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Special Issue

SOCIOLOGY OF WOMEN AND SOCIAL WELFARE

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Editorial

With the advent of the women's liberation movement more and more women have been successfully pursuing careers of their choice in an expanding panoply of occupational areas. The traditional women's fields of social work, teaching, nursing, secretarial service and retail sales are no longer the few viable options. Law, medicine, engineering, psychology, banking and the executive suites of corporate industry also beckon. No longer are women confronted with the marriage and family vs. career dichotomy; it is possible to do all three and do them well if one is energetic, a superb juggler and has a cooperative husband. Or one can elect to do them sequentially--devoting time to a career for several years, then to raising children for a period of time and moving back into the workaday world part or full time as her particular needs and situation permit. We are indeed fortunate to be alive in this exciting period of time when we can forge ahead in new directions, balancing and re-balancing the elements of the "best of all possible worlds" in accordance with our own predilections and those of our important others. Our changing rhythms can allow each of us to march to our own internal drum beat and maintain perspective because "to everything there is a season."

And what of our daughters, those who are daughters of mothers who are also successful career women? When many of us (our readers and authors) grew up, our female role models came in two varieties--our mothers--who were predominantly housewives--and the "old maid school teachers." The former only worked when pressed by financial necessity. They dutifully conformed to the prescription that "a woman's place is in the home." Volunteer work was acceptable so long as children were not neglected, which meant only when they were in school. The latter, the "spinsters" (now an obsolete word) were presumed to be single because no man had proposed; they were viewed as sorrowful and unfulfilled. The occasional working wife that school girls encountered was waiting to begin a family or was a grumpy old biddie with time on her hands because her grown children had left home--or so the stereotype conveyed.

If we did not find our ego ideal in either of these archetypal molds, we had to become pioneers and create a very special niche based on strong, personal convictions of what we wanted to become. There simply were few, if any, successful, vibrant career women who were simultaneously content wives and mothers with whom to identify and discuss our dreams and plans.

Our daughters are more fortunate, or so it seems. With the advent of concepts and practices such as options for women, consciousness raising, and women's rights there has been a rapid expansion in the variety of viable life styles women can choose to pursue. Today's little girls and their adolescent big sisters are exposed to their mothers, teachers and other women who are gainfully employed full or part time, who run their own businesses, and who are full or part time homemakers, and who find satisfaction in volunteerism or any combination of the
above. Their vistas can be as expansive as their own imagination and talent permit.

But every leap forward is accompanied by a host of new problems. Whereas, with few exceptions, for the two generations of women now between 25 and 65 years of age anything that they did in the workaday world was an achievement which surpassed their mothers; such is no longer the case for girls under 25. Their chic mommy may also be in the vanguard of highly achieving and well respected women in academia, the professions or business. Her competition with her mother may have been adequately resolved at the oedipal stage but a new and fiercer competition may arise in young adulthood as she seeks to emulate and surpass a mother who has successfully mastered the three challenging roles of career woman, wife and mother. Here again, her father's attitude towards her mother's competence and professionalism are important elements in how she handles her sense of inadequacy and/or envy.

Today's young woman also lacks role models, for who in the past has coped well with this kind of ambivalence towards Mom, ambivalence born of admiration and jealousy, feelings of inferiority and being overshadowed by a bright, accomplished supermom-woman? Can she surpass a Mom who is a judge, doctor, banker, dean of a school of social work or department of sociology, a famous actress? If not, what alternatives does she have that will lead to self fulfillment? If she returns only to the wife and mother role that her Mom fought hard to abandon, will she and Mom both perceive her as a failure? If she decides not to marry, is she rejecting the importance of the family to her emotional well being? Her own, her mother's and society's expectations for her and of her are much higher than in past generations and she can not hide her personal lack of accomplishment behind a rationalization that the career doors are closed to women.

Clearly, the time is now for research to assess the impact of the women's liberation movement on her daughters—1) the effects of years of day care replacing the one to one or one to three relationships characteristic of early childhood in yesteryear, 2) the perception of girls of their ambitious working Moms for whom motherhood alone was not sufficient as a way of life, and 3) the motivation or discourage-ment Mom's achievements stimulate in daughter. Have we somehow created an ethos in which young women are overwhelmed by a subtle expectation that they should be so multifaceted and so capable that they really cannot exercise their option to just assume one or two of these roles rather than encompassing all of them simultaneously? Has being just wife and mother or just career woman lost all dignity and credibility?
This issue is dedicated to our Moms, who in their intuitive wisdom encouraged us to "be and become" whatever our fancy dictated; and to our daughters whose horizons are limitless and whose very being brings us joy as well as many concerns. To our own generation as represented by the papers published in this special issue—many accolades for the courage, tenacity, struggles and commitment that have led us on to so many exciting and confusing pathways.

Sincerely,

Florence Kaslow, Ph.D.
Guest Co-Editor
WOMEN: RE-ENTRY AND CHALLENGE

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Women are turning or returning to the world outside the home in ever-increasing numbers, partly due to the economic crisis of recent years and partly in response to the "consciousness-raising" and self-actualization aspects of the women's liberation and humanistic movements. When a woman re-enters the workaday or educational world, she meets a variety of challenges. Some she may have anticipated; others may come as a surprise - or a shock.

"Challenge" is used here in two ways. The clearly positive challenges are those career or academic tasks that invite the woman to use her abilities and potential in constructive ways. These are the opportunities that make re-entry attractive to her. There are also challenges, however, that "dare" her to succeed, in that they are roadblocks or potential inhibitors of achievement. These can be negative influences, resulting in submissiveness and lack of self-actualization, or more positive because they stimulate the woman to take the dare and "overcome" it. Although both types of challenge are encountered by any woman re-entering the classroom or the labor market, they are far more complex for the married woman than the unmarried. Therefore, the discussion in this paper will stress primarily the challenges that face the married woman who chooses to extend her horizons and thereby complicate her domestic life.

Horner posed the problem well when she wrote that "... while society has been legally opening its doors to women and decrying the loss of female potential, it has been teaching them to fail outside the home. No one ever seriously objects to a woman's education or intellectual development, provided its objective is to make her a more entertaining companion and a more enlightened, and thus better, wife and mother. Only when her objective is an independent personal career does a problem arise." (1970, p.56) The conflict about woman's role and "place" persists despite all the legal, judicial, and consciousness-raising activities of the past decade. This is a challenge with negative potential. Let us assume that the wife and mother resolves her internal conflict and moves into the world outside her home. What lies ahead? The answer may be found in a multitude of questions.

At home, the woman may encounter some of the following problems. If she achieves success, whether academic, financial, or in professional recognition, does this pose a threat to her husband's ego? If her star is rising while his hangs by a thread, is at a plateau, or is falling, does he resent the situation? Does he perceive her activity as competition with him? Can he rejoice with her when she attains a goal? Much, of course, depends on his maturity, self-concept, and respect for his wife as an individual. His response will also be colored by the
manner in which the wife presents her success and the level of interest she maintains in his activities. Does she provoke a competitive spirit? Is her elation excessive or prolonged? If she cares about the maintenance of a harmonious marriage, the handling of this situation provides a test of her powers of sensitivity and tactfulness.

If our woman is also a mother, the question arises as to the nature of the model she provides her children. Can they accept her in multiple roles? Are they resentful of the external demands on their mother's time and attention? Are they proud of or overwhelmed by her achievements? What effect do her achievements have on their school or work efforts? It takes judicious planning to combine motherhood and career (or studies) without jeopardizing the respect and affection of one's children. Indeed, self-discipline and effective management techniques become the keys to meeting family needs and responsibilities while making progress in personal development. Time must be apportioned to domestic tasks. Energy must be shared among emotional demands, physical jobs, and motivational desires. What our achieving woman needs is cooperation within her family and a balanced perspective on her own priorities. (Schwartz, 1975)

It is interesting that the family woman's ability to be effective as wife, mother, and "worker" is the basis for another challenge - on the job. If the woman is an executive or professional, male colleagues frequently find her all-around competence devastating to their own self-concept and status. There are numerous references in the literature to the fact that a female has to be more capable and more persistent than a male to be accepted to graduate school or supervisory positions. (Harris, 1970; Rossi, 1971) This combination of characteristics poses sufficient rivalry for the male. That she may also be a devoted and successful wife and mother can overwhelm him. The single, divorced, or widowed woman may similarly be meeting a number of family responsibilities well, but the absence of a husband makes her appear to have fewer conflicting demands with the job. If she apparently has fewer roles in which she exhibits success, she is perceived as less of a threat. (Schwartz, 1975)

A second problem in the job market is well-documented also - salary discrimination. "Equal pay for equal work" may be the law of the land, but it is not the practice. In academic life in 1975-76, there was a $4900 differential in the salary paid across all ranks at the university level, in favor of men. (Chronicle of Higher Education, June 28, 1976, p.8) In industry, the reports are similar, although jobs may be re-titled to evade anti-discrimination suits. Married women tend to receive lower salaries than unmarried women on the grounds that theirs is a supplementary, and by inference unnecessary, income. (Harris, 1970) This salary problem poses a negative challenge that is not easily resolved. It is an employer's market today with little latitude for individual bargaining, especially for married women who have little geographical mobility and more time constraints. Suing for equal pay can win the salary adjustment, but may lead to covert discrimination tactics by supervisors, non-acceptance from colleagues, and severance from the job or non-promotion in the future. (Note: Part-time employment opportunities with pro-rated fringe benefits are still rare. These positions,
Generations of well-educated women have been plagued by a third challenge at work - sex-role stereotyping. "Can you type?" is the question first asked in industry. "You're too pretty to be a ..." is another frequent comment. The female employee is too often regarded initially as a sex object, and perhaps never perceived without sexual undertones. In a society with loosening moral values, married women are no longer exempt from these stereotyped expectations and inferences. One such inference is the notion that a successful woman has achieved her status through an exchange of sexual favors for promotions, salary raises, or other benefits. This viewpoint has truth as a base in some instances to be sure, and has been the basis of novels and movie plots, but is hardly accurate with respect to all women, married or not. The never-married woman, from her late 20's on, is often perceived as a "swinger" or a lesbian, again a sexual evaluation that has nothing to do with her competence at work. It is apparently difficult for men to dissociate females from sex, to accept their serious commitment to a job, or to regard women as anything but dilettantes in the world of work. This unfortunate circumstance is cited throughout the growing women's literature in journals such as this one, Signs, Sex Roles, and Psychology of Women Quarterly.

A fourth problem occurs where the female is an authority figure. Although there are certainly individual differences in handling authority-subordinate relations, there are also stereotyped views of women as "bosses." The extreme in chauvinistic opinion is perhaps best represented by opposition to the election of a woman president. Great anxiety is expressed that her physiological and emotional cycles would influence her responses to national and international events with disastrous consequences. On the industrial or academic scene, the same generalization prevails although on a lesser scale of implications for the fate of humanity. A second stereotype presents the female manager or supervisor as hyper-masculinized, meaning that she has repressed her qualities of sensitivity and affective responsiveness in favor of a tough, hard-nosed, all-business approach to people. Some women, indeed, have developed such behaviors either to overcome the view of women as emotion-dominated or to "prove" their ability to function well in the male-dominated executive suite. Their female subordinates dislike such a cold relationship, and male subordinates resent the woman's authority and business-like personality, characterizing her as "too aggressive for a woman" (and therefore castrating in their view). If, by contrast, the female executive asks a secretary to take care of some personal chore, just as many a male executive does, she is perceived as less devoted to her job than her male counterpart. The soft-spoken, caring female authority figure is considered to be too gentle to be effective. These extremes present a "no-win" dilemma for the woman in an authority position.

Many women who never entered college or who dropped out before graduation are now re-entering the academic world as students. What are the problems they face? Some of the basic challenges that confront them
have been discussed in other publications and need not be repeated here. (cf., School Review, 1972) Two specific problems claim our attention in this paper. One is the obstacle course of being admitted as a student. There is sometimes the reaction that investing in the education of a mature woman is unwise because she has too few productive years remaining. This obstacle is being reduced by society itself as the movement for life-long learning and credit for life experience takes hold across the country. Career changes in the middle years are becoming more commonplace, among men as well as women. Furthermore, activists in the senior citizens' groups are demonstrating that they still have contributions to make to society after age sixty-five, extending productivity for more years than was true a decade ago.

Once admitted, the older woman may encounter two extremes of faculty reaction. Some faculty members welcome the mature point of view that the adult brings to the classroom. Others feel undermined because the mature woman asks too many penetrating questions or can present a logical counter-argument to the instructor's flat assertions. Also, she doesn't engage in the ego-flattery used by her younger sisters; from her, a compliment must be well-earned. It is also anticipated by some young instructors that anyone over thirty will be inflexible. Anxious about their status and success these women may be, but they are not inflexible. Unless the instructor is rigid himself (or herself), a few weeks of observation and interaction will modify the previous misconceptions. Of course, the woman herself will have to overcome her own anxieties about sitting in a classroom with students half her age, diffidence in the face of overbearing instructors, and doubts about her motivation for re-entering the cloistered halls. Not one of this last group of obstacles is insuperable.

In summary, the ways in which the woman perceives the challenges posed by her return to school or work determine whether or not she handles the opportunity successfully. She has more alternative paths to follow today than she did only a few years ago. She also has more groups and agencies supporting her right to choose among the options than did any earlier generation of women. She can face those who "dare" her with strength and dignity. She can see herself in the process of becoming an individual as she masters tasks, solves problems, demonstrates competence in several roles, and enjoys a new and variegated existence. With increasing self-confidence, she can look at the world and throw out a few challenges of her own. Is society, particularly the male segment, ready to accept the challenge she poses?

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WORK INCENTIVE POLICIES:
AN EVALUATION OF THEIR EFFECTS
ON WELFARE WOMEN'S CHOICE

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I. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF AFDC MOTHERS

Much rhetoric has been heard in recent years on the subject of getting AFDC mothers "off the welfare rolls and onto payrolls." The focus of many a federally funded study is still on those personal life characteristics such as "motivation" which are supposed to facilitate the actual leaving off of welfare checks. Indeed, much national policy effort has been aimed at improving work incentives and providing supportive services (training, job placement, day care) for those on AFDC. However, in spite of the efforts of the Work Incentive Program (WIN) only 16 percent of AFDC mothers were working in 1973 (USDHEW, 1974). The focus of this evaluation, therefore, is to explore those mandatory work incentive policies and choices that confront the AFDC mother as well as explore those specific barriers to labor market success confronting these heads of households, by way of evaluating the WIN program.

The problem ultimately lies in the structure of the labor market and in social attitudes about women's position in society, which affect the AFDC mother. It has been said that the traditional women's "role" though historically a crucial but economically unrewarding one has contributed directly to the present welfare crisis. The work ethic in our society still dictates that women are not expected to seek employment except under special circumstances, as when they become household heads, while at the same time our norms also dictate that they work at unpaid labor at home, and perhaps work harder, all told, than men.

It is argued here that Work Incentive Policies treat the symptoms rather than the basic causes of poverty with high costs to society. The writer's own experience with WIN participants as well as attitudinal surveys has suggested that there is a very high motivation to work among welfare mothers, however, the low-wage jobs available to them are not very competitive with benefits available through AFDC with its various in-kind programs such as Medicaid and day care. As Sawhill (1976) notes, the combined benefit-loss rates associated with work incentive programs remain high, as budgetary constraints associated with raising net welfare-wage incentives and services remain high along with administrative costs of a work incentive program. However acceptable the concept of work incentives and however great the effort, the shift from dependency to self-support for these three-and-a-half-million women and their children is extremely difficult to bring about.

It is well known that almost half of all female-headed families with
children are poor, and a similar proportion are on welfare comprising 97 percent of the adult AFDC caseload (1971 HEW AFDC Study). The concept of work for AFDC mothers seems to many to be an acceptable answer to the "welfare crisis" because of changing attitudes about the economic dependency of women when almost one-third of wives with husband present and children under age six are working today compared to less than one fifth a decade ago.

However, it is less well known that women on welfare already have a substantial work history even while on aid. Public assistance can be shown to be a form of wage supplementation to the low paid, partially employed workers (Rein & Miller, 1968). Welfare status does not represent a sharp break with employment as is commonly supposed. Schiller (1973) quotes studies having shown that the median time on welfare is only 20 months, and approximately one-fourth of current recipients are in the labor force. There are high rates of mobility between welfare and work status. Like other American women, most welfare mothers have worked for wages at one time or another. Data from the 1969 HEW study showed that before going on welfare, over three-quarters had worked at some time. Exactly how many now combine work and welfare during the course of a year is not known but there are large regional variations due to varying state wage rates and grant allowances. Data from pre-WIN studies pointed to around 30 percent nationwide (Coll, 1974).

II. WORK INCENTIVE POLICIES: PROGRAM GOALS AND RESULTS

There is an assumption, however, by top policy-makers in Washington (especially in an election year) that the problem of employment for AFDC recipients is merely a choice between work or welfare. The thrust of government policy is now explicitly (as currently presented in TV spot ads for WIN) and some would say coercively directed at checking the rapid growth of welfare expenditures by funneling AFDC recipients into the labor force through the Work Incentive Program. The Talmadge Amendments which further reinforced the 1967 Social Security Amendments which conditioned welfare benefits on the willingness of the poor to accept work or training, are based on the premise that poor people must be forced to work. To make working worthwhile, however, states are, since 1971, required to allow the employed welfare recipient to keep $30.00 plus one-third of monthly earnings before recalculating the assistance payment. This "earnings exemption" or "earnings disregard" is deemed essential in encouraging recipients to work rather than welfare because many states had heretofore deducted the full amount of earnings from the assistance payment. The practice of allowing certain expenses related to work or training, such as transportation and equipment, to $60.00 a month is still to be assured as is day care for preschool age children and suitable arrangements for after school hours for other youngsters. Training, either institutional or on-the-job, was to be given those women who lacked immediate placement in employment. These aspects of the WIN I program are still in effect and came into full operation in July of 1969, but were replaced by a revised program - WIN II - on July 1, 1972.
The results of WIN I were disappointing in terms of numbers enrolled as well as numbers who completed training and/or got jobs. In the 3 1/2 years of WIN I, about 10 percent of the adult caseload were enrolled and only 3 percent had been placed in employment by April 1972. Slightly more than half of those enrolled had dropped out, many of them for "good cause" such as illness, pregnancy, or need to care for family (Coll, 1974). Job opportunities for women were mainly confined to clerical and sales work or service occupations where the pay was low (averaging $1.92 to $2.55 per hour). Only one out of five completed the course of training according to 1971 reports before the Talmadge Amendments. In urging changes in the WIN program, Congress called attention to the difficulty of defining the term "appropriate" referral to WIN, and criticized the extensive rise of institutional training, which had apparently been given "without due regard to existing skill demands." Therefore, all able-bodied AFDC recipients were required to register as a condition of eligibility with two important differences; WIN II specifically exempted women caretakers of children under 6, although these women were free to volunteer for the program. WIN II also exempted women caretakers if the father or other male relative was in the home and eligible for participation. Furthermore, the highest priority was to be given to unemployed fathers; then to volunteer mothers; third, other mothers and pregnant women under age 19; fourth, nonexempt dependent children and relatives (over age 16 and not in school); and fifth, all others. Direct placement in jobs was preferred to training and employers were allowed tax credits for hiring WIN participants. An expanded on-the-job training program with federal reimbursements was developed, which was largely confined to men because of the reluctance of employers to hire women for jobs suited to such training and public service employment (Coll, 1974).

Results of WIN II are not very different from WIN I, in spite of the substantially higher program participation and administrative costs. Evidence that the entire work training program may be fundamentally flawed is strengthened by the fact that 80 percent of those who in 1973 entered WIN failed to obtain jobs and the average wage of those who did was $2.00 per hour (Goodwin, 1973). Furthermore, only 12 percent of the adult caseload was enrolled in 1974 and of those, only 4 percent were placed on jobs. More than a third of those dropped out and returned to welfare because a change in their situations had made them exempt. But a large number, almost half, left the program and the welfare rolls for reasons not directly connected to WIN, such as return of spouse or receipt of other benefits.

As would be expected, however, women were not nearly as successful as men in working their way off welfare. With a WIN participation rate of 70 percent of women, only 41 percent completing job entry became independent of welfare compared to 59 percent of men completing job entry (held a job for 90 days after placement). But the entry hourly wage for all jobs for women was $1.87; for men, $2.58 (Coll, 1974). Probably the HEW regulation requiring men who work more than 100 hours to be dropped from the rolls without the earnings disregard that is allowed women caused a higher rate of their being taken off aid.
III. RELATION OF BENEFIT LEVELS TO WAGES

One seeming paradox of the program that should not be surprising is that the earnings disregard has, in fact, tended to reduce the number of women terminated from AFDC because of employment. The economic facts of a higher working income allowed before welfare grant reduction has, in some states, gone quite high before the welfare break-off point.

It is an important fact that welfare benefits have risen not only absolutely but in relation to income from work as part of a policy to increase work incentives. Durbin, in a New York City study (1968), discovered that in the 1960's welfare benefits increased more than the minimum wage and more than the average or maximum unemployment compensation benefits. She emphasized that benefits-in-kind such as medical services also determine real welfare income to the recipient.

A recent New York City study (Shkuda, 1976) showed evidence that economic insecurity in the low-wage high-turnover sector contributed to a more favorable view of welfare with one-third of the sample returning to aid after 6 months of independence. The relationship of specific welfare benefit levels to wages as a determinant of the work-welfare choice has not yet received all the attention it deserves in the seventies. There has been no conclusive research on the phenomenon as to why a small group of AFDC clients go on and off welfare periodically due to reasons of employment, and therefore only tentative hypotheses can be generated from the studies of the work efforts of recipients who were unsuccessful over a long time period (Lowenthal, 1971). Data also indicate that there is a small group of "stable" AFDC clients who use welfare in a continuous way, and a much larger group that rotates between being on and off welfare (Rein and Wishnov, 1971). Opton, in a 1971 study, for example, found that most of the jobs held by his sample of AFDC women lasted only a short time, with the modal length being three months. He points out that if an AFDC mother is to become self-supporting through her own earnings, she would need to find a job that would pay enough not only to make her ineligible for welfare, but enough to enable her to accumulate enough savings to carry her through unemployment, a very difficult task. What ultimately emerges is a picture of long association with the labor market, but employment periods of short duration or intermittent labor.

All of the studies cited previously are markedly consistent and imply that the assumption that welfare recipients require extraordinary world-of-work orientation or other forms of motivation stimulus is not well founded. The fact that millions of poor families continue to work without the security of welfare is itself significant evidence of a commitment to work. Comparative studies of employed and nonemployed poor indicate that these groups share virtually identical aspirations and attitudes (Schiller, 1973). Indeed some studies cited by Schiller, Goodwin, and others have even suggested that the poor have a stronger commitment to work than the nonpoor, implying that the motivation issue is a "middle class conceit."

Other important elements in the "choice" of work or welfare have
been overlooked by the present WIN program. So far, policy-making appears to have proceeded on the assumption that it could ignore the needs and experience of the target population with questionable results in terms of program effectiveness. These elements will be examined here.

IV. FACTORS AFFECTING THE WORK OR WELFARE "CHOICE"

Much of the research done on aspects of the work-welfare choice has treated only one aspect of the work-welfare issue—whether it be the relationship of wages to welfare benefits, examinations of the work characteristics and limitations of the ability of women in general to enter the labor force, or subcultural influences. Many of these studies have ignored the specific problems of AFDC heads of households and have instead assumed an unlimited "supply" side of the labor market, which ignores the "demand" for labor in economic terms. It is proposed here that any policy reevaluation of the WIN program with the goals of stimulating recipient motivation and also eliminating major barriers that AFDC women have in moving from welfare to self-support should be analyzed in terms of 1) the health of the AFDC population, 2) the role conflict of the maternal ethic vs. the work ethic of a mother without a husband, 3) adequacy of child care facilities, 4) the effects of past experience with WIN and the low-wage job market and training, 5) higher work and home related expenses of a mother with no "wife" at home; 6) general ignorance about work incentives in welfare budgets, 7) the human capital or labor characteristics of AFDC women, 8) the labor market environment and characteristics such as race and sex discrimination, and 9) availability of jobs and wage levels. It will be seen here that the present WIN program does not take each of these factors into consideration as determining the probability of self support. Each of these factors will be examined here.

(1) Health of AFDC Mothers. Serious barriers to the attainment of self-support or even to working at all were identified in a study conducted by SRS shortly after the inception of WIN (National Analysts, SRS, 1971). This study aimed to find out from the women themselves what their circumstances and intentions were in regard to working in ten cities. In view of their ages, a surprisingly large number (44 percent) said they were unable to work because of illness, surgery, accident, or physical disability. Although most were receiving medical treatment, they expressed a great deal of pessimism about sufficient recovery to take a job. Data from other studies tend to confirm the presence of a high degree of serious chronic illness and impairments among AFDC mothers: obesity, due to high starch diet; heart trouble; arthritis; tuberculosis; female disorders; hypertension; and varicose veins. Such ailments comprise "medical exemptions" for perhaps one-third of AFDC women because so many can qualify only for jobs requiring physical exertion (Coll, 1974).

(2) Role conflict. In contrast to the maternal ethic which may put any blame for juvenile delinquency on the mother who fails to provide her young children with proper attention, love, and guidance, the work ethic of the welfare rules places emphasis on the financial responsibility of the woman if the father is absent or deserts (Bluestone and Hardman, 1972). That is, the woman is supposed to find employment to
maintain herself and her children 6 years of age and over even when they need after school and summer-time care, ideally reducing welfare to a temporary stop-gap measure until self-supporting employment can be found.

As more political sentiment in the seventies encourages healthy welfare mothers with children under age 6 to enter the labor market, the emphasis on the work ethic intensifies and the maternal ethic becomes more problematic. The more restrictive a woman's conception of the maternal ethic or traditional family role, for example her decision to be the sole or primary caretaker of her child until he enters first grade—the greater the probability that she will choose to rely on AFDC. Wishnov, in a 1971 Boston study, speculates that such women attach less and less stigma to welfare since it is the sole vehicle which permits her to stay at home at a time when the homemaker role has greater validity with no husband present. Wishnov's study also showed that even among women who worked while on assistance, self-respect was more closely linked to their home and family than a job. Their first concern is their child's welfare, not work. This attitude is not peculiar to welfare mothers either, it is shared by the general population.

(3) Adequacy of Child Care Facilities. The subject of child care illustrates the complexities of policy decisions that must be made in any removal of barriers to employment for welfare mothers. The lack of adequate child care facilities has always been an important constraint on labor force entry of women. One cannot conclude, however, that the guarantee of child care facilities will significantly increase employment among welfare mothers. We are reminded that the "forced work" ethic is not absolute, but provisional, no mother will be referred to work unless child care is assured. Nationwide, there is a shortage of day care facilities. Most working AFDC mothers in the 1971 study had made their own arrangements with relatives or friends. Today, there is less stigma attached to the use of day care centers. But even those mothers who might prefer institutional care report that such facilities are often too inflexible for employment demands, operating too few hours and providing no care for children who are ill; the latter deficiency has been cited as a major cause of mothers' absenteeism (Schiller, 1973). Possible illnesses of the children, of the mother herself, or of the adult who is caretaker in the home, special school holidays, or severe weather conditions can disturb the mother's employment schedule. Many employers are not aware of the single parents' responsibilities or simply do not care. If the employer is aware, adjustments for time off or allowances for sick leave and emergencies are not always worked out in a "tight" job market. The mother does not always have relatives or friends who can assist during emergencies. It has been shown that WNN program administration cannot always cover these contingencies adequately and there are many job drop-outs due to these contingencies. Just exactly how many is not known. These considerations suggest that the employment impact of expanded day care facilities is likely to be modest, and that compulsory child-care programs are apt to have a hostile reception (Schiller, 1973).
Effects of Past Experience with WIN and Jobs. It has been found that one source of anxiety about work capability among welfare women is past experience characterized by a series of low paying, high turnover jobs (Wishnov, 1971). Even with a job, women who have been on welfare may feel uncertain about their tenure or about the adequacy of their salary to improve their standard of living. When women who have been encouraged to complete a training program through WIN, for example, fail to obtain employment, they have definite and immediate experience of failure in the work world and thereby become even more dependent on welfare. Ninety-five percent of the unemployed WIN orientation and training terminees were back on aid in 1972 (Goodwin, 1972) and the statistics today are similar. Along these lines it should be noted that throughout the nation the demand for WIN skill training far exceeds available training slots and available services, and many WIN referrals are simply recycled time after time. In fact, recipients themselves report in the mid-seventies that job search efforts yield little payoff and that production cut-offs were a frequent cause of their welfare dependency in the first place. These phenomena, says Schiller and others, not only renders mandatory participation rules meaningless but expresses the desire of recipients to acquire skills and jobs. It is also known that many of the most able and motivated program participants become WIN dropouts who terminte their participation to take jobs.

Higher Costs for a Mother with no "Wife" to do Housework. Surveys by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as reported by the Children's Bureau as far back as 1966 indicate that, on the average, work-related expenses can take one-third of a welfare mother's earnings if child care is not paid for, and the amount increases to one-half where there are school-age children. Today's WIN program pays for child care expenses including transportation of the child, but it does not pay for costs for additional clothing and personal care necessitated by employment, emergency (one time) transportation for medical and other needs, the costs of meals away from home for the mother (except in certain training programs where transportation is also paid for), the cost of extra food at home for the child-care person, if any, and above all, extra costs for cleaning, laundry, and other time-saving housekeeping devices needed by the mother who is employed. The mother, after a certain amount of time of on-the-job training, must pay her own transportation costs which may be high due to lack of inner-city public facilities from crime-ridden slum areas, or lack of rural transportation.

General Ignorance About Work Incentives in Welfare Budgets. A pertinent aspect of the use of the aforementioned first thirty dollars and a third of all wages per month income disregards for recipients is the extent to which recipients know about them. Solary concluded in a 1971 study that most respondents were unaware of even the most general meaning of the disregards. The complexity of the computations still require a trained caseworker anyway. Appel in a 1972 study revealed that more than half of those in his Michigan sample who knew about these disregards stated that it had caused them to seek work or training. But most recipients still do not know at the time of WIN interviews whether or by how much employment will raise their incomes.

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However, the earnings disregards should also make AFDC both available and attractive to working nonrecipient female heads of households according to the desirability theory. Thus the net effect of earnings disregards, says Rein (1973) is that they should be equally influential in encouraging those not on welfare to stop work, avail themselves of welfare and then go back to work. Another type of disregard that can affect the pattern of work and welfare is called "casual or sporadic income," and is defined as any amount that is "not received continuously or predicted over time such as seasonal (and holiday sales) employment. A third route for income disregard is failure of the client to report such seasonal or irregular income to the assistance payments worker for budgeting.

(7) Human Capital or Labor Characteristics. The sparse evidence on the human capital characteristics of welfare recipients indicates that although they have a significant amount of job experience (noted previously), they do have lower educational achievements than the average working woman in the economy. Rein (1972), for example, reviews research dealing with social determinants of the work-welfare choice which focuses on such human capital characteristics as education, employment history, and race. Recent studies report that more educated AFDC mothers are more likely to work and are likely to work more than those less educated, but there is no clear link between years of education and the occupational "success" of AFDC women (Goodman, 1969 and Rien, 1972). It is not well known that black AFDC recipients work more than whites put Podell (1968) reports a positive relationship between education and work history held for whites, but not for blacks. It is known that age of recipient and number of children and their ages are crucial to success or failure in working one's way off welfare, and the WIN program does not directly address itself to these factors.

Finally, evidence is accumulating that for a broad range of occupations, institutional training or educational attainment is a poor predictor of job success or performance. Schiller quotes several studies finding that the labor market payoff to vocational training or even several levels of educational attainment is negligible, especially for minority group workers. Much job training must still be done on-site, and many employers who do hire training program graduates are not aware that such persons have received skill training.

(8) Labor Market Environment and Discrimination. The linear association between education, occupation, and work effort is disturbed in the case of AFDC mothers by such factors as job discrimination, which nullifies the effects of education on occupation, as well as cultural patterns that lead to the prevalence of certain occupations rather than mobility (Rein, 1973). In addition to human capital it is racial and sexual discrimination and the overall level of the economy and, more recently, isolated cases of affirmative action suits that will determine how well AFDC individuals will do in the labor market. In effect, race and sex discrimination and high unemployment can make a highly motivated and well-trained AFDC mother unemployable.
Availability of Jobs and Wage Levels. There has always been an implicit assumption in those years when welfare reform has been fashionable that jobs exist for all recipients who are ready and able to seek them. Many features of the WIN program are intimately linked to the supposition that ample job opportunities exist for welfare dependents, but empirical studies suggest that there is a tremendous gap between public expectations and labor market realities (Schiller, 1973). There is indirect evidence of job shortages in both WIN program statistics, year after year, and in national labor market trends. Many analysts have noted that participation in WIN appears to be conditioned by the availability of jobs, with WIN functioning as an alternative to regular employment. It is a fact that when jobs are available, trainees leave the program to take them. It seems preposterous to assume that job vacancies exist in abundance for welfare women with over 6 million or more people unemployed in the labor market. Even if some vacancies did appear, the competition from more advantaged workers would, under these labor market conditions, be intense, indeed. The tax credits made available to employers of WIN graduates cited previously has not had as much success as anticipated due to the fact, it is said, that during a tight labor market there is little employer interest in such a program, as few employers nationwide know about the credit or hire enough WIN graduates to justify the cost of processing necessary tax data.

Furthermore, with few exceptions, the jobs held by AFDC mothers are at the bottom of the economic ladder. A high percentage nationwide are service workers - many of these in household service. About one-third have clerical jobs or are doing light factory work. A few are saleswomen. Only a small percentage are in the better paid professional, technical or kindred occupations (Coll, 1974). The wage rates of these high-turnover jobs were not sufficient to pay job expenses or get even four percent of the adult caseload off the rolls in 1974. Unfortunately, there is no basis for identifying financial security with the kinds of jobs available to AFDC women. The problem is compounded by frequent layoffs and as a result, annual earnings are significantly less than implied by hourly wage data. Almost no one is "making it." So the situation is serious and the explanations "are much more likely to lie in the structure of the job market than in individual assets and liabilities" (Opton, 1971).

It appears that the relative position of AFDC women in the labor force has actually deteriorated in recent years. What is most disturbing about this situation is that when white women do find full time work, their wage income is normally less than two-thirds that of white men, and many surveys have shown that black women fare much worse, earning only half as much as their white male counterparts. Differences in education between the sexes cannot explain these large wage differentials. This deterioration can be traced to the growing labor force participation of women's influx into the traditional "female" sector of the economy and to the evolving stratification of the labor market. Any increase in the labor force participation rates has occurred mainly among white women because black women have always had much higher participation.
rates (Davidson and Gaitz, 1974). Finally, since AFDC women are "crowded" into a smaller set of specific occupations, they are likely to depress wages further. Thus, we may be led to the conclusion that the foregoing employment barriers operate on a cumulative effect. Some of them can be coped with, but as their numbers increase, so does unemployment (Levinson, 1970; Shea, 1973). It should not be surprising to note that based on the analysis of the factors relating to the work-welfare choice, Bluestone and Hardman state that to reach a 15 percent labor force participation rate among AFDC recipients would require, for example, that in addition to the 13.3 percent of adult AFDC women already employed, all unskilled AFDC women be trained and look for work, and that somewhat more than one-half of those who are needed in the home...be provided with services...to allow their participation in the paid labor force...and overcome the circumstances associated with their initial entry into assistance. (1972, p. 6)

Their maximum potential labor force participation rate is therefore approximately 32 percent or one-third (p. 6). It is also clear by HEW (1970) that unless hourly earnings are sufficiently high and work is full year and full-time, total welfare costs will fall only slightly. It is obvious that employment of AFDC household heads has not resulted in substantial financial gains to either client or taxpayers, and since a large percentage of WIN recipients never become employed, the average financial gain to clients and taxpayers of each referral to WIN is much lower than the average for those who receive services and actually become employed at their own request (Fine, 1972; Auerbach Associates, 1972; Breul, 1973). Yet 1972 regulations extending the WIN program required that about 1.5 million welfare recipients "sign up" for work with all the attendant administrative costs.

V. WORK INCENTIVE POLICIES: RECOMMENDATIONS

If program retention and attendance reflect program effectiveness, then WIN fails the test. The experience of WIN does not justify the belief that an expanded program will enable many welfare recipients to become self-supporting. The design and implementation of WIN are both based upon mistaken beliefs about the psychology of welfare recipients. The results of a psychological study of poor people showed that their orientation toward money indicates uncertainty about achieving success rather than denial of self-development (Goodwin, 1972). Long term welfare women lack confidence in their ability. An infrequently considered consequence of WIN's failure to deliver jobs is the frustration of the women's own aspirations because most of them have been shown to view WIN as an opportunity for self-advancement and a way to raise family income (Reid and Smith, 1972). Instead, the WIN orientation component is designed to introduce recipients into the world of work and to stimulate work motivation they allegedly lack (Gold, 1971).

Should the assumption of recipient lack of motivation be proven wrong, then it is obvious that such compulsory workfare requirements...
will waste scarce administrative resources, impose unnecessary hardship on recipients, and further increase taxpayer and recipient hostility. But today's taxpayers misguidedly seem to be clamoring for a program that, upon closer examination, seems to hamper efficient administration and costs more than it saves by complicated financial arrangements that few persons thoroughly understand, limited subsidies to cooperating employers, and wide differences from state to state (Lowenthal, 1971; Levitan, 1973). There is little point in requiring attendance in such a weak program, and the resources used in keeping track of attendance and counselling absentees could be restructured to increase program effectiveness (Levitan, 1972), especially when training funds have been drastically cut back in these years of 1975-76 due to their not conforming to local labor market-conditions irrelevant to job success. Much more serious attention should be given to the potential for job development and job creation instead of assuming a massive availability of jobs (Schiller, 1973).

The structure of the occupational system, the operation of labor markets, the levels of wages and taxes require intervention. Any effort to incite AFDC mothers toward employment as sole breadwinners will have to make provisions for regular and steady jobs paying enough to override some of the benefits-in-kind of income maintenance, must deal with mothers' flexibility to move between work and welfare due to child care contingencies, must be better than the security of welfare payments, and must be better than even the potential for incomplete disclosure of resources, as well as realizing the desirability of the minimal demands of irregular type jobs (Rein and Wishnov, 1971). Successful welfare reform must provide for those who cannot manage themselves, give incentives to those who can manage to contribute to their own success and at the same time keep administrative costs acceptable (Levitan, 1973).

Efforts to eliminate poverty should also include incentives for a husband and wife to stay together because of the importance of joint income. A more equitable distribution of the tax burden would probably have greater economic effect than governmental training programs, because work requirements make a large number of persons available for low-wage and seasonal jobs, which tend to depress wages (Lowenthal, 1971). Thus the WIN program may be actually keeping wages non-competitive by work requirements. Rein (1972), states that "A public policy intent on transforming the welfare system into a major instrument for reducing poverty and also for self-liquidating welfare, by converting it into a manpower program, is bound to rely upon coercion and to produce frustrating results."

As discussed earlier, there is no observable tendency for these mothers to reject economic opportunities for the "comfort" of welfare status. The writer has noted that confronted with few opportunities to achieve upward mobility themselves, welfare mothers place added emphasis on their children's future, expressing a strong desire for both financial and social service assistance in preparing their children for what they hope will be a brighter future.

One of the principal recommendations of this paper is that manpower
programs and public assistance programs be separated so that each may fulfill its particular mission. If the opportunity to work is absent or if the nature and circumstances of work is oppressive as in work requirements, severe repercussions are likely to be experienced in family life. A remarkable study which was commissioned by HEW the month when the Talmadge Amendment was passed, entitled *Work in America*, argues that one of the most satisfying and respected employments should be that of housewife, and that every woman, including the public assistance recipient, should have the opportunity to choose between taking outside employment and "working" to care for her home and family. The task force says that, "It is time to give full recognition to the fact keeping house is work, and it is as difficult to do well (and is as useful to the larger society) as paid jobs producing goods and services. Counting housewives in the labor force would be a useful step in redefining a portion of our welfare problem, and constructing judicious alternatives." Indeed, wages for family housework could go far toward solving the "welfare crisis," as so many European countries have already discovered.

The task force readily asserts that a particularly serious mistake in social policy in the United States was made in the late '60's and early '70's when there occurred the virtual amalgamation of manpower and welfare programs. Breul (1973) notes that the task force recommends that the role of public assistance should be limited to helping people who "cannot take jobs, or by social agreement, should not take jobs." Taking into consideration the effects of a high unemployment rate, the report concludes that "a welfare program with a work requirement will not help the mother, the children, or society at large." The task force emphasizes that work is the key to diminishing economic dependence, of course, but it states that no one should be forced into employment. Instead, everyone available for work should be guaranteed a satisfying and adequately compensated job. This guarantee should include AFDC mothers in their role as household heads who deserve adequate wages for housework. For the immediate future, however, the male-female earnings gap which is widening is one of the major barriers to large numbers of AFDC women leaving the welfare rolls for payrolls. No amount of work effort on the part of female heads of families will go very far in reducing their poverty and dependence on welfare as long as these women face such low wages in the market.

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DEBUNKING SAPPHIRE: TOWARD A NON-RACIST AND NON-SEXIST SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Introduction

The term "Sapphire" is frequently used to describe an age-old image of Black women. The caricature of the dominating, emasculating Black woman is one which historically has saturated both the popular and scholarly literature. The purpose of this paper is debunk the "Sapphire" caricature as it has been projected in American social science. By exposing the racist and sexist underpinnings of this stereotype, it is hoped that more students and scholars might be sensitized and encouraged to contribute to the development of a non-racist and non-sexist social science.

The novice to the subject of Black Women's Studies generally encounters feelings of frustration and aggravation, as she or he begins to explore the literature in quest of more knowledge relevant to the experience of being Black and female in America. One is almost overwhelmed with the depth and extent of the intellectual void that exists among social science scholars concerning the life experiences of Black women. Those persons who somehow manage to endure the frustrations involved in unearthing "bits and pieces" of data about Black women are further acerbated by the following observations:

1. Despite the fact that Black women have always played important roles in American society, they have been almost totally ignored by students of American society and human behavior. From reading the literature, one might easily develop the impression that Black women have never played any role in this society, and that they represent only a minute percentage of the total American population.

2. The experiences of Black women in both a historical and contemporary sense have been discussed from a very narrow perspective. Their lives have been examined from a "problems" framework. As a result of this approach, the student begins to see the experiences of Black women as being limited in nature, and certainly in no way a comparison to the "life and times of great White man."
3. The themes, hypotheses, and images used to explicate the experiences of Black women have not been significantly altered in the past forty years. As a result of the stagnant nature of the literature in this area, the beginning student might hastily yet erroneously conclude that the story of Black women in America is one which is uninteresting and outworn. Therefore, there is no point in delving for more insight into the dynamics of this situation.

These observations are reflective of a pervasive racist and sexist bias in social science scholarship. The more one begins to investigate the theoretical frameworks, concepts, methodologies, and jargon of American social science, the more glaring and ungrounded the racist and sexist assumptions become.

Trends in the Investigation of the Black and Female Experiences

Until recently, most of the research related to Black women that has received any attention has been done by White male sociologists, psychologists, and historians who have been interested in race relations theory or the social structure of the Black family. From the literature several trends can be identified—the most popular trend being the emergence of an abundance of literature related to the role of Black women as matriarchs. The Black matriarchy thesis or perspective is representative of a "social problems" approach to the Black experience which became popular in the 1960's in the work of Moynihan (1965), though the notion of Black matriarchy has its origins in the early works of DuBois (1908) and Frazier (1939).

According to contemporary Black matriarchy theorists, Black women have had, and continue to have an unnatural dominant role in Black families, and this role has had deleterious effects upon Black society (Bernard, 1966; Moynihan, 1965; Rainwater, 1970). For example, one social psychologist has attributed the occurrence of juvenile delinquency, self-hatred, low intelligence quotient scores, cultural deprivation, crimes against persons, and schizophrenia among Blacks to the alleged existence of a matriarchal family structure (Pettigrew, 1964).

Within the last six years, the Black matriarchy theorists have become subject to a barrage of criticisms. Numerous scholars have cited the gross problems in the statistical data, inferences, social concepts, instruments, and methodologies used in support of the Black matriarchy (Billingsley, 1969; Herzog, 1970; Hill, 1971; Staples, 1970). Though several of the critics of the Black matriarchy theory have indicted its proponents as blatant racists, few scholars have given attention to the fact that the Black matriarchy theorists have also been blatantly sexist.

At numerous conferences on the Black family and Black women, I have heard the statement made (usually by Black males) that "the Black
matriarchy theorists are merely trying to victimize and ostracize the Black man by saying that he can't take care of his family." Given the predominantly White, middle class orientation of most Black matriarchy theorists, it is not difficult to agree with this statement. However, at the same time that these theorists ostracize the Black male and label him as deviant, effeminate, and passive, Black women are also ostracized and labeled as doubly deviant, masculine, and unnaturally superior.

Another approach in the study of Black women which has emerged in recent times is the investigation of the "life and times" of prominent Black women (Boanes, 1975). Proponents of this approach have concentrated almost exclusively upon the public lives of nationally known Black women such as Mary Church Terrell, Mary McCleod Bethune, Ida Wells Barnett, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. Implicit in this "life and times approach" is a class bias. Though it is often argued that more papers and data concerning prominent Black women are available for research, the prevailing or resulting impression is that Black working class or low-income women are inconsequential to the American experience. Therefore, racist, sexist, and class biases are perpetuated in American historiography. All this is not to say that the lives of prominent Black women are not important; however, their lives represent only a few of the least generalizable circumstances that Black women have experienced. Most Black women have not been able to rise to prominence.

Another perspective which has been and remains popular among sociologists is the study of Black women in relationship to their familial roles. Studies representative of this perspective have dealt with the economic, political, and psychological experiences of Black women in the roles of mother, wife, and daughter (Rainwater, 1970). Thus, research which has grown out of this perspective has focused upon the economic difficulties of the female-headed household, and the political powerlessness and psychological problems of the married and unmarried Black female. This approach completely disavows the existence of non-familial roles and role-related conflict among Black women; e.g. Black women as politicians, religious leaders, and athletes have been unexplored.

Specific Indicators of Racism and Sexism in the Social Sciences

Though an attempt has been made to identify three broad approaches to the study of Black women, several indicators or by-products of racism and sexism in social science scholarship can be identified. These indicators include:

1. An emphasis upon the Black Mother-son relationship and the impact of this dyadic relationship on the developing, Black male personality. Virtually no attention has been given to the Black father-daughter dyad. Implicit in the neglect of this relationship by researchers is the assumption that the sex role and personality development of Black females is unimportant.
2. The use of an overtly sexist social science lingo. Rossi (1965) has pointed out the double standard which exists in the way social situations or phenomenon involving men and women are differentially described. For example, when the mother-child dyad is dissolved or impaired in some way, the term maternal deprivation is used to describe the situation; however, when the father-child dyad is dissolved or impaired in some manner the term "father absence" is generally used instead of paternal deprivation. "Father absence" sounds less innocuous than maternal deprivation. Numerous researchers have cited other ways in which social concepts have been defined in terms favorable to the masculine tradition; e.g. The definitions of power, aggressiveness, and independence have a strong bias in favor of the male.

3. The use of instruments biased against the culturally different, women, and working class or low-income people. Instruments such as the Minnesota Multi-phasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the Stanford-Binet and Wechsler IQ tests, and various Masculinity-Femininity (M-F) Scales have been used to measure the psycho-social components of several "out-groups", and generally these instruments yield data which describe Blacks and women as deviant in some manner. Again, the real problems with these instruments are related to the conceptual frameworks upon which they are based--these frameworks being biased in terms of race, sex and class in many instances (Pleck, 1975).

4. The tendency to use male subjects in studies of a non-familial nature. Much of the literature in the sociology of work and occupations, and achievement motivation has been done on male subjects (Hochschild, 1971). Implicit in this tendency is the acceptance of the adage that "a woman's place is in the home", therefore there is no reason to investigate the experiences of women who are not in the family setting. Women who are in "a man's world," or the labor force are generally considered to be abnormal or atypical, and thus unworthy of scholarly attention. Until recently most studies of Blacks in business and other professions (excluding education) were concerned primarily with men.

5. A preponderance of social science literature being written by males. Prior to the 1950's, Black males were the primary writers in the area of Black family studies; however, since the late 1950's and early 1960's, White males have been most prolific in this area. It should be noted that the emergence of the White male scholar in this area is directly correlated with the popularity of the Black matriarchy myth. Fortunately since the late 1960's and early 1970's, several aware and sensitive scholars have appeared on the horizon (Jackson, 1973; Ladner, 1972; Ryan, 1971; Staples, 1973). Such persons have refused to accept without question common notions about
the experiences of Blacks and women in American society.

Research Priorities and Action-Oriented Strategies for Century III

Given the state of the social literature, there is a wealth of unexplored areas which must be investigated during the next century. There must be more examinations of the Black and female experience that are sensitive to the ways in which racism and sexism bear upon Black women. This would entail the development of theoretical frameworks that are not based upon patriarchal sentiments that view both Blacks and women as deviants or outsiders to the American experience. We can no longer allow the use of what Jackson refers to as a "Mother-God psychoanalytical paradigm" which attempts to explain how sick Black women really are.1

There must be more examination of Black women who are participants in non-familial roles. Such data would help to fill the gap in the literature on the sociology of work, occupations, and achievement motivation. Also, by exploring the roles of Black women in other societal institutions, we can learn more about the workings of racism and sexism at all levels of the American system.

There must be more exploration of the mental and physical health problems of Black women in all phases of the life cycle. Because Black women represent more than 50% of the total Black population, some knowledge of the social, psychological, and economic problems of this segment of the population would be helpful to public policy-makers in designing health care and social services for the Black community.

There must be more exploration into the Black father-daughter dyad, and sex role personality development among Black women. It will be only when we understand the dynamics of this relationship that we can speak more precisely about socialization in the Black community.

There must be more study of Black women in all strata of American society. We must know what the experiences of the masses are, in order to speak about the history of Black women. This will also entail a redefinition of several social concepts, such as power, weakness, and aggressiveness.

There must be more careful consideration of the implications of demographic trends of Black community. For example the imbalance in the sex ratio is one factor that will definitely influence the psycho-social experiences of Black women. Given the fact that there will be not an opportunity for each Black woman to enter into a permanent interpersonal relationship with a Black man, psychologists and other helping professionals must help to develop alternative support systems.
There must be more empirical and cross-cultural investigations of the life experiences of women. In other words, we cannot speak of a psychology or sociology or anthropology of women, if the frameworks of these perspectives are applicable to White, middle-class, or professional women only. Thus, those persons engaged in sex roles research or the teaching of courses on women or Blacks must make certain that they address the situation and experiences of non-White and ethnic women. Scholars and students in the humanities should also address the treatment of women in literature, art, and music, as well as the impact of women upon society as artists, musicians, and writers.

These research priorities must be coupled with some very practical action-oriented strategies. These strategies should involve the sensitizing of members of this society to the "roots" and workings of overt, covert, and institutional racism and sexism. Black males must be made aware of the fact that sexism is not only a White problem, and White feminists must also be made aware of the fact that racism and class bias are not peculiar to White males only.

More Blacks and women should be encouraged to become scholars in Black Women's Studies, in order that a different perspective might be heard in academic circles. That is not to say that Whites or males are to be discouraged from participation in this area; however, all persons engaged in the investigation of the Black and/or female experience in America should be encouraged to raise questions about the nature of many commonly held assumptions.

The movement of more Blacks and women into traditionally male-dominated areas, most notably academia, should result in some changes in the goals of professional social science organizations, and the literature which is published in journals. Much of the racism and sexism which prevades American scholarship has to do with the preponderance of males in positions of power and authority in professional organizations and editorial boards.

Organizations, of parents, and other interested groups should be encouraged to engage in discussions related to the media images of Black women. Discussions of this nature should heighten our awareness of the sexist and racist overtones in various television series and commercial advertisements.

In summary, as we examine the past two centuries of the American experience, there is no way in which the mark of the dual oppression of racism and sexism can be ignored. These "isms" can be likened to a cancer which has grown virtually uninhibited in a fertile host. As we begin Century III, we must work toward the dissolution of race, sex, and class bias in the American character. It is only through the eradication of these "isms," that we can move toward a more humanistic and yet realistic philosophy of social science and society. I challenge you to assist me in debunking Sapphire!
Footnote

1In the article Black Women in a Racist Society (listed in the references), Jackson contends that most of the research and investigation into the lives of Black women have been based upon a conceptual framework that is biased against women. When this kind of framework is used, and behavior which is feminine or female-oriented is judged abnormal. When Black families have been studied, social problems are always traced to the existence of so-called, negative, female/motherly and/or immoral influences.

References


STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on sex role deviance as a major contributive factor in negative attitudes toward women on welfare. Our position is that part of the stigma toward welfare recipients arises from the fact that they are sex role deviants, and that the differential treatment accorded to men and women on welfare has to do with the difference in sex role expectations from which they deviate. Although negative attitudes toward men on welfare are as evident as those toward women, this article sets aside the issue of men on welfare (though cognizant of its importance) to focus on the more numerous group of women on welfare.

The paper is intended to provide a new perspective on welfare and the sex-related aspects of stigma toward women recipients, in which the very fact of a woman seeking public support brands her not only with the taint of laziness but with the taint of sexual immorality.

INTRODUCTION

Robert K. Merton's theories on latent and manifest functions are particularly appropriate to the study of welfare. He says

... action can be planned to accomplish certain goals and yet succeed in achieving quite different results which are unplanned or unacknowledged,

and that

... a social policy or any other action phenomenon may not be the sole method used to achieve a particular end (Bell, 1965; p. iv).

In welfare we have a system which is manifestly a charitable function, established for the protection of the poor as prescribed in the earliest writings about traditions of charity (Weber, 1952). Especially in the provision of support and services for children, in the Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) program, true charity would appear to be the keynote. Not only financial aid but social services are manifestly intended for provision. We may infer, therefore, a society concerned about social as well as financial support for children. However, the extent of this help and the way it is given seem to demonstrate that support is not the program's major goal. The grants are inadequate to meet needs, they are ringed around with eligibility requirements peripheral to needs, and the stigma attached to seeking such help makes it a last resort for most people.
The history of the AFDC program is an interesting counterpoint to its manifest purpose. Among the first recommendations of the Children's Bureau, one of the forerunners of ACD, was that there be a "contract" with the mother to provide a "suitable home" for the child. A suitable home policy, according to Bell, is

...a response to the recurring anxiety that the indiscriminate provision of public aid will encourage parental immorality or irresponsibility and perpetuate homes that are destructive to children (Bell, 1965: 4).

Once established by the Social Security Acts of 1935, federal policy left administration of the AFDC program to states and localities, in the expectation of responsiveness to local needs. This permitted such travesties as the Louisiana fiasco, in which 23,000 people were put off welfare on the basis that, because the mother had illegitimate children, the home was not suitable (Bell 1965: 7). Moreover, social approval of such repressive policies is surely indicated when a governor announces proudly that "8000 illegitimate children were taken off the rolls during my term of office" (Faubus, Arkansas, 1960, from Mandell, 1971: 25).

There is little doubt that provision for support of the poor is one of the lowest priority items in the national budget. However, actual money expenditures for welfare have nearly doubled in the period 1960-1970, and this is a fact that the public and legislators dwell on. It is, nevertheless, the drastic increase in divorces, leading to more AFDC families, rather than a more generous level of support which is the major reason for higher welfare costs. This bears directly on the problem, since the greater numbers of people deviating from the "marriage and family" norm and seeking public assistance exacerbate the stigma of welfare by making the deviance more visible.

Recent legislation has moved all adult categories of welfare (except the residual general assistance category) to the Social Security Administration (January, 1975). In effect, this has served to legitimate the categories moved (Old Age Assistance, Aid to Disabled, Aid to Blind), since the social security program is felt to be "insurance" rather than "charity." Families with dependent children remain under the close scrutiny of state and local authority. If need were the criterion, this dichotomization between "deserving" and "non-deserving" poor would not have seemed necessary, nor would close supervision to insure compliance with certain rules be needed. Obviously welfare serves a latent function tied only lightly to the issue of support.

It is proposed here that one latent function served by welfare, and particularly by the AFDC program, is the maintenance of sex role norms basic to our society. This latent function exists for both men and women. However, economic factors and the relative powerlessness of women in society have perhaps engendered a special kind of stigma against women on welfare.

SEX ROLEEXPECTATIONS

There are, of course, particular expectations as to roles of men and women in society. Man is the breadwinner, the worker, the support of his family. Woman's role is, generally, to be married, to stay in the home and bear and rear children, to keep the house, and to be an adjunct to man in his endeavors.
These roles are basic both to the sustenance of the family and to the continuation of our society. Inextricably tied to these roles, however, are roles having to do with sexual behavior. In these roles men are generally free to do as they please, free to "sow their wild oats." Women -- the good wife, mother, etc. -- are constrained from promiscuous behavior by normative sanctions.

Why are such constraints seen as necessary for women? It may be because women are seen to be as capable of sexual freedom as men, and for various societal purposes sanctions must be imposed to prevent sexual freedom. (This is not to say that sanctions do not exist against men for promiscuous behavior; however, when deviance occurs it is not sanctioned so severely or seen as so wrong as for women.) It is the inextricability of the respective roles (sex role and sexual) that produces a special personal vulnerability when the person seeks public support. The ability of the man to support his family is evidence of his manhood. The woman who is "attached" to a man is seen to be behaving according to social norms. The "disattached" women is free not only from support by the man but is potentially free sexually.

Because of this inextricability of roles, it seems obvious that when a man cannot fulfill the role of support his role as a man can be questioned. This harsh judgment has to do with personal failure, and the ultimate agony is probably the public admission, through application for welfare, that he is no longer man enough to support his family. For women this inextricability of roles provides a different, though no less harsh, penalty for deviance. If a woman becomes disattached, thus violating the marriage role, she has "fallen" from the grace of a man and thus of society, since marriage is "the way people ought to live." A taint of sexual "easy-ness" attends the divorcee. Concomitant with this is the necessity that she find support. This is tantamount to assuming a man's role: even though such assumption is a deviance from the home-making role, especially if she has children, it is required by society. If she clings to her "woman in the home" role and seeks public support, she violates not only the expectation that there be an attachment to a man but the secondary expectation, coming from the assumed support role, that she will work. This double deviance produces stringent sanctions: she and her family are public liabilities, and the public admission of her failure in the marriage role brands her, since she seeks public support, as at least potentially sexually immoral.

Any woman who works, disattached or not, is subject to discrimination on two fronts. In the first place, she is competing with men against years of socialization for everyone in society about women's roles. Speaking of the woman entering the work field, Goode says:

...their motivation to do so is undermined initially by a socialization that still emphasizes that certain jobs are male tasks, and that a woman should not take a career seriously. In addition their motivation is continually undermined by the acceptance in all western countries of the idea that a woman must choose between two exclusive alternatives -- work or home -- an idea demonstrated best by the fact that the married working woman is still expected to carry on all her domestic duties, regardless of job demands (Goode 1970: 65).
The second front for discrimination is that there is a kind of honorary status of respect granted the woman who stays in the home to take care of husband and children. Loss of this status is keenly felt; it is a pervasive sense of guilt at deviation from the prescribed role.

When support of children is involved, the mother seems automatically to be given the responsibility.

It is a curious paradox that the growing emancipation of women and the gradual, though uneven, success of their claim to equal opportunity...is coupled with the almost universal acceptance that it is the mother who must carry the main burden of responsibility for the care of the children (Yudkin and Holme 1963: 158).

When the father leaves the home he is expected to help support the children. However, if he does not, action may or may not be taken by the courts to insure his contribution, and the level of contribution is generally low. In many states the women applying for welfare has the responsibility of bringing court action against the father for support of the family. Once begun, and despite reciprocal state support laws, the action may not be followed through to gain support. The responsibility for such suit is the woman's and it is a requirement before aid can be given.

WOMEN AS POSSESSIONS

One of the keynotes in treatment of women throughout history has been the stance that women are possessions, to be owned (for life or for the moment) or disowned by men. The expectation of women's dependency naturally followed, and with it a second keynote, the dichotomization of women as "good" (dependent upon one man). Three major patterns emerge which deal with "the woman question": the pattern of domination of women because of legitimation of children and inheritance rights; religion and the development of patriarchal attitudes; and that of economic issues.

1. Legitimation of children and inheritance rights

According to Engels, the subjugation of "mother right" and the matriarchal line (for inheritance) was the "world historical defeat of the female sex" (Engels 1951: 16). As wealth increased, and with it the importance of man as breadwinner, the importance of legitimacy for inheritance to male heirs increased. Monogamy and the control of women's sexual behavior became necessary. Corollary to this monogamy were the institutions of prostitution and slavery, insuring the sexual accessibility of women through ownership in almost every case. There were, of course, rare instances of women with wealth; a woman in Roman times could upon the death of her husband control inherited wealth at least until her sons were grown. In the Greek age there was a thriving business in state-approved prostitution. The hetaira could become a woman of wealth and influence. Nevertheless, the pattern of male "right" to possession (of women and/or wealth) persists even in these instances.

The "women as property" status exists throughout history and culture. In different societies control was achieved by such methods as harems, purdah, punishment of adultery by death, and so on. There has been a "gradual shift
from direct physical control to a system of complex and subtle taboos" (Figes 1969: 40). But when a woman was left without the support of a man there were various ways in which to insure control, from the custom of suttee or burial alive with the husband to the idea of being bonded or given to another man. An unattached woman had no place in society unless it were as a possession or a prostitute.

2. Religion and the development of patriarchal attitudes

Some of the earliest religious traditions are those which ascribe sexual immorality to women, or warn men that they will be led astray by women appealing to their "baser natures." Thus Eve tempted Adam, pure soul that he was. In fact, according to religious history, she was responsible for man's mortality and fall from grace. The development of this kind of tradition within the structure of religion made for strong control of the woman. She embodied all weaknesses and left the man strong, intact, and morally superior. That women believed these traditions too left man with a definite edge.

Even before Eve, God created Lilith, who became the mother of demons and harlots when she left Adam, unwilling to be submissive to him. Rabbinical treatises from the first century BC deal with women as equated with sin and sexuality.

Harlot and demoness, they are one and the same thing. Or rather, one should say, harlot, demoness, and unnaturally rebellious woman...for Lilith was really the first example of that awful creature later to be dubbed the "emancipated woman" (Figes 1969: 42).

Some of the strongest sexual prohibitions against women are written into the Deuteronomic revisions of the Jewish Book of the Law (Leviticus, ch. 12 and 18-21). Here emerge two patterns. The first has to do with in-group/out-group behavior, and served a purpose in uniting Jews under the Yahwist religion. There could be no marriage with a non-Jew woman, and even "profanation of the seed" of a Jew was forbidden. The Yahwist religion was a movement away from the old gods, the fertility cults, the orgiastic religious celebrations. Paid temple harlots were a part of these fertility cults, and thus were seen as immoral not only from the standpoint of unity of the family but from the view of the developing Judaic religion. In-group women, bonded to a man and living within Yahwistic law, were decent. Women of the out-group were seen as impure, as prostitutes and harlots. Religious and moral precepts were thus added to property and inheritance issues.

There is a growing devaluation of sex (equated with the bad woman and lust) throughout the Old and New Testaments. Basic to this is the idea that if sex is wicked, women must be wicked also. Some of Jesus' first converts were harlots for whom he advocated forgiveness and rehabilitation. Yet within a few years of Jesus' death Paul was calling for celibacy and saying that women had no place in the church, generally setting the anti-woman tone still extant in Christianity.

As sex became evil and women were considered its purveyors, the general acceptance of the sexual immorality of women grew. Any woman was assumed to have the capacity for such immorality, and warnings against harlots gave way to warnings against women in general. Note the religious battle against
We find then, that the earliest beginnings of western culture saw women as property, and this belief was accelerated by capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. Thus a woman's proper role has been attachment to a man. The ultimate determination of her status had to do with man's expectations and with economic assumptions. Obviously, then, the disattached woman is deviant, and deviance from the "good woman-as defined" role leaves only one alternative in the cultural eye. If she is not supported by one man, then by any man? or all men? Do we not feel, subconsciously perhaps, and guided by the unspoken normative standards and rules of our culture, that public support is indeed a form of prostitution?

SEXUAL STIGMA ON WELFARE AS RESPONSE TO THREAT

Moving now to another perspective on welfare, we observe that in general expressed hostility indicates fear. What have we to fear from this group of people without power, without skills or education, without legitimation in this society, kept alive only by the uneasiness we feel about letting people starve when we have the means to feed them? There are three discernible causes for the fear which may find expression in hostility toward women on welfare. They can be seen as a threat to resources, a threat to our own perceptions of status, and a threat to the established morality norms of the society, in which we all have a stake.

1. Resource threat

There are two resources against which women on welfare might pose a threat. The first is monetary; the second is a threat to women in the sense of fear of losing their own men.

The fact is that we are not living in an economy of scarcity in this society. Yet, when welfare is the subject of debate, scarcity of money seems to be a major fear. Theobald says

The barriers to the elimination of poverty are not economic.../but/ moral and social. The United States is not willing to apply its vast productive potential to the elimination of poverty (Theobald 1968: 76).

And Etzioni:

The modernized societies command an enormous capacity for material production which can satisfy most of the material needs of their members. Inequality is maintained to a significant extent because of a psychology of scarcity...and because of the prestige and power implications of increased equality (Etzioni 1968: 618).

The cost of welfare is a minuscule amount compared to other costs. In fiscal 1971 37% of the total budget nationally was spent for military purposes, whereas 2% was spent for welfare payments (NWRO 1971: 11). Though scarcity may be a psychological issue in the provision of welfare it is not a real one.

The second threat involves the fear of loss of husband by married women. This has two facets. There is hostility toward divorcees and widows and an attitude that assumes their sexual availability. The commission of sex with
Witchcraft as an example. Witchhunts were primarily directed against women and had to do with the rooting out of carnal lust "...which is in women insatiable..." (Figes, OP. CIT. p. 52, quoting Sprenger, circa 1500). Because of its tie to fertility cults and nature worship, witchcraft was fought from earliest times to "keep religion pure."

The religious perception of all women as potentially immoral served two purposes. It legitimated man as the moral force and excused him from falling because, after all, it was her fault; and it convinced women not only of the moral rectitude of the man but of the precarious position that all women held in relation to the "fallen woman." In ancient Judaism there was at least some protection -- a woman was not automatically considered evil (foreigners excepted). But in Christianity, which some regard as a male cult (Figes 1969: 150), any woman could fall. Even the attachment to a man was no real protection because she could have "tricked him with her wiles." The image of woman as wily witch lingers even today.

3. Economic issues

Until the downfall of the guild system and the advance of capitalism there was little difference in treatment of the poor according to sex. The overriding consideration had to do with sustenance and the work ethic. Business was centered in the home and both man and wife had status in their division of labor. However, with the breakdown of the home business, the woman became entirely dependent on the wages brought home from the factory by the man. If those wages were not sufficient, she had to find work, preferably in the home because of the children.

Women who had to work outside the home (and their children) became the cheapest pool of cheap labor. At first they were systematically excluded from the guilds, then from the factory, on the basis that they could not handle the heavy machinery. Ironically, this became a major factor in the exploitation of women, for after they were excluded so that any labor rights gained did not apply to them, they were used as a "cheap labor threat" to hold down wages for men. Since they had to support families, they would take what work they could find at the wages offered. Despite advances since then, much the same situation exists for women as cheap labor today (Ferriss 1971).

Among poorly-paid working class women, prostitution flourished as a means to supplement income. Statements decrying such behavior were common, but there was a tacit approval because prostitution kept pure the women men wanted to marry. Thus poor women were regarded as possessable and therefore possessions, and the purity of other women was for the purpose of insuring legitimacy, enlarging businesses through marriages, and so forth. Victorian morality (along with Freud) at last decreed that good women did not have sexual feelings, that they were the source of legitimate children, and that only "bad women" were available for passion. Both ladies and working women were commodities in a sense -- they were items of economic trade.

In a society where men have an over-riding interest in the acquisition of wealth, and where women themselves have become a form of property, the link between sexuality and money becomes inextricable. Sexuality then has to be strictly controlled -- all sexual relations with women become either a way of spending money or amount to stealing another man's property (Figes 1969: 83).
a woman other than wife -- infidelity -- is perceived by women as the worst sign of a failing marriage. Moreover, loss of husband means loss of the only fully legitimated means of support for the family. Socialization has taught that a woman's role is to be supported by a man. To this end, many women simply do not know how to go about supporting themselves, and if they must can only do that at a much lower level than that which a husband might provide (because of lack of skills and job discrimination). In a very real sense if they lose their men they have little means of financial support, let alone the emotional, personal, and social rewards of the married life. Moreover, they know that they will suffer the same loss of status as the women they fear. This could be a very real reason for the hostility of attached women for women on welfare.

2. Status threat

The above shades into the next area of threat, fear of status loss. Though women on welfare do not cause this loss to other women, generally speaking, they are indicative of the fact that such a fall can happen. Women in this society are in a fairly precarious position; their support as well as their position of status derive mainly from the position of their men. Men can put women aside, and have done so regularly, and though women can also put men aside, sanctions against this appear to be much greater in our society.

The fear of status loss, and what it would mean in terms of becoming a disattached woman in our society, may be the source of much hostility toward women on welfare. By disavowing their similarities to such women, other women heighten their own perception of social distance, thus denying the precariousness of their own positions. Even women on welfare themselves disavow similarity with other women on welfare whom they consider less moral (Mandell, 1971). This might be considered a harmless self-deception to assure one's own security if its expression did not so injure women on welfare.

3. Moral threat

Finally there does exist the basic threat to society in the dissolution and weakening of marriage ties. With the growing divorce rate, other incidences of what is considered moral deviance, such as group marriages, cohabitation with marriage, etc., it seems a natural reaction of those with vested interests in society, which we all have, to strike out at those who deviate from this most basic norm. And the most obvious and visible of those who deviate, and the most available for public sanction, are those whom the public is called upon to support.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper has been to make a case for consideration of sex discrimination as a major factor in negative attitudes toward women on welfare. Both men and women on welfare have been subject to attitudes of hostility, but for men the issues of welfare have not been considered in this paper. Deviance from sex role expectations for women on welfare remains a source of hostility toward them, and because women are expected to assume a work role if they are disattached from a man those seeking welfare are publicly labelled as doubly deviant.
Discrimination toward women in religious, economic, and legal traditions has served both to evaluate women as possessions of men, in one way or another, and to dichotomize them by labelling them as "good" or "bad" depending on how they fulfill their expected sex roles. There seems to be no middle way in the public eye. Being attached to a man lends an aura of respect. Becoming disattached brings a taint of sexual immorality which seems to be an outgrowth of centuries of cultural socialization. Moreover, it provides rationales for considering the woman on welfare as a source of threat to both national and family resources, to status, and to society.

CONCLUSION

While sex discrimination is increasingly becoming a popular topic for study, research, and polemic, it presents a special problem for women on welfare, because it is hidden under considerations of work ethic. Those who speak loudest against sex discrimination in general, and those who have power to work against it, do not see the problems of women on welfare as stemming from sex discrimination. Until we, and they, realize that the work ethic problem is one which confounds and obfuscates the real issue of women on welfare, this powerless group will continue to be branded as outcasts of society with the "scarlet W."

REFERENCES


There are increasing numbers of women psychologists and other professionals working within predominately male correctional settings. One finds, however, nothing in the literature on how they are viewed by the system or what it is like to be a woman working within this traditionally male dominated sphere. The dearth of written material on the subject became apparent in a search through the National Clearinghouse of Mental Health and the Criminal Justice Reference Service. The Psychological Abstracts, Social Science Citation Index and the Criminology Index also have no references that shed any light on this issue. There is one particularly good article by a woman psychologist (Williams, 1974) who was working within a correctional setting. The article deals with defining the role of a correctional psychologist, but no attempt is made by the author to explore how her gender did or did not affect her functioning.

To what can the lack of written material on this issue be due? Three interpretations seem probable. One explanation is that there is essentially no difference in the use of male or female professionals in male correctional settings - a professional is a professional, regardless of gender. Another reason would seem to be that the few women who are working in the system are still so busy exploring the impact of their presence and defining for themselves the role they are to play, that they do not have time for research and writing. A third alternative is that there is repeated denial, on the part of both male and female professionals, that a person's sexual identity modifies interpersonal relations in any setting. This is noted by one woman psychiatrist (Roeske, 1976). She found that throughout medical school her supervisors denied that being a woman had any significant effect on one's functioning with patients or male colleagues. Her experiences, however, have found that viewpoint to be less than totally accurate. This same kind of denial may also be operating among professionals in the correctional area.

Of the three explanations tendered, the latter two appear the most significant. Being a woman in a male correctional setting is an important aspect of one's functioning that has not been adequately explored. This paper represents an initial effort by one woman to share with others some perceptions of what working within a correctional setting is like. It is intended as an overview of my experiences, rather than an exhaustive treatment of the subject, and its purpose is to briefly
identify areas in need of further inquiry.

From September, 1974 through August, 1976, I was coordinator of forensic services at Midtown Community Mental Health Center in Indianapolis, Indiana. One of the responsibilities of the person in this position was to provide mental health services to the Marion County Jail. This involved spending three to four mornings a week in the penal facility where inmates awaiting trial in the Marion County Criminal and Municipal Courts were held. The population was predominately male and over 50% Black. There were also some female inmates who were housed in a separate area. The male sections were staffed by male deputy sheriffs, serving as guards; the female area was staffed by women deputies.

During the first few months, the majority of my time was spent in providing inmates with crisis oriented treatment and referral services. It soon became apparent that the emphasis placed on this service by jail officials was far beyond the system's capability to provide any ameliorative services. Thus, as time went by and I became more accepted by the jail staff, less time was spent on direct inmate treatment and more on affecting changes within the system. Since there were also several male mental health professionals who provided services to the inmates, I had the opportunity to observe the deputies' and inmates' reactions to these male consultants.

The Reactions of the Guards

From my first day at the jail, it was apparent that, to most of the male deputies, I was first of all a woman and secondly a consultant. Indirect references to my sex and appearance were common. It was my belief that this would cease as time went by, but it never disappeared entirely. A combination of factors seem responsible for this attitude:

1) Most of the deputies held a very traditional view of the place and role of a woman, and the emergence of women into professional positions was not yet a reality for them. They had difficulty relating to a female as someone with authority and some expertise to offer them in understanding human behavior. This can be attributed partly to the limited exposure most of them had with women in other than clerical, kitchen or homemaking capacities. The experience of viewing a female as an "expert" or even as an equal was new for many of the guards.

2) The masculine atmosphere of the jail seemed to breed a situation in which the deputies needed to act out and assert their manliness, especially in the presence of other guards and inmates. Within this setting, there was a premium placed on toughness and
"acting like a man," and sexually colored comments were socially acceptable. This can be viewed as primarily a group phenomenon because, in one to one encounters with the guards, the sexual overtones were much less frequent than when others were observing.

3) I was about the same age as the majority of the deputies (late twenties) and, thus, there was no age barrier to male-female interaction.

Although these factors were particular to my situation, I believe that the first two points can be applied to other correctional settings.

The guards' perceptions of me, primarily as a woman, had a direct effect on my functioning. The usual resistances of the deputies against mental health professionals in general were considerably less prominent with me than with my male colleagues. This was apparent in such ways as how much more promptly the guards brought inmates for their appointments with me than with the male consultants, and in the "availability" of office space for prisoner interviews. Office space was usually available for my use while many of the male consultants had to conduct their interviews at the tables set up for lawyers.

On the other hand, the deputies' need to react to me as a woman often made affecting changes within the system more difficult. They were comfortable with my role with the inmates, but less so with my role in relation to them and as a change agent in the system. Several significant changes were instituted, but it often required my being more assertive than was necessary by male consultants attempting to make similar changes. This is a problem that emerges for most women professionals in any traditionally male dominated area. Roeske (1976) sees it as an issue that every female professional must struggle with. It is particularly true in corrections where women have customarily been employed only for the more menial duties. (At Marion County, women were employed as guards in the female area but seemed to be viewed by the male deputies as less than equal. They had little say over how the unit was run and answered to a male superior.)

The Effect on the Inmates

Perhaps the most important issue to be raised when discussing the use of women in male correctional settings is the effect on the inmates. One paper by a woman psychologist (Goldman, 1974) addresses this issue. She found that in the all male population of a maximum security prison, being a female had a very definite effect on the therapeutic process.
Most of the male inmates she tested and did therapy with had many unresolved problems in relation to women. Their relationships with females had been very sexualized and every woman was used to test out their maleness. Goldman found that working with a female therapist acted as a stimulant to those unresolved feelings. It opened up for them the possibility of a meaningful human encounter with a woman, apart from the need to play a sexual role. Roeske (1976), like Goldman, sees a female therapist as being particularly helpful in treating males who have a distorted mother-child relationship.

My experiences with male inmates at the Marion County Jail add further support to the viewpoint of these two authors. Problems with female figures was an outstanding fact in much of the inmate pathology. On many occasions, my being a woman seemed to be a positive factor in prisoners being able to transfer and deal with their feelings toward women more readily. Considering the short term nature of much of the treatment in correctional facilities, this is an important plus.

Dangerousness

One issue that always arises in relation to women working within correctional settings is the concern of their being in danger of bodily harm from the male inmates. This was very much in the minds of the deputies at Marion County when I first arrived, and they showed particular concern for my safety. The prisoner interviews were held in a small office and the guards would frequently recommend that the door be left open or they would offer to stay in the room during the interview. I was appreciative of their concern and on occasion did leave the door ajar, but these kinds of precautions were usually unnecessary. Although physical attack is a possibility in any correctional setting, the frequency of its occurrence seems to be over-rated. During the two year period, I interviewed over 1300 inmates, many of them in jail for violent crimes; others were blatantly psychotic. I never experienced any threat to my person. In the presence of a female, in fact, the prisoners actually seemed less likely to be overtly aggressive than when with a male consultant. The presence of a woman often seemed to have a calming effect on the inmates and there was less of a need to act out their masculinity in an aggressive way.

It is difficult to find support for this viewpoint in the literature, because no attempt has been made to deal with it. Thus, I decided to explore it with the officials of a prison where women have been used on the staff—the Bucks County Prison in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Trained women volunteers and professionals have been used as coun-
selors in that facility for many years (Case, 1973). Ac-

According to the Director of Volunteer Services (Rodman, 1976), "the women counselors have proven to be less threatening to 

the male inmates, because the prisoners do not feel that they 

have to prove their masculinity to the women." She also 

noted that they have had no difficulties at all with bodily 

harm coming to the women. Only one woman has been injured in 

the prison and she "tripped over a doorstep."

These reports corroborate my observations. However, my 

experiences and those of the women at the Bucks County Prison 
do not comprise a large enough sample on which to make any 
definitive judgements as to whether or not dangerousness is 
actually decreased with women counselors. It is an area 
that needs further exploration. The whole issue of danger-

ousness is being raised because much of the reluctance to 
working in correctional settings on the part of women pro-

fessionals, and of men to having them there, seems based on 
an inflated estimate of the risk involved.

Conclusions

As is evident, throughout this paper, I believe that 
there is a definite place for women professionals in correc-
tional settings. To what extent the use of women enhances 
the therapeutic process with inmates or improves the atmos-
phere of the penal facilities are questions that need more 
attention. It is surprising that more scrutiny has not al-
ready been given to this issue here in the United States. 
In Sweden, the merits of using women in male prisons have 
been recognized for many years. Morris (1973) notes that 
the United States' prisons have a valuable lesson to learn 
from the Swedish prison system and says:

"Women bring a softening influence to the prison society, 
assisting men by their presence to strengthen their 
inner controls, through a variety of entrenched processes 
of psychosocial growth."

As more women enter the correctional field, benefits such as 
those noted by Morris should become more clearly recognized. 
For the women themselves, it can be a challenging experience, 
in that they will essentially be pioneers in the field and 
make a tremendously needed contribution to an underserved 
segment of the population.

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Rosalind Russell and Joan Crawford spearheaded the image in the forties; their perennial screen portrayals of newswomen scooping the men in the office and then falling in love with the hard-hearted city editor, or guiding the reorganization of the nation's number-one-rated-but-faltering-magazine to a successful resurgence attracted the identification of many aspiring young women. Abetted by Superman's reporter sidekick cum love-life Lois Lane and the magnificent Brenda Starr of the comic strips, the image was complete; what did many creative, talented and ambitious young women want but to become newshawks with editorial aspirations.

These fictional portraits provided the leitmotiv for many young women who wanted a glamorous career, who were not afraid of hard work, and who would be accepted by men in counterpart positions once they "proved themselves."

Newspapers are not the only field that lured working women away from sewing machines, sales counters and the ubiquitous shorthand pad and typewriter. As consciousness was raised concerning media as a force in the sociocultural point of reference, the field of communications emerged as meaning more than how people speak to one another. Technological advancement was the obvious component which created many new categories within communications and expanded the parameters of journalism to include electronic broadcast media.

Women in Communications Incorporated, a national professional organization, lists the following professions as encompassing the field of communications: editorial personnel, mid-level editors and business management; upper level editors, production on air (radio and television;) owners, executives; public relations; advertising; classroom teachers; authors; feature and article writers. Loosely speaking, these umbrella lexicons include the work categories of journalists in newspaper, magazine, broadcast and electronic media; feature writers and editors in these media as well as women in production work. Publishing contributes a large number of women as readers, editors and publishers' representatives, with the majority holding the vague definition "editorial assistant." These designations would co-exist in book publishing and magazine publishing. In addition, we can include writers and production personnel in advertising and public relations, whether for agencies or private companies, government or social agencies. The
limited number of screenwriters and authors would find themselves in
the communications category, as well as free lance writers who contrib-
ute to magazines or do free lance public relations and publicity work,
primarily institutional. Also included are women who write and produce
house organs and newsletters for industry and non-profit organizations
and the small number of women who are in ownership or management cate-
gories for newspapers, magazines or broadcast media.

The communications field has always attracted women in numbers
beyond their population proportion. Historically, this field has not
been as hostile to the inclusion of women as perhaps science and busi-
ness. However, this acceptance has been true primarily within the
lower echelons of the profession. As is standard practice within office
hierarchy, women have not traditionally filled the roles of top execu-
tives. While this is changing due to affirmative action programs and
the demands of women to be recognized as management potential, the as-
cension is gradual and more apparent in advertising, public relations
and the smaller magazines rather than the vast broadcast media networks
and newspaper and book publishing conglomerates.

In a job and salary survey published in April, 1974 and conducted
by the national office of Women in Communications Incorporated, the
first statistical data was provided by 70% of the membership totalling
almost 4,000 respondents. The total of 3,929 replies included 2,881
full time women, 438 part time, and 610 free lancers. The largest emp-
loyment categories were daily newspapers, educational institutions, and
editorial or public relations activities for business firms. Statisti-
cal data referred to on the following pages will reflect information
gleaned from this study, which is probably the most comprehensive survey
for women in this field. Plans exist to update it every five years.

The following information delineates a percentage breakdown within
professional groups: 25% of those responding to the survey were report-
ers, specialty writers, editorial writers, copy editors, or columnists.
Specialty writing far outweighed general assignment reporting. Another
19% were engaged in public relations or served in public information
capacities. One-fourth did so for educational institutions, almost ex-
clusively college level. Other major employers in the public relations
category included non-profit organizations, government agencies and busi-
ness. The survey showed 9.7% of the membership holding upper level ed-
torial positions on magazines and business publications while 4.7% were
in mid-level editorial positions centered primarily on daily and weekly
newspapers. Mid-level business management accounted for a bare .8%,
primarily with business publications.

A total of 5.9% were owners or top executives, mostly in the business
category with the remainder heading up public relations and advertising
agencies or working with business firms. Other job categories were:
feature article writers, 4%; authors, 1.2%; directors and producers, .9%.    

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A total of 1% appear under "not specified and other" - a conglomerate group including circulation, sales, traffic, marketing, art directors, photographers, research, camera technician.

The field of communications has a particular appeal to women for many reasons, not the least of which is that opportunities for part time and freelance work are an integral part of the profession and cannot be discounted in any statistical data which reflect salary or growth potential. This is one of the unusual fields which, with the contributions of magazine article writers, book authors, newspaper stringers (reporters who cover a specific outlying territory for a large newspaper) and small public relations accounts for institutions, actually encourages working from home. Most jobs, regardless of hierarchal level, require the physical presence of the worker. Office materials and the interaction of other personnel make it mandatory to co-exist in a central office. Communicators, whose major function is writing, need only their telephone and typewriter for companions.

Loneliness is a common by-product of working alone. While women whose major creative expression is writing would not relinquish their by-line for less ego satisfying or gregarious work, it is a solitary pursuit, with non-sharable frustrations. Also, no experience is self-contained; the professional writer sees all involvement on two levels: while actively experiencing she also incorporates the experience while it is happening as something to be translated into writing.

Technology has played an important role in the proliferation of the field of communications. Utilizing the home as a base office rather than as an adjunct to a professional career is an important consideration for freelancers. Technological resources such as portable tape recorders make on-site interviewing convenient, and the feasibility of legitimate tax deductions for home offices serve to enhance employment possibilities in communications. These factors enhance the work possibilities for women who need to take advantage of the flexibility of hours provided for part timers and freelancers. Those who wish to, or need to, combine professional work with more traditional housewife/mother roles can find a panacea, albeit hectic, in the role of communicator. Many popular newspaper columnists are testaments to the use of family situations as fodder for creative output.

Concomitant with the advantages of part time and freelance opportunities are some obvious and not so obvious disadvantages. The wide range of employment benefits, company pension plans, vacation and other accumulated times off do not figure in the employment picture for these personnel. Frequently pay levels are quite low because women who work in this way are eager to accept as much work as they can handle in order to represent themselves as responsible professionals; therefore, they are tempted to accept relatively low scale fees which must be renegotiated for each new assignment. In the magazine and newspaper freelance
field, it is the employer who determines the pay rate and most women, anxious to keep their name in front of potential employers, take what is offered without the benefits of negotiation.

Although numerically the field of communications is a popular arena for women they tend to remain at entry level jobs or advance to mid-management level and stay there, skirting key positions. An article in the October 1975 issue of Press Woman, reprinted by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, corroborates the minimal number of women in top management positions. Tallies in electronic communications showed only 9% of 5,515 managers and officials at 609 television stations in 1972 were women, and 12% of 7,925 professionals. A Federal Communications Commission survey of 584 stations revealed women comprised 22% of employees, but only 6.4% were in the top five pay brackets.

It was once typical for professors of journalism in universities to tell their male students to begin news work at a copy boy level and wait to prove their mettle at a city desk opening; women students, however, were given different advice. They were encouraged to seek a secretarial position in a news or magazine office which might eventually lead to filling a vacancy created by an editor or reporter. With the climate fostered by feminism, it is unlikely that many young women are willing to go this route, even assuming it might be productive in producing the leap frog from clerical to professional status within the same setting.

The broadcast media provide the strongest avenues for success fantasies. Images of Barbara Walters, Leslie Stahl, Shana Alexander, and Ms. Walter's replacement on the "Today" show, Gay Pauley, who literally skyrocketed to fame and fortune overnight, provide the ultimate role model for women hopefuls in radio and television. Magazines and newspapers have produced media stars such as Gail Sheehy, Gloria Steinem, Nora Ephron, Betty Friedan, and Sylvia Porter, whose popularity and professional accolades have come not only from their talent and public recognition, but also from their ability to influence public opinion and affect the vanguard of popular movements.

This, then, is another motivation to strive for top positions in all media. Women who have achieved a level of status where their opinions are effective barometers of public sentiment, and whose point of view provides impetus to affect legislation and the formation of national movements, have achieved a rarified position in today's society. The atmosphere is heady and the appeal pervasive. Certainly, virtually every woman whose ambition and talent isolates communications as her bailiwick must visualize herself in the role of some of these provocative media models.

However, national recognition via electronic or print media is not the only satisfaction possible for communicators. The quickened pulsa-
tions of a by-line in a news story, a "letter to the editor" praising a writer's article in a national publication; even the limited on the street recognition of a local newscaster for television or radio provide hard to beat ego satisfactions. The "star quality" permeates our consciousness and even a limited appearance within that constellation provides enormous rewards, often mitigated by low salaries coupled with high attrition and competition.

The future of women in communications is probably promising in terms of reaching compatible salary goals with men in the field and advancing into executive positions. However, with the influence of the Watergate revelations made by media, the field is burgeoning with young hopefuls. A recent ten year projection, according to the Occupational Outlook Handbook of the United States Department of Labor is based on maintenance of high level employment trends and the assumption that the United States will not be at war. "There will be an estimated 107.7 million persons in the labor force in 1985, including those in the armed services. The market will be glutted with college communications course graduates. Currently, there are an estimated 35,000 enrolled with 39.5% of these women, but relatively few women graduate. There has been an average of 20,000 newcomers per year in communications."

The broad field of mass communications is expected to continue to expand due to rising levels of education and income, and increasing expenditures for newspaper, radio and television advertising. The proliferation of trade and technical journals and company publications requiring competent interpretive skills adds to the expanding markets available to communicators.

The WICI survey overview indicated that diversity of occupation is the major characteristic of women within their membership. The two top fields recorded were editorial personnel which might range from magazine and newspaper editors to publishing firm readers and public relations personnel. The largest single employer is under the heading of educational institutions. This would include such diverse occupations as teachers or journalism in universities and those in public relations, publicity and development categories in schools and colleges.

Next in line as largest employer were the daily newspapers and wire services. However, employment of women in mass communications in media is lagging. In newspapering there has been only a 2.4% gain in hiring women since 1969, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The 26,000 now in the nation's newsrooms comprise 45% of the total. Broadcasting shows the lowest gain hiring women among five industries, the other four comprising advertising, motion pictures, newspapers and periodicals. A total of 19.5% of all persons employed in the five are women. Only 13.7% of those in broadcasting are women. Some gains are being made, however, at the three major television networks. The percentage of women in the total employed as officials and managers -
ABC 19%, CBS 17% and NBC 12%; professionals – ABC 21%, CBS 25.5%, NBC 24%; technical – ABC 2.1%, CBS 2.9%, NBC 4.5%; and sales – ABC 26%, NBC 10%.

The salary mode for full time personnel employed in the communications field was $9,000. to $11,000. However, there was a respectable percentage (18.9%) who reported annual salaries in the $13,000. to $15,000. range. 26.3% reported $6,000. to $9,000. range, close on the heels of the above mentioned first category.

As would be expected, part timers and free lanceurs reported considerably less income; more than half earning $6,000. per year or less. Consulting and public relations appeared to be the most lucrative endeavors for both part time and free lance personnel. The highest salaries were seen in public relations and advertising agencies, but government agencies showed the best track record for rewarding experience with increased pay.

To expand on the general term "editorial work," approximately 25% of the respondents involved in the Women in Communications Incorporated survey were reporters, specialty writers, editorial writers, copy editors, columnists. Both for full timers and part timers, specialty writing far outweighed general assignment reporting as subject matter. Perhaps as a reflection of our community oriented trend and the effect of the women's movement, the majority of women engaged in specialty writing were in the field of medical/health rather than women/food/home category, a former enclave for women writers. Only a bare 6% constituted owners or top executives in communications firms (presidents, vice presidents, executive directors, managing directors,) notwithstanding Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham, with the largest number in the business category and the remainder involved with public relations and advertising agencies and non-profit organizations.

Weekly newspapers provide the best opportunity for part time and free lance work, with nearly one third of women finding employment in this area.

While the title "editor" is an impressive response to the question "what do you do," it is best not followed by a supposition that an impressive salary is commensurate with the title. Upper level editors are in the same salary mode as the general communications field: $9,000. to $12,000. For magazines and weeklies the salary mode for editors, managing editors, assistant and associate editors dropped down to $6,000. to $9,000.

Inequality is not peculiar to communicators in the United States. Salary surveys made in the past five years in Sweden, Finland, Norway and England confirm wages are 10 to 20% less for women than men on daily newspapers and magazines and in broadcasting.
Though their responsibilities and stresses are similar to their male counterparts, various surveys indicate their pay is "significantly lower," except where equality minded management encourages equal pay policies. Women professional and technical workers, including communicators, earn 34.8% less than men, and women managers and administrators 45.7% less, according to the United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau.

In 1974, 17 newspapers' guilds approved contracts sanctioning lower pay scales - $19. to $80. per week - for women's news reporters, despite the fact that equal pay has been a guild goal since 1934. Men hold 95.2% of corporate titles on dailies, 97.4% of editorial and news department titles, and 73.2% of advertising titles, according to studies by Women in Communications Incorporated.

At the middle editing level, salary range was $6,000. to $9,000. More than half of the full time upper level editors worked on magazines or business publications while 66% of middle income level editors were on daily newspapers and another 20% on weeklies.

In the owner and executive categories, a little more than one fourth had yearly incomes of more than $21,000. Most of them owned or directed business firms, public relations or advertising agencies or non-profit organizations.

Public relations agencies constitute the best place to be if salary is a prime objective where the mode was $15,000. to $21,000. Salary drops drastically when the public relations work is being done outside of a public relations agency, such as free lance or for a non-profit group. Similarly, for advertising, work done outside an advertising agency generates considerably less salary than for personnel within an agency setting. The major employers in advertising are business, daily newspapers and radio-television.

Some general salary patterns emerge of a comparative nature: for the vast majority, a part time or free lance job is not a road paved with monetary rewards. Compensation is low and women appear resigned to accept these salaries because of the opportunities to remain within their professional milieu. According to Press Woman, (October 1975) women shruggingly perpetuate discrimination by accepting minimal pay for communications work. This is especially true of those with other means of support, usually husbands, or those who must work and are intimidated by fear of losing their jobs if they ask for more pay. Of course, the magazine and weekly newspaper business often operate on marginal budgets with dedicated employees who would rather work for low wages than see the publication fold.

Impressive titles in the field of communications, especially for women, do not automatically create impressive salaries. While the creative writing of books, plays and poetry has been destined to be the
least remunerative, these are closely followed by part time work on newspapers and magazines as well as by classroom teaching. A narrow ribbon of opportunity does exist, however, if work is confined to consulting, public relations and public information. Even part time top level editors, at least by title designation (editor, managing editor, executive, assistant, associate editor) earn less than $6,000 per year. Electronic media seem relatively unreceptive to part timers, while public relations and public information work are receptive to work on a part time basis as opposed to free lance contributions.

While free lancers have the obvious advantages of choice of time and dedication of effort, the possibility of earning reasonable money is highly limited. Those free lancers who do earn respectable salaries often find themselves needing to keep long and regular hours and require of themselves more discipline than regularly scheduled employment might.

It is difficult to speculate on the impact of the woman's movement on a field which women have considered traditionally available to them, at least in some areas such as publishing, magazines, public relations and advertising. However, there have been glaring realignments in those aspects of the field previously dominated by men such as the electronic media. The last few years have seen the emergence of television news anchorwomen, talk show hosts and radio personalities.

The high visibility of media people would make it appear that communications is wide open to women and while there are many more opportunities within broadcast media due to the climate, the management end of this business remains essentially male and will take a longer time to penetrate.

Is it possible to characterize the personality components of women who aspire to careers in communications? No more so than it is possible, or even feasible, to generalize for any field. Clearly, however, because success in this field requires an underlying ambition and talent, for at least initial recognition, it is safe to conclude that persistence, a desire to be successful, creativity and willingness to risk - and fail - would have to operate within women who enter this profession.

Additional possibilities for employment in the communications area are limited but some possibilities are seen. The need for technical writers will increase with the need to translate technical subjects into understandable language for managers and those purchasing and using the new technology. Government spending levels, especially defense and aerospace related, will have an impact on job availability. Health service is the nation's largest industry, and represents opportunities for competent communicators.
For the re-entry woman, the communications field possibly offers a softer landing surface because of the possibility of easing one's way in via part time and free lance work. As the quoted survey has indicated, women have long utilized communications as a means of staying in the field and working from home while occupying traditional housewife/mother roles at the same time. While the juggling process of doing this may have created some tensions in the process, it may also have produced a more sharing lifestyle within the household even before it became popular to aspire to this. This aspect of communications has created a woman who has been able to maintain some lifeline to her field, so that when she is ready to resume full time responsibilities she probably does not need to start at the beginning. The woman who abandoned her career entirely to raise a family is in the same position of re-entry as anyone else who is attempting to overcome ten to twenty years of non-experience in a field burgeoning with talent, excitement and assertive young women.

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"Competition Keen in Communications"

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Writing in 1974 about women and athletics 26 years ahead in the year 2000, journalist Lucinda Franks foresees a sexist backlash she tags the "New Male Chauvinist Movement." It all begins with a rebirth of the Age of Reason which, after 1980, includes a new celebration of the humanizing potentialities of sport and games. Women, as prime agents of this pivotal cultural reform, will have advanced so fast and so far in competitive and non-competitive athletics that "the Total Human has been born" and "the average body is no longer just a neglected dormitory for the mind." There is an incredulous quality to the memories women have 26 years from now of the dreary 1970's--

"... when there were no integrated golf and baseball teams, when women athletics were not vying for football scholarships, when indeed it was not known that women are capable of being as strong pound-for-pound as men and, with equally strenuous training, can match or surpass them in many sports."

What is even more, women, exhilarated with their new sense of physical power, have begun the slow process of throwing over the so-called "feminity game"--luring, baiting, and netting a husband--in favor of certain far simpler and far more honest ways of relating with men.

Why a backlash, then, in 2000 A.D., from men in the New Male Chauvinist Movement? Because women appear to NMC to have usurped every last asset unique to these newly-insecure and ego-threatened males:

"First, women have a stronger constitution and a longer life--their survivability is superior to ours. Then they equal us mentally, and, moreover, claim they have the secret of the universe stashed somewhere in their consciousness. They give birth to life, and now they're saying they're just as strong, if not stronger than we are."

NMC spokesmen demand that women quit competing so successfully with men, a complain that leads Lucinda Franks to conclude her crystal-ball study of life 25 years from now with the tongue-in-cheek observation--"You would think we were back in the Seventies."

Touche. Regardless of the accuracy of her Total Human forecast, the essayist cogently captures much that is true today of the male half of our population. Insecurity, ego-anxieties, confusion, pain, and impatience mark the scene, as American males ask themselves once again, as earlier during the nineteenth century Woman's Movement, what have we done to deserve this and how can we accommodate it? The existential rage of contemporary women, whether expressed as a comparatively straight-forward demand for equity in economic...
matters (job distribution, reward levels) or for predominance in sex-linked matters (abortion, sterilization), but especially as expressed in far more convoluted matters (new expectations of autonomy, love, and sex), utterly bewilders most American males. Not surprisingly, when 14,000 women and 14,000 men respond in 1976 to a Psychology Today poll on masculinity the women prove far more admiring of males in general than did the males themselves: while the women seemed able to prescribe a clear post-macho identity for the men, this was not true of the men who could only express a presently characteristic sense of deepest discontent with the male role they had inherited - and exasperating ambiguity about where to go next.

Do American men appreciate the prod of the women's liberation movement? Yes and no, as in any situation where traditional privilege is challenged, revealed as false privilege (contemporary sex roles cost males clearly - and ever-larger numbers know it), and the re-distribution of privilege raises as many questions as it seems to offer answers. Accordingly, many American men evidence considerable apprehension, envy, and even petulant resentment where the Woman's Movement is concerned. Only a minority are known by their excitement, satisfaction, and even relief that the liberation campaign is finally underway, that much sham and hypocrisy are withering, and that new breathing space for female and male role options is finally being secured.

To better understand the impact of the Women's Movement on American males in the second half of the 1970's one must ask and tentatively answer four questions:

1) Do males know much at all about the issues being raised by the Women's Movement?
2) Are males ready to talk about it--any of it--with one another, and/or with females?
3) Are males ready to do anything about it? And, if so, what?
4) Are males ready to try to know other males as brothers?

In other words, we must explore four special aspects of modern male-female relations:

1) **Consciousness-raising**, whereby the bill of inditement and call for reform by the feminists is brought to the awareness of American males.
2) **Communications**, whereby the sexes dare to tell and share more than either one thought possible.
3) **Collaboration**, whereby an effort is made to earn something far more enriching than stalemate and far less fatal than capitulation in the so-called battle of the sexes. And---
4) **Comraderie**, whereby cautious males gingerly explore communion and colleagueship with non-competitive others.

These four areas of strain and growth reveal much about the present that happily runs counter to bleak popular impression. Paradoxically, however, this material also raises fresh anxieties about the near future of male-
female relations.

As we shall see, consciousness is greater than is commonly realized. Communications are better than are commonly thought. Collaboration is more tenable than may be suspected, and comraderie comes along as well as might be hoped. Nevertheless, the picture remains clouded by a growing realization that even auspicious answers now to the four questions above amount only to a prologue. A greater-than-ever struggle for sex role reform, one barely underway at this time, still lays ahead. The deepest impact of the Women's Movement on men has yet to be seen, though it is foreshadowed in the four-issue record recounted below.

1. **Consciousness-Raising.** At first glance there would seem very little here to discuss: there is no male counterpart for N.O.W., Ms, the women's caucus in Congress, or the myriad other adjuncts to female consciousness-raising.

But, there are embryonic developments, including the first national monthly newspaper, Changing Man; a spate of new books on men's issues; and the successful convening in the Spring of 1976 of the 2nd annual National Men's Conference. In addition, several hundred men's consciousness-raising groups already exist and persist around the country ("a group of persons meeting regularly to develop each other's awareness of alternative ways of overcoming the limitations on our lives that have evolved from our view of ourselves as masculine or feminine").

To be sure, these adjuncts to male consciousness-raising are not numerically impressive. Only 450 attended the 1976 National Men's Conference, and the '75-'76 spate of books is now a trickle. But they receive an enormous boost and pervasive backup from trendy preoccupations of the mass media; males have their consciousness raised about male/female issues whether they want to or not by the nightly likes of TV's "Rhoda," "Mary Tyler Moore," "Alice," "Phyllis," "Maude," "All's Fair," "Happy Times," "Mary Hartmann," and "Laverne and Shirley". Similarly, male-oriented magazines and tabloids, ranging from Screw, Oui, and Playboy's "Forum," to the feature story and cartoons of the machismo outlets (True, Penthouse, National Enquirer), variously wrestle both fairly and unfairly with male/female issues, as do many popular cartoon strips ("Juliet Jones," "B.C.," "Broom Hilda," "Andy Kapp," "Doonesbury").

The Women's Liberation Movement, with its inherent connection to the problems of masculinity, has already, unalterably, and profoundly raised the consciousness of males--albeit if only indirectly and primarily through the selfserving, uneven, and fickle sponsorship of the mass media.

Something as basic as a comparison of this morning's newspaper with its antecedent 10, 20, and 30 years ago will spotlight the presence today of remarkably frank columns of advice on sex, sexuality, couple-ness, love, and intimacy, along with free-wheeling feature stories on new marital arrangements, or proud dropouts from the male executive world, or single-parent households of near-consummation well-being. Males are exposed to such features with increasing regularity--along with sports page stories of female jockeys, race car drivers, and olympic superstars; and financial page accounts...
of female brokers as customer's "men". From the female "anchorman" on the nightly TV news through the presence of a syndicated national survey, "Womnpoll", in the day's paper, males cannot and do not escape constant reminders that something big is underway, something that forcefully raises their awareness of their being male--however they choose to regain perspective on that forced discovery.

2. Communications. Awareness by males of the feminist agenda supports several related developments. In particular, a small, but possibly growing number of men appear to be building on this awareness to attempt to earn new gains in male-male and male-female communications. Gains here are difficult to achieve, however, as they can only be won against the historic male tendency to avoid introspection and exchange.

Men appear to be telling more and holding back less than was ever true in the generation of their fathers or grandfathers. Prior emphasis was placed on stoicism. Men kept their own counsel. They bottled it all up, shouldered their own burden, and kept a stiff upper lip.

Playing tough now seems to be giving ground to new forms of risk-taking in communications. Consistent with general cultural norms today that encourage franker and fuller disclosure, males enrich their discussions on warehouse platforms or bar stools, and around water-coolers or coffee tables. Their ever-more personal dialogue concerns old chestnuts like "Women? What do they want?" along with fresh areas of joint concern, such as "What do I really owe myself? My spouse? My children? My folks? My friends? How am I ever to figure this out, and finally feel good about my answers?"

What do males have to tell and share that has been so hard to dare to ventilate? Psychiatrist Harvey E. Kaye identifies a "masculine mystique" that men must first claim and articulate if they are to ever expunge it: a complex of quasi-mystical attitudes and expectations that permeates a male's physical apparatus, his psychological set, and his social interactions, the mystique "seduces man from what he is, and offers instead a grandiose image all but impossible to attain and still remain human." Men lose touch with themselves in a morass of exaggeration, caricature, and illusion. Surrounded by conflicting standards, and besiegged by unrelenting demands to be more than whatever they are, many feel increasingly insecure, obsolete, and pent-up-ready to explode, unless they soon tell and share with someone.

The more fortunate and daring find women as well as men with whom they can communicate; women helped themselves by the feminist movement to better appreciate the toll the masculine mystique is taking on both sexes. Males share with such partners previously closeted anxieties over their masculinity, their virility, their general adequacy, and their basic worthiness. Some have found the courage to discuss, and possibly even implement once unthinkable modes of living; for example, the male as an off-the-payroll househusband; or the couple now as swingers. Some go so far as to expose themselves to the scrutiny of their wives where their co-parenting is concerned: together the couple can audit the male's experience and impact as a father and help him improve in one of the most demanding and least-well-prepared-for roles open to men. Overall, males struggle to communicate more and more often than was historically true of their tight-lipped role, though whether with any lasting significance remains to be seen.

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3. **Collaboration.** The issue here is whether or not the Women's Movement is winning support, and possibly even collaboration from male ranks. Awareness, yes! Some fledgling effort at communication, yes! But collaboration—that can be something else again.

Elements espoused by especially bold and/or innovative women liberationists go far beyond much that most males can now endorse. For example—

> "...What all feminists want or should want, regardless of sexual orientation, is a world where gender makes no difference."  
> Karen DeCrow, President, N.O.W.

Housewives should organize a "company" to put themselves on a legal payroll, pay each other the going rate for an exchange of household services, and receive the benefits of being "employed", including worker's compensation, Social Security, health and medical protection, and even a pension plan. (Dr. Jessie Hartline, Economist, Rutgers University).

No less easy to take are major assumptions that view the oppressive subjugation of women as part of a Grand Patriarchal Scheme, a tacit conspiracy, consensually agreed upon, which allows men to retain their pre-eminent position. There is a related assumption that mutual affection, regard or love, if they exist at all, are either illusory, delusional, or of miniscule import when viewed against the background of an awesome power struggle.

Similarly, mainstream males find much to question in the ideas of certain male liberationists:

> "Some form of socialism will probably be necessary in order to achieve human liberation." (Harvey Cox, *Christianity and Crisis*, October 4, 1971).

> "... Just as our daughters as well as our sons should have strength, courage, and independence, so should our sons as well as our daughters have sensitiveness, tenderness, and gentleness." (Monroe H. Freedman, *ACLU Civil Liberties*, May 1972).

Still more controversial yet is talk of male collaboration in sharing scarce jobs with females who may be secondary wage-earners, or male collaboration with females who want male votes for women candidates who are being backed by a feminist caucus primarily on gender criteria. Male reactions to feminist calls for salaries for housewives, annually re-negotiated marriage contracts, or for the subsidized availability of public boarding schools or kibbutz-like children's houses is quite adverse, as such reforms are feared as anti-family in tone and intent.

For many males the "bottom-line" impediment to collaboration is the threat they perceive in the Women's Movement to their male role as primary bread-winners. In a situation of no-holds-barred competition for increasingly scarce job slots, opposition to liberation remains strong among competing
white males and non-white males alike. Only a vast job-creation effort by the public (and private?) sector(s) can head off a major showdown in this matter—one which can even dwarf the otherwise major backlash engendered among males by feminist calls for radical changes in marriage and family.

Which is not to say that males refuse all forms of possible collaboration:

In 1953, only 21% of men felt it would make no difference whether they worked for a woman or a man. By 1975, the figure had risen to 32%. Similarly, in 1953, 75% of males preferred to work for a man. The comparable figure in 1975 was down to 63%. (Gallup Poll, March 1976).

In 1938, only 19% of all men approved of a wife working if she had a husband capable of supporting her (women, 25%). In 1975, the figure had risen to 65% (women, 70%). (Ibid).

50% of all males feel women do not have equal job opportunities, and almost 80% of those men feel they should! (Ibid)

50% of all males oppose a constitutional amendment which would prohibit abortions except when the pregnant woman's life is in danger—as contrasted to 47% of all women. Only 42% of all males support it, while 48% of all women do! (Ibid)

59% of males favor the ERA amendment, as contrasted to 55% of females. Only 23% of males oppose, while 26% of women do! (Ibid)

88% of males say they would vote for a woman running for Congress if qualified, and 75% would do so for a female presidential candidate. (women's comparable numbers are 89% and 71%). (Ibid)

Almost 90% of 14,000 men in the 1976 Psychology Today poll on masculinity said it was acceptable with them for their wives to earn more money. The men in this poll want to be more warm and loving than they are; the macho male who is tough, strong, aggressive, and has many sexual conquests is not admired. (Psychology Today, January 1977, pp.35,82).

As well, as yet untapped possibilities for collaboration exist in reform campaigns of potentially sharp interest to both sexes: If job dissatisfaction, for example, is as widespread as certain researchers contend, many males may join feminists in calling for job enrichment, flexible job hours, shorter work commitments, and easy job re-entry and re-training. If parent-role dissatisfaction is as widespread as alleged, many males can and may support feminist calls for parenting education in high schools, the option of subsidized day care, and the provision of subsidized family and/or parent counselling and therapy.
Overall, however, the present-day state of collaboration leaves much to be desired. The Women's Movement has thus far earned more collaboration than ever before true, and less than ever before necessary; by and large males make only trivial concessions and offer little save that wrestled from them. (I am reminded of Letty Colin Pogrebin's counsel in Ms, January 1977: "Only emotional empathy, decency, and a sense of fairness can motivate a man's desire to change").

Why this is so and what must happen if it is ever to be otherwise is a matter with which this essay will close, but first, there is the prior and related issue of the relationship of man to man.

4. **Comraderie.** Men are infrequently friends of one another, more often cautious acquaintances, and most commonly cagey competitors:

". . .Men have carried the practice of emotional restraint to the point of paralysis, . . . the ritual affirmations of membership in the fraternity of men that one gets from participation in 'masculine' activities do nothing to assuage the feeling of being essentially alone; they have become a poor substitute for being known by and knowing other people."

Psychologist Sol Gordon puts it this way:

". . .I personally, as a man, am sick and tired of dying 10 to 15 years before women; I'm fed up with all the heart attacks and ulcers, fed up with not being able to have an affectionate relationship with a male without the fear of being diagnosed.

Men find very strange on their ears the sound of feminists calling one another "sister," and apologizing, as has Karen DeCrow, N.O.W. President, for harboring prejudice and practicing discrimination against other members of one's own sex.

Provoked in part by the everpresent example of comraderie inside the Women's Movement, more and more men, especially young adults, are reaching out to one another in fresh and newly fulfilling ways. For some this means the on-going upswing in the number of campus males joining greek-letter fraternities. For others it manifests itself in a decided surge in the membership of male amateur sports teams (bowling, softball, curling, darts.) An unknown number are joining the nationwide network of men's groups, and still others are more passively--but no less keenly--pursuing their curiosity about other men through the new literature and the new films on men's issues, for example, "Husbands," "I Never Sang for my Father," "The King of Marvin Gardens," "Five Easy Pieces," and "Save the Tiger."

Whatever the approach, the goal is to develop a deep mutual respect, trust, and pleasure in the company of another male. Called "buddyship" by psychologist Herb Goldberg, this is the deepest of male-male interactions, one with rich dimensions that "generally cannot exist even in the deepest male-female relationships." The art of buddyship in our culture, Goldberg explains, remains underdeveloped "because it requires time, a willingness to work through crises, to upset one's heterosexual partner, to
endure hostile suggestions and innuendos about latent homosexuality, and a 
social maturity and competence that is not culturally recognized or 
rewarded the way that, for example, marriage is." 12 Its rewards, however, 
if achieved, are "great because of their mutually supportive, nourishing, 
no-strings-attached aspects."

It will not do to exaggerate the success as yet of this phenomena, 
as age-old barriers to its success remain many and formidable. The barriers 
to male-male comraderie have probably given way less to the impact of the 
Woman's Movement than many men and women might hope; and this despite the 
aforementioned gains males seem to be making in talking more frankly with 
one another. Perhaps it is a case here of a reasonable time lag, with 
comraderie a long, if likely step behind the relatively-new effort at joint 
communication. Perhaps. . .though, one can grow impatient waiting for supporting 
evidence.

Summary: On Looking Around, Back, and Forward. As ample available 
data are sadly lacking the foregoing has necessarily been an impressionistic 
and speculative attempt to consider four major facets of the question--What 
is the impact of the Women's Movement on American males?

The first sub-question asked if males were aware of the liberation 
issues being raised by feminists. A strong affirmative answer was based 
on the pervasive influence of the media, especially trendy "sit-com" 
weeklies. The second sub-question asked if males were struggling to talk 
over these issues, both with one another and with females. A qualified 
affirmative answer focused on the post-60's cultural norms that invite franker 
and fuller discourse in many realms of private life. The third sub-question 
asked if males were ready to collaborate with feminists in attitudinal and 
action reform matters. While evidence of attitudinal convergence was 
available from Gallop polls, several contrary reasons for male hesitation, 
and even opposition, were reviewed. Finally, the fourth sub-question asked 
if males were able yet to seek, create, and maintain deep heterosexual 
friendships with other males. While a theoretical case was readily made for 
"buddyship," it was thought that obstacles to this still outweigh inducements-- 
however lonely are many friendless American males.

Having gone this far out on a "think piece" limb, I would venture now 
to extend these reflections into speculations about the near-future of this 
subject. I draw for support both on an instructive historical analogue and 
on the prescriptive writings of Kurt Lewin.

Where is any of this likely to go next? What is the larger significance 
of the four-fold impact to date of the woman's movement on those men who 
"know", listen and talk anew, lend support, and even dare to reach out to 
one another.

History, especially that of America's recent 1830-1920 period records 
earlier epochs much like our own--with perplexing resolution. A nineteenth 
century woman's movement, linked with pioneering social welfare campaigns, 
and, tangentially, with temperance, anti-vivisectionist, and vegetarian 
movements, stirred considerable response from turn-of-the-century males. 
It led eventually to a host of salient battle-of-the-sexes compromises in- 
cluding the 19th Amendment vote for women; protective labor legislation; 
new educational and career opportunities; and public family-planning clinics.
Overall, however, males made concessions begrudgingly, and went on to mastermind a 20th century America so basically inimical to the interests of feminists as to require the desperate rebirth in the early 1960's of a full-blown, new Woman's Movement.

If we are to advance beyond this pattern of "one-step-forward, one-step back", we must learn from history to base our sex role reforms on a careful strategy of perspective and vision. That is, we need a plan both grounded in historic lessons and also forward-looking in its ability to help us reach beyond our daily existence.

Kurt Lewin's advocacy of a three-part reform strategy comes to mind--first, to unfreeze; then to accomplish new learning and move to a new level; and finally, to refreeze. Lewin's goal of social action means doing something to unsettle, or unfreeze, the prevailing level of discrimination. Next, one builds group strength, group-based self-esteem, group discussion, discussion with decision, and participation in decision-making so as to strengthen liberative forces and weaken repressive forces. Finally, one struggles to establish a level of new norms, a settling point must be maintained for a sufficient period of time for it to become an accepted social fact of life--and a later launching pad for an entirely new and related reform cycle.13

Applying this schema to contemporary men's issues it seems clear that the campaign to unfreeze is dramatically underway. Guided in large part by the example of the Woman's Movement, a comparable men's reform effort is slowly aborning--with all the commonly attendant anxieties and uncertainties. A slowly-emerging, and barely articulated agenda of male reform concerns include:

- Equity with women in child-custody, child-support and alimony verdicts, plus court support of the visitation rights of divorced fathers.
- Equity in competition with women for increasingly scarce entry-level jobs, and career advancements.
- Supplementation via school seminars and courses for inadequate home preparation in sexuality, love relationship skills, and the art of living in the roles of spouse, household head, parent, and adult child of oldsters.
- Exploration of the possible use of overseas reforms, such as the Swedish plan that allows a new father to stay at home with his infant for up to seven months while collecting 95% of his salary (if the mother also works, the parents may split the 7-month period between them any way they please).

Ahead presumably lays demanding years of effort to coalesce male unity on behalf of these male gains, the better to help both sexes renegotiate from health and love the entire social contract that a male sexist cultural order presently imposes harshly on all.
This arduous process of moving America to a new level may be appropriately followed by a temporary respite in the 1980's. After that time our now grown-up grandchildren may choose to move anew to unfreeze our no-longer-adequate accomplishments on behalf of their own agenda, say, one focused on androgyny, bi-sexuality, and eroticism—the concerns of a post-industrial world that we can barely glimpse, and dare not judge from way back here. They may have the courage and craft we presently lack to look deeply into the psychoanalytic roots of mysandry and mysagony, daring thereby to help themselves gain desperately needed relief from the murderous toll of hatred between the sexes. And they may choose to explore anew the profound links between systems of economics and related sex role paradigms: Are we capitalist males and females, and how might we differ as socialist beings? In their post-industrial, cybernetic, global corporation, world federalist social order in the 1990's even these 1970 formulations will probably require reformulation—but the battle of the sexes, and the sway of the economic foundation of things will probably confound us long into the foreseeable future.

What then, is the major significance of the Women's Movement on American men? Nothing less than the extraordinary unfreezing at this time of the entire masculine mystique scene, for females and males alike, and the opening thereby of new possibilities for all to finally come in out of the cold.

"It would be arrogant to assume that women can save the world, that women can bring men back to reality. But we have our struggle, and our sisterhood, and they are beginning to lose control. Certainly it would be better if we loved each other."

Sally Kempton,
N.Y. Times Book Review, April 25, 1971, p. 55

FOOTNOTES


2. Available for $5 a year from the Men's Resource Center, 3534 S.E. Main St., Portland, Oregon 97214.


12. Ibid., p. 145.

She was propped up on a pillow, rocking in a rocking chair
Looked like she might be lonely, like she maybe had words to share . . .
Then we got to talking and soon we were the best of friends
I told her about my problems, she told me how it was back then
We talked about a lot of things I never thought she would have understood
But that old time woman, she did real good

Jeffrey Langley and Holly Near,  

Adjustment to old age poses special problems. It requires an acceptance of being old and restructuring one's life around decreasing energy and body resources. "Old age is neither inherently miserable nor inherently sublime — like every stage of life, it has problems, joys, fears, and potentials."¹

What is it like for an older woman as she experiences physical, emotional, and social changes?

For purposes of this study, twenty-five women ranging in age from 67 through 88 were interviewed either individually, in dyads, or in groups. Each woman was presented with the same basic information: the author was interested in and doing a study about what it means to be an older woman. They were asked to comment on body image, feelings, community changes, relationship patterns with friends and spouse, and any other experiences both positive and negative in their past, present, or future as they anticipate it.

Why were these women willing to share intimate feelings with a relative stranger? I believe this willingness to share can be understood in the context of Dr. Robert Butler's life review concept; an approach through which older people are encouraged to reflect on their lives, try to decide on what they will do with the rest of their lives, and pass on legacies — material and emotional — to the next generation. It is in the context of legacy that this article emerges — as these older women want to help younger people understand how they as older women think and feel. The key message that emerged from the interviews is that aging is personal. Excerpts from the interviews are utilized to convey the poignancy and diversity of the reflections.

"... our unconscious mind knows nothing of old age; it clings to the illusion of perpetual youth."² "I have to make a great effort to convince myself that I am at present as old as those who seemed to me so ancient when I was young."³

Note. The author wishes to thank Ellyn Sue Lieberman, Nora Persing, Miriam Buchbaum, and Hope Lovett for their assistance in the preparation of this article.
How does an older woman view her past and relate it to the present moment? How is the past reconciled in the present?

"I don't think of myself as old. 'Act your age,' my granddaughter says to me. What does that mean? She doesn't understand that if I can kid myself a little maybe I can even kid the world. I like to think of myself as a person of vision not as just old."

"You're as young as you feel. The only time I feel old - and you're gonna laugh now - is when I look in the mirror. I feel very young, but I look in the mirror and I know I'm older. I always think I'm so young in my heart. I don't like to look in the mirror too much anymore."

"I'm not sure how I feel or if I want to tell you. What do you want me to say? I'm afraid to tell you how I feel. If I don't start talking I won't say things that might be real. I don't like to think a lot so I read or watch TV. If you don't mind that's all I want to say. You see I used to dream for fun - now I do it all the time."

Some pretend and it helps; others ignore; but, all find a way to deal with their lives. Perhaps, those who cannot, have given up, and died.

"I used to love to wear pretty shoes and pretty hats. Now I have to wear old lady shoes and warm woolen scarves. I see the young girls and I hate - no envy - them. I used to be pretty, too! I'm not anymore but sometimes I pretend I am."

"I sometimes think of myself the way I was at 30 even though I'm 80. I look in the mirror and I'm not sure I see myself. I loved being 30. I had dreams. I can't believe I look like my grandmother used to look to me - old and wrinkled. So I don't look in the mirror so much anymore."

"We try to picture what we are through the vision that others have of us."

"Young people push past me like I don't exist. They have no respect. 'Move, you old bag!' Is that a way to talk to me? No respect. If any child ever talked to an adult when I was growing up like that, he'd be punished. You ask me how do I feel about being older? Look how other people feel. How can I feel good if people keep telling me it's bad? No respect!"

Often respect shows itself in caring.
"To be old isn't all bad but it's not so great either. People don't expect much from you but why not. I still think. I know how to say 'leave me alone' but I never have to. Just because I don't hear as well as I used to doesn't mean I don't have opinions. It, well I guess it hurts when no one cares."

"I just started to feel old. Nobody on my block knew my age. I'm 75 now - no wrinkles. But I went to a doctor this week for my medicine and he gave me up. It was just this Monday and I started to cry in his office. He wouldn't operate, he said, because I wouldn't survive. I cried and he said he'd give me something for my nerves. He gave me up!"

A woman knows how painful labels, like old, can be.

"I never look in the mirror in the first place. I always think young except when somebody with tender loving care treats me too good and fragile or unthinkingly says, 'Oh, that old lady,' then I feel old and I get mad. I'm too young for it."

"Growing old was okay. Being called old is not okay. It sounds so ugly. I feel happy and energetic and everybody sees me as old. I get offered seats on buses and I'm just as capable of standing as anyone else. Where is women's lib when it comes to older women? I'm a person - older than I was 40 years ago but I'm still a person."

"Anxiety strikes us at the very core of self-esteem, it is what we feel when our existence as selves is threatened."

"I started feeling old the day I could no longer have babies. I had 13 babies - two are now dead. My body gave out. Too old to have babies! My life, my reason to live, stopped. Everybody laughed at me but a part of me died when I could no longer have babies. I was 45 and have felt old and useless ever since."

Being old means adapting to new roles.

"Here's a feeling that I've had. I don't know if anyone else has had it. I always felt very young as long as my parents were alive and when I lost my parents then I began to feel old. I find I am the oldest living member of my family - my father's and my mother's side. That's frightening!"

Feeling old and feeling pain and loneliness are part of the older woman's experience.
"Being old. It's pain - all kinds. Pain that never goes away. Pain in my legs, my fingers, and the worst pain in my heart. Not like a heart attack but the kind you cry inside from. All your friends die. Enjoy old age? Not me. I hurt all over (tears)."

"When my husband was very, very bad sick, the doctor said, 'Your husband is an old man.' I said, 'Doctor, stop and don't you come near me anymore. What's your answer? Because he's old he can die? Please leave me alone'. He's the doctor but I told him."

"When my husband died I was 73. I promised him I'd never remarry. I got very sick and depressed. I was lonely and felt trapped by my promise. I stopped trying to look so nice so men wouldn't come over to me. I'll pretend I'm content and look out for myself, I'd say to myself, but it hurt. I couldn't eat. I would cry. I wished I had never made the promise. (long pause) But one day I let go and decided I had to break the promise. Anyway he never asked me and I knew he'd forgive me. I had to. I was growing weaker from loneliness. I was dying, too. I wanted to live. I wanted to stop crying."

"I need affection. I want to reach out and hug. But who wants to hug an old lady except somebody who feels sorry for you. I need to be around people. I go to a Center for activities but the best part is when someone touches me - an arm on my shoulder or touching my hand. I feel all warm inside. I go home at night and there's no one to touch!"

* * *

"... reminiscing is positively correlated with successful adaption to old age through maintenance of self-esteem, reaffirming a sense of identity, working through and mastery of personal losses, and as a means of contributing positively to their society."

"I'll tell you the truth. When I was younger, I was all wrapped up in my husband - helping him make a living and raising my family. I didn't think so much of myself. Now I am getting older and I don't see why younger people think older people are so fragile. They open (doors). Do they do it from their heart because they respect the older person or do they think that the older person doesn't have the strength? That's not true. I feel younger now than I did when I was young because I have more time on my hands. Since I belong here to the Senior Center, it is like my second childhood. I do more things now than I did when I was younger."

"I felt older the day my parents were killed in an automobile crash when I was 22 years old than I feel now 60 years later. Old has nothing to do with age, it has to do with how you feel. When I was

-911-
22 I felt as though all reason to live left me. I had no hope, nothing to live for, and too much responsibility with no one to share it. Now I look back on my life with joy as a fulfilled woman. I feel young and alive!"

--"Me - I don't want to be young, again. I still put makeup on but my arthritis makes it harder. I'm not pretty but then I never was; but, I feel neat and presentable. My clothes are clean and I walk with my head up - with pride."

--"I was always fat and ugly when I was younger. I haven't changed very much but all my friends have. Age didn't change me much but it changed them. I look a lot less fat and ugly now compared to my friends. I like being old!"

* * *

"For himself each man is the sole, unique subject, and we are often astonished when the common fate becomes our own . . ."7

--"It's harder to be a woman when you are older. Your shoulders hurt when you put on your bra and forget the girdle! Stockings are a chore. Men have it easier. No one really cares about how they look. Even bending over to shave my legs is too hard. So it's hard for me to go out. I don't like wearing pants like you young girls do. I can't buy a dress with a back zipper. So I end up buying not so nice house-type dresses and I use roll-up garters and sometimes I don't wear a bra. But I never feel dressed like I used to."

--"Boredom. That's a problem when you're old. Not so much housework to do and no family to worry about. Can't watch those soap operas like my friends and arts and crafts I never liked. I can't seem to find things I want to keep doing. I wish I were still working. I was a good nurse and should still be working. You young people don't know what boredom is."

--"We have to go on with our lives. You can't help it. It can be painful. My son was in my house New Year's Eve and New Year's Day they called me, 'Come over, we need you'. I find my son dead. I lived through plenty. We still go on with our lives. We should be to each other like brothers and sisters and give each other the hope to live."
"Nothing is abnormal unless you first propose the dimensions of the normal; nothing is irrational unless you have consensus as to what is rational; nothing is unreal unless you agree on the tenets of the real."

-- "The biggest thing that's happened to me and my husband is our love life. We still want to enjoy, you know, sex - but can't. When we were younger, we kept the light on. He always said looking at me helped to excite him. Now that I'm old and my body isn't as, you know, pretty I want the light off. He doesn't but I can't help it. I get too nervous, too tense. He can't understand me and I don't see why he's so uncaring. So what happens? Neither of us is happy and we can't seem to talk about it. I dread going to bed at night!"

-- "At our age you should take each day as it comes. If it's a good day, fine - enjoy yourself and do the best you can. You have today. Don't look for tomorrow. Tomorrow is coming anyhow. There's nothing you can do about it."

-- "My son - he's a very nice boy. He cannot support his family and his mother. He is good, he wants to but he can't. His wife won't let him - just lets him ask about me - no more. She said, 'When you give him to get married, he is no more your son'. Is true? He is my son 'til my last day!"

-- "Since I've gotten old I have new freedom. No children bothering me. I never liked raising babies but I had to. Today women don't have to. Oh, don't get me wrong, I love my children, but I love my new freedom more. You may not like hearing this but I don't miss my husband either. Being old is really living. Just wait, sweety, you'll know what I mean!"

Each woman as she grows older experiences her own special changes, struggles, and joys as well as developing personal survival tactics. The more awareness professionals can gain, the more sensitivity and genuineness can be brought to the understanding of the older woman's needs, concerns, and rights.

These quotes are not merely facts. They embody the flavor of the person who lived them. These 25 women shared more than words as they talked of their lives. They left legacies in the moments they shared and in the reminders to us all of our humanness and common fate.

... She said, 'If I had not suffered, you wouldn't be wearing those jeans Being an old time woman, ain't as bad as it seems.'...
When I left her house that night my problems seemed so small
And if I grow to be like her soon I won't have any problems at all
I know I'll go back again to rock with my finest friend
I'll love that old time woman until the end.

Jeffrey Langley and Holly Near,
Old Time Woman, 1973

Reference Notes

3. Andre Gide as quoted by Simone de Beauvoir, p. 436.
4. Simone de Beauvoir, p. 431.
7. Simone de Beauvoir, p. 419.
A PERSPECTIVE ON THE PSYCHOＴHERАPIST'S RESPONSE TO THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

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The women's movement constitutes one of the most powerful sociological phenomena of modern times. Like any important movement, it has elicited reactions from every stratum within our society. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the response to the women's movement on the part of women, men, and man-woman relationships. It will then describe in detail an actual clinical case in which the issues involved were directly related to the concerns addressed by the women's movement, and it will offer a recommended attitudinal stance on the part of the psychotherapist to such concerns.

What we observe on the political-sociological level is a process of polarization between "pro" and "anti" women's movement factions. The notion that many, if not most, women are simply and straightforwardly interested in their liberation, and that most, if not all, men are simply and straightforwardly resistant to women's liberation, is grossly oversimplified and, in fact, incorrect to a substantial degree. And yet, as with any political movement, the fact that there are conflicting forces results in people feeling the need to adopt more and more one-sided points of view, so as to maximize the pressure on the other side to yield ground. Thus the picture that is portrayed is one of forces of good doing battle against forces of evil, the definitions of what is good and evil being determined by the biases of the portrayer. This polarization process mitigates against dealing with the issues raised by the women's movement in a reasoned and dispassionate way. Instead, the debate becomes vitriolic and rationality gives way to irrationality. The more balanced view of men and women which is described below might allow for a more sober dealing with the issues at hand, which would undoubtedly be to everyone's benefit.

Responses of Women

Though the differences between and amongst the various proponents of the women's movement are substantial, there is a theme which can be seen as common to most, if not all, of the advocates of the movement. This theme can be simply stated as an assertion that women deserve equality of opportunity and reward within our society, and that they should be more assertive in attempting to secure these rights and opportunities for themselves. This stance constitutes a challenge to the more dependent social

The phrase "women's movement" has come to be associated with many individual points of view and a number of political organizations. As used here, it refers to a broad sociological development which includes the various perspectives advanced about the re-definition of women's roles along social-sexual and economic-professional lines.
and sexual roles which women have traditionally filled within our society. Because discussion of the movement has been so prominent in the mass media, virtually all women are aware of this basic thrust of the women's movement, and have had some response to it. The following are some impressions of the variety of responses on the part of women.

Many women have responded to the movement with strong feelings of identification, a sense that their plight has finally been recognized, and even a resolve to join forces to overthrow the forces of oppression. Many women have felt oppressed in important ways, and have experienced the women's movement as an articulation of feelings that they have harbored within themselves for much of their lives. At least in part as a result of the movement, many women have made significant strides toward liberating themselves in their personal and professional lives.

However, to stop at this point would be to draw much too simplistic a picture of something which is considerably more complicated. Many women have been more or less content with their "traditional" lifestyles. Some of these women experience the women's movement as threatening. They have felt attacked for choices they have made which have never been questioned before, either by themselves or others. Furthermore, some feel that the liberation of women threatens a lifestyle which provides them with fully satisfactory gratifications. Many of these women react in a variety of defensive ways to the women's movement. One form that this is taking is opposition on the part of many women to the Equal Rights Amendment. On a more individual basis, some women respond with anger (sometimes just felt, sometimes expressed as well) to proponents of the women's movement, while others essentially attempt to ignore the thrust of the movement. Still other women experience considerable self-doubt in response to the challenge they perceive as implicit in the movement - some respond by attempting to conform to what they perceive to be the new standards, while others cling all the more rigidly to their accustomed ways.

Up to this point, the different kinds of responses that women can exhibit have been described as occurring in different people. What makes things much more complicated is that different responses very often are experienced by the same individual, so that there are not only conflicts between individuals but also conflicts within individuals. More specifically, it is not at all unusual for a woman to feel that the women's movement represents an important aspect of her yearnings for independence and self-sufficiency, but at the same time to be threatened by the possibility that she will no longer be able to behave in some of the ways in which she has been quite comfortable.

An important operating assumption is that all people (men and women) have yearnings for both autonomy and dependency. Some people manage to suppress their dependency yearnings, so that they seem to be wholeheartedly for their liberation and independence. A more accurate way to view these people is to understand that their dependency yearnings have been sublimated, and are being expressed in some other form. Given this perspective, the women's movement can be seen as articulating one side of a two-sided coin. It strikes a responsive chord in that side of women which desires independence and self-sufficiency, but it elicits resistance from that side of women which...
desires to be dependent. Thus, ambivalence may be the best word to characterize the response of most women to the women's movement.

Responses of Men

Men have traditionally occupied a privileged place within our society. They have been the ones who have commanded the most respect; they have occupied virtually all the positions of authority because they have been seen as the only ones capable of sustaining the pressures and performing adequately in positions of responsibility. In the context of man-woman relationships, they have usually been the decision-makers on major questions, again because they have been seen as the ones with the more sober and balanced judgment, and greater ability to think dispassionately and do what is most appropriate. The most simplistic view, which undoubtedly has a large element of truth embedded within it, is that men have simply enjoyed their position within our society, and that they want to maintain the status quo. It is certainly true that men have enjoyed the trappings of respect and authority, and feel resistant to losing these things. Some men have been the beneficiaries of this status simply because they are men, and feel threatened by a system which bases its rewards on merit to a greater degree. These are amongst the men who have felt most threatened by the women's movement. There is no question about the fact that many men have felt some combination of fear and resentment toward the women's movement, and have responded in a variety of resistant ways to the efforts of women to achieve true equality.

Again, however, to stop here would constitute a gross oversimplification of the situation as it really exists. Many men welcome the fact that the women with whom they are acquainted, both personally and professionally, have begun the process of becoming more equal partners in their relationships. As they see it, this has served to remove some of the burden that is inherent in decision-making power. Thus, the prospect of more substantial contributions from women has been a welcome one.

As with women, these different reactions amongst men are not only differences between and amongst them, but conflicts within them as well. More specifically, many men feel both attracted to, and threatened by, the women's movement. The extent to which they feel each side of this conflict differs enormously amongst individuals, but typically both sides are present to some degree. Once again, as with women, it may be that one or the other side is more or less completely suppressed (and again given expression in some other sublimated form), but for the most part what we see is ambivalence.

Responses of Man-Woman Relationships

Because the women's movement has had some kind of impact on virtually all individuals in our society, it has necessarily affected virtually all relationships, as any influence on one or both partners in a relationship has some impact on the relationship itself. Relationships respond to the impact of the women's movement in a great variety of ways. Some relationships undergo major changes and end up with both partners more satisfied.
with their respective roles. In other relationships one partner insists on changing, and the other harbors ongoing resentment. In still others new roles are tried and eventually rejected, and the status quo ante is re-established. Finally, there are some relationships that cannot bear the strains inevitable in role re-definition, and they break asunder. What is important to note is that virtually all relationships have dealt in some way with the basic thrust of the women's movement.

The most obvious way in which feelings related to the women's movement enter into the psychotherapy setting is in the form of couples therapy. However, the impact of the women's movement on the therapeutic experience is by no means confined to couples therapy. The case described below is an individual psychotherapy relationship with a female patient in which the women's movement played a central role:

Fran is a 45 year old married woman and mother of four children. She has been married to Chuck, who is a prominent surgeon, for 24 years. Fran married a year before graduating from college, and had become pregnant by the time she did graduate. She had devoted herself entirely to raising her four children, and had not been formally employed at any time during her marriage.

As her youngest child began applying to colleges, she began to think about what she wanted to do with herself when her day-to-day parenting responsibilities ended. At least in part as a result of some reading she had done about the women's movement, she decided that what she really wanted was a sense of professional identity. She chose the area of social work, and applied to the few schools that were available within driving distance of her home. She was admitted to one of the programs to which she applied, and began her quest for professional identity at the same time that her youngest child began college.

Graduate school was an eye-opening experience for Fran. She came to know a much wider cross-section of people, and to learn more about how other couples interacted - both colleagues and their spouses and patient-couples presenting for services at the clinic with which her graduate school was affiliated. Secondly, she did quite well in graduate school and began to receive praise for her work. Finally, she continued to be exposed to the women's liberation perspective, and it became more and more persuasive to her as time went on. The combination of these influences helped her to look at her marriage in a way that she had never allowed herself to do before. What she saw disturbed her sufficiently to bring her into therapy by the middle of her second semester of training.

Fran had come to appreciate that her marriage was based on her essentially complete subjugation to her husband. Neither her needs nor her interests were respected by Chuck. She was seen as neither bright enough to contribute to important decision-
making, nor important enough to have her interests attended to. This became more salient for Fran after becoming a graduate student, because she was very excited about all the things she was learning and experiencing, and anxious to share them with Chuck, and yet she found him as unreceptive to discussing her life as ever. Fran made it clear that Chuck was completely unreceptive to the possibility of couples therapy, and so an individual therapy contract was established.

Initially, therapy consisted of helping Fran to get in touch with, ventilate, and become accepting of the resentment toward Chuck she had been building up for so long. This took a good deal of work because of Fran's fear of her own rage and the repression that had resulted.

Fran found this phase of therapy very relieving, and it would have been easy (for both of us) to stop at this point. However, as we began looking at how Fran's relationship with Chuck had evolved into its present form, both of us realized that there was more work to be done. It became increasingly clear to us that the responsibility for the relationship being unsatisfactory in such a basic way was in fact shared by Fran and Chuck. In many ways it was comfortable for Chuck to have a dependent and subservient wife, but this was equally true for Fran. She had come to rely on him to take care of her in most important ways, and she was quite pleased with the job he had done. In fact, she had actively colluded from the start in the relationship evolving in the way it did. Coming to appreciate this led to two important consequences for Fran.

First, she was able to do some very useful exploring of the fear she had of becoming a more independent, autonomous person. Her active pursuit of a professional identity at this point in her life indicated that her desire for a greater degree of autonomy and personal identity was powerful, but at the same time she was resigned and resistant. At times she felt impulses to give it all up and return to the comfort of being a housewife; these impulses never became strong enough for her to act on, but they were very much a part of her. Her ability to acknowledge and accept these feelings made her a more integrated person.

Secondly, Fran's ability to appreciate her ambivalence, and her contribution to the problems within her marriage, allowed her to see her husband in a more complete, and therefore more accurate, way. Her feelings of resentment remained unabated, but she was also able to see the ways Chuck was unhappy with the status quo. Chuck found Fran's passivity very frustrating, and in fact he had lost a great deal of the investment he originally had in the marriage. There was certainly a large part of him that was resistant to Fran's becoming a more equal entity within the relationship, but in fact he was ambivalent too, as he also wanted a more active and substantial marital partner.

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Fran's ability to come to appreciate all this resulted in her taking some of the responsibility for the way the relationship had evolved, and therefore for moving it forward. The alternative would have been for her to simply blame Chuck, in a way that would undoubtedly have been counter-productive. As a result, the relationship has been slowly evolving, albeit in a fitful and painful way for both Fran and Chuck, into one that is at least somewhat more gratifying for both of them.

Implications for therapy

The foregoing perspective on the responses of women, men, and man-woman relationships to the women's movement implies a particular stance on the part of the therapist which maximizes the useful work that can be accomplished within the therapeutic setting. Ideally, psychotherapy involves an individual coming to know and accept all of his/her varying and potentially conflicting parts, and in light of this knowledge and acceptance, to choose a particular behavioral course which is most likely to yield the outcomes desired. In order for an individual to do the kind of exploration necessary to come to know and accept oneself more fully, he/she must come to experience a feeling of safety within the therapeutic setting. For this to occur, the therapist must be perceived as accepting all of the various sides of the patient. Because of the power of the transference, it becomes much harder, if not impossible, for a person to explore all his/her varying sides if he/she has the sense that the therapist approves of some parts of him/her and not others. Disapproval from the therapist is difficult for virtually all psychotherapy patients. Therefore, the tendency for a patient who discerns a judgmental attitude on the part of the therapist will invariably be to produce material which the patient believes will elicit the therapist's approval.

At the same time, it is clear that therapists have prejudices and biases, simply because they are human. It is the point of view of many "feminist therapists" that pro-feminist points of view are desirable for therapists to impart to their patients, and in fact that patients, especially women patients, should only seek out the services of therapists with a pro-feminist point of view. It has become fashionable to assert that it is impossible for a therapist to be completely neutral, and that therefore the therapist should openly communicate his/her values and openly attempt to inculcate them in the patient. The point of view being described here is that this is a most undesirable stance for a therapist to choose. Because one's biases cannot be completely overcome does not mean that they should be allowed to flagrantly intrude on the therapeutic process. Self-conscious attention to the dangers of one's personal point of view intruding on the therapeutic process can minimize the extent to which this happens.

The question must be asked: what happens to a woman's dependency yearnings when she is dealing with a therapist touting a feminist point of view? The answer must be that they are more often than not given short shrift, either because the patient is fearful that she will encourage the therapist's wrath, or because the therapist does not want to acknowledge
that there is resistance within the individual whom she sees as oppressed and needful of liberation.

A second question must also be asked: namely, what happens to the resistances to the women's movement that exist within many men in the context of therapy with a so-called "feminist therapist?" The answer must again be that these aspects of men's feelings cannot receive the kind of attention that they merit. Male patients are clearly just as vulnerable to the pain that inevitably accompanies rejection by a therapist as are female patients, and so it is virtually impossible for a male patient who knows that his therapist is an advocate of the feminist perspective to feel safe in exploring his fears and resistances vis a vis women's liberation.

The task of therapy is quite distinct from the task of politics. In politics it is the role of advocates to rally people around their cause and to attempt to bring about whatever social change they believe in. In therapy the goal is to help an individual to find for himself/herself what he/she wants to be. Confusion of these two enterprises is highly dangerous. Taking advantage of the role of therapist to advocate a particular way of living constitutes an abuse of the power the therapist has by virtue of the transference. This is not to impugn the intentions of the feminist therapists. It is simply to assert that any effort to bring about social change, no matter how benign and positive that change may be, does not belong under the rubric of psychotherapy. Unless it is genuinely acceptable to therapists for their patients to adopt very different life choices than they themselves have made, they do not belong in psychotherapists' offices. Therapists must make clear distinctions between political activity and therapeutic activity. The blurring of this boundary constitutes a very dangerous new development in the area of psychotherapy.
SEX DIFFERENCES IN WORK ASSERTIVENESS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

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Despite comparable levels of educational qualifications and experience, women in social work occupy a status inferior to men with respect to positions, rates of promotion and salaries. In other words, sexism prevails in what has traditionally been a female profession. Because of the institutionalized preference for men in social work, it is unlikely that individual acts of women to attain professional equality will eliminate sexism. However, because women have been socialized to be passive and self-effacing, they may be contributing to their secondary status by managing their careers less effectively than men.

What is involved in assertively pursuing one's career goals? Are there sex differences in work assertiveness? What are the consequences of pursuing one's career interests more or less assertively? These are questions investigated in a 1975 study of 657 social workers. The findings and their implications for individual women social workers and the social work profession are presented below.

CAREER TACTICS

Career tactics refer to the actions an individual takes to maintain her/himself in a satisfying employment situation - one in which satisfactions are maximized and dissatisfactions are minimized. The career tactics an individual employs may be judged as more or less assertive. Assertiveness involves:

...behavior which enables a person to act in his own best interests, to stand up for himself without undue anxiety, or to exercise his own rights without denying the rights of others.

In the work situation, assertiveness means acting to further one's career interests, or standing up for one's legitimate career rights without infringing on those of others. Non-assertiveness refers to self-effacing and self-defeating behaviors. Aggressiveness is defined as pursuing one's career goals, but at the expense of others. Since there are no absolute standards regarding appropriate work behavior, whether a behavior is labelled assertive or aggressive will depend on the position of the observer. In competitions for promotion, for example, the assertive behavior of the winner may be interpreted as aggressiveness.
Despite the North American preoccupation with career success, career tactics have not been the subject of much study, although the view is often expressed that women are less assertive in work situations than men. Can it be assumed that, because of sex role training and the uncertainties that married women face in combining family and career, women will tend to be less assertive than men in their career tactics?

SEX DIFFERENCES IN WORK ASSERTIVENESS

Until recently most of the research on careers focused on men, but studies of British university graduates and reviews of European occupational research by Fogarty et al have contributed greatly to knowledge of sex differences in careers. The findings from European studies were consistent with the popular view that women do not promote themselves as vigorously as men in the work situation, and Horner's landmark study of female university students provides evidence that women, and especially ambitious women, have difficulty visualizing themselves as highly successful in their careers. If women fear success more than men, it follows that they will be less likely to pursue their career interests as assertively as men.

In a 1975 survey of 657 social workers, respondents were asked to complete a 10 item Likert Work Assertiveness Scale. In addition, the enquiry asked questions pertaining to respondents' actual behaviors in pursuing short and long-term career goals. Background information relating to their parents' educational and occupational status was also obtained.

Although previous research suggests that mother's employment and identification with father influence a woman's choice of occupation and level of career ambition, no relationship was observed between these factors or other parent variables and the work assertiveness scores of female social workers.

There was, however, a low but significant partial correlation between sex and work assertiveness (.22). The assertiveness scores of men tended to be higher than those of women, and this finding was consistent with sex differences in a variety of reported work behaviors that were indicative of work assertiveness. Sex differences were most marked in negotiations with employers at the initial application stage, and at the time of appointment to new positions. Men social workers were more likely to specify salary expectations in letters of inquiry, and to engage in negotiations with employers about salary offers, salary increases, advancement opportunities, fringe benefits, course tuition or conference attendance, and study leave. Although female respondents in this study were more dissatisfied with their salaries than male social workers, they were much less likely to take corrective action than men.

The correlations of these behavioral indicators of assertiveness with sex and work assertiveness scores are found in Table 1.
Table 1: Correlations of Behavioral Indicators of Assertiveness with Sex and Work Assertiveness Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavioral Indicators</th>
<th>Correlations with Sex</th>
<th>Correlations with Work Assertiveness Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Specified salary expectations in application</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Negotiated salary offer with present employer</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Negotiated salary increase with present employer</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Negotiated advancement opportunities with present employer</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Negotiated fringe benefits with present employer</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Negotiated course tuition and conference attendance with present employer</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Negotiated study leave with present employer</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Actions taken in response to dissatisfaction with salaries</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IMPORANCE OF WORK ASSERTIVENESS**

Despite the popular assumption that assertiveness in the work situation enhances an individual's chances of attaining her/his career goals, little is known about the actual consequences of assertiveness. Presumably individuals who act assertively at work will maintain their self-esteem, but will other benefits accrue?

The study of Colorado and Utah social workers was not designed to assess the consequences of acting assertively, but it was found that social workers with higher work assertiveness scores had a higher ratio of job interviews to job applications (.53), were more likely to have been offered their present position or encouraged by their employer to apply for it (.31), or to have been promoted to their present position (.24).

The pattern of these findings suggests that assertiveness in the work situation does bring results. However, sex was still more strongly associated than assertiveness with five of seven indicators of favourable organizational response. Organizations were inclined to reward men social workers more generously than women, a fact well documented by recent research on sexism in social work.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The findings from the above study do not provide support for the image of the male social worker as highly assertive, or the counterpart...
image of the non-assertive female social worker. However, there are differences in the assertiveness of women and men in specific situations. This suggests that women social workers would benefit from work assertiveness training focused on such problematic career decisions and actions as making job applications, participating in job interviews, negotiating job contracts, and securing the recognition and rewards due them for effective performance. The purpose of such assertiveness training would be to eliminate the self-effacing responses which women have learned, and to enhance their self-esteem as employees. However, the effectiveness of more assertive career tactics on the part of women social workers will depend on how such assertiveness is perceived and evaluated by their superiors.

Although sexism was not the central focus of the above study, it was shown than men tended to be treated more favorably than women by employing organizations. Therefore, the adoption of more assertive tactics will be of limited value in helping women to attain equal status with men unless sexist obstacles to women's advancement are removed. In the broader societal context, this would include enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment and related legislation, the movement toward equality of sex roles within the family, and the restructuring of occupational life to facilitate integration of work and family roles.

NOTES


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7. See James Gripton and Mary Valentich, "Development of a Work Assertiveness Scale," The Social Worker, to be published.


9. All correlations are significant at the .05 level, one tailed if the relationship was predicted, and two tailed if it was not. The correlations are the Yule's Q Statistic. See James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971) for a discussion of Yule's Q.

10. The fact that women did report greater dissatisfaction than men may, however, reflect a growing awareness on the part of women social workers of sex discrimination in salaries, and a shift in their expectations. In Gripton's 1973 survey of members of the Canadian Association of Social Workers, women social workers, despite considerable inequities in salary and rank, did not report greater dissatisfaction than men. See Gripton, 1974.

11. Alberti and Emmons, p. 34.
ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CORRELATES FOR 1973 and 1975*

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ABSTRACT

This paper contains an analysis of both the level of support for abortion and the correlates of such support for both 1973 and 1975, as indicated by National Opinion Research Center data. In comparison to previous research, which focused primarily on bivariate analyses of demographic variables, we examine the role of demographic and other variables (such as work status, unemployment history, receipt of government aid, and belief in an afterlife) at both the bivariate and multivariate levels of analysis. The result indicates an abatement of the previously increasing level of support; this datum plus the increase in persons responding "don't know" suggest the occurrence of a reappraisal of support for abortion. The bivariate analysis indicates that support is highest among those who: are white, never married, or higher socioeconomic status, with no religious affiliation, seldom attend church, live in the Northeast or West, or have lower exposure to children. Multivariate analysis indicates that religion and socioeconomic status are the most salient variables. A comparison between the 1973 and 1975 data indicate reduced support among men and increased support among women, reduced support among the never married, and increased support among blacks, Catholics, Southerners, and those with less than a high school education.

Abortion has become one of the most salient social issues in America in the last decade. The rise in the numbers of abortions (four million by 1976) and the general acceptance of abortion have been widely discussed in both the popular press and the research literature. The attention given to abortion is undoubtedly a reflection of the salience

*Revision of a paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, November 19-20, 1976, Chicago.
of children both for individuals and for a nation's future (Blake, 1971). Thus both individual citizens and governmental agencies are interested in the abortion controversy; this interest culminated in the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. In spite of a long-term increase in support for abortion (Mileti and Burnett, 1972), the abortion issue remains a volatile political issue due to intense minority opposition. This political volatility was clearly exhibited in the 1976 presidential election campaign. The development of the women's liberation movement with its emphasis on freedom of choice regarding childbearing has also propelled the abortion controversy into the limelight.

Since research on persons who have experienced abortions is somewhat difficult to complete, most researchers analyzing abortion have focused on attitudes held towards abortion by the public. There are two major themes in the research literature. One is the general increase in support for abortion over the last decade. In 1965, for example, slightly over half of all Americans approved of abortion in the event of rape or possible deformity (Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969); the data reported in this study indicate that by 1975, about 84 percent of the American population approved of abortion in the event of rape or possible deformity. There have been similar increases in support for abortion under other conditions as well (Arney and Treasher, 1976). The second major theme is the analysis of correlates of abortion, usually involving such conventional demographic variables as age, sex, religion, residence, race, marital status, and socioeconomic status. Results of these studies conclude that support for abortion is highest among non-Catholics, urban residents, residents in the East and West, whites, the highly educated, and those not actively involved in religious affairs (e.g., Blake, 1971; Rao and Bouvier, 1974; and Pomeroy and Landman, 1972). The data on such variables as sex, age, parity, and marital status indicate either minimal relationships or inconsistent results.

However, there are a few problems with the existing research on attitude towards abortion. First, many studies are limited to college students or married women, (e.g., Bogen, 1973; Maxwell, 1970; and Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969). Second, most studies are limited to the standard demographic variables as noted above. Third, with the notable exceptions of Arney and Trescher (1976) and Pomeroy and Landman (1972), few studies examine the changes that may have occurred over time in the correlates of abortion in similar data sets. Fourth, it is surprising that even such major studies as those by Pomeroy and Landman (1972) and Westoff, Moore, and Ryder (1969) do not report levels of statistical significance in their analyses of relationships. Hence relatively small relationships are often discussed as though they were statistically significant when no levels of statistical significance are reported. A
last and major problem is that few researchers have taken a comprehensive multivariate approach to the analysis. Westoff, Moore, and Ryder (1969) do report on a factor analysis of the combined pool of independent and dependent variables, but make no analysis of the unique effect of each independent variable. Some writers do control out for one or two variables when examining a particular independent variable (e.g., Blake, 1971; Rao and Bouvier, 1974), and Mileti and Barnett (1972) examine each of nine demographic variables separately via crosstabular analysis with controls for the other eight. But few analysts examine the unique effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable with simultaneous controls for other independent variable (i.e., beta weights). As a result, both the number of relationships and their significance may be overstated.

In this study we attempt to remedy these inadequacies. A comparative analysis of correlates of support for abortion is described for the two-year span 1973-1975. The data used are the General Social Surveys for 1973 and 1975, compiled by the National Opinion Research Center; each of the two data sets is based on a random sample of approximately 1500 Americans. Hence generalizability of the findings is high. In addition to the usual demographic variables, we also analyze the relationships between support for abortion and such variables as number of siblings, receipt of government aid, past employment, working status, belief in an afterlife, and party identification. Furthermore, levels of statistical significance are reported for all relationships and both bivariate and multivariate analysis procedures are employed. The overall focus is to assess the change, if any, in the correlates of support for abortion in 1973 and 1975. Attention is also devoted to the changes in the dependent variable, support for abortion.

METHODS

The dependent variable, support for abortion, has previously been operationalized in a variety of ways. The most common approach is to ask the respondent if he or she would approve of abortion in a variety of situations. The responses are then analyzed separately (e.g., Blake, 1971), cumulated to create a scale (e.g., Hedderson, 1974), or trichotomized according to a selected criterion (e.g., Arney and Trescher, 1976). NORC uses the following question: "Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion . . .

a. if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby  
b. if the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy  
c. if she became pregnant as a result of rape  
d. if she is married and does not want any more children
e. if the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children
f. if she is not married and does not want to marry the man."
The first three situations are usually described as "hard" reasons; i.e., those beyond a woman's control, and the last three are usually described as "soft" reasons; i.e., those over which a woman might be able to exercise some control (e.g., Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969; Pomeroys and Landman, 1972). Support for the three hard reasons is generally much higher than support for the three soft reasons.

To determine the scalability of the six items, a Guttman scale was created for each of the two data sets. The coefficients of reproducibility for the 1973 and 1975 data are .95 and .94 respectively. In both cases, the item receiving the most support is the "woman's health" item and the item receiving the least support is the "married, no more children" item. The abortion scale used in this study was simply computed by cumulating the total number of items agreed with; the Guttman scaling analysis validates the use of such a scale. Hence the score values for the abortion scale range from zero to six.1

Education, father's education, and age are measured by actual number of years. Number of children and number of siblings are also absolute values. Church attendance is divided into nine categories ranging from "never" to "several times a week," family income is divided into twelve categories ranging from "under $1,000" to "$25,000 or over," and size of city is divided into nine categories ranging from "open country" to "over 250,000". In an attempt to quantify region and state of residence, a mean "Index of Southerness" was computed for each of the nine regions (Gastil, 1972). This index reflects the extent of Southern influence in each of the states (and regions). Race, sex, unemployment history, receipt of government aid, working status, and belief in an afterlife were all dichotomously coded (0 and 1).2

Since the abortion support scale is interval in nature, one-way analysis of variance was employed to assess bivariate relationships with nominal level independent variables. Spearman's r and Pearson's r are used as measures of association for ordinal, interval, and ratio level independent variables. Stepwise multiple regression analysis (with forward calculations) is the method employed to assess multivariate relationships. Regression analysis yields two indicators of the relationship between an independent variable and the dependent variable. One is the contribution to the variance explained, which yields an estimate of the predictive ability of the independent variable given all other independent variables. The other indicator is the beta value, which is the standardized partial regression coefficient and indicates the direct effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable, controlling for other variables in the regression equation. The robust-
ness of regression analysis with ordinal level and dichotomous nominal level independent variables has been documented (e.g., Hawkes, 1971; Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973; Labovitz, 1967).

RESULTS

Support for Abortion

The levels of support for each of the six abortion items in 1973 and 1975 are reported in Table 1, and the levels of support for multiple items are reported in Table 2. The overall conclusion from both tables is that the patterns of responses are very similar; 80 percent or more of the respondents in both years approve of abortion for each of the three hard reasons (defect, health endangered, rape), and about half of the respondents in both years approve of abortion for each of the soft reasons (married but no more children, low income, not married). However, some differences do exist. For each of the six items, there is a slight decrease in percent approval between 1973 and 1975; the average decrease is 1.7 percent. Similar data are found in the "percent disapproval" category, where the average increase in disapproval is about one-half of one percent. This slight decrease in approval is also manifested in Table 2, where we find that the percent approving of only one item has increased from 5.5 percent to 6.6 percent and the percent approving of all six items has decreased from 42.6 to 41.5. The discrepancy between decrease in approval and increase in disapproval is partially explained by the increase in the proportions of respondents indicating that they simply "don't know" whether they approve or disapprove; there is an increase in the "don't know" category for each of the six situation items and the average increase is 1.1 percent, which

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>% Approval</th>
<th>% Disapproval</th>
<th>% Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serious Defect</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>80.3(-1.9)</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Endangered</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>88.1(-2.5)</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>79.9(-.7)</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married, No More</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>43.8(-2.3)</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Income</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>50.5(-1.2)</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman Not Married</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>45.8(-1.5)</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Total for each year does not equal 100% due to exclusion of "no answer."
TABLE 2 Total Number of Abortion Items Approved (differences noted in parentheses)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Items</th>
<th>Percent 1973</th>
<th>Percent 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.6 (+.1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.8 (+.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>8.4 (-1.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>21.0 (+.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.7 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.1 (+1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>41.5 (-1.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0 100.0

N=1349 1281

"Persons with "don't know" or "no answer" response categories for one or more items excluded from base (10% for 1973 sample and 14% for 1975 sample).

represents about a 40 percent increase between 1973 and 1975 (Table 1). Two conclusions are evident. First, the steady increase in support for abortion reported in the late 60's and early 70's (e.g., Blake, 1971; Pomeroy and Landman, 1972) seems to have abated. It appears that support for abortion may have peaked at the time of the Supreme Court decision and may have begun a slight decline since that time. Second, the data in the "don't know" category indicate that an increased number of Americans feel ambivalent about their attitudes toward abortion; perhaps the vocal minority opposition has influenced many persons who formerly clearly supported abortion to rethink their views. In short, the data indicate that there may be a reassessment of abortion attitudes occurring among Americans.

Bivariate Relationships

Next we examine possible shifts in the characteristics of persons supporting abortion. The one-way analysis of variance of abortion support with the nominal level independent variables is reported in Table 3. The level of statistical significance used to determine whether a significant difference exists is .05. Regarding sex of the respondent, it can be seen that the higher level of support for males in 1973 no longer existed in 1975. It is significant to note that the increase in support by women approximates the decrease in support by men. Perhaps both shifts can be explained by the increased popular attention focused on the role of women; women may be becoming more sympathetic to abortion as part of an increased level of overall support for women's rights while men may be becoming more resistant as part of a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean Abortion Scale Scores, Levels of Statistical Significance, and Differences Between 1973 and 1975</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4.29</td>
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<td>Married</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Div-Sep</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Fulltime</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4.02</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Party Identification</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belief in Afterlife</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3.87</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>3.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
backlash against increased support for women's rights. Also, as women become more career-minded and enter the labor force in increasing numbers, it is becoming increasingly acceptable for women to reject the traditional pronatalist role for women.

In 1973, statistically significant differences existed among the various categories of marital status; never married individuals are the most approving of abortion, followed by those who are divorced and separated, married, and widowed. A control for age (not reported in tables) indicated that the higher levels of support among the never married apply only through about 50 years of age. The data for 1975 indicate non-statistically significant differences among the categories of marital status, due primarily to the minimal increase in support among widowed persons and the somewhat larger decrease in support among never married persons in the 1973-1975 interim (there are no significant shifts in the married or divorced-separated categories.) The reduction in support among the never married is particularly unexpected since it is commonly expected that single (and usually younger) persons would increasingly support abortion. Blake (1971:546) explains the decreased level of support among younger, single persons as being a factor of reduced tolerance of failures in the use of birth control. That is, never married persons of 1975 are more likely to view the abortion act as a "mistake" that should have been avoided, whereas previously such persons tended to view abortion as a necessity to avoid unwanted births. Further analysis indicated that never married females were the only females whose support decreased instead of increased in the 1973-1975 interim; perhaps this finding reflects the increased propensity for single pregnant women to bear and keep their children rather than obtain abortions or give the children up for adoption.

Statistically significant differences between blacks and whites regarding abortion support exist for both 1973 and 1975; whites are considerably more approving than blacks. Since blacks come from and have larger families than whites, we controlled for the number of siblings and the number of children; the differences persisted in the face of these controls. Between 1973 and 1975, blacks experienced a significant increase in support and whites a modest decrease, perhaps indicating a differential response to the 1973 Supreme Court decision. That is, since prior to 1973 most blacks did not have the access to safe abortions that most whites had, perhaps the increased support among blacks reflects their response to the more widespread availability of legal, safe abortions.

No statistically significant differences regarding abortion support exist between those currently working fulltime and those not currently working fulltime; neither are there any significant differences between those who have ever received governmental aid and
those who have never received such aid. However, in both years respondents who had been unemployed in the previous ten years are more supportive of abortion than those who had not been unemployed. This difference is stable over the three-year period. Perhaps experience with unemployment heightens individuals' concerns about providing adequately for themselves and thus makes them more sympathetic to the role abortion may play in lessening the financial burden of an unwanted pregnancy.

There are negligible differences among political party affiliations concerning support for abortion. However, there are distinct religious differences. Three variables involving religion are examined—affiliation, ideology (belief in afterlife), and commitment (attendance at religious services). The data on the first two are reported in Table 3 and the data on the third are not reported in tables. Catholics in both years are by far much less approving of abortion than any other religious group. This datum is undoubtedly a reflection of the Catholic Church's total ban on abortion; witness the strong reaction of the Catholic clergy to the 1973 Supreme Court decision. However, in light of the ban, it is significant to note that the mean number of items supported by Catholics is still about 3.7—most Catholics agree with at least three of the abortion situation items. Furthermore, there was an increase in that value between 1973 and 1975 (+.12), which signifies a minor trend towards increasing support for abortion among Catholics. Evidently Catholics are experiencing reductions in the traditionally complete acceptance of Church teachings. This conclusion is also supported by the increased propensity for Catholics to reject the Church's teachings on the use of birth control. Protestants have the next lowest level of support for abortion, and persons labeled "other" and "none" have higher levels of support. The largest difference is between those ascribing to either Protestantism or Catholicism (X=3.9) and those selecting "other" or "none" (X=5.12). Thus individuals ascribing to a "mainline" religion are significantly less supportive than are those ascribing to some other religion or to no religion. As expected, those subscribing to no religion are the most supportive of abortion. In short, religious affiliation is significantly associated with stance toward abortion.

Belief in life after death was used to assess one dominant aspect of religious ideology. Persons believing in life after death are significantly less supportive of abortion than those without such a belief, although this difference narrowed between 1973 and 1975. The drop in support among those not believing in an afterlife is greater than the increase in support among those believing in an afterlife, suggesting that a greater reappraisal may be occurring among those
without religious ideological beliefs than among those with such beliefs. Perhaps the increased attention focused on the meaning of life has more salience for those without religious beliefs since those with such beliefs have already confronted the definition of life issue.

Attendance at religious services is significantly positively related to support for abortion (Spearman r = -.30 for 1973 and r = -.33 for 1975, for both p < .05). Hence degree of religious commitment also significantly affects one's attitudes on abortion. In sum, all three religious concepts—affiliation, ideology, and commitment—play a major role in influencing one's support for abortion.

Socioeconomic status was operationalized with three variables—respondent's education, respondent's total family income, and father's education. The Spearman (for income) and Pearson (for both education variables) correlations with abortion support are as follows: for education, r = .26 for 1973 and r = .23 for 1975; for income, r = .17 for 1973 and r = .13 for 1975; for father's education, r = .22 for 1973 and r = .20 for 1975 (all correlations significant beyond .05 level). The correlations are modest, indicating a mildly positive association between socioeconomic status and support for abortion. For all three indicators, the correlations are somewhat stronger for 1973 data than 1975 data, suggesting that socioeconomic status is becoming somewhat less salient as a predictor variable. A one-way analysis of variance of the education variable for both years (not reported in tables) indicates that support for abortion is rising among those with less than a high school education and dropping slightly among the college educated. This datum may indicate that more highly educated persons were the first to support abortion and that persons with lower education levels are now following that trend. Higher socioeconomic status persons are more likely to support abortion due to increased exposure to social issues and increased cosmopolitanism, both products of higher education. The fact that upper socioeconomic status women have long had access to safe abortions may also explain the relationship.

The data on age indicate minimal, nonstatistically significant relationships for both 1973 and 1975; this finding is consistent with the literature. Two variables tapping exposure to children were also analyzed. Statistically significant modest negative relationships between support for abortion and both number of siblings and number of children were found—for number of siblings, Pearson r = -.21 for 1973 and r = -.16 for 1975; for number of children, r = -.16 for both 1973 and 1975. A control for age in the relationship between abortion support and number of children did not significantly alter the zero order correlations. It seems that persons with more extensive involvement with children are somewhat less likely to support abortion. Apparently experiential involvement with children engenders a higher
level of resistance to antinatalist policies. However, the low correlations should be underscored.

Since residence is often cited as a salient variable in abortion attitude research (e.g., Mileti and Barnett, 1972), we examined the role of both city size and "Southerness" of region. City size is negligibly positively correlated with the abortion scale for both years, and the Southerness index has low negative correlations with abortion support for both years (Pearson $r = -.06$ for 1973 and $r = -.14$ for 1975; $p < .05$ for both years). To a minor extent, persons living in areas characterized by Southern culture are less likely to support abortion. An analysis of the regions with one-way analysis of variance (not reported in tables) indicated that support for abortion is highest in the Northeast and West and lowest in the South. Furthermore, the only category in which a shift occurred between 1973 and 1975 was the South, with a significant increase occurring. Perhaps the explanation for this finding is analogous to that for education; i.e., Southerners may simply be catching up with the higher levels of support exhibited earlier by residents of the Northeast and West.

Respondents who indicated that they "don't know" for at least one of the six abortion scale items were compared with those who responded either "yes" or "no" to all six items. The former were more often Black, widowed, highly committed to religion, rural, Southern, older, lower socioeconomic status, and had more exposure to children (results not reported in tables). Also, between 1973 and 1975 these categories became even more associated with "don't know" responses. Compared to the analysis described above, it can be seen that "don't know" respondents are more like respondents displaying low support for abortion than like those displaying high support. This analysis suggests that an unsure opinion, like the low support response, represents a reappraisal of attitudes toward abortion.

Multivariate Relationships

Regression analysis was employed to assess the relative predictive importance of each independent variable (contribution to $R^2$) and the unique effect of each independent variable (beta weight). The results of this analysis are reported in Table 4. For both years, the most salient predictor variable is church attendance (contribution to $R^2$ for 1973 is 11% and for 1975 is 13%). The beta weights are the largest of the independent variable analysed ($B = -.32$ for 1973 and $B = -.34$ for 1975). It seems that church attendance has become slightly more important in the 1973-1975 interval as a predictor variable, due perhaps to the increased attention official religious organizations have focused on abortion and the definition of life following the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.
<table>
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<th>Variable</th>
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<th>Contribution to R²</th>
<th></th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th></th>
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<td>-.36</td>
<td>.113</td>
<td>.130</td>
<td>-.32</td>
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<td>.051</td>
<td>.19</td>
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<td>Father's education</td>
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<td>.011</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.08</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(0=No, 1=Yes)</td>
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<td>-.18</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.007</td>
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<td>.03</td>
<td>.007</td>
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<td>.03</td>
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<td>.007</td>
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<td>.05</td>
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<td>Ever receive gov't aid</td>
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<td>.005</td>
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<td>.004</td>
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<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.00</td>
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</table>

\[ R^2 = .239 \] \[ R^2 = .225 \]

*Using listwise deletion of missing data, the N for 1973 is 885, and the N for 1975 is 866.
Two of the three socioeconomic status variables—respondent's education and father's education—rank second and third for both years in terms of both contribution to $R^2$ and beta weights (for respondent's education, the values are 8% and .19 for 1973 and 5% and .17 for 1975; for father's education, the values are 12% and .10 for 1973 and .3% and .08 for 1975). The values for both variables decreased somewhat between 1973 and 1975, supporting the conclusions of the bivariate analysis.

The values for both variables decreased somewhat between 1973 and 1975, supporting the conclusions of the bivariate analysis. The values for both years decreased somewhat, but they differ in direction from the bivariate relationships (from minimally negative to minimally positive). With other variables considered simultaneously, it appears that older persons are only slightly more likely to support abortion than younger persons. The salience of race is more pronounced in 1973 than 1975, although the values for both years are quite low. This time difference was also noted in the bivariate analysis. The beta values for both number of siblings and number of children are negative, but relatively low. The remaining variables do not contribute significantly to the variance explained and have minimal unique relationships with abortion support.

In sum, the regression analysis underscores the role of religion and socioeconomic status in influencing support for abortion. Coupled with the bivariate analysis of religious affiliation, the results suggest a highly significant link between abortion support and all three indicators of religion (affiliation, commitment, and ideology). Since one's religious beliefs and practices reflect one's moral and ethical values, we conclude that attitudes towards abortion are in large part determined by such values. Since discussions of moral and religious values typically involve the definition and meaning of "life", it is not surprising that the religion variables explain so much of the variance in support for abortion. Individuals committed to a particular religion and its ideological beliefs can be expected to apply such beliefs to their views on contemporary social issues such as abortion.

Perhaps the best explanation for the salience of socioeconomic status involves the role of advanced education. An advanced education generally involves exposure to and interaction with widely divergent people and ideas. The net result for many individuals is an increased level of tolerance for ideas contrary to one's own personal beliefs and values (cf. Brookover and Erickson, 1975:369). In short, edu-
cation has a liberalizing effect on individuals.

Conclusions

In contrast to the steadily increasing support for abortion found in previous research, the data analyzed in this study indicate a slight decrease in support. Both this decrease and the significant increase in numbers of Americans reporting that they are unsure of their opinions are indicative of a reappraisal occurring concerning the rightness or wrongness of abortion. Several factors may have contributed to this reappraisal. Perhaps the most significant factor may be the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, which has generated widespread interest and dissent. Second, Watergate may have had some impact by turning many discussions of social issues into discussion of values. Both Watergate and the legalization decision have served the function of bringing the discussion of values and moral issues out in the open. Third, the increased attention devoted to the definition and meaning of life, as exemplified in the Karen Quinlan case, may have influenced people's attitudes toward abortion. A fourth factor may be the significant increase in numbers of abortions that have occurred since legalization; Weinstock, et. al. (1976) report that by 1976 more than one in 14 of all women of reproductive age had obtained legal abortions. Many Americans may never have expected that such large numbers of abortions would occur and may now be expressing second thoughts about their approval of abortion. A final possible explanation for stabilization of support may simply be that we are nearing the end of a long-term transition stage from predominant disapproval to predominant approval.

The bivariate phase of the analysis supported many of the previous findings on correlates of support for abortion. Support is highest among those who are white, have no religious affiliation, seldom attend church, do not believe in an afterlife, are higher in socio-economic status, have minimal exposure to children, are living in the Northeast and West, or have been unemployed in the previous ten years. No significant differences were found for sex, marital status, working status, party identification, age, size of city, and receipt of government aid.

The most notable shifts in the correlates of support for abortion between 1973 and 1975 include:

- a reduction in sex differences, with males becoming less supportive and females more
- a reduction in support among the never married, although they are still the most supportive of the marital status categories

-940-
--an increase in support among blacks and a decrease in support among whites, although whites are still more supportive
—increased support among Catholics and those belonging to some "other" religion and a decrease in support among Protestants and those who have no religious affiliation, although Catholics are still by far the least supportive
—a decrease in the positive relationship between socioeconomic status and support, although still significantly positive
—an increase in support among the less educated and slight decrease among the college educated, although the relationship is still positive
—an increase in support among Southern people, although they are still the least supportive
—a reduced difference between those who believe in life after death and those who do not, although the difference is still significant

These shifts indicate that, in spite of a trend toward decreased support, increased support exists among certain types of persons—the less educated, Southerners, blacks, and Catholics. However, significantly lower support levels still characterize such persons. In short, since these persons expressed less support originally, their more rapid increase in support may simply reflect a catching up with the types of persons who more readily supported abortion—the more highly educated, Northeasterners and Westerners, whites, and those without a religion. If this trend continues, there may be few differences among these categories in the future.

Overall, however, the support for abortion under the six circumstances examined remains fairly high, with over 80 percent of both samples supporting abortion for the "hard" reasons (defect, health endangered, rape) and over 40 percent of both samples supporting abortion for the "soft" reasons (married but no more children, low income, not married). Clearly, the American population continues to support the use of abortion.

The most significant contribution of this study lies in the multivariate analysis, which few previous studies have utilized. This analysis of 15 independent variables clearly indicates the role of religion and socioeconomic status in abortion support. Involvement and belief in religion, particularly Catholicism, is the most salient factor in influencing support for abortion, and ranking at the upper end of the socioeconomic status continuum is the second most salient factor. However, it should be emphasized that all 15 variables, which include the most commonly used demographic independent variables, explain only about 23 percent of the variance in support for abortion and have only
modest beta weights. Hence the majority of the variance in abortion support remains unexplained. Future research on other variables may help to increase the total variance explained for abortion support. Perhaps various psychological and life-experience variables may prove to be more salient than the usual demographic variables. Also, continued monitoring of the yearly National Opinion Research Center polls may indicate further shifts in the correlates of support for abortion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Persons responding "don't know" to any of the six items were excluded from the analysis of relationships although a comparison between these respondents and the rest is discussed below. For 1973 such respondents comprised ten percent of the total sample and for 1975 they comprised 14 percent of the sample.

2. Further information on variable construction and sampling can be found in the respective NORC codebooks.

3. Occupational prestige and occupational classification were also examined, but the multivariate analysis indicated that they were less important than education, income, and father's education.

4. Three nominal level variables—marital status, party identification, and religious affiliation—are not amenable to being recoded into dummy variables and hence are not included in the regression analysis.

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Weinstock, E., C. Tietze, F.S. Jaffe and J.G. Dryfoos

Westoff, C.F., E. Moore, and N.B. Ryder
DEPRESSION AND PHYSICAL REHABILITATION

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Abstract

Depression is often expected in our society during physical rehabilitation. This and similar expectations structure the experience of a physical disability. Contradictions in expectations and demands by providers to conform to this paradigm create barriers in the rehabilitation process. Changes in the physical rehabilitation paradigm are briefly suggested.

DEPRESSION AND PHYSICAL REHABILITATION

In our society depression is expected to follow after a traumatic permanent physical disability (Kerr-Cohn, 1961; Fink, 1967), and it is felt to be a result of concrete losses of body functions and skills. This state often initiates changes in one's self-image, social position, and interpersonal relationships (Barker, et al., 1953; Wright, 1961; Goffman, 1963). It is suggested here that depression is a response which emerges not only from the individual and his perception of the situation, but also as a function of the physical rehabilitation process itself. The source of the depression is a result of the contradictory assumptions and goals inherent in rehabilitation, and as a result depression is expected and maintained by this approach.

This type of depression can be traced directly to a social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) that is rarely articulated because of its fusion with the more concrete and localized depression following loss. Examining this system of logic, the therapeutic model, will hopefully open up this subject for discussion in order to minimize the man-made suffering which is presently considered inevitable.

THE GOALS OF PHYSICAL REHABILITATION

The system of logic underlying the present approach to physical rehabilitation can be stated as follows:

The disabled person is invested with a status and dignity which is inherent in all human beings. He, unfortunately, has suffered a loss as a result of a physical limitation which may
affect other social and psychological areas of his life. He will usually be depressed soon after incurring this loss but he will hopefully learn to accept and/or cope with this after an appropriate period of mourning.

These losses should be minimized so that he can continue in his life as "normal" as possible. A major goal is to participate in the labor market and economy and earn his daily living rather than be supported by others. This is a method for him to be independent, self-sufficient, and worthy of respect.

If the reader doubts the validity of this model, a series of quotes by leaders in the field of physical rehabilitation should support the above contentions:

A facet of vigorous individualism in American culture tends to support activities such as health services which enhance the worth and dignity of the person, especially if these lead to increased social and economic effectiveness. (Rabbinowitz and Mitsos, 1966:2)

(A psychologist states:) "Most people are motivated for health. The handicapped want to be well and normal, considered the same as others; most have a capacity for self-sufficiency when allowed to act for themselves." (Quoted by Alexander, 1970).

(An orthopedic surgeon states:) ...that normal people must let handicapped people do what they can for themselves. "They will then feel part of the world.... It helps the handicapped to feel respect for themselves, to have dignity." (Alexander, 1970.)

(Vice-president and medical director of a rehabilitation hospital) "The hospital's goal is to return every patient to his family, his community, and, most important, his job." (Quoted by Mateja, 1974)

The contradictory and illogical arguments of this approach become apparent when each assumption about disability and rehabilitation is examined in a total context.

A person is inherently worthy of respect yet he must "earn" it through achievement and activity (which he may physically be unable to do). He does not want help from others in order to be independent, yet
he must learn to "accept" his dependence. He has undergone a significant personal loss, therefore, he should be depressed. But he should be depressed "correctly": he should not be over-depressed nor under-depressed. Over-depression occurs when the depression takes a course which interferes with institutional demands and expectations. Under-depression occurs when the person is "denying" reality and/or too readily accepts the disabled status. An example of "under-depression" is given by Israel Goldiamond, a professor at the University of Chicago who specializes in behavior modification and is also a paraplegic. Since he believes that behavior is affected by contingencies and not by emotions, he "refused" to be depressed. When he began suffering from insomnia, the staff told him that, of course, his depression was finding a way to exhibit itself. Due to his habit of keeping records on his medication, he discovered that he had taken himself off tranquilizers and was suffering from withdrawal effects, a fact which had been overlooked in the eagerness of the staff to reinforce their expectations of his disability. (Goldiamond, 1976.)

Physical therapy is a painful, grueling process that is based on the strengthening and maximal use of a person's muscles and physical skills. To endure this training for an often very small change in one's physical functioning is discouraging. The right to decide if one wants to do that much work for that small a reward is often denied the disabled person. Rather he is bullied, told that he must do this for his own good, and told to be motivated for something that may be largely lost. Defeats for physical therapists can be daily comforts for the disabled. An example of the right to decide certain treatments and aides is presented by Ed Roberts, a spokesperson for Berkeley's Center for Independent Living.

"Health professionals go through these incredible fads... For example, they were convinced that using an iron lung was a terrible thing and should be stopped as soon as possible, almost at any cost. Well, I say that's up to me to decide. If not using the tank means I'm going to have something less comfortable and less ventilating, if it means I've got to spend more time concentrating on just breathing, then I'll use the tank." (Quoted by Downey, 1975:25)

The individual in a rehabilitation setting, then, is told that he is not physically "normal" and that he should learn to accept his losses and try to re-enter "normal" life.

One nurse who is a paraplegic responded to this definition of the situation in this way:
After much thought I began to understand why I felt insulted and angry at the request to "accept your disability." Acceptance implies the result of a choice with the option to refuse. We are not injured or diseased and handicapped by choice. Why should we be made to feel obligated to "accept"? (Jones, 1972)

The emphasis on vocational skills and contributions of the physically handicapped has been emphasized since the beginning of the vocational rehabilitation movement in this country in 1920 (Strauss, 1966). It is the method that the governmental agency uses to get funds for rehabilitation training and programs. In this arena there is little attempt to say that this is a worthwhile human endeavor, but rather that this is a profitable venture. One recent article extolling the virtues of providing training and employment for quadriplegics showed the financial benefits of this plan:

For example, Client #4 became disabled at age 18 due to a diving accident and was referred to the Department of Rehabilitation. In approximately 7 years the department spent $10,737 towards his rehabilitation. Projecting additional services through 1973, when he would obtain a Master's degree, the total case cost will approximate $20,000. Since welfare costs without successful rehabilitation would amount to almost $6,000 a year, this client, when rehabilitated and no longer receiving welfare, will offset his rehabilitation costs by welfare savings in 3 years and 2 months. (Savino, Belchick, and Brean, 1971:9)

The continual dialectic between inherently worthy and the necessity of proving it through achievement and mastery of one's environment is a basically unresolvable struggle. This becomes more acute when considered in light of support for changing one's values.

For applying to himself the standard of the "normal" the disabled person feels that his inability to achieve implies that he is unworthy. The energy and effort expended in the direction of overcoming the disability, reaching the non-injured standards, are dissipated as the C.V.A. (Cerebral vascular accident) realizes the hopelessness of the task. (Schlesinger, 1965)

This analysis of contradictions which push towards independence and self-sufficiency when the person is often unable to be either, and the advice to accept something which prevents him from wanting to participate
Examining this construction of reality, the reader can sympathize and recognize the "truth" that a physical disability is a tragedy. It has often been suggested that the courage and heroic manner of the physically disabled arises from their confrontation with this eternal human dilemma and their ability to surmount such contradictions. But perhaps part of the "truth" arises from the definition of the situation and not from the situation itself. It is suggested here that disability is seen so negatively and of such drastic import because the philosophy and logic has been derived and maintained by the non-handicapped. A special subgroup of this "rehabilitation" world includes the professionals who are often trained in psychological and psychoanalytical concepts and dynamics. Their world-view emphasizes the fear of mutilation and castration which are symbolically related to physical disabilities (Blood and Ventur, 1963.)

It is suggested that the "adjustment" to a handicap could be less "super-human" and extraordinary if the system of logic were altered. (See Wright, 1960, for a discussion of this problem which sets the disabled apart from others, especially pp. 57-58.) Although it is impossible to establish a "right" value system, it is possible to see the alternate views held by the disabled and others in our society whose definitions of the situation challenge that presented above,

CONTROL OF CONTINGENCIES AND PERSONAL REWARDS

Goldiamond (1976) wrote of his own approach to disability using the behavior modification approach:

...emotions do not cause behavior, rather, emotions and behavior are governed by contingencies. (p.7)

And the existence of such a contingency relation or its absence was what, from my observation, distinguished those patients whom the staff described as "unmotivated" or "impossible to reach" or, in less charitable moments, as goof-offs. (P.8)

Many patients feel helpless and dependent because they are. They are given medicines which may change their behavior or molds. They are forced into regimens which are tightly timed and controlled by "experts."
They are removed from their everyday world and its supportive friendships and familiarity. In general, they are being manipulated at a very high personal and financial cost. Use of Skinner's "technology of behavior" may be an improvement in man's right to choose his path to "freedom and dignity" (1971). Although there are many possible errors in this approach by another "expert" it does suggest the possibility of setting up alternate institutional structures to serve people who want medical help without the system of logic proposed here.

BELIEF IN AND SUPPORT OF A DIFFERENT TYPE OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Efforts to demand health care as a human right are becoming more widespread. An extension of these demands is the right to a more equal share in the total wealth of a system either through communism or socialism. The present emphasis on work is not only a strain for many disabled because of their limited skills but also because of the discrimination which they face on the job market—which is particularly depressed at present. Rather than continue to fight for meager opportunities and rejection, some people start to reject this system of economics.

REJECTION OF THE WORK ETHIC

With rising expectations of what a job should be like, and questioning the validity of it as a measure of self worth, the "Protestant Ethic" is shaky (Weber, 1958). Efforts to rehabilitate a person for a "workshop" or sheltered care facility are likely to be met with increasing resistance. As one amputee expresses it:

"I lost my legs—I didn't lose my mind. Don't offer to set me up in my apartment with a telephone answering service. You've got to come up with a better answer than that if I've got a trained mind. Don't try to get me to lace leather thongs into baby shoes if I can play a musical instrument, write a book, work toward a college degree, or create anything at all." (Quoted in article, The Star, Oct. 10, 1973)

If medical care is contingent upon the type of institution one enters and the subsequent quality of care one receives—which it is—then those patients who do not share in the "logic" of rehabilitation are likely to receive fewer options and have fewer rights. The process of considering the re-structuring of the programs is beginning to be considered by some:

The counselor must be prepared to deal with a client who demands a self-actualizing occupation or a job-enriched placement, even if such jobs are not available. Such demands
are not necessarily an excuse for not working. They belong to a new work ethic which the disabled are as much entitled to hold as the non-disabled... Young or disadvantaged clients in particular may be more 'choosy' than before, but middle-aged workers could also absorb the new ethic from their children or from fellow workers, or from the public discussion of the work ethic.

Then there will be those whom the 'secular religion of work' has never touched who may find welfare, institutionalization, or crime as a means of survival. (Gilbert, 1973: 16-17)

THE BENEFITS OF BEING DISABLED

This last change in definitions of the situation of disability is purposefully left at the end of the argument. The belief in the negative aspects of disability has become so ingrained in our society that it appears impossible to tamper with this 'universal truth'. This firm assumption that disability is bad, evil, and terrifying can be compared to our response to death which is also being challenged now. Rather than give an analytic discussion, a lengthy quotation by Ed Roberts is included as a presentation of this more favorable approach and empathetic understanding of a disability:

"By saying I enjoy being disabled, I guess I'm trying to counter the negative image of what we are. It's like when we call each other 'crips' or cripples. That's a word like 'nigger' and it's about time to take the sting out of words like that. There are really benefits to being disabled, though. There's the very fact that you've come through a severe trauma. For many, our disabilities have made us very strong. By overcoming tremendous physical inconveniences, whether you're born with them or not, you can gain a real pride in yourself. It's one way to achieve the thing that many people strive for--an inner peace." (Quoted by Downey, 1975: 25)

Further programs of action and entry--real entry, not toleration--are being established and/or fought for by militant disabled groups across the country: demands for reduction of architectural barriers, financial aid for education, vocational training, and placement; communal living facilities rather than isolated, institutional settings staffed by impersonal professionals "helping" a fragmented group of inmates, and acceptance of the disabled as people who demand equal treatment and status in society. A greater control of the hospital and re-
habilitation care system are being demanded as they are being demanded by other neglected consumer groups. All of these mechanisms to change the social structure and definitions of reality are seen as possible methods for reducing "depression" in the physically handicapped. This would therefore substitute a model of social change rather than psychological change as a means of adapting to traumatic physical injuries.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the system of logic supporting a massive industry of physical rehabilitation which affects a large number of people in our society. It has attempted to show, among other things, that applied sociology and the examination of our society within a phenomenological framework can be mutually compatible.

It also illustrates a potentially new definition of reality which is emerging from a group which is structurally and socially marginal in our society. This would be expected from a theoretical understanding of the situation; i.e., their lack of integration into society makes it easier to experience and recognize dysfunctional aspects, but it appears to the author that the establishment of the rehabilitation system was a necessary prerequisite for the development of the consciousness of the disabled as an oppressed group. The presence of other protesting groups such as blacks, chicanos, women, and American Indians also served to create an environment favorable to challenging the social structure and established definitions of it. In addition, the phenomenon of rising expectations made possible through better care and therapies may have brought to light the large discrepancies between what could be possible and what actually was occurring. It is always ironic that improvements in the system increase attacks on it emphasizing the need for reform.
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SHAME AND PUBLIC DEPENDENCY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

All research related to under-utilization of income maintenance programs as well as to their impact on recipients has discovered the presence of stigma. A survey of the pertinent literature points out that much is known about stigmatization but that social welfare has been slow to incorporate this knowledge in any attempt to reduce the destructive effect of stigma on program users. Both liberal and radical reform measures are proposed as remedies.

Being dependent on charity has long carried with it a stigma.\(^1\) It is commonly "known" that the receipt of public aid induces feelings of shame and loss of face in many recipients. However, Titmuss\(^2\) has only recently identified the issue of how to incorporate poor people, especially non-whites, into our societies, and to transfer more resources to them without also generating shame or stigma as one of the major challenges to the formulation and administration of social policy.

The identification of stigmatization as problematic has kindled a renewed interest in its implications, both in the United States and Britain. From this heightened concern has recently come empirical research. The stigmatization of public welfare recipients\(^3\) and the role of stigma as a deterrent to public welfare participation\(^4\) have both been examined. All known research related to the stigmatization of utilizers has found that significant numbers of them do feel stigmatized. In the research which examined the role of stigma as a deterrent, evidence was discovered that stigma deters potentially-eligible individuals from participation in needed programs. Thus, the issue raised by Titmuss has been legitimated by research. The work done, however, has been modest.

The Titmuss call has also been responded to by theory builders. The following section of this paper will review recent theoretical contributions to the general area. The purpose of this review will be
to demonstrate the importance of understanding stigma and its effect on utilizers (actual or potential) of social welfare services.

The stigma effect is of profound significance to social workers, social work educators, and other social welfare providers. Since our programs are stigmatizing, either advertently or inadvertently, policy changes in program implementation are called for. The liberal points of view call for modifications within the present delivery system, the radical for new systems. Both will be examined in the final section.

Theoretical Considerations

General Theory: The stigma effect can be defined as the loss of face, dignity, self-respect, and/or social acceptance which occurs as a result of exposing a personal blemish or handicap. For our purposes, the blemish is poverty or economic dependency.

A more general definition of stigma encompasses a wider scope. The word was introduced by the ancient Greeks. It was used by them ". . . to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier."5 The stigma, cut or burned into the body, labelled the bearer a blemished person. He was to be avoided. Although other layers of meaning, especially psychological ones, have been attached, the reference of the concept has not changed significantly. Until recently, there has been little systematic study of those social conditions which may create the stigma effect, just as there has been only limited interest in clearly defining the concept itself.

The publication in 1963 of Erving Goffman's *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* was a major step toward remedying such deficiencies. According to him:

While the stranger is before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of person available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind—in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive; sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity.6

The possession of a stigma is, according to this definition, paradoxical. That is, does the stigmatized individual assume his
differentness is already known, or does he assume that his stigmatization is not known by others, is not visible to them? The first situation describes the situation of the "discredited," the latter the situation of the "discreditable." 7

Goffman lists three types of stigma: (1) abominations of the body; (2) blemishes of individual character, perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid belief, and dishonesty; and (3) tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion. 8 Those who possess blemishes of individual character are apt to be regarded as social deviants. Their rank could include, among others: prostitutes, drug addicts, delinquents, criminals, bohemians, gypsies, carnival workers, hobos, winos, show people, full-time gamblers, beach dwellers, homosexuals, and the urban unrepentant poor. 9 Following Goffman's logic, additional categories would be radicalized students, hippies, unwed mothers, the unemployed, or public aid recipients.

To compensate for their stigmatized condition, those with a stigma have five possible courses of action:
1. They may agree that they fall short of what they ought to be and surrender in shame.
2. They may attempt to correct what they see as the reason or cause of their failing.
3. They may attempt to "pass" as normal. This is a method chosen by many. Goffman points out that because there are great rewards in being considered normal, almost all persons who are in a position to pass will deliberately do so on some occasion.
4. They may attempt to "cover," to make a strenuous effort to keep their stigma from appearing serious, even though it is revealed.
5. They may attempt to align themselves with others, to affiliate. This alliance may be with normals, with those whom they resemble, or with those who are seen as more stigmatized than they.

Goffman's work covers other dimensions of stigma as well. It is important in that it develops insight about the sociological implications of stigmatization and its effects on individuals.

This insight echoes one of another decade and with a different focus. In 1958, Hughes examined the sociology of work and came to a similar conclusion about its stigmatizing potential. He said:
Every occupation is not one but several activities; some of them are the 'dirty work' of that trade. It may be dirty in one of several ways. It may be simply physically disgusting. It may be a symbol of degradation, something that wounds one's dignity. 10

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But what makes such work dirty or stigmatizing? It is not the work or task itself that stigmatizes the janitor. Rather, it is the tenant who is the source of the janitor's discomfort. That which is disgusting about his work is related to the estimation of him and his work by the other actors in his work drama.11

Thus, the blemish is social in significance. Poverty or blindness or homosexuality is not a curse or stigma in and of itself. Rather, it is the evaluation of others that produces the stigmatizing effect, the "spoiled identity." That evaluation and its receipt is the result of an interactional process. The intra-personal effect depends on a social judgment, transmitted by others to the person being stigmatized.

Stigma confrontation is a new concept, recently introduced by Humphreys.12 It is relevant to this discussion. Adding to the ideas of Goffman, Humphreys explains the militancy of certain oppressed (stigmatized) groups during the 1960's. He labels such militancy, or politicization, as stigma confrontation, movements to confront society with a refusal to internalize the negative connotations of the stigma. He suggests two modes:

1. Stigma conversion: the emerging from a stigmatized condition as a transformed creature, one characterized by the development of political or ideological strength.13

2. Stigma redemption: the claiming of moral dividends as a side-product of enduring deprivation by demanding reparation for suffering endured.14 According to Humphreys, this is a method long used by the economically disadvantaged, especially in Appalachia and the rural South. The National Welfare Rights Organization in the 1960's, seen in this perspective, was an exercise in stigma confrontation.

The final contribution impinging on this coverage of the literature of general stigma theory is that of Burton Weisbrod. His ideas, though largely untested, are significant in that he introduces the notion of variable stigma costs, or the possibility of gradations of stigma being experienced by persons accepting benefits from incremental aid programs for which they are eligible.15

At a most general level, the approach suggests that a change in the stigma cost will change the quantity of welfare aid demanded, as will a change in the magnitude of benefits. It also suggests that tradeoffs are possible; there may be a decrease in the stigma cost that will have the same impact on program utilization—the number of eligible persons who actually participate in the program—as will a particular increase in the amount of benefits.16

It is Weisbrod who shifts attention from the untested general stigma theories to the researchable relationship between variable stigma
costs and utilization of public aid programs. In seeking a new and better understanding of the incremental role played by stigma in the field of social welfare, his efforts link general theory with utilization behavior.

Social Welfare: In even the most primitive societies, exchange systems exist. They are the means by which members of a society interact or barter over the transfer of goods, money, status, knowledge, prestige, and the like. All exchanges are not identical. According to Titmuss, a distinction must be made between the grant, the gift, the unilateral transfer, and the mutual exchange or bilateral transfer. The former he views as occurring in the social market, the latter in the economic market.17

Robert Pinker, a contemporary British sociologist, says:
All social services are systems of exchange. Their central problem regarding conflict and discord is the problem of equivalency, because the relationship between a giver and a receiver is always inherently an unstable and unequal one. While a minority of people go so far as to make vocations out of either service or dependency, most of us prefer a measure of equivalency in our relationships.18

Pinker's description of social services (non-market health, housing, educational, income maintenance, and personal social service provisions) as exchange systems is a landmark contribution to social theory. It opens the intellectual door to clarifying why social services are, indeed, stigmatizing. In the unequal relationships he refers to, givers may seek to enhance, to self-aggrandize themselves, at the expense of the receivers, who are apt to feel resentment and degradation— that is, stigmatization— as a result of the inherent imbalance in the system of exchange.19

Pinker takes into account the fact that demands for social welfare appear to increase in industrialized societies despite the fact that people learn to feel revulsed because of their dependency.20 He maintains that this can be explained by the fact that, although stigma may interfere with social welfare utilization, basic needs (hunger and shelter) often regulate the behavior of the individual more than do cultural control systems. Even though few people starve in today's industrialized societies, the fear of hunger may cause the poor to apply for assistance in spite of the stigma which may be applied.

Not only does Pinker describe social services as exchange systems, thereby explaining their stigmatizing function, but he also offers the unilateral model to further clarify the relationships between exchanges,
social services, and stigma. To this model, he adds three qualifications, intended to add to the understanding of the differential roles of stigma in social welfare: depth, time and distance.

1. Depth: the intensity with which the recipients regard their stigmatization or are made to feel it. Different social statuses attract different degrees of stigma. Those who are seen as receiving restitution for earlier services or those who are viewed as apt to offer a future service tend to be assigned higher statuses and would feel less stigma.

2. Time: the longer the persons will be in a dependent position, the more likely they are to redefine themselves in terms of the stigma.

3. Distance: the more socially distant the possible recipients are from the givers, the less are they likely to receive. Caste systems and the confining of people to institutions both increase social and spatial distance, thereby reducing the likelihood of effective social service administering.

Pinker's model has great utility for social welfare. It views social services as unilateral exchange systems, thus explaining the function of stigma: to create feelings of obligation, inequality, and guilt in users and, in the long run, to inhibit service utilization. The model also hypothesizes about differential stigma impacts, introducing the opportunity for empirical investigation. Most important, stigma is removed from the abstract and placed in sociological juxtaposition to social welfare utilization. Pinker's exchange system theories supplement Goffman's notions about the interactional nature of the process of stigmatization.

The work of Matza makes further connections between stigmatization and social welfare. His concern is with the eradication of disreputable poverty, which he sees as a profound challenge. He states,

When demoralization has set in, when the poor become disreputable, our deficiencies are of capacity and knowledge as well as of will. The disreputable poor may be considered--indeed, they may be defined--as that limited section of the poor whose moral and social condition is relatively impervious to economic growth and progress.

The disreputable poor are difficult to define, according to him. They are not the "worthy poor," those deemed "deserving and morally acceptable. They are not the routine "welfare poor." They are the "hard core," further yet along on a continuum of disrepute. They possess the "moral defects of demoralization and immorality." These are the unique blemishes of the disreputable poor.

Obviously, the disreputable poor are the seriously stigmatized poor. Matza points out that inherent in all conditions of poverty is
an element of disrepute, especially for those who are receiving aid. Yet not all of those who are poor are indeed disreputable to the extent that they are seen as outsiders, unworthy, and immoral. Those who are truly disreputable are immersed in cultural as well as economic poverty.

Matza suggests several categories of disreputable poor, including:
1. The dregs: persons born into poverty but left behind by upwardly-mobile populations.
2. Newcomers: recent arrivals, including both migrants and emigrants.
3. Skidders: those who have fallen or slipped from higher social classes.
4. The infirm: those made disreputable by age, injury or illness.

Excessive stigmatization, or the persistent demeaning of the poor, contributes to the process of pauperization, which terminates in disreputable poverty. The final result of that process is when the disreputable poor develop the same views of themselves as society has of them: outcasts, unworthy, denigrated, and failures. At that point, they make final adaptation to their condition.

It is at this juncture that the works of Coffman, Pinker, and Matza converge. Coffman has described the process, Pinker the sociological rationale, and Matza the possible outcome or end result. Stigma is the common thread. The loss of face brought on by economic dependency, socially reinforced and functionally employed to maintain class and social discrepancies, results in disreputable poverty or pauperization.

It has been stated already that stigma has long been a concern of social welfare providers, many of whom are wittingly or unwittingly involved in the process of stigmatization themselves. Stevenson's recent analysis of England's unsuccessful struggle to reduce stigma in its social welfare efforts serves as an example. That analysis stresses the intractability of stigma in the face of reform efforts. Her point is clear:

The improbability of this (reduction in stigmatization of claimants) taking place reflects society's unwillingness to accept fully and unequivocally the responsibility of the stranger to support the weaker or, indeed, to agree a definition [sic] of 'weaker,' with the possible exception of the elderly.

The radical analysis of social welfare in a capitalist society is germane to this discussion. That analysis views social welfare services as contributing to the maintenance of the societal status quo, as
social control devices, serving the interests of a corporate ruling class. Stigma in this analysis is one means by which social discrepancies are perpetuated. Blemished individuals somehow "deserve second-class status." They do not generate feelings of compassion and concern in the non-stigmatized segments of society. They are sapped of energies which might enable them to collectively and individually work to alter their stigmatized status. Indifference and social isolation are tolerated. The process of stigmatization blunts the need for change and renders inactivity acceptable.

Positive approaches are required to alter this process. Negative sanctions reinforce that which they are ostensibly intended to combat. It requires little awareness of social welfare history to conclude that positive approaches have been rare. What has been commonplace have been those activities which have frequently made intolerable the receipt of public aid. Whether the intent of such policy is deliberate or not, those taking assistance have been rendered non-citizens. Stigma has served the function of maintaining socioeconomic inequality.

Implications

The receipt of social welfare benefits carries with it a stigma. The status of recipients, therefore, is inherently degrading. Being dependent upon society places one in an unequal relationship, one in which the donor is superior to the recipient. The obvious solution is to change the balance of such a relationship. However, the stigmatizing of recipients has persisted tenaciously. Despite periodic cries for reform, along with the identification of stigma as a culprit, social policies related to public dependency have changed only with the greatest effort.

Pinker maintains that the approach suggested by many social welfare liberals (universal social service programs, which make services available to all) is not necessarily the vanguard of reform. According to him, universal programs will not necessarily be any more effective than residual (selective) programs in combating stigma because neither attacks the basic problem, which is society's reluctance to enter into bilateral relationships with dependent individuals. Universalism and selectivity are "academic perceptions of social reality" which do not correlate highly with the attitudes of the greater society, including recipients.

Meanwhile, the effect of stigma on recipients (described in its extreme by Matza) as well as its effect as a deterrent to potential recipients is unchecked. Sizable numbers of eligibles refuse to apply for benefits, preferring a marginal existence to public loss of face.
Others, unable to resist, receive benefits at the risk of disreputability.

The liberal solution to this situation is to modify existing programs, to reduce the stigma potential. Thus, "benefits by right," the humanization of bureaucracies, the separation of income aid from counseling services, the reorganizing of social services are offered as remedies. These modifications are not, of course, to be denigrated. Their intent is to soften the stigma impact. Yet they do little to alter the attitudes of society at large. They do not change the basic inequality inherent in the unilateral relationships of one-sided giving and receiving. Thus, their ability to ameliorate the stigmatizing impact of our major programs may be minimal.

Radical solutions call for structural alterations. Two are suggested for consideration.

1. Out of Humphreys come the stigma confrontation tactics. In these approaches, the disenfranchised or the stigmatized are assisted in their quest for reputation through collective action. Stigma can be overcome through politicized group activity. Thus, welfare recipients would be encouraged to form or participate in a National Welfare Rights Organization, homosexuals in a liberation movement, former convicts in a convicts' rights organization. Out of mutual concern and organization comes the power to force society to re-examine its attitudes or to capitulate, regardless of attitudinal shifts. These and other consciousness-raising movements are proliferating in this society at present; unfortunately, social welfare practitioners are not generally favorable to or intimately involved with them.

2. Out of the stigmatizing propensity of the means test (the chief target of the universalists) comes the need to abolish the means-tested public aid delivery system and to replace it with another, Pinker notwithstanding. The latent functions of public welfare have already been pointed out by Piven and Cloward and others; their goal is the destruction of the present system. The new system, perhaps a negative income tax or a family demogrant, would make a given amount of income available to all, regardless of need. Benefits would be provided mechanically. A depersonalized approach would be stressed, with little to no personal interaction between donor and donee. Local discretion would be minimized; financing would be based on a progressive income tax. Administration (including benefit levels and other standards) would be federalized. The need for a small residual program would persist. However, the bulk of public dependency could be handled according to new rules.
Stigmatization can be reduced, but only if the necessary structural changes are made. Because of the omnipresence of inequality in unilateral systems of exchange, interactions which generate indebtedness and obligation, new structures are called for. An active role in stigma elimination tactics for social welfare seems indicated if the re-structuring of the delivery system or the invention of another is to occur.  


6Ibid., pp. 2-3.

7Ibid., p. 4.

8Ibid., pp. 4-5.
9Ibid., pp. 143-44.


11Ibid., pp. 50-51.


13Ibid., p. 142.


16Ibid., pp. 1-2.


19Pinker's exact words are important: "Our major premise is akin to a psychological proposition, namely, that in systems of exchange it is always less prestigious to receive than to give. The main hypotheses put forward in the model are that a significant proportion of citizens draw a sharp distinction between the welfare roles of 'giver' and 'receiver'; that exchange relationships in the public welfare sector are more stigmatizing than those pertaining in the private sector; but that all such exchange relationships are inherently stigmatizing in so far as they involve common cultural and biological factors defining and relating to dependency in industrial societies." Ibid., p. 170.

20Ibid., p. 168.

21For Pinker's review, see Ibid, pp. 170-75.

23Ibid., p. 620.

24Ibid., pp. 644-54.


26Stevenson, op. cit., p. 19.

27Pinker, op. cit., p. 166.


INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS PARAPROFESSIONALS:  
AN EMPIRICAL COMPARISON

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a comparative description of indigenous and non-indigenous paraprofessionals who were employed in a social service capacity in a large urban setting. Personal interviews were conducted with 88 paraprofessionals employed by the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services (Atlanta, Ga.). The primary variables discussed include an assessment of the respondent's background, their present employment situation, experience with and attitudes toward welfare and general attitudinal measures. The results provide a basic demographic profile of the indigenous and non-indigenous paraprofessional and indicate their differing characteristics. Briefly, the indigenous respondents were less anomie, felt more efficacious in terms of helping clients, had a less favorable stance toward welfare, had less training and were considerably more satisfied with their job than were their non-indigenous counterparts. Additionally, the implications of these findings and considerations which need to be explored in future research are discussed.

As a result of federal legislation, the use of paraprofessional personnel in social work has become a widespread phenomenon. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided for the development of local community action programs and stated such programs were to be "developed, conducted, and administered with maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served." The subsequent 1967 Social Security Amendment further explicated the Economic Opportunity Act by specifically requiring that states include subprofessionals on staffs of public welfare agencies. The use of subprofessionals in social service agencies had a history prior to
becoming a legislative mandate. Levinson and Schiller (1966:95-101) and Epstein (1962:66-72), for example, have reported that nonprofessionals have been utilized in such diverse contexts as the Travellers' Aid Society, U.S. Army mental hygiene clinics, child welfare agencies and multi-service agencies for the aged. Our purpose here is to provide a comparative description of indigenous and non-indigenous paraprofessionals who were employed in a social service capacity in a large urban setting (Atlanta, Ga.). The continued utilization of paraprofessionals without examining their effectiveness, experiences, and qualifications is unwarranted. While little research of an evaluative nature has been forthcoming, a growing body of literature is available which documents the utilization of paraprofessionals.

INDIGENOUS PARAPROFESSIONALS

The indigenous paraprofessional is utilized because of the many characteristic attitudes he has gained through experiencing a life of poverty similar to that of the clients he is serving. He typically has a social history similar to that of the client, facilitating rapport and providing a valuable link between the client and the agency (Brager, 1965:34; Otis, 1965:14). Additionally, being a peer of the client allows the indigenous worker to circumvent the interclass role distance difficulties that often arise between the middle class oriented social worker and lower class clients (Riessman, 1965:28). Furthermore, an ability to communicate with the client as a peer allows the indigenous worker to serve as a bridge between the client and the service agency and provides an increased awareness of the problems and needs of the poor (Hardcastle, 1971:57; Otis, 1965:14).

It has also been reported that those special inherent qualities possessed by indigenous personnel can expedite the functions of penetration and co-optation. Brager and Otis have found that welfare recipients are willing to provide personal information to indigenous workers that is not readily obtained by professionals (Brager, 1965:37; Otis, 1965:14). Brager (1965:38) and Hardcastle (1971:56) also suggest that community militancy may be "cooled off" by utilizing the special skills possessed by indigenous workers.

Indigenous paraprofessionals also provide a valuable source of manpower sorely needed in the field of social work. They demand and receive less pay and can perform certain menial and technical tasks that have been forced upon professionals due to personnel shortages (Gartner, 1971:58-9).

NON-INDIGENOUS PARAPROFESSIONALS

The utilization of non-indigenous paraprofessionals resulted primarily from a serious manpower shortage experienced by most social welfare agencies during the 1960s (Heyman, 1961:36; Weed & Denham, 1961:29;
Farrar and Hemmy, 1965:44). These employees function as auxiliary personnel providing manpower to accomplish tasks which do not normally require the skills of a trained professional social worker. Typically these paraprofessionals aid the professional social worker by performing routine, non-complex and visible tasks which have well-defined parameters. Also they handle assignments where the problem is specific and the service concrete (Epstein, 1962:71). For example, paraprofessionals routinely determine AFDC continuing eligibility, based on specific identified guidelines as contrasted with the more complex and judgmental initial eligibility determination which is performed by the professional social worker. Within this framework, the paraprofessionals serve less vulnerable clients and perform their duties with less autonomy than their professional supervisors (Richan, 1961:28).

In addition to providing auxiliary manpower, these positions provide entry-level jobs from which one can gain valuable working experience and, given certain qualifications, the non-indigenous worker can be promoted to a higher job classification. As these positions are filled with persons having an undergraduate degree and in some cases with persons having only two years of college, it follows that agency expenditures for these persons are far less than if professional social workers were employed.2

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In response to the 1967 Social Security Amendment legislation, Fulton County (Atlanta, Georgia) initiated a program in July, 1969 to employ paraprofessional personnel. During the spring of 1973, 88 of the 91 paraprofessionals employed by the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services were interviewed. A 45 minute personal interview was conducted at the respondent's office and included an assessment of the respondent's background, his (her) present employment situation, experience with and attitudes toward welfare and general attitudinal measures. The respondents were classified into four positions: community worker (N=8), home service aid (N=17), casework intern (N=12), and casework aid (N=51). To facilitate this evaluation and to generate comparative data, the respondents were divided into two groups for analytical purposes: (1) Indigenous paraprofessionals—those persons holding the job title of community worker or home service aid. These individuals were recruited directly from the target neighborhood and no qualifying examination or educational level of attainment was required. (2) Non-indigenous paraprofessionals—those persons holding the job title of casework intern or casework aid. They were required to score satisfactorily on a qualifying examination; the interns were college graduates while the aids had attended at least two years of college.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 indicates that the indigenous and non-indigenous paraprofessionals differ rather markedly across all of the characteristics summarized. The indigenous paraprofessionals can be characterized as persons who have, at some time, lived under similar conditions as those experienced by their clients. To a great extent the indigenous paraprofessionals are still closely associated with the environment of poverty due to their income, social contacts with clients and residence in low income neighborhoods. A brief characterization of the indigenous paraprofessional is that of a black female, 32 years of age, who has completed eleven or twelve years of education and must support three to four dependents on a low salary. On the other hand, the non-indigenous paraprofessional can be characterized as a white female who has completed at least two years of college, 24 years of age and has only herself to support. Very few of the non-indigenous paraprofessionals have received welfare benefits and an analysis of additional information not presented in Table 1 also revealed that few live in low income neighborhoods or have social contact with the client.

Further examination of Table 1 indicates that the non-indigenous personnel exhibited a slightly more favorable stance toward welfare than the indigenous respondents. While such a finding may seem contradictory, it is consistent with other studies in this area. That is, if we assume that the non-indigenous subjects more closely hold the views of the general public than do the indigenous subjects, we would expect the latter to have an orientation similar to welfare recipients. Kallen and Miller, for example, interviewed 300 non-welfare respondents in Baltimore and reported a weak approval of welfare with the majority expressing ambivalence (Kallen & Miller, 1971:87). A further study of the general public conducted in California concluded that "the most significant finding was that support for public welfare--both as a concept and a program in abstract and concrete terms--far outweighed opposition (Ogren, 1973:107). Moreover, Scott Briar's (1966:370-85) study of California welfare recipients found the respondents to be conservative and generally anti-welfare. Comparing the attitude toward welfare scale distribution of the Atlanta paraprofessionals as a whole with a sample of 570 Atlanta welfare recipients (Elifson et al., 1975:186-98), one is able to discern a tendency for the paraprofessionals to indicate slightly more intense pro-welfare statements than the recipients themselves. One plausible explanation for this result is that paraprofessional workers as a group may be more sympathetic with the problems of those persons receiving welfare and, therefore, tend to respond favorably to some aspects of the welfare program to which even the respondents themselves would object.

Anomie was assessed with the five item Srole anomie scale and reflects an individual's feelings of efficacy or inefficacy in his attempts to cope with his social environment. The items are constructed in such a way that the higher the score on the composite scale, the more intense are a person's feelings of powerlessness and pessimism. These
feelings are often regarded as consequences of a disfunction between means and goals available to the individual attempting to deal with his life circumstances. The inapplicability of available means to sought after goals often exists as a structural condition affecting certain segments of the society and is thought to be especially prevalent among low income individuals (Bullough, 1967:469-78). Table 1 surprisingly indicates that the non-indigenous personnel are considerably more anomic than the indigenous sample. We had hypothesized the opposite, but the benefit of hindsight and information concerning the job situation of the respective groups allows us to better understand the finding. Indeed, having considered Table 2, we would contend that the extent of anomie apparent among the non-indigenous employees may partially reflect a general disenchantment with their job situation.

Examining Table 2 more systematically, we find that nearly all (92%) of the indigenous respondents had been employed in their present positions over one year, whereas only 41 percent of the non-indigenous workers had been employed a similar period of time. Furthermore, a majority of all the paraprofessionals (not shown) indicated that they sought employment with the Department of Family and Children's Services (DFCS) after accidentally learning of a job opening. Only a few respondents indicated they had purposefully sought out a job with their present employer. Respondents who sought specific assignments with DFCS were persons who desired particular social work job experience or persons who had related experience with another agency.

Less than half (44%) of the indigenous subjects reported having received training in conjunction with their job, while 81 percent of the non-indigenous workers received training. Hypothetically, both groups were to have attended staff development programs. When asked to evaluate the training relative to the tasks actually performed in conjunction with their job, 51.3 percent of the casework aids and 27.3 percent of the interns who received training rated their training as either inadequate or very inadequate (not shown). On the other hand, respondents identified as community workers or home service aids who received training all considered the training adequate or very adequate.

The remaining items summarized in Table 2 are strikingly consistent for each respective group. The indigenous workers had overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward their value to the client and agency and are very satisfied with their jobs. In contrast the non-indigenous respondents are not nearly as positive in their evaluation of these topics. To explicate this disparity the "helper" therapy principle will be considered (Riessman, 1965:28). Briefly stated, this principle proposes that people with a problem help other people who have the same problem in a more severe form (e.g., Alcoholics Anonymous and Synanon). Riessman (1965:28) points out that often in this type of therapeutic process it is the dispenser of help who shows marked improvement rather than the recipients. More specifically, a variant of this principle is found in

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the work of indigenous paraprofessionals. Since most of the indigenous
workers are either former or present welfare recipients, it is quite
likely that placing them in a helping role can provide a rehabilitative
function. Engaging in a helping occupation enhances the self-image of
low-income persons; it provides them with psychological support, and
they themselves report considerable satisfaction in their jobs (Brager,
1965:33). Additionally, as the indigenous workers benefit from their
new helping roles, they may actually become more effective workers and
thus provide more help to others at a new level (Riessman, 1965:28).
From this discussion it seems plausible that an enhanced self-concept and
a feeling of productivity and purpose, resulting from the helping role,
can help explain the indigenous paraprofessionals' belief in their
efficacy to client and agency. Concomitant with this belief is the
overwhelming positive attitude toward satisfaction with their job as
reflected by the last two items in Table 2.

On the other hand, the consistently lower attitudinal scores of the
non-indigenous workers may be seen as resulting from an interaction of
several variables. These employees are generally from a higher socio-
economic background than their indigenous counterparts and this important
difference may preclude the functioning of the helper therapy principle.
An important premise of this principle is that a person with a problem,
here defined as poverty, helps others who have the same problem in a
more severe form. Since the non-indigenous employees have not experienced
poverty at all, or to the same extent as their clients, it is probable
that they would not benefit from the helping role in the same sense as
the indigenous worker. Also, as the non-indigenous workers have a
different socio-economic history and its resultant life expectations,
it is likely their job has a social meaning quite different from the
indigenous workers. For the non-indigenous person, the paraprofessional
position may represent an intervening step in their overall career plans
or it may simply be "just another job." In contrast, the indigenous
paraprofessional's job probably has a more immediate and pragmatic
meaning. It has been suggested that positive attitudes toward their job
most likely reflects an appreciation of being off the unemployment or
welfare rolls and having the opportunity to be trained for a new career

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

While the need for continued utilization of paraprofessionals within
social service agencies is generally accepted, few efforts have been made
to examine their participation systematically. The findings in this
paper are far from conclusive and limited in generalizability; however,
we do believe that they should be carefully considered when evaluating
paraprofessionals. The authors have sought to provide a comparative
examination of the indigenous and non-indigenous paraprofessional in a
large urban setting. First, we have presented baseline empirical data on
the general demographic characteristics of both groups and found them to differ markedly. A basic profile was developed and proved useful in analyzing the additional differences between the two groups with respect to selected social psychological attitudes and their assessment of the context in which they worked. Briefly, the indigenous respondents were less anomic, felt more efficacious in terms of helping clients, had a less favorable stance toward welfare, had less training, and were considerably more satisfied with their job than were their non-indigenous counterparts. The most important and striking finding was the overwhelming positive attitude toward their job by the indigenous personnel. Several explanations were considered which were linked both to the characteristics of the respective paraprofessional and to the nature of the work context.

Our findings suggest several considerations which need to be explored in future research. First, does the significantly higher job satisfaction exhibited by the indigenous workers in this Atlanta sample necessarily imply that they are more effective than the non-indigenous workers? That is, what role does job satisfaction play in a paraprofessional's ability to effectively serve the client and agency? Second, it has been suggested that certain job contexts are more compatible with one type of paraprofessional than the other; however, little empirical research has been conducted. Or is one type of paraprofessional unilaterally more effective than the other across all contexts? For social service administrators to utilize the various paraprofessionals' particular skills in the most productive manner, an evaluation of their respective strengths and weaknesses is warranted. Furthermore, such an inquiry must consider the differing background characteristics within the indigenous or non-indigenous categories. In short, we must begin to carefully match the unique contributions each can make to agency efforts to more effectively serve the client population.

FOOTNOTES

* Partial support for this research was provided by Social and Rehabilitation Services Contract OS-R-4-72-21 with the Atlanta Urban League, Inc.

1. Social Security Amendment of 1967, Title 45, Chapter II, Part 220, Subpart 220.6 and 220.7.
2. The creation of the intern position appears to be an attempt to alter the racial composition of the agency through opening job opportunities to minorities.
3. The Kallen and Miller attitude toward welfare scale contains 11 items with a possible range of 11 (unfavorable) to 55 (favorable). The
indigenous scores ranged from 17 to 39 while the non-indigenous scores ranged from 26 to 42. See Kallen and Miller (1971:86).

4. The welfare recipients and paraprofessionals discussed above were included in a larger study of the welfare system in Atlanta conducted by the Atlanta Urban League.

5. The Srole anomie scale contains five items with a possible range of 5 (low anomie) to 25 (high anomie). The indigenous scores ranged from 6 to 19 and the non-indigenous scores ranged from 7 to 22. See Srole (1956:712-13).

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Richan, W. C.

Reissman, F.

Srole, L.

Weed, V., and W. H. Denham
### TABLE 1

Characteristics of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Paraprofessionals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Indigenous (N=25)</th>
<th>Non-Indigenous (N=63)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent Female</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Black</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Age</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Years of Education</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Number of Dependents</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Family Income</td>
<td>$4850.00</td>
<td>$9100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Previously on Welfare</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Presently on Welfare</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Attitude Toward Welfare Scoreb</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Srole Anomie Score</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aTests of significance are not reported as 96.7 percent of the individuals in the sampling frame were interviewed, thus, the sample is assumed to be essentially equivalent to the population.

b(Kallen, D. J., and D. Miller, 1971:86).

c(Srole, L., 1956:712-13).
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent employed in present position over one year</td>
<td>92.0%</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent who received training</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent believing they have power to assist clients</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent believing they are important in obtaining agency's goals</td>
<td>91.0%</td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent enjoying their present job more than their previous job</td>
<td>93.3%&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>61.5%&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent satisfied with their present job</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>These percentages are based on 15 and 39 cases, respectively, as a sizeable proportion of the sample had no previous full-time work experience.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Characteristics of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Paraprofessionals</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent employed in present position over one year</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent enjoying their present job more than their previous job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent satisfied with their present job</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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