleday, New York, 1969.
The sample comprises of 416 students from the School of Law for a three year period between 1966 and 1968; 429 students from the School of Medicine for a five year period between 1964 and 1968; and 474 students from the School of Social Work for a five year period between 1964 and 1968. Further, each subsample from a given professional school represents all registered students in that school for the specified time period. The records of the admissions offices of the three schools were the sources of the samples.

Existing national samples indicate that there is less variation within schools than between schools (cf. Davis, 1964; Davis, 1965). Therefore, it is assumed that the three schools of the University have about equal rank in their respective professions, and are therefore comparable.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The data on distance from college graduation, or time lapse between graduation from undergraduate school and entry into respective professional schools are presented in Table 1.

The data in Table 1 show that more social work students decide to enter their profession much later in life than do students of law and medicine. Approximately 80.5 percent of law students and 69.9 percent of the medical students entered their professions immediately after graduation, whereas only 40.9 percent of the social work students entered school under the same conditions. The data reveal that the decision to enter the profession of social work can be made much later in life than the decision to enter law or medicine. The ability to make such a career decision by social work students much later than those in law and medicine, coupled with the fact that social work training takes only two years, supports Greenwood's contention that social work is comparatively an "easily accessible profession" than law or medicine. Hypothesis one, therefore, can be accepted as stated.

The data on the quality of undergraduate schools from which the students in the three professional schools received their undergraduate education are presented in Table 2.

The data in Table 2 make it clear that the School of Medicine recruits a substantial majority of its students from high quality undergraduate schools, whereas the Schools of Law and Social Work recruit more from medium quality schools. It seems that the School of Law recruits a reasonably higher ratio of students from high quality schools than does the School of Social Work (23.8 percent in the School of Law to 13.7 percent in the School of Social Work). It appears that if the assumption of persons of higher class origin attending the nation's high-ranking colleges is correct, then the profession of medicine recruits persons from higher class positions than do law or social work. Also, law recruits a relatively higher number from higher classes than does social work. Also, law recruits a relatively higher number from higher classes than does social work. Thus it seems that a majority of students in medicine are of low class-marginal status, whereas the same for law or social work is about medium.
Table 1

Distance from College Graduation for Students in Three Professions

(Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry into Professional Schools</th>
<th>Three Professional Schools in Midwestern University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediately upon graduation from college</td>
<td>80.5 (335)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After a lapse of one to four (inclusive) years</td>
<td>16.8 (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After a lapse of five to eight (inclusive) years</td>
<td>2.2 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After a lapse of over eight years</td>
<td>0.5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (1,319)</td>
<td>100.0 (416)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The trends derived from observing the variable of race add additional evidence to the above observation. Information on the variable of race is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 suggests: the students in the three professional schools are practically all white; the Law School unsuccessfully attempted to have a larger number of Negroes; the School of Social Work enrolled a higher number of Negroes; and that representation of other racial (or foreign) groups is minimal.

Quite obviously the data on race reveal discriminatory practices in patterns of recruitment in law and medicine. However, it will be argued that information on the race variable, as reflected here, is more indicative of a class bias than a bias against race per se. Banfield, in an extensive argument published recently, shows that "much of what appears (especially to Negroes) as race prejudice is really class prejudice or, at any rate, class antipathy" (Banfield, 1970: 70). If this is so, then information on the race variable suggests that class-marginality is relatively higher in social work than in law or medicine. This trend, coupled with the earlier one about class-marginality being low in medicine and medium in law and social work, suggests that class-marginality is somewhat high in social work, medium in law, and low in medicine. The second hypothesis of more persons of high class-marginal status being in social work than in law or medicine may therefore be accepted, with the understanding that such acceptance has been based on two assumptions: quality of college attended and minority group status as reflective of class positions.

Undergraduate grade-point average is usually an indicator of ability to compete in an academic setting. The data on the undergraduate grade-point average are presented in Table 4.

The trends obvious in Table 4 may be summed up as follows: students in medicine come with high quality performance in the undergraduate school; the students in law and social work come with somewhat mediocre levels of performance in their undergraduate education, though social work students come with a slightly higher level of performance.

The surprise that emerged from the trends in Table 4 is that students in the School of Law - who have minimal time lapse between graduation from college and entry into professional school, and who in comparison come from high quality schools than those in the School of Social Work - tend to have a lower grade-point average than the students in social work. As a result, quality of school was cross-tabulated with quality of performance (undergraduate grade-point average) in Table 5. The trends drawn from Table 4 seem to be more or less maintained in Table 5.
Table 2
The Quality of Undergraduate School from Which Students in Three Professions Received Their Undergraduate Education (Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality of Undergraduate School</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
<th>Social Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(99)</td>
<td>(254)</td>
<td>(65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(271)</td>
<td>(165)</td>
<td>(307)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low or Unknown</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(102)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(416)</td>
<td>(429)</td>
<td>(474)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As classified by Fire. Thus the definition of high quality here is Fire's classifications of most competitive and highly competitive; of medium quality is Fire's classifications of very competitive and competitive; and low or unknown quality is Fire's classifications of less competitive, non-competitive and schools not in Fire's list (such as unaccredited school or foreign universities).
Table 3

Distribution of Students in Three Professional Schools
by Race
(Actual Frequencies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Cohorts Defined by Year of Entry</th>
<th>Facial Distribution in Three Professional Schools in Midwestern University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total White Negro Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>a a a a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>a a a a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>163 163 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>146 c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>107 104 3 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>416 401 15 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Not available.
b Race of one student unknown.
c Twelve Negro students were recruited this year with special effort, according to the admissions officers. All but four of them left, were dismissed, or withdrew within the first two years of their stay.
d All foreign students and other groups which are neither American White nor American Negro are considered to be "other."
Table 4
Mean of Undergraduate Grade-Point Averages
(Based on a Four Point System)
of Student Cohorts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Cohorts Defined by Year of Entry</th>
<th>Three Professional Schools in Midwestern University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Not available.

b Data on grade-point average were not available for every student. Therefore, the grade-point average was calculated on the basis of those students on whom data were available. The total number of students on whom this information was available is: law = 386; medicine = 378; and social work = 343. As obvious in the above table, data on grade-point average of social work students were not available for the entire cohort of 1965.
The data from Tables 4 and 5 suggest that social work students are not necessarily academically inferior than those in law. Hypothesis three, therefore, cannot be accepted in its present form, because while medical students are lowest in performance-marginality, both social work and law students are classified as medium in performance-marginality.

The data presented so far relate to the hypotheses outlined around the concepts of class- and performance-marginality at the beginning of this paper. Upon examining data on sex distribution and other variables some additional formulations were possible toward the understanding of marginality. Such data are presented below, and the new formulations are developed thereafter.

The sex distribution in three professional schools is presented in Table 6.

The data in Table 6 suggest that the students in the School of Law are primarily male, and a substantial majority in the School of Medicine (consistently around 90 percent) is male. However, females are an overwhelming majority in the School of Social Work (approximately two-thirds of the student body). Social work, then, is primarily a feminine profession, whereas law and medicine are masculine professions.

Upon examination of the trends in Table 6, one may question whether the men in social work are intellectually inferior or are basically unable to compete (i.e., performance-marginal) in other parts of the professional and occupational world which are more masculine in character, since they have come into a profession that is primarily a woman's profession. Such a question may be answered by a two-fold test: a test that measures intellectual or cognitive capacities; and a test that approximately measures competitive functioning. Use of the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal Test (Form Ym) as a measure of intellectual or cognitive capabilities and undergraduate grade-point average as measures of ability to compete in conventional academic settings, differentiated by sex, should answer such a question.

7"The Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal consists of a series of test exercises which require the application of some of the important abilities involved in critical thinking. The exercises include problems, statements, arguments, and interpretations of data similar to those which a citizen in a democracy might encounter in his daily life as he works, reads newspaper or magazine articles, hears speeches, participates in discussion on various issues, etc. The test is available in two forms, Ym and Zm, each consisting of five subtests designed to measure different, though interdependent, aspects of critical thinking. Each form contains 100 items that can be completed in about 50 minutes by most persons who have the equivalent of a ninth-grade education..." See Goodwin Watson and Edward M. Galser, Manual: Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal, Harcourt, New York, 1964.
See footnote "a" of Table 4 for explanation.

*Grades-average were not available for all students in the sample.

High = 3.0 or above; median = 2.5-2.9; and low = 2.4 or lower.

See Table 2 for destruction of quality of undergraduate school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(100.0) 1</th>
<th>(328) 1</th>
<th>(386) 1</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Meduim</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Percentages)

of undergraduate school of students in Western University
of students in relation to quality
of quality of undergraduate grade-point average (4-point system)
Table 6
Sex Distribution of Students in Three Professional Schools in Midwestern University
(Percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Cohorts Defined by Year of Entry</th>
<th>Sex Distribution in Three Professional Schools in Midwestern University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Male Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 a a a</td>
<td>100.0 87.2 12.8 (78) (68) (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965 a a a</td>
<td>100.0 89.2 10.8 (83) (74) (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966 100.0 97.5 2.5 (163) (154) (4)</td>
<td>100.0 90.0 10.0 (90) (81) (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967 100.0 94.5 5.5 (146) (138) (8)</td>
<td>100.0 89.0 11.0 (91) (81) (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968 100.0 88.8 11.2 (107) (95) (12)</td>
<td>100.0 92.0 8.0 (87) (80) (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 100.0 94.3 5.7 (416) (392) (24)</td>
<td>100.0 89.6 10.4 (429) (384) (45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not available.
The School of Social Work administered the Watson-Claser Critical Thinking Appraisal Test to all its incoming students since 1966. The data are presented in Table 7.

The trends in Table 7 are by no means unilateral. Statistical testing of the null hypothesis that mean score for men equals the mean score for women shows that the null hypothesis should be accepted if all the students (Total) tested since 1966 are in the sample. Also, the null hypothesis should be accepted for the cohorts of 1966 and 1968. However, examination of the test data on the cohort of 1967 calls for rejection of null hypothesis.

The data in Table 7 may therefore be interpreted as follows: while there is room for suspicion that women students in the School of Social Work are of superior intellectual and cognitive ability, and while some cohorts actually are of superior intellectual and cognitive ability, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that male students in general in the School of Social Work are inferior in intellectual and cognitive ability to the female students.

Earlier it was suggested that undergraduate grade-point average, differentiated by sex, may be taken as an indicator of ability to compete. Such data are presented in Table 8.

The trends in Table 8 are very clear, and may be summed up as follows: male students in social work come with a lower grade-point average than do female students. Thus if grade-point average is reflective of ability to compete in existing academic settings, then men in the School of Social Work are inferior in such ability than women. Essentially, then, the characteristics associated with the preponderance of women in the School of Social Work are that women students, who may have a slight edge over men students in this field in intellectual and cognitive ability, are decidedly superior to those men students in their ability to compete.

The information in Tables 6 through 8 suggest that an important difference between social work on one hand and law and medicine on the other is that of sex role differentiation, since law and medicine are

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8 It should be observed in passing that this statement applies only to the students at the Master's level. Doctoral education in social work may not reflect this trend. In fact, recent studies indicate that seven out of ten doctoral students are men. See Frank M. Lowenberg and Eugene B. Shinn, Special Study of Doctoral Students in Schools of Social Work, New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1969 (mimeographed). For teaching and research as more of a man's vocation, see Alfred M. Stamm, "NASW Membership: Characteristics, Deployment, and Salaries," Personnel Information, 12:34 (May 1969), p. 40.
Table 7

Mean Scores of Social Work Students in Watson-Glaser (Ym)

Critical Thinking Appraisal Test, By Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Entry of Students</th>
<th>Mean Score in Watson-Glaser (Ym)</th>
<th>Male&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Female&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>z-scores&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Female&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N=27)</td>
<td>(N=52)</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
<td>77.8&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>77.7&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N=44)</td>
<td>(N=71)</td>
<td>-2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td>78.8&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>81.7&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>(p&lt;0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N=37)</td>
<td>(N=73)</td>
<td>-1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td>79.1&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>80.4&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>N.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N=108)</td>
<td>(N=196)</td>
<td>-1.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>It is to be noted that the addition of Men's and Women's samples by each cohort do not amount to the previously described class sizes of 95 for 1966 (here it is 27+52=79), 112 for 1967 (here it is 44+71=115), and 104 for 1968 (here it is 37+73=110). The reason for such discrepancy is that usually some part-time students are also given the Watson-Glaser Test. This accounts for the excess in the samples of 1967 and 1968. For 1966, where 95 students were actually in the cohort, Watson-Glaser Test scores are not available for 16 students.

<sup>b</sup>Using Normal Test, assuming σ = 7.4 (Goodwin Watson and Edward H. Glaser, op cit., p. 7, where the suggested standard deviation for college graduates is 7.4).
Table 8
Mean Undergraduate Grade-Point Average of Social Work Students, By Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Entry</th>
<th>Mean Undergraduate Grade-Point Average&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>t-statistics&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male (N=22)</td>
<td>Female (N=27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2.6 (N=32)</td>
<td>2.9 (N=54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2.6 (N=38)</td>
<td>2.9 (N=68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2.5 (N=33)</td>
<td>2.9 (N=69)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Not available.

<sup>b</sup> Breakdown of grade-point averages was not available on the entire cohort in any of the cases. Some of the students were foreign students, and in some cases the grade-point average was simply not available.

<sup>c</sup> In the case of each cohort, t-tests are performed by using pooled variances as unbiased estimates of population variances. Calculated pooled standard deviations were: \( \text{Sp of 1964 = .25, with 47 df; Sp of 1966 = .34, with 84 df; Sp of 1967 = .26, with 104 df; and Sp of 1968 = .28, with 100 df.} \)
professions primarily for white men who are in the mainstream of the American occupational system, whereas social work is primarily a profession for those who fall outside the said demographic classification. The latter group is indeed marginal to the American occupational system. Greenwood's contention of "easily accessible professions" being used by working class members for social mobility thus needs a revision to the effect that "easily accessible professions" are used as career choice by occupationally marginal persons, some of whom may be of working class origin.

Since female sex roles are marginal to the American occupational system, the above observations suggest that social work as a profession has a higher frequency of persons with role-marginal status, while law and medicine have low frequency of such persons. Further, the performance-marginality of males in social work (who have low role-marginality) is higher than the females in that profession.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Of the three hypotheses outlined at the beginning of this paper, the first one is accepted; the second is tentatively accepted; and the third seems to be only partially acceptable and needs reformulation.

The notions of class- and performance-marginality are found not to cover all forms of marginality. The notion of role-marginality is introduced at the end as an additional analytic dimension. Table 9 summarizes the types of marginality that seem to be most frequent among the three professions studied.

9"It has been said that no woman and no Negro is ever fully admitted to the white man's world. Perhaps we should add men teachers to the list of the excluded." Willard Waller, as quoted by Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life, New York: Vintage, Random, 1966, p. 320 n. It should be noted that Hofstadter uses the quote to establish that teaching is a marginal profession for men.

10The term 'role' here should be understood in terms of sex roles. For a discussion of basic concepts in role theory, see Roger Brown, Social Psychology, Free Press, New York, 1965, pp. 154-191.

The term 'role-marginal status' is operationally defined as females in the professions. Thus males in the professions are said to have low role-marginality, while females have high role-marginality in the professions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professions</th>
<th>Class-marginality</th>
<th>Performance-marginality</th>
<th>Role-marginality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>In social work, those with high role-marginality (women) seem to have lower performance-marginality.
Table 9

Marginality in Law, Medicine, and Social Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professions</th>
<th>Class-marginality</th>
<th>Performance-marginality</th>
<th>Role-marginality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium(^a)</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)In social work, those with high role-marginality (women) seem to have lower performance-marginality.
IMPLICATIONS

A recent work argued "that women are constrained before they enter social work not to compete with men intellectually," and found that male authors predominate in making intellectual contributions to social work (Rosenblatt, et al., 1970: 429-430). In view of the fact that this paper finds that social work seems to be the career choice for women with proven academic ability as law or medicine is for men of somewhat similar accomplishment, and that women are academically superior than men in social work at the time of entry into social work, it is clear that potential intellectual contributions by this important resource is seldom realized.
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Markov, Seymour


Zeisel, Hans

"SOCIAL WORK, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND THE AMERICAN FAMILY"

Ronald A. Feldman, Ph.D.
Professor and Acting Dean*

The following discussion proceeds from two basic premises:
(1) that the family constitutes one of the most basic units of social structure in contemporary American society, and (2) that the social work profession represents a major, if not the primary, institutional mechanism for coping with the myriad of social problems encountered by American families. The former premise is readily substantiated in view of the observation that the vast majority (over 90%) of American men and women are married at least once in their lifetimes. However, since family units oftentimes experience severe difficulty in performing key functions and, indeed, in maintaining themselves over a period of years a variety of professions have evolved with an express orientation towards the sustenance or strengthening of family life. The following discussion will focus upon key interrelationships between the American family and one such profession, to wit, social work. Coincidentally problematic aspects of those interrelationships will be noted and an effort will be made to specify relevant implications for the future development of the social work profession.

The Changing American Family

Prior to the formulation of effective professional strategies for dealing with family problems it is germane to assess the extent and sufficiency of conceptualization regarding family units. Similarly, it is essential to develop accurate predictions regarding the future course of family life and, more particularly, to identify key factors that determine projected family developments.

Family As a Conceptual Unit

Conceptual and theoretical limitations of the available family literature tend to be reflected in parallel deficiencies of family treatment formulations utilized by professional social workers. At best, current knowledge regarding family units is organized into varying theoretical frames of reference, some consonant with one another and others less so. Among the most prominent conceptual approaches toward the family are the structural-functional^ and symbolic interaction^ frames of reference. Both are important for the social work profession insofar as they influence world views of the family and subsequent professional efforts directed toward helping family units. The former perspective views the family as a basic system of social relationships which fulfills one or more social functions without which the society could not exist. The latter perspective, although not necessarily inconsistent with the former, focuses primarily upon the social interaction among family members and upon key antecedents and consequents of that interaction.

* The George Warren Brown School of Social Work
Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
Structural-functional perspective

The structural-functional perspective poses certain basic difficulties for those with practical interests in interpersonal helping. If, for instance, family units are viewed primarily as the handmaidens of society might not social units other than the family constitute effective foci for professional interventions directed toward the sustenance or enhancement of the larger society? Or, put another way, if professions such as social work are to help individuals what intellectually or empirically valid rationale exist for assuming that family units constitute the preferred locus of intervention for any particular type of helping activity? In large part, the answers to these ponderous questions rest in one's definition of key societal functions and in the available empirical data regarding the sufficiency and necessity of family units as contributors to effective performance of those functions. It is relevant to note that the notions of sufficiency and necessity ought to be conceptually distinguished from one another. Whereas the former primarily refers to the independent effectiveness of family units the latter depends largely upon the availability and performance effectiveness of social units external to the family, including intra-societal functional equivalents or functional substitutes for the family. In part, the social work profession itself may be considered as a functional substitute for the family, especially insofar as it performs, or facilitates the non-familial performance of, key functions previously enacted by family units.

A basic difficulty associated with the structural-functional perspective concerns the definition and delineation of necessary and sufficient functions for the family and/or society. Although such functions could be infinite in number most discussions tend to focus upon a few selected ones that are considered to be essential for the perpetuation of a viable society and, for the most part, performed by family units. Thus, for instance, Murdock has suggested that the family performs four essential functions which are found at all times and all places: socialization, economic cooperation, reproduction, and sexual relations. Goode, similarly, has suggested that all families must perform functions such as fertility (or reproduction), conferral of status, biological maintenance, emotional maintenance, socialization, and social control. And, likewise, Aberle, et al., have suggested that all societies must assure the following functional requisites which are typically mediated by family units: provision for adequate relationships to the environment and for sexual recruitment, role differentiation and role assignment, communication, shared cognitive orientations, a shared, articulated set of goals, the normative regulation of means, the regulation of affective expression, socialization, and the effective control of disruptive forms of behavior.
In recent years, however, much controversy has arisen as to (1) whether or not families do, indeed, perform all of the foregoing functions, and (2) whether or not families should, indeed, perform all of them. The former question is necessarily an empirical one that must be answered upon the basis of existing data. Responses to the latter question, although greatly dependent upon present and/or anticipated empirical data, tend to be shaped by varying social value considerations. Some investigators suggest that functions such as the above are not universal or that they need not necessarily be performed by family units. Reiss, for instance, has suggested that the functions of economic cooperation, reproduction, and sexual relations are increasingly handled by other social units and need not be performed by the family. Kephart has reported that certain utopian communities, such as the Oneido community, experimented more than a century ago with various institutional arrangements, other than the family unit, in order to assure continued performance of the sexual, reproductive, and socialization functions. Wolins, Spiro, and others have reported extensive data attesting to the effectiveness of alternative social arrangements, such as the kibbutz system, which appear to provide socialization for young children with no major shortcomings for the children and/or their parents. Indeed, contrary to popular belief it is sometimes suggested that communal childrearing arrangements serve to strengthen family life, rather than weaken it, by relieving the mother of social and physical stresses associated with childrearing, by strengthening the family's economic base through freeing the mother to earn income, and by exposing the child to a variety of eufonctional social influences. Similarly, recent data regarding day care centers in the United States indicate that there are few, if any, dysfunctional effects upon children or, indeed, upon the mother-child relationship, as a result of prolonged placement of youngsters in day care centers. Hauser, in a similar vein, has suggested that families previously performed functions such as production, consumption, religion, education, socialization, affection, and protection but that these functions are now attenuated or are being performed by other social units.

Other investigators suggest that the family has, in general, continued to perform the same basic functions over the years or, indeed, has added new essential functions. Thus, for instance, Pollak suggests that current bureaucratic life and the advances of medical and welfare services have produced new social needs and functions that can be met optimally by the family unit. New functions posited for the family unit include the following: orchestration with institutions such as health care services, school systems, and social security systems; management of available time around self-determined priorities; sexual synchronization over an extended life span; economic coordination of the earning power of two adult earners; outlet for, and rescue from, hostilities created and suppressed in bureaucratic existence, and; therapeutic cooperation with the health care services. In general, it is apparent that the structural-functional controversy is unresolved and, perhaps, unresolvable. Conceptual and methodological problems
associated with the definition, delimitation, and measurement of societal and familial functions seem to indicate little likelihood that social scientists will be able to sufficiently define key societal functions so as to enable social work practitioners to prescribe means for helping families to perform them. And, indeed, should this be possible it might not prove desirable within the context of future social values. Finally, inherent in the structural-functional perspective is a tendency to exaggerate the actual and/or desired degree of "harmony" or "self-consistency" in social systems, including families and societies. Both social scientists and social workers are increasingly cognizant of the fact that such a world view is not consonant with the circumstances of contemporary life and, therefore, that harmony need not necessarily be inevitable and/or desirable.

In summary, then, (1) the basic tenets of the structural-functional perspective remain unproven and, perhaps, unprovable, (2) it appears virtually impossible to define all crucial societal functions, (3) it is questionable whether key societal functions necessarily need be performed entirely or primarily by family units and, consequently, (4) in order to best serve society or its constituent individuals the more efficacious institutional mechanisms and loci for intervention tend to be ill-defined. A reasoned approach to societal or individual helping would suggest, then, that the optimum locus for institutional intervention is likely to vary with the particular constellation of problems or tasks at hand.

**Symbolic interaction perspective**

The symbolic interaction perspective is closely aligned with role theoretic formulations that evolved from social psychology and sociology and, moreover, that have gained increasing acceptance within social work during recent years. The main focus of this perspective is upon social interaction among members of the family unit, upon relevant antecedents which may be exogenous or endogenous to the family unit, and upon important consequents of that interaction. In brief, this perspective assumes that varying degrees of differentiation and integration occur in family units and, consequently, that adaptive behavior in any continuing marriage or family depends upon a relatively efficient division of labor and upon a reasonable extent of coordination or integration among the participants in that situation.

The symbolic interaction perspective has been particularly useful to family social workers for a variety of reasons. It has facilitated the systematic description of family structures and processes, the delineation of particularly problematic structural or processual relationships, and the formulation of discrete and operational interventive strategies. Thus, for instance, by utilizing role theoretic concepts it has been possible to systematically describe basic problems in family functioning such as position discontinuity, position non-integration, position malintegration, position overload, expectation ambiguity, expectation disensus, expectation asynchrony, expectation conflict, expectation overload, performance deficit, performance non-integration, and performance malintegration and, consequently, to formulate
appropriate interventive strategies. Similarly, from a role theoretic perspective it has been possible to assess typical or atypical power relationships within the family, to ascertain their functional or dysfunctional aspects for the family, and to formulate relevant social work interventions.

Moreover, the symbolic interaction approach toward family functioning is readily linked to other social psychological perspectives concerning human behavior. A particularly relevant example is Levinger's effort to analyze marital cohesiveness and dissolution from both a role theoretic and social exchange perspective. A major feature of this synthesis of theoretical formulations is its focus upon determinants of family functioning that are external to the family per se (such as sources of barrier strength and alternate attractions) and, accordingly, its suggestion of viable targets for social work interventions directed toward family functioning which may, themselves, be located external to family units. The symbolic interaction perspective also has been especially useful for family social work to the extent that it has helped to clarify the interaction between organizational variables and professional-client relationships. A multitude of recent studies have shown, for instance, that the role conceptions of public assistance social workers vary according to organizational size and community context, that levels of conflict among professional staff are likely to be predetermined by staff composition, that the organizational structures of varying types of correctional institutions are likely to influence clients' role conceptions and orientations toward rehabilitation, that the structures of mental hospitals affect client functioning, that the social position of welfare clients induces skewed perceptions of their rights and obligations and, indeed, that the therapeutic relationship between social worker and family member oftentimes is adversely affected by class-related determinants of the participants' role expectations. Similarly, broader social, economic, and affiliative determinants have been found to influence client and familial functioning and, therefore, to constitute viable foci for social work intervention.

The symbolic interaction perspective has not yet developed to full maturity. It would be invalid, for instance, to assert that a "grand" theory of social role can be found in the current literature. Rather, there exists a variety of theoretical frames of reference, or interrelated hypotheses, premised upon role concepts which have not yet coalesced into a mature theory. Nonetheless, such concepts thus far have lent themselves readily to empirical analysis and promise to provide an expanding, rigorous, and testable knowledge base for family social work. Moreover, they permit the elaboration of social conflict perspectives and the analysis of deviant, albeit synchronous, family relationships such as sado-masochistic unions. The symbolic interaction perspective also is especially important insofar as it points to the efficacy of extra-familial, as well as intra-familial, loci for social work intervention.
Implications of Family Development Trends For Social Welfare and Social Work

In order to create effective professional structures and intervention strategies to deal with family change it would seem advisable to assess future trends in family development and present or projected social work responses to such developments. However, efforts to describe the American family of the future tend to be fraught with hazard and, as noted by Hill, oftentimes are biased by the particular techniques utilized for prediction. Nonetheless, bearing in mind the limitations of current predictive devices and the vagaries of certain short-term determinants, such as economic conditions, it is possible to suggest a variety of changes likely to be associated with American families of the future.

Hill, in projecting the future from generational changes, has set forth one of the more exhaustive listings of familial changes expected in coming years: increased level of education, especially for husbands; decreased age at marriage; a curvilinear relationship in regard to the number and spacing of children born; a shift in value orientations towards less fatalism, moderate optimism, and a greater orientation to the future; a shift in authority patterns towards more equalitarianism and a greater division of tasks involving increased sharing and less specialization; a greater degree of effectiveness, professional competence, and economic well-being among the younger generation; greater courage in risk-tasking accompanied by more planning, flexibility, and communications; greater conflict between spouses among the generations; a search for information outside the family, taking into account both long-range and short-term consequences; higher proportions of persons married; higher rates of divorce, separation, and remarriage, and; higher rates of premarital intercourse and out-of-wedlock births.

Additionally, Hill has inferred a number of familial changes and projected social service orientations from a review of writings and research by family specialists. In particular, he suggests that family-field professionals will want to perpetuate or assure the following: organization of mate-selection techniques in order to encourage couples of reasonably similar backgrounds to meet and to be tested for compatibility through a prolonged courtship and engagement; premarital examinations, counseling, and education to help prepare the couple for marriage, postponing and returning to circulation those who are not ready; objectives of marriage to include the continued matching and stimulation of companionship, mutual understanding, common interests, and joint activities, as well as building a system of planning and problem-solving; increased attention to the conflicts between needs of dependents and the needs of marital spouses; major family objectives to include the mastery of basic tasks for each stage of family development, including family-size control, physical maintenance, socialization, gratification of emotional needs, and providing the motivation and morale necessary for the stimulation and development of personality potentials of all members, and; an effective family organization and a competent family leadership trained to assure integrated objectives, good internal communication, clarity of role definitions, and effective patterns of problem-solving and decision-making. Farber, also, has set forth a variety of predictions, most of which are consonant with the
conclusions and recommendations cited by Hill. Thus, for instance, Farber suggests the following trends: the incidence of cross-religious marriage will increase; the median age at first marriage will continue to decline or remain low; the rate of marriage of persons over thirty is likely to increase; the rate of remarriage of the United States population will continue to increase; the number of persons participating in premarital sexual intercourse is likely to increase; the percentage of families in the agricultural labor force will decline; an increase of family leisure time due to automation; increased social density of urban life with consequent effects upon family functioning; an increased employee-entrepreneur ratio, and; continued advances in medicine with consequent effects upon family life.37

Based upon his projections Farber sets forth three major classes of explanatory schemes concerning change in family organization. The **idealistic** explanation posits changes in the organization of norms and values on the modification of men's ideas. The **functionalist** explanation seeks the stimulus for change of family norms and values in the other institutions of society and indicates the direction of change in terms of familial adaptation. The **interactionist** explanation views change in the organization of norms and values of the family as reflecting change in the other institutions of the society and, in turn, stimulating change in those institutions.38 Among relevant predictions from these three approaches are the following: (1) Idealistic approach: protection of the male as the primary breadwinner in the family; protection of family norms and values in mass media, commercial entertainment, and recreational facilities, and; increased responsibility for standards of physical and mental health; (2) Functionalist approach: continual increase of the proportion of women in the labor force and, concomitantly, more education for women, greater female decision-making power in the family, higher divorce rates and remarriage rates, lower birth rates, and decreased influence of parental norms and values; increase in the amount of leisure time and consequent familial adjustments; increased social density leading, on the one hand, to a greater diversity of family life styles (due to increased occupational specialization) and, on the other, to a standardization of family life (because of increased communication and visibility of family life); increase in health services by agencies outside the family and a further decline in the practice of family medicine and nursing services; increased life expectancy and greater emphasis upon companionate relations between husband and wife, and; severe adaptations in family life patterns for segments of the population at the lower socio-economic levels (due to increased automation and unemployment); (3) Interactionist approach; efforts to formulate one of three basic strategies in order to organize and maintain family life: (a) the welfare strategy: involves efforts to increase the personal welfare of one's own family members; concomitant evolution of norms and values focusing on assistance and emotional support, and; a bilateral kinship system; (b) the efficiency strategy: wherein the organization of family life adjusts itself to maintaining or improving the community position of the family with, accordingly, smaller families in urban areas and
arger families in rural areas, and; a non-kinship system, and; (c) the 
conservative strategy: aimed at the development or retention of a stable 
kinship system; commitment to traditional norms; a relatively large 
number of children, and; a unilineal kinship system.

Among additional forecasts set forth by Farber, particularly 
related to the welfare strategy, are the following: increases in 
productivity, automation, and educational levels will produce a higher 
standard of living which, in turn, will obviate the need for individuals' 
concern over subsistence; the population will have more opportunities 
for planning due to higher levels of general health, income, and longevity; 
increased longevity and increased planning will themselves foster family 
crises; as health, longevity, and economic status are increased, the 
prospect is for greater parental participation in the family lives of 
their married children; with continued high marriage rates and high 
survival rates population growth is likely to be rapid; an increase of 
bilateral familial characteristics will occur, and; there will be 
increased development of professions geared towards sports, child-
rearing, household maintenance, theatricals and related activities.39

Following a review of recent trends in marriage and family 
statistics Parke and Click, also, have forecast a strong likelihood of 
certain future developments. These include a continued decline in the 
rate of teen-age marriage and a rise in the average age of women at 
first marriage; reductions in the relative frequency of widowhood due 
to increased similarity in the age of husbands and wives, as well as to 
improvements in survival rates; reductions in the relative frequency 
of divorce and separation due to rising incomes, and; some continued 
decline in the average size of households and families and major increases 
in the proportions of unmarried individuals who maintain their own 
households.40

Finally, Hauser has set forth a series of conclusions and projections 
that are particularly germane for the social work profession.41 Modern 
mankind, he concludes, has witnessed four major developments in recent 
years: the population explosion, population implosion, population 
diversification, and the accelerated tempo of technological and social 
change. Following from these and other developments are a variety of 
important effects upon family life: transformation of the family from 
a multinuclear or extended family to a nuclear family and, similarly, 
from a three-generation or four-generation family to a two-generation 
family; continued existence of monogamy but, more accurately, a 
chronological polygyny and polyandry due to high divorce and re-marriage 
rates; movement of the family from a primary group toward a secondary 
group; changing roles for married women, including wider participation 
in social, economic, and political activities, and; a more egalitarian 
relationship between spouses. Hauser also posits profound alterations in 
the family life cycle due to a myriad of factors including increased 
nuptiality, the decreasing age at which child-bearing begins, the increased 
concentration of child-bearing in the years before the woman reaches thirty
years of age, and the almost universal employment of family planning methods irrespective of religious affiliation.

As a result of the foregoing changes the age of the parents when the last child leaves home for marriage has been lowered, the age at which the death of one spouse is experienced has risen markedly, and the number of years in which parents are freed from child-bearing and child-rearing activities has increased tremendously. In line with a variety of other investigators Hauser also suggests that the family has lost many of its functions or, at least, experienced attenuation or reorientation of them. The family is no longer a production unit and it is increasingly not a consumption unit. Similarly, it is less likely nowadays to be considered a religious unit, an educational unit, a socialization unit, an affectional unit, or a protective unit. With regard to the latter, for instance, Hauser points to the role of the Social Security system, Medicare, and family service associations and raises the trenchant observation that the social work profession is itself a product of the mass society. Its emergence is an indication of fundamental changes in the functions of the family and of the need for new institutions and devices to deal with the family in a mass society. Among Hauser's main predictions regarding future family life are the following: further attenuation of the socialization function, especially due to the establishment of formal education starting at an even earlier age than at present; an increased proportion of chronologically polygynous and polyandrous marriages; a decrease in the proportion of parents' lives spent in child-bearing and child-rearing, due primarily to increased longevity, and; increasing acceptance of premarital and extramarital sexual relationships.

The foregoing concentrated and, perhaps, unrepresentative review of the literature regarding projected family developments points to a variety of considerations relevant for future social work responses to the family. First, family life is destined to change during the coming years. Consequently, professions geared towards family assistance will have to change in order to respond effectively to new needs. Either new alternatives to traditional service structures will be required or it will be necessary to devise means for enabling existing structures to be increasingly innovative and responsive to changing needs. Second, it appears virtually impossible to predict all major trends with complete assuredness, especially if accurate time projections are considered a basic attribute of good prediction. Hence it is implausible to expect family assistance institutions to function with complete adequacy. Third, because of the increasing complexity of bio-social factors affecting family life there will be a drift toward the creation of broad scale programs directed towards all families or, at least, to broad categories of families. This trend will meet basic bio-social subsistence standards for families but will be unlikely to provide the flexibility necessary to meet all familial needs and, therefore, is unlikely to constitute an optimizing mechanism for family life. Fourth, optimizing programs will be abetted by the growth of a multitude of social service and leisure-oriented professions directed, by and large, to the psychosocial needs of individuals. The extent to which such programs will be directly
oriented to family units, as opposed to individual, community or other units is as yet rather unpredictable. Fifth, although past and present functions of the family are likely to diminish it is probable that the family will continue to perform most key functions at certain minimum levels. The small size of family units, as opposed to other social units, and the flexibility of the family as a social unit will enable it to meet idiosyncratic needs more readily than most other units. Moreover, it is possible that families will assume new functions, such as mediating or buffering functions, and will need the assistance of social service professionals in order to learn and/or to sustain such functions. Sixth, and of major importance for future relationships between families and social work, is the possibility that a vast proliferation of varying family services may, in total, produce rather countervailing effects upon family functioning. Some social services may serve to further the integration of family life whereas others may less wittingly produce tendencies towards the disintegration of family life. Seventh, and of more than passing interest, it seems probable that the proliferation of social service professions, as in past years, will itself constitute a main source for drawing women away from the home. And, eighth, it is indeed possible that the emergence and institutionalization of effective social service structures may make null and void many, if not most, of the foregoing projections regarding family development!

Implications of Social Welfare and Social Work Trends for Family Development

Effective social welfare and social work responses to family problems obviously cannot rest solely upon projections regarding the latter unit. It is important, for instance, to assess past and present developments within the social work profession to ascertain, first, the types and adequacy of previous professional responses to the family and, second, the likelihood of new professional developments directed toward family problems.

Social Welfare Responses to the Family

It is important, initially, to distinguish between social welfare and social work. The former constitutes a broader rubric within which the latter may be included. Many social welfare programs are conducted independently of the social work profession and without social work personnel. Among the most visible of such programs are broad-scale governmental programs oriented towards the economic well-being of family members.

Economic Programs

Schottland has pointed to a variety of factors that constitute economic threats to the family. Among the most important are the general level of economic activity in the society as a whole, national disasters, unemployment, underemployment, low wages, old age, inflation, disability, sickness, the absence of one or more wage earners from the home, unpredictable expenditures or income curtailment, and the economic liabilities associated with child-rearing.
In order to cope with such problems or their consequences federal, state, and local governments have created a multitude of social welfare programs. Thus, for instance, in order to assist the goal of full employment there have been programs to train the unemployed, specific efforts to match workers and jobs, vocational education and rehabilitation programs, minimum wage laws, and programs for working women, including day care centers. Broad scale programs such as unemployment insurance and social security programs have been established. Under the rubric of public assistance there are programs such as old age assistance, medical assistance for the aged, aid to families with dependent children, aid to the blind, aid to the permanently and totally disabled, medical assistance to the needy, and general assistance. Miscellaneous governmental programs include workmen's compensation, job opportunity programs, financial assistance, national school lunch programs, special milk programs, government savings programs, housing and home finance programs, veterans' programs, food stamp programs, and rent subsidy programs. In addition, the activities of agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service have profound effects upon family life. Personal tax exemptions for children and dependent relatives, special exemptions (such as for students), income splitting, and child care allowances all have determinate effects upon the family. Governmental programs likely to arise in the future, such as guaranteed minimum income, family or child allowance programs, or demo-grant programs will also influence family structure and styles of living.

Health Programs

The government also has established a broad range of health programs that have a major impact upon the American family. As Roemer has noted, some of these, like mass preventive services, professional licensure, and health research activities directly or indirectly affect all families. Other programs assist specific families, like the welfare medical services, maternal and child health programs, or programs for the care of military dependents. Still other programs assist families struck with certain illnesses, such as tuberculosis, mental illness, or crippling disorders.

Of special interest is Roemer's focus upon the reciprocal relationship between governmental health programs and family life. The latter, for instance, has affected the former in a variety of ways. The smaller average size of the American family in recent decades, due to birth control and other factors, has afforded more attention for the individual health needs of children and undoubtedly has contributed in part to the lowering of infant and child mortality rates. At the same time, however, smaller families mean smaller households and fewer persons at home to take care of sick members. This may well contribute to the much greater use of hospitals and nursing homes than in the past and to the rapid development of bio-social health professions. The higher proportion of working mothers than in past decades has similar dual effects. With greater economic independence of women there is less in-home care and less use of a single family
doctor. Husband, wife, and children may all see different doctors and
gain the advantages and, perhaps, liabilities of specialized medical
care. Also, the greater longevity of adults produces pressures for
more nursing homes and geriatric services than heretofore. And, even,
greater freedom and permissiveness in child-rearing may have deter-
minate effects upon accidental injuries, venereal disease, drug
problems, and related governmental programs.47

Broad range programs such as the above provide basic economic and
health supports for individual family members. Certain ones of these,
such as food stamp, housing, and financial assistance programs, undoubt-
edly serve to foster or maintain family cohesion. The consequences of
others for family cohesion are, however, less than clear. Thus, for
instance, job opportunity programs, veterans' benefit programs, and
programs for aid to the families of dependent children might contribute
to family instability or dissolution as well as to the opposite.48
Moreover, it is apparent that many of the foregoing programs focus
primarily upon the well-being of individual family members or societal
members rather than upon the family unit per se. The consequences of
such services for the family as a unit oftentimes may be unpredictable
or, indeed, dysfunctional. That the foregoing programs are not suf-
ficient to assure optimum levels of family sustenance is indicated by
continued high rates of divorce, suicide, adolescent delinquency and,
indeed, by the continuous proliferation of social welfare and social
work services. The latter, in particular, frequently have evolved
in order to deal with insufficiencies and relatively idiosyncratic social
problems that cannot be handled successfully within the context of
broad range, distant, and relatively bureaucratic social welfare
structures.49

Social Work Responses to the Family

The primary goal of the social work profession has been defined as
the "enhancement of social functioning wherever the need for such
enhancement is either socially or individually perceived."50 Conson-
ant with this objective the preponderance of social work services have
been directed toward individual or small group units, including the
family. More than 80% of personnel with graduate degrees in social
work are employed in casework or group work positions.51 This datum
alone suggests some institutional difficulties that might be encountered
should changing societal and/or familial conditions make it advisable for
social work interventions to be geared towards non-familial or non-
individual loci. Among those family-related services with significant
proportions of social work personnel, either at the supervisory or
direct service levels, are the following: family service agencies
(approximately 15% of all graduate social workers),52 child welfare,
day care, adoption, foster care, homemaker services, protective service,
public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, migrant laborer programs,
unmarried parent programs, medical rehabilitation, and leisure-time
services. A brief examination of several of these programs will permit
clearer delineation of past and present social work responses to the
family.

Family service agencies: In the governmental field, the respon-
sibility for providing family services is carried chiefly by state,
county, and municipal welfare departments, particularly the
divisions responsible for administering public assistance programs.
Rehabilitation agencies, the Veterans Administration, and branches
of the military service also provide family services. In the
voluntary field, the major responsibility is carried by family
service agencies. Family-centered treatment is also provided by
a number of agencies established to serve special groups, such as
refugees, families of military personnel, disaster victims,
families separated by national boundaries, and so on.53 Foremost
among the services of such agencies are marital counseling, family
life education, and treatment programs for disturbances in
personal functioning and familial relationships. Some such agencies
engage in related research, professional education, and public
relations activities.

Child welfare programs: Child welfare services have been designed
to support or reinforce the ability of parents to meet children's
needs (e.g., casework services to or in behalf of children in their
own homes, protective services for the neglected child, and
services to unmarried parents), to supplement the care that the
child receives from his parents or to compensate for certain
inadequacies in such care (e.g., homemaker service and family
day care services), or to substitute for parental care either
partially or wholly (e.g., foster family care, group care in
institutions or homes, and adoption services).54 In 1961 the number
of children receiving public and voluntary child welfare services
amounted to more than one-half million (552,000). This figure
represented about eight out of each 1,000 children in the
population under the age of 21. In 1960, about 23,000 persons
were engaged in child welfare. Of this number, about 16,000 were
social workers, suggesting a rather high density of social work
personnel in this field. However, only about half of these persons
were employed full-time in public child welfare programs and only
one-fourth of the social workers had completed graduate social
work education.55

Day care programs: Children in day care remain part of the family
unit but their parents, for economic, social, or health reasons,
delegate responsibility for their care outside the home to someone
else when they are away. This service may be given through group

care or family day care. Recent studies showing few of the feared
dysfunctional consequences of day care service (such as impaired
developmental rate or weakened mother-child relationships) have
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**Day care programs:** Children in day care remain part of the family unit but their parents, for economic, social, or health reasons, delegate responsibility for their care outside the home to someone else when they are away. This service may be given through group care or family day care. Recent studies showing few of the feared dysfunctional consequences of day care service (such as impaired developmental rate or weakened mother-child relationships) have
provided an impetus for the expansion of such services. Moreover, the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, the Child Welfare League of America, and the National Federation of Day Nurseries have attempted to formulate and enforce standards for day care programs, thus further serving to enhance and proliferate such services. Moreover, the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, the Child Welfare League of America, and the National Federation of Day Nurseries have attempted to formulate and enforce standards for day care programs, thus further serving to enhance and proliferate such services.

Kadushin, in an extensive discussion of current day care programs, has noted the following problems associated with such services: relatively low priority in comparison to most child welfare programs; confined and negative attitudes toward the working mother; the association of day care services with a public welfare clientele; lack of certainty as to whether day care is a social, educational, or health responsibility; perceived undesirability of day care as a supplementary care arrangement, and; relatively limited concern with the day care needs of children of school age. Nonetheless, there appears to be a discernible trend toward growing acceptance of day care and towards diversification in the application of day care services.

Homemaker services: The basic purpose of homemaker services is to help maintain families and individuals in their own homes by supplementing the services of a professional worker with those of a woman who goes to the family, gives care to those who need help, and assists with household tasks. Oftentimes this person serves as a tutor for housewives who have had undue difficulty in performing basic homemaking or child care activities. The Social Security Act includes provisions under which the Department of Health, Education and Welfare can make federal funds available to help provide care to individuals and families in their own homes.

Kadushin has identified a variety of factors contributing to the growth of homemaker services: the continuing trend toward smaller family sizes and, therefore, fewer intra-familial substitutes for incapacitated members; the reduced availability of foster homes, which requires that other resources be developed to meet children's needs when the mother is not available; increased cost of placement for large sibling groups; the growth of hospital insurance programs, which results in readier use of hospital resources by mothers and others; changing medical practices toward short hospital stays and longer post-hospital convalescence, and; the increasingly large proportion of children in our total population, which increases the population of risk of need for homemaker services. Despite certain problems (such as controversies regarding auspices, limited public knowledge of the program and low status of the program among both the public and the social work profession) it is probable that there will be a rapid expansion of such programs, increased interest of public welfare agencies in such programs, a greater diversification of financing sources for such service, and a greater diversification of situations wherein homemaker services will be considered appropriate.
Foster care services: Of the estimated total of 583,100 children served by public and voluntary child welfare programs in the United States in 1962 only 34% were in their own homes and 5% in the homes of relatives; 58% were living away from their own families, with 10% in adoptive homes, 30% in foster family homes, 18% in institutions, and the remaining 3% in a miscellany of other living arrangements. These proportions indicate that foster care persists as the predominant form of service provided by child welfare agencies. Of all the child welfare services, foster care produces the most radical change in the structure of a child's experiences. Upon leaving his own family the child becomes part of a new group of persons, either in a family or in an institution. The school-age child usually enters a school new to him in a different neighborhood, attends a different church, and seeks his place with a new peer group. Furthermore, the likelihood of continuous replacement in new settings is a real one for children subjected to foster care. Although institutional and group home placement constitute accepted foster care arrangements it is generally agreed that the foster family represents the preferred mode of substitute care. Such care is viewed as noninstitutional substitute care for a planned period. This is unlike adoptive placement which implies a permanent substitution of one home for another. Among major problems associated with foster family care are the following: foster family care for large numbers of children tends to become permanent, rather than temporary, care; great difficulties in recruiting sufficiently large numbers of desirable foster homes; broad payments for foster care are inadequate; personnel shortages and personnel turnover adversely affect the recruitment of foster parents and the continuity of caseworker-child relationships, and; there is no clear-cut definition of foster parents' relationships to the agency, so that the parents are sometimes regarded as clients, sometimes as colleagues, and sometimes as paid employees. Kadushin suggests that there is likely to be a reduction in the proportion of children in substitute care, lessened use of child-caring institutions, and an increased use of foster family care. Similarly, there is likely to be a more explicit recognition of the potentialities of the foster family as a treatment resource in addition to its potentialities as a resource for child care, a greater tendency to explore the possibilities for family care among families not previously considered, such as the AFDC homes, and a greater diversification of foster family homes and groups of children for whom such a resource might be used.

Adoption services: In 1963 approximately 121,000 children in the United States were legally adopted. About 47 per cent were adopted by relatives and 53% by non-relatives. Although the absolute number of adopted children increased from 80,000 in 1950 to 121,000
in 1963, the annual adoption rate per 10,000 children under 21 years of age has remained quite constant at 14-15 for the period 1951 through 1961.62 Two major factors account for the numerical increase: the high birth rates of recent years that have increased the total size of the child population and the high rate of illegitimate births that has even outpaced the increase in the total birth rate. According to the Children's Bureau, in 1962 about 80% of all children adopted by non-relatives were born out of wedlock.64 Although there are a variety of social-legal problems for both the adoptive parents and the child Kadushin suggests a number of relevant trends regarding adoption: an increased number of adoptions, particularly under agency auspices, although the adoption rate will remain steady; a decreasing ratio of applicants to children available; greater flexibility on the part of agencies in establishing criteria for adoptive parents; a more liberal definition of the adoptive child; development of more imaginative procedures in recruiting adoptive parents, particularly for the hard-to-place child; the development of adoption exchanges; the subsidization of adoptive parents who need help; earlier placement of adoptive children, and fee-charging for the processing of adoption applications.65

Miscellaneous: Among other family-related social work services are: protective services for children; programs for migrant families; unmarried parent programs; vocational rehabilitation programs; services for the aged; juvenile court programs; leisure service programs, and countless others. In many instances these programs, such as protective and migrant family services, are incorporated within the service contexts noted above.

Examination of the foregoing considerations regarding selected family-related services permits a number of important conclusions. First, the proliferation of certain varieties of social problems attributable, for instance, to increased out-of-home employment for women and increased illegitimate birth rates, makes it highly probable that certain social work programs will continue and, even, will greatly expand in coming years (e.g., day care and adoptive programs). Second, it is difficult to conclude that all of the foregoing programs, should they continue, will lead to a strengthening of family life. Although social work programs such as homemaker, day care, and vocational rehabilitation services are likely to strengthen family bonds other programs such as foster care, adoption, and unmarried parent services may provide viable alternatives to the child's natural family. Obviously these alternatives are designed with the child's well-being as the primary objective and they tend to be considered suitable only when the
possibility for a healthy family life is deemed virtually nil. Moreover, they are designed with the implicit assumption that the requisite foster care arrangements will enable children to eventually prepare for mature and well-adjusted parental roles that otherwise might be unlikely were they to remain in their original environments. Nonetheless, it has been posited that the mere existence of viable alternatives to a given family relationship necessarily attenuates requirements to strive toward sustenance of that relationship and, therefore, may contribute toward marital dissolution.66

A third implication of the foregoing analysis concerns the institutionalization of social work services. Perhaps more than any other profession social work serves as the epitome of a bureaucratized profession. Relatively few private practitioners exist in the social work profession.67 Most services are offered within the context of bureaucratic organizations. The difficulty of achieving sufficient innovation in such agencies to meet the changing needs of American families are likely to be particularly severe. In part this difficulty is both perpetuated and palliated by the close relationship of social work agencies to social work educational institutions. Approximately 50% of most graduate social work education is spent in field work training in private or public agencies. Such training serves to transmit the conceptual and practice orientations of relatively staid agencies and to insulate the field from change. On the other hand, their linkage with educational institutions also exposes such agencies to a continuous input of relatively current and innovative ideas from academia. Such exchanges are fostered through extensive contacts with students and faculty liaison personnel. Additionally, however, there are a variety of important factors that are not especially related to family services per se but which nonetheless are likely to affect the capacity of the social work profession to respond to emerging family needs in a flexible and effective manner.

Factors Influencing the Social Work Response to the Family

As Wilensky and Lebeaux have noted, two conceptions of social welfare have been dominant in the United States: the residual and the institutional. The first holds that social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structures of supply—the family and the market—break down. The second, in contrast, sees social services as normal "first-line" functions of modern industrial society.
The residual formulation is based on the premise that there are two primary channels through which an individual's needs are met: the family and the market economy. These are the preferred structures of supply. However, sometimes these institutions do not function adequately: family life is disrupted and depressions occur. In such cases, according to this conception, a third mechanism of need fulfillment is brought into play, namely, the social welfare structure. This is conceived as a residual agency, attending primarily to emergency functions, and is expected to withdraw when the regular social structure—the family or the economic system—is again working properly.68

The institutional formulation views social work as an organized system of social services and institutions designed to aid individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards of life and health. It aims at social relationships which permit individuals the fullest development of their capacities and the promotion of their well-being in harmony with needs of the community. This formulation implies no stigma, emergency, or abnormalcy. Social service efforts become accepted as a proper, legitimate function of modern industrial society in helping individuals to achieve self-fulfillment. The complexity of modern life is recognized and the inability of the individual to provide fully for himself is considered a "normal" condition. Consequently the helping agencies achieve regular institutional status.69

While these two views may seem antithetical, Wilensky and Lebeaux assert that American social work has tried to combine them, and that current trends in social welfare represent a middle course. Those who lament the passing of the old order insist that the institutional ideology is undermining individual character and the national social structure. Those who bewail our failure to achieve utopia today argue that the residual conception is an obstacle which must be removed before we can produce the good life for all.70 By once again distinguishing between social welfare and social work, however, the foregoing analysis of family-related services suggests that the Wilensky and Lebeaux assessment is not entirely accurate when family services alone are considered. Most "institutional" programs directed toward the family arise within the social welfare realm, especially within federal, state, and local governments, and are administered only in small part by professional social workers. Most family programs within the purview of the social work profession, however, are of the "residual" variety. Circumstances contributing to this state of affairs and, similarly, influencing the prognosis for future social work developments, are worthy of special attention.

Institutional Structure

An extensive literature is available regarding bureaucratic structure and, more particularly, concerning bureaucracies within the social work profession. However, the vast preponderance of this literature is oriented towards correctional, mental health, and public assistance
institutions rather than organizations engaged primarily in family service activities.

Perhaps more than any other profession social work is practiced within an organizational framework. The dysfunctions, as well as certain advantages, of organizational structures upon the delivery of social services have been well documented. For social work activities wherein professional services are relatively repetitive and uniform, such as the issuing of welfare payments, large formal bureaucracies have constituted a relatively effective milieu for the delivery of service. However, in instances wherein services tend to be relatively non-repetitive and non-uniform this type of organizational context has proven to be highly dysfunctional. In such cases (e.g., dealing with idiosyncratic familial problems concerning child-rearing, marital relationships, and so forth) organizational models that are much the opposite, such as the "human relations model", are considered to be more appropriate. And, on occasion, new organizational forms, such as "professional model" organizations, are deemed to be more efficient.

In addition to adversely affecting the quality of direct social work service to families, bureaucratic structures pose a rather low likelihood of adapting effectively to changing familial needs. Such structures are likely to sustain services that are rather outmoded or relatively low on the list of emerging priorities. Consequently new social work agencies will have to develop in order to meet emerging needs, thus posing different, but nonetheless perplexing, problems pertaining to interorganizational coordination, the duplication of services, and the possible countervailing effects of multiple uncoordinated services. Retention of a residual perspective toward family services will only serve to lessen the likelihood that pre-planned and effective family social services will develop in order to meet emerging needs. On the other hand, the elaboration of new interstitial services, such as leisure-time services, may produce more effective approaches toward family social work than heretofore have been the case.

The expansion of social work services, moreover, is likely to have a similar dual effect upon the profession itself. The profession will become increasingly oriented toward a large variety of services which, in themselves, may serve a broad range of societal needs. Concomitantly, however, the increasing fragmentation of service perspectives is likely to foster decreased internal unity of the social work profession along with difficulties in formulating coordinated strategies for family welfare. Should such problems become unduly severe it is more than likely that there will be a gradual drift towards the emergence of broad scale minimum standard programs offered by national agencies, most probably governmental. By itself, however, this trend need not necessarily be considered as either inevitable or undesirable.
Social Work Education

In the immediate future it is likely that the overwhelming majority of social work students will be employed in casework or group work settings. However, the proportion of social work students engaged in community organization training is expanding rapidly. This trend indicates the emergence of new non-familial foci for social work intervention. Moreover, it is illustrative of a tendency toward increased social action activities by many social work students although such activities may be expressed relatively little during one's formal employment hours. This trend, in part, also reflects the fact that social work schools are incorporating substantial knowledge from other disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, economics, political science, and law into the curriculum. The broadening knowledge base will enable social workers to direct their interventive efforts towards a variety of social units, will contribute to the diversification of interventive strategies, and will lessen the profession's reliance upon traditional treatment perspectives. Similarly, social work is tending towards a more academic educational orientation wherein it is increasingly necessary for new faculty to possess doctoral degrees and an ability to evaluate and/or perform empirical research concerning relevant social problems. This ought to lead toward a more valid and reliable knowledge base for the profession and to more effective interventive strategies. Although some of the foregoing trends may direct practice activities away from the family per se an increased focus upon problems concerning ecology, pollution, war and peace, economic sustenance, and so forth is likely to have longterm positive outcomes for all individuals insofar as problem-solving efforts can be operationalized and sustained through the creation of viable institutional structures.

Also, it is relevant to note that emerging technologies may re-emphasize familial performance of certain functions, such as socialization, and accordingly may serve to significantly redirect social work activities toward the family. Thus, for instance, as knowledge regarding techniques of behavioral modification is introduced to social work curricula it is increasingly likely that social workers will strive to train parents as reinforcers and re-socializers of delinquent or otherwise deviant children.73 Likewise, as Litwak and Pollak have suggested, it is possible that social workers will become re-oriented toward the family unit as a possible mechanism for alleviating or countervailing some of the dysfunctions associated with the tendency toward bureaucratization in society. Thus, for instance, family members may be trained as medical diagnosticians for incipient symptoms of severe illness, may be organized into voluntary associations designed to assist other families who are experiencing transitions from one community to another, and may work more closely with mental health professionals in order to decrease bureaucratization or its dysfunctions.74
**Professional Composition**

The demographic composition of the social work profession is likely to have determinate effects not only upon the profession, but upon its client populations also. As social work services expand there will be more out-of-home employment opportunities for women. Increasing proportions of men are entering the social work profession and assuming key administrative positions in disproportionate numbers. Similarly, large proportions of minority students are entering social work, often as a result of express recruitment efforts by the professional schools. While redressing the profession's perspective towards certain disadvantaged groups these trends are likely to prompt a concomitant focusing away from traditional middle class families and their problems.

**Social Values**

In one of the most devastating critiques ever directed against the mental health professions, including social work, Kingsley Davis suggested that such professions were inevitably doomed to failure in view of predominantly middle class ethics, objectives, and professional composition. To some extent Davis's arguments still hold true. However, as noted earlier, the composition of the social work profession is rapidly changing and, therefore, one may anticipate some alterations in its ethics and professional objectives. Moreover, recent data suggest that social workers' values may not necessarily be representative of the larger American society. This state of affairs, however, may be just as problematic as if they were altogether representative. McLeod and Meyer report, for instance, that social workers overwhelmingly favor such values as individual worth, personal liberty, group responsibility, security-satisfaction, relativism-pragmatism, innovation-change, diversity-heterogeneity, cultural determinism, and interdependence. This value structure, in large part, has a determinate effect upon the world view, objectives, and practice activities of professional social workers. In contrast, comparative data from elementary school teachers—a much larger occupational group—show that significantly larger proportions of teachers tend to favor opposing social values such as system goals, societal control, individual responsibility, struggle—suffering—denial, absolutism—sacredness, traditionalism, homogeneity, inherent human nature, and individual autonomy. To the extent that professional objectives and activities are a resultant of interplay within the larger social arena it would appear that social workers' planful efforts to operationalize their value preferences in service activities lie, in large part, outside of their control. This, in itself, may mitigate somewhat against the timely and purposive planning of effective family services. On the other hand, however, the afore-cited value profile may constitute a meaningful and, even, essential impetus toward constructive planning for family well-being.
A variety of other problematic considerations also are closely related to the question of social values. In many instances the legal rights and obligations of the social work profession are highly ambiguous and, consequently, practitioner activities are frequently decided upon the basis of immediate opportunity or upon value considerations that may be either explicit or implicit. Social work activities regarding child abuse cases are particularly illustrative since such cases call for interaction and decision-making among medical, judicial, legal, police, and social service authorities. In many instances the limits of such authority are ill-defined, thus causing severe problems pertaining not only to the provision of direct service and to interdisciplinary relations, but to the long-term planning of adequate services.

Likewise, definitions of normality or abnormality and of deviance or non-deviance frequently must be decided more upon the basis of value considerations than upon legal considerations. And, indeed, oftentimes the latter are determined by the former. Thus, for instance, should the divorce rate in America rise to substantially beyond 50% to what extent would it be "normal" and, therefore, desirable for the social work profession to provide broad-scale services aimed at diminishing that rate? Similarly, should the divorce rate increase what new services might it be necessary for social workers to devise in order to alleviate divorce-related stresses, particularly for children? And, moreover, should such services be successful to what extent would they serve to diminish the stability and viability of the family as a basic social unit?

A related question concerns the extent to which social workers ought to participate in more or less directive or "aggressive" activities designed to help multi-problem or "hard-to-reach" families. This question has plagued social workers for many years and, as yet, is still unresolved. Professional values regarding personal liberty and client self-determination frequently are weighed against strategic considerations regarding the long-term consequences of aggressive intervention for certain families. As community organization and social action activities have become increasingly associated with the social work profession these value problems have been exacerbated. Although the recent literature suggests a trend toward aggressive interventions at the expense of traditional professional values it is unclear to what extent this trend will be sustained. Related questions pertain to the desirability of new family arrangements such as day care, kibbutz, and communal living arrangements. Undoubtedly data eventually will be obtained that will permit the rational analysis of varying assets and liabilities of traditional family life and alternative living arrangements. Pending such data, however, it is relevant to note that some health professionals are providing services, such as drug clinics for hippie communities, that will serve primarily to sustain such alternative living arrangements and to draw services away from traditional family problems.
Extra-Professional Influences

A multitude of extra-professional factors are also likely to influence future developments within the social work profession itself. Thus, for instance, changing values of the larger society, competition from new and/or established health professions, continued industrialization, urbanization, and proliferation of the mass media, the development of alternative life styles and, of course, projected changes in family life itself are all likely to influence developments within the social work profession and, more particularly, the profession's approach toward projected family problems. A number of developments, for both family life and social work services, were suggested previously. Among the foremost, however, are a continuation and expansion of services devoted to foster care, day care, protective services, premarital counseling, migrant workers, services for the aged, and leisure-time services. As the profession expands it will be especially necessary for it to assess whether or not the totality of its services tends to sustain or to weaken family life, contributes to the enhancement or to the debilitation of the society and its individual constituents and, indeed, whether or not these tendencies are desirable or, even, reversible within present or projected bio-social milieus. Within this broad picture the future regarding traditional family treatment remains rather ambiguous. Although relevant treatment technologies may become more powerful the goals of family treatment and, even, the orientations of the populace toward such treatment may become altered.

It is important to note, also, that the development of social work rests largely upon professional developments elsewhere. Social work is becoming increasingly reliant upon knowledge from medicine, sociology, economics, psychology, and political science and, to a certain extent, can progress only as fast as those disciplines develop. Thus, for example, family planning activities have been dependent upon developments in the bio-medical disciplines whereas the trend towards community organization activities has become increasingly prominent only following relevant developments in sociology, political science, and related disciplines. Similarly, social work developments abroad are bound to have determinate effects upon American social work so long as viable cross-national communication channels are kept open.83

Finally, it is relevant to suggest that the social work profession itself may be subject to some of the debilitating stresses that affect its client populations. In prosperous times the need for social services may be relatively slight although resources for professional growth may be at a peak. In times of severe stress, when the services of social work professionals are most needed, supporting resources for the profession may be at their nadir. Indeed, it would be most germane to empirically ascertain whether or not the helping professions, including social work,
flourish most when they are least needed. Hopefully, during times of relative prosperity the profession will re-direct its focus towards the elaboration of preventive services, well-being clinics, definitions of familial adequacy and optimization, and related research endeavors. Although it may never prove possible or, even, desirable to control the interplay between family life and the helping professions the reciprocal interaction between these societal components constitutes a pervasive and continuous reality. This interaction must be recognized and accounted for by those who are concerned with either or both elements of our societal fabric.

Footnotes

8 Reiss, op. cit.
FOOTNOTES


8 Reiss, op. cit.


18 For a relevant historical review see Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (eds.) Role Theory: Concepts and Research, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1966, pp. 3-22.


21 See, particularly, Briar, op.cit.; Feldman, op.cit., 1970; Thomas and Feldman, op.cit.


33 Cf. Bryant, op. cit.; Sprey, op. cit.


36 Hill, op. cit.

37 Farber, op. cit., pp. 179-182.

38 Ibid., pp. 241-242.


45 Ibid., pp. 82-111.


47 Ibid., pp. 57-59.

48 For a detailed critique of the relationship between family instability and aid for dependent children programs see Alvin Schorr, "Problems in the ADC Program", Social Work, 5, 2 (April 1960), pp. 3-15; also, Miller, op.cit.


52 Ibid., p. 535.
56 Leon Richman, "Day Care", in *ibid.*, pp. 243-247.
60 Elizabeth G. Meier, "Foster Care for Children", in H. Lurie (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 355-356.
66 Levinger, *op.cit.*
69 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.
71 See, for instance, Mayer N. Zald (ed.), Social Welfare Institutions, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1965; also, Piliavin, op.cit.; Vinter, Street, and Perrow, op.cit.


78 Ibid.

79 Of additional interest, perhaps, is the suggestion that social workers' values may differ markedly from those of other health professionals, such as doctors, and, moreover, that such values tend to be determined to a greater extent by sub-cultural contexts than by the professional milieu. (Cf. Ronald A. Feldman, "Professional Competence and Social Values: An Empirical Study of Turkish Social Workers", Journal of Applied Social Studies, in press).


81 Cf. ibid.

"Most delinquent acts are committed with companions; most delinquents have delinquent friends. The meaning of these simple facts is a matter of wide dispute."


More than three decades ago Kingsley Davis (1938) lent momentum to a debate from which the helping professions, including social work, never fully recovered. Davis's main contention was that the preachments, personnel, and conceptions of normality espoused by the American mental hygiene movement necessarily biased the scientific validity and working practices behind its programs. Although his position may have been singular when first presented, Davis's stance is now commonly accepted by large numbers of social work professionals, if not by the majority. Such a stance might appear rather paradoxical on behalf of a profession that has provided an oft trod path to middle class status for much of its constituency as well as its clientele. Nonetheless, the profession's concern with this issue has been clearly illustrated in its prolonged and searching examination of the interrelationships between values and practices (cf., for example, Costin, 1964; Feldman, 1970, 1971; Hayes and Varley, 1965; McLeod and Meyer, 1967; Miller, 1968; Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968). As a partial response, social workers have been ready to delegate increasing responsibility for treatment to sub-professionals and indigenous personnel (Grosser, et al., 1969; Guernsey, 1969; Hardcastle, 1971) although, to be sure, this trend has not been prompted solely by the
deficiencies of middle class workers. Likewise, efforts to recruit ever larger numbers of minority personnel into the ranks of the profession (cf. Reichert, 1968; Scott, 1970; Thursz and Rothenberg, 1968) have been prompted, in part, by a sense of malaise and frustration associated with the helping efforts of "traditional" social work institutions and personnel. The latter strategies have been effected despite the possibility that Davis and others might view them as regressive and self-defeating maneuvers contributing to greater entrenchment of the undesirable ideology and composition of the helping professions.

Even though Davis's implicitly assumed relationship between middle class status and ineffective service delivery never has been fully elaborated, there is a modicum of empirical evidence to support its validity. The evidence primarily is derived from studies concerning the clinical judgment process and regarding reciprocal role expectations in the therapeutic relationship. Briar (1961), for example, has shown that middle class student social workers engaged in diagnostic endeavors tend to stereotype and misjudge the attributes of hypothetical lower class clients. Aronson and Overall (1966), Goldstein (1962), Heine and Trosman (1960), Mechanic (1961), Rosenfeld (1964), Sapolsky (1965), and others have shown that middle class therapists and lower class clients tend to hold role expectations for one another, and for the therapeutic situation, that are highly discrepant, thus leading to high rates of client discontinuance and therapeutic failure. In general, these data may be regarded as useful for delineating problematic foci in professional training but they scarcely can be considered sufficient for the validation of a generalized incapacity of traditional (or, for that matter, of middle class) institutions and personnel to provide effective service, even for lower class clients.

In at least two respects the position set forth by Davis and more recent spokesmen has been seriously misinterpreted and overgeneralized, thus leading to an indiscriminate and unnecessary rejection of traditional helping resources. First, there is an implication that the totality of social work clients consists of lower class individuals who, in terms of the afore-stated perspective, necessarily cannot profit from the services of middle class workers. Obviously large numbers of middle class persons obtain help from social workers and from other helping professionals. Employing the above logic against itself, middle class professionals would appear to constitute the preferred helping population for such clients. However, such a rationale represents a rather tenuous and threadbare justification for the continuation of helping efforts framed within the context of traditional social work institutions.

Of much greater concern is the facile tendency for Davis and other critics to assume that the middle class composition of the helping professions constitutes the major, or even a major, explanation for the failure of therapeutic endeavors. The socio-economic composition of the helping professions represents but one factor related to their effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) and, in terms of explanatory value, it may
represent a relatively minor one. Of more direct importance are factors such as the validity, reliability, and potency of their explanatory and practice theories, structural and organizational features of service programs, and the loci of service endeavors.

Consequently the following discussion seeks to force a re-examination of the efficacy of traditional helping institutions. Particular emphasis will be placed upon one major social problem, viz., juvenile delinquency. The discussion is not meant to serve as an apologia for traditional social work institutions. To the contrary, its main thrust will be towards the redefinition of services by traditional agencies. Moreover, no claim is made that the rationales set forth herein will apply to problem areas other than juvenile delinquency.

Among the general postulates to be set forth are the following: (1) that few institutional structures, other than traditional ones, are available and effective for rehabilitative efforts directed toward children with behavioral problems, (2) that virtually all major theories of delinquency can be reinterpreted to support the utilization of traditional resources, and (3) that the effective utilization of traditional institutional resources depends upon a major redefinition of treatment locus, but only minor alterations in institutional operations.

Delinquency and Traditional Social Work Institutions

In the following discussion "traditional" social work institutions shall refer to community-oriented agencies that do not view their primary function as rehabilitation or treatment. Such institutions primarily provide recreational, educational, cultural, or leisure-time services for pro-social clientele, that is, clientele who engage in illegal or deviant behavior rarely or not at all. Examples may include many, but not all, YMCA's, Jewish Community Centers, and neighborhood settlement houses. Although many such agencies serve middle class populations, the socio-economic status of the agency's clientele can not be considered a central determinant of the agency's location along a "traditional-non-traditional" continuum. If any attribute of the client population can be considered significant for definitional purposes it is that the overwhelming proportion of clients exhibits "pro-social" behavior, as defined by the larger society, regardless of whether their socio-economic position situates them within the lower, middle, or upper strata. This may be contrasted with the case in correctional institutions where virtually the entire client population has been incarcerated for anti-social behavior of one type or another. The most basic criterion for the definition of traditional institutions inheres, then, in the services that they provide. Such services are predominantly, if not totally, geared towards recreational, educational, cultural, or leisure time objectives. By definition, such agencies afford two key advantages seldom found in juvenile correctional institutions: location within the open community and a plentiful supply of pro-social peers. The implications of these structural features are myriad and profound.
The Failure of Alternative Treatment Resources

Until recent years most efforts to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents took place within the confines of closed correctional institutions. During the past two decades, however, there has been a marked tendency towards the elaboration of treatment programs within institutions that increasingly approach the freedom and verisimilitude of the open community. The ultimate step in this progression has been an emphasis on treatment programs conducted entirely within the open community. But, unfortunately, regardless of their social context the available data concerning rehabilitative programs for delinquents have shown mixed results at best (Empey, 1967; Lerman, 1968).

A. Treatment Within Correctional Institutions

Perhaps the lowest success rates have been found in rehabilitative programs conducted within correctional institutions. Nonetheless, large numbers of youngsters are referred to such institutions, even though they might not have engaged in criminal behavior. Following a summary review of nearly a score of children's correctional institutions, Sheridan (1967) found that approximately 30% of the inmates were children convicted for conduct that would not have been judged criminal had they been adults. His review of ten students performed by the Children's Bureau shows that 48% of the 9500 children in selected state and local detention programs have not committed adult criminal acts. And, of special note, Sheridan found that a review of public and private institutions for American delinquents revealed a total of 476 inmates under ten years of age. One in every six of these was under seven years old!

The reasons set forth for rehabilitative failures in closed institutions have been numerous. Oftentimes such institutions develop multiple goals which contribute to intra-organizational conflicts between custodial and therapeutic objectives and practices (Cressey, 1959; Grusky, 1959; Ohlin, 1958; Ohlin, Piven, and Pappert, 1956; Piliavin, 1966; Piven and Pappot, 1960; Prentice and Kelly, 1966; Vinter and Janowitz, 1959; Weber, 1957; Zald, 1962). These tend to neutralize the gains derived from therapeutic programs (Cressey, 1962; Ohlin, Piven, and Pappert, 1960; Prentice and Kelly, 1966). Even in institutions where treatment goals are paramount the interaction of various professional disciplines sometimes leads to staff conflict (Street, et al., 1966; Zald, 1962) and/or to inconsistent treatment.

Miller and Kenney (1970) observed negligible treatment success in a psychiatric hospital with a special program for anti-social children, even though treatment goals were espoused by all staff. Workers in the various disciplines of psychiatry, psychology, nursing, occupational therapy, education, group work, and casework

"treated each adolescent in a partialized, parochial manner, according to the part of his personality or
problem they identified. No amount of team effort was wholly effective in formulating an integrated, consistent, approach to the patient. Furthermore, in this kind of environment, where the focus was on illness, there was an allegiance to permissiveness, the most conducive fertilizer in the cultivation of behavior disorders." (Miller and Kenney, 1970, pp. 49-50).

Interestingly, although the staff were unable to conclude that anti-social children received direct or indirect benefit from hospitalization, the referral agencies and families were not so cautious in their judgment.

"We were generally praised regardless of the outcome. If the patient made a better adjustment following hospitalization we were given full credit; if his problems persisted we were told that at least we had done more than anyone else had been able to do. We were never certain what we had done. We had seen nothing of any significance happen to these patients in the hospital; our recommendations for aftercare were not, to say the least, assiduously followed; and some of us had the unsettling thought that these youngsters would have fared as well without hospitalization." (Miller and Kenney, 1970, p. 52).

Overpopulation is another problem that has plagued rehabilitative efforts within correctional institutions. Thus, for example, in eleven states with programs housing 9,165 children (22% of the total reported by all 52 jurisdictions), the average daily inmate population was 10% or more above their respective systems' capacities (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1967). Overpopulation leads not only to fragmentation of rehabilitative endeavors but to organizational control problems which oftentimes are resolved at the expense of treatment goals. Many observers have reported, for instance, that custodial staffs frequently bargain with inmate leaders in order to retain control over the total inmate population. In essence, they delegate control power to highly anti-social inmates in order to protect their own occupational positions, thus legitimizing and reinforcing deviant behavior among the inmate population (Barker and Adams, 1959; Clemer, 1958; Grosser, 1958; Polsky, 1962; Rolde, et al., 1970; Schrag, 1954; Street, 1965; Sykes and Matza, 1957; Tittle, 1969). McCorkle (1956) has described the quandary of guards in correctional institutions in a succinct and trenchant manner:

"To a large extent the guard is dependent on inmates for the satisfactory performance of his duties and, like many figures of authority, the guard is evaluated in terms of the conduct of the men he controls - a troublesome, noisy, dirty cell-block reflects on the guard's ability to 'handle
prisoners' and this forms an important component of the merit rating which is used as the basis for pay raises and promotions. A guard cannot rely on the direct application of force to achieve compliance, for he is one man against hundreds; and if he continually calls for additional help he becomes a major problem for the short-handed prison administration. A guard cannot easily rely on threats of punishment; for he is dealing with men who are already punished near the limits permitted by society and if the guard insists on constantly using the last few negative sanctions available to the institutions: the withdrawal of recreation facilities and other privileges, solitary confinement, or loss of good time - he again becomes burdensome to the prison administration which realizes that its apparent dominance rests on some degree of uncoerced cooperation. The guard, then, is under pressure to achieve a smoothly running cell-block not with the stick but with the carrot, but here again his stock of rewards is limited. One of the best 'offers' he can make is ignoring minor offenses or making sure that he never places himself in a position to discover infractions of the rules."

(p. 13)

Simple overpopulation probably contributes to rehabilitative failure in other ways also. Overcrowding of correctional institutions may lead to the aggregation of a selected inmate population consisting of the most incorrigible delinquents, thus making it additionally difficult to evoke therapeutic change. Likewise, early offenders may be refused admission and/or treatment due to overcrowding, thus contributing to the maintenance of deviant behavioral patterns that may be proportionately more difficult to treat at later stages of a delinquent career.

Conditions such as the foregoing are closely related to what may be the most pervasive and debilitating factor contributing to the high failure rate in correctional institutions, namely, the peer composition of the treatment environment. Whether treatment is at the individual or group level the vast preponderance of role models within the inmate's social environment are anti-social. The inmate's peers are persons who exhibit seriously anti-social behavior, who reinforce and reciprocate such behavior, and who, to some extent, have demonstrated an inability to function within acceptable limits in the open community. Such factors necessarily deter efforts to rehabilitate inmates and to prepare them for effective pro-social functioning in the open community (cf. Clemmer, 1958; Hindelang, 1970; Jesness, 1965; Street, 1965; Sykes and Messinger, 1960). Moreover, they may foster more frequent and/or serious deviant behavior among inmates who might have been relatively pro-social prior to incarceration.
To be sure, the inmate peer culture cannot be viewed simply as the total sum of anti-social or deviant behaviors previously learned by delinquents and brought to the institution. Social structural features of the correctional institution promote deviant behavior, especially with reference to sexual practices (Ward and Kassebaum, 1964). And, as Hindelang (1970) has noted, typical networks of rewards and punishments are ineffective in prisons, largely because the rewards side has been stripped away (e.g., mail privileges, visiting privileges, personal possessions) or has been replaced by other types of rewards (e.g., drug usage, homosexuality, and so forth). Even if relatively open correctional institutions this factor would appear to be a major one accounting for the failure of treatment programs. Eynon and Simpson (1965), for example, reported that juvenile delinquents treated in an open permissive camp setting, with an average daily population of only 65 boys, exhibited no differences in delinquent self-conceptions from those treated in a large state-operated training school.

Despite the many factors militating against effective treatment some correctional institutions have experienced limited success in rehabilitative work with anti-social inmates. Nonetheless, behavioral changes exemplified within the correctional institution may be far removed from effective social functioning in the open community. Since the two social environments are so dissimilar pro-social behavior developed within the former setting may not be transferable or sustainable within the latter. And, of course, behavioral change within the correctional institution is of little consequence unless it can be transferred and stabilized within the larger society. The marked differences between in-patient and out-patient environments, and the differing skills necessary for successful functioning within each, serve to emphasize the low transferability of behavioral changes learned in the correctional environment.

In order to ease the discontinuity between correctional institutions and the larger society some communities have developed transitional institutions, such as halfway houses, group homes, and short-term detention centers. Treatment programs within such institutions have been somewhat more successful than those conducted within closed institutions (McCorkle, et al., 1958; Weeks, 1958). However, effective rehabilitation is then dependent either upon the creation of ancillary treatment facilities or upon the development of new transitional strategies, such as conjugal visits, home furloughs, and so forth. Moreover, neither approach effectively neutralizes the dysfunctional consequences of deviant peer group composition.

An additional problem pertaining to closed correctional institutions and, to a lesser extent, to transitional institutions, derives from the labelling or stigmatization of their inmates and former inmates. Countless investigators have outlined the process whereby persons within the open community stigmatize released inmates, thus delimiting their opportunities to engage in pro-social behavior and, in effect, creating the necessary conditions for continued deviant behavior (Akers, 1968; DeLamarter, 1968; Gibbs, 1966; Erikson, 1962; McSally, 1960; Pilisvin and Briat, 1964; Schwartz and Skolnick, 1962; Sheridan, 1967; Simmons, 1965; Terry, 1970; Wheeler and Cottrell, 1966).

Finally, regardless of the adequacy of services the cost of care in a correctional facility is inordinately high. Fifty-two jurisdictions report a total operating cost of $144,596,618 to care for an average daily population of 42,989 youngsters. This means an average per capita operating expenditure of $3,411, equivalent to one year's tuition and living expenses at a top quality liberal arts college (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1967).

In summary, then, an overwhelming panoply of factors militate against effective rehabilitation within correctional institutions. These include multiple and conflicting organizational goals, overcrowding, deviant peer group composition (with concomitant peer group reward and punishment systems), low transferability of change beyond the treatment environment, labelling and stigmatization of former inmates, and high cost. These factors, and others, have lent support to a different variety of treatment efforts, viz., those located within the open community. Lacking the above obstacles such treatment programs presumably should meet with substantial success.

B. Treatment in the Open Community

In order to avoid many of the problematic features associated with residential treatment a variety of rehabilitative programs have been developed within the open community. These include programs involving the assignment of detached workers to juvenile gangs (Adams, 1967; Cline, et al., 1968; Cooper, 1967; Crawford, et al., 1950; Kantor and Bennett, 1968; Mattick and Caplan, 1967; Short and Stroudbeek, 1965; Frost, et al., 1967), outpatient treatment programs based upon techniques such as guided group interaction (Empey and Rabow, 1961; McCorkle, 1952; Pilnick, et al., 1966; Warren, 1970), and comprehensive multi-service programs where a variety of services are offered to the delinquent child, including casework, group work, and guidance counseling (Meyer, et al., 1965). Although certain of these programs have experienced limited success a general overview indicates mixed results. Moreover, the relevant empirical data tend to be unsystematic and incomplete.

One of the best reputed comparative studies has been the Essexfields program. In this program recidivism rates were compared among (1) subjects at Essexfields (a non-residential group-centered program), (2) groups on regular probation, (3) groups in residential treatment centers, and (4) groups in a state reformatory. The failure rate at Essexfields was much lower than that at the state reformatory (Stephenson and Scarpitti, 1969) but slightly higher than that in the residential group centers (Scarpitti and Stephenson, 1968). Interestingly, the
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lowest recidivism rate was found for those subjects undergoing probationary treatment. Scarpitti and Stephenson suggest that the comparative success noted for probationers may be closely associated with the selective, relatively low-risk population being treated. High-risk delinquents tend to be returned to the juvenile court for further disposition and, oftentimes, to residential treatment institutions. Consequently the apparent effectiveness of probation may be traced largely to the lower risks presented by probationers. Additionally, the low rate of recidivism of probationers who complete treatment may be partially accounted for by the high rate of recidivism of in-program failures" (Scarpitti and Stephenson, 1968, p. 369). In other words, all comparisons are relative and, therefore, the success rate associated with probation may appear to be high only in comparison with the considerably lower success rates found for the other three treatment modalities. It is important to note that similar interpretations might be applicable when community treatment programs are compared with in-residence correctional programs. As a result, the actual significance of treatment successes observed in the open community may be open to greater question than heretofore.

Warren (1970), in one of the most current and comprehensive reviews of community treatment programs, clearly cites the contradictory findings of selected community treatment programs. Börjeson, a Swedish psychologist, assessed nine "risk groups" exposed to both institutional and non-institutional correctional programs and found non-institutional programs related to lower recidivism on all assessments (p. 10). Likewise, the probation department of Los Angeles County, California, in a project entitled W.H.I.S.P. (Willowbrook-Harbor Intensive Supervision Project), randomly assigned boys to forestry camps and small community caseloads. The success rate of the community program was equal to or better than that of the camps, at a reduced cost (p. 11). Empey and Lubeck (1971) recently completed a comparative study of residential and community programs that shows the community program to be at least as effective as the institutional program in reducing subsequent law violation behavior. In addition, the intervention program in the community setting required less than half the time of the institutional program, with a resulting reduction in costs of more than 50% (Warren, 1970, p. 11).

One of the most extensively researched non-residential programs has been the Community Treatment Project conducted by the California Youth Authority (Warren, 1969). Since 1961 the Community Treatment Project has randomly assigned juvenile offenders in some areas to intensive community programs and to the traditional Youth Authority institutional programs. Findings over the years have shown the community program to result in lower recidivism rates, lower unfavorable discharge rates, higher favorable discharge rates, and improved pre-post psychological test scores compared to the institutionalized subjects (Warren, 1970, p. 12). Moreover, the average monthly costs of the Community Treatment Program are considerably lower than institutional costs: boy's institutions: $318; girls' institutions: $461; Community Treatment Program: $161 (Warren, 1967, p. 199).
Similarly, the Provo experiment in delinquency rehabilitation (Empey and Rabow, 1961) and the Mobilization for Youth Program (Arnold, 1964; Bibb, 1967) reportedly experienced some success although the empirical data regarding both programs are rather limited and unsystematic. Preliminary reports from certain community-based behavior modification programs also indicate success when utilizing non-professionals to structure reinforcement contingencies intended to decrease children's anti-social behaviors and, conversely, to increase their pro-social behaviors (Bailey, et al., 1970; Philips, 1968).

In sharp contrast, Jaffe studied institutionalized and non-institutionalized dependent and neglected children on such dimensions as "fright powerlessness" and "delinquency proneness". His conclusion was that educationally oriented institutions do not significantly change attitudes known to be associated with delinquency proneness (Warren, 1970, p. 10). Similarly, Uusitalo, a Finnish sociologist, found no noticeable differences in recidivism rates for subjects treated in open labor colonies, as opposed to those treated in closed prisons (p. 10).

A comprehensive and well-controlled study of vocational high school girls who received a variety of interventions showed no positive results (Meyer, Borgatta, and Jones, 1965). The famous Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study also obtained negative results (McCord and McCord, 1959a, 1959b; Powers and Witmer, 1951), some reasons for which have been posited in a thoughtful discussion by Toby (1965). Likewise, the well-known Mid-City Delinquency Project, conducted in Boston between the years 1954 and 1957, demonstrated no positive findings (Miller, 1970; Kantor and Bennett, 1968). The investigators' conclusions were clear and concise:

"It is now possible to provide a definite answer to the principal evaluative research question - "Was there a significant measurable inhibition of law-violating or morally-disapproved behavior as a consequence of Project efforts?" The answer, with little necessary qualification, is "No". All major measures of violative behavior --disapproved actions, illegal actions, during-contact court appearances, before - during - after appearances-- provide consistent support for a finding of negligible impact" (Miller, 1970, p. 652).

Data regarding the effects of community center and detached worker programs have been roughly similar. Thus, for example, the Seattle Atlantic Street Center randomly assigned anti-social acting-out junior high school boys to experimental and control groups. The experimental boys joined a "club" at the Center and were formed into weekly meeting groups conducted by social workers. The findings indicated essentially no between-group differences in terms of frequency of school disciplinary contacts, but did reveal a significant difference
in the average severity of disciplinary contacts in favor of the experimental group. No differences between experimental and controls were shown on community indices (Warren, 1970, p. 34).

The Group Guidance Project in Los Angeles applied standard detached work procedures to four large juvenile gangs over a four-year period. Emphasis was upon individual counseling and group programming. The data reveal that the Project was associated with a significant increase in gang delinquency, especially at the 12 - 15 year age levels, and in high-companionship offenses (Warren, 1970, p. 36). As Klein has suggested, it is conceivable that the assignment of detached workers produces certain negative consequences for delinquency gangs. It is possible, for instance, for gang members to be accorded increased public recognition and status, to develop greater cohesion, and to develop increased anti-police feelings (Klein, 1965). Data for detached work programs in New York (Cooper, 1967; Crawford, et al., 1950), Chicago (Kobrin, 1959; Short and Strodbeck, 1965), and Washington, D. C. (Frost, et al., 1967) have been either negative or mixed. However, one promising note can be found in the increasing capacity for detached work programs to lend themselves to systematic review (Cline, et al., 1968) and to appear relatively efficacious in terms of cost-benefit analyses (Adams, 1967).

In summary, then, the available data suggest that community treatment programs may be somewhat more effective than those conducted within correctional institutions. However, the data are not altogether convincing. In part, the positive findings may be attributable to the selection and treatment of low-risk delinquents. Virtually no studies have implemented controls for clients presenting differential risks. Moreover, with some exceptions, the data for community treatment programs are only slightly more positive than for control programs. It is primarily when comparison populations consist of correctional institution inmates that the community data appear to be truly impressive. In short, absolute rates of success indicate that much work is yet to be done in order to demonstrate the real efficacy of community treatment programs.

At this juncture it is germane to inquire why community treatment programs have experienced so little success. In comparison with residential programs, certain advantages of community treatment necessarily must be acknowledged. Costs are lower, overpopulation becomes a somewhat irrelevant issue, the strains between custodial and treatment goals are diminished, and problems concerning the transi-
ferability of behavioral changes are negligible. Among the remaining factors, then, two would appear of paramount importance: the stigmatization associated with treatment and the dysfunctional peer composition of the treatment environment.

Although community treatment programs may entail less stigmatization than residential programs it is clear that considerable stigma attends treatment in either milieu. Just as mere processing by the police may label a juvenile adversely (Pilliavon and Bien, 1964), a child may be stigmatized through association with relatively innocuous rehabilitative agents, such as the juvenile court (Cicourel, 1967; Platt, 1969; Werthman, 1967) or a special public school class (Schafer, 1967). In order to minimize the stigmatization associated with rehabilitation it is necessary to locate such programs within institutions that are not viewed primarily as treatment agencies and, consequently, where stigmatization is not transmitted, in part, from institution to child.

Stigmatization does not occur solely, however, because of one's association with the treatment agency. It also generalizes from one's co-treatment with peers who are labeled as delinquent or anti-social. Were rehabilitative efforts to take place among peers not so labelled the consequent stigmatization would be proportionately less. In one sense, then, the peer composition of the treatment group presents an obstacle to rehabilitation regardless of the peers' direct influence upon one another.

Additionally, peer group composition poses even more serious difficulties for rehabilitation. To our knowledge, every community program that utilizes group treatment has endeavored to treat anti-social or delinquent children along with, and within the context of, other anti-social or delinquent children. This is the basic factor common to both residential and community treatment programs and, it is posited, the basic deficiency of both. If treatment groups are composed solely of anti-social children the group continues to present the basic conditions militating against adaptive and sustained behavioral change. These include deviant role models and deviant systems of reward and punishment. Indeed, the first members within such groups to move toward pro-social behavior may face considerable risks, especially if significant portions of the social psychological literature are deemed relevant (Asch, 1952; Schachter, 1951; Feldman, 1967; Secord, Backman, and Peirce, 1966; Siegel and Siegel, 1957).

Interestingly, as Mattick and Caplan (1967) have pointed out, the therapist's task in community treatment settings may be much more difficult than within the closed institution. Not only can the therapist exert fewer controls over group members, but he runs a higher risk of being co-opted or corrupted by the group. As they note,

"the possibility of corrupting the worker is not... limited to the constant testing of his motives toward venality; in fact, the possibilities are multifarious and sometimes insidious. Among the more seductive modes of corrupting the...worker are those that fix upon his impulses toward generosity, humanitarianism, and sentimentality, as well as those that play upon his desire to elicit conventional responses from his gang member clients" (p. 108).
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Utilizing metaphor, Mattick and Caplan view the street club worker as a hunter and the delinquent gang, or at least its delinquent tendencies, as his legitimate quarry. When the group presents the worker with certain decoys, or "stake animals", the hunter may become the prey. This happens because the "stake animal's many delinquent and dependent characteristics divert the worker's attention from his legitimate quarry, the group, and entrap most of his time, energy, and resources" (p. 108). Consequently, the peer composition of virtually all treatment groups, including those located within the open community, serve to retard rehabilitative efforts among anti-social youth. It is posited, then, in order to maximize rehabilitative potential the anti-social composition of treatment groups must be minimized. It follows that the most efficacious rehabilitation is likely to occur in groups composed entirely of pro-social children, excepting the particular subject to be rehabilitated.

Implications for Traditional Social Work Agencies

Pending requisite empirical data, our discussion thus far leads to two basic conclusions: (1) that rehabilitation potential can be maximized if appropriate programs are conducted within institutions not usually viewed as treatment agencies, and (2) that rehabilitation potential can be maximized if the peer groups utilized for treatment are composed entirely of pro-social children, except for the particular subject to be rehabilitated. These conclusions directly suggest the efficacy of utilizing "traditional" social work agencies as loci for rehabilitation programs and, mutatis mutandis, would appear to constitute a rather marked departure from the usual objectives of such institutions. It has been suggested that such changes would minimize the stigmatization associated with treatment, would vitiate many of the difficulties associated with deviant peer group composition, and would enhance the ease with which changes learned within treatment are transferable and sustainable beyond the treatment group.

Further analysis of the above proposals should focus upon at least two additional considerations: (1) the systematic examination of theoretical rationales for such changes, especially with reference to contemporary theories of juvenile delinquency, and (2) the assessment of operational implications for traditional agencies. Due to space limitations the former topic will receive only cursory attention; a highly detailed analysis will be available elsewhere (Feldman, et al., 1971).

Traditional Agencies and Theories of Delinquency

Contemporary theories of delinquency are many and varied. To cite but a few major ones, delinquency has been attributed, at least in part, to the unavailability of legitimate social opportunities

With the possible exception of the latter genre of theories, it is posited that all of the foregoing formulations can be reinterpreted or redefined in part so as to support the efficacy of treatment efforts located within traditional institutions and pro-social peer groups. However, proper presentation requires that the foregoing supposition not be introduced, nor accepted, as an overgeneralized and unsupported effort to justify a preferred stance. Each theoretical formulation requires detailed analysis in order to ascertain the extent to which its logic differentially supports or refutes the position set forth above (for such an analysis see Feldman, et al., 1971). At this juncture, however, only selected basic assumptions will be reviewed for each formulation and, concomitantly, relevant issues will be raised with reference to the efficacy of treatment in traditional agencies.

1. **Unavailability of legitimate social opportunities.** Assumptions: Delinquency, in part, is attributed to the paucity of legitimate socialization, educational, cultural, and occupational opportunities within the child's immediate environment, particularly if the child is from the lower socio-economic strata. Issue: Since traditional agencies possess relatively extensive socialization, educational, cultural, and skill training resources can they be considered valuable rehabilitative loci for delinquent or anti-social youth?
2. Differential association and sub-cultural socialization. Assumptions: Delinquents are reared within social environments that espouse and transmit deviant and/or anti-social behavioral norms to their constituents. Issue: Would it be preferable to locate rehabilitative programs within sub-cultural milieus that present and reinforce alternative, or pro-social, behavioral norms?

3. Deviant situational inducements and insufficient societal controls. Assumptions: In certain social situations the inducements for delinquent behavior are strong while countervailing societal controls are relatively weak; hence, at least momentarily, conditions are conducive to the enactment of delinquent behavior. Issue: If rehabilitative programs are conducted in milieus characterized by a reversal of the above conditions (as exemplified, perhaps, by comparatively low rates of delinquent behavior) would there be a diminution of the situational inducements conducive to anti-social behavior?

4. Neutralization of pro-social norms and rationales. Assumptions: Delinquents learn how to neutralize, or rationalize, their anti-social acts after committing them; they substitute anti-social norms and rationales and, subsequently, drift towards delinquent careers. Issue: If treatment is conducted within a pro-social environment might not peer support for such neutralizations, rationalizations, and anti-social norms be reduced?

5. Lack of recreational facilities. Assumptions: Delinquent behavior is attributable, in part, to the paucity of recreational opportunities for children; consequently, the search for recreation during one's free time may result in the discovery of deviant opportunities and the enactment of delinquent behavior. Issue: Can delinquent behavior be reduced if pro-social recreational opportunities are increased?

6. Labelling and stigmatization by the larger society. Assumptions: Pursuant to committing a delinquent act, even of a minor nature, the child is labelled as anti-social by the larger society; concomitant stigmatization and rejection serve to diminish the child's opportunities for engaging in legitimate pro-social activities; during the labelling process the delinquent may be referred to traditional correctional institutions which, as a by-product of their rehabilitative endeavors, may entail further labelling and stigmatization of the child. Issue: Can stigmatization be minimized and, conversely, can rehabilitative opportunities be maximized, if the delinquent child is treated in an institution whose primary functions are viewed as recreational, educational, and cultural, rather than rehabilitative?

7. Development of a deviant self-concept. Assumptions: The delinquent's anti-social behavior is reinforced through the development of a deviant self-concept; in turn, the latter can be shaped by maladaptive childhood experiences, labelling or stigmatization from the larger society, or the further enactment of anti-social behavior. Issue: Can a child's deviant self-concept be weakened as a consequence of regularized participation in legitimate activities with pro-social peers?

8. Reaction formation against middle class values and success standards. Assumptions: Children engage in anti-social behavior as a reaction against middle class values and success standards; in part, this reaction occurs because the child lacks sufficient skills and resources to meet such standards. Issue: Can frequent interaction with pro-social children result in modelling and learning of skills sufficient to attain typical middle class goals?

9. Broad scale socio-economic and ecological factors. Assumptions: Delinquent behavior is attributable to economic deprivation, social and material deficiencies of the local community, and similar factors; consequently, intervention must be geared toward broad units of analysis, such as communities, and must assume the distribution of basic social and economic requisites for pro-social living. Issue: Virtually by definition, responses to this formulation must be of broad scope; consequently, the basic issue refers to whether or not it is feasible to sufficiently redefine the services of traditional agencies so as to provide a significant supplement in rehabilitative programs for delinquent children?

It is essential to reiterate that the foregoing formulations and issues have been set forth in their briefest and simplest forms. Many of the formulations are overlapping. Some support one another whereas others are contradictory (Bordua, 1961, 1962; Hirschi, 1969; Short, 1965). Empirical evidence has confirmed certain aspects of each and has refuted others. And, moreover, each formulation introduces certain considerations that could militate against the above proposals and, consequently, which deserve detailed examination in their own right. Thus, for example, it is possible that repeated failure in a pro-social peer group could lead to further reaction formations or to the strengthening of a deviant self-concept. Hence group leaders and peers must be trained sufficiently to avert such failures or to transpose them into productive learning experiences, thus breaking the vicious cycle of failure, reaction formation, deviant self-concept, labelling, rejection, and further failure. Nonetheless, it is assumed that the foregoing discussion, however brief, has suggested the efficacy of a detailed re-examination of current theoretical formulations in order to assess their consonance with the above proposals.

Operational Implications for Traditional Agencies

The foregoing analysis points to a unique, but circumscript, redefinition of service objectives for traditional social work agencies. Within the context of their present services such agencies should endeavor to integrate limited number of children with behavioral problems into on-going recreational, educational, cultural, or leisure-time groups. In order to (1) enhance the therapeutic potential of agency groups, (2) reduce possible dysfunctional consequences for regular group members, (3) decrease client visibility, (4) minimize possible definition of the agency as a treatment institution, and (5) maintain continued support from members who utilize the agency's regular services, efforts should be made to enroll no more than one or two such clients in each group. Agency staff
8. Reaction formation against middle class values and success standards. Assumptions: Children engage in anti-social behavior as a reaction against middle class values and success standards; in part, this reaction occurs because the child lacks sufficient skills and resources to meet such standards. Issue: Can frequent interaction with pro-social children result in modelling and learning of skills sufficient to attain typical middle class goals?

9. Broad scale socio-economic and ecological factors. Assumptions: Delinquent behavior is attributable to economic deprivation, social and material deficiencies of the local community, and similar factors; consequently, intervention must be geared toward broad units of analysis, such as communities, and must assure the distribution of basic social and economic requisites for pro-social living. Issue: Virtually by definition, responses to this formulation must be of broad scope; consequently, the basic issue refers to whether or not it is feasible to sufficiently redefine the services of traditional agencies so as to provide a significant supplement in rehabilitative programs for delinquent children?

It is essential to reiterate that the foregoing formulations and issues have been set forth in their briefest and simplest forms. Many of the formulations are overlapping. Some support one another whereas others are contradictory (Bordua, 1961, 1962; Hirschi, 1969; Short, 1963). Empirical evidence has confirmed certain aspects of each and has refuted others. And, moreover, each formulation introduces certain considerations that could militate against the above proposals and, consequently, which deserve detailed examination in their own right. Thus, for example, it is possible that repeated failure in a pro-social peer group could lead to further reaction formations or to the strengthening of a deviant self-concept. Hence group leaders and peers must be trained sufficiently to avert such failures or to transpose them into productive learning experiences, thus breaking the vicious cycle of failure, reaction formation, deviant self-concept, labelling, rejection, and further failure. Nonetheless, it is assumed that the foregoing discussion, however brief, has suggested the efficacy of a detailed re-examination of current theoretical formulations in order to assess their consonance with the above proposals.

Operational Implications for Traditional Agencies

The foregoing analysis points to a unique, but circumspect, redefinition of service objectives for traditional social work agencies. Within the context of their present services such agencies should endeavor to integrate limited number of children with behavioral problems into on-going recreational, educational, cultural, or leisure-time groups. In order to (1) enhance the therapeutic potential of agency groups, (2) reduce possible dysfunctional consequences for regular group members, (3) decrease client visibility, (4) minimize possible definition of the agency as a treatment institution, and (5) maintain continued support from members who utilize the agency's regular services, efforts should be made to enroll no more than one or two such clients in each group. Agency staff
should receive sufficient supplementary training, of an in-service nature, to enhance their capacities to assess clients' behavioral problems, to plan rehabilitation goals, and to implement rehabilitative interventions. Moreover, in order to minimize any possibility of undue stigmatization it would be desirable for clients to join groups at the same time as other members or, at least, to introduce new pro-social members to the group at the same time that the client joins.

Aside from the foregoing considerations every effort should be made to conduct agency operations in the usual manner. In fact, to do otherwise might jeopardize the particular strengths of such agencies as loci for rehabilitative programs! Membership procedures, privileges and obligations, staff supervisory practices, program planning, and all else should be altered minimally, if at all, as such programs are elaborated. Thus, although the posited alterations call for the partial redefinition of agency services their operational implications may be rather negligible.

Preliminary analysis might raise concerns regarding the extent of anticipated resistance to such programs among the agency's regular clientele. The most common concerns are likely to focus upon possible increments in staff workload or potential negative consequences for the agency's regular clientele, such as becoming more anti-social, delinquent, or behaviorally disordered themselves. In truth, an unequivocally prudent outlook would dictate that such possibilities be viewed as empirical questions to be examined systematically within each agency. However, there are considerable data that challenge the validity of such concerns.

Much empirical research indicates, for example, that a minority of one is likely to conform to behavioral norms expressed by the majority (Asch, 1952; Backman, et al., 1966; Feldman, 1967; Schachter, 1951; Siegel and Siegel, 1957). However, should the minority be enlarged to two or three members there is a greater likelihood that it can resist the majority's conformity pressures (Asch, 1952; Backman, et al., 1966) and, in fact, stimulate atypical behavior among the majority. Such possibilities also may be enhanced if the minority member is permitted to exert extraordinary reward and punishment powers over the majority (Lippitt, et al., 1960).

Demographic studies of juvenile delinquency also tend to support the foregoing premise. Following a review of data compiled in Davidson County, Tennessee, Reiss and Rhodes (1961) report that a low status boy in a predominantly high status area with a low rate of delinquency has almost no chance of being classified a juvenile delinquent. If, then, client membership is limited to a single individual per group the possibilities for deviant behavior by the client and/or regular members would appear to be reduced to the minimum consistent with integrated treatment. Moreover, supervision and assistance from agency staff, even those who have received minimal training, should serve to assure stable client and member behaviors within normal limits. In fact, an impressive body of research indicates that considerable treatment effectiveness can be achieved by sub-professionals who have received only a minimum of supplemental training (Grosser, et al., 1969; Poser, 1966; Sigurdson, 1969).
A growing body of literature also reveals that "traditional" social work agencies are increasing their services to certain "high-risk" clients, such as educable mental retardates, with few of the possible dysfunctions suggested above. Even though such clients frequently exhibit severe behavioral disturbances it has proven possible to integrate them into regular agency groups with a minimum of staff overload, with virtually no significant negative outcomes for regular agency members, and with considerable benefits for the clients (Deschin and Nash, 1971; Flax and Peters, 1969; Pumphrey, et al., 1969).

The present investigators' experiences during the pre-test year of a service-research program strongly support the position set forth earlier. As one component of a larger study, fourteen different anti-social children were each integrated into one of fourteen groups composed of pro-social children. Review of preliminary non-quantitative data indicates no appreciable work overload for staff; in fact, skills derived from a brief in-service training program were utilized effectively in other contexts within the agency. Moreover, the clients' pro-social behaviors apparently increased substantially whereas there have been no significant negative consequences for the regular group members. Indeed, it is plausible that further data analysis will reveal significant advantages for the latter members. Follow-up data, comparative data from pro-social and anti-social control groups, and data concerning the effects of several types of treatment modalities will be examined in order to afford more rigorous assessment of key hypotheses, including those pertaining to the proposals set forth above.

Summary

Rehabilitative endeavors within correctional institutions have failed because of overpopulation, high costs, labelling and stigmatization of inmates, low transferability of treatment changes to the outside community, and deviant peer group composition. Community treatment programs have fared little better because they also entail client stigmatization and typically are conducted within the context of deviant peer groups. Consequently, in order to enhance the rehabilitative potential of community treatment, subsequent efforts should be conducted within "traditional" agencies and within pro-social peer groups. The emphasis upon "pro-social" rehabilitation environments does not posit any particular assets and/or liabilities of a given socio-economic stratum, thus avoiding a major deficiency of many sociological theories of juvenile delinquency, viz., the tendency to derive particularized etiological and interventive principles from a generalized variable, that is, social class. Instead, our basic assumption is that both anti-social and pro-social environments are to be found within any social stratum, and that the latter ought to constitute the preferred loci for rehabilitative endeavors.
A brief overview of major formulations concerning juvenile delinquency reveals at least minimum consonance between their basic assumptions and the proposals set forth here. Moreover, although the proposals envision a broad scale augmentation of rehabilitation resources the operational consequences for individual agencies and their members appear to be minimal. Forthcoming empirical data will permit specific and detailed examination of the foregoing proposals. However, as "traditional" agencies choose to adopt or reject them prior to accumulation of all the requisite data one might easily conduct a separate study of considerable merit, the subject of which would be innovation within social work institutions.

References


Footnote

1 Hollander (1958) has discussed analogous behavior from a purely theoretical perspective. His concept of "idiocyrracy credits" suggests that individuals with outstanding leadership abilities, including those necessary to maintain order in an inmate population, are granted leeway, or "credits", enabling them to behave idiosyncratically in view of their prior superior service to the group or social system.


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Robert Lejeune
Herbert H. Lehman College

A person's presentation of self, as Goffman uses that phrase, depends in part on the expectations of others, and also, no doubt, on the power which these others have over the person. Thus it happens very frequently that persons, particularly of low status or stigmatized positions, are called upon, as a conscious or unconscious technique of survival, to present to others negative features of the self; to resort to what Goffman has called "negative idealization." (Goffman 1959; 39-41; 1963). These considerations have direct bearing on the role of welfare recipients in American society. Welfare clients, if they are to continue to receive assistance, must present themselves to public officials in ways which reflect the welfare system's biases concerning the reasons for their "dependency." This paper focuses on some of the social factors which increase the likelihood that one particular bureaucratically acceptable "reason for dependency"—poor health—assumes an important role in the legitimation of continued welfare assistance to mothers with dependent children.

Self-reported states of health are not easily interpreted. Empirically they represent a complex interaction among physiological, psychological, and social factors. (Kadushin, 1964, 1967; Zola, 1966; Crandell and Dohrendwend, 1967). Clearly, the "objective" physiological condition of one's body plays a major part in one's self-reported illness. But illness is also a form of behavior in which the individual is legitimately exempt from what are considered normal role obligations by others in the social system. Two decades ago, Parsons, following the psychoanalytic model, noted that people who are ill sometimes become unconsciously motivated to retain the "privileges and exemptions of the sick role." (Parsons, 1951). In a subsequent examination of the problem, Parsons hypothesized that the high level of achievement demanded of individuals in American society might accentuate the unconscious desire to use ill health as a means of exempting oneself from role obligations. (Parsons, 1958). Thus, the Parsonian hypothesis points to the likely influence of social expectations on the level of reported ill-health in a population. The particular social expectations under consideration in this paper, and their likely impact on illness behavior, are those contained in the rules which currently govern the administration of public assistance in America.

The welfare laws and the bureaucracies which implement them articulate a set of formal standards of eligibility for assistance which at

*The data upon which this paper is based were collected by the National Opinion Research Center with the support of Public Health Service Grant No. 7R01 CH00 369. Principal investigator was Lawrence Podell.

1Beck (1967) examines the implicit value judgments which travel with the concept of welfare dependency.
best rely on an inadequate accounting of the reasons why people need such assistance (Steiner, 1966). To be eligible, a family or individual must demonstrate economic need and the inability to meet this need through socially prescribed channels which in most instances require employment. In turn, for the categories of assistance which provide some federal matching funds, exemption from employment is based on the presentation by the welfare applicant of one of the following attributes: physical or mental disability, dependent children under eighteen years of age to care for, old age (65 and over), or blindness. While such criteria do not in themselves represent an explanation for dependency, they are consonant with explanations which attribute dependency to the individual's presumed physical or moral failure rather than to the failure of institutions, communities, or the society. Thus, there is a category of assistance for those who are physically disabled but no category of assistance for those whom technology has rendered unemployable. There is a category of aid to families with dependent children but no category of assistance for those whose employment is limited as a result of racial discrimination. Even if we limit the discussion to individual attributes likely to be correlated with the need for assistance, without considering the social factors which influence the presence or absence of these attributes, it is clear that the welfare system is very selective as to which of the poverty-related variables are considered relevant for eligibility. Thus, a forty-year-old man who cannot read and write and has a heart condition becomes a welfare client "because of" his state of health rather than "because of" his lack of education.

THE HYPOTHESIS

There are obvious economic pressures on welfare clients to define themselves in terms which are acceptable to the welfare officials. Consequently, it can be expected that when they are asked to explain their need for public assistance they will give reasons which can be coded into the categories of eligibility devised by the welfare system. This should be the case if the questioner is a stranger who announces herself to be a survey interviewer— but who unavoidably resembles a welfare worker to all but the most trustful welfare client.

It is here hypothesized that one consequence of the welfare eligibility laws is to make certain personal characteristics more salient in the welfare client's presentation of self. One such characteristic is poor health. More specifically, it is hypothesized that welfare mothers who are currently receiving assistance for the care of dependent children will be more likely to report poor health as a reason for their dependency as they approach the stage in their life cycle when the care of dependent children is no longer an acceptable reason for receiving

2 This is of course most evident with respect to the category of Aid to Dependent Children (Steiner, 1966: 6–8). However, old age in American society, where youth represents the most prestigious part of the life cycle, may also be viewed as a form of "failure." For a discussion of illness as "failure" see: Lorber (1967: 306).
assistance. Most of these women will still be in their forties and fifties and consequently ineligible for old age assistance. Some, perhaps most, will seek employment. But realistically the employment prospect of many—with little education and limited job skills—is not optimistic.

THE DATA AND THE SAMPLE

Data from a 1966 survey of New York City welfare mothers are used to test the above hypothesis. The primary aim of that study was an examination of the determinants of medical utilization by welfare families. To that end, a systematic stratified sample of 2179 welfare mothers was interviewed in the summer of 1966 by the staff of the National Opinion Research Center. It is important to note that the sample did not include any respondents classified as receiving aid to the disabled, aged, or blind. The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 64. All were either mothers or female guardians of dependent children. In 39% of the cases there was a male head of household, but he either was not employed or his income was insufficient to support the family.

Most of the structured interview was used to collect information on attitudes and behavior presumed to be associated with the utilization of medical services. The data were not collected with the above hypothesis in mind, but the hypothesis was formulated prior to the analysis of the data.

FINDINGS

Before testing the hypothesis it is necessary to examine the extent to which welfare dependency is viewed as a fairly permanent state at each stage of the life cycle. Clients who define themselves as only temporarily on welfare, until the children are older, would be under no particular pressure to present themselves as in poor health.

The mothers' reported preference for working or staying at home and their estimates of the likelihood they would be employed in the future are used as two separate indicators of the acceptance of the welfare status as more or less permanent. Age is used as an indicator of stage of life cycle. Not unexpectedly, as can be seen in Table 1, younger clients are most likely to feel they will work or work again in the future—when the children are older. However, welfare mothers whose children are now older tend not to be as optimistic about future employment. Nor are they as likely to say that they would prefer to work rather than stay at home. Employment expectation which seems to be a more reality-linked indicator than employment preference declines more rapidly with age. Thus, while 63% of the mothers over 40 would prefer to work rather than stay at home only 39% expect that they will ever work in the future.

3For a more detailed description of the sample and some of the findings of this study see: Lejeune (1968).

4The two questions were: "Would you rather work for pay or stay at home?" and "Do you think you will ever (again) work for pay?"
TABLE 1. PERCENT WHO WOULD PREFER TO WORK AND PERCENT WHO EXPECT TO WORK, BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40 and over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent who would rather work than stay at home:</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(793)</td>
<td>(845)</td>
<td>(537)</td>
<td>(2175)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, stage of life cycle is related to the type of reasons given for preferring not to work. (See Table 3). With increasing age, child care declines and poor health becomes a more important reason. Thus, 9% of the mothers under 30 gave poor health as a reason for preferring not to work, compared to 42% in the 40-and-over group.

TABLE 2. REASONS GIVEN FOR PREFERING TO STAY HOME RATHER THAN WORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>(516)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of household</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work would not be economically rewarding</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work skills</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care of sick relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband would object</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>122%</td>
<td>(670)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3. TWO MAJOR REASONS GIVEN FOR PREFERING TO STAY AT HOME RATHER THAN WORKING, BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40 and over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases</td>
<td>(220)</td>
<td>(253)</td>
<td>(197)</td>
<td>(670)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most obvious interpretation for this shift is, of course, that there are more persons with poorer health in the 40-and-over group. There is some evidence which suggests that this is only a partial explanation—that social factors are probably as strongly, if not more strongly, associated with reports of poor health than with a greater prevalence of disease conditions in the older group of mothers. In Table 4, the relation between age and giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work is shown, with the number of reported illnesses in the past year held constant. Of particular interest is the fact that the association between age and giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work is maintained even among respondents who earlier in the interview had reported that they had not been sick in the past year. Thus, even though the number of reported illnesses in the past year may itself have been affected by subjective considerations, older respondents who by their own account had not been sick in the past year were nonetheless more likely than younger respondents to give poor health as a reason for preferring not to work.

As expected, stage of life cycle is related to the type of reasons given for preferring not to work. (See Table 3). With increasing age, child care declines and poor health becomes a more important reason. Thus, 9% of the mothers under 30 gave poor health as a reason for preferring not to work, compared to 42% in the 40-and-over group.
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<th>Under 30</th>
<th>30–39</th>
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<td>42%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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TABLE 4. PERCENT WHO GAVE POOR HEALTH AS REASON FOR PREFERING NOT TO WORK, BY AGE AND NUMBER OF REPORTED ILLNESSES IN PAST YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of reported illnesses in the past year</th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>(93)</td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>(75)</td>
<td>(51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(80)</td>
<td>(84)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, it should be noted that chronological age and the illness measure have both independent and interactive effects on mentioning poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. Thus, among women who are under 30, the number-of-illnesses variable accounts for a 17 percentage-point difference down the first column of Table 4. There is a similar difference (18 percentage points) in the 30-to-39 age group. However, in the group aged 40 and over, the difference is 38 percentage points. This seems to indicate that it is not only illness per se but, more importantly, illness in combination with aging which increases the likelihood that illness will become a basis for legitimating dependency.

Given the nature of the welfare eligibility rules, it was hypothesized that aging would increase the salience of illness as a reason for dependency, particularly as the care for dependent children declined as an acceptable reason for receiving assistance. As a final test of this hypothesis, it is necessary to examine the simultaneous effect of both the mother's age and that of her children on giving poor health as a reason for preferring not to work. In Table 5, age of youngest child is used as an indicator of the extent of child-rearing responsibilities. It turns out that even when mother's age is controlled, age of youngest child is associated in the expected direction with giving health as a reason for preferring not to work. The association is particularly strong for those over 40. Women who are over 40 and have no children under 11 years of age are almost three times more likely than any other category to give health reasons for preferring not to work. The decline of child-rearing functions, as one aspect of aging, leads to an increasing tendency to legitimate welfare dependency by evoking the sick role. The issue here is not whether or not older respondents are "sicker" than younger respondents. Even if we assume that they are, it is only among those whose children are growing up that this becomes salient as the reason for their welfare dependency.
TABLE 5. PERCENT WHO GAVE POOR HEALTH AS REASON FOR PREFERING NOT TO WORK, BY OWN AGE AND AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent's age</th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40 and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of youngest child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(202)</td>
<td>(165)</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(63)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 or over</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it is evident that although illness plays only a small part in legitimating dependency in the total family welfare population, it becomes one of the primary bases of legitimating a claim to welfare support among women over 40 whose youngest child is, or is about to become, an adolescent. As these women reach the end of their child-rearing years, their opportunity for economic independence is highly limited. They are over 40, they lack a recent job history, and have limited skills in an industrial society. If at the same time they are black or Puerto Rican (as most of them are), their realistic opportunities for independence are further restricted. Claiming the exemptions of the sick role appears to be one adaptation to this dilemma.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, I do not deny the importance or reality of disease conditions as one factor in the reports of ill health of welfare clients. Sociologists all too often, in their eagerness to explain by means of social factors, tend to neglect the biological and other non-social limits to human behavior. As Friedson notes: "Psychosomatic medicine notwithstanding, most illnesses, and certainly most impairments, are not motivated, they are the contingencies of inheritance, accidents of infection and trauma." (1965:81). That being said, it is also well documented that symptoms have different meaning, interpretation, and salience depending on the social context in which they occur. (Zborowski: 1958, Kadushin: 1964, 1967; Zola: 1966; Crandell and Dohrendwend: 1967).

5Less than one-third of the mothers over 40 have some education beyond the eighth grade.
The effects of social pressures generated in the interview situation yielded some evidence that the presentation of oneself as ill does not occur at random, but is clearly related to stage-of-life cycle. Here the boundary between "true" or "false" illness is not that clear. By choosing to make salient existing (and real) conditions, most individuals in American society could adopt the sick role more frequently if they wished. (Zola: 1966). But many individuals choose not to take notice of existing conditions—which may at times be serious—and thereby maintain a healthy presentation of self. For many welfare clients, there are few rewards for the maintenance of a healthy presentation of self, and some gains to be derived from adopting the sick role.

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Maternity Homes: The Case of a Dying Institution.

Samuel O. Miller Ph.D

The checkered career of a major social welfare institution appears to be near its end. Maternity homes as the major service to unmarried mothers face an uncertain future, with few indicators of a reversal in this current trend. The provision of social services as an expression of society's concern for the problems of unwed mothers has invariably been accompanied by a dynamic combination of deep feelings of prejudice and ambivalence. However, the current uncertainty of their status; the confusion in attitudes and conflicting opinions about the value and purpose of homes for unmarried mothers are being expressed by the principal actors in this social welfare scene: the unmarried mothers themselves, social workers who constitute the main supporters of this service and administrators of homes responsible for the provision of residential care.

A thorough review of the development of this Institution reveals the uneven and ill-defined course in the provision of residential services to unwed mothers. Further, maternity homes have assumed various functions in different eras and for diverse reasons. In the continuing evolution of their raison d'etre, maternity homes lost their original purpose of concealment and protection and no single substitute has evolved to take their place. Consequently, there is currently an absence of general agreement about the specific contributions maternity homes can and do make to the prevention of, or intervention into, the problem complex know as "illegitimacy."

Size and Dimensions of the Problem

The annual number of out-of-wedlock pregnancies is extremely high and has been steadily and dramatically increasing; not only in absolute numbers but as percentages of total delivered births and in the rate of illegitimate births per 1,000 unmarried females in the general population. In 1938, for example, 87,900 illegitimate births were reported, comprising 3.6 percent of the total number of live births that year. By 1960, the figure increased to 225,000 and represented 5.2 percent of that year's births. For 1966, the figure reported was 302,400 or 8.4 percent of that year's total live births. During the same period, the illegitimacy rate (i.e., the number of out-of-wedlock births per 1,000 unmarried females between the ages of 15 and 44) rose from 7.1 to 23.4 percent. Predictions indicate that by 1980 the actual number of births out of wedlock could soar to 403,000.

Large as these number, percentages and increase are, the actual number of out-of-wedlock pregnancies reported each year do not fully portray the

* Western Michigan University
School of Social Work
Kalamazoo, Michigan
actual number of pregnancies occurring. Several reasons explain why it is virtually impossible to arrive at a reliable estimate of the total population at risk. Little is known of the incidence of unwed pregnancies which terminate in accidental or planned abortion. National estimates of live out-of-wedlock births are confused by the varying definitions of illegitimacy used by individual states in determining and reporting their particular rate. Further, data from the National Office of Statistics, the estimate utilized with the greatest frequency, exclude figures from 15 states including the most populous ones of California and New York.

**Trends in the Demise of Maternity Homes**

The original purpose of maternity homes has been lost or severely minimized; there are conflicting expectations of the homes by those who use and staff them and the context in which they currently operate has altered radically since their inception. These and other factors have given rise to severe doubts about the very necessity of this social welfare institution. Consequently, maternity homes as an institution appear to be facing extinction. Several previous and current trends forecast its demise. Four of the most crucial trends are highlighted below; trends which were revealed in the analysis of data from a national study of children's institutions in 1966.4

1. Maternity homes have consistently served only a minimum of those who might benefit from their services.

   In spite of the above imprecise, but nevertheless impressive statistics on out-of-wedlock pregnancies, Maternity Home serve only a small minority of unmarried mothers. Further, the service is limited by its very nature to individuals of a markedly selected background. For example, during 1963, the dozen maternity homes in New York served only 7 percent of that city's unmarried mothers.5 Nationwide, Maternity Homes annually serve only 25,000 mothers to be, less than 10 percent of the total estimated unmarried pregnant women. On the other hand, non-residential child welfare agencies serve a population of unmarried mothers that is two and one-half time larger and an even greater number do without any service whatsoever.5

   Similarly, certain admission criteria related to age, marital status, adoption plans, previous out-of-wedlock pregnancies, religious affiliation and other agency restrictions (including cost of services) exclude many unmarried mothers from use of maternity homes.

   The data on use of maternity homes by non-white clients offer a perfect example. Although the highest incidence of illegitimacy exists among the non-white population, the distribution of non-white clients in maternity homes increased only 4.9 percent between 1966 and 1969, from 12.2 to 17.1 percent.7 The limited usage by non-white population is a direct result of the systematic exclusion by policy and practice developed on the basic of racial discrimination. In 1960, one quarter of the homes in existence systematically excluded blacks. In 1966, the National Council of Illegitimacy excluded four facilities for unmarried mothers from its directory because they had not developed or articulated plans for integrating their clientele.8
Previous actual and potential users of Maternity Homes are utilizing other resources and methods for solving their problems.

The girl who finds herself pregnant out-of-wedlock is confronted with a complex set of medical, legal, social and psychological problems. As they have been traditionally conceived and operated, maternity homes have offered only a partial solution to any of these problems, namely a place to hide, a connection with adoption facilities and a "second chance." Institutional commitment to these outcomes precludes utilization of the alternatives of abortion, marriage and giving birth to a child which the mother keeps. Yet, the undeniable fact is that an increasing number of females are choosing among these alternatives.

For many girls marriage is not a realistic solution, either because of age, marital status of the putative father or the condition by which they became pregnant (e.g., rape). However, the percentage of illegitimately pregnant women choosing to marry during their pregnancy ranged from 3 to 19 percent in four studies completed prior to 1960. One recent attitudinal study reveals that marriage is viewed by unwed mothers as the most acceptable solution to their problems, suggesting a probable drastic increase in the percentage of those who exercise this choice.

Previously the alternative of abortion was universally unavailable except through illegal channels, self-applied means or by proving to medical authorities that the pregnancy threatened the physical or emotional survival of the mother-to-be.

Recent relaxations of legal restrictions in many states now make abortion a viable solution, and a significant number of girls are choosing this alternative.

By July, 1970, nine months after the State of New York enacted its law allowing legal abortions, 100,000 such operations had been performed in New York City alone, of which 50 percent were requested by and granted to unmarried, pregnant girls.

For years it has been argued that the more frequent choice of keeping their babies by lower class, non-white mothers indicated greater moral acceptability of illegitimacy in that sub-group. The total number of girls currently making this choice is increasing and the rate of increase is greater among girls who previously went to maternity homes and chose to relinquish their babies for adoption. Prior to 1968, three percent of all girls entering the Florence Crittenton Home in Kansas City kept their babies. By 1970, the percentage had increased to 17 percent. A similar increase (from 14.5 percent in 1966 to an estimated 36.2 in 1969) has been reported by the combined affiliates of three national agencies: The Salvation Army, The National Conference of Catholic Charities and The Florence Crittenton Association of America.
Declining occupancy rates have culminated in the closing of several maternity homes, with a concomitant development and expansion of non-residential services.

In the last decade there has been an increasing awareness of professional responsibility to the majority of unmarried mothers; that is, the 90 percent not utilizing maternity homes services; the 60 percent who do not surrender their babies for adoption and the percent of low income, non-white, unwed mothers. In response to the increased professional concerns and to criticisms from within and outside the profession, myriad imaginative programs were developed.14

The majority of these avoided residential care and chose to emphasize continued education of the pregnant teenager; development of vocational, social and child care plans for the unmarried mother and her child and the provision of comprehensive community-wide services. The success of these programs has been phenomenal. Principally, documented professional experiences have contributed systematic and relevant data about a sector of the population of unmarried mothers, previously unserved. Similarly, more girls remained in and graduate from high school; more babies were born healthy and the plans developed by and with the girls for themselves and their offspring were realistic, responsible and functional.

In contrast, and despite differential demands and the success of the approaches, maternity homes continued to devote their most energetic efforts to the traditional objectives of concealment and adoption, and, in particular care during the last trimester of pregnancy. The organization of these institutions precluded meeting the expressed needs of pregnant females for shelter care and other living arrangements at various stages of the prenatal period and subsequent to the baby's birth. Unilateral emphasis on therapeutic counseling resulted in neglect of relevant, and oftentimes crucial, legal, social and practical problems of the unmarried mothers.

Data becoming available in and subsequent to the early 1970's revealed the cumulative response of professionals and potential clientele, namely: increasing skepticism regarding the value of maternity home services. Figures from a recent Census of Children's Institutions reveal that 43.3 percent of those who use maternity homes are in residence less than three months.15 The Florence Crittenton Association of America, with approximately 50 affiliates, reported in 1969 that the average length of stay decreased from 80 to 71 days and further, that the number and percentage of girls participating in out-of-residence care were increasing with a simultaneous decline in the number of clients served in residential care.16 Three national agencies whose affiliates comprise 75 percent of the total number of maternity homes in the United States—all report that applications during 1971 were down sharply from the previous year. Recognizing their precarious status, these agencies were forced to depart from their former silent and unobtrusive stance and resort to advertising and recruiting as a way of filling their beds. These interrelated factors came to a climax during the first six months of 1971 when a total of 10 homes in New York; Detroit
Cleveland; Hartford, Connecticut and other cities announced plans to go out of business with several others expected to follow suit.

4. **Inherent orientation and conditions of maternity homes are in conflict with and in contrast to current trends in social welfare.**

    Most existing maternity homes have offered a useful combination of residential accommodation, health care and various social services. However, new methods of service delivery has been the ideal of the last decade in social welfare. The thrust has emphasized, among other things, community oriented programs, differential staffing patterns, rejection of traditional approaches to clientele and prevention of and/or early intervention into problem complexes. Maternity homes, because of their very nature, find it impossible to systematically move into the mainstream of the current directives.

    For example, while one ideal of social welfare treatment is the increase of self appreciation and capacity to assume personal responsibility, the rules, restrictions, erosion of privacy, limited period of stay--all characteristic of maternity homes--mitigate against the realization of such an ideal. Similarly, to insure privacy and concealment, maternity homes were generally constructed in areas remote from population centers. Consequently, for most homes, relevant neighborhood or community programs would be impossible. Further, illegitimate pregnancies as a social program, come to the attention of maternity homes long after their occurrence. As a result, this institution has limited, if any, access to clients for whom prevention could be possible or useful.

    More significantly, several inherent deficits precluding achievement of current welfare objectives were documented in a recent research monograph. Despite being postulated as complete treatment agencies, the programs in maternity homes are characterized by:

    1. Uninvolvement of putative fathers and families in most treatment arrangements.
    2. Continued isolation of residents from the community.
    3. Limited availability of post discharge services.
    4. An extensive interest on the part of Directors in expanding services as currently defined and delivered, but limited interest in expanding or developing services for different clientele.

**Cause of the Death of Maternity Homes**

    While there are many possible explanations for the impending extinction of maternity homes, two major reasons are postulated here. Firstly while it has been customary to view illegitimacy as a unified problem, it is, in fact, a multi-faceted one. Several highly inter-related and overlapping phases constitute the process by which illegitimacy is socially defined: illicit coition, the actual pregnancy; the birth and care of infants born to unwed mothers and the combined physical, social, emotional and other related health needs of the unwed mother, her child (or children) and significant others. For each of these phases, the intervention system known as maternity homes represents only one of the many services potentially
available to unwed parents, and differs considerably in its appropriateness. As an institution, maternity homes do not now have, and have never had a unique contribution to offer to the solution of the problem or to any one of its particular phases.

The demise of maternity homes can be simultaneously attributed to a variety of factors reflecting the current sexual revolution. The increasing availability of birth control information and devices have removed the one greatest deterrent to sexual intercourse--fear of pregnancy while preventing numerous pregnancies which heretofore may have resulted in a maternity home stay. The liberalization of abortion laws has allowed unwed mothers to make new or different decisions regarding their unwanted pregnancy. The growing tolerance of illegitimate pregnancies in all strata of society has seriously diminished the number of potential applicants to a maternity home. Consequently, many unwed girls who are sexually active do not become pregnant and of those who do, many choose to confront society directly with their maternal status with considerably less of the previous concerns for confidentiality.

In effect, the multi-faceted nature of illegitimacy and the changing societal context have today combined to render the import and contributions of maternity homes irrelevant. As concluded by the former Director, at the time of the closing of Detroit's oldest maternity home:

"There's no need for a maternity home in its traditional sense, the original purpose of a home was to conceal the pregnancy of an unmarried woman; to provide her with shelter and seclusion and to protect her from social stigma. But the present social environment is radically different .... This generation is telling us the majority needs something else."

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of the death of Maternity Homes as a social welfare institution has serious practical and theoretical implications. Neither theory nor practice has routinely provided knowledge or skill in dealing cogently with social welfare institutions in the process of becoming obsolete. Faced with declining clientele typical administrative responses have included trial and error efforts of redefining goals, restructuring program emphases and reassigning staff with the hopes of revitalizing program or, at least, continuing to attract a respectable proportion of clients. The profession of social work, to remain relevant, must encourage its members to anticipate and prepare for changing demands in services and programs; alternative structures of social welfare institutions and, occasionally, institutional obsolescence. This author in a previous paper offered a proposal for reorganizing the overall intervention system currently responsible for services to unmarried mothers, aimed at increasing the availability of high quality, comprehensive, integrated services. This requires the locating of maternity homes within a continuum of services likely to provide continuity of care. In this system ingress to a maternity home is dictated by the girls' inability to continue their current living arrangement, the need for an availability of critical services in a residential setting and the assurance of appropriate results from such services.
From a theoretical perspective, a full-fledged sociology of institutions should explain, efficiently and in a manner that increases practice utility, the careers (including the decline) of social welfare institutions. Such is not currently the case. Rather, theory and the resulting practice have tended to assume a structural/functional approach, which implies a static, simplistic view of the problem and the intervention system. Disregard of the complex, morphogenetic nature of social welfare institutions, such as maternity homes, limits identifying and taking advantage of the simultaneous processes of societal and institutional changes, until and/or after it is much too late. In contrast, the increasingly popular general systems approach, with its typical holistic view of phenomena, provides an important tool for theory building in the sociological of welfare and its respective institutions. Successful bridging of the existing theoretical gap will avoid repeating the experiences of institutions such as maternity homes, which like old soldiers never die, but slowly and gracelessly fade away.
Footnotes


This estimate is undoubtedly exaggerated, inasmuch as it was projected prior to the impact of the Women's Liberation Movement, legalized abortion and the increased availability and utilization of birth-control information and devices.


New York Times Magazine, April 11, 1971

Kalamazoo Gazette, April 16, 1972

Florence Crittenton Association of America, loc. cit., p.5

Among the numerous possible examples, the best known are the Crittenton Comprehensive Care Center in Chicago; the Young Familiar Project, Community Advisory Committee, established by the National Urban League in New York; An Urban Adventure in Learning, with Adolescent Mothers and Their Babies in Philadelphia.

Pappenfort and Kilpatrick, loc. cit.


Roberts and Pappenfort, loc. cit.

Detroit Free Press, February 3, 1971

Samuel O. Miller, op. cit.
Degradation and humiliation are the consequences of using many social services in our society. Added to this is classification as a non-normal or a failure because one turns to a government source for help. The person is stigmatized for use and the agency is negatively labeled by both non-users and users.

While these public opinions stem partly from a long-held philosophy regarding the role of social services and the nature of the poor, these attitudes are reinforced and strengthened by specific policies and practices in the administration and structuring of the programs. Comparisons between services in the United States and Britain, Sweden, Norway, show there is wide variation in the degree the public and the user perceive of the service as an unacceptable or acceptable method of meeting a need and the degree the public give it a strong negative label. Evidence indicates that within one country this varies for different services; in the United States, for example, public welfare, mental hospital and public housing programs are highly stigmatized while Old Age Survivors Insurance, various educational scholarship programs and possibly Medicare lack this negative label.

The purpose of the research described below was to investigate what types of institutional arrangements or administrative policies are conducive to a publicly acceptable program for one social service, public housing. A further purpose was to examine both the historical and contemporary social and economic factors in a society that explain why a negative label or stigma is imposed on this social service. The focus was on British social services, especially public housing, and based on the author's two years of research in Britain; comparisons were made with policies in American public housing, based on the author's San Francisco housing project study, and on data gathered in interviews with Swedish and Norwegian social service officials.

There is increasing concern over methods to avoid stigma by academics, welfare rights groups, and agencies themselves. Howard Becker suggests the need to explore the stigmatizing process, including the activities of bureaucratic agencies, in order to understand how to change society's proneness in assigning this attribute to a person. Richard Titmuss adds that to provide social services in such a way as to avoid the disability of stigma, the loss of dignity and self-respect for the user, is one of the major challenges facing the social welfare expert today.

Our research provided insight into specific policies that can decrease the stigma associated with many American social service programs, especially public housing. It located small changes that can be easily executed but make a noticeable impact on the degree of stigma; in other cases, it found major changes that must be made, which mean significant revamping and re-thinking of policy at both the local and national level necessary. Second, the research findings pointed out the dilemma caused by incompatibility of various policy aims--the aim of minimizing stigma and the aim of assuring that the most needy poor, as well as the deviant, are given first priority.
Research findings also showed the high cost of providing a severely stigma-
matized service because such stigma hampers attainment of agency goals. For example, in public housing, the agency both could not provide the idealized physical units (one goal) because the bad reputation caused user lack-of-upkeep and user hostility as expressed through vandalism, and second, this reputation caused lack of financial support from the public and public officials. Nor could the agency provide a psychologi-
cally suitable home environment because of the negative label given to this housing setting. In sum, in public housing, costs resulting from a negative label range from those due to high tenant turnover, to poor tenant maintenance and high repair bills, to tenant hostility to management (and thus high staff turnover) and to vandalism and other deviant acts.

What can happen is that the social agency's efforts to alleviate a social problem, as students of deviance such as Lemert and Erikson point out, can instead aggravate or perpetuate the very problem, and, in fact, assure a career of deviance for the clients. Using public housing may make a person a so-called "legitimate" deviant, not yet breaking the law, but not considered normal, and second, one who may easily move to an unacceptable or illegitimate deviance with the feeling that societal reaction will hardly be more severe to his "double stigmatized" status than to his present negative label.

This dilemma of pushing persons to further deviance by negatively label-
ing their use of the helping services has long existed. Yet agencies, from poor law days to today, have often purposely stigmatized users and the services, with the aim of keeping people from permanently using the service or even applying for use. In such cases the results have often been mixed—with many becoming long-term users through necessity but, at the same time, users who because they are degraded and stigmatized develop an attitude of hopelessness, apathy and dependency. Some agencies are now enlightened to the need for change, as Titmuss says:

"Slowly and painfully the lesson was learned that if such services were to be utilized in time and were to be effective in action in a highly differentiated, unequal and class-saturated society, they had to be delivered through socially-approved channels; that is to say, without loss of self-respect by the users and their families."

Findings

In regard to the above statement, one can ask, in historical terms, why, or under what circumstances, a society meets a need by a highly stigma-
tized type of program or a non-stigmatized type. Comparing Britain and the United States on public housing policy, one finds substantial support for the hypothesis that "a service is less likely to be stigmatized when the public and officials feel the need is acute and cannot be met by indi-
vidual effort, and thus state provision is necessary." In the United States, throughout the last decades there has been little change in the feeling that everyone should be able to take care of his own housing need; when this feeling wavered somewhat in the depression, a small amount of public housing was provided, but, when need was great in the immediate post-war period, federally-insured mortgages were the main solution. In
Britain, housing need has been acute in several recent periods, (during the latter part of the 19th century and after World Wars I and II) most agreed that private builders could not meet the needs. Because most of the working class required rental units, council (public) housing was the preferred form of assistance. Today thirty percent of the housing is such, while in the U.S. only one percent of the stock is public housing.

Findings also show that for many services in Britain, including housing, the program is not likely to be stigmatized because most members of the society do not perceive of state provision of the service as offending the core values of the society, including the self-help or the work incentive ethos. Evidence shows many see the government as the rightful provider of housing for the working class or at least the needy. Council housing is considered an aid to allow the person to function in other areas of community life, to keep the family together and the children in good physical and psychological health, and to stop working class discontent and societal tensions. In the U.S., state provision is seen as a drain on the taxpayer and an offending competitor with the rightful provider, the private builder. State provision is seen as destroying one's incentive for individual effort in the area of work.

A philosophy where the group perceives itself as having major responsibility for all members of the community, such as suggested by the British welfare state philosophy stressed by Beveridge,7 seems to also provide a better setting for non-stigmatized services than does the American philosophy of laissez-faire or individual responsibility (self-help). Evidence that this former outlook actually exists in Britain is shown not only by the wide support for the National Health Service, but from results reported in nation-wide surveys of attitudes of non-users of the public housing service and debates in Parliament. Evidence from American Congressional hearings, voter referendums, and surveys of attitudes of local officials, show the American philosophy is still more laissez-faire in orientation.

Even when the means test is applied, if non-means tested income level groups can use the service, the degree of stigma may be much less than when the service is only for means-tested groups. As council rents are increased in Britain, we find application of a means test for a rent rebate scheme; however, the test for the rebate occurs after entry, is voluntary, is confidential, and need not be utilized for continued occupancy. This, plus the fact many consider the rebate a right, seems to be the basis of why there is so little stigma attached to use. Second, one might say when one pays a fee for a service and later gets a rebate there is often less stigma. This may also relate to the reputation of the agency one turns to for remission; many aged are willing to ask the housing department for a rebate but they are much less willing to apply to the welfare department (Supplementary Benefits Commission) for such help. There seems less stigma when income is assumed rather than ascertained.

Another policy source of stigma can occur when a human need, such as housing or physical or mental health care, is met by a number of different agencies, with different socioeconomic levels served by different agencies. Then the agency serving the lowest level socio-economic group, (or, as some say, the one with the least power) is assigned. Even where
a broad spectrum of groups are served by one agency, if there is also a
broad range of assignment facilities (especially as the program ages),
then the least desirable, whether prewar housing units or older hospital
facilities, may be given to the lower socio-economic group or the less
desirable, with the full approval and urging of other users. In Britain,
this has occurred within public housing; in the U.S., the stratification
of users was between different types of housing programs (public housing,
non-profit, FHA insured loans for single dwelling units, etc.). One can
find evidence to support the hypothesis that the type of user will be in-
fluenced by the number of more acceptable alternative programs as well as
entry requirements to this program; and second, the attributes of users
will have an effect on the degree the service is stigmatized.

If the service involves the use of physical facilities a negative label
is possible due to the appearance of the buildings. With a hospital or
housing, architecture is important. One finds that the degree local au-
thority officials wish to take pride in their public housing, and use it
as a vote-getting device, influences the kind of architecture. In Brit-
tain, public housing officials do take pride in new council estates and
announce their completion as an achievement of their administration,
while in the U.S., there is often more emphasis put on assuring that the
housing does not look better than private housing by keeping down cost
and cutting corners on building design. This difference relates to dif-
ference in type of users. In other words, the type of user influences
the quality of the architecture; the fact many are upper working class
and even local councillors and some white collar, (in Britain) provides
pressures for decent architecture. Similarly, the use of sites in mid-
dle class districts may encourage use of high quality architecture to
avoid criticism by middle class neighbors.8

In all of this, the strength and unity and the outlook of the competing
supplier, such as the private real estate and building lobbies, may be
important. If these groups see local authority housing as competing for
the same clientele as themselves, they can pressure the government (as
in the U.S.) away from encouraging a high standard of architecture. If,
instead, such groups see as one of their main clients the local authori-
ties (as in Britain) this situation may be different.

Services using physical units must also worry about site location. A
site in a bad part of the city may cause the project to be stigmatized,
yet a fight for a site in a good area may mobilize public attitudes
against the service. In no service is the site problem so acute as in
regard to public housing. Ability to get sites for such, it was found
in this study, can relate to the power of local and central government
versus the power of opposing lobby groups, and relate to the degree of
interest by these governmental bodies in supporting the program. Ability
to get sites in non-slum areas can relate to local authority structure,
boundary arrangements and compulsory land purchase powers as well as the
tax-paying position of tenants.

The degree of isolation of the project, whether housing or a mental hospi-
tal or other facility, can also be a major cause of stigma. Similarly the
size of the project may make it more visibly segregated in the non-users’
eyes and thus more stigmatized. At the same time, one finds size and iso-
lation of the estate may protect users from the negative opinions of non-
users as they are not in direct contact with them this way.

In sum, there are many policies that can decrease the amount of stigma associated with the service. Some conflict with other goals and a balance between different ends must be reached. Yet the cost of providing a stigmatized service should be enough to make policy planners aware that this is a major aspect of provision they must reckon with. The humiliation and degradation now encountered in use of many of our social services is extreme. It provides a psychological atmosphere that fosters the continuation of a culture of poverty. It runs against the grain of progressive philosophy needed in the post-industrial state, a philosophy that acclaims social services are a right and not a meagerly-dispensed charity.

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6. Titmuss, op. cit., p. 129.


Organizations continually adapt to external organizational imperatives such as technology, population, knowledge and values. The increasing rate and intensity of these imperatives necessitates changes in services irrespective of the organization's formal intentions to change. It is suggested that organizational characteristics amenable to handling change do not occur randomly. Six organizational characteristics are discussed. It is emphasized however, that these six organizational characteristics are not in themselves, sufficient to insure the successful implementation of change. A changing relationship between individuals, as well as a process of routinization must also be dealt with if the imperative for organizational change is to be effectively met. Three stages in this process of routinization are suggested. These are: (1) the provision of a functional input information base; (2) relating changing programs to explicitly defined goals; and (3) the implementation of management by objectives as a tool for providing the organizational characteristics discussed in this paper. It is suggested that these three stages should provide an appropriate environment for working towards a more sustained and effective implementation of organizational change.
What is often overlooked in the pursuit of detailing the multitude of problems facing social organizations is that underlying forces affect these organizations irrespective of any particular set of problems. I propose to examine one of these fundamental underlying forces, review some pertinent literature on organization characteristics that are related to this underlying force, and then suggest a procedure that could be undertaken by these social organizations to improve their effectiveness in adapting to this imperative.

CHANGE: AN ORGANIZATION IMPERATIVE

The particular force or imperative I am referring to is CHANGE itself. Changes in technology, changes in expectations, in values, in knowledge, in population, in clients demanding service, indicate a few of the changes in the external environment affecting social organizations. In other words continued adaptations to external forces such as these, necessitates changes in services irrespective of the organizations formal intentions to change as expressed by its staff and board.

PREREQUISITE FOR ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Despite continual adaptations even obvious essential changes in an organization rarely occur spontaneously. One key prerequisite for organizational change is tension. Tension within the organization and between the organization and its external environment. This tension can emanate from many sources. Changes in technology, expectations and so on lead to changes in power relationships which lead to pressures from powerful and respected sources to change. In most social organizations to-day, the consumers of service, the general public and all levels of government are interacting to provide the power pressure underlying the tensions conducive to change.

Social organizations for the purposes of this paper refer to the broad range of organizations providing services rather than producing products as their primary function. Health education and welfare organizations are obvious examples of social organizations.

Change throughout this paper refers to alterations in the system of roles (what people do) in the organization. These alterations often result from the addition of new services. Another common source of alterations in the system of roles arises from the different perceptions of these roles brought to the organization by changing personnel. A third source, discussed in this paper, arises from imperatives for change in the external environment. The point is that no matter what the cause, the effect of changes is that the people end up performing roles in the organization in a different way.
Obviously organizations have always found it necessary to adapt to their external environment. What is different today is the rate of change and the intensity of these intervening forces. Those associated with social organizations will attest to this intensity and highly accelerated rate of change. Yet few articulate the need to develop organizational characteristics that are amenable to handling change. Such characteristics do not occur randomly, but are found to form patterns.\(^3\) These patterns reflect in part an organization's ability to effectively adapt to change.\(^4\)

**STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE**

A number of different approaches have independently concluded that somewhat similar dimensions affect an organization's ability to handle change. For example, Hage and Aiken (1970) describe dynamic and static models, while Burns and Stalker (1968) label models as organic and mechanical. Both agree that organizations function best in a static or mechanical model if there is a relatively high degree of stability. Similarly they both agree that the organic or dynamic model is best suited to a changing unstable environment as in most social organizations at the present time.

The dimensions of the mechanical and static organizational model cluster around the popular conception of "bureaucracy," with a relatively high degree of centralization and formalization. The organization is conceived as having relatively stable tasks to perform with a clearly definable division of labor. It is stratified by authority which is assumed to be linked to expertise and seniority. Commitment to the organization as an occupation with career advancement is also assumed.

The organic and dynamic model on the other hand clusters around dimensions related to a relatively high degree of change. The task specialization is not as readily definable. More stress is placed on shared values and difficulties of communication. The result is more emphasis on person specialization (professionalism) than an increasingly refined division of each task.

\(^3\) See Burns and Stalker (1968) and Hage and Aiken (1970) for two studies that in part address themselves to these patterns.

\(^4\) One could question this statement pointing out that organization characteristics play only a partial role in overall organization effectiveness. A number of recent studies however have shown that structural properties are much more highly associated with the rate of program change than for instance, attitudes or values of the participant toward change (Hage and Aiken 1970 - page 122). It is on the basis of this rapidly expanding research that I emphasize the importance but certainly not the exclusiveness of organization characteristics usually associated with organization structure.
These organic and dynamic models provide the basis for predicting that the following organization characteristics are best suited for most social organizations in their present dynamic environment.

CHARACTERISTICS THAT AFFECT AN ORGANIZATIONS' ABILITY TO ADAPT TO CHANGE

These characteristics are not intended to be definitive or unidimensional. Rather, they are indicative of some of the empirical literature that relates to an organization's ability to adapt to change.

1. STRUCTURING OF ACTIVITIES. Of particular interest in the context of this paper is the growing body of research supporting a strong nexus found to exist between the following four structural dimensions:
   1. specialization (job description and differentiation)
   2. standardization (standard procedures, rules, instructions)
   3. formalization (documentation of procedures, rules, instructions)
   4. vertical span (the number of hierarchical levels in the line chain of command.)

(Child, 1972; Hinings and Lee, 1971; Inkson, et al., 1970; Pugh, et al., 1968.) This interrelationship suggests that it is correct to conclude that the less the specialization, standardization, formalization, and vertical span the greater the rate of program change.

2. CENTRALIZATION. This term refers to decision making and how the power to make decisions is distributed. It is often referred to as the bureaucratic hierarchy of authority. The evidence is that the more decentralized the power to make decisions the greater the rate of program change.

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5 See Hage and Aiken (1970) for one such study.

6 Program change refers to alterations in the system of roles (what people do) in the organization.

7 A number of studies such as Pugh, et al., (1968-1969) detach centralization analytically from the structuring of activities. On the other hand a number of recent studies point to a NEGATIVE correlation between centralization and the structural dimensions discussed in the previous point (Child, 1972; Blau and Schoenhen, 1971; Hinings and Lee, 1971). If it is true that "as organizations regulate more and more behaviour so they decentralize" (Hinings and Lee, 1971:86), then there is an inherent conflict between the need to decentralize and the previous point on the need for a less formalized structure, if organizations are to more effectively adapt to change. It is partially in recognition of this potential conflict that later in this paper I stress management by objectives techniques as a means of decentralizing decision making powers WITHOUT a concomitant increase in the structuring of activities.
3. PROFESSIONALISM. Almost everyone today considers himself a professional. However I am limiting its meaning to autonomous knowledge independent of organizational position. In other words the knowledge is vested in the person rather than the position.8

Social organizations are tending towards hiring different professional groups for different occupations within the organization. (e.g., M.S.W.'s, ACCOUNTANTS, ADMINISTRATORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, etc.). The evidence is that the more different types of professionals in an organization the greater the rate of program change.

4. DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS. There is an allocation of rewards in terms of money and prestige to different organization positions. Prestige includes many subtle forms such as title, office size, etc. The evidence is that the less differential in the distribution of rewards the greater the rate of program change.

5. QUANTITY vs QUALITY. An organization usually places more emphasis on either serving an increasing number of clients or on providing a more in depth quality service to a smaller number. Quality involves an evaluative component relating services to the ultimate objectives for providing the service. The evidence is that the more the emphasis on quality the greater the rate of program change.

6. EFFICIENCY vs EFFECTIVENESS. Efficiency refers to relative cost of operation per se e.g., the cost of interviewing a client. Effectiveness views expenditures in terms of organizational objectives. The evidence is that the more the emphasis on effectiveness the greater the rate of program change.

To sum up I am suggesting that dynamic organizations should encourage diverse professional expertise, decentralized decision making, reduce job description, work procedures, formal rules and the number of levels of authority, minimize differences in rewards, emphasize quality rather than quantity, and stress effectiveness rather than efficiency. The result should optimize the ability to adapt to increasing imperatives for change.

8 See Etzioni (1964) for a pertinent discussion of professionalism.

9 This difference between efficiency and effectiveness must be carefully noted. Many administrators equate the two. Throughout the paper effectiveness specifically implies this relationship to organizational objectives.
SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Even with tension providing the imperative to change the successful implementation of change is not insured. There are at least two focuses to the problems of implementation. One emphasizes interaction, psychic security and the relationship between individuals, the other stresses characteristics of the organization such as those already discussed in this paper. A recent Harvard study (Dalton, Barnes, and Zalernik, 1970) from the individual perspective, suggests that changed behaviour and attitude (which is the basis of organizational change) is unlikely to be maintained unless:

1. the goals and objectives toward which the individuals in the organization are working become increasingly specific and concrete;
2. the relationships which reinforce their former attitudes and behaviour are altered or severed, and they establish new relationships supportive of their change; (3) each individual's self-esteem is heightened in the process of change, and (4) the content of the motive for change is internalized. (5) Hage and Aiken (1970) emphasize a fifth point. They suggest job satisfaction is an important variable affecting organizational change. This job satisfaction implies a sense of achievement and a heightened commitment to the organization which in turn is reflected in high morale. (6) Milton Rokeach (1973) on the other hand suggests that behaviour can be effectively changed by arousing self-dissatisfaction. This ties in to the dissonance theory literature. In the context of organizational change this would imply for instance, creating an awareness that the value of social recognition (respect, admiration) could not be reconciled with the value of self-respect (self-esteem) if the work the individual does can be shown to be an inadequate response to the needs of the client.

To even briefly pursue the implications of these six points on the maintenance of change from the individual perspective is beyond the scope of this paper. Similarly it is beyond the scope of this paper to further elaborate on the six characteristics I have already indicated affect the organizations' ability to effectively adapt to change.

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that whether change is intended or not there are imperatives and tensions in the external environment that are imposing extensive changes on social organizations. I have further outlined characteristics that enhance the organizations' ability to change. However even after the need or imperative for change has been recognized, evaluated, and implemented, it is still necessary to insure that routinization of the change occurs. I suggest there is an increasing tempo to this never ending process as external factors exert more pressure for continued change. I am further suggesting that there are three stages that are important ingredients in both the routinization and feedback process necessary to effectively meet this increasing imperative for change. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to outlining these three stages that should provide an appropriate environment for accomplish-
ing sustained and effective implementation of change.

THREE STAGES TOWARDS THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF CHANGE

STAGE ONE

The first stage, which is providing an internal information base, has become a major stumbling block to effective planning for change. The key question to ask in most organizations at the present time is "How can you plan when you do not know what you are planning for"? Detailed budget records, statistics on staff employed and number of clients serviced, provide the basis for most of an organization's present knowledge of its operations. A serious shortcoming with this traditional approach to classifying organizational data by "objects" of income and expenditures is that it does not directly identify how all input resources including rent, administration, travel costs, etc. are distributed to the various service programs which in total constitute what the organization does. A number of recent studies have found large discrepancies between what the staff and the board of an organization think or say they are doing, and what they are actually doing in terms of a total deployment of resources to all actual service programs and functions.11

The information base I envisage considers that all data is only data unless it can be used for decision making, and only then does it become information. The types of decisions to be made must be anticipated. In social welfare organizations for instance this usually implies the need for common caseload reporting with data related to categories of people. (e.g., emotionally disturbed,

10 This information base should not be equated with the total needs for information in an organization. For instance it initially does not emphasize objectives, program evaluation and many areas of internal and external communication. This information base is concerned with detailing where all input into the organization is deployed in terms of what the organization is doing (it's programs) and accounted for in units that allow for evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs.

11 There are now available across Canada and the United States similar classifications of services that incorporate most programs in the social welfare field. By utilizing such classifications rather than organization specific ones, it is possible to substantially improve the information base for an entire field. For instance, for the first time it would be possible to compare similar services across agencies and communities by total input resources.
physically handicapped, one parent families, etc.) These categories of people have needs. Measuring the extent of organizational success in meeting the needs of these categories of people provides output information for making decisions on any changes to be made in existing programs. The decisions relate to resource allocation to services to meet the needs of people.

To provide an appropriate information base for decision making a functional budgeting information base is considered a pre-planning necessity.

Following the stage one pre-planning functional accounting system an organization should move into the process of P.P.B.S. (planning programing budgeting systems). The spirit of P.P.B.S. is a marriage between program planning and budgeting. (See Goodman (1969) for a discussion on the dangers in making functional budgeting an end unto itself.) My reason for not moving into a full systems approach in stage one is the recognition that there are limits on cognition. Unfortunately we have witnessed much confusion and many failures by ignoring this limitation.

STAGE TWO

The second stage involves clearly identifying why, how, and if the organization should change what it is doing. If the first stage functional budgeting has been effectively implemented, the organization is now in a position to say these ARE the services provided, and these ARE the unit costs translated into at least crude benefits to the people served (e.g., it cost $42.60 to provide one hour of counseling to one emotionally disturbed client.)

The problems of determining what constitutes an output benefit in the area of social concerns are monumental. I am not suggesting it is possible at this time to readily develop hard data on the effectiveness of various programs. I am suggesting however that there at least be guideposts that can help in evaluating effectiveness even with our present limited research capacity. For example, we can count the number of children placed in homes, or the number of physically handicapped made self sufficient.

Obvious questions the organization in stage two can now more realistically ask include; What are our organizational goals? Are these objectives valid? Is our present operation the optimum resource allocation to programs to meet these goals? How effective

\[\text{The number of hours of time put in by the social worker is input. To convert input to output, we can determine that the social worker counseled four adults for one hour. The output measure is four clients times the one hour. Thinking in terms of output is the key to maintaining emphasis on benefits to those being served. Obviously evaluation of the effectiveness of the output and alternative services must go far beyond this oversimplified example.}\]
are the various programs and alternatives? For example, should we be doing more group counseling where the cost drops to $24.25 per unit and at the same time reduce our waiting list by serving more clients? Are we the best organization to provide certain services? . . . These kinds of questions require an examination of organizational goals with a view to possible modification in both these goals and the programs established to meet them. In other words stage two provides the impetus for an analysis of possible alternative programs and services to most effectively meet the reexamined objectives of the organization.

Stages one and two do not provide answers, nor are they intended to. They do provide information on what the organization is doing with its input resources. Hopefully this information will provide a better rationale for making difficult decisions on the direction of organizational change.

Serious communication problems arise in stage two. The six points I referred to earlier on the individual perspective in the implementation of organizational change emphasize the need for staff internationalization of the change, and the needs to provide the rationale behind making the change. Unless extensive involvement accompanies changes in the pattern of what people do, and unless those involved understand how and why what they are going to do differs from what they are presently doing, the chances of success are often crippled.

STAGE THREE

The third stage in the process of implementation and routinization of change is related to an attempt to provide an organizational structure that encourages the dominance of the characteristics I have referred to as best suited to an organizations' successful adaption to change. Management by objectives is the suggested vehicle of stage three. (Redoin, 1970; Odiorne, 1965; Kindall and Gatza, 1963)

George Odiorne points out that "managers without personal commitment to risk and the possibility of personal failure are bureaucrats. (Odiorne, 1965:41) Management by objectives is a participatory process that attempt to avoid the ravages of risklessness. It assumes that the more individuals trust themselves and others, the more likelihood that they will innovate and at the same time communicate the valid information and develop the sense of commitment needed to overcome what Chris Argyris calls the basic tendency of organizations towards slow decay.

"In brief, the system of management by objectives can be described as a process whereby the superior and subordinate managers of an organization jointly identify its common goals, define each individual's major areas of responsibility in terms of the results expected of him, and use these measures as guides for operating the unit and assessing the contribution of each of its members." (Odiorne, 1965:55-56).
Measurement criteria, which are an integral part of management by objectives, are often assumed to be impractical in social organizations. Yet Reddin (1970) emphasizes the imperative of measuring results and being able to control them. He points out that if a jointly agreed upon objective cannot be measured, its attainment cannot be known. Similarly if an objective cannot be controlled, it is simply a prediction and not an objective. To overcome this measurement problem in social organizations the performance targets agreed upon by the individual and his superior must recognize and accept the possibility of failure. Regular checkpoints must also be established in advance where the viability of the measurement criteria and the objectives can be jointly reviewed.

It is not my purpose to further detail the processes and implications of management by objectives in this paper. Rather my intent is to stress that a relatively new participatory management tool is available and adaptable to meeting the needs already outlined. Obviously certain decisions must remain the prerogative of the top management. The personality of people will play a role as the organization evolves. Different organizational goals also play an important role in determining the detail of organizational structure.

SUMMARY

I am not suggesting that all organizations in social fields develop identical structures. This is both unrealistic and unwarranted. What I have attempted to do is emphasize that there are certain organizational characteristics that cannot be ignored if social organizations are to meet the dynamic challenges of change that have been thrust upon them. I have further attempted to outline how, irrespective of the particular problems facing an organization, it is possible to meet this challenge of change by implementing procedures that have proven relatively effective and practical.
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Reddin, William J.
PROFESSIONAL-BUREAUCRATIC CONFLICT AND INTRAORGANIZATIONAL POWERLESSNESS AMONG SOCIAL WORKERS

Edward J. Lawler and Jerald Hage
Department of Sociology
The University of Iowa

Since Max Weber's classic writings on bureaucracy, the relationship between professionalization and bureaucracy has been a central focus of organization theory and research (e.g., Parsons, 1947; Gouldner, 1954; Blau, 1964; Blau, 1968; Meyer, 1968b; Blau and Schoenherz, 1971). Some research suggests that professionalization and bureaucratization are alternative or conflicting modes of organization (Udy, 1959; Stinchcombe, 1959; Litwak, 1961; Burns and Stalker, 1961; Thompson, 1961; Hall, 1963; Hage, 1965). While other research suggests that professionalization and bureaucratization are actually congruent because structural accommodation minimizes dissension between professionals and bureaucrats (e.g., Blau, 1968; Meyer, 1968b; Kirsch and Lengermann, 1972). However, the resolution of professional bureaucratic discord does not always occur and may vary depending on the status or legitimation of the profession. In the case of an emerging profession or semi-profession, like social work (Scott, 1969; Toren, 1969), this conflict may remain unresolved and produce alienation and work dissatisfaction. This research investigates the impact of bureaucratic constraint and professionalism on one aspect of alienation among social workers: powerlessness, or disaffection regarding one's participation in organizational decision-making.

This research treats powerlessness as an organizationally-specific phenomenon. With some exceptions (e.g., Blau, 1964; Clark, 1959; Lefton, et al., 1959; Segal, 1969), powerlessness has been dealt with in a societal context (Lystad, 1972). In most research, powerlessness (or any form of alienation) has been viewed as a generalized manifestation of person-to-world or person-to-society relations. Intraorganizational powerlessness has been of interest primarily because of its alleged ramifications beyond the organizational context in which it is generated. Seeman (1967) found little support for this "generalization hypothesis", and suggests that this is due to persons' propensity to segmentalize different spheres of life. In this vein, the present research treats powerlessness as an organizationally-specific phenomenon, not as a diffuse aspect of a person's relation to his social world.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Professional-bureaucratic conflict is based on divergent values lodged in two distinct modes of social control: formal rules and internalized norms.
The professional values of autonomy, service, and knowledge are incongruent with ideal-typical bureaucratic values of discipline and rule compliance (Gross, 1959; Blau and Scott, 1962). The professional is dedicated to providing a service to clients in accord with internalized professional norms established outside his work organization. The bureaucrat, on the other hand, is concerned with providing a service in accord with organizational rules that often overlook professional norms. From the standpoint of the professional, his training and specialized knowledge is the legitimate basis of his role behavior. To the bureaucrat, organizational authority and rules are the most legitimate basis for role behavior. These external loyalties of professionals pose a threat to organizations that demand high levels of commitment to bureaucratic procedures.

Power is a central issue in this conflict. Professionalized employees are likely to expect and demand participation in strategic organizational decisions, regarding personnel, policy formation, and program development. Bureaucrats may resist such infringement on their decision-making prerogatives. The resulting discord, if left unresolved, may diminish morale, alienate professionals, and actually inhibit the organization's ability to provide a service.

However, a power struggle between professionals and bureaucrats is not an inherent characteristic of organizations employing professionals. Over time, some structural accommodation is likely. For example, negative relationships between employee expertise and span of control suggest that professional-bureaucratic conflict may open channels of upward communication for expert staff (Meyer, 1968b) and decrease organizational supervision of professionals (Blau, 1968). But these studies (Meyer, 1968b; Blau, 1968) investigated professionalization on the collective level and neglected the response of individual professionals to such bureaucratic accommodation. In spite of structural adjustments, professional-bureaucratic discord may persist on the individual level. The present research investigates the reactions of individual role occupants to bureaucratic constraint.

Professionals do not necessarily experience greater powerlessness than nonprofessionals. In fact, some research indicates that persons in professional occupations feel less powerlessness than persons in nonprofessional occupations (Segal, 1969; Kirsch and Lengermann, 1972). These studies compared different occupations, rather than determining the impact of the professionalization of persons within particular occupations. Research on persons within particular professional or semi-professional occupations suggests that bureaucratic constraint increases feelings of powerlessness. In a study of nurses, Pearlin (1962) found that powerlessness was greater where the supervisors were less accessible and more autocratic. Among scientists employed in a bureaucratic setting, Miller (1967) found that low research autonomy and low company encouragement for professional activities exacerbated alienation. These studies indicate that both nurses and scientists respond negatively to bureaucratic constraint.

Other research, though not on powerlessness, reveals that social workers who are more professionally oriented are more likely to view agency procedures
as obstructive, more likely to perceive a large gap between social work theory and agency practice, and more likely to value work autonomy (Scott, 1969). Although Scott (1969) did not investigate the impact of professionalism on powerlessness, his study clearly demonstrates that professionalism arouses some dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic setting. This dissatisfaction may now, however, be expressed in overt social action. Social workers committed to a "neutralist" professional stance, are less inclined to endorse radical social action, e.g., rent strikes, social welfare protests (Epstein, 1970a). In contrast, such non-institutional action is accorded greater support by "client-oriented" social workers and less support by bureaucratically-oriented social workers, (Epstein, 1970c). Thus, professionalism, per se, may arouse conflict within the bureaucracy (Scott, 1969), without increasing radical social work action (Epstein, 1970a, 1970c). Focusing on intra-agency relations, the present research will investigate the impact of professionalism and bureaucratic constraint on intraorganizational powerlessness among social workers.

In prior research, the professional-bureaucratic conflict notion has been used to interpret observed relationships between professionalization and some form of alienation or work dissatisfaction. The interaction hypotheses implicit in this notion have not been explicitly tested. To test the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis, it is necessary to examine the relationship between professionalism and powerlessness (or some form of alienation) within different levels of bureaucratic constraint. Therefore, the present research will determine whether professionalism induces greater powerlessness only when the organization is unreceptive to such professional commitments.

HYPOTHESES

Marxists notwithstanding, it is rather difficult to visualize a person as feeling powerless unless his desire for power exceeds his actual power. Prior conceptions of powerlessness imply such a discrepancy between desired and actual power, but it has typically been measured by either perceived actual power or desired power (Seeman, 1959; Clark, 1959; Pearlin, 1962; Neal and Rettig, 1963; Bonjean and Grimes, 1970; Kirsch and Lengermann, 1972; Shepard, 1972). A recent study (Payne, 1973) reveals that persons who have little power do not necessarily desire more, suggesting that a discrepancy measure is necessary to avoid attributing powerlessness to some persons, who actually feel little powerlessness. In this research powerlessness is conceptualized and measured as a discrepancy between desired and actual power.

Two classes of independent variables are included in the present research: individual characteristics (i.e., professionalism) of social workers, and aspects of the bureaucratic context. The bureaucratic structure should affect powerlessness primarily by allocating actual power; while, professionalism should affect powerlessness by altering social workers' desire for power. Powerlessness is essentially a byproduct of individual-organization conflict. This makes it a particularly useful focus for studying professional-bureaucratic discord.
Four variables, reflecting professionalism, are included in this study; professional training, professional activity, the degree of pro-change belief and idealism. The first two variables are behavioral indicators of professional commitment, and are fairly standard measures of professionalism (Hall, 1968; Goode, 1969; Hickson and Thomas, 1969). Pro-change and idealism are included because they should tap the degree to which social workers are committed to the "service ideal". Commitment to the "service ideal" is a defining characteristic of professionalization (Hall, 1968). Based on the implications of theoretical and empirical inquiry regarding social workers (e.g., Scott, 1969; Toren, 1969), it is hypothesized that these four variables will be positively related to powerlessness. The greater the professionalism of social workers, the greater their powerlessness.

Three work characteristics are included: work autonomy, rule subservience, and position level. Work autonomy and rule subservience represent indicators of bureaucratic constraint. Based on research indicating that professionals or semi-professionals react negatively to bureaucratic impediments (Pearlin, 1962; Miller, 1967), it is expected that social workers, in general, will feel more powerless when they have less work autonomy and are subjected to greater rule subservience. Prior research indicates that social work supervisors are less inclined toward radical social action (Epstein, 1970b) and less critical of the social welfare bureaucracy (Scott, 1969), suggesting that position level should be negatively related to powerlessness.

The professional-bureaucratic conflict notion suggests a specification of these linear hypotheses. Professional-bureaucratic conflict should be greatest when social workers evince high professional commitments while the bureaucratic work context places strong limitations on their role activities. Consequently, professionalism should induce greater powerlessness primarily where social workers are subjected to high bureaucratic constraint; and, bureaucratic constraint (i.e., low work autonomy or high rule subservience) should induce powerlessness especially when social workers are professionalized. This leads to the following interaction hypotheses:

I. Among social workers who exhibit high professionalism (i.e., high professional training, high professional activity, high pro-change beliefs, and high idealism), low work autonomy will induce greater powerlessness than high work autonomy; among those who exhibit low professionalism, this relationship will not occur.

II. Among social workers who exhibit high professionalism, high rule subservience will induce greater powerlessness than low rule subservience; among those who exhibit low professionalism, this relationship will not occur.

METHOD

The hypotheses are tested by a secondary analysis of data collected in 14 public rehabilitative and social welfare agencies in a Midwestern metro-
politan area in 1964 (see, for example, Hage and Aiken, 1967 and Aiken and Hage, 1966 for previous research with this data). Interview data from the 144 social workers in these organizations are used in the analysis.

The individual is the unit of analysis. All variables are measured by questionnaire data, including measures of organizational structure (i.e., work autonomy and rule subservience). Perceptions of structure measure the degree of bureaucratic constraint because such perceptions are apparently more important than "objective" structural conditions. Social workers' perceptions of bureaucratic constraint are quite variable even within similar organizational contexts (Scott, 1969), and the impact of professional-bureaucratic conflict is best determined by examining whether professional-ized social workers respond differently to perceived bureaucratic constraint than social workers who display minimal professionalism.

**Measurement of Variables**

Four variables reflect the professionalism of social workers; professional training, professional activity, pro-change beliefs, and idealism. The two behavioral indicators, professional training and professional activity are commonly used by sociologists (e.g., Hall, 1968; Goode, 1960; Hickson and Thomas, 1969). The professional training index was based on a combination of education and the amount of professional training. The scores ranged from zero to three, and were constructed as follows:

0. Absence of advanced (graduate) training and other professional training.
1. Absence of advanced training but some other professional training.
2. Advanced training but no other professional training.
3. Advanced training and some other professional training.

Professional activity was measured by the following three items dealing with professional participation:

To what professional organizations do you belong?
How many of the last six meetings have you attended?
Have you ever presented a paper or held an office in a professional organization?

Respondents' answers to each question were assigned a value of zero or one as follows. A one was assigned if the respondent belonged to at least one professional association, if the respondent attended at least four of the last six professional meetings, and if the respondent had presented at least one paper at a professional meeting. These item scores were then summed to yield an index with a range of zero to three.

The pro-change and idealism indices represent general orientations to the world and reflect the intensity of extra-organizational value commitments. Pro-change refers to the degree to which persons are interested in and desire social change. This index was constructed from the following items:
There is something refreshing about enthusiasm for a change. If I followed my convictions, I would devote much time to change movements... a primary need today.

Current situation in the community calls for change... we must respond at once!

... to get anywhere, the policy of the whole system must be changed, not just isolated individuals.

Any organizational structure becomes a deadening weight in time and needs to be revitalized.

I am not satisfied with the world as it is now, I intend to spend more of my life trying to change it.

It would be nice if... older citizens could retain... enthusiasm for initiating change which often characterizes youth.

Respondents answered "definitely true", "more true than false", "more false than true" or "definitely false". These items are dichotomized and summed to construct the index. The range is from zero to seven.

Idealism refers to the extent to which persons have a value, rather than an interest, orientation. To the value-oriented person, the realization of ultimate values is prior to the interests of particular persons or groups (see Neal, 1965 for a more elaborate discussion). The following seven items comprise this index:

Having ideals is a wonderful thing, but realistically speaking in important decisions in life, personal/group interests play the major decisive role.

The society of tomorrow is already developing from values believed in today.

I am so deeply concerned about social injustice that I would rather join a community program that may not be good than miss the opportunity to do something about it.

When I hear of people who are deprived of freedom or just treatment... I find myself planning how I can help them.

The most important issues in the world today are issues of social justice. I would rather be called an idealist than a practical man.

When dealing with problems of my own job, I find myself trying to make decisions that will solve bigger issues of justice for all mankind... the world's problems are my problems.

Respondents answered on a four point scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false". These answers were dichotomized and summed, so the range of the index is from zero to seven.

Three aspects of the work context were measured: position level, work autonomy, and rule subservience. Position level was simply coded as head, supervisor, or caseworker.

The work autonomy and rule subservience measures are based on Hall's (1963) dimensions of bureaucracy. Work autonomy is identical, on the individual level, with the hierarchy of authority, and rule subservience subsumes rules governing the work situation and the obligations of role occupants. As Hall's (1963) research indicates, these are distinct dimensions of bureaucracy.
Work autonomy refers to the degree to which role occupants are immune from supervisory control, and was measured by the following twelve items:

I feel that I am my own boss in most matters.
A person can make his own decisions here without checking with anybody else.
No one can get necessary supplies without special permission.
Everyone here has a superior to whom he regularly reports.
There can be little action taken here until a supervisor approves a decision.
How things are done around here is left pretty much to the person doing the work.
People here always get their orders from higher up.
A person who wants to make his own decisions would be quickly discouraged here.
Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up for a final answer.
People here are allowed to do almost as they please.
I have to ask my boss before I do almost anything.
Any decision I make has to have my boss' approval.

Respondents answered on a four point scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false". After dichotomizing each answer, they were summed to yield an index ranging from zero to twelve.

Rule subservience refers to the degree to which formal rules strictly govern the work setting and activities of role occupants. The following nine items measure rule subservience:

Written orders from higher up are followed without question.
The employees are constantly checked for rule violations.
The time for coffee breaks is strictly regulated.
Nothing is said if you come to work late occasionally.
Most people here make their own rules on the job.
There is no rules manual.
People here feel as though they are constantly being watched to see that they obey the rules.
Smoking is permitted only in certain designated places.
Employees are not allowed to leave their work areas without permission.

The response format was identical to that used for other indices, and the procedure for constructing the index was identical. Index scores range from zero to nine.

The power comprising the index of powerlessness concerns the participation of social workers in strategic organizational decisions, not work decisions. The index of work autonomy measures freedom to make decisions regarding one's role behavior. The measure of powerlessness concerns desired and actual power over organizational decisions, regarding policy, program, and personnel matters. This focus on intraorganizational power places powerlessness in the context of an oligarchic-democratic organizational dilemma.
The discrepancy between desired and actual power measured powerlessness. Respondents' perception of their actual power was measured by the following items:

- How frequently do you usually participate in decisions to hire new staff members?
- How frequently do you usually participate in decisions on the promotion of professional staff?
- How frequently do you usually participate in decisions on the adoption of new programs?
- How frequently do you usually participate in decisions on the adoption of new policies?

Respondents' desired power was measured by similar items, as follows:

- How frequently do you think you should participate in decisions to hire new staff members?
- How frequently do you think you should participate in decisions on the promotion of professional staff?
- How frequently do you think you should participate in decisions on the adoption of new programs?
- How frequently do you think you should participate in decisions on the adoption of new policies?

Respondents answered these questions on a five point scale, ranging from "always" to "never". Individual means on all four items (for actual and desired power) were computed separately and then subtracted to arrive at discrepancy scores.

The discrepancy for a social worker equaled the sum of desired minus actual power for each item. This index ranges from zero to twenty with higher values representing greater powerlessness.

RESULTS

The zero-order correlations between the independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 1. Only the degree of pro-change beliefs and professional training are significantly related to powerlessness. As expected, greater pro-change sentiments are associated with higher levels of powerlessness. The relationship between professional training and powerlessness is opposite to that predicted. The greater the professional training of social workers, the less their feeling of powerlessness.

However, ceiling effects often occur when using discrepancy measures (see Stouffer, et al., 1949). The zero-order correlations may be spurious or may actually conceal relationships between other variables and powerlessness because of such ceiling effects. Social workers with greater professional training may feel less powerless simply because they have more power and the potential range of the discrepancy measure is thereby delimited. Similarly, position level may be negatively related to powerlessness because those at higher organizational levels have more power. To avoid such ceiling effects, actual power must be controlled.
### TABLE 1

**ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND POWERLESSNESS**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Correlation</th>
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<td>Position Level</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work Autonomy</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule Subservience</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Training</td>
<td>-.37***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Activity</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Change</td>
<td>.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealism</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * p < .05  
** ** p < .01  
*** *** p < .001

### TABLE 2

**PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND POWERLESSNESS CONTROLLING FOR THE AMOUNT OF POWER**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Correlation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Work Autonomy</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<td>Rule Subservience</td>
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<td>Professional Training</td>
<td>-.22**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional Activity</td>
<td>.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Change</td>
<td>.24**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealism</td>
<td>.05</td>
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</tbody>
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* * p < .05  
** ** p < .01  
*** *** p < .001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Control Variable</th>
<th>Pro-Change</th>
<th>Professional Activity</th>
<th>Professional Training</th>
<th>Position Level</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Change</td>
<td></td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional Activity</td>
<td>.22**</td>
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<td>-.28***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional Training</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
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<td>.22**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Position Level</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.14 ns</td>
<td>-.22**</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>All Variables Controlled</td>
<td>.21*</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.28***</td>
<td>.14 ns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  
** p < .01  
*** p < .001
The first-order correlations, controlling for actual power, show a different pattern of results (see Table 2). The sign of the relationship between position level and powerlessness changes and becomes statistically significant ($r = .22$). Among social workers with higher status positions, powerlessness is actually greater than among social workers at lower levels in the organizational hierarchy. Apparently, a supervisory position sensitizes social workers to the bureaucratic limitations on their service function. The association between professional training and powerlessness is reduced ($r = .22$) when controlling for the amount of power, suggesting that social workers with greater professional training experience less powerlessness partly because they possess more power. It is noteworthy that the sign of the professional training-powerlessness relationship remains negative, contrary to our hypothesis. In contrast, other indicators of professionalism are related, as predicted, to powerlessness. More pro-change social workers feel greater powerlessness ($r = .24$), and the predicted relationship between professional activity and powerlessness is statistically significant when controlling the amount of power. More professionally active social workers experience greater powerlessness ($r = .18$).

Together, these four variables (i.e., position level, professional training, professional activity, pro-change beliefs, and idealism) explain 20% of the variance in powerlessness. However, these variables may not have independent effects on powerlessness because they are, in some cases, highly interrelated. For instance, the positive relations between position level and powerlessness might be due to the fact that social workers in higher positions are more professionally active ($r = .50$) and express greater pro-change sentiments ($r = .22$). To ascertain whether these variables have independent non-overlapping effects on powerlessness, additional controls are added in Table 3. These data demonstrate the relative stability of the relationships revealed in Table 2 when other controls are introduced. More importantly, with all four variables controlled, only the relationship between position level and powerlessness is revealed as spurious. Professional training, professional activity, and pro-change beliefs have independent effects on powerlessness among social workers.

The importance of these three variables is further demonstrated by eliminating alternative explanations. One might argue that various background factors, such as age or tenure in the agency, might explain these relationships. Five background variables were considered: age of the social worker, time in position, time in the agency, mobility within the agency, and academic quality of college. None of these variables affect powerlessness, precluding the possibility that they can interpret or explain these relationships.

In sum, three professional characteristics emerge as important determinants of powerlessness: professional training, professional activity, and pro-change beliefs. Contrary to our predictions, one professional characteristic (i.e., idealism) and two work characteristics (i.e., work autonomy and rule subservience) are unrelated to powerlessness. One aspect of the work context, position level, is only spuriously related to powerlessness. Controlling for professional characteristics, position level is not significantly correlated with powerlessness.
These findings demonstrate the importance of investigating the effects of professionalism within particular occupations. Some prior research indicates that persons in professional occupations experience less powerlessness than persons in non-professional occupations, (Segal, 1969; Kirsch and Lengermann, 1972). The present study, like some others (Pearlin, 1962; Miller, 1967), demonstrates that powerlessness within a particular occupational category (i.e., in this case social workers) varies with the professionalization of individual practitioners.

The positive association between some professional characteristics (i.e., professional activity and pro-change beliefs) and powerlessness articulates with prior research on feelings of powerlessness among nurses (Pearlin, 1962) and scientists (Miller, 1967). A prior study on social workers (Scott, 1969) indicated that those with a professional, as opposed to a bureaucratic, orientation perceived greater discrepancy between social work theory and agency practice and characterized the agency as less professional. The present findings extend Scott's (1969) by demonstrating that professionalism engenders greater feelings of powerlessness regarding organizational decision-making.

Given that professional activity increases powerlessness, the negative impact of professional training on powerlessness seems paradoxical. These are alternative measures of professionalization, and one would expect the signs to at least be identical. This unexpected negative relationship between professional training and powerlessness has two interpretations. First, it suggests that professional training alleviates professional-bureaucratic conflict by facilitating the integration of social workers into the welfare bureaucracy. Professional socialization, itself, may induce social workers to accept or tolerate bureaucratic impingement on their role behavior. Second, social work training may simply induce minimal professional commitment to social work, per se. This is important because, as Hall (1968) suggests, it is professional commitment rather than professional membership that is the critical criterion of professionalism. Professional activity may be a better indicator of professional commitment; whereas, professional training may actually index a person's exposure to professional and anticipatory bureaucratic socialization. This could explain the negative relationship between professional training and powerlessness.

Test of Interaction Hypotheses

To determine the impact of professional-bureaucratic conflict on powerlessness, the relationships between professionalization and powerlessness will be examined within conditions of high vs. low bureaucratic constraint. Two aspects of the work context (i.e., work autonomy and rule subservience) are used as indicators of bureaucratic constraint. To perform this analysis, all variables (except powerlessness) were dichotomized, and dummy-variable regression analysis tests for interaction effects. The behavioral measures of professionalism will be considered first.

The interaction effects between the two behavioral measures of professionalism (i.e., professional activity and professional training) and work
FIGURE 1: POWERLESSNESS BY WORK AUTONOMY AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

FIGURE 2: POWERLESSNESS BY WORK AUTONOMY AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
autonomy support the professional-bureaucratic notion. Figure 1 depicts the statistically significant interaction effect ($F=9.83, p < .01$) between professional activity and work autonomy. Among social workers who exhibit high professional activity, those with low work autonomy feel more powerless than those with high work autonomy. On the other hand, those who exhibit low professional activity do not feel impotent when confronted with bureaucratic constraint on their role behavior. In fact, the relationship reverses. High work autonomy engenders greater powerlessness than low work autonomy among social workers reporting low professional activity.

Interestingly, the sign of the relationship between professional activity and powerlessness changes under high and low work autonomy. Where social workers have low work autonomy, greater professional activity increases powerlessness; in contrast, where social workers have high work autonomy, greater professional activity actually decreases powerlessness. Professional activity apparently magnifies powerlessness only in an organizational context which is inhospitable to professional commitments. While, professionalism actually enhances the integration of social work staff into the bureaucracy when the organization respects their professional commitments and accords them a high degree of work autonomy. As supported by some research (Blau, 1968; Meyer, 1968b; Epstein, 1970c), professionalization is not necessarily incongruent with bureaucratization.

The impact of professional training on powerlessness also varies depending on the degree of work autonomy accorded social workers. A work autonomy by professional training interaction effect ($F=7.08, p < .01$) indicates that low work autonomy engenders greater powerlessness than high work autonomy among social workers with high professional training (Figure 2). Professional-bureaucratic conflict (i.e., high training and low work autonomy) exacerbates felt powerlessness. The opposite relationship occurs for social workers with low professional training. Although the sign of the relationship between professional training and powerlessness does not differ under the two work autonomy conditions, the relationship is noticeably stronger when work autonomy is low. This suggests that the integrative effects of professional training vary depending on the bureaucratic setting. Where organizations provide high work autonomy, greater professional training more strongly depresses felt powerlessness.

An anomalous finding in Figures 1 and 2 also warrants attention. Surprisingly, social workers who are less professionally active and have less professional training actually feel more powerlessness when they are granted substantial work autonomy. Such persons may have adopted a thoroughly bureaucratic orientation and eschewed professional values of autonomy. A person, who is committed to bureaucratic discipline, may construe work autonomy as role ambiguity and organizational inefficiency. As a consequence, work autonomy may engender dissatisfaction that is reflected in feelings of powerlessness.

The effects of professionalism on powerlessness do not differ when social workers are subject to high, as opposed to low, rule subservience. Using rule subservience as the indicator of bureaucratic impediments, the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis receives only tenuous support. Neither the predicted interaction with professional activity ($F=1.27, ns$), nor with
FIGURE 3: POWERLESSNESS BY RULE SUBSERVIENCE AND PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

FIGURE 4: POWERLESSNESS BY RULE SUBSERVIENCE AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING
FIGURE 5: POWERLESSNESS BY WORK AUTONOMY AND PRO-CHANGE

FIGURE 6: POWERLESSNESS BY RULE SUBSERVIENCE AND PRO-CHANGE
professional training ($F < 1$) are supported by the data. Although, the rule subservience by professional activity interaction shows a pattern consistent with the hypothesis (see Figure 3). Among social workers exhibiting high professional activity, there is a tendency for those reporting high rule subservience to feel more powerless. This trend does not occur for social workers reporting low professional activity.

With the two attitudinal measures of professionalism (i.e., pro-change beliefs and idealism), the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis is accorded some further support (Figures 5 and 6). An interaction effect between pro-change beliefs and work autonomy ($F=4.42$, $p < .05$) indicates that powerlessness is greatest where social workers have strong pro-change sentiments and low work autonomy (Figure 5). As predicted, this difference does not occur when social workers have a negative orientation toward change. Pro-change beliefs increase powerlessness only when the bureaucracy restricts the behavior of social workers. Such extra-organizational attitudinal commitments are incongruent with bureaucratic constraint. The predicted interaction between pro-change beliefs and rule subservience is not statistically significant ($F=1.87$, ns), but does show a pattern consistent with the hypothesis (Figure 6). The other attitudinal measure, idealism, does not interact with either work autonomy ($F < 1$) or rule subservience ($F < 1$), contrary to the hypotheses.

Overall, these data offer substantial support to the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis. Work autonomy is clearly important to professionalized social workers, as indicated by the significant interaction effects of work autonomy with professional training, professional activity, and pro-change beliefs. Greater professional activity and pro-change sentiments increase powerlessness among social workers only when the bureaucracy limits their work autonomy. When the organization provides high work autonomy to its social workers, such professional characteristics do not enhance felt powerlessness. Moreover, greater professional training reduces powerlessness, primarily when the organization grants social workers high work autonomy. With low work autonomy, professional training has lower integrative effects. Among the four professional characteristics incorporated into this research, only idealism departs from the predictions.

Support for the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis is less impressive when rule subservience is the indicator of bureaucratic constraint. None of the predicted interactions with rule subservience are statistically significant, although the predicted pattern emerges with professional activity and pro-change sentiments (Figures 3 and 6). Rules may simply not obstruct the role behavior of social workers. Some research (e.g., Meyer, 1968a) suggests that formal rules actually serve as substitutes for centralized authority, rather than manifesting such a power concentration. The delegation of power inherent in hierarchical, as opposed to horizontal structures, increases the stress upon rules as coordinative mechanisms while actually decreasing centralization. Rules provide a substitute for centralized authority and close supervision (Meyer, 1968a). In the present research, work autonomy may more adequately reflect centralized authority and close supervision. Rule subservience, following Meyer's (1968a) reasoning, may
signify less centralization and may not substantially constrain the activities of social workers. Rules may be less imposing than centralized authority simply because they can often be reinterpreted, evaded, or subverted.

CONCLUSION

This research demonstrates the impact of professionalism on intra-organizational powerlessness among social workers. Active involvement in professional affairs and commitments to social change increase powerlessness; formal professional training decreases powerlessness. Social work training evidently acclimitizes social workers to welfare bureaucracies. Yet, social workers who become actively dedicated to the profession, itself, and committed to social reform find it relatively difficult to function in highly bureaucritized settings.

A test of the professional-bureaucratic conflict notion reveals that the effect of professionalism on powerlessness varies as a function of bureaucratic constraint. Bureaucratic limitations on work autonomy accentuate powerlessness among professionalized social workers, but not among less professional social workers. Only professionalized social workers respond negatively to bureaucratic impediments to their autonomy. Consistent with prior theory and research (Blau and Scott, 1962; Hall, 1969; Hage, 1969; Segal, 1969; Engel, 1970; Scott, 1969), this study suggests that professionalism enhances the value attached to work autonomy, and that work autonomy is an important basis for professional-bureaucratic discord.

These results also have some implications for the alleviation of agency-social worker conflict. An agency can structurally adapt to professionalized social workers by granting them greater autonomy and discretion over their work activities. Such agency recognition of and support for professional commitments will not only minimize dissension, but may actually serve to enhance the integration of social workers into the bureaucracy. This is supported by the fact that professional training and professional activity decrease felt powerlessness under conditions of high work autonomy. Expanding caseworker autonomy may actually generate positive consequences for the agency beyond the mere avoidance of deleterious conflict. There is, however, a noteworthy complication. Prior research indicates that social workers display considerable variation regarding professionalism (Scott, 1969; Epstein, 1970a), and the present research suggests that low professionalism may signify a rejection of work autonomy and preference for bureaucratic guidance. Social workers with low professionalism tend to express higher levels of powerlessness when accorded high work autonomy. Consequently, if social workers evince low professionalism, providing greater autonomy may backfire and engender greater dissatisfaction and agency-social worker conflict.

Although this research offers support to the professional-bureaucratic conflict hypothesis, it has investigated only one profession, social work, and one consequence, powerlessness. Further explicit tests of this hypothesis should investigate different professions, other responses to professional-bureaucratic conflict, and determine whether issues other than work autonomy are important structural sources of the conflict.
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CREATING ACCOUNTABLE PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES*

James R. Hudson

Pennsylvania State University - Capitol Campus

1971

During the past several decades there has been a persistent and constant trend in our society that has not gained the prominence it deserves. This trend has been the continuous growth in the autonomy and power of public bureaucracies. The community power literature, for example, has systematically ignored public bureaucracies in its search for the power structure of cities (Aiken and Mott, 1970). The reasons why public bureaucracies have been overlooked by these researchers stem from a number of theoretical and methodological shortcomings that need not concern us here. The point, however, is that we have not regarded public bureaucracies as loci of power in our cities.

The resources these agencies command indicate the tremendous impact public bureaucracies have on municipal governments. What is perhaps most crucial about the fiscal impact public bureaucracies have is that their operating costs are often fixed within narrow limits, and mandated salary increments commit future resources. Urban mayors find themselves constrained from innovative activities because their discretionary funds are limited.

If we consider the relationships between public bureaucracies and their clientele, the power of these agencies is even more apparent. The changes in the social organization of our urban communities have made these agencies more central to the lives of the citizens in these communities than they were previously. They now make a number of critical decisions that directly affect the lives of millions of persons.

Amos Hawley has argued that units within a system have two types of power. The first he calls functional power -- the power needed to execute a function -- and the second derivative power: "that which spills over external relationships and regulates the interaction between parts" (1963:423). I am claiming that public bureaucracies have both types of power but particularly, the latter. I will clarify in detail below why this is so.

To begin with functional power or internal organizational characteristics, we note that public bureaucrats have increasingly come under the protection of civil service. Many of these positions were formerly part of a patronage system and therefore subject to

* This research was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health (Grant #1 RO 1 MH 14997-01).
the discipline of political regimes. Civil service regulations, complete with elaborate due process, have removed the members of these organizations from direct political manipulation. They have also produced a good deal of organizational rigidity with the standardization of job descriptions, promotions, transfers and the like (Rogers, 1968: 266-323; Sayre and Kaufman, 1961: 402-451). In addition to expansion of civil service categories, an increasing demand among certain civil servants for recognition as professionals fosters autonomy and thereby reduces the direct influence of those without similar credentials (Gittel, 1967; Willbern, 1954).

Civil service reform and professionalization could potentially contribute to politically neutral agencies capable of carrying out their mandate in classical bureaucratic terms. But at the same time these organizations have gained more hegemony over their internal operations, i.e., more functional power, the members of these agencies have banded together into partisan employee associations that are politically active. In short, the internal control frees energies for participation in external relations. The goals of these employee associations include not only control over scarce appropriations but also over job descriptions, promotion and tenure proceedings, and working conditions in general with additional demands that support their autonomy at the work place.

But the political actions of public bureaucracies do not end with their activities as bargaining agents. In many cases they have taken their demands into the streets and employed such strategies as "job actions" and strikes to gain their particular ends. The public response of elected officials to these actions suggests the power these agencies command. Elected officials realize that these employees are critical constituencies in municipal elections, further enhancing their power and potential power.

I should not slide over this last point without commenting on the use public agents have made of the bureaucracies themselves. Job actions, strikes, strict rule enforcement and other techniques directly involve the agencies in politics. By curtailing services or disrupting them, the public servants hope to mobilize support and pressure in the wider community that will be directed toward elected officials. Such tactics clearly undermine the political neutrality these agencies once projected.

These trends would be interesting in themselves, indicating, as they do, the changing character of public bureaucracies. But other developments have placed them more prominently in the public eye. Much current social policy discussion revolves around whether citizens are receiving fair, just, or equal treatment at the hands
of public bureaucracies. There are complaints about mismanagement of cases or discriminatory treatment by government bureaucrats, such as unnecessarily severe standards for receipt of public welfare assistance, refusal of emergency service by a hospital, or unwarranted suspension of a child from school. Public bureaucracies have not met the demands for which they were created and rather than contributing to the solutions of problems have become part of the problem itself.

But, as with every trend there have been counter trends, and in the case of public bureaucracies a number of strategies have been suggested that would make them more accountable. Accountability cannot be conceptualized as a uniform problem across bureaucracies. Citizens are not homogeneous with regard to their relations to public bureaucracies and the kind of accountability desired. For example, the tax-paying, employed citizen certainly differs from the unemployed, welfare recipient with regard to what each expects from social welfare agencies. Elected officials also have interests in the manner in which these agencies operate and the degree to which their policies can become politicized. In the extreme case, politicians are reluctant to see certain policies promulgated that would create new constituencies and upset the political balance in their jurisdictions.

I have not as yet come to grips with one of the more complicated questions in creating accountable public bureaucracies, that is, for what should the bureaucracy be accountable. On the one hand, it can be argued that they should be accountable for delivering services fairly and equitably, but this does not address the more important issue of evaluating the services delivered. To distribute poor education equitably seems a dubious achievement. There have been recommendations that what is needed is some kind of "social accounting" that would measure the effectiveness of public agencies to insure that they were meeting their mandates. Under such a system goals would be established geared to agency performance. Failure to meet these goals would result in alterations of policy, staffing and administration. If my thesis is correct, the public bureaucracies themselves would be deeply involved in establishing standards which would be negotiated in the political realm where they would continue to exercise a good deal of power. Professional associations of all kinds would jockey to make sure that their standards were the acceptable standards with the predictable outcome that the balance of power would not be seriously changed.

But there have been some efforts to alter the traditional client-agency relationships. I will focus primarily upon those strategies that have been employed and suggested that would create, at least for the clients, accountable public bureaucracies.
From my observations and readings four major strategies have gained prominence in the past decade: confrontation (Lipsky, 1970), legal action (Hannon, 1969), community control and citizen-initiated complaint procedures (Altshuler, 1970; Handler, 1969; Hudson, 1968). Confrontations involve the mobilization of the client population to challenge directly actions taken or not taken by public agencies. It involves such tactics as sit-ins, picketing, occupation of offices. The clients seek immediate alterations or explanations of official policies. Another objective is to gain through publicity an understanding of the clients' problems and the intransigence of the public agencies. As a tactic it has limitations, since continuous confrontations drain the resources and energies of the protestors. By its very nature, it is non-bureaucratic and if some permanent rapprochement is to occur the demands must become routinized and therefore bureaucratized.

Legal action, and particularly legal action under certain OEO programs, employs existing political institutions and seeks to redefine client-agency relations, changing the role of client from a supplicant to that of a rights bearing citizen. Its effectiveness is greatest in those instances where class action cases are feasible. Unlike confrontation it can depend upon a single client or a few clients to carry the case to completion, eliminating the necessity to keep a constituency constantly mobilized. A number of significant decisions have been reached using this strategy. It is limited because what it can address itself to is circumscribed by the legislation governing these agencies. It is not an equal counter-weight to the position of the public bureaucracies in the political power structure.

The third strategy, community control, seeks to break down public agencies into smaller, autonomous units that are more responsive to the needs of local communities. It rests upon the assumption that indigenous populations have a better understanding of the services needed in the local community and the most effective ways of delivering these services. It further assumes that sufficient talent exists at the local level to staff the administrative apparatus of the agencies. Yet if public employees continue to be organized as city wide units with political power that extends beyond the local community, there will remain an imbalance of power. Local control does not eliminate civil service reforms even though it may modify them. The same issues public agents raise at the municipal level will not disappear at the local level.

The final strategy for making public bureaucracies accountable to their clientele are citizen-initiated complaint procedures represented by fair hearing procedures in social welfare agencies
and civilian controlled police review boards. Underlying all such review procedures are the assumptions of citizen competence and of the willingness of the citizen to challenge an agency with which he has an on-going relationship.

For the most part grievance procedures have been located within the administrative agency itself (Minter, 1964; Handler, 1969). It should be obvious that such placement does not encourage neutrality. Citizen-initiated complaint procedures seek to settle complaints serially. Unlike confrontations, legal aid, or community control, the objective is to resolve a given complaint at a given time. The serial settlement of complaints does not open the agency up for general review of policies. The issue as seen from the point of view of the agency is that in a specific case some mismanagement, miscalculation or oversight may have occurred and its particularistic characteristics can be adjudicated. It is important to note that citizen-initiated complaint procedures operate at the delivery level of the organization and do not penetrate beyond the periphery. Such a strategy may accommodate a few dissatisfied clients, but does not call for serious review of organizational policy.

None of the strategies I have reviewed takes into account the power and autonomy that public bureaucracies have obtained. While the public bureaucrats are part of the power system, these accountability strategies do not seriously upset those power arrangements. The public agents, through their employee associations, are a well-mobilized political constituency. Their bargaining takes place at the highest levels of municipal decision-making, often out of the public eye.

On the other hand, the client population is not a well-mobilized constituency. Although there has been an increase in the militancy of certain client groups, these have not been welded into an articulate political force. What is needed is a parallel organization of clients and potential clients that can successfully challenge the hegemony of the bureaucracies.

To conclude, the creating of accountable public bureaucracies remains problematic. The set of strategies reviewed here does not take into account the power these agencies hold. To make public bureaucracies more accountable than they are now will require some of the power they have lost in their ability to monitor public bureaucracies. The client population itself needs to achieve some kind of parity with these agencies in order that their position does not remain one of a passive recipient. A public office may be a public trust, but it appears that we need some new kind of "trust-busting."
References


It is important that my basic assumptions about social theories be made explicit at the very outset.

1. Every social theory has implicit, if not explicit, assumptions about the nature of man/woman.

2. Every social theory has implicit, if not explicit, assumptions about the nature of society or the collectivity.

3. Every social theory has implicit, if not explicit, assumptions about the relationship of man/woman to society or to the collectivity.

These assumptions in the theories are not empirical but normative and hence social theory is ideologically based. The fact that the social theories are ideologically based does not diminish their usefulness in helping us organize our knowledge of the social world. Rather, it becomes incumbent upon us as social scientists to explicate our assumptions in the three areas noted whenever we do research and/or participate in assisting groups of people in the formulation of social policies.

W. I. Thomas' dictum is one of two laws in Sociology. "If a man defines the situation as real, it is real in its consequences." How we define the world has tremendous consequences for our subsequent behavior. Our definition of the world is based on our "stock of knowledge at hand" (Schutz: 1959) which includes our ideological assumptions.

The second law in Sociology is "He who succeeds in imposing his definition of the situation on others, controls that situation." Attempts to pass off on others ideologically based definitions of situations under the guise of "objective science" is an attempt to impose their worldview on others and therefore control them. The various struggles occurring within the field of Sociology may best be understood as attempts to redefine the nature and scope of the field and, therefore, to break the control exercised by that segment of the profession that has long imposed their worldview on the others.

Martindale's (1960) brilliant analysis of the philosophical and historical roots of sociological theory clearly supports the thesis that sociological theory is ideologically based. As increasing numbers of sociologists recognize and accept the fact that our sociological theories are ideologically based; as they
begin to explicate their assumptions, we may well see a significant
enrichment of our knowledge of the social world.

Those of us who are involved as sociologists and social workers
in the area of the development of social policy must, in the mean-
time, extend our analytical skills and critically examine the
assumptions that are implicit in relation to the nature of man/
woman, the collectivity, and the relationship between man/woman and
the collectivity.

There are many assumptions concerning the nature of man/woman.
For heuristic purposes, we will try to conceptualize some of these
assumptions as polarities and indicate how these assumptions result
in different public policies. We do not claim this analysis is
exhaustive, but rather illustrative.

One set of assumptions sees man/woman as "homo-duplex, part
egotistic, anarchistic and self-seeking and plastic without a
system of inner controls." (Horton, 1964). The consequences of this
set of assumptions is to seek ways to provide man/woman with external
controls. This Hobbesian definition of the nature of man/woman
focuses on the necessity for the establishment of external con-
straints (Dawes, 1970). Much of our current welfare policies and
programs are predicted upon this view of man/woman.

Another basic assumption about the nature of man/woman is that
behavior is predetermined by his/her psychic structure as well as by
social forces that he/she cannot control (Blumer, 1969). In other
words, he/she is the medium through which self-perpetuating social
forces pass through and thus pre-determine his/her behavior. The
consequences of the psychiatric world view (Reissman & Miller 1964)
and social-determinist view is to provide therapeutic services
designed to help the individual work through his intrapsychic prob-
lems so that he can make a better adjustment. Thus we find a myriad
of services involving all types of therapeutically oriented personnel
i.e. social workers, counselors, psychiatrists, made available to
the individual. In addition to personnel, we also build large edi-
fices to care for (control) those we cannot affect in the community.

While some social scientists adhere to the Hobbesian view of
the nature of man/woman, they simultaneously adhere to the view
that man/woman's rewards in terms of wealth, power, and prestige
is the result of inherent superior qualities. The Davis-Moore
(1945) - Melvin Tumin (1953) discussions regarding the efficacy of
functional theory to explain the existence of inequalities of rewards
do not obscure the fact that popular mythology as well as social
science ideology gives credence to the view that superior rewards is
due to superior personal qualities. The consequences of this defi-
nition are to be found in the programs in the War on Poverty which
stressed trying to help individuals develop necessary qualities to
assist them to get out of the "culture of poverty." Programs such
as Head Start, Job Corps, Manpower Training were focused on
the individual and not necessarily the social structure and how we dis-
tribute the resources of our society. In many of the "individual
improvement programs" of the War on Poverty a necessary concomitant
to "cognitive training" was "personality therapy." Thus services
to individuals and families seemed to become the focus of many of
the programs. We will reserve comment on the Community Action Pro-
grams until later. Suffice to say that CAP programs were founded
on other ideological assumptions and when they began to show some
minor results, the conservatives in the legislature quickly suc-
cceeded in effectively weakening this part of the program. (Rose,
1972).

The view of man as homo laborans, existential man/woman, the
active creator of himself/herself, capable of freeing himself/her-
self from being "stimulus bound by his/her capacity for synthesizing,
symbolizing, and exploring" (Frankl, 1967), capable of developing
self-control and social control patterns that maximize freedom and
self-development, the creator of the social structure and the con-
structor of the social reality, requires a different set of concepts
with which to understand the social world. Social behaviorism*
(Martindale, 1966) holds great promise in its focus on the study of
social behavior. This view holds that man creates social institu-
tions and changes these institutions. Man in interaction with other
men creates a variety of patterns of ways to influence one another
and that various forms will rise and fall from preeminence. If
power, (the ability of one group of people to impose its will on
others), (Bierstedt, 1950), is an important element in certain forms
of social control, then to alter these forms and its subsequent con-
sequences, it is essential to alter the power relationships among
people.

The theoretical basis for Haryou Act, Inc., an anti-delin-
quency project in New York City, which provided a major prototype
for the C.A.P. programs in the War-on-Poverty, was the necessity
for the redistribution of power so that those who were powerless
could obtain power in order to effect the decisions that affect
their lives (Knapp & Polk, 1971). A thorough reading Youth in the
Ghetto: A Study in the Consequences of Powerlessness (1964) pro-
vides clear evidence that the implicit assumption regarding the
nature of man/woman is that of latter point of view. Social ser-
vice was seen as an integral part of the program, but by no means
the dominant feature. The predominant feature was on the ways and
means for the powerless to obtain power. Once Title II of the Act
establishing the Office of Economic Opportunity began to show some
minor results in forcing some redistribution of power, the conser-
ervative forces in Congress led by Congresswoman Green of Oregon suc-
cceeded in stifling the program by putting it under the egis of the
elected officials i.e. Governors and Mayors.

A second area we need to examine briefly in order to illustrate
the significance of one's assumptions in social theory on public
policy is how one defines society. Here as before, we will posit a
polarity. One pole views society as being transcendental, an entity
sui generis, greater than and different from the sum of its parts.
In this view, society is the source of morality because individuals
cannot of their own volition create and maintain order. External
constraint is necessary for society to exist at all. Furthermore,
this view sees society as self-generating and self-maintaining
which gives rise to such concepts as central value system, structure, function, equilibrium, and structural differentiation. (Horton, 1960).

The relationship of the individual to society is a superordinate-subordinate one. The individual becomes socialized by internalizing external constraints. He adopts the central value system of the society and learns the norms and proper social roles. He thus learns to become a productive member of society.

This view of the nature of society and the relationship between the individual and society have important implications for one theory of deviance and the social policies that flow from it. Within this framework there are two basic explanations for deviance. The deviant individual has not been sufficiently or successfully socialized to the control value system or he is psychologically ill.

The consequences of this definition of the situation is to establish elaborate systems aimed at either "resocializing the individual" or treating him as a psychologically ill person in a mental hospital or similar settings. The concept of structured social roles further becomes the criteria for diagnosing mental health and illness within this view of society and man (Parsons, 1958).

In order to appear more humanitarian, the concept of a therapeutic state is rapidly gaining ascendancy as the primary method of external social control for "deviants." Kittrie (1971) notes: "The implications of the therapeutic state for the treatment of crime and criminals are dramatic, representing a departure from the moral-religious concept of crime and other antisocial behavior as manifestations of evil and should be suppressed and punished as a means of purging the evildoers as well as society." However, the abuses possible in the therapeutic state are illustrated by Thurman Arnold in his foreward when he relates the case of a man found innocent of a crime by virtue of "insanity" and sent to St. Elizabeth's Hospital where he spent over four years. Had he been found guilty of the crime, he would have received a maximum sentence of six months.

Within the transcendental point of view, the worth of the individual is judged by his "contribution to society." We, therefore, establish many services in order to help the individual make a contribution to society and many new services and programs are promulgated on the basis that it will increase the individual's contribution and usefulness to society.

The other assumption views society as the creation of man/woman. This eminent orientation is a holistic view of the relationship of man and society. One cannot think of a society except as composed of individuals and cannot conceive of an individual except as members of society. Man/woman and society are opposite sides of the same coin. (Denzin:1969). This view makes no a prior assumption relative to the ideal state of society as being in equilibrium nor that neither consensus, cooperation, conflict, or constraint is
ideally present. Rather, the existence of any of these phenomena become empirical questions which must be researched.

An important set of ideologies which stems from these two orientations (transcendental and eminent) are related to what Martindale (1964) posits as individualism and collectivism. 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 unfolding of the individual's potential. Collectivism is an ideology which maintains 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 individual is insignificant. In the individualism ideology, society and institutions are instrumental i.e. institutions are made for people and not people for institutions. In the collectivism ideology, 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 collectivism ideology is an integral part of the transcendental orientation and the individualism ideology is related to the eminent orientation.

Two examples related to public education will illustrate how these ideologies influence the definition of the problem and the solutions that emanate from these definitions.

In two suburban school systems with which I am associated as a consultant, there is considerable concern being voiced by school administrators about the increasing number of students being "turned off" from the educational system. One school system is attempting to define the problem within the collectivism framework. The problem resides in the students who cannot adjust to the high school and are disruptive. The solution they have evolved is being called euphemistically "an alternate high school." In reality, it is an "R and R School"------Relaxation and Refreshment" for the regular teachers in the high school who are having trouble with these adolescents: "Rehabilitation and Return" for the students who will be taught how to behave in a school and returned to the regular high school.

In the other school system, there is increasing recognition that not all students can profit from a large bureaucratically operated high school. The school administration has begun a process of deliberation with students, teachers, parents, and pupil service personnel in order to develop a viable alternate high school which will help students and teachers maximize their potentials. The individualism orientation is evident.

If one has a transcendental view of society---individual relationship and a collectivism ideology then public policy will be aimed at changing the people who do not fit into the structure and who threaten the stability of the collectivity.
If one has an eminent view of the relationship between the individual and society and an individualism ideology, then public policy will focus on changing the institutional structure that does not contribute to maximizing the individual's potential.

The second example illustrates how social class bias result in differential definitions of the same problem. Martin Trow (1966) describes how the problem of non-achievement in an inner-city school and a suburban school is defined. In the inner-city school, the problem is the result of inadequate early socialization, poor family attitudes, poor peer group influence, racial segregation, family disruptions, poor motivation, etc. The assumption is that all is well with the school; it is the children and their families who need help. Hence, a group of therapists are brought into the picture to begin tinkering with the children's heads. The solution to the problem is social service.

In the suburban schools, the children are motivated; they are not culturally deprived; there is the assumption that they have been well socialized, there are "good" family attitudes; therefore, the problem must be found in the structure of the curriculum and in the technology of teaching. Elaborate attempts are, therefore, made to modify the school.

A collectivism orientation was used in defining the problem in the inner city school and an individualism ideology in defining the problem in the suburban school.

Earlier we mentioned the prevailing mythology relative to the belief that one's personal qualities determine what one's share of rewards, wealth, power, and prestige will be. This myth promulgated by the ruling class and supported by "the special group of ideologists" (sometimes called philosophers, economists, and social scientists) (Marx, 1964) became the rationale for the War on Poverty. Instead of developing a program for fixed full employment and a measure of income maintenance, which would have had some impact on the redistribution of the nation's income, the Office of Economic Opportunity was launched. Founded on the implicit assumption that being poor, just as being rich, was the result of the individual's personal qualities, services were the mainstay of the O.E.O. The variety of services created the illusion that we were doing something about poverty.

Figures by Miller (1971) demonstrate the persistence of inequitable distribution of income over a forty year period. In 1929, the lowest 40% of the population received 13% of the income. In 1968, they received 18% of the income; a total gain of 5%. In 1929, the top 20% received 54% of the income. In 1968, they received 41%, a drop of 13%. In 1968 the top 5% received 14% of the income as compared to 18% for the bottom 40%. Translated into figures, based on a population of 200,000,000 people in the United States, 10,000,000 people had almost as much income as did 80,000,000 people. The middle 20%, 40,000,000 people received the same as the lowest 40%, 80,000,000 people in 1968. The same was true in 1929. The fourth 20% received 19% in 1929 and 24% in 1968,
From an ideological point of view, the War on Poverty reflected a collectivism orientation in which the individual was out of step with the collectivity and had to be helped to "get into step." Few research reports on either the War on Poverty or Model Cities challenge the basic ideological assumptions regarding the nature of the collectivity or the nature of the relationship between the individual and the collectivity. The notable exception seems to be Roland Warren (1971) and Stephen M. Rose (1972).

The collectivism orientation places great stress on education as the avenue to upward mobility. To a degree, there are statistics that seem to support this claim (Miller 1971). However, the median income based on educational achievements between white and non-white families demonstrate considerable variation. White families with an elementary school education earn $2015 more than non-white families. White families with a high school education earn $3179 more than non-white families with the same education. White families with a college education earn $2671 more than non-white families with the same education for the year 1969. (New York Times, January 10, 1972). Figures from 1958 to 1969 show the identical trend i.e. higher median incomes for white families in each educational achievement category when compared to the median family income for other than white families (Miller, 1971).

The utilization of social services in an attempt to fight the War on Poverty is, in my view, equivalent to feeding the birds by giving oats to horses.

Similarly, attempts to tinker with the educational institutions through incremental changes (Lindbloom, 1959) is to create an illusion that we are doing something about a problem without truly effecting the social practices in the broader society which results in the vast differences in earnings between white and other than white families with the same educational achievement. We are able to be blinded to the consequences for individuals of our social arrangements by adopting a collectivism orientation.

We are, therefore, able to develop sophisticated research designs which make a prior assumption that the problem of achieving within the educational system resides within the individual and not the social arrangements (Ausubel and Ausubel, 1963; Bettelheim, 1964; McLelland, 1961). The ideological bias seems clear.

One needs to ask how social science theory and sociological theory in particular with its various ideological orientations influenced the definition of the problem and the subsequent public policies that evolved in response to the problem.

It seems to be generally accepted that the problem of defining a social problem involves a normative orientation rather than empirical orientation. C. Wright Mills (1943) more than thirty years ago was among the first to demonstrate the normative orientation of social pathologist. Martindale's (1957) scholarly analysis of the normative influences in defining social problems carried that work further. Freidrich's (1970) landmark contribution to the
development of sociological theory and the various ideological influences at work brings us up to the present decade.

The acceptance of the prevalence of normative orientations in sociological theory does not diminish the contribution that we can make towards understanding our social world and our social problems. However, Sociology can no longer parade under the guise of being a value-free social science. Gouldner (1962) in his presidential address to this society more than a decade ago may have sounded heretic to those of us who felt that the model for social sciences is the "value free" natural sciences. The drive for acceptance in the academic scientific community caused us not to hear what Mannheim (1952), Znaniecki (1952), and others said about the differences between the natural sciences and the cultural sciences.

**Concluding Remarks**

As a social worker, a sociologist, and a social work educator, I find no conflict between these three roles. As a sociologist, I am committed to the explication of my assumptions in any work I do in that role. As a social worker, I have lived with my assumptions and have functioned with them for twenty-five years. As an educator, I am convinced that I owe it to my students to explicate my assumptions so that they may better understand what I have to say because what I have to say is influenced by my frame of reference. I do not have any conflict between being a social worker committed to a set of values and principles and a sociologist, because I do not advance the claim that I am free of values.

Lynd almost forty years ago asked "Knowledge For What?" The answer must be knowledge for use to help make our world fit for human beings to live and grow in. I cannot comprehend how knowledge generated by sociologists has any real meaning if it is not used to help construct a better world. When we enter the arena of trying to construct a better world, we enter as artisans and not "objective scientists" however we attempt to define this. We, therefore, must be honest and explicate our assumptions so that we may join with others as knowledgeable human beings involved in the history of mankind and not as someone who claims exemption on the basis of "scientific objectivity."
Ausbel, D.P. and Ausbel, Pearl
1963

Bettelheim, Bruno
1964

Bierstedt, Robert
1950

Blumer, Herbert
1969

Davis Kingsley and Moore, Wilbert E.
1945

Dawes, Alan
1970

Denzin, Norman K.
1969

Frankl, Victor
1967

Friedricks, Robert W.
1970
*A Sociology of Sociology*, N.Y. The Free Press
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kitttrie, Nicholas N.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>The Right to Be Different, Baltimore, Maryland The Johns Hopkins Press.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Schutz, Alfred
1959


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1966

New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Tumin, Melvin M.
1953


Warren, Roland L.
1971

"The Sociology of Knowledge and the Problems of the Inner Cities" Social Science Quarterly 16/52.

Znaniecki, Florian
1952


Mannheim, Marl
1952

Martindale, Don
1964


Marx, Karl
1964


Miller, Herman P.
1971


Mills, C. Wright
1943


McClelland, D.C.
1971


Parson, Talcott
1958


Rein, Martin & Miller S.M.
1966


Reissman, Frank & Miller, S.M.
1964


Rose, Stephen M.
1972

The development of social policies, in American and in many other societies, usually proceeds in fragmented fashion in relation to different substantive issues such as economic security, housing, education, physical and mental health, social deviance, child and family welfare, aging, intergroup relations, etc. The fragmentary nature of processes of social policy formulation reflects their political nature and their roots in conflicts of real or perceived interests among diverse social groups. Were existing processes of policy development to result in social orders in which all members of a society could lead meaningful and satisfying lives, there would be little reason to explore alternative approaches. Since, however, conditions of life of large segments of many societies continue to be unsatisfactory in many respects and in varying degrees, it seems imperative to search for more constructive and effective approaches to the analysis and development of social policies, and to explore potential contributions of social theory to the design of such alternative approaches. The present paper is one contribution to this search.

Analysis and development of social policies seem to be hindered at present not only by their political context, but also by inadequate comprehension of the generic function and dynamics of social policies, and of the principal variables through which these policies operate. There is, in fact, no agreement among policy analysts concerning the very meaning of the concept "social policies". To overcome these theoretical difficulties, this paper suggests a universally valid conceptual model of social policies. This is expected to enhance understanding of the general functions and dynamics of all social policies, facilitate the analysis of specific policies and their consequences, and aid in the development of alternative policies.

Implied in the general model presented below is the assumption that all those policies known as "social" are concerned with an identical underlying domain of societal existence, and are operating through the same basic processes, in spite of considerable variation in the substantive content, objectives, and scope of specific social policies. It follows that they are not independent, but interact with each other. All extant social policies of a given society are thus to be viewed as constituting a comprehensive system, which influences the common domain through its aggregate effects. Every specific social policy influences

A certain segment of the general domain and thus contributes to the aggregate effect. It should be noted, however, that while all social policies are thus viewed as components of one system with reference to their underlying common domain, they are not necessarily assumed to be consistent with each other. Rather, considerable inconsistency tends to prevail among these policies because of their origin in conflicts of interests among a society's sub-segments.

The Common Domain of Social Policies

Comparative, cross-cultural studies of "social policies", in American society and others throughout the world, and throughout the history of mankind, suggest that, despite variety in substance and scope, all such policies are indeed concerned with an underlying common domain. Whether in a concrete and specific sense these policies deal with economic assistance to the poor; levying of taxes; protection of children, the aging, or the handicapped; training of manpower and regulation of working conditions; provision of housing, health care, and education; prevention and control of crime, and rehabilitation of offenders; protection of consumers; regulation of industry, commerce, and agriculture; preservation of natural resources, etc., in an abstract and general sense they are all dealing with one or more of the following interrelated elements of societal existence:

a. the overall quality of life in a society;

b. the circumstances of living of individuals and groups; and

c. the nature of intra-societal human relations among individuals, groups, and society as a whole.

These elements constitute, therefore, the general sphere of concern, the common domain, or, in systems terms, the "output" of a society's system of social policies. They are consequently the core-elements of the proposed, universally valid conceptual model of all social policies. There is ample evidence that every human society designs policies to shape or "regulate" this general domain. Indeed, no human society could survive for long if it left the regulation of this domain to the forces of nature and of chance events, and did not attempt to influence it consistently through man-designed measures.

It should be noted also that economic factors are intrinsic aspects of the common domain of social policies as defined here, since they are important determinants of the overall quality of life in a society, the circumstances of living of its members, and their relations to each other and to society as a whole. Economic policies are included among "social policies" as they are important means for attaining ends in the social policy domain. By including economic issues within the domain of social policies, the widespread conceptual confusion resulting from the arbitrary division between economic and social policies can be avoided.

The Key Processes of Social Policies

Having identified the common domain of all social policies, the general processes by which social policies influence this domain must now be explained. These processes constitute the dynamic components of the concep-
involve little or no modification of these key variables and their interactions can therefore not be expected to result in significant changes of a given status quo with respect to the quality and the circumstances of life and the human relations in a society. Anti-poverty policies during the sixties in American society are telling illustrations of this obvious fact. These policies introduced merely minor changes in resource development and in the distribution of rights and the allocation of statuses to deprived segments of the population, and thus failed to produce the promised changes in the quality and circumstances of life and in human relations. They turned out to be merely new variations on an old theme.

It should also be noted that "social problems" perceived by various groups in a society concerning the quality and the circumstances of life, or intra-societal human relations, must be understood as intended or unintended consequences of the existing configuration of social policies. Such policies are therefore viewed not only as potential solutions to specified social problems, but all past and extant social policies of a society are considered to be causally related to the various social problems perceived by its members at any point in time. This conceptualization of the relationship between social policies and social problems does not negate the significance of specific policies as potential solutions to perceived problems. Rather, it provides an expanded theoretical basis for the proposition that valid solutions of social problems require appropriate modifications of the key processes of social policies. Such modifications are viewed as potentially powerful instruments of planned, comprehensive and systematic social change, rather than merely as reactive measures designed to ameliorate specified undesirable phenomena in an ad hoc, fragmented fashion.

Limitations of space prevent further discussion and illustration of the theoretical and practical aspects of the key elements of the conceptual model of social policies and of their interactions. However, some observations seem essential concerning the linkage between status allocation and rights distribution. Many human societies, including American society, distribute many rights as rewards for status incumbency. This linkage between the distribution of rights and the allocation of statuses tends to result in considerable inequality of rights among incumbents of different statuses. It is important to note in this context that while differences in status are clearly an essential aspect of task organization in a society, once division of labor has been adopted in the course of societal evolution, inequality of rights is logically not an essential consequence of such differences in statuses. Many societies, including several "socialist" ones, have, however, adopted inequality of rights as if it were an essential corollary of the division of labor, and have institutionalized inequality of rewards for different statuses. From a theoretical perspective it is, of course, entirely feasible to distribute rights equally among all members of a society by means of universal entitlements, irrespective of status. Such a principle of rights distribution would be reflected in independence of rights and statuses. Any intermediate level of linkage between rights distribution and status allocation is theoretically feasible, and can be designed in practice.

The linkage of rights distribution to status allocation is usually rationalized and justified with reference to incentives and human motivation. It is claimed axiomatically that in order to recruit personnel for the diversity of statuses in a society, prospective incumbents must be
tual model, for through them and their derivatives societies manage to shape the overall quality of life, the circumstances of living, and the nature of human relations. It seems that in spite of apparently unlimited diversity of the substantive provisions of social policies of different societies, at different times, they can all be reduced to one or more of the following interrelated universal processes:

1. Development of material or symbolic life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources.

2. Division of labor, or allocation of individuals and groups to specific "statuses" within the total array of societal tasks and functions, involving corresponding roles and prerogatives intrinsic to these roles.

3. Distribution to individuals and groups of specific rights to material and symbolic life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources, goods and services through general or specific entitlements, "status"-specific rewards, and general or specific constraints.

The universality of these key processes derives from their origin in certain intrinsic characteristics of the human condition, namely, man's bio-psychological drive to survive, the necessity to organize human labor in order to obtain scarce life-sustaining resources from the natural environment, and the need to devise some system and principles for distributing these life-sustaining resources throughout a society. It is obvious that the overall quality of life of a society depends largely on its interaction with its natural setting and on the quality and quantity of resources, goods and services it generates through investing human labor into its environment. Clearly, also, the circumstances of living of individuals and groups, and their relations with each other and with society as a whole, depend largely on their specific positions or "statuses" within the total array of societal tasks and functions, and on their specific share of, or rights to, concrete and symbolic resources within the totality of those available for distribution by each society. Processes of resources development, status allocation, and rights distribution, and the interactions between these processes are consequently the underlying key variables of all social policies, and thus constitute the dynamic elements of the proposed conceptual model. The possibilities of variation in the way these processes operate and interact in different societies at different times are numerous, and so are the variations of specific social policies and of entire systems of such policies. Any specific social policy reflects one unique position on one or more of these key variables, and one unique configuration of interaction between them. Changes of policies and of systems of policies depend, therefore, on changes on one or more of these underlying key variables and in the relations between them. Desired modifications in human relations, in the quality of life, and in the circumstances of living can therefore be achieved by means of appropriate modifications of one or more of these key variables of social policies. This proposition implies the frequently disregarded corollary that significant changes in human relations and in the quality and the circumstances of life will occur only when a society is willing to introduce significant modifications in the scope and quality of the resources it develops, and in the criteria by which it allocates statuses and distributes rights to its members. Social policies which
attracted through incentives built into the reward system. While this may be a fairly accurate description of current human behaviour, it does not explain the sources and dynamics underlying this response pattern, nor does it answer the important question whether this response pattern is biologically determined and thus the only behavioural possibility.

Biological, psychological, and sociological research indicate that human motivation is a function of biologically given factors and socially learned tendencies. The relative importance of these two sets of factors is not known, but there seems to be little question that learned tendencies are a powerful force in human behaviour. It therefore seems that existing patterns of motivation and incentive response reflect existing patterns of socialization, and that variations in these socialization patterns could produce over time different motivational attitudes and response patterns. This suggests that the patterns of human motivation used to justify the structured inequalities in the distribution of rights in most existing societies are not fixed by nature, but are open to modification by means of variations in the process of socialization. The view that man responds primarily to the profit motive is not necessarily a correct indication of mankind's social and cultural potential.

The Force Field Affecting and Constraining the Evolution of Social Policies

The processes of resource development, status allocation, and rights distribution are themselves subject to the influences of certain natural and societal forces. The various forces are identified in Chart 1 on the following page.

The physical and biological characteristics of a society's natural environment are limiting conditions with respect to the development and distribution of life-sustaining resources. Man's own biological and psychological properties affect his capacities and his motivation, his interaction with other men, and the organization of his work, and hence indirectly the key processes of resource development and rights distribution.

Societal forces affecting the evolution of social policies are traceable to man's collective response to the universal characteristics of the human condition as sketched above. Over time these responses resulted in the following significant social developments: the evolution of division of labor and of systems of social stratification based on this; the evolution of the principle of unequal rewards linked to different statuses and roles; the emerging interest of individuals and groups in perpetuating advantages accruing to them as a result of the patterned inequalities in the allocation of statuses and the distribution of rights; and the evolution of the principles of storing and accumulating surplus rewards, and transmitting them to one's offspring.

The emergence and interplay of these principles and tendencies, and the reactions to them of competing interest groups within societies seem to constitute major dynamics of the evolutionary, and at times revolutionary development of human societies and their social policies. Social policies may thus be viewed as dynamic expressions of the evolving structures and conflicts of societies; they are derived from them and in turn support the structures and spur the conflicts. Once initiated, the pro-
Chart 1. **Natural and Societal Forces Limiting, Influencing, and Interacting with the Key Processes and General Domain of Social Policies.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Limiting Conditions</th>
<th>B. Intra- and Inter Societal Force Field</th>
<th>C. Constraining Variables</th>
<th>Social Policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Physical and biological properties of a society's natural setting</td>
<td>1. Intra-societal interest group conflicts</td>
<td>Beliefs</td>
<td>Key Processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Biological and basic psychological properties of man</td>
<td>2. Society's stage of development in cultural, economic, and technological spheres</td>
<td>Values</td>
<td>1. Resource development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Personal, cultural, economic, and political interaction with extra-societal forces</td>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>3. Rights distribution</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditions</td>
<td>3. Intra-societal human relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The forces represented in this diagram do not exert their influence merely in a linear progression from left to right, but interact with each other in multiple and circular ways.

committed forever to the self-perceived, narrowly conceptualized, short-range interests of their groups of origin. Cultural elites can and often will develop comprehensive, broadly-based, long-range conceptions of societal interests. There is consequently always a potential for change in the dominant beliefs and values of societies, and in social policies, whose malleability seems limited by them. In any case, it needs to be emphasized in this context that significant changes are not likely to occur in a society's system of social policies without thorough changes in its dominant beliefs and values.

Analysis and Development of Social Policies

Having identified the common domain and the key variables of all social policies, as well as the sets of forces which influence and constrain their evolution and implementation implications for their analysis and development can now be explored.

Social policy analysis is viewed here as a systematic scientific process, whose purpose is to obtain valid and reliable information concerning specified societal issues, and the chain of consequences of specific policies designed to deal with them. Social policy development utilizes policy analysis in order to design alternative policies to achieve identical objectives more effectively or efficiently, or to achieve different objectives derived from different value premises. Policy evaluation takes place in a political context, which needs to be considered as a significant variable in policy analysis and development, but political processes should not be confused with these. Effectiveness of social and political action can, however, be enhanced through insights derived from the conceptual model in the analysis of social policies.

Valid and reliable analysis of social policies with the aid of a framework* derived from the conceptual model requires considerable resources, including analysts competent in the several social and behavioural sciences and knowledgeable about the substantive issues dealt with by specific policies. Access to a variety of data concerning a population is also essential although it may often be sufficient to carry out abbreviated analyses. However, whether a comprehensive or an abbreviated analysis is conducted, all relevant analytic foci derived from the conceptual model and the forcefield surrounding policy evolution should be considered.

Before specific social policies can be analyzed or developed or their adequacy evaluated the relevant issues need to be clarified. Issues should be defined whenever possible with reference to the common domain of all social policies rather than in terms of specific policies and their provisions.

Policy analysis itself is to be carried out on three levels: first on that of substantive policy context, next on the social structural level, and finally on the societal forcefield level.

The first level of analysis involves specification of overt and covert objectives with reference to the issues dealt with, of policy-relevant

*See Appendix
cesses of societal evolution, and the parallel processes of social policy evolution, continue as a result of ceaseless conflicts of interest among individuals and social groups who control different levels of resources, and who differ consequently in rights and power. The processes of social policy evolution are also affected by, and in turn affect, a society's stage of development in the cultural, economic, and technological spheres; its size and its level of institutional differentiation and complexity; its interaction with extra-societal forces; and its values, beliefs, customs, and traditions.

Values and Social Policies

The dominant beliefs and values of a society and the customs and traditions derived from them exert a significant influence on all decisions concerning the three key processes of social policies. Consequently, any specific configuration of these processes and the resulting systems of social policies tend to reflect the dominant value positions of a society concerning such policy relevant dimensions as individualism--collectivism, competition--collaboration, inequality--equality, etc. A society's dominant beliefs and values appear thus to constitute crucial constraining variables which limit the malleability of its processes of resource development, status allocation and rights distribution, and of the social policies derived from them. Thus, a society which stresses individualism, pursuit of self-interest, and competitiveness, and which has come to consider inequality of circumstances of living and of rights as a natural order of human existence, will tend to preserve structured inequalities through its processes of status allocation and rights distribution, while one which stresses collective values and cooperation and which is truly committed to the early American notion that "all men are created equal", will tend to develop a system of policies which assure to all its members equal access to all statuses, and equal rights to material and symbolic life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources, goods, and services.

While dwelling briefly on the central importance of beliefs and values for social policy analysis and development, it should be noted that public discussion of such policies in the United States tends to neglect this crucial variable. Instead, major, and often exclusive, emphasis tends to be placed on technical matters and on means, while the goals and values aimed at are pushed to the background. These comments should not be misunderstood. Technical matters are indeed important, and alternative means need to be evaluated in terms of effectiveness and efficiency. However, unless goals and values are clear, and are constantly kept in mind as main criteria for policy evaluation and development, the examination of means and of technologies is merely an exercise in futility.

While beliefs, values, customs, and traditions are not fixed forever in any human society, changing them is usually not a simple matter. The dominant beliefs and values of societies tend to be shaped and guarded by cultural and political elites, recruited mainly from among their more powerful and privileged strata. Not unexpectedly, these beliefs and values seem, therefore, to reflect and support the interests of these more powerful and privileged social groups. It should be noted, however, that some members of cultural and political elites are recruited from less privileged strata and may represent their interests. Also, not all those members who originated in more privileged social groups are necessarily
value premises underlying these objectives, and of theories underlying the strategy and the substantive provisions of a policy. This level also involves description of target segments of the population in qualitative and quantitative terms, and exploration of short- and long-range intended and unintended effects on target and non-target segments of the population. Finally, this level examines the extent to which policy objectives are being realized, and the overall costs and benefits of policy implementation.

The second level of analysis is derived from the conceptual model of social policies and is designed to discern implications of a policy for the structure of a society and for its entire system of social policies. It therefore aims to identify changes due to the policy in a society's development of resources, in the criteria it uses for status allocation and rights distribution, in the overall quality of life, in the circumstances of living of individuals and groups, and in the quality of human relations among its members.

The third level of analysis explores interaction effects between specific policies and the forces surrounding their development and implementation*. This is of special relevance for predicting the fate of given policies within a given societal context. It also reviews the history of a policy and the political forces in a society which promote or resist it.

Utilizing the conceptual model of social policies in the development of alternative policies involves determination of the nature and scope of changes which must be made in the key policy variables of resource development, status allocation, and rights distribution in order to attain selected policy objectives. These changes are then transformed into substantive program elements and are incorporated into newly generated policies. It should be emphasized again that specified policy objectives depend for their realization on specific configurations of the manner of operation of the key variables and that unless these configurations are attained by means of appropriate modifications of such variables the objectives can simply not be realized.

This abstract statement can be illustrated by a concrete example, namely, the repeated failures of policies which attempt to eliminate poverty in the United States without significantly modifying the configurations of key variables, of which poverty is an inescapable consequence. Poverty is viewed in this context as an income and wealth distribution which limits certain segments of the population to levels of command over resources, goods, and services below a level defined as "sufficient" by society. In the United States this level of sufficiency is measured by the Bureau of Labor Statistics through its "Standard of Living" series. On this standard the level of annual income necessary to maintain a "low" standard of living for a family of four in the spring of 1970 was close to $7,000. Obviously poverty, as defined here, can be eliminated only by social policies which result in redistribution of purchasing power, or of access to services and provisions, so that all families would reach at least the level of the BLS low standard of living. Policies which do not aim to achieve this scope of redistribution of income and wealth-related rights will do many things, but will keep poverty and its destructive side effects intact.
Policy development also involves comparison and evaluation of alternative policies generated in relation to given issues. Different policies should be examined in terms of value premises, intended effects, the extent to which objectives are attained, implications for social structure and for the entire system of social policy, unintended effects, and overall costs and benefits. On the basis of these comparisons and evaluations, preferred policies can be selected in terms of specified criteria which will obviously depend on one's value premises and political objectives.

Implications for Social and Political Action

In conclusion, let us consider the implications for social and political action of the theoretical position presented here. Social policies of a society are the product of continuous interaction among a complex set of forces, no one of which can be identified as the primary causal set. Social and political action aimed at changing the "social policy output" of a society can therefore be directed justifiably at any one of the contributing set of forces. Different intervention theories and the philosophical premises of different change-oriented individuals and groups will therefore lead to different intervention strategies.

One appropriate focus for intervention in terms of a non-violent change strategy, based on man's capacity for reasoned judgement of verifiable facts, is the system of beliefs and values of a society. It has been suggested earlier that such values exert a constraining influence on the malleability of its social policy system. Therefore, if policy changes are sought beyond the range set by existing value premises, these premises need to undergo change so as to widen the scope of policy options.

Changing a society's dominant value premises is, of course, a complicated undertaking at best, since these values pervade all aspects of its culture, its institutional structure and its system of socialization. Social and behavioural sciences offer only uncertain guiding principles for value change. However, self-interest, as perceived by the majority of a population, probably provides energy for maintaining, as well as for modifying, a society's system of values. Changes in dominant values may therefore follow changes in the perceptions of self-interest of large segments of a society. Accordingly, a crucial issue to be raised and examined by groups interested in radical change of the American social policy system by way of thorough modifications of its dominant value premises, is whether the existing premises are conducive to the realization of the self-interest of the American people. Major policy-relevant values in this context are the commitment to rugged individualism, competitiveness, and inequality of rights and opportunities. Characteristic features of the policy system reflecting these value commitments are attitudes and practices of exploitation towards the natural environment and towards human beings, inequalities in circumstances of living of members and groups of society, and a high incidence of alienation in human experience and relations. So the question is whether these values and these policies serve the true interests of Americans. These values and policies obviously fail to serve the interests of deprived segments of the population. Their very state of deprivation and exploitation provides sufficient evidence, their own perceptions notwithstanding. The question is consequently reduced to a consideration of the self-interest of privileged segments of the population.
within the organizations for which they work. To explore the interesting implications of this concept would lead, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

APPENDIX
FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL POLICY ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

Section A: The Issues Dealt with by the Policy

1. Nature, scope and distribution of the issues
2. Causal theory(ies) or hypothesis(es) concerning the dynamics of the issues

Section B: Objectives, Value Premises, Theoretical Positions, Target Segments and Substantive Effects of the Policy

1. Policy objectives
2. Value premises and ideological orientation underlying the policy objectives
3. Theory or hypothesis underlying the strategy and the substantive provisions of the policy
4. Target segment(s) of society—those at whom the policy is aimed:
   a. Ecological, demographic, biological, psychological, social, economic, political, and cultural characteristics
   b. Numerical size of relevant sub-groups and of entire target segment(s) projected over time
5. Short- and long-range effects of the policy on target and non-target segment(s) of the society in ecological, demographic, biological, psychological, social, economic, political, and cultural spheres:
   a. Intended effects and extent of attainment of policy objectives
   b. Unintended effects
   c. Overall costs and benefits

Section C: Implications of the Policy for the Key Processes and the Common Domain of Social Policies

1. Changes in the development of life-sustaining and life-enhancing material and symbolic resources, goods and services:
   a. qualitative changes
   b. quantitative changes
   c. changes in priorities
2. Changes in the allocation of individuals and groups, to specific statuses within the total array of societal tasks and functions:
   a. Development of new statuses, roles, and prerogatives
   b. Strengthening and protection of existing statuses, roles, and prerogatives
   c. Elimination of existing statuses, roles, and prerogatives
   d. Changes in the criteria and procedures for selection and assignment of individuals and groups to statuses
3. Changes in the distribution of rights to individuals and groups:
   a. Changes in the quality and quantity of general and specific entitlements, status-specific rewards, and general and specific constraints.
Before considering, however, the extent of realization of self-interest among the privileged, it may help to get some sense of the scope of deprivation in America's affluent society. If one uses the BLS low standard of living as a rough index of deprivation, one finds that approximately one-third of the American population is deprived in a material sense, for their purchasing power is below the BLS low standard of living. Furthermore, over half of the population live on incomes below the BLS "intermediate" standard, which in 1970 was $10,664. No doubt then the real self-interests of the majority of the population, the deprived and near-deprived segments, would benefit from policy changes aimed at eliminating their deprived circumstances by truly equalizing rights and opportunities for all.

Turning to the roughly 40% of the population who constitute the non-deprived and privileged segments, one soon realizes that material affluence in itself does not assure a satisfactory quality of life and realization of self-interest. The American middle and upper classes seem to be in a stage of social and cultural crisis. This statement could be supported with ample evidence, but space and time being limited it should suffice to mention the serious drug problems and the alienation and revolt of middle and upper class youth. These are, no doubt, symptoms of a generation in crisis. The conclusion suggested is that America's privileged classes fail under current conditions to realize their true self-interest, just as the deprived classes fail to realize theirs. The existing system of social policies and its underlying value premises seem to have destructive consequences for all segments of society. Accordingly, major changes in values and in the social policies derived from them would seem to be in the true interest of the whole society. The commitment to rugged individualism, competitiveness and inequality seem detrimental to the well-being of all, the deprived and the privileged, and those in between.

This brief analysis suggests that groups interested in non-violent, yet radical, change of values and policies should engage in active political interpretation and education intended to clarify the real underlying human interests of the vast majority, and perhaps the entire population. Such political education would have to be factual and honest, rather than manipulative in the sense of building coalitions and gaining political support on false premises by means of inadequate information and limited comprehension of reality, and on an emotional, non-rational basis.

Our tentative conclusion is that workers in human service fields may choose to redefine their intervention role as political education, irrespective of the settings in which they function. This conclusion seems unavoidable if one realizes that social problems are the products of extant social policies, which must be changed radically if the problems are to be eradicated, that changing these policies requires changing society's value premises, and such change depends in turn on revisions in the perceptions of the majority of the population with respect to their true self-interest. Redefining the role of human services personnel as agents of political education raises the possibility of conflict between them and their employing organizations, all of which are linked to the existing social system, its policies and its value premises. The solution to this dilemma derives from the concept of individual responsibility for ethical action. This means that those who wish to assume the function of political education must become focal points of an emerging counter-culture.
Much is being written these days about the role of evaluation in the formulation of social policy. While few writers question the need for basing policy on systematic evaluation a good deal of the literature appears to focus on the obstacles in carrying out as well as applying evaluative research. By contrast, the number of studies which in the eyes of critics measure up to minimum standards of scientific adequacy appears to be exceedingly small. Regardless of the problems inherent in the use of research data for policy formulation, the dearth of good studies constitutes the main reason why social policy is made, by and large, without reference to information secured with the aid of systematic research.

The present paper endeavors to show how a set of empirical data, collected at four casework agencies, can serve as aids in choosing among policy alternatives. The size of the sample and problems in design make this study a demonstration in the use of policy-relevant research rather than a substantive contribution to knowledge in agency policy formulation. The data were produced as part of an effort to evaluate the outcome of services to clients. Whereas the agency executives, who encouraged and supported the study, were mainly concerned with the results of services, the researchers in this study were of the opinion that evaluation of outcome extends beyond a determination of whether treatment was or was not helpful to most clients. Questions that loomed large pertained to differences in criteria of outcome, effectiveness of techniques of service, effect of client characteristics on outcome, and others. Evaluation, in this study, was intended to encompass several areas of concern to agency decision-makers. The investigators found it helpful to base their enterprise on the following definition of evaluation, by Marvin C. Alkin: "Evaluation
b. Changes in the proportion of rights distributed as general or specific entitlements and as status-specific rewards respectively, or in the extent to which the distribution of rights is linked to the allocation of statuses.

c. Changes in the proportion of rights distributed directly, in kind, in the form of public provisions and services, and rights distributed indirectly, as right equivalents, purchasing power or money.

d. Changes in the specifications of a minimum level of rights for all members and groups of society (e.g., "official poverty line", or "fixed percentage of per capita income"), and in the extent to which the distribution of rights assures coverage of such a minimum level.

e. Changes in the relative distribution of rights throughout society, or in the degree of inequality of rights among individuals and groups.

4. Consequences of changes in resource development, status allocation, and rights distribution for:

a. The overall quality of life in society, and

b. The circumstances of living of individuals and groups, as noted in measurements and perceptions of ecological, demographic, biological, psychological, social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions or spheres.

c. The nature of intra-societal human relations among individuals, groups, and society as a whole.

Section D: Interaction Effects Between the Policy and Forces Surrounding its Development and Implementation

1. History of the policy's development and implementation, including legislative, administrative, and judicial aspects.

2. Political forces in society promoting or resisting the policy prior to and following its enactment--their type, size, organizational structure, resources, overall strength, extent of interest, value premises, and ideological orientations.

3. Physical and biological properties of society's natural setting, and biological and psychological properties of its members.

4. Relevant other social policies.

5. Relevant foreign policies and extra-societal forces.


7. Society's size and institutional differentiation or complexity.

8. Society's beliefs, values, ideologies, customs, and traditions.

9. Conclusions and predictions.

Section E: Development of Alternative Social Policies; Comparison and Evaluation

1. Specification of alternative social policies:

a. aimed at the same policy objectives, but involving alternative policy measures.

b. aimed at different policy objectives concerning the same policy issues.

2. Comparison and evaluation:

Each alternative social policy should be analyzed in accordance with this framework and compared throughout this analysis with the original policy and other alternative policies.
is the process of ascertaining the decision areas of concern, selecting appropriate information, and collecting and analyzing information in order to report summary data useful to decision-makers in selecting among alternatives."

Alkin also makes a useful distinction between evaluation that seeks to assess the relative success of one or more alternative programs and evaluation geared to an assessment of the needs of the system. In the present study the evaluation effort which fell somewhere between the two models (see below) sought to address itself to the more general issue of how the results of services are perceived by different groups within the system and how findings generated through this research, can aid in the formulation of policy decisions.

Research Setting, Population, and Design

The study was conceived as a response to an invitation by the administrator of a casework agency, where eight students of the Rutgers Graduate School of Social Work had their field placement, to use this agency as the setting for an evaluative study of services. The invitation envisioned a study of treatment outcome but did not specify either scope or methodology. Since it was planned to have social work graduate students serve as research workers, it appeared advantageous to share this learning experience with students placed at other casework agencies. Such an extension of the project was thought to yield some additional dividends. The sample could be enlarged and findings generated from such a multi-agency sample would have a higher potential for making generalizations than findings drawn from a single agency sample.

Two of the four agencies participating in the study are family counseling services and two are child guidance clinics. All but one are non-sectarian, and the clientele of three is made up of urban and suburban residents while the fourth caters to suburban and rural clients. Two agencies employ twelve full time professional workers, one has over twenty, while the fourth has a professional staff of only five. The two clinics and one of the family service agencies also employ clinical psychologists as well as psychiatrists, but the fourth agency uses only part-time psychological or psychiatric consultation. The service orientation of all four agencies could be characterized as psychodynamic.

The main objective of the study was a determination of the nature of change in client functioning during treatment. As a natural field experiment this study offered no opportunity for using untreated control groups. This situation obviously made it necessary to view with
considerable reservation any conclusions that change or movement in clients was due to services received. At the same time as the study progressed the issue of how much movement was a function of treatment became subordinated to a broader inquiry -- perhaps a necessary antecedent to more high powered outcome research -- into some of the analytic aspects of change such as the relationship between service characteristics and movement and the differential change patterns shown by various client groups. Furthermore, the whole question of selecting the most appropriate criterion of movement had to be dealt with before the other subjects could be considered.

The research sample was composed of family cases (defined as comprising at least one parent or parent surrogate and one or more dependent children in the home) who had received no fewer than five interviews between January 1968 and January 1969. An additional condition for inclusion was the presence of the social worker at the agency at the time of the study (winter 1969 and fall-winter 1970) as a resource person to furnish information about the families which may not have been contained in the case record.

Study cases were selected by random sampling technique using a table of random numbers. A goal of 120 cases, corresponding to the student manpower available for collecting and coding data, was not met mainly because of the reluctance of agencies to include in the sampling pool cases they considered too pathological or ill to become involved in the interviewing process. Instead, findings are based on a maximum of 89 cases, but this number was reduced in several cross-tabulations because the N's on at least one of the several dimensions of data collection fell short of that number.

The research design called for the collection of four kinds of data about each case:

1. The client's view of the changes that had taken place, employing a self-administered structured questionnaire.
2. The worker's evaluation of the changes in the functioning of the client's family, obtained by having the worker complete an identical form to that filled out by the client.
3. Two profiles of family functioning compiled from the case records at the beginning and at an advanced point in treatment. The student researcher was assigned the task of completing the family profiles, which eventually were scored by other student researchers, using the technique of the St. Paul Scale of Family Functioning.
4. Information on the treatment process, client characteristics, and worker characteristics, using an
instrument called the treatment schedule. These data were obtained by interviews conducted by the student with the primary worker assigned to a given case.

The client families who constituted the research population were predominantly white, middle class, middle aged, two parent families with a mean number of three children. Only five percent of the study population was non-white. Forty-two percent listed their religion as Jewish, the remainder were almost evenly divided between Protestants and Catholics. Forty-four percent of the husbands had either completed college or received some college education, 33 percent had finished high school, and the remaining 23 percent had received less than a high school education. Occupationally 51 percent of the heads of the households were owners or managers of businesses or professionals, 12 percent worked at lower level white collar jobs and 37 percent held blue collar positions. Thirty percent of the husbands and 52 percent of the wives were over 40 years old, the remainder with few exceptions were between the ages of 30 and 39. Three fourths of the family heads were married at the time of the study, the rest were evenly divided among those who were divorced, separated, and widowed. Only four percent of the husbands and six percent of the wives had been married more than once.

The social workers who treated the study families identified three primary problems for which the families sought treatment. Eighty-five percent had problems in the parent-child relationship, 77 percent had adjustment problems and 50 percent had marital problems. Slightly over half (53 percent) of the clients reached the agency through voluntary referral, which is to say they sought help on their own or were recommended by friends, relatives, physicians, clergymen, etc. Fourteen percent were referred by other social agencies, and 20 percent came to the agency through authoritative referrals, e.g., courts, the police, and schools. A residual 13 percent represented "other types of referral," not specified in the questionnaire. The clients in this study were by and large recipients of long term treatment. Only 35 percent were treated less than ten months, 41 percent received services between ten and twenty-four months, and 24 percent were in treatment over two years.

Findings of this research will be discussed under a series of headings each of which represents an issue of potential significance for the formulation of agency policy.

Whose Criteria of Outcome?

Social work has been guided by an almost unchallenged tradition of letting the professional be the only judge of treatment outcome. This is not to say that a client's view
of what happened as a result of services has not been given some consideration in the final assessment of results. Nevertheless, the question of how the client’s position should be weighted in an evaluation of services has been rarely dealt with systematically.

The few studies comparing the judgments of clients and workers on the results of treatment showed a relatively low degree of agreement. Study findings were inconsistent on the subject of relative conservatism in judgment but showed a correspondence in discovering that worker-client consensus was greatest in areas that served as foci of treatment. A recently completed Rutgers Social Work Research Center study using the same structured questionnaire of evaluation revealed an extraordinarily high measure of consensus on change between clients and workers, but a lower level of agreement between these instruments and the St. Paul Scale of Family Functioning.

The present study employed the same approach as the aforementioned research but with a more problematic client population. A comparison of the mean movement scores revealed that clients presented the most optimistic and the profile-based evaluation (St. Paul Scale) the least optimistic account of change, with the ratings of social workers occupying a middle position. More specifically, the percentage of families judged to have shown positive, zero, and negative change were 98, 2, and 0 by the evaluations of the clients; 88, 10, and 2 by the evaluations of the workers; and 78, 13, and 9 according to the research assessments.

All three percentage distributions convey a highly favorable but possibly biased picture of change in family functioning in view of the fact that sampling efforts tended to become subverted by several instances of worker refusal to submit their cases to research analysis. However that may be, and the determination of a representative pattern of client change is not one of the objectives of this article, the high degree of optimism on the part of the client may represent more an expression of gratitude for service rendered than an actual discernment of movement.

An area by area comparison of movement ratings among the three types of evaluation (see Tables 1, 2, and 3 at the end of the article) shows relatively high percentages of consensus when the worker and client methods of assessment are compared and low agreement between the scale measurement and the worker and client evaluations respectively. The area means of percentage agreement are 64 for the worker-client set, 52 for the worker-measurement scale set, and 47 for the client-measurement scale set. Within each set of comparisons the range in percentages of agreement in evaluation is large with a tendency for higher
of the services to the poor, their drop-out rate, differences in their expectations as compared to the more well-to-do, etc., there is at least an implication in what is being written that when they are actually given service the socially deprived clientele tend to register less positive outcome than clients in better circumstances. Not infrequently this widespread notion has given rise to a private belief on the part of administrators of mental health and social work services that preference in treatment should be given to the better risk groups, namely those more likely to benefit from a scarce service.

Although the present study involved agencies whose target population was predominantly middle class, the clientele served represented a range of social statuses, a fact which enabled us to test the relationship of that variable to treatment outcome. Tables 4 and 5 show the cross-tabulations between treatment outcome as measured by the St. Paul Scale of Family Functioning on the one hand and husbands' education and occupational status on the other.

The percentage distribution in the two tables furnishes little support for the thesis that the better educated or those in higher status occupations fare better in treatment. Percentage differences, though small and statistically non-significant, are tilted slightly in the opposite direction. This finding removes the decision on who should be served from one arena of value controversy in which a determination on service preference might be made in favor of those who are thought to benefit most -- supposedly the better educated and more affluent.

In the realm of speculation on which client represents a good treatment risk and should, therefore, be given service preference, age is often cited as a significant factor. The argument is at times couched in the language -- however imprecise -- of prevention theory, suggesting that service to the young constitutes a better investment of effort since younger parents and children -- in contrast to older ones -- not only are likely to respond better to treatment but also will enjoy its effects over a longer life span.

Our analysis correlating change in family functioning to age of mother (10 mothers were under thirty years of age, 32 were between thirty and thirty-nine, and 45 were forty years and older) gave very little support to the thesis that younger families do better in treatment. The weighted mean change scores of families in the three family groups headed by mothers under 30, 30 to 39, and over 39 were 2.8, 2.7, and 2.6 respectively. Such small differences scarcely justify a conclusion that service to the young constitutes a more successful investment in the short-run,
agreement in those areas in which agency treatment was concentrated.

Given the considerable variation in assessment of treatment outcome the intriguing question arises as to which set of measures represents the most valid index for evaluation and ultimately for policy-making. Additionally, agency administration faces the issue of whether treatment should be seen as being diffuse in its effect and therefore be evaluated in all areas of social functioning or only in those areas where treatment efforts were concentrated (as appeared to be the case in the present study).

The answer to these and related questions is beyond the scope of this paper. Clearly, however, there is a difference between a situation, characteristic of the operation of most casework agencies, where no systematic data on outcome are available, and one where a set of data, similar to those shown here, furnish the agency administration with documentation for decision-making.

Who is to be Served?

Sometime during the life cycle of an agency the question must be posed and answered of who is the proper clientele to be served. During a period of social change involving the shifting of populations, the redistribution of economic resources, and the transformation of ideologies, the problem of whom to serve may have to be faced repeatedly. Moreover, if the demand for service exceeds the manpower supply service priorities may have to be established in terms of specific target populations.

Information collected and analyzed in the present study enable us to look at the problem in terms of three variables: the families' socio-economic status, their age, and motivation for treatment. Because of the need to correlate these factors with movement we must decide on which of the above mentioned movement criteria to employ as the dependent variable. Choosing the family functioning scale measure reveals, of course, our own research bias. In defense of this choice we hold that the clients' self-evaluations are tainted by a halo effect (see above) while the workers' evaluation makes relatively greater use of recall (a potential source of error) and lesser use of written documentation than does the research assessment.12

In recent years a good deal of writing has addressed itself to the problem of the differential treatment given to the poor, as compared to the more affluent segments of the population, by the social welfare and mental health services in the United States.13 While much of the literature is concerned with the absence or lower quality
while the question of preventive effect will have to be settled as a value issue or as a subject for a long range research investigation.\(^\text{15}\)

Among caseworkers one of the most widespread beliefs, which is rooted in psychodynamic theory and has received some treatment in the research literature,\(^\text{16}\) is the notion that treatment outcome is closely related to client motivation. The study before us developed three indices of client motivation for treatment, namely the degree of client anxiety and discomfort regarding his or her present situation, measure of hopefulness about finding a solution, and the client's view of the problem as requiring for its solution a change in self. Clients' attitudes were noted as being either high or low in the extent to which the above dimensions were expressed in treatment. The information was coded by the research interviewer after reading the case record and -- where the record was incomplete -- noting the social worker's impressions about the client's motivation.

The relationship between the three above attitudes and positive change during treatment is shown in Table 6. A percentage comparison furnishes no indication that those families thought to be more strongly motivated showed greater movement.\(^\text{17}\) Anxiety and discomfort show some relationship to positive outcome, but the 15 percent difference between the high and low attitude falls short of statistical significance. Hence, we are led to conclude that for the type of population served by the four family agencies a possible decision to give service preference to a good risk group will have to be based on factors other than client motivation.

What is Effective Service Input?

Perhaps one of the least explored fields of social work knowledge is the relationship between service input and outcome. While sound evaluative studies are few in number, research relating service characteristics to treatment results is extremely rare. Efforts to correlate social work treatment modalities and client change have not been particularly rewarding,\(^\text{18}\) and some social workers have leaned upon the findings of psychotherapy, particularly the work of Truax and Carkhuff\(^\text{19}\) and the behavior therapists.\(^\text{20}\)

The need to rely on case record data limited the scope of the present inquiry into service characteristics. Factors, whose relationship to outcome were explored, included the following: Type of referral (self vs. others), the waiting period, fee payment, worker characteristics, length and frequency of treatment contact, and selected treatment techniques. There is no gainsaying the fact that these factors represent a haphazard collection of variables whose derivation is actual practice rather than a set of
theoretical propositions justifying the application of one approach against another. Yet, each one of these variables has in one form or another been tied to speculations regarding their effect on treatment outcome and by implication to the formulation of service policy. An examination of the social work literature will show that alternatives in the application of each variable have been the subject of articles and chapters in books, although the subject has generally been treated on the basis of intuitive understanding and practice wisdom. 21

In the light of this situation it appeared most appropriate to examine each service variable within the context of its wide prevalence in the practice of American social work and its consequences for policy formulation rather than in relation to attempts at embryonic theorizing.

The so-called input factors that we have examined here fall into three broad groupings: Gate keeping (pre-treatment) variables, worker characteristics, and treatment variables. As a group they represent service components whose nature is determined to a large extent by agency policy. Agency policy in turn is influenced by such diverse factors as economic and manpower resources, the demand for service, community norms and expectations, professional values, and the agency's knowledge or assumed knowledge regarding service effectiveness. The presence (or absence) of such knowledge and the degree to which the agency feels committed to apply it to policy making determines whether it will carry much weight in the decision-making process.

**Gatekeeping Variables**

Among the so-called gatekeeping variables the referral system exercises a major influence on the nature of the agency clientele. A discussion of this subject is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that most casework agencies exercise some measure of control in determining the precise mix of population to be served by giving preference to one or the other of the following channels of referral: Self or family and friends, non-authoritative professionals and agencies (physicians, ministers, clinics, etc.), and authoritative sources (police, courts, schools). It is widely held in private agency services that the voluntary referrals, particularly the self-referred, constitute the best treatment investment, although the empirical findings on the subject are contradictory. 22 Our findings furnished no support for the thesis that self-referrals yield more positive results. Only 70 percent of the self-referred group but 83 percent each of the other two types of referrals showed positive movement during treatment (the difference was not statistically significant).
The consequences of a waiting period were examined by Beck as part of a study of the patterns of use of family agency services. A comparison was made of the continuance patterns of agencies with and without waiting lists. An earlier drop-out pattern was observed for the agencies which placed clients without emergency problems on waiting lists. She also found that the longer the waiting time the greater the proportion of clients who discontinue treatment. When the two kinds of agencies are compared with respect to reasons for closing, the findings suggest that placement on a waiting list is likely to result in dropping out prior to even a partial resolution or amelioration of problems.

Beck interprets these findings as evidence that withholding agency help at the time that the client requests it (when need and motivation are greatest) may result in the client's rejection of help offered at a subsequent point. The Beck findings lead to the hypothesis that the negative effect of waiting lists is expressed not only in the form of more discontinuance but also in less positive change in clients. Table 7 supports this hypothesis. Families who had to wait for services showed less improvement in social functioning and the relationship is significant at the 5 percent level ($X^2 = 4.22, 1$ d.f. $p < .05$).

The payment of a fee has for some time been viewed by practitioners not only as a source of income for the agency but as a means of increasing a client's motivation to participate in the treatment process. One skeptical social worker, Adams, raised the question of whether the payment of a fee as a motivating factor was not in actuality a rationalization for charging fees which was reiterated so often within the professional community that most practitioners came to believe it to be valid. He put the notion to an empirical test by investigating the relationship between the payment and non-payment of fees and three aspects of participating in the treatment process, appointment keeping behavior, engaging in brief or continuous service, and number of appointments. Fee and non-fee paying clients were found to be essentially alike with respect to the three measures. In this research we took Adams' findings one step further and looked at the relationship between the payment of a fee and outcome of treatment. The data, shown in Table 8, indicate that non-fee paying clients fared somewhat better than those who paid a fee, but there was no consistent trend between amount paid and treatment results, and differences between categories fell short of statistical significance.

Worker Characteristics

The characteristics of social workers as these influence service outcome has not been dealt with systematically in
spite of the fact that some of the literature in psychotherapy and at least one social work study concerned with treatment effectiveness put the spotlight on worker variables. Although the research before us examined selected characteristics of the caseworkers carrying the study cases, the overall research design set limitations to the findings in this area because of the small number of cases (mean is 2.7) treated by the same worker and the need to rely on available data. It was not feasible, for instance, to develop a worker effectiveness index (which would have to be based on a much larger N) nor was it possible to examine outcome in relation to techniques and styles employed by given caseworkers.

The analysis of worker characteristics was thus restricted to the demographic variables of sex, marital status, and religion which were found to be unrelated to treatment outcome, and to years of experience which revealed a positive but statistically not significant relationship to movement (see Table 9). The relationship is not a completely linear one, with those social workers having ten years or more of experience registering less favorable results than those who have been in practice six to nine years. Nonetheless, the distribution is sufficiently provocative to suggest further investigation.

**Treatment Variables**

Treatment variables cover techniques of intervention that could be teased out from the case record and/or conveyed by the worker who handled the case. This largely retrospective approach enabled the researchers to examine the possible effect on outcome of the following factors: Length of service, frequency of client-worker contact, and the degree of emphasis in a given case on four treatment techniques, namely, psychological support, clarification of problem, directive help, and insight development. Whereas the first two variables are objective and a matter of agency record, the treatment technique information, secured by questioning the caseworker, is of uncertain reliability.

Length of contact has seldom been treated as an experimental variable because of the widely held assumption in casework that the duration of treatment is properly determined by the needs of the client. This contention is obviously an oversimplification since factors other than client need, namely agency service patterns, worker practices and preferences, etc., play a major part in determining the length of services. Furthermore, even if such decisions were to be made purely in terms of client need, the subjective nature of need assessment would undoubtedly make it difficult to translate actual client need into time units of treatment. In the single social work study known to us
where the period of service was studied as the experimental variable, long term treatment emerged as a less effective form of intervention than short term service.

Our data showed practically no difference in outcome among families that had been served under six months, six to fourteen months, and longer than fourteen months. Frequency of contact on the other hand did reveal a direct correlation, with 82 percent of the families seen three times or more per month showing positive movement as against 64 percent of those seen two times or less (Table 10). The correlation fell short of statistical significance at the 5 percent level ($X^2 = 3.31$, 1 d.f., $p < .10$).

Our data do not tell us whether the families seen more often were the ones in need of more frequent contact or whether frequency of contact was used as a deliberate strategy for more effective helping. The small N's precluded analysis by problemicity levels at the start of treatment. Nonetheless, the presence of a near significant association between frequency of contact and outcome makes this an area in need of further exploration.

The analysis of use of four treatment techniques did not uncover any relationship between the extent to which any of them received major treatment emphasis in a case and the outcome of that case. While, as was stated above, we are obviously confronted here with a problem of uncertain data reliability it should be stressed, nonetheless, that another study which undertook a painstaking analysis of intervention techniques relative to treatment outcome also yielded inconclusive results. This raises the question of whether the techniques that have been identified represent indeed significant components of the helping process described in the respective studies.

The Link Between Research Data and Agency Policy

Sheldon and Freeman have cautioned against overselling social indicators as instruments of social policy. This caution applies not only to indicators but to all research data collected in the service of program evaluation. The data themselves are not constituents of a social policy, but information that can help guide policy. Intruding between almost any given set of policy related research findings and the implementation of a particular policy is the system of values, norms, and priorities of the agency.

To give an example, the present study contrary to a widely held belief, produced no indication that higher status clients show more movement (which can be translated loosely as making better use of services) than the lower status clientele. To an agency that is interested in
serving the socio-economically handicapped such a finding
can remove a possible barrier to an enlarged program of
service to the poor -- a barrier in the form of a policy
assigning priority in rendering service to those who
benefit most. To an agency firmly committed to giving
treatment preference to the middle class, the above mentioned
finding will be irrelevant.

It is clear that for empirical findings to be incorporated
into policy they have to be filtered through the system of
values and priorities guiding agency policy. Once these have
been made explicit, however, the use of relevant and valid
data elevates policy formulation out of the realm of decision-
making based on guesses, hunches, and practice wisdom to one
of proceeding on the basis of objective information emanating
from the program or organization.

The administrator who has collected the type of research
data accumulated in this study will not automatically emerge
with a blueprint for agency policy. He will, however, have
some information on treatment outcome as it relates to
agency input, information which touches on several areas of
decision making. It may be of some interest to note that
in our case most of the information is not of the "positive
guidance" kind (i.e., information demonstrating the effect
of new or established ways of doing things) but rather of a
"deterrent" nature designed to challenge popular beliefs or
stereotypes. Thus, the study did not show that self-
referral has advantages or that paying a fee makes a client
family move more readily or that perceived client motivation
leads to more affirmative treatment results. In a similar
vein the study contradicted -- in this case more decisively
because of statistically significant results and the con-
vergence of our findings with those of another study -- the
widely prevalent notion that the waiting list has no effect
on client movement. It is the latter kind of "deterrent"
finding which has immediate policy implications that can take
the form of a search -- by experimental techniques -- for
alternatives to the waiting list.

As was observed earlier, the limitations, discussed
throughout the paper, in design and sample size made this
study less a contribution to casework agency policy than a
demonstration in policy-relevant data gathering. Planned
on an ad hoc basis this research had to rely on available
data, but was, nonetheless, in a position to demonstrate
that a standard agency operation can generate data which
furnish knowledge of significance for agency policy.
Equally important, a study such as the one described here
can provide a framework for more long range research which
will overcome the handicaps of the present study.

Planned and systematic research, aimed at policy
formulation, would endeavor to address itself not only to
the success of a given program (goal attainment model) but to the manifold needs of the total agency-client system. This latter approach, also known as the evaluation system model, "establishes the degree to which an organization realizes its goal under a given set of conditions."33

In the present study the assessment of movement by client and worker as well as researcher represents one important extension of the goal attainment approach in the direction of assessing the multiple needs of the system. Examples of other efforts to be considered in further studies are the effect of agency operation on service needs in the community and on the functioning of other local social agencies.

This study represents a fairly modest endeavor -- in terms of cost and research technology -- which yields dividends by way of information that invites policy making based on research data rather than somebody's guesses and favorite notions. That endeavor also constitutes a springboard for a more systematic and ambitious research enterprise whose objective is a system oriented policy formulation. The desire to endow the agency operation with a rational framework for decision-making constitutes a compelling motive for moving toward this goal.
### Tables

**Table 1. Degree of Consensus Between Worker and Client Opinion of Change Based on Structured Questionnaire (Figures refer to percent of client-worker pairs)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Functioning</th>
<th>Agree Positive</th>
<th>No Change</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Agree Total</th>
<th>Disagree Worker More Positive</th>
<th>Disagree Client More Positive</th>
<th>Disagree Total</th>
<th>GRAND TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Relations %</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100 (51)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Behavior %</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100 (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care &amp; Training %</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Activities %</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Econ. Practices %</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100 (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Practices %</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Practices %</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Community Resources %</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100 (47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mean of Areas %**

64

36

*N's are in brackets*
**N's are in brackets.**

**Movement which refers to changes in overall functioning is based on changes in mean scores between the family profile at the start of treatment and a subsequent profile evaluation.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Arees</th>
<th>48</th>
<th>52</th>
<th>% Positive Change</th>
<th>% Negative Change</th>
<th>% No Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources Use of Community Health Practices</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Activities</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Benefits</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Relations</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Structured Instrument and Evaluation by the Family Functioning Scale.

Table 2. Degree of Consensus between Worker's Opinion of Change Based on
### Table 3. Degree of Consensus between Clients' Opinion of Change Based on Structured Questionnaire and Evaluation by the Family Functioning Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N's Are in brackets</th>
<th>Mean of Areas %</th>
<th>Resources %</th>
<th>Use of Community %</th>
<th>Health Practices %</th>
<th>Household Practices %</th>
<th>Econ. Practices %</th>
<th>Social Activities %</th>
<th>Child Care %</th>
<th>Behavioral %</th>
<th>Individual %</th>
<th>Family Relations %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(48) 100</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42) 100</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(49) 100</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46) 100</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(43) 100</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(45) 100</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47) 100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50) 100</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(52) 100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grand Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Functioning</th>
<th>Positive Change</th>
<th>Negative Change</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Husband's Education by Overall Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Movement</th>
<th>Some College or more</th>
<th>HS Graduate or HS Graduate plus Technical Training</th>
<th>Education Less than HS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Change</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100(20)*</td>
<td>100(21)</td>
<td>100(33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets

Table 5. Husband's Occupation by Overall Movement

Husband's Occupational Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Movement</th>
<th>Executive, Business Owner, Professional</th>
<th>Lower Level White Collar</th>
<th>Skilled, Semi-Skilled, Unskilled Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Change</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100(39)*</td>
<td>100(9)</td>
<td>100(28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets

Table 6. Relationship Between Three Indices of Motivation for Treatment and Positive Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strength of Attitude</th>
<th>High %</th>
<th>Low %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety and Discomfort</td>
<td>82(67)*</td>
<td>67(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness About Finding Solution</td>
<td>77(40)</td>
<td>80(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sees Problem as Requiring Change in Self</td>
<td>83(29)</td>
<td>76(55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets
Table 7. Waiting Period by Change in Family Functioning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Movement</th>
<th>No Waiting Period</th>
<th>Waiting Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100(32)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100(51)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets  \( X^2 = 4.22, 1 \text{ d.f.} \ p < .05 \)

Table 8. Fee by Movement in Family Functioning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Movement</th>
<th>Amount of Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100(19)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets

Table 9. Experience of Worker by Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Movement</th>
<th>Years of Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ten Years or More</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N's</strong></td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10. Frequency of Treatment by Movement in Family Functioning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall Movement</th>
<th>Frequency of Treatment</th>
<th>Three Times or More Per Month</th>
<th>Two Times or Less Per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100(65)*</td>
<td>100(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N's are in brackets
Footnotes


3 Alkin, op. cit., p. 107.


5 Obviously most families were seen as having more than one problem. Other problems listed were difficulties in relationships with persons or systems outside the family in 26 percent of cases, economic problems in 16 percent, other situational problems in 10 percent and other problems in 11 percent of the families studied.


8 For information regarding the three instruments see *Family and Community Functioning*, op. cit., pp. 21-151.

9 The Research Center Study was based on a random sample of young urban families.

10 This generally took the form of the claim that one or both parents are mentally too unbalanced to become involved in the study.

11 Care was taken to keep the collection of information from the client separate from the agency operation. We do not know whether this goal was accomplished or whether the clients suspected that information they furnished might be fed back to the agency which in turn could have led them to give a rosier account of the effects of treatment than they actually believed to be the case.

12 This is not to say that the evaluations of clients and workers may not be more valid in some respects. However, as stated above, the problem—beyond the scope of this study—is one of developing a more comprehensive index which combines the most meaningful components of the three indices of evaluation.

The ages of two mothers were not known.


The above cited Rutgers study also showed self-referral positively related to outcome while the research by Pfouts, et. al., and a study by Maas (see below) revealed contrary findings.


27 A more reliable approach to the study of treatment techniques by means of content analyzing case records could not be employed here because of lack of uniformity in recording.


ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND POVERTY: 
IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY

Clara L. Johnson, Ph.D.
University of Georgia

Adolescent pregnancy, per se, has been devoted little consideration by clinical observers and empirical researchers. For the most part, such pregnancies have received attention only insofar as they have occurred without the moral and legal sanctions of matrimony. This concern with illegitimacy has had the effect of blinding theorists and researchers to a whole segment of the adolescent pregnant population—the married teenager. Further, the adverse effects of adolescent pregnancy have been shrouded by moral precepts.

From existing evidence there appears to be no doubt that the married teenage girl is an integral part of the adolescent pregnancy phenomenon; one which is, in effect, very similar to the unwed mothers' phenomenon as it relates to the incidence of poverty. For both wed and unwed teenagers who have a pregnancy and subsequent birth at a too young age, the likelihood of poverty conditions is high. Incomplete education, low income level, psychological and developmental problems, excessive fertility and probable social dependency are problems common to both populations of girls.


Studies of the relationship between fertility and poverty have focused primarily on the actual versus desired or expected number of births. Although such studies have invalidated the common assumption that the poor want large families, they have thrown little light on the influence on poverty of family formation, i.e., early marriage and/or adolescent pregnancy. An implicit relationship is indicated by Orshansky who suggests that the probability of a family living in poverty is positively related to the number of children in the family.¹

Two major tendencies can be detected from the work cited above and most existing family planning programs: (1) focus is placed on limiting family size and excessive fertility, and (2) attention is directed to the created family.

The influence of the timing of the first birth, legitimate and illegitimate, has been virtually ignored. Yet, in terms of the relationship between fertility and poverty, the timing of the first birth and the spacing of subsequent births may be of greater strategic importance than the ultimate size of the family.⁴

The relationship between fertility and poverty appears especially cogent in terms of the very young teenage girls. It has been demonstrated that level of education is directly and indirectly related to conditions of poverty. Directly, education relates to factors associated with the maintenance and/or improvement of socioeconomic level, such as employment status, personal and social competencies, and income level. Indirectly, education relates to poverty through its effects upon fertility⁵—there is

¹Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile." Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 28 (January, 1965), Table 8, p. 25 and Table 6, p. 17.

⁴For a conceptual framework of the relationship between poverty and timing of marriage or child-rearing, see Schorr (1968: 39-61). Schorr has analyzed the condition of poverty and constructed a general typology of the cycle of family and income development of poor people. He indicates that the timing and circumstances of first marriage or child-rearing determine, to a certain extent, the family income level or the probability of generating and perpetuating the poverty cycle. Schorr postulates that if consequences in the first two stages—timing and circumstances of first marriage or child-bearing and timing and direction of occupational choice—have been negative for a family, the likelihood of poverty conditions is high. For an empirical account of the relationship, see Freedman and Coombs (1966: 631-648).

a positive relationship between education and knowledge and use of contraceptives. It would seem, then, that educational level is at least one of the major keys to improvement in life's choices. But it is exactly this avenue to improvement which is generally closed to the teenage girl, wed as well as unwed, who becomes a mother at a too young age.

Even though society generally subscribes to education as a dominant value and as a tool for upward mobility, the attainment of this goal is denied many pregnant teenagers and mothers. While there is no uniform school policy governing the adolescent pregnant girl, most public schools require the girls to withdraw from school. Pregnancy is reported to be the largest known cause of school drop-out among high school girls.6

When policies allow pregnant girls and mothers to continue their educational program, there is a strong possibility that society, as well as the girls, will benefit from the investment. On the other hand, society and the girls are losers by permanent expulsion. Continued ignorance can only have the effect of compounding problems for the girls themselves and society. Be this as it may, society's moral stance on this issue generally takes precedence over the practical aspects. Therefore, delaying adolescents' first births may be the present best solution to these girls' educational endeavors.

Continued education has immediate as well as long range benefits for teenage girls. Being part of a school environment means having the chance to be with peers at a time in the developmental process when peer group relationships may be most important. To sever these relationships by the adult processes of pregnancy, childbearing, and childrearing undoubtedly thwarts normal growth and developmental processes.

As a long range benefit of continued education, a sense of independence is developed. The opportunities for employment and the accompanying economic gains are corollary rewards. Both low level of acquired education and income maintenance are predisposing factors to low subsistence and/or social dependency. Early marriage and/or childbearing decreases the amount of time and money that might be invested in educational pursuits.

In addition to the relationship between childbearing at a too young age and poverty, due to low acquired levels of education and income, is

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6 See Howard J. Osofsky, The Pregnant Teenager (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1968), and Lee Burchinal, "School Policies and School Age Marriages," Reprinted from the Journal of Family Life Education (March, 1960). There remains considerable social resistance to pregnant girls remaining in or returning to public schools. Yet, it can be argued that continued education is a vital key to the prevention of social and economic dependency. Consider then the drain on financial and manpower resources to educate and train these girls, especially in programs which are separate and distinct from existing educational systems.
The relationship between early childbearing and poverty due to excess fertility. There is evidence to indicate that early childbearing is positively related to excess fertility. And there can be no doubt that excessive fertility is related to the incidence of poverty. The evidence indicates, therefore, that delaying the first birth may be more important than preventing a higher order birth—the 6th, 7th, 8th, etc.

Not only does a pregnancy and subsequent birth at a too young age contribute to poverty conditions, the young girls themselves and their infants are at high risk medically. In the young adolescent, pregnancy has been reported to be associated with high incidence of toxemia, anemia, contracted pelvis, prolonged labor, and other complications of pregnancy and delivery. Such complications are especially evidenced in girls from low-income families who, as a rule, do not receive early and regular prenatal care.

Evidence tends to indicate that young expectant girls, especially from low-income groups, are "risks with respect to giving birth to immature (low weight) infants." The association between low-birth


9Freedman and Coombs, "Childspacing and Family Economic Position."


weights, high infant mortality and morbidity and the socioeconomic level of mothers has been well documented. Each of these dependent variables tends to reflect the health and nutrition of the mother. And there can be no doubt that the problem of malnutrition is more prevalent among low-income families. Further, data indicate that both the unwed and the married young mothers are generally found at a low socioeconomic level.

The above points have special relevance to the problems centered around infants' growth and development. Existing evidence strongly suggests that growth and developmental processes are thwarted in infants who are malnourished prior to and immediately following birth. And while the evidence is not yet conclusive, there is some indication that the impairments to infants may be irreversible. If this is indeed the case, it seems logical to assume that restricted brain and physical development in infancy will grossly limit the competitive powers of the eventual adult.

The major purpose of this paper has been to present the following basic ideas: (1) the problems associated with adolescent pregnancy and childbearing warrant that adolescent pregnancy, per se, rather than illegitimacy becomes our concern, (2) too early marriage and/or child-rearing predispose the young girl to disadvantages which are directly related to poverty conditions and social dependency, and (3) too early childbearing adversely affects the health status of both mother and infant.

As a result of the evidence presented, the following observations have been made: (1) that, in relation to poverty, the timing of the first birth may be of greater strategic importance than the ultimate size of the family; (2) that existing family planning programs fail to reach the potential adolescent obstetric population and, by so doing, they are unlikely to affect timing of first births, and (3) that adolescent pregnancy is far less a moral problem than it is a socioeconomic and health problem.

On the basis of the observations made and general knowledge in the area, the following recommendations are presented for researchers dedicated to the study of social problems: (1) to apply the scientific

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method and theory to the study of the relationship between timing of first births and the incidence of poverty; (2) to construct a theoretical base for the study of adolescent pregnancy within a social system's framework. Present knowledge indicates that etiologic explanations of adolescent pregnancy, especially illegitimate pregnancy, are either psychologically oriented (internal dynamics) or sociologically oriented (cultural motivations). Explanations within both orientations have failed to differentiate between (a) sexual behavior, (b) pregnancy, and (c) ensuing births as distinct researchable questions; and (3) to study motivation to avert pregnancy among adolescent girls themselves, adolescent boys, and parents.

Recommendations for the Social Work Profession and Social Welfare Policy are: (1) in relation to the present social problem, it may be necessary for social workers to operate as change agents within the system; within their respective organizations which are very unlikely to initiate change. Social workers may be required to speak out vigorously within communities for change in attitudes—to help lay to rest the notion that illegitimacy, as a moral issue, is the problem at hand and that early marriage alleviates the adverse effects of adolescent pregnancy and childbearing. (2) Social welfare policy should be broadened to view all teenagers as potential obstetric patients and as probable eventual social dependents. From such a point of view, there is a need to move away from concern with illegitimacy to a comprehensive policy which encompasses the entire realm of adolescent pregnancy with primary focus directed toward prevention.
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A THEORY OF DECISION-MAKING

A.K. Basu
California State University, Hayward
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I

Introduction

In a separate article, it has been stated:

The kinds of theories which social scientists have been able to construct have largely been dependent on the level or the degree of inference which the researchers have been able to draw from observations or experimental designs (which may or may not reflect the empirical world), and the assumptions upon which these inferences rest (Basu and Kenyon, 1972:425).

Notably, in the past three decades the eventual "success" of a theory has been tested on this basis. A major underlying premise in the ideographic science has been that cause and effect represent the methodological level of inquiry, however "singularizing" (as opposed to nomothetic "generalizing" science) the social "experience" may be. These relationships are either asymmetric, assuming an independent-dependent variable dichotomy, or symmetric, i.e. constructing theory on the basis of an interdependent, reciprocal causation inference. These analytic frames have attempted to explain what Durkheim has called "social facts." However, the problems of limitation of such a search in the development and finally application of a social theory using causal inferences as methodological guidelines have come to light, specifically in the area of policy-planning and decision-making.

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to extend theory (specifically that applying to policy-planning and decision-making) from these limitations. The author will propose a theory of decision-making and will suggest its applications.

Literature on Decision-Making

The beginning of any major theory of bureaucratic behavior was instituted by Max Weber, the German sociologist. Weber represented the structuralist approach to the study of administration, in which the organisation was seen as a large complex unit in which many social groupings interact under a system of shared goals. Incompatible interests were reconciled by a preconceived set of organizational values (i.e. efficiency) (Etzioni, 1964:21). Traditionally, forms of power had been in terms of rulers who maintained legal dominance or charismatic leaders who gained influence through the personal identification of their followers. Weber saw administrative behavior as a product of preconceived role and status positions, carrying with them expected modes of behavior established by fixed rules and regulations (Etzioni, 1964:51).

First, there were fixed jurisdictional areas established by ordered rules. These established the sphere of one's duties. Second, there was an established hierarchy of functions and leadership establishing one's
status and role position. A person behaved in terms of expected modes of action within his status and sphere of influence. The basis of these organizational arrangements was written documents. Expertise was assumed for members functioning within the organization. The principle of expertise was specialization (Weber, 1965).

The structuralist approach viewed decision-making as a function of "compliance with" a fixed set of organizational structured arrangements, and a predetermined set of goals for the organization (Etzioni, 1961). The approach is still maintained in many studies of administrative behavior. The most prominent exponent of a fixed set of structural arrangements and the decision process is Luther Gulick (Gulick, 1954).

Since Weber, other theorists have expanded the theory of decision-making by constructing rational models (experimental) based on the concepts of utility and maximization of goals and minimization of losses. These concepts were first developed by Bentham and Mill and later adopted by various economists in order to explain possible combinations of decision-making. These models attempt to simulate what actually occurs in decision processes. Basically, they fall into three categories: decision under certainty, decision under risk, and decision under uncertainty (Taylor, 1965:48-85).

Each of these rational models assumes no change in alternatives and outcomes. Information and choices are static. A more pragmatic view of decision-making evolved largely as a result of the Gestalt theories that, "... the presentation of a problem creates a psychic field of tension or stress, giving rise to processes which eventually lead to solution" (Taylor, 1965:71). Under this view, decision-makers are not given a set of alternatives to maximize a given set of goals. Instead, they must search for a set of alternatives until they find one which will satisfy their values (Taylor, 1965:56). In order to achieve consistency between the two, values and alternatives are not fixed, but exist in a dynamic relationship.

The above models of rational action are set in the context of a static experimental situation which may or may not be subject to empirical verification. Assuming a more dynamic theory, Simon, in his Administrative Behavior (Simon, 1958), developed the concept of man as neither rational nor irrational. Man acts in terms of "bounded rationality," or a limited knowledge of only one set of alternatives. The second assumption is that means and ends are not separate, but intertwined. Goals are constantly changing and therefore many alternatives in decision-making also change. The means which decisions take in turn affect the ends. This leads to the third assumption, that man's cognitive mechanisms function as a result of his affect processes (values). It is for this reason that it is important to study decision-making using empirical observation.

According to Simon, decision-makers continually search for a set of alternatives which are "good enough" to satisfy his values at a particular time. Decision-makers follow this course because of their limited knowledge (bounded rationality) of alternatives and consequences. Behavior is therefore not limited to a set of alternatives and fixed needs, but can be expanded to various levels of aspirations and short term behavior to satisfy needs at a particular time (Simon, 1957:246-256).
Lindblom extends the concept of limited rationality and cognition based on affect, by maintaining that a decision-maker chooses among values and alternatives at one and the same time. In other words, a choice of policy is in effect a choice of value. In addition, an administrator, rather than being aware of an infinite number of alternatives, focuses his attention on marginal or incremental values. For example, two policies promise the same degree of attainment of objectives A, B, C, D, and E. One policy, however, offers more of E than D, the other more of D than E. Rather than analyze all objectives and alternatives, a decision-maker chooses only between a part of a set of objectives. In choosing two values, he also determines his policy. In addition, policy is not made once and for all, but remade endlessly as values change, or as policies become incongruent with values (Lindblom, 1963).

Lindblom, in his The Intelligence of Democracy, extends his concepts of decision-making behavior by developing a number of models in which behavior is carried on in terms of mutual adjustments. If an agency is to implement its goals, it must adjust to the demands of other individuals by altering both means and ends (Lindblom, 1965:35-83).

Lindblom's general theory is that all "legislators, executives, agencies, interest group leaders, and party leaders constantly engage in partisan mutual adjustment with each other, both bilaterally and multilaterally in all possible combinations...in order to gain desired ends" (Lindblom, 1965:98). There are a multitude of independent decision-makers interacting in a limited sphere on the basis of incremental calculations of what policy should be implemented. An incremental system in this fashion reduces the range of investigations and adaptions of any one decision-maker.

Davis (1966), and Wildavsky (1964), using an analytic method, made a study of the budgetary process in Washington, and devised a theory of how decisions are made. The budget is never reviewed by an agency possessing a large span of authority. Instead, each agency fights for itself in acquiring funds. It is as fragmented and narrow as the congressional committees that review it. Calculations for gain are based on the roles of the differing agencies, or rather the expectations of all who are competing. Each agency is competing in a bargaining arena; each has its own base of support. An agency will consider the political environment, its position in the bureaucracy, or the expectations of its constituents and interest groups, and the expectations of congressional committees. They consider the effects of their proposals on other agencies only as they relate to them. Decision-making is thus fragmented by a multitude of interaction possibilities within a decision-making sphere.

Decision-making in governmental bureaucracy has traditionally been approached through descriptive analysis in a sphere of behavior. Simon (1957), and Lindblom (1963), have altered the original assumptions of rational theorists by constructing theories of bounded rationality and incremental behavior; however, decision-makers are still described and analyzed as existing apart from many conditions related to human behavior. Davis (1966), and Wildavsky (1964), are representative of present views of decision-making, but are limited to a sphere of political negotiation. Their assumption is that social conditions may affect a governmental process, but in an operative process of decision-making the two are separate. It is
the premise of this paper that a transactional theory of decision-making must include overlapping levels of both the social (external) and political (internal) units of behavior if the process of decision-making is to be understood. In order to achieve this, the level of analysis must be expanded to relate to the level of inference drawn from empirical observations. Furthermore, the operation and assumptions of causal inference which will form the cornerstone of the transactional theory of decision-making need to be reviewed and evaluated. Taken together, such will be the basic tenets of the transactional theory of decision-making as proposed in this paper.

II

Causal Inference

The basic conditions for establishing a causal relationship are that two variables exhibit concomitant variation, that one variable is prior to a second phenomenon, and that all other variables which might affect the original relationship are controlled for and eliminated (Seltiz et al., 1964: 422). Blalock, in making a distinction between causal inference and mathematical prediction, maintains that causal inference, in order to be valid, must be asymmetric (i.e., if X is a cause of Y, then it cannot be inferred that Y is a cause of X). A pure interdependent relationship whereby both variables cause each other is logically impossible to infer because of causal priority. When it is inferred, it represents a confusion between mathematical tests which may be symmetric and causal inference. Causation is a result of production forcings which produce changes. These can be empirically observed and measured. The inference of causation cannot. As Blalock states:

The inclusion of the notion of production forcings introduces asymmetry into the relationship between cause and effect, though we may also handle instances of what might be termed reciprocal causation (Blalock, 1964:10).

The phenomenon could be constructed as a linear model in the following manner: production forcings → properties → response.

Scientists (Rosenberg, 1968:3-22) tend to look on causal models as symmetric (functional interdependent variables) simply because they confuse causal inference with prediction and regression equations. These are mathematical checks, not inferences from empirical observation. One can predict from the dependent variable to the independent variable and conversely. This is a statistical phenomenon, just like regression analysis (test mean value of Y for each value of X). Causation, however, cannot be verified in this manner. As Kenneth Polk maintains, regression equations are measures of correlation coefficients, whereas causal relationships are established only by the researcher's theoretical knowledge of the nature of the variables. They must of necessity show causal priority, a phenomenon which cannot exist symmetrically (Polk, 1962:539-542).

Symmetric causal inference depends on two variables revealing a concomitant variation in regression analysis. X and Y both vary in value one to the other and vice versa along a regression scale. Any variation in one causes a variation in the other. If one accepts the arguments of Blalock
and Polk, then this phenomenon, even though statistically possible, is impossible in terms of causal inference due to the priority concept. The closest asymmetric causation comes to symmetry is in the case of reciprocal causality. This is a case whereby X causes Y, which in a sequential progression becomes an independent variable affecting X (as in the case of feedback in systems analysis). This is revealed by using different time intervals for describing any set of variables as dependent or independent. Causal priority still logically exists (Blalock, 1964:56).

Additional problems of causal inference lie in a researcher's ability to control all variables which may alter the original relationship. Further, causal inference is limited by assumptions concerning which variables are relevant. From these problems, one can reveal four types of causal relationships leading to multiple causation or causal monism, whereby an entire system is explained in an endless chain of multiple causal progressions and interrelationships. The first type is a single causation in which independent variable X causes an effect in dependent variable Y, all other variables controlled. The second concerns latent variables which are potential causes of Y, along with X, given certain conditions which at this point do not vary with Y. The third represents variables unrelated to X having an effect on Y, X being just one independent variable. The fourth represents variables systematically related to X, which affects the relationship X—Y. X may be contingent on other variables or an indirect cause of Y through other variables producing a change in Y (Blalock, 1960:337-342).

The methods used to infer a causal system are many and varied. One concept of causal inference is typal analysis (McQuitty, 1961:71-78; Basu and Kenyon, 1972). In this process, variables resembling each other in attributes are grouped together in a category in order to visualize their relationship to each other and a separate attribute they have in common. This attribute, or criterion of choice, is thought to be related significantly to a third concept, or the independent variable. The property which the variables have in common, it can be inferred, yields a causal relationship simply by process of eliminating those things which they do not share in common. The fallacy is that qualitative and quantitative measurements of attributes possessed across all persons yields a correlation, not a cause, since variables may have undisclosed extraneous attributes in common (Kaplan, 1964:50-51; McCormick, 1952:35).

Another concept of causal inference used by Angus Campbell is the concept of a funnel of causation. Events follow each other in an interrelated fashion finally converging in a funnel, all extraneous variables being eliminated. This provides a single linear chain of causality in which only the variables which are directly relevant to any given event explain any one phenomenon. Campbell begins with a unidimensional analysis of two variables, revealing a cause and effect relationship. As the one-to-one relationships grow in number, they can be analyzed and eliminated as they converge into the funnel of explanation for any given event, (i.e. voting). Measurement of variables is restricted to their effect at any given point in time. The scope of theory then is restricted to its explanation of an event over time. "Exogenous" factors and relevant conditions are seen only as they exist in one form or another, never as a process of
changing relationships (even though exogenous factors may become relevant conditions given other conditions (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960:24-26).

III

Transactional Theory of Decision-Making: External vs. Internal

Causal priorities concerned with decision-making have been constructed either in an administrative vacuum, describing rational decision-making in terms of organizational properties (Presthus, 1963) and probabilistic outcomes of fixed alternatives of behavior, or they have drawn mere symmetric causal associations with external properties affecting internal (political) decision-making (Lindblom, 1965). However, the limitations of such theories are that the formal social (external) and political (internal) processes of decision-making are not accounted for.

If decision-making is to be understood within the context of an action-process which involves the larger society, then theory must be expanded. Decision-making is not a segregated, formalized phenomenon. It is an action which has consequences for the political process and the society which receives it.

The first assumption of the transactional theory of decision-making is the existence of decision-makers and actors outside the immediate administrative apparatus. Second, there is a number of interdependent hierarchies involved in the internal process. Legitimization of such an authority forms the political indices (e.g. power) of administrative behavior (Merton, 1962: 267). A third assumption is the incremental convergence of parameters over time ($\Delta E / \Delta t$).

The transactional theory examines decision-making from a cause and effect framework which is based on an appreciation of asymmetric causation which leads to a formal synthesis, the original relationship being only a causal point in time. This assumption that cause and effect refer only to a point in time emphasizes that one variable does not continually cause a like effect in another variable. This concept is basic to this theory. The progression is from act $\rightarrow$ action $\rightarrow$ reaction $\rightarrow$ transaction. An act is defined as conditions determining the allocation of decisions for society which is regulated by value, status, role, and a set of norms or generalized expectations for any given actor. The parameters of an act are the amount of resources that any decision-maker has at his disposal.

Action is the operational manifestation of an act, or the opportunity to use one's resources on the basis of indices determining the act. Action then, is the attempt to allocate resources through the political process. Reaction concerns the effect any given action will have on other actors. It involves social indices of behavior. All variables which will be involved are then put into active interrelationship (i.e. latent variables will now be actions).

Transaction represents the synthesis of action and reaction over time, or the constant resolution of the political and the social forces. In this relationship acts, actions, and reactions are in the process of behavioral
modifications. The end result is negotiation formulating a decision through the resolution at any point in time of actions. Such a confluence depicts this synthesis of acts through action and reaction leading to transaction.

The transactional theory, as proposed here, delineates two sets of parameters. The first is the internal context. This parameter consists of the decision-maker's political environment—such as fixed roles, norms, and administrative resource allocations. The second parameter is the decision-maker's role as a subject-participant in the societal processes (external), as he determines the view of the voters, interest groups, civic groups, and others. The parameters of this population are essentially social and cultural determinants. Within the variations of such reciprocal negotiations (transaction) decisions are formulated. Hence, to the extent that a particular act is transformed through action (political-internal) and reaction (social-external), decision-making takes place. It is transactional. One does not exist without the other. The greater the variance between the two (internal-external), the greater the possibility of the decision being misunderstood. Our basic concern then is not the establishment of the causal 'time' sequence between the two parameters, but the measurement of change in strength and quality of characteristics and relationships.

In order not to get "bogged" down in a semantic swamp of act, action, and reaction, it will be necessary to exemplify the theoretical framework. For further explanation of this theory, the concept of power structure will be helpful. Several community studies reveal a multitude of internal and external forces which determine decisions. The most inclusive is Edward Banfield's study of six civic controversies in Chicago. In this structure of decision-making there were many individuals operating in groups or as types of voters, each having an independent base of influence. The negotiation of these forces led to the final decision (Banfield, 1961).

The major characteristics of the process was a decentralization of independent actors, formal and informal, each having influence on decision-makers. In order to make a decision, it was up to the administrative head, the mayor, to centralize the multitude of actors through patronage of the party machine. Even so, there were obstacles beyond his sphere of influence. He could be checked by a public official outside the party, the courts, whose value system and base of support was outside the realm of party machinery, the vast amount of interest groups, and the voters who were not responsive to the patronage of the party ward leaders. The process of political (internal) action was one of continual interplay between officials, electorate, interest groups, and the courts (Banfield, 1961:233-239). Cleavages represented conflicting values, interests, and attitudes between the forces of "good government," and those desiring a continuance of political patronage. Shared attachments represented negotiations in the form of bargains, accommodations, and mutual compromise (Banfield, 1961:256).

In order for decisions to be adopted, control over actors was centralized and autonomy held at a controlled level. This was accomplished by the exertion of influence or power, defined as either gains and losses valued by the actor for himself or for a group (private regarding power),
or an abstract public interest (public regarding power). The model is one of transaction. For example, A, having only public regarding power, wished to influence C, who responds to only private regarding power. In order to influence C, A influenced B, who responded to public regarding power and had private regarding power. A can influence C by going through B. The decision was formulated by the process of transaction. As the number of actors increased, therefore increasing the complexity of value systems, the process of negotiated control decreased (Banfield, 1961:310-318).

IV

Mathematical Solution

In this section, several variables affecting the socio-psychological requisites of such a duality (internal vis-a-vis external) have been proposed and solutions have been offered.

Subscript
- \( p \) refers to public
- \( g \) refers to decision-makers
- \( A \) = anxiety
- \( D \) = disorganization
- \( O \) = opinion-formation
- \( I \) = influence
- \( C \) = communication
- \( C_1 \) = type of communication (stressing or leading to a collective self-image or definition)
- \( A_t \) = anxiety tolerance level for general population
- \( a_k \) = degree of ambivalence among the people during keynoting
- \( U \) = uncertainty
- \( C_{gp} \) = communication between the decision-makers and the public
- \( O_G \) = group orientation
- \( O_i \) = self-orientation (individual orientation)
- \( f_1 \) = function (in mathematical sense)
- \( u \) = unstructured situation

Hypotheses:

A. Inadequate communication results in the decision-maker's lack of functional-normative integration--i.e. norms, values, and his roles may break down. People may lose certainty in knowing what the decision-makers believe or want (Turner and Killian, 1957:36).

B. The greater the (internal) situational uncertainty, the greater will be the fluctuation in the judgmental behavior by the decision-maker and the more the susceptibility to suggestion from others (external), the greater will be the role conflict (Turner and Killian, 1957:51).

C. The amount of communication emitted by the decision-makers leading to a collective self-image corresponds to the (increase in) amount of influence of the leadership.
D. If the anxiety situation of the decision-maker is inordinately high, there is less breakdown in unstructured situations.

E. As the degree of ambivalence among the public (external) during keynoting increases, the greater the ability of keynoting to influence the public; or, the higher the degree of ambivalence of the public, the greater the ability of keynoting to influence the public.

F. The greater the anxiety of the decision-maker, the greater the external orientation versus internal orientation (in the sense of external dependence).

Test:

\[
\begin{align*}
U &= f(dO_p/dt) = f(D) \\
I_g &= f_2(C_1) \\
(A_t)_{up} &= f_3(1/D_p) \\
A &= f_4(0_G/0_L) \\
D &= f_5(dO_p) \\
\frac{dt}{(A_t)_{up}} &= 0 \\
I_g &= f_6(1/D) \\
I_g &= f_7(C_p) f_8(0_p) f_9(a_1) \\
&= \frac{dC_1}{dt} \\
d0_p &= f_{10}(DC_1 f_8(1)) \\
\frac{dt}{(A_t)_{up}} &= \frac{dt}{C_p f_{8a}(a_1)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

From equations 6 and 7, with no additional assumptions.

Equation 8's solution is facilitated by a wide variety of simplifying assumptions. In the absence of more knowledge about the exact forms of the functions, the simplest assumption might be that the equation has the form:

\[
\frac{d0_p}{dt} = (A_t)_{up} = 0 \\
\frac{dt}{C_p f_{8a}(a_1)} = 0 \\
\]

A similar assumption gives, for equation 7:

\[
I_g = C_gpG_p a_k \\
\]
With this modification, the study of Sherif and Harvey (Sherif and Harvey, 1952:272-305) enables us to make use of some additional hypotheses, summarized here as:

\[ C_{gp} = \frac{0^+}{0^-} \cdots \cdots \cdots \cdots \cdots \ (11) \]

Where + represents opinion formation favorable to the decision-makers, - represents opinion formation unfavorable to the decision-makers.

V

Conclusion

The preceding mathematical solution has only accounted for a few attributes to demonstrate the functioning of the proposed theory. Its aim is to serve an exemplary purpose. The choice of variables is determined through observation, measurement, and analysis. The proposed theory gives recognition to the process of decision-making, an insight which thus far has been lacking in the literature. The transactional theory of decision-making as advanced here extends Simon's (1958) discussion of "bounded rationality" and enhances Lindblom's (1965) elaboration of "mutual adjustment" by accounting for both the social (external) and political (internal) determinants of a decision-maker's behavior. It also advances an analytic insight to the concept that decision-makers exist within an arena of conflicting values, interests, attitudes and opinions of what public policy should be, and what is in a decision-maker's own interests. As illustrated, there are the interest of specific groups and multitude of interest groups, combined with the political desire of a public official to remain in office. There are the short and long run interests of society within a mixture of differing norms and values and a minimum consensus of what a decision should consist of. There are the sociological determinants of the decision-maker's behavior (data on socialization) which cannot be overlooked. A symmetric scheme of cause and effect provides only a limited view of this process. The transactional approach by extending the present level of causal inference, at least, provides theoretical understanding of the decision-making process.
FOOTNOTE

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