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# Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare

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EDITORIAL NOTES

As a believer in the value of the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare from its inception and a long-time crusader for interdisciplinary communication, I assume the editorship with special pleasure and trepidation. I'm pleased to be able to take a larger role in something that has survived for over six years in a vital but difficult area, and I know how hard it has been and will be to continue operation in an era when more people are building walls than are opening windows.

We've made it this far because of the vision and drive of Norm Goroff, backed by Ralph Segalman and a small band of dreamers assembled at the Society for the Study of Social Problems. I'm happy to report that Norm will continue to oversee publications at the University of Connecticut and that the Editorial Board has a solid core of dedicated and helpful people.

Western Michigan University will make an important contribution to the Journal because, for the first time, we will be jointly sponsored by a Department of Sociology and a School of Social Work. I'm hopeful that this will give substantive as well as symbolic meaning to our aim of furthering useful communication between these two fields and thus closing the gap between theory and practice. I have an office both places and manuscripts and correspondence may be sent to either address. There is a rare spirit of cooperation here that I hope will endure long after the arrival of my first phone bill.

You can help me and the Journal by taking a few minutes to tell me how you, as subscribers and knowledge consumers, think the Journal is doing. How well are we serving you; how could we do better? Comments on substance, format, cost, and periodicity would all be welcome.

Several things were discussed at the Editorial Board meeting in August that may interest you. The first is of interest to authors. Making reprints available to authors has been rather difficult because of the way we print the Journal. Some, including me, have found it impossible to get any. The Board decided to have fifty reprints run at the time the Journal is originally printed and request that authors order some or all of these at two cents a page. This way authors can be assured of reprints immediately; and, if at least half order the full amount, we can break even financially.
The second matter is important to us all. Richard Cloward has been denied an appointment to the Brandeis University faculty despite the unanimous recommendation of the Florence Heller Graduate School. The basis of rejection, it seems, was insufficient scholarship. Now perhaps Brandeis administrators have higher standards than the distinguished Heller School faculty. Perhaps they have higher standards than the Society for the Study of Social Problems, which honored Cloward with the C. Wright Mills Award. Perhaps they attribute Cloward's scholarly accomplishments to his frequent co-author, Frances Fox Piven, thus bringing us to a new and unexpected landmark in the history of sexism. But it is also possible that the Brandeis administrators just don't like the conclusions that Cloward's scholarship led him to. If that can happen in a leading university with a longstanding commitment to free and diverse inquiry, the next decade is going to be truly frightening for producers and consumers of new knowledge.
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Dr. Marver Bernstein, President
Brandeis University
Waltham, Mass.

Dear Dr. Bernstein,

The Board of Editors of the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare meeting in Boston on August 24th learned that Dr. Richard Cloward was denied appointment to the Heller School faculty despite the unanimous recommendation of that school's faculty.

There can be little doubt that Dr. Cloward is a scholar of international renown. His scholarship and contributions to the field of sociology and social welfare is unsurpassed by any contemporary scholar. No one writing in Social Welfare can avoid dealing with his contributions. He has won the C. Wright Mills Award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems. His theoretical contributions to "Mobilization For Youth" and the subsequent "national war on poverty" is well known.

His current work on deviance has been hailed by Dr. Robert Merton as a major contribution.

Your decision not to honor the unanimous recommendation of the Heller School faculty raises very serious questions regarding the academic integrity of Brandeis University and its avowed commitment to academic excellence and "truth to its innermost parts." It is virtually impossible to accept the conclusion that Dr. Cloward's appointment was denied on the grounds of lack of scholarship. Because there is so much at stake for the profession, the academy and for freedom in our society, we urge you to reconsider your decision regarding the appointment of Dr. Richard Cloward.

Sincerely yours,

Norman N. Goroff
Editor and Publisher

September 4, 1979
Note: NEW EDITOR

For Volumes 7, 8, 9 — 1980, 1981, 1982

ROBERT D. LEIGHNINGER, JR.
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SEND ALL MANUSCRIPTS TO:
New Editor

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AGENCY ENVIRONMENT ON CLINICAL PRACTICE*

Anthony N. Maluccio
University of Connecticut
School of Social Work

ABSTRACT

In an in-depth, exploratory study of their perception of treatment in a family service agency, it was found that clients stressed the impact of the agency's social and physical environment on the helping process and its outcome. Workers, in contrast, took the environment for granted or had little to say about it. This paper discusses these findings and selected practice implications.

It has long been recognized that an agency's physical and social environment influences the nature and quality of services provided by its staff. Social work theorists with diverse orientations to practice have stressed that the agency setting should be viewed as an important part of the therapeutic process (cf. Hollis, 1972; Perlman, 1957; and Small, 1967). However, the

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specific nature and extent of these influences have not been clearly understood or considered fully. In particular, there has been limited exploration of clients' views regarding the impact of the agency environment on the service.

As we are increasingly realizing, feedback from clients can be useful in suggesting practice implications and issues for further investigation. In this paper I therefore discuss the views of clients and workers regarding the role of the agency environment in clinical practice. In so doing, I draw upon selected findings from an in-depth study of client and worker perception of treatment in a family service agency (Maluccio, 1979).

NATURE OF STUDY

The purpose of the overall study was to learn how clients and workers view their interaction, their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it, and the factors influencing its course and outcome.

The study was carried out at a mid-sized sectarian, multi-function family service agency located in an urban area in the northeastern United States. The agency is comparable to most member agencies of the Family Service Association of America in respect to size, staff and programs. The research focused on its counseling program.

The study used an exploratory research design. Data were collected primarily in qualitative form through individual, in-depth interviews with a randomly selected sample of 33 adult clients (in 25 cases) and their social workers soon after termination of the service.¹

¹Clients agreed to participate in the research in 25 of the 28 cases contacted. For details on sample selection and other aspects of the study's methodology, see Maluccio (1979:24-46).
The sample was representative of the client population at the agency. The majority of clients were white, married, Catholic women under the age of 40 who came from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and who had sought help with marital or parent-child problems. Most of them had completed at least high school, and nearly half had attended college. The duration of contact with the agency was less than six months for over two-thirds of the clients. The number of treatment interviews ranged from 1 to 45, with the average being 10.

Each of the 11 social workers who were active in the agency's counseling program participated in the study. All were employed by the agency on a full-time basis. All but one held M.S.W. degrees and had majored in casework. The exception was a B.A. level worker with extensive practice experience. As a group, the workers were highly experienced, with years of post-M.S.W. employment ranging from two to twenty.

The interviews with clients as well as practitioners were held soon after termination of the service. I conducted all of the interviews with clients and with practitioners, in their homes and offices respectively. I had no prior information about the client other than his or her name and address. First I interviewed the client and then, a few days later, his or her worker. By plan, I did not share with the worker anything that the client had told me, in order to maintain confidentiality as well as avoid influencing the workers' responses.

With clients as well as practitioners, I used an interview guide covering content areas related to each phase of the helping process and its outcome. The interviews included both open-ended questions asked of all

2 Employed the focused interview delineated by Mer- ton, Fiske, and Kendall (1956). For full copies of the interview guides with clients and social workers, see Maluccio (1979:220-233).
respondents and specific questions probing into the client's or worker's views, impressions, feelings, and perceptions. Essentially the same questions were asked of clients and practitioners. Typical questions pertaining to the agency environment were:

"What did you think about the agency as a whole?"

"What did you think about the appearance of the agency?"

"What could be done to make people feel more comfortable in going to an agency such as this?"

All interviews were taped. Data were analyzed through the "inspection" procedure described by Blumer (1969) for use in qualitative research.3

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Over two-thirds of the clients offered positive comments about the agency's social environment, that is, the agency's staff, social climate or atmosphere. Representative remarks were:

We got a very warm reception.
Everyone was friendly.
Very pleasant people.
They were all ready to help you.
The lady at the front desk was so pleasant.
They always seemed so glad to see me.
You didn't feel like a cog in a wheel.

3The essence of this procedure is the intensive, focused examination of the empirical material relating to the "analytical elements" or concepts and variables being studied.
Several more detailed quotes from clients follow:

**Miss Kraft:** It was good the way they handled it. Well, you didn't have to go through a lot of rigmarole like in a hospital. You didn't have to talk to many different people ... fill out a thousand forms ... You didn't have to wait forever to see the counselor once you got there. They made you feel good ... They were paying attention just to you.

**Miss Appel:** In the beginning I wondered why they were always so nice to me ... why everyone I met in the hall smiled at me ... I thought that maybe they felt sorry for me ... but then I realized that they really liked me ...

**Mrs. Donnelly:** The waiting room when you first go in - I thought that was excellent ... They have things to do which is good - you know, it calmed people down a little bit before they went upstairs ... They were very, very nice, especially the girl at the desk when you first go in ... She is a very, very likable person and she's just the receptionist. You see, right there, it's like they have an open door ... If I had gotten a cold feeling, I probably wouldn't have gone upstairs or never finished.

Even people who were dissatisfied with the service or its outcome had positive impressions of the agency as a whole. For example, one of the clients who dropped out said:

**Mrs. Norton:** They were very nice, not like other places I've been to. In my life I've been to a lot of welfare places and hospitals where you feel like they don't want to talk to you no-how ... Here they treat you like a real person ... like someone who has feelings ... They don't act like you're there just because it's free.
As seen in the above excerpts, clients expressed a variety of favorable comments about the agency's staff and climate. A recurring theme was comparison of the agency with other community systems such as hospitals and welfare agencies; clients contrasted the agency's warm climate with the impersonal or dehumanizing quality of larger bureaucratic organizations. Other key themes pertained to the friendliness of staff members, their readiness to be of help, and the feeling that clients were regarded as individuals.

Workers, on the other hand, had little to say about the agency's social environment, frequently indicating that they had not considered its meaning for clients or discussed it with them. The only exception was in relation to the receptionist: most workers brought out that she played a significant role with clients and that clients often commented positively about her.

ROOLE OF THE RECEPTIONIST

As suggested in several quotes in the preceding section, most clients singled out the receptionist as a prominent member of the agency's staff. They pointed in particular to their pleasure in knowing her and their feeling comfortable with her. At the time of the study, the receptionist was a warm and caring person who related easily and spontaneously to people and who was very effective in meeting clients and making them feel at home. Her work area was located directly across from the waiting room, thus facilitating interaction between her and the clients while they were waiting for their appointments. Many clients reported that she was very interested in them and that they could talk easily with her about such matters as current events or, in some instances, about some of the changes and experiences in their lives from week to week. Several clients indicated that, as a result of the receptionist's encouragement, they decided to continue in treatment despite their ambivalence.
As these findings imply, the role played by the receptionist in the helping process demands further attention. It is obvious that, in entering a new system such as a social agency, an applicant or client forms initial impressions that can influence his or her attitudes toward the service. Yet, as various authors have suggested, receptionists at times are set up in such a way as to be barriers to service (cf. Cumming, 1968:115). Others have observed that the receptionist or secretary in a mental health setting is an essential part of the success or failure of the program:

... secretaries are forced by necessity to function as part of the therapeutic team in community health centers. They talk first with prospective patients, family, and interested members of the community on the phone ... The secretaries usually make and change appointments, handle fee dispositions, and transact with the patients and family in the waiting room ... (Nyman, Watson, and James, 1973:368).

Despite the significance accorded to the functions of the receptionist or secretary, very little research has been carried out in this area. In one of the few available studies, Hall (1974) analyzed the reception process in several British social agencies. He concluded that receptionists have a marked impact on the delivery of services, since they perform a variety of functions, including: (1) being the first point of contact with the agency at the time of the initial interview; (2) offering support and encouragement through their informal relationship with the client; and (3) acting as the client's advocate or controlling the client's access to the social work staff (pp. 124-218).

The roles of the receptionist and other staff members such as secretaries should therefore be examined and developed more systematically. For example, an agency may consider how to enrich the reception process and maximize its potentially positive impact. Training programs may be introduced to facilitate the integration
of receptionists or secretaries into the therapeutic team (cf. Benitez, 1979; Nyman, Watson, and James, 1973). Ways may be found to enhance the roles of the cadre of clerical and maintenance staff, which is often an under-used resource in various agencies.\footnote{Benitez (1979) describes an interesting training program for clerical staff that has helped to enhance the therapeutic environment in a family service agency.}

**IMPACT OF AGENCY'S SECTARIAN AFFILIATION**

Another important component of the agency's social environment was its sectarian affiliation. Nearly half of the clients referred to this aspect through comments such as:

I went there because it's part of the Church. They helped me even though I'm not Catholic. They're guided by religion. It was better to be in a place that's Catholic. They understand better because they're a Catholic organization.

Most of these comments reflected a positive view of the agency as an extension of the church. The agency's religious affiliation was thus another factor that influenced some people to become involved with it, to use the service, and to have positive expectations from it. For instance, some clients indicated that they chose this particular agency specifically because they felt more comfortable in a Catholic setting. As implied in some of the above quotes, these persons expected that in such an environment they would be better understood and more effectively helped.

For some of the clients, their identification of the agency and the worker as members of their reference
group facilitated their becoming engaged in treatment:

Mrs. Mosca: At first I wasn't clear why she [the worker] was asking some of these questions about our life together ... Not that they were strange questions ... Well, they were private matters between me and my husband ... But I didn't mind so much, being that this was a Catholic place ... I figured they know what they're doing.

The clients' comments about the meaning of the agency's religious affiliation support Jerome Frank's (1974) thesis that people bring to the helping situation a variety of expectations and attitudes which may be mobilized in the process of healing. This is particularly true when the helping person is viewed by the client as a member of his or her reference group:

Despite the stubbornness of maladaptive attitudes, the psychotherapist, as a socially sanctioned expert and healer and a member of the patients' reference groups, may be able to mobilize forces sufficiently powerful to produce beneficial changes in them (Frank, 1974:45 - Italics added).

In other cases, the agency's religious affiliation or the client's related expectations interfered with the helping process. Mrs. Talcott, for example, had gone there wanting to "save my marriage at all costs" and was shocked when the worker mentioned the possibility of a divorce in joing sessions with her and her husband. She soon withdrew. In the research interview, she expressed her firm conviction that a Catholic agency should help couples to reconcile by emphasizing that divorce is contrary to church teachings. Mrs. Talcott could not understand why the worker not only did not try to do this but also in the course of treatment presented separation or divorce as alternatives for consideration. The discrepancy between Mrs. Talcott's expectations and the worker's
response contributed to their mutual frustration and her premature withdrawal from the service.

In contrast to the clients, practitioners rarely referred to the agency's religious affiliation and its potential impact on client expectations and the course and outcome of treatment. It is likely that workers did not attribute special significance to the sectarian component partly because the agency serves persons of all denominations; in accordance with stated agency policy, workers are expected to practice their profession freely and to avoid imposing their own values on clients.

The clients' responses suggest, however, that the agency's sectarian affiliation did have a special meaning for them that may have affected the helping process. In this agency setting as in others, the sponsorship under which an organization operates should be appreciated as one of factors influencing the client's use of treatment as well as the worker's involvement. Perhaps the most crucial point here is that an agency's affiliation or sponsorship can have different ramifications for different clients. Furthermore, a client's image or expectations of an agency may be quite different from those of the worker. By being attuned to the particular meaning of the setting and its sponsorship for a given client, practitioners are better able to deal with the client's expectations and values and their influence on the helping process (cf. Turner, 1978).

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

As practitioners and theorists have noted (cf. Germain, 1976; Seabury, 1971; and Turner, 1978), the agency's physical environment is another feature that may affect client-worker interaction.

In giving their impressions of the agency as a whole, at least two-thirds of the clients in fact offered remarks about the physical setting. Most of these were negative comments about the location and physical appearance of the agency, the size and condition of the waiting
room and offices, and the lack of parking. These comments came from satisfied as well as dissatisfied respondents. It may be that some persons found it easier to criticize the physical environment rather than the workers or other staff members with whom they had developed a personal relationship.

Some typical remarks about the physical setting were:

<table>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Office</th>
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<td>I was leery about going there.</td>
<td>An old building.</td>
<td>Tiny offices ... I felt closed in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking very bad.</td>
<td>Looks like it needs a coat of paint.</td>
<td>Office looked cold; no rug or pictures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn't like going to that area.</td>
<td>Physical surroundings bad.</td>
<td>Office too small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard to get there.</td>
<td>Looked run-down.</td>
<td>Office seemed empty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location very poor.</td>
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All of these comments pertained to the main office of the agency, which was located in an area awaiting redevelopment. The location was more accessible to city residents than to suburban residents, who constituted a substantial proportion of the clientele. At the time of the study, several buildings around the agency's office had been torn down. The clients' negative evaluation of the physical surroundings was not exaggerated. The building was indeed in poor shape. Since the agency was due to move eventually to another location, the administration was reluctant to invest in extensive maintenance or renovation.

While declaring their dissatisfaction with the quality of the physical environment, over one-third of the clients also proceeded to explain it as something that they had expected in view of the agency's non-profit status and its identity as a charitable organization.
Some representative remarks follow:

Mrs. Mosca: It was poorly kept, an old building... but that's what you can expect for this type of agency... You know, a charitable agency. They can't have a fancy place or location.

Mrs. Gates: As a subsidized agency, it's always working on a minimal budget. They can't afford really adequate facilities.

Mrs. Crompton: The building isn't too appealing... It's very plain... Well, you know, they can't do much about that, since the fact of the matter is that most people who go there are poor, elderly, or on welfare... They couldn't afford to pay for anything more elaborate.

One wonders how the helping process was influenced by the client's negative views about the physical environment of the agency or perception of it as an organization for the poor or those on welfare. The clients in the three excerpts above were middle-class persons who indicated that they had selected this agency at least partly because they could not afford more expensive treatment from other sources such as private practitioners. In general, they reported that they were satisfied with the service and its outcome. While these clients were concerned about inadequacies in the agency's physical environment, in the long run this factor did not seem to matter to them enough to affect the outcome. For one thing, as with most other middle-class respondents, they tended to disassociate themselves from the charity cases which they perceived as constituting the bulk of the clientele. Mrs. Lodano, for instance, was one of the suburban residents who questioned whether she belonged in this particular agency, even though she and her husband had found the service to be very helpful:

Well, oh... Someone from the suburbs usually wouldn't go there... We couldn't afford anything else at the time... Oh, I felt a little
odd whenever we met someone who was obviously poor in the waiting room ... My husband felt like me ... We didn't really belong there. Those people had more serious problems ... They were really poor.

I asked Mrs. Lodano and other clients why they continued with the service and why they found it effective despite their strong negative feelings regarding the physical setting. In response, they generally referred to their strong attachment to their worker and conviction that he or she was helpful. It appeared thus that other variables, such as the worker's competence and the strength of the client-worker relationship, counteracted the potentially negative influence of the agency's physical environment.

Other clients, from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, felt even more strongly about the environment and noted ways in which it affected the helping process. For example, after expressing his understanding that the agency realistically had limited resources, Mr. Mosca stressed the significance of adequate facilities:

I don't know if they can afford it, but they should do something about the physical surroundings. The only thing I could hope for would be to have the facility in a decent location ... The physical setup makes an impression on people ... I think they could do a better job if the facilities are improved ... People would feel better about going there ... Well, maybe the counselors themselves would feel better.

Some respondents suggested that certain qualities of the physical environment affected the way they felt about themselves:

Miss Becker: I liked the location because it was close to my job ... but the building was something else. They should do something
about it ... fix it up a little bit ... You know, it made me feel worse about myself, because I couldn't afford anything better. If they changed it, maybe the social workers would like it better.

Over one-fourth of the clients were especially critical of the size or appearance of the worker's office:

Mrs. Donnelly: It feels good when you first meet her [the worker] ... She shakes your hand or she shows some sign of affection ... Then you go to her office and the room is completely different from what she's showing you. You know, it's cold and it looks empty ... It was kind of hard, but I felt, well, they didn't have the money because it was an association ... It was connected with the church ... That's why I overlooked it.

Mr. Crompton: The office was small and very crowded. You know, whenever my wife and I went in together, it was hard even to move around ... Well, we laughed about it ... I don't think that the office has a lot to do with counseling, but I felt strange in there ... Oh, I kept thinking that maybe I should go somewhere with better offices ... Sometimes we wasted time talking or thinking about the office.

Miss Moore: The room was very small - just a desk and some chairs. The social worker put in some plants and tried to make it homey ... but it was still an office ... The room looked empty like I felt for quite a while ... Sometimes, well, it made it hard to get going.
In light of the many negative remarks about the office, workers should be more sensitive to its meaning for particular clients. At the same time, administrators as well as practitioners should consider ways of improving the office and the messages that it conveys to clients. One of the clients made some suggestions along these lines:

Mrs. Donnelly: Um, I think I would change the room, the colors, you know, put things on the wall to make it feel like it could be a house. Or, maybe, a lamp or something which you would see in a house. Um ... I would make it not so cold.

While these suggestions are rather obvious, social workers seem hesitant to implement them. It appears that "we ... fail to make use of the information available from others on the effects of color, lighting, furniture arrangement, and amenities on providing the kind of setting that is desired" (Turner, 1978:193).

Our reluctance in this area may be due to more than the realistic factor of limited financial resources. Before making substantial improvement in regard to the office or other features of the agency's physical environment, we may need to change some of our underlying attitudes. For example, since most social agencies historically have been developed to meet the needs of the poor, we as social workers may still be preoccupied with the value of parsimony and ambivalent about providing comfortable physical facilities for our clients - and for ourselves. Furthermore, we may not fully appreciate the impact of the physical setting on the helping process, because of our traditional emphasis on other components such as the client-worker relationship.

The findings discussed thus far in this section were drawn from the majority of clients who were satisfied with the service. The indication is that the physical setting has a differential impact on them, depending on such factors as their personality and expectations,
the quality of the client-worker relationship, and the degree of satisfaction with the service. This is also evident in the views of dissatisfied clients. Several did not say anything about the environment or indicated that they paid little attention to it:

Mrs. Cain: I don't know about the agency's setting ... Well, it's not easy to be aware of your surroundings when there are other things on your mind that are so paramount ... Maybe now if I went in there I might see things or react to the place differently but I don't think that I was really looking for that kind of thing at that time.

Mrs. Norton: I never paid much attention to the agency ... You know, I was more concerned with my problems.

Other dissatisfied clients, like the following, had strong feelings about the physical environment:

Mrs. Bates: Oh, I have nothing to say about the people ... You know, the people were all very polite from the time I called and so on ... Oh, the location and the agency itself ... It's in a very bad section of town where we had evening appointments and you are leery of going there - of going in and out of the building at night ...

The building itself, like I say ... the first impression - it is a very dreary building and it does give you a kind of creepy feeling when you're already creepy when you're going for help, you know ... You're leery, wondering what to expect and when that is what you're confronted with - a dreary place - I think it has a little bit of effect on you.

For some of these persons, the physical environment apparently was another source of dissatisfaction that rein-
forced their negative attitudes toward the service, the worker, or the agency. These clients' negative perception of the value of the agency may have hastened their premature or unplanned termination.

Workers were aware that clients might have feelings about the agency's physical environment, particularly its location. In general, however, they noted that they rarely discussed this topic in treatment sessions and that it was something about which they were not likely to get feedback. Several practitioners suggested that they were so accustomed to the agency's physical condition that they paid little attention to it. Others said that they were tolerating the poor physical facilities in anticipation of the agency's move to better quarters. In addition, some workers' comments reflected their conviction that the physical environment is not as important as the personal relationship with the worker. As one of them put it:

As with most people, Joyce didn't think about the agency but about me as the worker. Well, ... maybe the physical environment made some impression on her initially - but, as we went on, there was no indication that it mattered to her.

But the issue of the impact of the physical environment on the helping process and its outcome should not be glossed over. Most clients remarked about it, although their responses reflected a variety of views. Moreover, it is noteworthy that for many clients the poor quality of the physical environment accentuated the stigma of going to this particular agency, which they already perceived as a setting for poor or lower-class clients. This evidence supports the assertion that "space, design and decoration in our agency settings communicate messages about their status and worth to users of service and affect self-esteem and psychic comfort" (Germain, 1976: 20).

In view of these results, it is surprising to find that little attention has been devoted to this matter
through research or writing within social work. There has been limited consideration of the agency's physical environment in basic social work texts (cf. Hollis, 1972; Siporin, 1975). Yet, the findings of environmental psychologists and others demonstrate that the physical environment is a significant determinant of human behavior. Through his naturalistic research, Barker (1968) has highlighted the unique properties of "behavior settings" - such as a social agency - and their influence on the functioning of human beings operating within them. Moos (1976) has imaginatively analyzed a range of environmental determinants of behavior, including physical space, building design, and social climate. Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin (1970) have shown that the physical setting is one of the major variables contributing to the effectiveness of therapeutic programs in a psychiatric hospital. Germain (1978) has examined the importance of space as an ecological variable in social work practice.

In one of the few pertinent studies conducted by social workers, Seabury (1971) analyzed the physical setting in six different social work agencies ranging from a private practitioner's office to a large public welfare center. He found that there were different space arrangements in such areas as waiting rooms and interviewing offices. The various physical patterns conveyed different messages to clients. For example, while both the family service agency and the public welfare center were large, bureaucratic organizations, the latter had a distant and dehumanizing atmosphere, while the former conveyed a sense of cheerfulness, comfort, and warmth. Similarly, the hospital social service department presented a most unpleasant appearance, while private offices and private agencies seemed most comfortable.

Seabury (1971) concluded that the optimal arrangements of the physical setting in any agency should be based on its functions and the needs of its clients. At the present time, however, there are few guidelines to assist agencies in this effort. Consequently, it has been proposed that social workers collaborate with other professionals such as architects, as a means of improving
service delivery (cf. Wittman and Wittman, 1976). In addition, further research in this area is essential, to clarify the specific role that the environment of an agency may play in treatment and to devise ways of maximizing the positive impact of the physical setting.

CONCLUSION

It is not appropriate to draw definitive generalizations on the basis of data derived from an exploratory study such as the present one. However, it is interesting to note the markedly different views of clients and social workers concerning the impact of the agency environment on the helping process and its outcome.

Practitioners had little to say about either the social or physical environment of the agency or took it for granted. As I have reported elsewhere (Maluccio, 1979:115-140), they attributed greater significance to the role of the client-worker relationship. Perhaps workers are more conscious of their investment in the helping relationship and understandably need to emphasize its importance.

From the perspective of clients, however, the findings suggest that an agency's environment is an important component in the process of a person's becoming engaged with the worker and using the service. It is noteworthy in fact that the clients' impressions of the agency persisted to the point of the research interview, which occurred after the termination of the service and thus in many cases long after they had initially been exposed to it.

Obviously, client-worker interaction occurs within a broader context that includes the agency with all of its physical, social, and operational features. As Lennard and Bernstein have pointed out (1969:205), "the adequacy or inadequacy of treatment environments is not independent of the larger context of which they are a part."
Consequently, an essential task in clinical practice is to evaluate the quality of an agency's environment as a salient force in the life spaces of clients and workers and as a critical component of the helping system. This means, first of all, that a practitioner needs to evaluate the quality and meaning of the environment for each client. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, numerous questions should be asked at a broader level, such as the following:

Does the setting give a first appearance of concern, competence, comfort, of a place where an individual, family or group will find the kind of understanding and wise help that is sought? Or does the setting give the message of incompetence, lack of respect, lack of privacy, lack of comfort that could well deter persons? (Turner, 1978:191).

On the basis of the answers to such questions, an agency's staff and administration should be better able to effect necessary changes making the environment more attractive and supportive to both clients and practitioners.

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SOCIAL SERVICES IN THE IRON CAGE

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ABSTRACT: Interview and documentary data from a study of a voluntary job placement agency revealed that counselors were effectively weeding out the hard-to-place clients. These clients were the target population of the agency and its funded programs. The clients who were weeded out tended to be younger, with less education and less work experience. Weeding out was accomplished by discouraging unrealistic clients, and by not retrieving clients who were insufficiently motivated to keep in touch with the counselor. This marked a change in the counselors' practice compared with an earlier period, and appeared to be in conflict with the agency's mission, the counselors' altruistic orientation, and the expressed intent of the government-funded programs. The change in practice was associated with increased dependence of the agency and its counselors, and with the increasing demands for bureaucratic accountability from funding organizations.

The findings suggest that as social services are increasingly funded by government, the agencies and practitioners find themselves in the "iron cage" of bureaucratic rationality and accountability, less able to hold to their organizational purposes and to enact their altruistic values.

Social services appear to be faced with increasing demands for rational accountability, as government finances more and more of the services and on a larger scale. Social services become market commodities, and calculation of the cost per unit of service becomes more common. However, the study of one agency indicates that under some conditions, the detailed specification of goals, standards, and timetables may be in contradiction with what is often thought to be the main purpose of such programs: viz., providing services to those most in need of them.
Max Weber saw the highly rationalized modern world, with its typically bureaucratic form of organization, as an iron cage from which there were few escapes. Once fully established, bureaucracy was said to be the hardest of all social structures to destroy because of its technical superiority and because of the dependence it engenders: societies are increasingly dependent on the "steady and correct functioning" of bureaucracies, and propertyless bureaucrats are "chained" to their work by their "entire material and ideal existence."

Weber's description of the fully developed bureaucracy is well known. However, three of the features are important here and should be mentioned. The first is the connection between discipline and dependence that is implicit in the concepts of impersonal authority and, at the same time, the motivation of regular salaries and organizational career prospects. The second is the form that bureaucratic rationality takes. Personal feelings and emotions are eliminated in the work. Persons are objectified as "cases," and by implication, performance is evaluated by case-counting. The third feature is that of accountability. This is inherent in Weber's description of the hierarchical structure of bureaucracies: lower-level officials are accountable to those at the next level up.

Weber did not discuss the role of professions within bureaucratic organizations. It can be argued, however, that within the organization, professionalism serves as a counterweight to bureaucratic dependence, rationality, and accountability. Professionals have transferrable credentials, are more oriented to the individual case than the categorical case, and in the ideal are accountable to themselves and the professional standards for their work. Lubove (1973) has argued that in the past, social workers had to "attain hegemony within the agency" in order to attain professional status and autonomy. To this we might add that professional autonomy was necessary to do the work consistent with the reformist and altruistic orientations of early workers in the field.

Externally, however, it is a different situation. The social services agency must deal with other organizations as an organization, not as a profession. And as government, the non pareil of bureaucracy, finances more and more social services, the organizational relationships between government bureaus and social services agencies are strongly influenced by the bureaucratic imperatives of government. The dependence that ensues opens the door for the return of bureaucratic rationality and accountability. For those professionals
employed by government bureaus, the emphasis on categorical cases and case-counting has always defined their struggle with their employers. Their most persistent complaints are that they are rule-enforcers rather than client-helpers; that clients are often fragmented among different bureaucracies or their problems are not covered by abstract regulations; and that there is an excessive amount of paper work required (for accountability).

In general, for those in the helping professions, bureaucracy is like Weber's iron cage, although for a different reason. For Weber, the issue was freedom. For helping professionals, the issue is altruism: a feeling concern for others and appropriate, particularistic action. The case study reported here led to this perspective. The most notable bureaucratic effect observed was the weeding-out of a substantial part of the target population. This conflicted not only with the purpose of the funded programs, but also with the mission of the agency and the altruistic orientation of the counselors.

The Agency and its Mission

The Youth Employment Agency (YEA) is a voluntary agency located in a large eastern city. The mission of YEA has traditionally been defined by its Board as providing job placements for youths "in trouble with the law." Clients are referred to YEA by other agencies. In recent years, the agency has sought more government funding to remain competitive with other organizations in the field, and to expand its operations. Virtually all agency clients were already unskilled, and most had not completed high school. The new contract programs, however, added categorical target populations with additional employment handicaps: narcotics users, probationers, and parolees. The agency welcomed these contracts, since it had long claimed to specialize in serving the "hardest to place" clients.

Weeding Out Clients

A study of the organization was conducted over a four-year period (1972-1976). In reviewing client records for one of the new contract programs, it was observed that clients frequently did not return to the agency after registration and the initial interview with a counselor. When the problem was discussed with counselors and administrators, it seemed evident that little was being done to retrieve many of these clients. This was contrary to the practice of the agency three years earlier, and was also contrary to the proclaimed "mission" of the agency, as well as the expressed intent of the funded programs.
The change in the agency's practice was evident in the increase, in recent years, in the percentage of clients who did not return after the initial interview. In 1973, the agency began its first large contract program involving detailed performance standards, with job placement and retention quotas, a monthly timetable, and penalties for sub-standard performance. The following table compares the three-year period prior to 1973, and the three-year period after 1973, with respect to the percentages of clients who did not return after one interview. The figures are derived from a sample of the agency's files.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>One-Interview Only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970-72</td>
<td>17% (6/36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-76</td>
<td>41% (22/54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prior to 1973, counselors were expected to maintain a list of clients who were "available for work," along with the type of job desired and the client's traits and skills. When a suitable job was available, the counselor put a "hold" on the job and contacted the client by phone. Clients who did not return after the first interview were thus not necessarily deprived of a job. Counselors seemed to work harder at keeping in touch with the client and in encouraging them with job offers. The "available-for-work system" was based, in part, on the belief that clients were not sufficiently "motivated" to come to the agency's office frequently in the quest for a job. By 1976, however, clients were required to "keep in touch" with the agency's counselors in order to be considered for job placement. Jobs were not held for clients, and clients were persuaded to take any job that was available regardless of their interests, backgrounds, or experience.

The counselors themselves described the new practice as a test of clients' motivation. One counselor said: "There are different ways of testing motivation--in terms of how badly does that person want to be helped. Then you allocate that amount of time to that particular person. And the other ones just have to be weeded out."
One counselor described the clients who are "weeded out" as "the ones who need agency services the most." They were classified by counselors as not sufficiently "motivated" to work, compared with other clients. The counselors had fewer jobs available and focused their attention on the "more motivated clients" to help assure placements in a competitive job market.

Examination of a random sample of cases seen in 1974-76 suggested that at least three variables could be used to characterize the clients who were weeded out in all programs. These are age, education, and work experience. The findings are summarized below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-21</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, only 36% of clients in this sample who were 18 years or younger had more than one interview, while 75% of the older clients had more than one interview.

In addition, only 10% (2 out of 20) of the "one-interview clients" had 12 years of education, while 23% of the others had at least a high school education. A few of the latter had some college.

Those clients who received two or more interviews had had an average of 1.85 previous jobs, while the others had an average of 1.35 previous jobs. The difference here is not striking, though it must be noted that most clients were young and had relatively little work experience. Within that context, small differences may be important.

It may also be true that other factors such as kind of job held and duration of previous employment were important influences on the counselors' efforts to aid individual clients. However, no analysis of these factors was possible.
In general, it appeared that the counselors' criterion of motivation ("keeping in touch") weeded out the clients who needed help the most: the youngest, the least educated, and the least experienced. These clients were more difficult to place on jobs, and were sacrificed by the agency under the increasing pressure to meet placement and retention quotas. The change appears to be associated with a new type of contract that demanded greater accountability. The new contracts did not completely eliminate the counselors' efforts to place individual clients by "reaching out" for them, but apparently the effort was more selective and was most focused upon clients sufficiently "motivated" to keep in touch with the counselor. Frequently, it was the younger, less educated, and less experienced client who did not pass this test of motivation.

The Process of Weeding Out

To what extent "motivation" is an independent factor, outside the counselor's control, is a troublesome and interesting question, but one which cannot be easily answered here. It appeared most likely that not all clients are equal in their desire and readiness for work. It also seems reasonable to suppose that what the counselors say and do has some effect on the motivation of clients.

A small number of new clients (fourteen) were interviewed for this study both before and after the first counseling session. On both occasions, the new clients were asked to estimate their chances of getting a job they would like and of getting any kind of job. Sometime later, the records on these clients were examined to see how much effort they had made to "keep in touch" with the counselor either by phone or by keeping office appointments, and whether the clients were placed on jobs or not.

The link between "keeping in touch" and placement on a job was fairly clear, as expected. None of the three clients who made no effort to keep in touch were placed. Two of the three clients who made a sustained effort were placed on jobs; the third client would accept only one kind of work, and the agency had no jobs of this kind to offer. Thus, those clients who "kept in touch," who called back, appeared to have a better chance of placement.

It also appeared that counselors induced motivation for some kinds of jobs while discouraging clients from believing they could get the kinds of jobs they wanted. In effect, they pre-screened clients, discouraging those who were hard to place or too highly motivated and encouraging those who would accept any job to return. Most clients
(5 out of the 9 useable cases) saw less chance of getting a job they would like after the first counseling session. Only two clients reported their chances for getting this kind of job improved, and one of these wanted a messenger job because he "liked to travel." This was a type of job the agency could easily offer. Most clients (5 out of 7 cases) saw a greater chance of getting some kind of job after the first counseling session. When the client's estimate of his or her chances of getting a "good job" decreased (as they typically did), the client made no effort to "keep in touch" unless the estimated chances of getting a "job of any kind" increased. Even maintaining the same level of optimism (no change) did not have the same effect.

Thus, job placement depended upon "keeping in touch," and the effort made to keep in touch depended in part on what happened in the first counseling session. It appeared that the weeding out process involved more than the client's objective demonstration of motivation. Counselors may have encouraged certain clients to weed themselves out by communicating doubts or pessimism regarding the chances of job placement.

Undermining Agency Mission

The mission of a voluntary organization is seldom given the attention it deserves. Mission refers to the sense of purpose of an agency, defined matter-of-factly in terms of the clientele to be served and the services to be provided. But beneath the surface, we often find the fire of crusade, reform, and concern, as well as rudimentary theories of motivation, power, and stratification.

YEA's mission, strongly influenced by the views of its founder and long-time Board chairman, was to help juvenile offenders avoid criminal careers by offering them job counseling and placement. The mission had survived the transition from a predominantly white clientele in the 1930's and the postwar period, to one that in recent years was composed largely of minority groups. In the 1950's, YEA was an important organization in the city's campaign to "socialize" the youthful gangs that were prevalent at the time. The agency had adjusted its intake standards in the 1960's to accommodate the "disadvantaged" client as well as the youthful offender, but its primary purpose was still thought to be serving the latter group. They were young and hard to place, and YEA viewed itself as being unique in its concern for them.
On the basis of my study, it appeared that this mission was under-
minded in part by the necessity of achieving satisfactory placement
statistics under the agency's new contracts--at a time when the local
labor market was not favorable for unskilled (and stigmatized) workers.
We have already noted that it was the younger, less educated and less
experienced clients who were weeded out. Many of these were young
probationer and parolee clients of the agency's newly-funded Crime
Prevention program--just the sort of program that was most consistent
with YEA's mission. The Crime Prevention program had the highest per-
centage of one-interview clients of all the funded programs: 46% of
a sample of these clients had one interview only, and were not re-
trieved.

In the Addict Program, the average age of clients in 1976 was 28.
These older clients were accepted, even recruited by the counselors
so as to be able to meet contract placement quotas. This was far beyond
the maximum age set by the Board as part of its mission to serve youth-
ful offenders: 21 years of age.

The Board was not aware of these innovations, the effect of which
was to significantly alter the operative mission of the agency.

Bureaucratization of Altruism

It doesn't seem farfetched to think of altruism as a valuable re-
source in a competitive and stratified society. With the expansion
of welfare-state services, certain occupations (including the "helping
professions") become more important as vehicles for the expression of
concern for others. We ignore the full reality of social services
work if we over-dramatize this. But short of that, it seems fair
to say that the welfare state has reduced the urgency of private and per-
sonal altruistic behavior. At the same time, it has created altruistic
occupations. But the practitioners of these occupations may be in-
creasingly hemmed in by the demands for accountability emanating from
the welfare-state bureaucracies. In other words, it may be getting
harder to be altruistic. Whether this is generally so or not is an
open question. But more concretely, it was observed at YEA that while
the counselors reported the most gratification from working on the
difficult cases, these clients were being steadily weeded out. There
was no time to waste on the unmotivated and poorly-prepared client.

One counselor described how "exalted" she felt when one of her
clients had finally been hired after numerous attempts. Another report-
ed, with evident satisfaction, how he had worked with one client over a
period of three years, a time when the client had trouble keeping jobs despite a promising beginning each time.

The level of altruism of the agency's counselors was assessed in other ways. For example, counselors were asked whether they would accept a job in private industry if it paid $1000 more annually--up to a hypothetical increase of $4000. They were also asked how they handled expressions of gratitude from clients. And their previous (and subsequent) employment histories were examined. These and other measures were used to arrive at a rough estimate of the level of altruism of the counselors. There were, of course, variations among them, and the general level of altruism was affected by agency recruitment standards (which tended to eliminate excessively altruistic applicants). But the counselors were as a whole at least moderately altruistic, with some at the higher end of the scale devised.

This problem could be analyzed in different ways: e.g., as an organizational problem, one involving stress, job morale, etc. But we can also view it in a broader context, having to do with the opportunities for altruistic behavior--the most moral kind of behavior--in modern societies, and the forces such as scientific management and bureaucratic accountability that distort the act of concern and label it as uneconomical and inefficient.

Discussion

Blau's (1963) study of a public employment agency offered some guidance in understanding the problem. There, performance standards (and evaluations) led to displacement of organizational goals, unless mitigated by "professionalism" and "job security." However, work-performance standards at YEA were seldom measured. "Keeping busy" seemed to characterize the operating standards. A placement-quota system for counselors had been tried briefly and abandoned when it produced conflict and resistance. Thus, YEA's environment was increasingly rationalized, but the agency was not.

Blau's investigation also either did not find or did not find significant any degree of altruism involved in the work of the counselors he studied. Varying kinds of concern for clients is not a rare phenomenon in social service occupations. Social workers, for example, apparently must learn to control and to manage their concern for the client. Halmos (1970) has written extensively on this subject: "The crux of the matter is that love is expressed in all counseling." The counselor, Halmos added, "cannot but betray his kindness, concern, and idealism about man in general...above all, because of his deter-
mination to procure more happiness for others." There was abundant
evidence of altruism found in YEA's counselors (making the weeding
out of clients more remarkable). However, Halmos neglects to con-
sider how altruism is severely limited by the demands made by organiza-
tions upon counselors. He also appears to base his observations on
the presumption of a strong profession engaged in individual practice.

Lubove (1973), as we noted earlier, describes social work within
an organizational setting. The growth of professionalism within the
occupation is related to both a desire to escape "the historic affilia-
tions of philanthropy with charity, sentimentality, and paternalism"
and with a desire for personal and professional autonomy within the
agency.

Social workers have succeeded in establishing a relatively strong
profession based upon specialized education and professional certifica-
tions. Professional definitions of their work carry considerable
weight in the organizations that employ them. At YEA, by contrast,
there was no cadre of professionally trained counselors. Although the
occupation of Vocational Counselor is professionalized to the extent
that there are graduate training programs leading to a degree recog-
nized in the field, YEA rarely hired them. Only two (out of 15) of
the "professional staff" had graduate degrees in vocational guidance,
and one of these was the Executive Director. Not all the counselors
had college degrees. When they did, the degree might be in almost any
field, ranging from Divinity to Marketing.

If a low level of professionalism can be considered as meaning
dependence on the organization, then the counselors at YEA were very
dependent. They were also dependent in another way. Historically,
counselors had not been encouraged to make a career at the agency.
The work, as defined by the agency, did not require costly professional
training and there were few supervisory positions to be filled. Ex-
ansion of the agency in the late sixties and early seventies was
paralleled by the creation and expansion of other similar agencies
and the growth of minority-affairs positions in private industry.
If counselors did not like working at YEA, there were numerous op-
portunities elsewhere. In recent years, however, the decrease in the
number and size of community-action programs and neighborhood service
centers has left fewer alternative job opportunities for YEA counselors.
Moreover, business organizations decreased their hiring of personnel
to coordinate "minority affairs," reducing the number of positions of
this kind into which some YEA counselors had previously moved.
YEA itself was also in a dependent position. Emerson noted that organizations are dependent on their external environment, according to their need for resources or their ability to perform activities which the environment requires. Dependence is the obverse of power. Thompson adds to this the notion that organizations may be dependent on other organizations supplying inputs (materials, financial resources, etc.), those disposing of outputs, both, or neither. YEA was seen to be dependent on both the input and the output side.

On the input side, we may consider financial resources. YEA is a philanthropic organization, but over 90% of its funding comes from governmental contracts, and funding is never assured for a long term. The agency's budget for 1976 was made up of the financial inputs shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government-funded Programs</td>
<td>$959,583</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman's Fund-raising</td>
<td>70,000 (est.)</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,029,583</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that the agency's unrestricted funding, represented by the Chairman's annual fund-raising, constituted only a small part (6.7%) of its budget in 1976. In 1972, the unrestricted funding comprised an estimated thirty to forty percent of the agency's budget.

On the output side, the agency has always been dependent on employers in private industry to accept (i.e., hire) its clients. There is usually not a strong demand for labor of the kind represented by YEA's clients. Counselors develop a facility for misrepresenting in a "positive" direction their clients' qualifications. However, when economic conditions worsen, as they did after 1972, even these techniques were often fruitless. A decline in the number of unskilled job openings, and even greater competition for those remaining characterized the situation facing the agency's counselors in the mid-seventies. In 1976, the local unemployment rate was above 11% for much of the year. Moreover, the Labor Department reported in 1976 that the city had lost...
522,000 jobs, mostly in manufacturing between 1969 and 1975.

The combination of these factors appears to have resulted in a dependent staff within a dependent organization. At the same time, new contracts demanded more specific performances. It remains to be seen what the terms of the contracts were, and especially their effects on the basic mission of the agency, job placement of the hard-core unemployed.

Prior to 1973, contracts merely stipulated that YEA would accept a given number of clients referred to it by the funding agency (a government department), and would make its "best effort" to place them on jobs. Contracts of the "best-effort" type were typical of the 1970-72 period, and are associated with the low rate of "one-interview clients."

The contract for the agency's Addict Program (begun in 1973) states that "The Contractor (YEA) agrees to place at least 256 enrollees (clients who are accepted for service)," and that "The Contractor shall place at least 50% of these persons in jobs on which they shall be retained...for at least 30 working days." Clients were to be offered a minimum number (3) of placement opportunities. The hirings were to be verified by the funding agency. A quota of satisfactory job placements was required on a monthly basis under the contract. The funding agency retained "the discretion to reduce the Contractor's budget or take other appropriate action if the Contractor's performance falls substantially below the minimum placement levels set forth in the summary schedule" of the contract.

The Addict Program funded a specified number of staff positions and other anticipated expenses—even if it did add numerous constraints aimed at providing guarantees of accountability. The Crime-Prevention Program, on the other hand, projected an estimated number of clients (young probationers and parolees) who would, under the contract, have to be placed on jobs. This flexibility was offset by the fact that YEA was paid only for actual accomplishments, with scheduled payments for each initial placement and each retention for specified periods. Although the contract envisioned "remedial instruction" and "vocational training" for many of the clients, the schedule of fees made job placement and retention more important to the agency than remediation or training. This arrangement allowed no fixed income for staff salaries and overhead. This "purchase of services" contract was essentially a piecework system, but like the Addict Program contract, it also contained penalties for non-compliance and procedures for monitoring the work.
Taken together, these contracts and others required the agency administrators to be constantly aware of the agency's production according to specified contract standards. Monthly reports were compiled, comparing targets with performances. Agency success was achieved, in part, by counting each placement of the same individual towards its placement quota. But the individual counselors had no quotas, and no records were maintained showing how each counselor performed. Nevertheless, it appeared that the counselors internalized the situation of the agency; they performed as though they were on a quota system by weeding out the most difficult clients to place and by stimulating recruitment of new clients to replace those weeded out. Much of the time of the Addict Program's staff was devoted to recruitment of clients.

Conclusions

The implications of these findings for public policy and the social services are fairly simple, although necessarily quite tentative. Bureaucratic accountability—involving "hard" standards, rigorous verification, and meaningful penalties—will produce at least the illusion of success (such as quantity of job placements), but real success, as defined by the original purposes of the activity, may remain uncertain, even elusive. There may be a point beyond which distrust is counterproductive. This point seems to be reached sooner when one party is highly dependent on the other or others.

Rationalized accountability appears to have the tendency of ultimately orienting the organization's activity to generating those categories of statistics that provide for additional funding. Initially, these statistics are intended to be a perhaps imperfect but necessary indicator of performance; but as they become incorporated into agency practice and internalized by counselors, they become increasingly the goal of the counselors and the mission of the dependent agency. The agency and counselors, often without knowing it, abandon their original mission, in order to generate accountability statistics so as to insure the survival of the organization. To do so, they may have to sacrifice their original goals because those goals are not as easily quantified.

Centrally for YFA, the rationalization of standards in the performance contracts resulted in a sacrifice in its original mission, placement of hard core unemployed, in order to gain and maintain contracts. The new contracts resulted in the agency and its counselors placing less demand upon themselves as defined by the intensity of service to clients, and a change in the characteristics of clients, serving the most easily and "objectively" served, and cooling and weeding out the
others. A change in the target population was the ultimate outcome. The hard-core problem client became increasingly isolated from services because serving him produces poor or unrewarding statistics.

This process was facilitated by bureaucratic and universalistic categorizations. To a government bureaucracy, the problem is a categorical one: drug addicts, delinquents, etc. Within categories, all are equally "deserving." Thus, it makes little difference if some are weeded out as long as those who are serviced meet the formal criteria for service and are satisfactorily processed. This conflicts with the counselor's altruistic-particularistic tendency to help the most needy among the category. Here, the altruistic orientation was outweighed by the bureaucratic-universalistic one. The agency and its counselors could not simultaneously meet both demands. The contradiction, if we may conceive of it as such, was for the time being resolved by abandoning the target population to a great extent.

The distrust implicit in accountability and the loss of altruistic behavior may be the highest costs we pay for bureaucratic efficiency.

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PLANNING FOR A NATIONAL SOCIAL POLICY FOR THE FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

The American family performs two important functions for family members - providing physical care and socialization, and meeting psychological needs. Current family trends suggest that the American family may be having difficulty in carrying out these basic functions. Since the United States lacks a comprehensive family policy, it is argued that a national social policy should be created to better support the American family. A social policy is presented which would assist the American family in performing its basic functions. A suggested strategy for implementation of this family social policy has also been developed.

This paper contends that the United States lacks a coherent, comprehensive family social policy to assist the American family. It is the author's opinion that current programs designed to assist the American family are uncoordinated, fragmented, and generally ineffective. This position is shared by others who have analyzed programs designed to support the American family.

Romanyshyn argues that the United States has little in the way of a national family policy. He feels that the lack of a national family policy undermines the American family in performing its basic functions. Costin also suggests that the United States lacks a comprehensive and explicit national family policy. She claims that national and state governments have created new programs that have a significant effect on individual family members; however, these programs lack real impact on the family as a social unit in society. In a recent article, Kamerman and Kahn discuss the consequences of the government's fragmented approach to supporting the American family and make a case for an explicit and cohesive policy to support the American family.
family. In essence, there are a number of social scientists who share the author's opinion.

A number of topics related to the American family and family social policy will be presented in this paper. The author will discuss the changing functions of the American family, present the statistical trends that help one to understand what the American family is experiencing, and discuss the problems of current programs in their efforts to support the family in a changing milieu. A model family social policy designed to better assist the American family in performing its basic functions will be proposed and the author will present a suggested approach for implementation of this proposed family policy.

**Family Functions and Social Change**

It has been suggested in the social scientific literature that the American family has lost many of its traditional functions due to a plethora of reasons, including industrialization and urbanization of American society. According to Bert Adams, some of the important functions once provided by the family were education, religious training, recreation, and protection. It also served as a self-sufficient economic unit to support family members. Adams feels that many of these traditional functions have been taken over by other social institutions.

Burgess and Locke align themselves with the family "loss of function" theory. It is their position that the family has lost all functions other than the affectional. William F. Ogburn speaks of the transfer of all the family's functions to other social institutions, except the affectional. Carle Zimmerman presents a similar theme. He suggests that the family has evolved to the atomistic form, which is a family form having little influence and function in society. Robert Winch goes so far as to say that the family not only has lost its functions, but also that society no longer needs the familial system to survive. In essence, there are a number of social scientists who advocate the so called family "loss of function" theory.

Adams feels that there are some problematic aspects with the "loss of function" theory concerning the family. He purports that one gets the impression from this literature that the family has become a weakened social institution.
which is "twiddling its collective thumbs" for want of responsibilities or activities. Adams feels that this is an incorrect representation on two counts: first, the family is still very much involved in the coordinating of physical care and of socialization. Second, while much family unit interaction occurs in the interstices of other societal institutions, there is an increasingly overt and central involvement of the family unit in meeting the psychological needs of its members.9

The author takes a position similar to Adams'. The author feels that there has been a shift of family functions to other social institutions; however, this shift does not mean that the family has become a less important social institution or that it has been necessarily weakened by these changes. The important point is that the family has gone through a variety of social changes which have re-defined what the family does for individual family members.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the author that two of the more important functions of the American family today are providing physical care and socialization, as well as meeting the psychological needs of family members. The author takes the normative position that these are two important functions the American family can perform quite well if given the proper support by society. It is a central assumption of this paper that a coherent, comprehensive family policy would greatly assist the American family in carrying out these important functions for family members.

Indicators of Family Trends

There are a variety of statistical reports which reflect changes occurring in the American family. These statistics help to illustrate the quantitative changes the family is experiencing. The author has chosen four basic trends which appear to suggest some of the significant changes occurring in the family; those being divorce, female role change, single-parent families, and reconstituted families. This does not mean that other trends are not affecting the American family, such as the increasing number of the elderly in the United States or the changing patterns of the American family as a consumption unit; the author has chosen these four trends to discuss because of the large body of statistical data available
and the apparent direct relation of these trends to the changing American family.

**Divorce.** The data is clear in illustrating that divorce is increasing at a fast pace in the United States. William Kephart reports that the population of the United States in 1867 was approximately 37 million; by 1975, the figure had grown to some 215 million. During the same period, the yearly number of divorces rose from 9,937 to 1,026,000—a 100-fold increase. In other words, according to Kephart, divorces increased more than 17 times as fast as the population. He concludes that there will be roughly 10 million divorces granted during the present decade (1970-1980) and that the number of divorces will continue to rise in the future.10

Gerald R. Leslie reports similar results to Kephart's. He found that in 1946 there was 1 divorce for every 3.8 marriages and in 1970 1 divorce for every 3 marriages. Leslie states that after the post-World War II peak, divorce rates dropped and remained fairly stable for the period from 1955 to 1962. Then they began to climb again. From 413,000 divorces in 1962, there was a jump to 479,000 in 1965 and to 523,000 in 1967. Since 1967, the increase has accelerated until there were 970,000 divorces in 1974. Leslie theorizes that the number of divorces will continue to climb.11

Another trend increasing with the divorce rate is the likelihood of divorcing couples to have one or more children. Kingsley Davis' findings indicate that during the years 1922-25, about 62 percent of divorcing couples were childless. Approximately 39.3 percent of divorcing couples were childless during the years 1965-69.12 Paul C. Glick and Arthur J. Norton present similar findings. They claim that during the period 1953 to 1971, the number of children of divorced parents tripled.13 Robert R. Bell's findings concur with the above. Bell found that in 1922, only 34 percent of all divorces involved children, but by 1965, 60 percent of all divorces involved children. Bell claims there are about 1 million children under the age of 18 living in one-parent homes after the divorce of their parents.14

The above statistical reports, as interpreted by these social scientists, imply that the number of divorces in the United States is increasing and that more children

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are being involved in divorces. There is some indication that the number of divorces will continue to climb and that the number of divorcing parents with children will continue to increase.

Female role change. The role of the female in American society appears to be changing. One of the major movements that is changing the female role is the increased participation of women in the labor force. The number of women in the labor force increased 68 percent from 1940 to 1973.15 The growing trend of women going into the labor force, no doubt, is having an effect on the American family. Between 1950 and 1975, there was a three-fold increase in the number of women seeking work who had husbands in the home and children under the age of six.16 Robert R. Bell reports that in 1968, 42 percent of all women of working age were in the labor force and of that group, three out of five were married.17 In 1975, 52 percent of married women with children aged 6-17 and 37 percent of those with children under 6 were either working or looking for work.18

A 1974 national survey by the Institute of Life Insurance found that only about one in four young women intended to spend little or no time working in the labor force.19 Bell also reports that nine out of ten women work outside the home at some time during their lives.20

Single-parent family. The number of families headed by a single parent is on the increase. The vast majority of these single-parent families are headed by females. In 1975, 15 percent of all families were headed by women; in 1960, the figure was only 9 percent.21 Between 1970 and 1975, there was a 45 percent increase in the number of children living with their single-parent mother.22 The reported number of female-headed families is large. In 1970, there were 5.6 million families headed by females. The number rose to 7.2 million by 1975.23

Black families have a much higher proportion of female heads than do white families. In 1975, the percentage of children under 18 in single-parent families was 13 percent for whites and 43 percent for blacks.24 This finding suggests that the phenomenon of female-headed families may be correlated with one's race. A definite correlation
does exist between the female-headed family and poverty. The female-headed family accounts for almost 40 percent of those families below the poverty level.

Reconstituted families. The rising number of divorces in the United States has played a factor in creating more reconstituted families. The reconstituted family is the family in which at least one of the parents has been married before.

In 1975, research reported that 80 percent of those who divorce later married. A large proportion of those who are divorced have children by previous marriages. This same research found that more than 30 percent of children under 18 in the United States were not living with both natural parents. As the evidence suggested earlier, more divorces now involve children and the majority of divorced people remarry. The apparent result of this social phenomenon, in the author's opinion, is that the reconstituted family is becoming more common in the United States and will involve even more American families in the future with the increasing number of divorces and remarriages.

Analysis of family trends. The previously presented family trends will be analyzed in light of the two important functions the author assumes the American family can provide if given the proper support by society. Those functions are providing physical care and socialization, and meeting psychological needs of family members.

The problem associated with divorce can be interpreted in a variety of fashions; however, there seem to be two main themes. One, a divorce is a mechanism by which one can find "true" marital satisfaction. Therefore, the increasing divorce rate is seen as a "positive" phenomenon because individuals are searching for a quality marriage by going through a series of remarriages. Two, the increasing divorce rate is seen as an indicator of the decline of the family. The rise in the divorce rate suggests that the family is of less value to the individual as a social unit. The author feels that both of these positions are equally valid; however, they are not the main focus of this paper.

The author is concerned with divorce as it relates to the family function of meeting psychological needs of family members. It has been suggested that the family is
the "giant shock absorber" of society - the place to which
the bruised and battered individual returns after doing
battle with the world. This theory may be a little too
dramatic; however, the author agrees with it in part. This
paper takes the position that the family offers the in-
dividual a place where he can receive affection and inti-
mate associations which are not readily found in everyday
interaction between people. In other words, the family
is a system which can offer much psychological satisfaction
to the individual.

There is some recent research which tends to support
the above assumption. A Yankelovich study of 2,502 families
found that the most highly rated personal values expressed
were related to family life. Another study reports that
family satisfaction is the highest predictor of general
well-being experienced by individuals. This kind of
research suggests that the family is important to family
members and that the family can provide the self with a
sense of well-being. It is the author's opinion that the
problem with divorce is that it many times disrupts the
"positive" aspects derived from family life, such as those
discussed above. In other words, the problematic aspect
of divorce may be that it prevents family members from re-
ceiving the psychological support provided by family life.

The author thus concludes that the family which is
experiencing divorce, or that has already experienced di-
 vorce, may have very special needs in the area of psycholo-
gical functioning. Expanded family social services to
meet these special needs may be one way in which society
could be more supportive of the family affected by divorce.
Also, there appears to be little research on the long-
range consequences of divorce on individuals. Thus another
way in which society might be more supportive of the
family affected by divorce would be to do more research
on the long-range results of divorce on family members.

The increased participation of women in the labor
force is apparently redefining the role of the female in
the family. Research appears to support this assumption
by suggesting that a wife's employment outside the home
profoundly alters the family division of labor. In
fact, some research shows that this shift in the division
of labor increases conflict in the family. However,
the author's main concern with increased female parti-
cipation in the labor force is not the "problems" associated
with the altered family division of labor, but the physical care and socialization of children who are a part of the family where both parents work.

A growing awareness is developing concerning the apparent lack of daycare facilities available to families where both parents work. According to current research, daycare in licensed centers and family homes is available for only 905,000 children. It is estimated that several million children need this service. The family where both parents work would benefit from expanded daycare facilities for children, as well as the single-parent family in which the parent is employed. This could be one way that society might assist families with working parents in providing physical care and socialization of children.

The increasing number of single-headed families may be defined as an area of concern in analyzing family trends. The question is whether the single-parent family has adequate economic means to provide the necessary family function of physical care and socialization of children.

Williams and Stockton found that single-parent families were more likely to have lower job stability, less money per family member, less adequate housing, and limited health care. As reported earlier, a large number of female-headed families are below the poverty level. This lack of economic support probably seriously challenges many poverty-stricken single-headed families in providing physical care and adequate socialization for family members. In essence, society could probably be more supportive of the single-headed family by insuring that it receives adequate economic support. No doubt, more effort in this area of economic support would also be helpful for other types of families falling below the poverty level.

The reconstituted family is the final area of concern. Since there is little social scientific information available on the reconstituted family, analyzing it in light of the two important functions which the author contends the American family can provide for family members would be difficult. Kephart states that the subject has been "underinvestigated" and only a few generalizations can be made about the reconstituted
family. The author concludes that since the reconstituted family will probably increase in number as more parents divorce and remarry, a more coordinated effort researching the reconstituted family may be helpful to determine the needs of this kind of family.

Current Family Programs

This section is concerned with current programs that affect the American family. There are numerous programs which have an impact on the American family; however, the author will attempt to cover those which best illustrate the limitations of current efforts to assist the family. As stated earlier, it is the author's contention that a coherent and comprehensive social policy for the family does not exist in the United States.

Nathan E. Cohen and Maurice F. Connery state:

The majority of the programs that affect the family are directed toward only one area of family life, its economic security; moreover, this legislation largely reflects public policy in relation to the individual, with a neglect of the family as a unit of attention and concern.

Cohen and Connery appear to be getting at the root of the problem of current family programs; that is, these programs mainly emphasize economic security and have a tendency to support individuals in the family, not the family as a social unit.

There also appear to be several limitations related to the economic programs themselves: (1) they are fragmented efforts and do not offer enough economic support, and (2) they are emphasized over social services. The author will focus on several programs in relation to these limitations.

The United States is the only developed country which does not have a universal support program. Kahn and Kamerman, in Not for the Poor Alone, found in their research that all the major industrial countries, except the United States, have some form of a significant family allowance program. Some important efforts in the United States which appear to support the American family
are: (1) tax exemptions, (2) Social Security benefits, and (3) Aid for Families with Dependent Children. One of the criticisms of these support efforts is that they affect families differently; that is, the level of support varies for different families and not all families qualify for support.

The focus on economic support programs over social services results in many family needs going unmet. The quality of social services varies from state to state. State governments have a great impact on the kinds of social services offered; this creates much diversity and complexity in the delivery of these social services.

There have been some coordinated efforts to decrease this variance in social services offered by states. In general, they appear to be not too successful. A number of amendments have been made to the Social Security Act over the last several years that are aimed at providing improved family social services. The 1962 and 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act were attempts to upgrade social services for certain kinds of families. The 1962 amendment emphasized social services which would rehabilitate the AFDC family; unfortunately, Congress failed to appropriate money to train additional staff to offer these services. The 1967 amendment brought the administration of Child Welfare Services and AFDC into a single organizational unit at both the state and county levels, a move which hopefully would increase coordinated planning and delivery of services for children and their families. However, some parts of the amendment, such as the WIN program, were highly criticized by many social welfare professionals. A more recent addition to the Social Security Act, Title XX, was passed by the 93rd Congress. One of the stated national goals of Title XX is "preventing or remedying neglect, abuse, or exploitation of children and adults not able to protect their own interests; and preserving, rehabilitating, or reuniting families." The verdict is not in yet on Title XX; however, it is the opinion of the author that since states have a great deal of discretion in the development of social services under Title XX, the quality will vary significantly from state to state.

There is a plethora of family social services offered

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by non-governmental social service agencies. A high proportion of the families they serve are middle class. Consequently, a major limitation of these social service agencies is that they are not reaching enough families. In essence, they add another layer to the fragmented family social services offered to various families in need.

Therefore, the problem of many programs affecting the family is not only that they emphasize mainly economic support over social services, but also that they are not readily available to all families. It is the position of this paper that a comprehensive economic support program for the American family, as well as comprehensive family social services, are vital components of a coherent, comprehensive family social policy. The economic support should be enough to insure the family of being able to function in society. The social services should be available to all families in order to meet their social needs.

Another major limitation of current family programs, alluded to earlier by Cohen and Connery, is that they continue to reflect individual bias and they neglect the family as a unit of concern. Romanyshyn argues that our emphasis is so powerful on the individual, that many programs designed to deal with social problems have tended to ignore the fact that the individual is part of a family unit. Even the program whose official rhetoric proclaims the goal of strengthening the family - Aid to Families with Dependent Children - is actually cast in the framework of individual needs and dependency, rather than family needs and the goal of family stability and development.

Clark Vincent, among others, reports empirical evidence that many social programs emphasize the individual over the family unit. He observed that the Eighty-ninth Congress in 1965 enacted 59 laws with implications for mental health. Yet the family was not included in any of the titles or subject areas of those pieces of social legislation. Vincent noted that the 1965 OEO catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement, containing 393 pages, does not even have the word "family" in its title. Moreover, the index contains only 3 indirect references to the family in 262 topical references.
Alvin Schorr also suggests that the individual has been emphasized over the family unit in our programs which affect the American family. He notes that the federal government contains a Children's Bureau and a Women's Bureau, but not a bureau for the family. Schorr claims that most research is not aimed at the family as a unit, but mainly concerns individuals in the family. According to Schorr, in 1960, a group of social scientists was to advise the Commissioner of Social Security on "priorities for sustaining and enriching family life." The serving of the individual in the context of the family turned out to be the framework of the majority of the social scientists' recommendations.

Two recent examples of federal legislation illustrate the continuing neglect of the family as a unit of attention. The Family Assistance Plan introduced in the early seventies and the Child and Family Services Act of 1975 were two bills designed specifically for the American family. The first bill would have guaranteed an income floor below which no family could fall and the latter bill would have provided daycare facilities, among other social services, for the family. Both bills failed to become federal legislation and thus appear to be additional examples of the lack of attention given to the American family as a social unit in current programming.

A Model National Policy for the American Family

Current programs that affect the American family do not appear to be responding to the ever changing needs of the family. Earlier in this paper, the author took the position that the increasing number of divorces, the changing role of the female, single-parent families, and reconstituted families, among other trends affecting the family, have created a whole new set of special family needs. As Margaret Mead once noted long ago, "We now expect a family to achieve alone what no society ever expected an individual family to accomplish unaided. In effect, we call upon the individual family to do what a whole clan used to do." In light of current family trends, Mead's insight concerning the family appears to be more relevant than ever before.
A central assumption of this paper, as previously stated, is that there are two functions the American family can perform quite well—providing physical care and socialization, as well as meeting psychological needs of family members. Given adequate support, the American family can do an optimal job of carrying out these functions. Consequently, a family policy, in the author's opinion, should be designed to assist the family in carrying out these two important functions for family members.

There have been a number of proposed family policies over the last several years. Two recent research studies which give guidelines for a consistent, coherent family policy are Toward a National Policy for Children and Families by the National Research Council and All Our Children by Kenneth Keniston and The Carnegie Council on Children. It is the position of this paper that the proposals found within these reports contain the components of a comprehensive family social policy which could greatly assist the American family.

The Advisory Committee for the National Research Council, which wrote Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, recommends that the federal government take the lead in developing a comprehensive national policy for children and families. The essential components of their recommendations are:

1) Employment, tax, and cash benefit programs to assure each child's family an adequate income.
2) A broad and carefully integrated system of support services which would be available to families and children.
3) Planning and coordination mechanisms to insure adequate coverage and access of families to the full range of available services. 50

In order to implement this national policy, the Advisory Committee has suggested specific programs on economic resources, health care, child care, special services, and the delivery of services. The Advisory Committee also recommends research that would significantly improve the knowledge base for all programs concerning America's children. 51

The second study All Our Children, by Keniston and The
Carnegie Council on Children, is similar to the recommendations made by the National Research Council. The Carnegie Council suggests a broad, well integrated, explicit family policy which has the following aspects:

1) Jobs for parents and a decent living standard would be available to all families. This would be accomplished through full employment, fair employment, and a decent minimum income level for all.

2) There would be support in the policy for more flexible working conditions. The demands of a parent's employment would conflict as little as possible with the needs of the family.

3) The policy would have an integrated network of family services. Federal standards for quality and fairness would be enacted for all family services.

4) The policy would have proper health care for all children as a goal with recognition of the fact that children's health depends as much on income, environment, and diet as it does on hospitals, nurses, and pediatricians.

5) Legal protection would be available for children outside and inside their families. The law would make every effort to keep families together.52

These two research studies have many similarities. Both stress the importance of economic support for the family, health care for children, and family social services. They both appear to have as their main goal recognition of the family as a social unit; as reported earlier, the lack of this recognition has been a major limitation in many current programs.

Kamerman and Kahn suggest that no modern society can avoid programs which affect the family; the real choice is between deliberate, coherent programs or those of inconsistency and mischance.53 The author agrees with this position and purports that the recommendations of the National Research Council and the Carnegie Council offer a viable choice to our current fragmented approach to assisting the family.
The model family policy which follows borrows heavily from each of these reports and includes those elements which the author feels are most important.

The main thrust of a comprehensive family social policy should be recognition of the family as an important social unit. That is, the family should be recognized as a social unit which performs very important functions for family members in the form of physical care, socialization, and meeting psychological needs. The author contends that this public recognition should lead to positive measures to protect and foster the American family and thus assist it in carrying out its important functions for family members. A statement from Berger and Neuhaus describes the needed social policy eloquently:

"(It) means public recognition of the family as an institution. It is not enough to be concerned for individuals more or less incidentally related to the family as an institution. Public recognition of the family as an institution is imperative because every society has an inescapable interest in how children are raised and how values are transmitted to the next generation."54

The following proposals would deal with the issue of treating the family as a functioning social unit. These proposals would be the main components of a coherent, comprehensive family social policy:

1) There would be a universal support program for all families. A base economic level would be established which no family could fall below.
2) All families would be provided with comprehensive health care. Stress would be placed on total family health emphasizing diet, environment, and preventive health care.
3) There would be comprehensive family social services developed for the modern American family. The services offered would be child care, counseling services, and services for special problems such as permanent or temporary separation from the family. The major objective of family social services would be to help the
American family meet its basic functions for family members.

4) An expanded research effort to ascertain the current state of the American family and needed program changes would be established. The main goal of this research would be to further the understanding of the issues related to the family functioning as a social unit.

In final analysis, a comprehensive family social policy would be designed to provide a decent standard of living for all families, maximized health care for the family, expanded family social services, and research to gauge family needs.

Suggestions for Implementation

The author feels that two elements which must be considered in "realistic" policy-making in the United States are pluralism and incrementalism. This section offers a suggested strategy that includes these two elements in the development of a comprehensive family social policy. There are many strategies for the implementation of such a policy; this is but one.

Pluralism and the American family. It is the author's position that a guiding principle of a family social policy is awareness of the pluralistic nature of American society and of the social unit which functions as the American family. The majority of American families are nuclear. However, there are a number of family social units which do not fit the nuclear prototype. A family social policy should be flexible enough to recognize the pluralistic nature of the American family and should accommodate the less "typical" American family forms in the development of programs to assist the family.

Incrementalism. Charles Lindblom claims that most policy-making in the United States is incremental in nature. He feels that nonincremental policy proposals are typically not only politically irrelevant, but also unpredictable. With these assumptions in mind, a family policy which is revolutionary in nature is probably currently unacceptable in the United States; therefore, gradualism is the process by which a comprehensive family policy would most likely be able to develop. In the author's opinion, this essentially
translates into the building and reforming of current programs which could become potential component parts of a comprehensive family social policy. The author is also cognizant of Lindblom's position that currently only degrees of comprehensiveness can be achieved in American policy-making. The author basically concurs with this position.

Therefore, in light of Lindblom's position on policy-making and considering the pluralistic nature of the American family, the author has developed the following suggested proposals.

Suggested proposals. Economic support, health care, family social services, and family research are the component parts of the author's model family social policy. The author feels that these component parts might be realized through reforms in the Social Security Act and the development of a "Family Bureau."

A universal economic support program for all American families could be built into the Social Security Act as an additional amendment. Since the inception of the Social Security Act in 1935, programs have been gradually expanded in scope and benefit levels. The expanding nature of the Social Security Act suggests that it could be amended to create a base economic level below which no American family could fall. The amendment might also establish an allowance for families which are above the minimum economic level; this allowance could contribute to the costs of child rearing or meeting other family needs. There is some evidence that there is a movement toward a universal economic support program in the United States; an example of this movement is the recent passage of the Supplemental Security Income Program.

A comprehensive health care program for the American family might be possible through another amendment to the Social Security Act. The Medicare program offers the nucleus to such an expanded program. Eliminating the age requirement and opening up eligibility to everyone would be a beginning step. The goal would be not only to protect people against health costs by payment of a reasonable monthly premium, but also to expand the program to include preventive health care. The main objective would be to insure that all families have access to health care.
The development of the next two components of a comprehensive family social policy, family social services and expanded family research, would be through the creation of a "Family Bureau." The Children's Bureau and Women's Bureau, at the federal level, might be combined to create this "Family Bureau." It would appear that many of the concerns of these two bureaus might be accomplished through a "Family Bureau." The "Family Bureau" would serve as a coordinator of family social services and research gauging family needs, among other functions.

As focused on earlier in this paper, social services for the family are extremely fragmented and vary in "quality" from state to state. One possible solution to decrease this variance is the implementation of a voucher system which would be available to all families. Under the voucher system, the holder of a voucher would be expected to find his own supplier of social services and the supplier in turn would be compensated by submitting the voucher to the appropriate agency.59 The appropriate agency would be the proposed "Family Bureau." The quality of service would be enhanced by stipulation of the payer agency, and in some cases only suppliers meeting certain conditions would be permitted to receive compensation.60 The "Family Bureau" would function as the payer agency in determining the quality of family social services being offered; this would help insure high standards in agencies. A voucher system would give low income families access to family social services they may now be denied and would also theoretically expand the market of agencies offering family social services.

A "Family Bureau" would also serve as coordinator of expanded research concerning the American family. This bureau might award a series of research grants to colleges and universities to investigate relevant social scientific issues concerning the family. There are also other approaches to procuring this needed research. The objective of this research would be to utilize this information in the ongoing development of programs which would be a part of a comprehensive family social policy. Without such research, it would be difficult to ascertain the changing needs of the American family and to develop new programs to assist the family.

These are only a limited number of suggestions that
might be possibilities for developing a comprehensive social policy for the family. One might argue that the incremental approach to social policy-making results in "watered down" social policy having little effect on intended purposes. Some may consider Yehezkel Dror's metapolicy orientation as the most appropriate approach for creation of a comprehensive family social policy.61 Others may support David Gil's contention that "consciousness raising," which would enable people to realize that their self interests are being served, is the most effective mechanism for "truly" comprehensive social policy-making.62 In final analysis, the potential approaches for implementing a comprehensive social policy for the American family are multiple.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the position that a coherent, comprehensive family social policy does not currently exist in the United States. The author is not alone in such a contention; several leading advocates who support this position were cited.

Social theory was presented which helped to support the position that the functions of the American family have changed. It was suggested that two functions which the American family can perform effectively are providing physical care and socialization, as well as meeting psychological needs of family members. A series of statistical data was analyzed to illustrate the changes the American family is currently experiencing. Family trends in the areas of divorce, female role change, single-parent families, and reconstituted families were chosen because of the large body of statistical data available and the apparent direct relation of these trends to the American family.

The author developed a model family social policy guided by two recent studies by the National Research Council and The Carnegie Council on Children. This comprehensive family policy was designed to provide a decent standard of living for all families, health care for the family, family social services, and research to gauge family needs. It was suggested that these component parts of a comprehensive family policy would be aimed at helping the American family to carry out its functions in modern society. A suggested approach for implementation was also presented based on
Lindblom's position concerning social policy-making.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

17 Bell, op. cit., p. 378.
19 Data Track Women, op. cit., p. 9.
20 Bell, loc. cit.
22 Beck, op. cit., p. 11.
24 Advisory Committee, op. cit., p. 28.
25 Bell, op. cit., p. 57.
27 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
35 Kephart, op. cit., p. 466.
39 Kain-Caudle, loc. cit.
41 Costin, op. cit. p. 57.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
50 Advisory Committee, op. cit., pp. 4-7.
51 Ibid., p. 5.
53 Kamerman and Kahn, op. cit.
56 Ibid., pp. 216-229.
57 Federico, op. cit., p. 61.
58 Ibid., p. 78.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., p. 5.

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THE TRANSITION TO MEDICALIZED VIEWS:
ALCOHOLISM AND SOCIAL WORKERS

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ABSTRACT

More deviant behaviors in our society are coming to be defined as medical rather than criminal, so that more control of such behavior is coming under medical and helping professions. Some conditions, e.g., alcoholism, seem to be caught "in between," with serious consequences. This paper looks at social worker perception of the alcoholic as "sick," in terms of a sociological conception of sickness as a social role. A bi-modal distribution is found for acceptance and nonacceptance. Also, a significant number are ambivalent. The implications of this lack of consensus are discussed.

Increasingly in our society more types of deviant behavior are being redefined as medical problems, and medicine as an institution is becoming a principal agent in social control. Kittrie (1971) calls attention to the "divestment of the criminal justice system" and the increase of the "therapeutic state," and Friedson (1970b) refers to the fact that what were once recognized as economic, religious, and personal problems have been redefined as illness, a tendency that Szasz (1961) notes with more than a little dismay. Lennard et al. (1971), concerned with drug abuse, have characterized contemporary society as one that views all problems as if they were medical ones that need treatment. This tendency, known as "the medicalization of deviance" (see Pitts, 1968; Twaddle, 1973), implies the shift in social control from legal auspices to medical ones. This transformation has been studied in a number of conditions, such as alcoholism (Chalfant and Kurtz, 1971, 1972a), drug abuse (Nelkian, 1973), kinesthesia (Conrad, 1975), and child abuse (Gelles, 1975).

While some of these studies seem to assume that medicalization is a fait accompli, it is clear that perhaps only in the case of
mental illness can it be said that the transformation is relatively complete. In other cases, such as alcoholism, the transformation may have proceeded far along the way toward the medicalized view, but the process is by no means complete. This seems to be particularly true in the case of alcoholism where despite the American Medical Association's classification of alcoholism as a disease, the indications are that there is still much inconsistency and indecision about the appropriate label to be given those with this condition (see Chalfant and Kurtz, 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1978; Chalfant, 1975). This research, which is a partial replication of previous work (Chalfant and Kurtz, 1972b), seeks to explore this inconsistency in the definition of alcoholism so far as a particular group of "labelers" is concerned. In this study, we look at social workers, a key group of labelers, who make many decisions about the character of the condition which "besets" the alcoholic. Bailey (1960) noted, in her study of social workers and their attitudes toward alcoholics, that this group tended to treat alcoholism more as a behavior defect than as an illness. Several research reports have also noted this attitudinal ambiguity in dealing with the alcoholic (e.g., Pittman and Sterne, 1964; Straus, 1958; Finlay, 1974).

Decisions regarding alcoholism must be made on all levels of expertise and in all areas of social work specialization, for it is a condition that affects every facet of society. Such decisions made about the nature of alcoholism, in turn, deeply affect decisions regarding the quality and quantity of social services made available to those affected by problem drinking, as well as largely determining the atmosphere in which those services are offered. Robinson (1976) and Chalfant and Kurtz (1972) have pointed out that labeling a dysfunction as "accidental" (involuntary illness) will lead to more of a treatment perspective, while a "deliberate" label may lead to less than enthusiastic treatment, and perhaps even rejection. An additional ramification of the labeling decision made by the helping person is how that decision may affect the label which the problem drinker has already given himself. The social worker who views alcoholism as a largely accidental dysfunction may have to educate the alcoholic to that viewpoint; the alcoholic likely may feel much guilt and self-reproach over a problem which he/she sees as "avoidable" and which he/she considers to be deviant behavior. Such self-reproach and deviant labeling often inhibits the problem drinker from seeking help (or being coerced into it) until his/her problem is quite advanced.

Because many social workers are employed by and directly responsible to the public, they are generally viewed as representing the interests of the public. Social workers may be called upon to validate the classification of deviance made by others, whether other
professionals or the public in general. For these reasons, and because social workers function in both medical and nonmedical settings, they are an especially interesting group to study in relation to their responses to alcoholism.

Data for the study were collected by means of a questionnaire which was submitted to a sampling universe of persons holding the title of "social worker" in a medium-sized southwestern city. Responses were obtained from 118 (71.5 percent) of the 165 individuals employed in a wide cross-section of social work positions in that area. All respondents had at least a bachelor's degree, with about one-fourth holding a master's degree in social work. No significant differences were found between respondents with and without formal social work education.

The guiding hypothesis for the study was that although the alcoholic is not fully accepted as a sick person, this is a general observation which does not hold equally for all aspects of what we tend to define as sickness. Thus, it is hypothesized that while the respondents will not define the alcoholic as a truly sick person, they will indicate that the alcoholic is sick in some respects. The major concerns of this paper are to test this proposition, to identify those aspects of "sickness" in which the alcoholic is accepted and those in which he is not, and to discuss the implications of the patterns of judgements of the alcoholic made by the social workers.

Following a sociological approach, the specific attributes of sickness used in the analysis are those which were originally discussed by Parsons (1951), who presented the sick role as a cluster of four dimensions which defines the behavioral expectations of persons who are recognized as legitimately sick: a) persons in the sick role are to be excused from usual social responsibility, with the extent of excuse dependent on the nature and degree of their sickness; b) legitimate incumbents of the role are also to be seen as not "at fault" or not blamed for being sick; c) they are, however, expected to define their condition as undesirable; and d) also to seek (and cooperate with) technically competent help in overcoming the condition. While the validity of the sick role construct has been questioned by many sociologists (e.g., Gordon, 1966; Twaddle, 1969; Segall, 1976), and while such a model may not entirely fit the social worker's conceptualization of mental illness conditions (Bailey, 1960; Pinlay, 1972; and Weinberg, 1973), it has been used successfully as an analytical tool by others (e.g., Kassebaum and Baumann, 1965; Sobel and Ingalls, 1964).

In the data collection process, each respondent was asked to rank the alcoholic on a five-point scale of acceptance for each of the four dimensions by selecting one of five options: "strongly agree;" "agree;" "undecided;" "disagree;" and "strongly disagree." The sum-
mated rating technique (Likert, 1932), in which each of the dimensions was accepted as equal and, therefore, addable to the three others, was used to construct an index of willingness to accept the alcoholic as a legitimate incumbent of the sick role. The resulting scores comprise a general index of acceptance of the alcoholic as a legitimate incumbent of the sick role.

**FINDINGS**

**General acceptance.** In constructing a general index for acceptance of the alcoholic as a legitimate incumbent of the sick role, points were assigned to all five options presented for each separate dimension, with four points assigned to the "strongly accepting" response, three points to the "accepting option," and so on down the line to no points for the "strongly nonaccepting" response. Although a 17-point scale was derived in this fashion, theoretically ranging from zero to 16, empirically it was found that scores were bunched in the 4-10 point area, with few respondents at either extreme. Further statistical manipulation led to some obvious combinations and five categories emerged: strongly accepting—accepting—ambivalent—nonaccepting—strongly nonaccepting. It should be noted that "ambivalent" is the term used to describe the middle category between acceptance and nonacceptance. This term was chosen because it denotes a situation in which the social worker's general score reflects simultaneous acceptance and nonacceptance. Only one such score was used to designate ambivalence, a score of 8, which also designates the exact midpoint of the scale. Such a score would also result if a respondent selected the "uncertain" option for each dimension, but no social worker exhibited such a pattern of responses. Rather, respondents who are classified as ambivalent exhibited mixed feelings toward the alcoholic.

As anticipated, the data reveal that few of the respondents could be classified as strongly accepting the alcoholic as a legitimate incumbent of the sick role (see Table 1); however, somewhat contrary to our prediction, a sizeable number were accepting (39.0 percent). On the other hand, nearly the same amount were nonaccepting of the alcoholic in that role, with 36.4 percent scoring as nonaccepting and another 5.1 percent falling into the strongly nonaccepting category. In addition, a significant percentage of the respondents fell into that category designated "ambivalent," a position which implies the acceptance of the alcoholic as a "sick" person in some respects, while simultaneously indicating denial in others. It is in the simultaneous acceptance-rejection pattern that much of our initial interest lies since this pattern seems to confirm our contention that the social worker perceives the alcoholic as sick in some
respects and not sick in others. It is of note that a much greater proportion of this sample are accepting than that of the previous study by Chalfant and Kurtz (1971) ten years ago.

Specific dimensions. An examination of acceptance-nonacceptance response for specific dimensions reveals that a varied pattern is present. On the first dimension of the series, "release from social responsibility," only 1.7 percent of the respondents were found to be accepting, while 59.3 percent were strongly nonaccepting, and 34.7 percent were found to be simply nonaccepting (see Table 2). An additional 3.4 percent of the respondents indicated that they were "undecided" and were, therefore, classified as ambivalent, i.e., for this particular dimension they could not make an accepting or nonaccepting decision.

Looking at the second dimension, "excuse from fault," the data distribution of Table 2 reveals that 4.2 percent of the respondents took a strongly accepting position relative to the alcoholic's legitimate incumbency in the sick role, while 24.6 percent took a position which indicates acceptance, although they did not take the extreme position which is suggested by the modifying term "strongly." A low 5.9 percent of the respondents indicated strong nonacceptance and an additional 43.2 percent took a nonacceptance position without the salient modifier, while 21.2 percent took an ambivalent position.

Data on the third dimension, "defining the condition as undesirable," show that 49.2 percent of the respondents took a nonaccepting position, with 8.5 percent taking the extreme position, and an additional 40.7 percent choosing the less salient negative option (see Table 2). At the positive end of the scale, 4.2 percent of the social workers were strongly accepting and 28.6 percent were accepting without taking the more positive stance.

On the final dimension of the series, "seeking help," a total of 9.3 percent of the social worker respondents gave positive responses, with only one respondent strongly accepting, and the remaining ones merely accepting (see Table 2). At the other end of the scale, 11.9 percent of the respondents were strongly nonaccepting, and 61.0 percent were nonaccepting without the salient modifier. An additional 16.9 percent of the respondents were classified as "ambivalent."

Overall, three related conclusions stand out. Each of these conclusions is significant to the image of the alcoholic as held by social workers. Each will be discussed separately.

1. Social workers in the sample exhibit a lack of consensus relative to the question of whether the alcoholic should be considered sick.

If the acceptance-nonacceptance scale patterns are reduced to a threefold classification reflecting accept-ambivalent-reject positions, the data reveal that there is a bimodal response. Nearly equal per-
percentage of the social workers were accepting and rejecting of the alcoholic, while a significant percent were quite simply ambivalent on the matter. Such a lack of consensus among a significant professional labeling group is extremely important to the community image of the alcoholic. More directly to the point, we have found that a group of professionals charged with the responsibility of screening certain conditions for the community and with providing a professional definition are themselves in disagreement about what is a proper definition. To the degree that agreement does exist, alcoholics are mostly denied legitimate incumbency in the sick role by social workers.

This finding suggests a series of new questions which are highly significant to the fate of the alcoholic as a social being. For example, if the alcoholic is not sick, how should his condition be described? Is the alcoholic a criminal, an immoral individual, a deviant who challenges the rules and regulations of society, or what? These are not idle or "theoretical" questions, for the responses to them can imply differential community reaction patterns in many vital areas of life, including what treatment is best for the alcoholic. Thus, if the alcoholic is defined as sick, the treatment would be medical in nature, possibly resulting in hospitalization. If, instead, the alcoholic is defined as non-sick, the "treatment" is liable to be commitment to a penal institution or a drying-out tank.

From a research perspective, several next steps might be seen as in order. First, research is needed which would tell us what the perceptions and definitions of the alcoholic are for those social workers who reject the conception of the alcoholic as sick. We also need to investigate the treatment suggestions of those social workers who see the alcoholic as legitimately sick, those who do not see him as sick, and those who are in an ambivalent position. It would also be useful to determine the social and psychological characteristics of social workers who hold particular definitions. Like many research undertakings, the present study provides some insight, but at the same time raises many more questions which need consideration.

2. A large proportion of the social workers in the sample are uncertain about whether to grant legitimate sick role incumbency to the alcoholic.

In our interpretation of the data, the relatively large proportion of respondents who are classified as ambivalent is in itself an important observation since this finding reveals that a significant defining group is uncertain about what definition to offer. Laymen supposedly look to the social worker for guidance. It seems possible that if they look too hard they will find confusion instead of consistency and clarity, however. Perhaps high ambivalence suggests a changing definition of the alcoholic, but even if this is the case, the
data do not reveal the direction of this change. Again, research for the future is suggested, with heavy reliance on the library where an examination of past studies will help to answer the question.

There is another indication of the absence of clear-cut definitions of the alcoholic. This is the observation that a comparatively small proportion of the respondents took the more salient positions of "strongly" as a modifier to accepting and rejection positions. Less than ten percent of the sample selected the more salient option. It is, therefore, possible that even most of those in the sample who indicated acceptance or rejection are not strongly convinced on their convictions.

3. Dimension by dimension analysis reveals that social workers in the sample are not consistent in sick role acceptance and nonacceptance judgments of alcoholics.

As a sociological concept, the sick role seems to fit physical ailments much more readily than conditions which are nonphysical, which may explain the existence of differential judgments of sick role dimensions as they are applied to the alcoholic. In this respect, alcoholism probably shares this inconsistency for dimensions with other nonphysical conditions, such as drug addiction and mental illness. For such conditions the perception may be that some aspects of the sick role fit, while others do not. Thus, the social workers in the sample are most willing to accept the alcoholic as one who did not bring the condition on himself and as one who defines the condition as undesirable. On the other hand, sample members are least willing to grant acceptance on seeking competent help and excuse from social responsibility dimensions.

Specific examination of the "excuse from fault" dimension, for example, reveals that three out of ten social workers in the sample accept the proposition that the alcoholic should not be seen as bringing the condition on himself. In this one respect, then, there seems to be some agreement that the alcoholic is perceived as sick. This dimension is particularly notable since a search of the historical literature suggests that several nonphysical conditions have experienced a change in community perceptions which may be described as a transition from an "own fault" attitude to "not one's own fault." Mental illness is probably the best example here, having essentially turned the corner perhaps twenty or thirty years ago, although numerous instances of the older attitude can still be found, even today.

On the other hand, only 1.7 percent of the 118 respondents indicated agreement with the statement that the alcoholic should be excused from usual social responsibilities. The fact that this statement brought forth the strongest negative reaction on the part of the social workers in the sample is not surprising, however, since the social worker generally places high priority on helping clients
accept personal responsibility for their lives. Thus, to excuse alcoholics or anyone from usual social responsibilities could be a contradiction to the basic orientation of the social worker. It should be noted that the social worker would undoubtedly grant exemption from social responsibilities to individuals with certain physical conditions while he will not grant such an exemption to the alcoholic.

From a dimensions-of-the-sick role approach, the social worker thus exhibits mixed attitudes toward the alcoholic. Again, the situation may be one of transition, with perceptions of the alcoholic changing relative to the definitions of illness, criminality, immorality, and deviance. If this is indeed the case, the direction of change is bound to have important repercussions on service delivery decisions.

If the trend toward the medicalization of deviance continues, we may experience some major corollative social changes, especially among health professionals, lawyers, and deviants. For example, we would logically expect a major expansion in demands on the health professional's time, since an ever-increasing number of conditions will be defined as illnesses. If this expansion does occur, many such professionals, especially physicians, will have cause for concern, since they may find themselves ill-prepared to make meaningful contributions to an array of newly-legitimized psychological and social problems which seem far removed from malfunctioning organs and body systems. However, some in the profession would welcome the opportunity to expand their domain.

The psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker are pulled more and more into the arena of deviances which have been medicalized. Indeed, the psychiatrist becomes part of the change, since many have started searching for other deviances which they can fit under the newly-expanded umbrella. In this context, psychiatrists and allied professionals are caught up in a change which they then help to bring about as they become more and more convinced that deviances belong within their province.

From the perspective of the decriminalization of deviance, in the Western world criminal law may find its territory increasingly encroached upon as time goes on. If mental illness is not a crime, and alcoholism is not a crime, and homosexuality is not a crime, assumedly those in the legal profession will find it necessary to spend their time engaging in the legal aspects of other behaviors. There can be little doubt that some lawyers will consider medicalization and decriminalization as a threat to their "territory." One could conjure up an image of a society with a surplus of lawyers who are fighting to maintain their territorial rights against the physician—in fact, it is tempting to explain the growth of medical malpractice suits in
America today in just this way.

Perhaps the major change of medicalization will not affect the professionals as much as it will those who have been labeled deviant, who may be seen as "benefactors" of changing images. From the individual's standpoint, it is probably better to be looked upon as sick than as immoral or as criminal. But, more than that, it may be better to be treated by medical personnel than by jailers—although this point is itself open to debate. And, if the medical emphasis on cure actually does lead to a situation in which people are "cured" on unwanted conditions, the medicalization trend could be interpreted as a definite plus for the person.

But, caution must be expressed because of possible negative results from the medicalization process. For example, it is possible that medicalization can lead to a denial of the civil rights of those whose conditions have been medicalized. Thus, a "patient" as compared to a "prisoner" or an "accused" has little defense against what may be arbitrary decisions by someone acting in an official medical capacity. Real trials for those being involuntarily committed to mental hospitals are comparatively recent, and the right to have a lawyer present is still not always clear to the patient. Further, the patient may end up with an indeterminate sentence which stretches to a lifetime, while the prisoner is given a definite term to serve, with time off for "good behavior" and with a chance for parole. Such denial of civil rights is, of course, always couched in terms of the good to be done the "patient" and to "protect" the society.

Social workers, regardless of the delivery system in which they function, deal to varying degrees with alcoholism and its effects. Therefore, it behooves the profession as a whole to closely examine the procedures by which we define alcoholism, and how these definitions guide our interaction with those affected by problem drinking. The present research clearly points out the need for further research in this area. In addition, the findings indicate that social work educators, agency administrators, and others involved in on-going social work training and supervision can benefit the professional community by delving more deeply into the attitudes held by social workers toward alcoholism. Clearly, all professionals need a solid knowledge base about the condition to increase understanding and comprehension. Beyond that, we assume from the findings a need for greater self-awareness in individual social workers, as well as a need for professional dialogue in order to achieve greater consensus and uniformity in planning and working together to benefit those affected by alcoholism.
Table 1

General Acceptance and Nonacceptance of the Alcoholic Relative to the Sick Role by Number and Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance–Nonacceptance Pattern</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Accepting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepting</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonaccepting</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Nonaccepting</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-801-
Table 2

Acceptance and Nonacceptance of the Alcoholic as Fitting

The Sick Role for Each Dimension, By Number and Percentage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptance-Nonacceptance Pattern</th>
<th>Excuse from social responsibility</th>
<th>Excuse from fault</th>
<th>Defining as undesirable</th>
<th>Seeking help</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly accepting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonaccepting</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly nonaccepting</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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A MODEL PROGRAM TO AVOID THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

The concept of "deinstitutionalization" has led to a great deal of concern being focused on moving children out of large institutions into community based programs. This paper proposes a model program that would seek to avoid the initial placement of the child and focus attention on working with the family as a total unit. The program would recognize the acting out child as symptomatic of a family system in crisis.

Social work's current concern with 'deinstitutionalization' has resulted in considerable attention being paid to the development of alternative treatment modalities for children to replace the larger institutional setting. Numerous programs have been established, having one element in common. They involve the removal of the child from the home setting and are rehabilitative in nature rather than preventative. "Deinstitutionalization" as defined by Koshel means "...reducing and emptying the population of residential institutions ....". In assessing techniques for accomplishing this, Koshel suggests that

...one should realize that deinstitutionalization encompasses more than the simple removal of children from congregate institutions; it also diverts those children from the institutional path....(emphasis provided)

When one considers the alternatives suggested to institutions (e.g. group homes, half way houses, agency operated boarding homes) then it is clear that all that is being advocated are other forms of institutionalization. Of concern here are two issues:

1. the physical separation of children from their natural families.

2. the lack of preventative measures that might have been taken to preclude the removal of children from their homes.
Too often, the child who is placed is merely symptomatic of a family in chaos. Robinson and Weiner have observed

...When a family comes to an agency for help with a child's problem, something has shaken the family equilibrium; the balance by which it operated has been disturbed. The family asks the agency to help reinforce the projection of responsibility onto one family member, for in this way the group can maintain itself as is...we consider the child's symptoms to be a cry for help for the entire family and we view the situation in the context of the whole family....'

The program to be suggested concentrates on that aspect of deinstitutionalization which seeks to alleviate those conditions making it necessary for the removal of the child from the home. Such a program will allow for the necessary treatment to take place within the total family environment. Wolfensberge, writing on the concept of deinstitutionalization, proposed the following definition:

...Utilization of means, which are as culturally normative as possible, in order to establish and/or maintain behaviors and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible....

It is suggested here that keeping a child in his home setting is 'culturally normative.'

Governing Principles Underlying the Proposed Program

It is the premise of this paper that many of the problems created by the inappropriate placement of children in institutions would be eliminated if we initially dealt with the entire family system. Harriet Goldstein, writing of her experience with the Association for Jewish Children in Philadelphia, notes that

...over the years, our experience with...children and families...convinced us that foster placement can be avoided in many instances, provided certain changes were made in the concepts and modes of treatment used with families....

Any program concerned with families in crisis must make an assessment of both the physical and emotional needs to be addressed. Then, a plan must be developed which allows for the provision of both direct services and counseling as indicated by that particular case. Problems calling for direct services (e.g. day care, job training, etc.) must be given as much priority as the offering of counseling services.
For example, in a particular family, the father may be extremely depressed because he is out of work. A contributing factor may be the father's inability to deal with superiors and take orders. As the father remains out of work, the following may occur:

- increasing feelings of inferiority and depression with an awakening of unresolved conflicts with past authority figures

- loss of status in the eyes of his children leading to greater feelings of depression which may manifest themselves in the father physically and emotionally abusing the children

- the children acting out in the community as an act of defiance against their father.

While any treatment plan will include the provision of counseling services, it is equally important that the father be helped in finding a job. Counseling services will appropriately concentrate on helping the father to deal with his problems around authority as it relates to his ability to hold a job. However, it is suggested that it will be easier to deal with this as an issue when the positive condition of an employed wage earning individual is established. This provision of direct services is one that has to be given more consideration because of social workers' tendencies to view themselves as providers of 'psycho-therapy' and not as 'social service providers.' In their article on The Threat or Challenge of Accountability, Rosenberg and Brody note that

...In a study by Schneiderman (1974) clients were asked what critical event in their lives led to their decision to apply for help from a public agency. The findings indicated that the decision was most often precipitated by factors related to employment or such problems as health, housing and the need for legal aid. The most relevant services were in response to concrete problems rather than intra-psychic or interpersonal worries. For most agencies, however, counseling services seemed to have highest priority, regardless of the clients' requests....

A second issue for consideration is the question of where and when services will be provided. The factors that determine these conditions should not be based solely on workers' needs and convenience. The use of the terms 'resistance' and 'negative transference' are often used to describe parents who are reluctant to travel great distances at inconvenient hours to meet with workers. Any
program seeking to work with families must plan for flexibility in terms of where one meets with the family (e.g. home, church, office, etc.) and the times of such meetings. Of equal importance will be for the team working with the family to have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the cultural mores of the client. The workers must be prepared to meet the client and relate to the client's culture and not their own. This has been made quite clear during the last several years especially in the area of 'child abuse' and the contrast that may exist at times between the legal and cultural definitions. Schubert has observed that:

...Difficulties range from a simple misunderstanding of the words being used to a total mutual distrust. Worker and client may have a different vocabulary, they may ascribe different meanings to words that they both use, they may govern their lives by different values and convictions, they may have different ideas about the nature of love and hate and courage and cowardice, and they may have an entirely different view of family, school, church, employment or government... .

Recognition of the above by members of the team is essential if any form of meaningful communication and dialogue is to take place.

A final principle that will be built into this program will be a commitment to focus on the strengths that are present in the family system. As Goldstein has noted, it is necessary to

...place our treatment emphasis on the strengths that do exist in children and families focusing on what each family member can do....

The fact that the family is there, must be interpreted as a positive factor. The commitment of the professional team must be to drawing on the existing strength and the desire of the family to deal with the problems at hand.

Program Model

The program as envisioned will serve specific geographic catchment areas. Referrals will be made by Departments of Social Services and other public and private agencies serving the catchment area in which the program is located. The program will offer services in the following areas:
1. job counseling, training and placement
2. home making services
3. educational counseling and placement
4. day care
5. social work counseling
6. psychological testing and evaluation

Participation in the program will be on a voluntary basis and admission based on a family's initial willingness to commit itself to the process of exploring the entire family system in an effort to develop a total treatment plan. Even if the services ultimately provided are concentrated more on individual family members, it would be recognized that the problems created by the need for that service had impacted on the total family system. Also, it is suggested that as one begins to explore the problems that are presented, more often than not, it becomes apparent to all involved that there are other significant issues relating to other family members that are contributing to the present problem.

Intake will be done by a social worker assigned to the program. Meeting with the family, the worker will identify those areas in which work is needed. At this point, professionals representing those services will be drawn together as a team to work with the family in terms of identifying a total treatment plan. These professionals will either be staff members of the project or, as an alternative, the project will identify agencies in the community already providing necessary services and act as the liaison or monitoring agent. The former or latter approach will be utilized based on specific conditions existing in any given catchment area as to funding, service accessibility, etc.

Planning, Assessment and Evaluation of Services Offered

It is here that a goal attainment model of program planning and assessment will be utilized. Such a procedure will be implemented by the team which includes the total family involved. The family's involvement in planning and assessment is of paramount importance. Cline and others have observed that:

...When the patient participates in defining problem areas and in documenting the continuum of possibilities for change, he also derives therapeutic benefit. Goal attainment scaling helps him sort out problem areas in specific terms and, furthermore, is a basis on which a therapeutic contract can be made...When the primary tasks of treatment are clearly established...(it)... is less likely to become directionless and meaningless....
The concept of goal attainment scaling is one that needs clarification. For the purposes of this program, we are referring to a method through which

...highly individualized (and family) goals are set for each client. For each goal that is specified, a scale is constructed which specifies a continuum of... possible treatment outcomes. These outcomes range from 'most unfavorable treatment outcome through likely' to 'best anticipated treatment success.' A given client has at least one goal and most clients have several goals, each of which is scaled. For each goal, the... scale levels of possible treatment outcome are described in such a way as to be clear and precise and as objectively observable as possible....

The issue of goal outcomes being 'as objectively observable as possible' is most crucial. The advantage of such a procedure is that each member of the team (including the family) has a clear understanding of what the expected goals are and may measure progress made towards its attainment.

With this in mind, goals will be developed with the family and set down on paper so that at a later date, the entire team will be able to evaluate the progress made towards these goals. This is not a rigid procedure and allows for the redefining of goals based on unanticipated events. The recognition of goals is something that must be done by those members of the team involved in working on that specific goal.

General goals (such as the father obtaining a job) might be broken down into several subgoals. For example, there may be several steps that have to be accomplished before the father may actually be able to work again. These could be:

1. vocational evaluation
2. job training
3. job placement

Referring back to the issue of the father who has trouble with authoritarian figures, this might be included as part of the material that has to be dealt with in 'job training.' However, here it may be seen as related to a concrete service.

Each of the subgoals noted above will be developed in terms of steps necessary for accomplishment. For example, as regards vocational evaluation, there might be three steps:
1. vocational testing
2. vocational assessment
3. decisions as to vocational choice

Dates will be assigned to each of these steps which stipulate a time period by which it was hoped that this goal would be completed.

Potential Problems in Implementation

There are several problems that may manifest themselves in the implementation of this program. Earlier, reference was made to the belief that the child who is presented as a problem is only symptomatic of a family system that is in distress. The major reason for referral to this program will be the recommendation made by the referring agency that placement of the child may be avoided if the problems confronting the family system are resolved. However, even when the family agrees to come into the program, it is expected that there will be initial resistance to developing a treatment plan that places responsibility with the family system. Karsen and Talley have observed:

...Resistance...is the family unit's method of maintaining equilibrium. However pathological that equilibrium, considerable energy may be invested in maintaining established family patterns. The family may prevent change by defending such patterns and by adamantly denying the existence of problems. The family may deny that their child's behavior, which has been so disturbing to the referring agency, has created any disturbance within the family system. Or parents may perceive their child's abnormal behavior as something beyond their control and ability to change in order to protect themselves from criticism and responsibility....

It is here that the offering of concrete services may break through some of the initial resistance. The family's involvement in identifying these concrete needs and their role in developing a plan for reaching goals establishes an atmosphere of respect. The expectation that the family function as a member of the treatment team also creates a climate that indicates that the family will be 'worked with' and not 'worked on.' In addition, the identification of concrete services offers the family tangible evidence of what they may expect as a result of their involvement.

The professional team's reaction to involving the family in developing and evaluating treatment plans is an issue that will have to be addressed. The team will have to be very clear that
this is an intrinsic part of the treatment program. Initial work with each team prior to their meeting with the family may focus on the identification of anticipated problems in terms of the family's involvement and discussion as to how to avoid or deal with them.

A third potential problem is the question of who will act as the co-ordinator of services. This will depend largely on each individual agency that implements this project and the administrative structure that has been set up in that particular agency.

Finally, the question of cost is an important one. When one considers the amount of money involved in providing these services, it may seem rather high. This issue may be addressed from two different aspects. First, the cost of keeping a child in residential treatment is estimated to be in the neighborhood of $18,000-$20,000 a year exclusive of educational costs. In addition, David Fanshel, in the September issue of Child Welfare, reports that:

...(in New York)...recent...reports showed that for about 28,000 children...the mean length of time in care for the total group has been about 5.2 years....

Whether this stay be in a foster home, group home or residential center, it does represent a significant outlay of funds. It may ultimately be shown to be cost efficient to spend more money initially in the implementation of the suggested program. Of as great significance is the moral issue involved in the removal of children from their homes. Certainly there is enough question as to the appropriateness of this technique to allow for the implementation of other programs which attempt to keep the family unit together.

Summary

What has been offered is a model for avoiding the unnecessary institutionalization of children. Blance Bernstein, in the study done for the New York State Board of Social Welfare (1975), noted that:

...it is the problems of parents rather than the problems of the children which causes the vast majority of foster placements - almost 80%....

It has been suggested that any problems that exist within a family system impact on all of its members leading to a cyclical progression of increasing difficulties. Such a program as has been recommended may be able to deal with these system problems and accomplish the greater aim of deinstitutionalization—that is—preventing the child from ever having to leave the home.

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2. Ibid., p. 43.


in population, were the disorganizing and dehumanizing elements of urban life, epitomized by the city slum. Particularly vulnerable to the astrophysics of the city slums were the children who were described as "intelligent dwarfs"...physical and moral wrecks whose characters were predominantly shaped by their physical surroundings" (Platt, 1969:40). The assumption that a child in such an environment would be strongly tempted to enter a life of crime seemed a foregone conclusion. Constant editorializing by the newspapers strengthened the credibility of the relationship between delinquency and the slums. Thus, the increased number of indigent children in the city streets, in particular, the activities of local gangs, posed alarming problems in terms of maintaining social control. Already overburdened city administrations could not respond to the urgent public cry do something. Maintenance of social control, therefore, became the responsibility of private charitable associations. The leaders of these associations and the subsequent child saving movement were members of the middle class. This problem of social control, therefore was frequently defined in class terms and middle-class reformers interested in child welfare issued class rhetoric as part of their strategy to introduce new programs. Charles Loring Brace, for example, felt his "responsibility to God for...this great multitude of unhappy, deserted and degraded boys and girls" (Brace, 1894, p.3). Brace, however, also considered the threat the children of the poor lower classes posed to the order of middle-class society. "The immense vat of misery and crime and filth in New York challenges one to think of ten thousand children growing up almost sure to be prostitutes and rogues" (1893, 82). Based upon this interpretation of linking urbanization and delinquency he recommended the "placing out" of children in the west, for not only saving these lower class children but also of controlling the dangerous classes. By 1884, the network of Children's Aid Societies claimed the "placing out" of over 60,000 children (Hawes, 1971:102).

We can now consider the case of Mary Ellen. The literature (Kaudushin, 1967; Radbill, 1965; Bremner, 1971; Thomas, 1972; Fontana, 1973) records the sensationalized case of Mary Ellen and subsequent formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children as the origin of Child Protective Services. According to these reports, the plight of Mary Ellen had been discovered by Ellen Wheeler "who had been on an errand of mercy to a dying woman in the house adjoining, the latter asserting that she could not die happy until she had made the child's treatment known" (Bremner, 1971:186). As the trial of the little girl's foster mother revealed, Mary Ellen was...
whipped almost every day until her body was now severely bruised; she was extremely undernourished and usually confined to her bedroom, sometimes chained to the bedpost. Ms. Wheeler's efforts to arouse action by the authorities proved futile since legally they were not empowered to supersede the sacred right of the parents to discipline their child as they deemed fit. As a last recourse, Ellen Wheeler appealed to Henry Bergh of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. With the legal assistance of Elbridge T. Gerry, he initiated court action to have the child removed on the grounds that she was a member of the animal kingdom and therefore entitled to the humane treatment accorded other animals. The case generated public outrage that active concern for the humane treatment of animals antedated that of children. Thus, in 1875, the first Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Children, the forerunner of Child Protective Services, was established in New York. Fraser, like others, regards the case as signalling:

(a) that children do have a right of not being cruelly and inhumanely treated; (b) the advent of and impetus for a number of privately funded charities whose task it was to protect children; and (c) the beginning of an era that would see every state adopt neglect statutes to protect children (1976a: 324-325).

In addition to this, however, when one examines some of the facts of the case, rather than its appealing "mythical" version, the negligence of the state's child saving practices is pointedly exposed (Thomas, 1972: 308-309). As revealed in testimony at the trial, the Superintendent of Charities and Correction had indentured the abandoned child to Thomas and Mary McCormack (Bremner, 1971: 187-188). The placement was made on the basis of a single reference, the McCormack's family physician, and without the Department's knowledge that Mary Ellen was actually the illegitimate child of Thomas McCormack. The conditions of the indenture required that the McCormack's not only "instruct the child...that there is a God and what it is to lie" but that they also report on the child's condition yearly to the Superintendent's Office. According to testimony by the former Mary McCormack, now Mary Connolly, she had reported only twice in twelve years to the Superintendent who had about 500 children "passed through his department...with no recollection of (Mary Ellen) other than the records of his office record" (Thomas, 1972: 188). While Mary Connolly was sentenced to one year in the Penitentiary at hard labor, Mary Ellen was committed to an orphan asylum, "The Sheltering Arms," as the search for the little girl's grandparents continued. In spite of this insight, the court and
WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP: 
STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL WORKERS AND CLIENTS*

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ABSTRACT

An examination of recent research on women and leadership yields several strategies that women, both clients and social workers, can use to facilitate success in administration and other traditionally male work domains.

The past ten years have seen clear documentation of the problems faced by women who aspire to nontraditional occupations including administrative careers that involve responsibility for mixed-sex work groups. Socialization is blamed for self-defeating characteristics of women and inhospitable responses by potential employers and colleagues. Women are supposedly held back by their own fear of success (Horner, 1969; Tresemer, 1977), passivity (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974; Feather, 1969; Hennig and Jardim, 1977:11), and role conflict (Tropman, 1968). Women without these problems face subtle and not so subtle discrimination from others who do not recognize their skills (Rosen and Jerdee, 1974a, 1974b; Shaw, 1972), who underestimate their career commitment (Coser and Rokoff, 1971), and who isolate them from informal learning opportunities (Kanter, 1977b; Wolman and Frank, 1975). No doubt, there is an interaction between these internal psychological processes and environmental pressures in creating barriers against success for women. Structural barriers such as inflexible hours and lack of child care compound the difficulties.

On the other hand, the possibility of change finds support in research findings that men and women behave very similarly. Notwithstanding public beliefs that substantial sex differences exist (O'Leary, 1974), extensive review of research on sex differences led Jacklin and Maccoby (1975:37-8) to the conclusion that "Leadership, task persistence, achievement motivation, intellectual abilities, and many other psychological abilities do not favor one sex over the other for job performance. Women are not psychologically handicapped for positions in management."

These findings have affected social work in two ways, both widely recognized. As a profession dedicated to the realization of human potential, we are morally opposed to restrictions on the development of this potential in women. Our opposition holds whether the restrictions appear to be self-imposed (fear of success) or imposed by others (discrimination). Data confirming the unequal opportunities of women thus rekindle a professional commitment to provide services that support rather than restrict the aspirations of female clients. Second, the findings have stimulated a reexamination of the opportunities afforded women within the profession of social work itself. In spite of the numerical predominance of women in social

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work and our commitment to human development, the utilization of women in social work reflects wider social practices that result in inequality. Women are paid less for similar work and are much less likely to hold administrative positions (Fanshel, 1976; Gould and Bok-Lim, 1976; Grimm and Stern, 1974; Scotch, 1971; Williams, et. al., 1974). Although some differences reflect choices (Brager and Michael 1969), discrimination also contributes to the disparities in position and salary between male and female social workers (Zietz and Erlich, 1976).

These observations of sex-related differences have stimulated the renewed commitment of the profession to equality of opportunity within social work. For example, the Delegate Assembly of the National Association of Social Workers adopted a new position on the status of the women in the profession and mandated the establishment of a Women's Task Force in May 1973 (NASW News, June 1973:1,4). Simultaneously to these institutional changes, individual female social workers are shedding sex-role limitations to their personal career goals.

The challenge is to find ways to realize these professional commitments and personal aspirations. This paper examines the implications of recent research on women and leadership for several strategies that individual women can use to improve their occupational mobility.

Current research is related to four major type of strategies towards women's achievement of nontraditional roles. One approach seeks to make up alleged skill and motivation deficits that disadvantage women in competition with men. Therapeutic and other techniques for overcoming fear of success, developing achievement motivation, and handling role conflict are representative examples. A second approach focuses on changing problematic attitudes of significant persons within the work environment to enhance the recognition and utilization of women's competence. These attitudes have received considerable research attention (O'Leary, 1974). Mechanisms for changing the attitudes have received less attention. A third approach focuses on structures which affect behavior and attitudes indirectly. For example, lack of child care puts a realistic limitation on the commitment a parent, particularly the mother, can make to work. Corporate career development plans that include geographic moves interfere with the other spouse's career commitments. The fourth strategy calls for women to compensate for inhospitable responses from the work environment and structural impediments in order to succeed in spite of barriers. It is this class of strategies which will be described in terms of the implications of current research.

The contributions of recent research are often indirect and fall short of providing clear evidence for the effectiveness of specific actions by women. On the other hand, by identifying barriers, research has directed attention to the need for strategies for removing or circumventing specific barriers. Hence individual women are saved from surprises and efforts to find generalizable solutions are stimulated. Research findings have also suggested potential strategies and provide at least indirect support for their usefulness. Research also clarifies the trade-offs surrounding the choices facing women in the occupational sphere. Finally, research results themselves can be used in shaping the cognitive strategies women
need to maintain self-confidence and perseverance as they meet the inevitable hur-
dles.

The strategies to be discussed should be seen as representative rather than exhaustive of the special efforts that can help women. They overlap with other kinds of strategies. Several of the strategies are closely related to what may be termed self-improvement strategies although they differ by developing exceptional strengths rather than filling deficits. The suggested individual acts also contribute to social change as the impact of numerous personal efforts is felt. Women who have succeeded in nontraditional roles in spite of current difficulties inspire women to extraordinary efforts towards what were formerly unthinkable occupational goals even as they collectively work for the social change which will eventually lessen the barriers they face. The importance of the strategies described lies both in their availability and potential efficacy for individual women as they face their personal work environments.

1. Document and Promote Your Skills

The suggestion that women make special efforts to document and promote their skills is based on findings that the skills of women in nontraditional roles are consistently rated as less than those of men when, in fact, experimental controls have provided equal skills (Rosen and Jerdee, 1974a, 1974b; Shaw, 1972). This discrepancy increases where the criteria of performance are nebulous as in management. Sex role stereotypes provide handy rules of thumb when performance criteria are unclear and difficult to measure (Kanter, 1977a:52-5; Shaw, 1972).

Assessment center procedures can be a particular boon to women because they document leadership skills that are not easily quantified in normal daily work. Over the years, management has developed trust in the measures of leadership potential that come from objective evaluations of performance on the simulated exercises that comprise assessment. Thus a good assessment rating is valuable in getting one's competence recognized by an otherwise prejudiced superior. Women undergoing assessment have received similar ratings to men and achieved similar promotions in relation to their ratings (Moses and Boehm, 1975).

2. Tell Others of Your Career Plans and Commitment

Women lose not only because their skills are underrated but also because they are not seen as having the same long-term potential for service as men. In studies of recruitment and promotion decisions, women are less discriminated against on evaluations of competence than on the more critical decision to hire (Cohen, 1976; Rosen and Jerdee, 1974a). A key factor seems to be women's lower rating on potential for long service. This is the variable on which women are seen as most different from men (Rosen and Jerdee, 1974a).

Men are assumed to have career commitment. Women must prove it against the stereotype. Even women with many years of steady employment face managers' continued presumptions that they will quit anytime to return home (Kanter, 1977:67).
3. **Look for Work Groups That Welcome Women**

In spite of much documentation that women face resistance in the workplace, there is also research evidence that women are able to perform well and be recognized in many organizations. Studies in a variety of work settings show women with administrative responsibilities to behave similarly to males in comparable jobs (as described by themselves, their supervisors, and/or their subordinates) (Bartol and Wortman, 1975; Bartol and Wortman, 1976; Chapman, 1975; Day and Stogdill, 1972; Hunt, 1974; Kobayashi, 1974; Longstreth, 1973; Yerby, 1975) and to be similarly effective as measured by co-worker opinion or quantitative output (Bartol, 1974; Day and Stogdill, 1972; Hunt, 1974).

A key person to look for is the potential mentor, the more experienced senior person who may take a special interest in the career of a subordinate and help her along with informal promotion, protection and teaching. Although it is more difficult for male administrators to make the necessary identification with female aspirants (Kanter, 1977:181-4), men do help women in this way. Male mentors figure prominently in the work lives of women successful in nontraditional fields (Hennig and Jardim, 1977:129-31).

Although someone must pave the way, the predominately or exclusively male work group is likely to be least hospitable to an individual woman. The problem is not one of attitude alone but more importantly of the group dynamics stimulated by the arrival of an outsider. Participant observation of sales groups (Kanter, 1977b) and even psychiatric residents (Wolman and Frank, 1975) provides data on how male energy gets redirected from the task at hand to redefining group membership, and the lone female is excluded from group support. In one assessment center study, female performance didn’t decrease as the proportion of males in the group increased, but male leadership, forcefulness, dependence, communication and confidence decreased as the proportion of females in the group increased (Schmitt and Hill, 1977).

Look for work settings where women hold responsible positions, but be prepared to work longer and harder than male counterparts for similar recognition. In spite of comparable performance, women were a small percentage of the leaders studied in the research just cited. An explanation is that women must be more competent than men in order to be perceived as equally competent. This contention is supported by findings that female recruits need to be seen as more qualified in their task orientation than males do to be hired (Cohen, 1976) and that women leaders are older and better trained than males in similar positions (Day and Stogdill, 1972). Extra work experience and extra training increase competence and also prove the seriousness of women's career commitment.

4. **Develop Effective Mechanisms for Handling Stress**

Stress is inevitable as women take on new and more responsible work roles. Particularly nettlesome are the double binds women face in choosing appropriate work behavior. For example, women have to do their jobs especially well in order to be seen as competent, and yet doing a good job in a nontraditional role is often
threatening to male colleagues. This problem is documented in organizational studies (Kanter, 1977a; Wolman and Frank, 1975) and implied by social psychological research on interpersonal attraction (Hagen and Kahn, 1975; Piacente, et al., 1974; Shaffer and Wegley, 1974; Spence and Helmreich, 1972).

Another dilemma that will be discussed at greater length is the issue of leadership style. Management theory suggests the need for both a task and a human-relations focus in good leaders (Campbell, et al., 1970:415-41). It is further suggested that women will be most successful if they do not deviate too far from societal expectations of them and are particularly considerate and human-relations oriented in their approach to management (Petty and Lee, 1975). Petty and Miles (1976) surveyed social workers and found that, indeed, the satisfaction of persons with a female supervisor increased if the female supervisor used a considerate style. Subordinate satisfaction for people with male supervisors wasn't related to the male supervisor's consideration. On the other hand, satisfaction of social workers with a male supervisor was increased if he was task oriented. Task orientation of supervisor did not effect satisfaction if the supervisor was a woman. Similarly, Rosen and Jerdee (1973) found that supervisors thought a woman supervisor should use a considerate style in their supervision more than was necessary for a man.

On the other hand, by adopting a human-relations oriented leadership style, a woman runs the risk of being seen stereotypically. She is believed to be skilled interpersonally but lacking other needed leadership qualities such as emotional stability, aggressiveness, self-reliance and objectivity. Men, not women, are believed to generally possess these qualities (Schein, 1973). Rosen and Jerdee (1975) showed this experimentally. Bank managers were asked to respond to grievances of employees in a simulation exercise. The grievances might come from a man or from a woman. The style of the grievance could be polite and pleading or aggressive and threatening. Male grievances were replied to favorably - they got what they wanted - whether they were polite or threatening. Women got their way much less, but they were much more likely to receive a favorable response if they were threatening. They seemingly had to take drastic steps to get their manager's attention. A finding that women corporation presidents are more task oriented than male presidents (Helmich, 1974) may reflect an adaptation these women made in order to be taken seriously.

These and other conflicts unique to women require special coping mechanisms if women are to maintain personal satisfactions and avoid defensive responses that further hinder occupational success. (However provoked they have been, emotional displays by women are judged as signs of incompetence (Kanter, 1977:23-5). Similarly, withdrawal also reduces stress at the expense of occupational goals). That women can develop the resiliency needed to live with these conflicting demands is suggested by a finding that female leaders have a greater tolerance for ambiguity than their male counterparts (Bartol and Wortman, 1976).

5. Use Knowledge as a Source of Strength in Pursuit of Professional Goals
Confidence breeds success. Yet sex role stereotypes both undermine and debase the skills on which women seek to build their confidence. The literature that documents these processes contributes to cognitive strategies for avoiding self-definitions that reflect social myths. Research findings can help place concerns about adequacy that develop in unfavorable environments into perspective. For example, men consistently overestimate their performance while women underestimate theirs (Crandle, 1975). In spite of the strong stereotypes held, there are few documented differences between men and women in the qualities needed for leadership (Jacklin and Maccoby, 1975). One of the few studies using direct observation of women aspiring to leadership found no differences in their leadership style from that of men and found their groups' productivity only slightly lower (Hunt, 1974). Fears of the image of the domineering female boss may be allayed by findings that women with a high need for dominance engender equal satisfaction and even surpass the performance of high dominance men and low dominance women in group leadership in some circumstances (Bartol, 1974).

CONCLUSION

The strategies that have been described reflect a careful examination of one portion of the developing literature on women in traditionally male domains. Although they provide a starting place, these strategies are not enough. Increasingly in question are the tremendous time and energy demands made on male executives. Yet to succeed at these same positions, women must make an even bigger investment since they must overcome sex barriers as well as do the job. Social change is needed both to reduce the barriers for women and to increase options for achieving satisfying work without either men or women having to eliminate the other enjoyable and important aspects of life. Women seeking satisfactory personal and work lives cannot separate their personal aspirations from the social forces that impact their ability to reach their goals. The payoff from energies directed at social change will come, in part, from saving the energy women now spend simply to jump unnecessary hurdles.

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SPECIFYING SOCIOLOGICAL OPTIONS AND SOCIAL WELFARE STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

As a profession, social work applies knowledge constructs from various social sciences. In this article attention is given to the relation between sociology and social work. The specific areas reviewed include conceptions of the social arrangement, the role of complex organizations, and social change theories. Each of these three broad areas have internal variations which have implications for sociology, social work, and attempts to integrate the two.

Social work, like other professions, is oriented to applying knowledge which, in part, is derived from academic disciplines. In recent years, social work has been conspicuous in its attempts to move beyond its traditional relationship with the discipline of psychology. One of the specific disciplines which social work is looking to with renewed interest is sociology. In examining possible relations between sociology and social work, Alfred McLung Lee has recently stressed the shared base of humanism within both fields. What this paper attempts to do is look at the possible relations between sociology and social work in light of three interrelated substantive points. They are: (1) the nature of social arrangements, and how sociologists and social workers might choose to conceptualize social arrangements; (2) the preferred versus the actual state of the welfare institution in light of organizational theory and behavior; (3) a discussion of status and role relations of professionals and consumers in applied social change efforts. These three points are affected by developments in sociological theory and research concerning society, complex organizations, and social change.

CONCEPTIONS OF THE SOCIAL ARRANGEMENT

In broad social theory, we are all aware of the two general contending points of view, namely Order Theory and Conflict Theory. Order theory basically proceeds from the conceptual question of how cohesion stability and identity of the social system is achieved. In answering this question there is derived a conceptual emphasis upon the major concepts of values and norms. More specifically any social arrangement is said to be
produced when actors reflect, through their behavior, consensual acceptance of the norms and values. Stemming from this type of theory is a conceptual tendency to perceive and expect cohesion among desperate actors. In fact via the use of systems theory, there is a conceptual expectation that various structures in the social system can and should mesh, be integrated to produce the stable social arrangement.

Several consequences, quite relevant to social work, are logically produced. One has to do with the conception of the social arrangement as a system which is analogous to the physical system or body. In the physical system when there is a health problem in one or more members there is a recognition that the well-being of the entire body may be affected. Further the fields which relate to the diagnosis and treatment of the physical basically attempt to move from symptoms to meaning to logical solutions. Often in order theory there is an attempt to proceed in a similar fashion when given behavioral forms and/or groups appear to disrupt the dominant flow of social relations within the social system. In short, behavior, social functioning which is at variance with the dominant norm, value structures is defined as deviant or, and when such deviance is extensive, a social problem—a problem precisely because it produces a threat to the identity and integrity of the social body.

Related to this then is a second consequence for social work, namely that dominant norm-value structures are the standards for health and pathology on individual and group levels. This in turn tends to produce a conceptual appreciation in the helping fields for such order concepts as sickness, social and personal disorganization, anomie, stress, and weakened social control.

If concepts such as norms and values in turn tend to influence the use of such explanatory concepts as sickness, disorganization, anomie, then these latter concepts heavily influence the logic and selection of intervention strategies available to social work. More specifically, when there are strains operating within a social system, order theory tends to suggest what boundary maintenance processes should operate. Such processes, given the prior conceptual focus upon cohesion, basically operate either to remove or reduce the problematical behavior, or, if necessary, to absorb within the social system the variation in the least disruptive manner.

Shattuck has suggested that boundary maintenance tends to involve three distinct stages: the stage of separation, the stage of containment, and the stage of (re)socialization. Separation basically means removing, in diverse ways, the problematical actors and behavioral forms from the normal range of interaction in a social system. Such separations have historically produced jails, concentration camps, death, ghettos, or "deviant" areas within communities. Containment is the corollary process whereby, once concentrated problematical populations are produced via
separation, there is the attempt to minimize the potential strength and power these actors have by virtue of their density. This can involve armed guards, pacifying rewards and services for compliance, and conditioning groups not to expect anything more than what they experience. Socialization is the attempt to inculcate contained populations with behavioral expectations which are functional to the broader social system. Devices such as education, training, therapy are perceived as functional to producing more appropriate behavioral adjustments.

Lest it not be obvious, the actors delegated by the social system to facilitate effective boundary maintenance processes often involve members of the social work profession. In using order theory concepts the latent function of social work efforts, often not perceived by the helpers, is to control people and behavior while the manifest purpose is often a professional and personal motivation to improve social functioning and help deprived populations. In short there can be a discrepancy between individual and system purposes. The net result of the relation between order theory and social work is that the profession of social work often does not address itself to significant structural change, but rather chooses to perceive intervention via the nonstructural prism of mental health.

Conflict, or Coercion Theory, is a relatively systematic attempt to look at society via the conceptual question of how change (rather than cohesion) is produced. Generally this perspective sees values and norms as far less important than the concept of interests. In fact norms and values are assumed to be extensions of selected interests. Thus social arrangements are fluidly produced by the process of some groups and interests having the ability to coerce others. Since some groups and interests have coercion possibilities, i.e., power resources, this perspective suggests that vertical relationships will characterize the social arrangements. These relationships of inequity at times produce behavioral struggles by the power inferiors in the role relationships. In fact it is precisely because of these power inequities and prior differences in interests and behavior that change occurs and is predictable in social arrangements. Given this conceptual reasoning, dissensus in thought and behavioral forms can be not only predictable, but also normal.

When fields such as social work are influenced by this type of social theory, relevant concepts for assessing people and behavior do not necessarily emphasize sickness, anomie, etc. Rather there is conceptual appreciation for assessing the conditions of organization, power inequities, incompatibility of interests, and degree of alienation. Further there is a conceptual willingness to entertain the possibility that behavioral change struggles are constructive and that existing dominant norms and values may be, to use Goodman's phrase, "absurd."

Within this perspective logically derived intervention by social workers should not reflect a commitment to boundary maintenance
processes. Rather intervention strongly suggests promoting separateness, so as to facilitate negotiating and bargaining, and to structurally insure accommodation of interests within the social arrangement. Separateness basically refers to social workers encouraging, facilitating positive sense of group interests and group solidarity. If this is achieved, separateness can be a way of producing greater collective power which is seen as functional to the group's sense of self, and as a vehicle for engaging in trade-off processes with dominant society. In place of intervening into the person or group, conflict theory suggests change of the current social structure by the group. In that way functioning perceived as relevant to group interests and needs is stressed. Obviously this perspective is quite compatible with recent trends, to be discussed below, to replace narrow individual client dependency upon professionals with collective consumerism.

Ultimately social theory, which speaks to a view of society being based upon consensus, has to rely on the concepts discussed in Weber, i.e., tradition, charismatic leaders, and reason. Normally, contemporary developed societies largely achieve the degree of consensus that they have by virtue of reason. But to produce consensual agreement such systems have to have significant participation by all, including the weak and problemmatical. Such participation could breed evaluation, criticism and dissent of the existing social arrangement. The choices for the members of society, and certainly for the professional helper is: How much stability, and how much dissent? How we place ourselves relative the types of social theory discussed, and their conceptual foci, seems to strongly suggest varying answers relevant to intervention strategies.

THE PREFERRED AND ACTUAL SOCIAL WELFARE INSTITUTION: BELIEF VS. BEHAVIOR

Again, the kind of welfare institution we wish to operate within and/or to achieve involves a choice, or at least a positioning of oneself. Some twenty-odd years ago, Wilensky and Lebeaux introduced the classic dichotomy relative to social welfare institutions, namely the residual and primary conceptions. A residual welfare institution being the kind which was essentially weak, dependent upon other institutions, namely family and economy, and basically dealt with limited populations, after problems were clearly present and quite dysfunctional to the social system. The primary institution classification spoke to a social welfare institution which was to be strong, equal in importance to the other institutions, with distinctive ends, and which was universal and comprehensive in a rather developmental and preventive fashion.

Those of us who are directly associated with the helping fields will readily profess a value-belief commitment to the primary institution conception. To do otherwise would mean some cognitive acceptance of the dominant, anti-welfare values, and how they are peculiarly
operationalized in America. These would include work, economic individualism, localism, private over public, and a rather minimal role for government. Intellectually we recognize that a secondary conception of welfare logically denotes seeing welfare expenditures as a drain on the gross national product, to be orchestrated to reinforce the dominant economic model of organization, and to generally serve as a mediating role between selected economic and community interests and culture. Incorporating into oneself a preference for a residual conception of welfare suggests minimal, if any, appreciation for the role of the structural and economic factors associated with "American society as a social problem,"—a suggestion which our contemporary professional conditioning, i.e., formal training, largely precludes.

Yet on a behavior level, the helping professions seem to reflect the fact that the way welfare is distributed is at variance with beliefs inculcated in professional formal training, and quite in line with the residual conception of welfare. The obvious question, given this discrepancy between beliefs and behavior, is why do beliefs of professionals have such little impact on their behavior? In general terms the answer, in part, involves the interactive role of the professional to his/her organization.

Social work is obviously a profession tied to the formal organization and is influenced heavily by it. Besides the widely discussed negatives of dysfunctions of formal organizations—organizational needs taking precedence over service, excessive specialization, lack of innovation, rigidity of procedures, etc.—there are two other issues which affect professional attitudes and behavior. They are: (1) how professionals relate to their organizational contexts, and (2) the monopolistic nature of the bureaucratic service structure.

1. Professionals in bureaucratic settings

Finch has indicated that a central concern of bureaucrats who are professionals is the problem of how to maximize and achieve personal autonomy from various bureaucratic controls. In fact, according to Finch, trends in specialized service systems suggest that professional bureaucrats can anticipate less autonomy over time. Correlated to the dilemma of personal autonomy versus bureaucratic control is a second concern associated with professional autonomy, namely, how do workers routinely act out professional beliefs, preferences and service objectives, and yet function in terms of organizational needs. Green has suggested that these two types of concern often lead to various personal and professional adjustments. One type of adjustment involves, over time, the scaling down of service objectives by professionals. This type of adjustment is best explained by Blau's assertion that there often is an inverse relation between experience in a bureaucratic setting and professional motivation to provide service. Put more concretely, young

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and inexperienced professionals, fresh from formal training settings and armed with primary institution ideals of service, are often unable to negotiate bureaucratic settings to meet client needs. On the other hand, more experienced professionals could theoretically be of more service to clients but the experience differential is vitiated by the very experience within the bureaucratic setting. Such experiences tend to produce diminished motivations to serve. In short many professionals can become job holders who are professionals rather than vice versa.

Still another type of adjustment for professionals is to seek out and collectively create areas of high personal control in their work. One way for this to occur is to accept certain kinds of internal control in particular areas in exchange for minimal controls in other areas. For example in most social service systems there is an increasing reliance upon staff accountability via fiscal audits, PERT, PPBS, MBO. Formal training facilities now widely inculcate this accounting orientation in their programs. But note that the type of control, and accountability, that is produced is often within the context of business criteria, such as efficiency, economy. Criteria, which Gouldner, Blau and others state, intrinsically may have little to do with service objectives, and more to do with dominant political and economic interests. In return for this type of control, professionals are often able to create some degree of internal autonomy and control over daily service provision. As a result the actual specifics of programming are largely subject to professional peer control, within the context of economic, political interests of the broader community. The bottom line often is that professionals are willing to trade primary institution service ideals for some narrow degree of professional autonomy. The trade-off is often so imbalanced that the broader community and economic interests do not perceive that they have traded anything significant. Put another way, professionals often achieve autonomy to create and provide rather irrelevant programming. The group that pays for the trade-off, of course, is the client/consumer group who is effectively denied any possibility of witnessing a primary institution of social welfare. To test this latter conclusion only two questions have to be asked: (1) are the excessively business-oriented criteria, which are used, the criteria which recipient populations would routinely select, (2) are the produced services, to which the criteria are being applied, necessarily preferred by consumers?

2. Monopolistic structure of social services

The tendency for organizational and professional self-interests at times to take precedence over client/consumer interests is a rather natural consequence of the monopolistic nature of the structure of social services. Monopoly in social service speaks to two interrelated characteristics: the dominance of nonmarket mechanisms with little actual emphasis upon supply-demand dynamics, and little or no accountability to primary consumers (clients), while being primarily accountable to peer
interests (professionals) and secondary consumers (economic interests, contributors, politicians). Central to these two characteristics is the passive and dependent role of the consumer.

Inherent in the current structure of services is the fact that many agencies, because they are specialized and few in number relative to potential demand, do not really need primary consumers. In fact agencies often are over-subscribed, and providers can be somewhat selective in whom they serve, with what kind of services, under what requirements or conditions. Consumers in many service areas are needed only in the sense of providing documentation to fiscal monitors that the service being provided is necessary. The net result of this tends to follow Reid's analysis that, "... the primary consumers cannot reward organizations providing social services which they consider good. Seldom do they have an opportunity to choose openly ... among agencies .... An agency finds little advantage in pleasing a customer." This becomes even more of a problem for the poor because many of the types of services they need are not directly supported by primary consumers, i.e., the poor really can not reward or influence the range of service provision.

Several rather disturbing effects are possible within such a structural arrangement. First, as Safretti-Larson suggests, professionals can manipulate market mechanisms so as to promote their positions of advantage, e.g., wages, location of services, etc. Second, resources for services are not necessarily allocated relevant to consumer perceived needs. The simple reason for this is that consumers do not have current positions of power, while professionals and others do. Third, some consumers, given the possibility of incongruence between actual consumer needs and service provision, may have difficulty in presenting needs, and adjusting attitudes and behavior to fit into provided services. From this, professionals are afforded even more license to judge some consumers as problem clients, hard-to-serve clients or possessing maladaptive behavior. In short, structurally there is set up a perception of "good" client client as one who reflects congruence and acceptance of organization-professional expectations. Fourth, in some cases the dynamic suggested in the third point can put worker and consumers into an adversary position which in turn can lead to withdrawal and even greater personal and programmatic insulation from certain consumer types and social areas. If this occurs, there obviously is even greater discretion afforded professionals relative to need definition and program provision.

SOCIAL CHANGE EFFORTS

Mayer has suggested that social change theory basically involves rearrangement of pre-existing status, role and membership patterns. Specht and Meenaghan have suggested that when proposals in social welfare involve significant change in current status-role patterns the
strategy of intervention which is most likely to be relevant is that which presupposes an adversary or conflict orientation by the change group.\textsuperscript{28}

Running somewhat parallel to these change discussions is Reid's assertion that there are basically three types of policy perspectives which can influence change.\textsuperscript{29} They are the planning or technical model, the community action model, and the competitive-market model. The first model basically involves professionals who have significant say in how and what should be changed. From the discussion above it would appear that the type of structural change that would be produced, if any, would be minimal. Organizational factors previously discussed, as well as the disproportionate amount of professionals and administrators who are clinically trained and oriented, suggest that this may not be a viable option to promote structural change. The second type of change speaks to organizing and mobilizing consumers and would-be consumers to exercise collective and political power upon organizations. While this is definitely relevant to promoting organizational responses, the resources of such a group would largely be tied to their numbers, and the consumer's ability to disrupt "normal" processes within organizations. Such consumer groups however would still be at the mercy of supply and demand mechanisms. The third model suggests that if funding mechanisms, via vouchers, would by-pass organizations and professionals, and distribute benefit purchasing power to consumers, current supply/demand mechanisms could be affected. The reason for this would be that benefits might be used for more relevant, more accessible, and cheaper services. If this were to occur, the nature and amount of services could be positively affected. One of the limitations of the latter model involves the probable insensitivity and lack of appropriate change of the current service arrangement to individual consumer using voucher benefits. Another speaks to the realistic fact of why should benefits be distributed directly to consumers in the first place without prior use of collective consumer power. It would appear that models two and three would have to be combined if there is to be some likelihood that significant structural change would occur.

Even without a corresponding policy change involving benefit distribution, consumers, if they are organized, could negotiate more significant kinds of involvement in service provision. Some of these include: (1) collective presentation of service expectations, type and amount, (2) introduction of contract relations between providers and consumers, (3) direct involvement in the planning of services or treatment for family members, (4) evaluation, official or unofficial, of current services, (5) collectively presenting information, including consumer evaluations, to funders and boards of agencies, (6) participation in the screening of prospective staff and administrators, and (7) in some service areas, former consumers negotiating to provide service to current or would-be consumers facing similar situations.
Changes such as these, which basically involve new status and role positions for consumers, may be desirable for many reasons. First they are in keeping with many current conceptions of health which speak to the need for an active role on the part of clients. Second, they are compatible with role theory which says the role of recipient does not exhaust the set of role possibilities open to people. Third, consumers, because of needs and experiences, can often be more motivated than professionals to extend services, and in many cases, to relate to fellow consumers. Lastly, significant involvement of consumers could increase the degree of fit between service needs and service provision.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have attempted to explore the possible relations in society between sociology and social work, giving special attention to the mediating role of theory, organizational context and type of appropriate social change efforts.

The discussion has suggested considerable room for choice on the part of the professional worker. One choice to some degree involves promoting change, de-emphasizing organizational needs, and encouraging role-status rearrangements for consumers. The other suggests promoting cohesion, promoting professional needs in organizational settings, and preserving current role-status inequities between professionals and consumers.

SOURCES


10. Ibid., pp. 703-707.

11. Ibid., pp. 703-707.


17. Up to recently there has been a beginning awareness of the two factors as disparate points, but little attention has been given to analyzing their functional interrelation.


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25. Reid, op. cit., p. 47.

26. Based on a conversation with M. Sarfretti-Larson relevant to a forthcoming book, as yet untitled, on the role of professions.


29. Reid, op. cit., pp. 50-54.

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION: 
RADICAL THOUGHT IN ACTION

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ABSTRACT

Through the experiences of a group of social work students, this paper critiques social work education and deals with two levels of the educational experience: the oppressive atmosphere of the school and the conceptual content of the curriculum. An alternative model is presented, which attempts to combine radical social work theory with a radicalized educational process and methodology.

A recent issue of Social Work highlighted some of the controversy within the profession regarding the current state of social work education.1 Expressing dissatisfaction with the range of differences among school curricula, leading professionals debate such topics as the merits of a generic versus a specific approach, and the utility of various clinical methodologies. None of these areas of disagreement, however, challenge theoretical assumptions common to all the approaches or question the accepted value base of the profession.

This article will relate how, a group of students at a school of social work, responded to what we identified as fundamental deficiencies in our educational environment by forming a student support and study group. What follows is an account of the evolution of what has become known as the Radical Social Work Group. Since part of our discontent with traditional social work education has been with philosophical abstractions that have little relation to the real dilemmas of concrete situations, we feel it is important to ground our conceptual framework in the context of the group process. Therefore, in writing this article, we have consciously chosen to recount some of our group's

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experiences, as well as to conceptualize the development of an analysis of social work education.

The observations and criticisms of the school which we recount are our own perceptions, which may or may not be shared by fellow students. Nevertheless, we do believe that the type of response we initiated to these perceived conditions has developed into a unique effort -- a sustained, organized attempt to develop an alternative learning experience. Many of the issues we have raised and the contradictions with which we have struggled, are common to other students in schools of social work and the profession in general. For this reason, it is our hope that our experience will further stimulate discussion about the nature of social work education and provide the beginnings of a model for restructuring and revitalizing programs of study.

**CRITIQUE OF CONVENTIONAL SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION**

Although each of us had individual reasons for becoming group members, from the outset we identified a common base of frustration. Our dissatisfaction was with both the oppressive atmosphere of the school and the content of class sessions. In the following section, we will deal first with our experience of oppression as students, and then proceed to address the deficiencies of class content.

**Oppressive Atmosphere**

We identified a pervasive atmosphere of rigidity at the School of Social Work as one source of our oppression. Being expected to respond to a variety of demands, we had little input into academic decisions. Our course selection, as well as field placements, were predetermined. We were confronted with a structure which delineated how virtually all our time would be spent. Thus, we were immersed in a flurry of activity, churning out voluminous assignments while also attempting to meet the requirements of the field agencies. Any attempt to question the suitability of a field agency, or any failure to meet an assignment deadline, was regarded as immature and resistant behavior inconsistent with a professional approach.

In addition to the onerous work load, there were more subtle pressures promoting conformity. One was expected to participate in class, and to do so within prescribed limits. We were required to vent our innermost feelings and attitudes. Anger was encouraged, provided we were able to "deal with the negative" and accept the "reality" of social institutions by assuming the function of the agency. The message was obedience and adaptation. Despite their pseudo-activist rhetoric, we felt pressured to passively accept the school's regime. We were conscious, moreover, of the ever-present threat of being "counseled out" for expressing inappropriate attitudes.

This type of educational methodology, and the atmosphere of fear and suspicion which it engenders, is by no means unique to schools of social work. Critics of the American educational system discuss the negative effects of the socialization process to which students in general are subjected. Farber, in his controversial book *Student As Nigger*, notes examples of how creativity is stifled in classrooms where pupils exercise thought only within narrow limits. The "how" of learning, he asserts, is more important than the "what". Similarly, Paulo Freire, a Latin American educator, rejects what he labels the "banking model of education", which assumes that knowledge is something which is given to those who
know nothing by those who know. He views such domination of student by teacher as a fundamentally oppressive relationship which fosters dependency. Within this structure, one cannot learn to develop a questioning stance toward the world.

Others depict American schools as institutions which socialize individuals to perpetuate authoritarian, competitive relationships and value systems essential to the maintenance of our capitalist society. The schools' emphasis on "proper behavior" fosters an uncritical attitude among students, which prepares them to fit into roles and acquire job goals consistent with the demands of the labor market.

Within this context, it can be argued that schools of social work prepare students to assume their places in the work force. As Bowles and Gintis put it:

Schools...create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly" to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process. Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere.

Though the oppressive atmosphere of schools of social work is in some respects similar to the conditions that exist at other educational institutions, there is evidence to suggest that social work schools are unique in both the types and degree of pressures to which students are subjected. Piven and Cloward discuss the extent to which students are infantilized and trained to perform agency function. Others cite the maternalistic attitude adopted by the faculty and the difficulty of negotiating the necessarily conflicting demands of agency placement and school curriculum as being dilemmas particular to social work students. As new students, we faced the glaring contradiction between the reality of our oppression and the school's avowed commitment to social change and the Rankian theory of maximizing human growth and development. The struggle to reconcile these discrepancies was a strong impetus for our coming together to find another way.

Deficiencies in Conceptual Frameworks

This section will deal with the nature of our discontent with the specific content of class sessions; i.e., deficiencies we perceived both in the theoretical material itself and in the manner in which the subject matter was taught. We will first make some general critical observations of the curriculum, and then relate this analysis to four key theoretical concepts: practice for social change, eradication of racism, functional social work, and systems theory.

All our courses shared the lack of a cohesive, fully developed political-economic analysis of social conditions. There was, moreover, a common tacit acceptance of capitalism and its value system. This stance is inherent in the definition of three social work values as expressed in the following Working Definition of Social Work Practice:

The individual is the primary concern of society...An essential attribute of a democratic society is the realization of the full potential of each individual and the assumption of his social responsibility through active participation in society...Society has a responsibility to provide ways in which obstacles to this
self-realization can be overcome or prevented. 10

This emphasis on individual self-actualization is a capitalist view of the person in society. Within this framework, ultimate societal goals are conceived of as the result of the sum of the satisfaction of many individual needs. As Gottschalk puts it, social welfare thus serves to "...encourage, promote, and maximize self sufficiency." 11 Such a perspective further implies that the capitalist system is capable of meeting these individual needs. Independent efforts, rather than cooperative acts, are stressed. This view is consistent with the capitalist concept of competition in the marketing of goods and services. There is also no suggestion of any conflict between the goals of the social system and those of the individual. On the contrary, there is the inherent assumption of a fundamental harmony of interest between the two. By failing to examine some of these underlying assumptions, our classes in effect supported, rather than challenged, the status quo.

The school's approach to the concept of social work practice for social change is one example of this dearth of analysis. From the beginning of our contact with the school, we were told that we should "be about social change." The school catalogue states:

The M.S.W. program places emphasis on learning professional practice for social change directed toward the achievement of distributive justice in the social services...13

In the course of our two years, this view of social change was not further explicated. The term itself was part of the jargon of the school, a catch-all which could encompass activities ranging from a minute change effort to a large-scale revolution. Emphasizing the complexity of this concept and its common misuse, Tropp points out the danger of uncritically advocating for change. Not all change, he asserts, is desirable and change can be oppressive as well as liberating.13

Besides the vagueness of the concept itself, there was little discussion of what means should be employed in change efforts. The specified goal of distributive justice was not defined. The question of whether redistribution of resources would involve a major restructuring of society was not raised. Students were left with the dilemma of how this goal could be accomplished.

Because the system itself, with its interlocking political, economic, social, and value components was not critically analyzed, discussion of change strategies was necessarily limited. Without a grasp of the total milieu in which change efforts would be attempted, and the resultant awareness of the political nature of all such efforts, the concept of social change was devoid of meaning. This narrow perspective accepted the existing social structure as given, and prevented the formulation of creative change proposals that would involve an extensive reordering of existing priorities.

We had similar problems with the manner in which the subject of racism was taught. Since the eradication of racism is identified by the school as "...a central priority and major focus for social change"14 many of our class discussions focused on this issue. Racism was examined both in its interpersonal and institutional forms with major emphasis on formulating strategies to attack the latter.
Agreeing that racism is indeed a critical social problem, our group felt that racism was approached from the same limited perspective as social change. Although we did study the history of racism, it was presented as an isolated phenomenon. Connections were not made between racist practices and the manner in which the capitalist system has helped to perpetuate their existence. Similarly, the interrelationships between racism and other forms of oppression which serve to support the system (e.g. sexism), were not explored. On the contrary, if the topic was raised in class discussion, the teacher would often dismiss it with the comment that we were avoiding confronting our own racism. This stance was conceptually naïve and denied an additional dimension to the analysis of this complex problem.

Functional social work theory, which originated at our school, is often taught in first year practice courses. According to this theory:

Social work ... consists of the administering of programs of social services, supported by society in its own interest, as well as the interest of the immediate clientele served. 15

The theory emphasizes that social workers derive their sanction from society by carrying out the function of the social work agency. Smalley states, "The primary purpose is accomplishment of the agency's social purpose ..."16

Our principal criticism of this theory was that it assumed that the welfare of the client and the function of the agency are congruent. Agencies are viewed as benefactors. The reality of the situation is that often they are also oppressors. The discrepancy between the goals of the agency and the needs of the client often necessitates the worker's confronting the agency on behalf of the client to obtain even minimal benefits from the agency. Piven and Cloward emphasize that agencies operate primarily to perpetuate their own existence, and, within the framework of society at large, operate as a means of social control.17 The functional approach, which represents the agency and worker in isolation from the impact of outside forces, lacks a broad societal perspective. The social worker is given tacit permission to defer to the agency function, rather than to raise questions about the legitimacy of its existence and its ability to respond to the expressed needs of its clientele.

Systems theory was also emphasized in our program. According to Pincus and Minahan, the goal of this approach is to:

1. enhance the problem-solving and coping capacities of people,
2. link people with systems that provide them with resources, services, and opportunities,
3. promote the effective and humane operation of these systems, and
4. contribute to the development and improvement of social policy.18

Although this concept of a network of interlocking systems is a potentially useful analytical tool, we found that this theory was also predicated on assumptions which limited its perspective. The terminology which speaks of people being "linked" with resources and "interacting" with systems presupposes that a process of ad-
justing or balancing of equal components can occur within this society. There is no distinction made between power differentials among systems. Systems are also presumed to be fundamentally humane; they are not recognized as being potentially oppressive as well. As with the other concepts, the fact that systems theory lacks a comprehensive analytic base, serves to obfuscate its underlying assumptions.

**ALTERNATIVE RESPONSE**

Richan and Mendelsohn use the term "October Revolution" in referring to a typical reaction of new students at schools of social work who become disillusioned during the first few weeks of the school year. Our response differed from this reaction in that we involved ourselves in a sustained, positive effort to create some viable alternatives to conventional social work theory, practice, and education. We were not content to direct our energies solely toward criticizing existing social work theories and educational processes. The next section of our discussion will focus first on the alternative educational process, and then on the conceptual framework, which we have developed over the past two years.

Our Collective Educational Process

In an attempt to develop an alternative learning process, we created a support group, and later an independent study course. The following paragraphs will delineate the major concepts that have emerged in our efforts to conceptualize our group process. We have recognized the key concepts as: collectivity, mutual, support and solidarity, peer supervision, dialogical relationships, and "students as the center of their own learning."

Rejecting individualism, which is rooted in capitalist ideology and manifested in the social services and social work education, we recognized collectivity as the pivotal concept in our formation of an alternative structure and process. In the beginning stages, we seemed to intuitively gravitate toward collectivity; our process was more spontaneous than consciously directed from a theoretical base. As we began to deal with what structure the group would assume, and what needs it would attempt to meet, we became more focused and conscious in our application of the principles of collectivity. We have come to make better use of collective decision-making, which does not preclude the needs of the individual. This has enabled each one of us to mesh our own needs with those of others in attempting to reach a decision which reflects the needs of the collective whole.

In contrast to the competitive and suspicion-laden atmosphere generated by our capitalist society and perpetuated through social and educational institutions, we attempted to create an atmosphere of mutual trust, support, and solidarity. The main thrust of our group process has been toward building mutual trust, without which there can be no genuine collectivity. Much of our collective energies have centered around lending support for the individual and group struggles. Through this process, we have developed a sense of solidarity, the meaning and significance of which has been noted by Freire:
Solidarity requires that one enter into the situation of those with whom one is identifying; it is a radical posture. 21

As our earlier discussion suggests, we were critical of the "banking model" of education, which encompasses teacher authority, student subordination and passivity, and a learning process devoid of mutual exchange and creativity. Acting in opposition to this stifling educational process, we attempted to apply the concepts of peer supervision, dialogical relationships, and "students as the center of their own learning" in developing an alternative learning process.

Each of us carries the responsibility for knowing when we need peer support and has brought to the group questions, issues, and trends to discuss. We see peer supervision, with its focus on fostering creativity, self-confidence, questioning and experimentation, as a way to guard against the potential impact of traditional tutorial supervision, commonly used to socialize the supervisee into a subordinate role. The perspectives of our peers serve to deepen our understanding and encourage further reflection about our work and its implications.

Through our experience as oppressed students has emerged a belief in the positive nature of dialogical relationships. Equality and reciprocity, which are the essence of the dialogical approach, are vital to any relationship which strives toward mutual trust and growth. Dialogical relationships embody both mutuality and respect for each individual's creative thought; learning must be an interdependent, rather than a dependent or solely independent process. Freire has captured this dialectic concept: "I cannot think for others or without others, nor can others think for me." 22

In refusing to let professors and established theoreticians think for us, we met with resistance. Trying to compensate for the deficiencies in the traditional classroom approach and course content, our support group evolved into a study group and later an independent study class. From the beginning, the independent study was conceptualized as an alternative educational experience in which the students would truly be the "center of their own learning." In keeping with the collective framework, we all shared responsibilities and stressed the importance of the professor being a group participant.

Collective struggle became freeing as it empowered us to redefine the parameters of our education within a conventional M.S.W. program. Both the support group and the independent study class, which were simply different components of a total process, moved us toward building a dialectical relationship with the school -- one in which the opposing forces, school and students, would give and take.

Construction of a Radical Theory Base

Whereas the oppression we felt as students motivated us to create an alternative type of learning experience, the deficiencies we perceived in the traditional social work theories taught at school inspired us to investigate alternative
theories. As suggested earlier, we were frustrated with the gaps left by liberal ideology in accounting for the expansiveness of social problems and in offering an adequate explanation on the interrelationships between our economic, political, and social systems. Our leftist inclinations directed us to seek a more comprehensive explanation in radical thought. In the following section, we will present the radical theoretical and practice concepts which we found most meaningful in our struggle to piece together an analysis which would fill the voids in traditional social work theory.

Identifying the failure of the social services to promote human welfare as a by-product of the exploitative nature of capitalism, we realized the need to supplement our nascent analysis with some economic theory. We chose to begin our critique of the capitalist system with the study of Marxist economics rather than a more conservative economic theory, for we were seeking an analysis which would explicate the deficiencies of capitalism.

From this study we came to understand more clearly why the capitalist system is intrinsically exploitative. As an economic system based on the profit motive, capitalism is perpetuated by the profits extracted from workers' labor. These profits, which are concentrated in the hands of the few who own the means of production, are generated only by people working for wages which are less than the value of their labor. In such a system, human labor is equated with the other commodities which comprise the means of production, such as raw materials, machines, and productive equipment. Capitalism, then, is a system in which accumulation of wealth cannot occur without the degradation and alienation of human life.

From such a purely economic substructural analysis, we moved on to examine how this exploitation is manifested in other areas of society. We attempted to apply radical economic theory to an analysis of societal institutions which compose the superstructure. We learned that this superstructure both mirrors, and impacts upon, the material base of the society. Jalée describes this relationship in stating:

...although the superstructure originates as a reflection of the infrastructure (substructure) which determined it, yet it has a life of its own and becomes an active force which may, in its turn, influence the economic structure of society.25

This radical economic analysis led us to formulate the linkages between capitalism and racism. The oppression of the Black population in this country originated with the plantation owners' thirst for profit. Continuing economic exploitation has buttressed the development of racist rationalizations for the blatant inequities between Black and White. Capitalism, in turn, thrives on racism, which cannot be eradicated without the elimination of capitalism. We have concluded that the abolition of capitalism is a necessary, but not singularly sufficient, precondition for the elimination of racism. Thus, we believe that the struggle against racism is imperative, but that such a struggle must be informed, in our social work practice and elsewhere, by a radical critique of the economic basis of racism.26

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Similarly, the oppression of women is rooted in economic exploitation. With the advent of private property, the division of labor between men and women first became oppressive. Men, who had assumed primary responsibility for the procurement of food, then claimed the ownership of all the means of production in relation to these responsibilities. Women labored in breeding and raising children, and in executing household chores. However, since the material implements used in their work were minimal, women did not accumulate any considerable wealth as a result of their labor. Estranged from the means of production, women began to lose status, for wealth had become that which afforded one status. Although modern women have begun to gain status in certain areas, economic factors continue to perpetuate sexual inequality. As with racism, it is in the interest of the capitalist system to preserve the existence of sexism. The high frequency of differential pay scales by sex and of unpaid domestic labor are but two examples of how the system benefits by perpetuation sexual exploitation.

In developing a radical critique of capitalism, racism, and sexism, we came to realize the significant role played by the social services with respect to these, and other forms of discrimination. The social services perpetuate inequality and exploitation. Rather than serving to equalize wealth and resources, the social services pacify oppressed people by offering them crumbs and band-aids. Thus, the social services support an exploitative system by making it appear more humane in its service of the poor. Social workers, as practitioners of the social services, help preserve this veil of humaneness, which obscures the harsh and intrinsically inequitable nature of the system.

Progression to this point in our analysis gave us our first clues as to what the essential elements in a radical social work practice should be. If the social services and social work conceal the exploitative character of the economic system and blur the contradictions inherent in such a system, then the task of radical social work must be to unveil the truth through what Freire calls conscientization. This concept involves a process of "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality." It is through the development of this critical consciousness that the masses will be able to transform their reality.

Our studies revealed that oppression is not solely, or even mostly psychological, but rather that psychological and social distortions are a by-product of the economic reality of oppression. We realized that the radical social work response must focus on empowering people to change the oppressive reality.

Our radical analysis has inspired us with a vision of what the goal of social change should be. Our aim is for systematic structural change, including a massive redistribution of wealth and resources. It became clear that the struggle for this type of social change requires that radical social workers seek strategies for collective action. While not ignoring the particular needs of each individual, we saw the necessity of expanding the scope of social work to encompass collective conscientization and empowerment of entire client groups.
Our initial recognition of the lack of an adequate economic-political analysis in social work theory had led us eventually to piece together a radical social work theory, which incorporated elements of Marxist economics, a radical critique of the "isms" and of the social services, and a redefinition of the social work concepts and goals. Developing a more advanced analysis, however, was not our only aim. As social workers, we were painfully aware that such analysis would be of little value unless it could be utilized to inform and radicalize our practice. In a real sense, our entire process has involved our development of praxis—the unity of action and reflection, theory and practice. In this last section, we will illustrate how praxis can become the radical process which integrates and brings to life the principles of radical analysis already discussed.

In the process of coming to grips with the theory of praxis, we progressed through three distinct levels of conceptualization. In the early days of our group, we had debated whether to be an action or a study group. We did not realize then that we were asking the wrong question; we were artificially separating two activities which were part of one dialectical process. Slowly we began to incorporate this concept into our group, unconsciously at first, and later purposefully. So, in the Fall term of our second year we attempted to introduce an "action component" into our studies. We planned several activities aimed at consciousness-raising and action. However, we later realized that at this point we had only grasped a rudimentary conception of praxis. Our use of the terms "action component" and "study component" reveals that we saw the need for integration of theory and practice, but still conceptualized these as separate entities. Further study eventually helped us to understand that praxis embodies theory-practice—a fusion rather than a dichotomization of these forms of human activity.

In the dialectics of Marx and Hegel, we found the philosophic underpinnings for our early experiential understanding of the theory-practice fusion. Marx speaks of "the significance of 'revolutionary', of practical-critical activity". It was not until our involvement in a housekeepers' strike during the Fall of our second year, however, that we moved toward solidifying our understanding of this unity.

The strike began in August of 1977, when the University of Pennsylvania fired a unionized 343-person housekeeping unit, of which the majority were Black women, and subcontracted out for this service. Our group, working alongside others, took up the cause of the victimized housekeepers. Among other activities, we organized a day-long School of Social Work moratorium and teach-in on the strike, which was attended by two hundred people. The teach-in, which fused information, analysis, strategizing, and action, represented an expression and experience in collective praxis. This experiential understanding of the theory-practice dynamic has been invaluable to us.

As we began to create a praxis which was meaningful to us, other important linkages became apparent. We combined our rudimentary understanding of praxis with our understanding of the concepts of collectivity and conscientization, and out of this emerged a more advanced synthesis of radical social work.
We have come to realize that our group cannot be the sole "owners" of praxis, for praxis only becomes viable when it is shared with others and, thus, embodies mutuality and equality. In short, praxis is meaningless without collectivity. Freire focuses on this quality of praxis when he states that:

The revolutionary effort ... cannot designate its leaders as its thinkers and the oppressed as mere doers ... leaders who deny praxis to the oppressed thereby invalidate their own praxis. 31

Expanding on Freire's point, it becomes clear that to be truly revolutionary, worker and client, teacher and student, organizer and community must establish relationships of equality as they explore together the experience of praxis. In the teach-in, we strove to involve faculty, students, and workers in such a collective learning and action, theory-practice experience.

Similarly, we fused our understanding of conscientization and praxis. To engage in praxis means becoming consciously political and sensitive to the implications of each political-social work action. We recognize, of course, that all social work is political. However, this does not mean that all social workers engage in praxis, for the critical consciousness of political-economic realities, which is essential to praxis, is generally lacking in conventional practice. Social work practice cannot, by the very nature of the activity, be "neutral" or "value-free". To claim that it can be so, denies that practice is inextricably bound to political theory, and, thus, negates praxis. Likewise, social work theories are never "value-free", for they are built on the experiences of people. A social worker who believes in neutrality is supporting the status quo. Addressing this point in this article "Praxis in the Human Services as a Political Act", David Gil states:

As for the notion to politicize professional roles, I submit that this is not an innovation, but merely an effort to do consciously what happens anyway, unacknowledged, and without sufficient awareness. It has long been known that one latent function of professional practice is political stabilization of society, and, hence, such practice has political implications and consequences, whether we intend it that way or not. The widespread notion that professional practice is politically neutral is, therefore, erroneous and naive. 32

Thus, praxis must encompass conscientization; making linkages between personal, social, political, and economic realities, exposing contradictions, and then acting in unison with others to create a more liberating reality.

The teach-in, which openly challenged the concept of professional neutrality, was a conscious political statement that emphasized: The connection between our oppression and dehumanization as students and workers, and that of the housekeepers, the solidarity that should exist between all workers (e.g. social workers and housekeeping workers), and the significance of unionization.
to the protection of workers' rights. As with the teach-in, in the activities we are currently organizing at the school, we encourage our fellow social workers to make conscious political choices and to engage with us in a liberating praxis. Using this approach, we attempt to introduce others to an analysis and certain political choices which are generally not discussed at schools of social work and by our profession, such as Marxist economics, socialism, radical feminism, and worker solidarity. Thus, we are attempting to introduce others to praxis — to a unique form of practice, consciously infused with radical theory.

Our group's process during the past two years has been characterized by a positive movement from diffused frustration, a disjointed and ambiguous conceptual analysis, and feelings of powerlessness, toward more focused and purposeful activity, increasing conceptual clarity, a more refined political-economic analysis, and greater consciousness and confidence in our use of praxis and power. In the early stages, our group and radical activities were supplementary to the traditional education program, but is has increasingly become the center of our educational process. We have taken the school's rhetorical commitment to the concept of "students as the center of their own learning", and have made it a reality. We have consciously empowered ourselves as students and social workers. It is our hope that others will join in this struggle, and in so doing we will liberate ourselves, the schools of social work, and our profession, so that we might collectively build a new society.

NOTES

1The issue referred to is Social Work, Vol. 22, No. 5, September, 1977. For a succinct overview of the issue see Scott Briar's, "In Summary", p. 415.

2This phrase is equivalent to being forced to withdraw from the program.

3Jerry Farber, The Student As Nigger, (Hollywood, California: Contact Books, 1969) p.14


5On yet another level, Freire argues that this model is antithetical to the essential nature of man as embodied in what he explains the anthropological concept of culture to be: "It clarifies the role of men in the world and with the world as transforming rather than adaptive beings." Freire, op. cit., p. 114


Ibid., p. 6.


Ibid., p. 104-105


Richan and Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 92

Freire, op. cit., p. 34

Ibid., p. 100

This concept commonly referred to at the School of Social Work as well as other educational institutions.


27 Freire, op. cit., translator's note, p. 19

28 For a more detailed discussion of conscientization see: Freire, op. cit., especially pp. 100-118.


30 Freire, op. cit., p. 120

The Socio-Legal History of Child Abuse and Neglect: An Analysis of the Policy of Children's Rights

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is on the two major axes that have influenced the course of child welfare policy. One upholds corporal punishment as the predominant method of child rearing, that is, "Spare the rod, spoil the child." The other defines the status of the child as property of "loving" parents. Because of these two conceptions, the authors maintain that reliance on parental benevolence or the "benevolent intrusion" of the state will not suffice to protect the child's best interests. On the contrary, the examination of the socio-legal history of child abuse and neglect highlights the authors' warning that children will remain at the mercy of adult authorities unless advocates commit themselves to securing Constitutional safeguards of children's rights. Critical is the child's right to counsel that the authors view as a prerequisite in changing the legal and social power relationship between the child and the adult.
At the first White House Conference on Children in 1909, the central policy recommendations were based upon the principle that children were a precious resource to be protected and treasured. As with so many national resources, the difference between policy and practice has frequently resulted in abuse and exploitation. It is the central thesis of this paper that both policy and practice have evolved around two major axes. The first is based upon the Biblical injunction, "He who spares his rod hates his son..." (Proverbs, viii, 24), and its modern equivalent, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." And the second reflects the concept of the child as property of loving parents who are best able to provide the benevolent protection the child needs. The result of these two conceptions is that the socio-legal history of child welfare policies has been to leave the child vulnerable to abuse and neglect no matter under whose jurisdictions the child fell: the family, or, as we will see, the state. As Thomas states,

Our laws and legal systems have developed over the hundreds of years around the expectation that parents will love and protect (their children). Courts have been reluctant to interfere in family government or to restrict the right of parents to correct and discipline their children. Further, they have given parents almost complete immunity from civil liability for injuries to their own children (1972: 293-94).

Nevertheless, during the nineteenth century the state recognized that those who held traditional legal responsibility for the protection of children were also the frequent source of their neglect and abuse. The sensational case of Mary Ellen (see below for details) increased "concern and awareness" of parental abuse of children and prompted the "benevolent intrusion" by legal authorities under the doctrine of parens patriae as later formulated in some juvenile courts. This "humanitarian" movement to protect or to "save" the child, however, was not completely motivated by altruism. It has been pointed out that the intervention of the state on the grounds of child protection was hard to distinguish from the policy of social control of the "dangerous classes" (Platt: 1969).

By the beginning of the twentieth century the emphasis was more on family preservation and rehabilitation than it was on mere child protection. While the state reserved the right to intervene in only the severe cases of abuse and neglect, the assumption remained
that the natural family was the best locus for child rearing. The "burden" of raising a child, however, was still regarded as the responsibility of the parents. Such parental responsibility was interpreted through middle class standards which made the poor particularly vulnerable to the government's "benevolent intrusion." The general civil rights movement of the 1960's called into serious question this class bias in child welfare policies. Nevertheless, in the child advocacy movement the basic issues about the child's status remained with two divergent perspectives being identified. The issues revolve around the provision of service to children via protective adult intervention or the establishment of children's rights. The question comes down to whether the primary goal of child advocates is the protection of children, with debate focusing on whether the state or parent is best protector, or whether the goal is children's liberation, that is, guaranteeing children the basic rights of citizens.

From the child saving perspective, demands for increased federal responsibility (money and supportive services) for children are made while limitation is placed on the government's intervention into the family unit. Parental benevolence is taken as a given here. On the other hand, those who work for civil rights for children contend that "human childhood inevitably provides a potential basis for exploitation" (Gerzon, 1973:64). Children will remain at the mercy of their families, essentially powerless, to be rescued only by benevolent intrusion, unless fundamental guarantees of children's rights are secured. An increase in children's power, that is, their right to influence the decisions that affect their lives, is the primary step in effectively balancing power among three relevant parties; the state, the parents, and the children. To understand just how this debate emerged and some of its implications and consequences are the objectives of the balance of this paper.

A brief examination of our Judeo-Christian heritage reveals a pattern that supports our harsh and chattel-like treatment of children. In both the Old and New Testaments, one finds a basis for (1) the attitude toward children as property, (2) the establishment of "proprietary interest" as the basis of the child-parent relationship (Fraser, 1976a:317), and (3) prescriptions of harsh child rearing practices, and abandonment.

Even if we discount the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition, the pattern of child abuse finds its roots in general
DeMause (1974) notes that during the middle ages infanticide was common and persisted into the nineteenth century. Earlier the Greeks had developed a wide number of techniques to kill children. They were "thrown into rivers, flung into dung heaps and cess trenches, potted jars to starve to death, exposed on every hill and roadside" (DeMause, 1974:25). Particularly susceptible to such practices were children who were deformed, unwanted, and born to "inferior parents." Other forms of harsh treatment were justified on the "reasonable" grounds that it was a matter of necessity to keep children in their place, appease the gods, or as the best method to educate undisciplined youth.

In the schools of Sumer, five thousand years ago, there was a man in charge of the whip to punish boys upon the slightest pretext... (According to religious beliefs) boys were flogged by their parents before the altars of gods... (And even the enlightened ancient philosophers) beat their pupils unmercifully as the only cure for the 'foolishness bound up on the heart of the child' (Radbil, 1965:3).

Such publicly accepted treatment was supported by laws that legitimated the proprietary interest of the parent-child relationship. Under Greek law, the child was the absolute property of the father who had the authority to determine whether the child lived or died. Prior to the ceremony Amphidromia, that occurred five days after the child's birth and at which time the father's acceptance of the infant into the family was decided, infanticide was quite permissible (Fraser, 1976a: 318; Thomas, 1972:294). Similarly, exclusive paternal dominance was replaced in Roman Law under the doctrine of patria potestas whereby the father's authority over the child included infanticide, mutilation, abandonment, and sale of his children. Although reforms were slowly enacted, so that by 374 A.D. killing an infant was considered murder (DeMause, 1974:28) and sale of children was prohibited in 565 A.D. (Fraser, 1976a:319), the authority of the pater-familias and its practices persisted. The strength and tenacity with which patria potestas was supported transcended its legal status. It was deeply etched in the norms of the society that "every family was, and of right ought to be one body with one will and executive" (Fraser, 1976a:319).

With this brief review we can see that religiously and culturally institutionalized maltreatment and abuse placed children in a powerless position with the family with legal sanctions upholding the proprietary interests of the parent. This vulnerable socio-
The legal position of children in the society was intensified by an ideology that endorsed corporal punishment as the predominant method of child rearing.

**English Common Law and the Emergence of Modern Child Care Practices.** England was no exception to the medieval traditions that regarded children as property. In England, children were often viewed in hierarchical terms where they were placed at the bottom of the social ladder, a rung below "senile old men, foolish women, and doddering drunks" (DeMause, 1974:229). Upholding the hierarchical system meant that the emphasis was still on parental authority with regard to child rearing practices that inculcated in the child respect for his/her elders. Discipline, viewed as a moral obligation for those parents who loved their children, was a simple variation of the biblical theme already presented.

Parents hoped for obedience based on a rational acceptance of their position as natural in the hierarchical system where the king was the *pater patriae* for his people in the same way a father had dominion over his wife and children. Legally wives and children held a subordinate position; they were merely things to be used as a father saw fit. Whether he obtained obedience by love and affection rather than through pain and fear by frequently administering beatings mattered little; legally he had the right (DeMause, 1979:246).

Early English law reflected the Roman law's proprietary concept of children to the extent that infanticide was still a sanctioned practice if done a few days after birth (Fraser, 1976a:320-321). Unlike Roman law, however, English law established emancipation from the parents at the age of majority (21), and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there is explicit evidence that children as persons had certain legal rights. While one cannot equate these rights with those free choices accorded citizens, such "negative rights" do at least recognize the child's right to be protected from the decision making of others. For example, under the common law, guardians appointed to handle the property of a child heir could be sued for mismanagement "*in propria persona*" or with the assistance of a "next friend" who would file a written order on the right to appoint their own counsel, "the practice of next friends under the supervision of the court (was)...institutionalized into a requirement of next friends or guardian *ad litem* in most actions to which an infant is party" (Kleinfield, 1970:342). Under
such a system, one that persists today, children's interests were again only recognized through the adult's judgment of when the child's best interests should be protected. "Where an infant has a cause of action in which no sophisticated adult shares an interest, the system provides no means for calling judicial attention to the need to appoint representation" (Kleinfeld, 1970:345). Further, such a system assumed that the next friend, who could be the parent-complaintant, would act in the child's best interests. Even though the judicial system was to protect the child from incompetent or dishonest next friends, "the infant depends upon counsel retained by his next friend or the court to assert his rights under these rules" (Kleinfeld, 1970:346).

The increased emphasis on private property also prompted the state to take more than just a humanitarian interest in children regarding such issues as protection of the child's property right against the guardian. As heirs and potential heirs, the state expanded its role in assuring children's rights, at least to property, by inviting itself into the family unit under the emerging doctrine of parens patriae. Finally, in 1259 England passed a law declaring that "the guardian's profitable rights during his ward's infancy (would be converted) into a trust for the benefit of the child" (Fraser, 1976a:321). Such a law provided the basis for the state to intervene on behalf of a child, first hesitantly and only where property was involved (Wellesley v. Beaufort, 1827) and then as a legitimate third party (In Respence, 1847). The rationale for this was that:

The relationship between the parent and the child was a trust. The right was endowed by the crown as a trust because it was assumed that the parent would discharge faithfully on behalf of his child. If the trust were not faithfully discharged, it would be incumbent upon the crown to intervene and to protect the child's interest...

The state would act as a guarantor of the trust (Fraser, 1976:332).

The transition from feudalism to capitalism was marked by an increasing population and economic instability, and thus produced not only vagrancy, but begging as the last recourse of survival. Particularly in periods of economic recession "large numbers of workers (thrown out of work)—and especially their children, who were preferred as beggars for the sympathy they elicited—recurrently took to the streets to plead for charity, cluttering the very doorsteps of the better-off classes" (Priven & Cloward, 1971:10).
Legislation that outlawed vagrancy and begging with harsh penalties invoked for violations did not halt recalcitrant citizens nor safeguard civil order. Neither could overwhelmed private charities handle the increasing numbers needing relief. Thus, the series of legislation outlawing vagrancy combined with the state's recognition of a public responsibility to administer a system of relief culminated in the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601 (Piven & Cloward, 1971:8-16; Trattner, 1974:6-10). Basically, the act recognized the moral responsibility and legal obligation of parents to support their children. Thus, it authorized state intervention into the parent-child relationship when such support was inadequate. While establishing the state's residual responsibility to poor families in times of economic hardships, such relief was usually administered by removing the child from his home and declaring him a ward of the state. The strong work ethic that considered idleness to be a sin against the community and, in particular, the limited economic resources of the time, necessitated that the state develop policies that would remove children from the welfare roles as soon as possible. At issue was the burden of children to the state. Thus, productive employment in some form was considered necessary. Apprenticeships, for example, were recognized as an instrument of national policy...Parish overseers of the poor were empowered to set children of indigent parents to work...In reality what this act did was to make each parish responsible for destitute and orphan children. It remained on the books until 1834 (DeMause, 1974:250).

While such a policy served the interests of the state, it was morally sanctioned...that "youth may be accustomed and brought up in labor and work" (Piven & Cloward, 1971, p. 24). The upsurge in the manufacturing industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries required a fluid and "free" labor force. As skilled artisans and yeoman revolted against the inhuman mechanization, the state deemed that children needed to be "liberated" from parental practices that kept them out of the labor force. The state rationalized its policies by maintaining that children needed the discipline of work to become good adult members of the society. The state would be remiss in its responsibilities if it did not make such training and discipline available—particularly for the lower classes. Indigent parish children, therefore, were regularly sought as the "ideal" source of labor.

Manufacturers negotiated regularly with the parish authorities,
ordering lots of fifty or more children from the poorhouses...
To secure their acquiescence, the youngsters were told that
once at the cotton mills or ironmongers they would live like
ladies and gentlemen on roast beef and plum pudding...
Moreover, pauper children could be had for a bit of food and
a bed, and they provided a very stable labor supply, for they
were held fast at their labor by indentures, usually until
they were twenty-one (Piven and Cloward, 1971:27-28).

In the name of its benevolent interest in paupers and orphans, the
state sentenced children to work in the mills for sixteen hours a
day, "sometimes with irons riveted around their ankles to keep them
from running away. They were starved, beaten, and...succeeded to
occupational diseases while others committed suicide" (Radbill, 1965:
12). Even child labor reforms, notably led by Robert Owen and Sir
Robert Peel and culminating in the Factory Act of 1802 that outlawed
the "pauper apprentice system", did not halt this exploitation of
children. Such laws applied only to state wards. Unfortunately, it
proved in the parents' best interests to invoke their proprietary
rights and send their children to work in the mills under the same
conditions while pocketing their earnings (Radbill, 1965:12; Fraser,

English law therefore reflects variations of a paternal attitude
toward children that can probably best be understood by comparing the
paternalist view of Thomas Hobbes with that of John Locke (Worsfold,
value only through their servitude to the father. Reflecting the
Roman doctrine of patria potestas, his writings upheld the idea of
absolute paternal dominance with the basis of the parent-child rela-
tionship being one of fear. As DeMause described this relationship
in medieval England "Legally, wives and children...were merely
things to be used as a father saw fit. Whether he obtained obedience
...through pain and fear...mattered little" (1974:246). Hobbes
suggests that there would be no reason to have children unless they
had some utility to the parent. It was a relationship of "mutual
benefit" that existed between parent and child whereby a child invol-
untarily exchanged protection for submission and strict obedience
to the father (Worsfold, 1974:144).

From the Hobbesian view, such protection was equated with harsh
treatment that was recognized as being for the child's own good.
"The child whom the father loves most dear he does most punish tenderly in fear" was a popular adage of the fifteenth and sixteenth
centuries (DeMause, 1974:245). Locke's writing later in the seventeenth century modified Hobbe's strict utilitarian view to one of benevolent protection. Locke recognized children's duty to honor their parents but did not view parental authority as one of unlimited discretion in the treatment of children. Locke considered children to have natural rights that entitled them to protection through parental benevolence (Worsfold, 1974:144-145). While upholding this as foremost a parental responsibility, the English law also came to recognize the state's claim in the proprietary interest. As the socio-legal history of England illustrated, whether the period's attitudes toward children approached the strict utilitarian view of Hobbes or the benevolent protection one of Locke, the results of either form of paternalism were similar. In both, the intent of control and the potential for abuse are evident. Indeed, when one examines the results, it is hard to distinguish between admonishments "to punish in fear" and a policy that encouraged similar abuses in child labor by subordinating children's best interests to those of their self-appointed protectors, be they the parents or the state.

The Development of America's Policy of Paternalism

America's treatment of children closely paralleled that of England with their history reflecting a "softening" of the harsh utilitarian attitude to one of benevolent protection.

Early America. Since the colonists modeled their legal system on the Common Law of England, "the common law rules of family government and the traditions and child-care practices of the Elizabethan Poor Law, including the idea that poverty was a sin" (Thomas, 1972:299), were inherent features. The common law of family government recognized the parents' proprietary interest in children. Children were to be a "credit" to their parents by having a God-fearing character, through diligent labor, by assuming the caretaker role in their parents' old age, and by becoming exemplary carriers of the culture (DeMause, 1974:360-363). The relationship of mutual benefit was evident, since these services by children entitled them to their father's support, protection, and control. Administering discipline was an inherent part of these duties, and parents were warned against becoming too fond or familiar with their children, since this bred contempt and undermined parental authority. Absolute obedience was enforced through a variety of ways that upheld the Biblical sanctions. The rod, the whip, "foul tasting medicines... the dark closet...other painful forms of healing such as bleeding,
and "the blisters" were widely employed as necessary means to thwart the evil inclinations of the child and "deliver his soul from hell" (Demause, 369-370; 328). Such duties emanated from the legal rights of the father that were regarded as the "discharge of a sacred trust...the true foundation of parental power" (Bremner, 1970: 364). As in England, Bremner continues, the state was "guarantor of this trust".

"although" the father is entitled to the custody of the infant children, inasmuch as they are their natural protectors, for maintenance and education..., the courts of justice may in their sound discretion, and when the morals, or safety, or interests of the children strongly require it, withdraw the infants from the custody of the father...and place the care and custody of them elsewhere.

Rather than the courts intervening on the side of the children, however, the laws usually upheld severe child rearing methods. For example, laws of Biblical origin, going so far as to invoke the death penalty for a child who cursed his father (Haves, 1971:13) or acts, such as the Stubborn Child Act of 1628, that identified rebellion against the parent as a crime (Sidman, 1972:33-35) proved the rule rather than the exception. In the spirit of the Elizabethan Poor Law with its peculiar disdain for idleness, the state was beginning to assume responsibility for children when parental duty was inadequate or negligent. Usually, inadequacy and negligence were defined as too many waifs and destitute children begging on the streets. Folks (1911) cites an early Massachusetts statute (1735) that sought to remedy the increase in the idle and the poor. According to the statute,

"persons that" were unable, or neglected to provide necessaries for the sustenance and support of their children...and where persons bring up their children in such gross ignorance that they do not know or are not able to distinguish the alphabet, or (allow them to grow up to be idle beggars), the overseers might bind out such children to good families for a decent and christian education (Folks, 1911:167-168).

Besides binding out or apprenticeship, commitment to poor houses was a legally sanctioned method of child care during the eighteenth century that was well established by 1825 (Folks, 1911; Thomas, 1972).
Beginnings of the Child Saving Movement. Several commentators (Folks, 1911; Costin, 1973; Thomas, 1972) cite 1825 as the beginning of a public recognition of not only the duty but the right of authorities to intervene in circumstances of severe parental abuse and neglect. While espousing the state's benevolent interest in protecting the child, the early child savers were also motivated by a fear of juvenile crime and, subsequently, a necessity to control the children of the "dangerous classes" (Platt, 1969).

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the middle class was perturbed enough by the growing number of children "of poor and abandoned parents...brought up in perfect ignorance and idleness, and what is worse in the street begging and pilfering" (Hawes, 1971: 28) to institutionalize efforts to rescue them. Recognizing that almshouses and penitentiaries, where impressionable youth were mingled with adult criminals and paupers, were only "nurseries of crime", the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism established a separate children's asylum. The New York House of Refuge would be:

an asylum in which boys under a certain age, who became subject to the notice of the Police, either as vagrants, or homeless, or charged with petty crimes, may be received ...and then put to work at such employments as will tend to encourage industry and ingenuity (Hawes, 1971:38).

By the end of the 1820's, incorporation of Houses of Refuge had taken place in Boston (1826) and Philadelphia (1828). In the following decade, however, the constitutionality of the state's benevolence in committing destitute, neglected, and vagrant children to such reformatories was challenged. Commonwealth v. M'Keagy (1831) upheld the public's power to "assume guardianship of children whose poverty had degenerated into vagrancy" (Hawes, 1971:58). Likewise, Ex parte Crouse (1839) recognized the state's power of parens patriae in defining parental negligence and subsequently "snatching (the child) from a course which must have ended in confirmed depravity." Thus, the laws sanctioned not only more reformatories but also state intervention in arbitrarily determined situations of parental negligence.

Between 1860-1900, one of the critical issues aroused by the move towards urbanization and industrialization was the maintenance of social control. Symptomatic of the extraordinary growth and industrialization of the cities and its even more overwhelming increase
in population, were the disorganizing and dehumanizing elements of urban life, epitomized by the city slum. Particularly vulnerable to the astrophy of the city slums were the children who were described as "intelligent dwarfs"...physical and moral wrecks whose characters were predominantly shaped by their physical surroundings" (Platt, 1969:40). The assumption that a child in such an environment would be strongly tempted to enter a life of crime seemed a foregone conclusion. Constant editorializing by the newspapers strengthened the credibility of the relationship between delinquency and the slums. Thus, the increased number of indigent children in the city streets, in particular, the activities of local gangs, posed alarming problems in terms of maintaining social control. Already overburdened city administrations could not respond to the urgent public cry to do something. Maintenance of social control, therefore, became the responsibility of private charitable associations. The leaders of these associations and the subsequent child saving movement were members of the middle class. This problem of social control, therefore, was frequently defined in class terms and middle-class reformers interested in child welfare issued class rhetoric as part of their strategy to introduce new programs. Charles Loring Brace, for example, felt his "responsibility to God for...this great multitude of unhappy, deserted and degraded boys and girls" (Brace, 1894, p.3). Brace, however, also considered the threat the children of the poor lower classes posed to the order of middle-class society. "The immense vat of misery and crime and filth in New York challenges one to think of ten thousand children growing up almost sure to be prostitutes and rogues" (1893, 82). Based upon this interpretation of linking urbanization and delinquency he recommended the "placing out" of children in the west, for not only saving these lower class children but also of controlling the dangerous classes. By 1884, the network of Children's Aid Societies claimed the "placing out" of over 60,000 children (Hawes, 1971:102).

We can now consider the case of Mary Ellen. The literature (Kaudushin, 1967; Radbill, 1965; Bremner, 1971; Thomas, 1972; Fontana, 1973) records the sensationalized case of Mary Ellen and subsequent formation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children as the origin of Child Protective Services. According to these reports, the plight of Mary Ellen had been discovered by Ellen Wheeler "who had been on an errand of mercy to a dying woman in the house adjoining, the latter asserting that she could not die happy until she had made the child's treatment known" (Bremner, 1971:186). As the trial of the little girl's foster mother revealed, Mary Ellen was
whipped almost every day until her body was now severely bruised; she was extremely undernourished and usually confined to her bedroom, sometimes chained to the bedpost. Ms. Wheeler’s efforts to arouse action by the authorities proved futile since legally they were not empowered to supersede the sacred right of the parents to discipline their child as they deemed fit. As a last recourse, Ellen Wheeler appealed to Henry Bergh of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. With the legal assistance of Elbridge T. Gerry, he initiated court action to have the child removed on the grounds that she was a member of the animal kingdom and therefore entitled to the humane treatment accorded other animals. The case generated public outrage that active concern for the humane treatment of animals antedated that of children. Thus, in 1875, the first Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Children, the forerunner of Child Protective Services, was established in New York. Fraser, like others, regards the case as signalling:

(a) that children do have a right of not being cruelly and inhumanely treated; (b) the advent of and impetus for a number of privately funded charities whose task it was to protect children; and (c) the beginning of an era that would see every state adopt neglect statutes to protect children (1976a: 324-325).

In addition to this, however, when one examines some of the facts of the case, rather than its appealing "mythical" version, the negligence of the state's child saving practices is pointedly exposed (Thomas, 1972: 308-309). As revealed in testimony at the trial, the Superintendent of Charities and Correction had indentured the abandoned child to Thomas and Mary McCormack (Bremner, 1971: 187-188). The placement was made on the basis of a single reference, the McCormack's family physician, and without the Department's knowledge that Mary Ellen was actually the illegitimate child of Thomas McCormack. The conditions of the indenture required that the McCormack's not only "instruct the child...that there is a God and what it is to lie" but that they also report on the child's condition yearly to the Superintendent's Office. According to testimony by the former Mary McCormack, now Mary Connolly, she had reported only twice in twelve years to the Superintendent who had about 500 children "passed through his department...with no recollection of (Mary Ellen) other than the records of his office record" (Thomas, 1972: 188). While Mary Connolly was sentenced to one year in the Penitentiary at hard labor, Mary Ellen was committed to an orphan asylum, "The Sheltering Arms," as the search for the little girl's grandparents continued. In spite of this insight, the court and
media focused on the shocking parental abuse of the child, overshadowing the contributor negligence on the part of state placement agencies. Overwhelmingly supported, the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (N.Y.S.P.C.C.) was to have primarily a preventive law enforcement orientation unlike previous Children's Aid Societies or asylums that took care of children only after the court placement with the agency. Their mission, according to its President Elbridge Gerry, was to:

seek out and rescue from the dens and slums of the city the little unfortunates whose lives were rendered miserable by the system of cruelty and abuse which was constantly practiced upon them by the human brutes who happened to possess the custody or control of them (Bremner, 1971:180).

This mandate as a law enforcement agency and subsequent exemption from supervision by the State Board of Charities, gave the N.Y.S.P.C.C. powerful control over the lives of poor, neglected, and immigrant children. This control was manifested chiefly by disposing of the abused and abandoned in asylums. In such asylums, however, the latitudes taken by those acting in loco parentis to protect children from the "sin of idleness" often resulted in even greater physical abuse (James, 1975).

It was 1899 with the passage of first the Juvenile Court Act in the State of Illinois that this system of protective control was institutionalized. The Juvenile Court was to be an unusual legal institution that, operating under the power of parens patriae, would act as a guardian with the best interests of the child in mind. However, in its intent to protect the child from evil, it was used as a legitimate instrument of control and perpetrated a different form of child abuse. As Platt comments: "Although the child savers' attitudes to youth were often paternalistic and romantic, their commands were backed up by force and an abiding faith in the benevolence of government" (1971: sv-xvi).

The Child Saving Movement v. The Children's Rights Movement

The Twentieth Century: State's Rights v. Parent's Rights

The twentieth century was marked by controversy over the doctrine of parens patriae. In the beginning of the 1900's, this controversy was generated by the apprehension that perhaps the "benevolence of government intrusion" treaded too closely on the sacred
rights of parents. The socio-legal history of children in this century can be regarded as a perpetual conflict to strike a balance in the precarious relationship between state's rights and parents' rights. Children, presumed incapable of determining their own best interests, looked on as the paternalistic policy of protection resulted in a constant exchange of one master for the other.

The changing focus of protective services indicates that "almost from the start another orientation less legalistic and more social was evident...that the rationale was to help parents, not to punish them, to keep the family together rather than disrupt it" (Kadushin, 1967: 207). Spurred by the developing science of child psychology that emphasized the importance of the home to the child, this exchange was undertaken, again in the name of the child's best interests. An examination of the parent-child immunity legislation, however, reveals more of a legal reaffirmation of the parental right to control the child rather than renewed efforts on his/her behalf. One can speculate that perhaps the middle class reformers were disturbed by the seriousness and tenacity of the N.Y.S.P.C.C.'s child rescuing efforts, and attempted to make sure that such activity was confined to the visible lower class.

According to Andell, "three State supreme court cases established the parent-child immunity rule as American common law" (1970: 98). In Hewellette v. George (1891), the Mississippi Supreme Court established that a minor cannot sue his parent for negligent tort. Dismissing the suit brought by a daughter against her mother for malicious committment to a mental institution, the court stated:

So long as the parent is under obligation to care for, guide and control, and the child is under reciprocal obligation to aid and comfort and obey, no such action as this can be maintained...a sound public policy designed to subserve the repose of families and the best interests of society, forbid to the minor child a right to appear in court in the assertion of a claim to civil redress for personal injuries suffered at the hands of the parent. (9 So. 887, Miss. 1891, as quoted in Galligan, 1972: 50).

This case set the precedent for McKelvey v. McKelvey (1903) in which the Tennessee Supreme Court dismissed a child's tort against her stepmother and father for assault and also for Roller v. Roller...
(1905) in which the Washington Supreme Court denied a suit by a daughter against her father for raping her (Andell, 1970: 99; Calligan, 1972: 50-51). Many other jurisdictions followed this example, justifying the doctrine on the grounds of family preservation and protection of parental authority. As the courts pointed out: "in a democracy like ours, the government of a well-ordered home is one of the surest bulwarks against the forces that make for social disorder" (Small v. Morrison, 118 S.E. 15, N.C. 1923 as quoted in Galligan, 1972: 52). It was further argued that the parental right to raise one's children had a constitutional basis guaranteed by the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment. Statutes outlawing the teaching of German in schools (Meyer v. Nebraska, 1922) or requirements that parents must send their children to public schools (Pierce v. Sister Society, 1925) were overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court as violations of the parents' Constitutional rights. These cases were cited later as the basis for reaffirming the sanctity of the family with State encroachment upon parental rights prompted only by "showing a subordinating interest that is compelling" (Bates v. Little Rock, 361 U.S. 516, 524, 1960 as quoted in 70 Columbia Law Review 471, 1970). While reaffirming the parents' rights, such legislation did not restore them to a state of absolutism.

In its place, the concept of presumptive parental rights has arisen...American society presumes that a child's parent(s) wants to act in the child's best interests. It further presumes that a parent does act in his child's best interest...if there is an intervention, the state must show an immediate and pressing danger to the child or to the interests of the state (Fraser, 1976a: 325-326).

Indeed, cases followed that indicated a slow erosion in the absolute parent-child immunity doctrine (Galligan, 1972; 19 Hastings Law Journal 201, 1967; Andell, 1970). Some of the cases (Dunlop v. Dunlop, 1930; Worrell v. Worrell, 1939; Sigma v. Sigma, 1952) were premised on business negligence and regarded as being outside the parent-child relationship: the suit being between the child and the insurance company 19 Hastings Law Journal 205, 1967). However, others (Cowgill v. Brock, 1950; Emery v. Emery, 1955; Goller v. White, 1963; Hoffman v. Tracy, 1965; Briere v. Briere, 1966; Gelbman v. Gelbman, 1969) were based specifically on the presumption of parental responsibility and cited negligent or malicious behavior as justification for abandonment of immunity in total or

Such legislation abrogating the absolute parent-child immunity was prompted by the medical and social breakthroughs of the late fifties and early sixties. According to Radbill "Abuse of children has excited periodic waves of sympathy, each rising to a high pitch and then curiously subsiding until the next period of excitation" (1965: 18). This period of excitation was triggered by the neophyte science of pediatric radiology. Although X-rays of infants were taken as early as 1906, it was not until almost thirty years later that detailed reports regarding the radiographic features of infant bone injuries and healing became evident. Contributing to the association of such injuries with willful trauma were

the bizarre radiographic manifestations of recovery from epiphyseal separation during breech extraction ... reported by Snedescor and his associated (and) articles on unusual periosteal reactions in children which were to be differentiated from congenital syphilis (Silverman, 1974: 41-42).

Finally, in 1946, Caffey, upon observation of abnormal changes in the long bones, voiced the obvious implications of such findings. In 1955, Dr. Wooley and Dr. Evan's eight year study and subsequent observation that such traumatic lesions were willfully inflicted were relayed via the media to a subsequently shocked yet somewhat disbelieving public (Radbill, 1965, p. 18). These radiographic indications of an abused child, however, were so specific that when no advocate could be found "they spoke for the child who is unable or unwilling to speak for himself and served to alert the physician to a hazard of considerable magnitude that threatens the life and limb as well as the emotional and intellectual poten-
tialities of the child" (Silverman, 1974: 58). Finally, in the 1960's, an adult advocate, Dr. C. Henry Kempe, was urged to action by his observation of the high number of children admitted to his pediatric center with similar unexplainable injuries. Coining the term "battered child syndrome", he launched a nationwide survey of hospitals and law enforcement agencies in an effort to determine the extent of the abuse. His efforts focused national attention on the phenomenal extent of child abuse and exposed the myth that parents always act in their child's best interests. As a result, between 1963-1967, states enacted legislation that encouraged the reporting of suspected cases of abused children.
In addition to this medically based contribution, the emergence of children's rights was in conjunction with the times. During the 1960's, it was consumers' smoldering discontent with corporations' unresponsiveness and lack of accountability; it was the growing disillusionment with a government who had plunged its country into an unjust war; most of all, it was the mounting oppression of minority groups that culminated and erupted into a movement for social justice. During the era of Johnson's Great Society, the country witnessed a renewed commitment to the rights of the individual regardless of race, sex, sexual orientation, or political stance. Also emphasized was the responsibility of the government to expand services to disadvantaged groups while at the same time recognizing their right to self-determination and participatory democracy. Such aspirations were manifested in consumer protection groups, civil rights legislation, the War on Poverty, anti-war demonstrations, equal opportunity legislation, and increased unionization.

Clearly inspired by the attitudes of the 1960's—erosion of faith in any authority, parents' included; the movements that view all consumers, including children, as having some right to determine what happens to them; and the generally increased awareness of civil rights and civil liberties (Keniston, 1977: 184).

Advocacy was identified as "intervention on behalf of children relative to those services and institutions that impinge on their lives" (Kahn, Kameron, & McGowan, 1972: 63). Its proposed targets were to be those systems that undermined the family unit. Based on the recognition of the increasing dependence of families on government services and entitlements (Advisory Committee on Child Development, 1976), advocates attempted to assist parents in coping with the health, education, and welfare systems, courts and correctional agencies. Thus, as summarized by Kahn, et. al. from their national baseline study:

Child advocacy represents a shift...Whereas child welfare agencies and child protective services seek children's welfare by intervening in the parent-child relationship or by substituting for it, child advocacy intervenes into the larger social environment and those institutions that impinge on children's lives (1972: 67).
Internal Conflict in Child Advocacy. While confrontations by adversary groups like the businesses and traditional service organizations were expected by advocates, the bitter internal conflict regarding what constitutes the child's best interests was only hazily foreseen. Now it is quite evident that "child advocates fall into two obviously related groups whose goals both overlap and conflict: on the one hand there are those who are interested in protecting children's rights" (Farson, 1974: 9). In examining the child protection orientation of advocacy, one can identify a strong commitment to restrict government interference into the parent-child relationship. It is presumed that the child's best interests lie in a strengthened family unit. Particularly, advocates perceive the resurrection of yesterday's child savers through child abuse and neglect reporting laws that have the legal potential to terminate the parental rights of the poor. The arguments presented by this group are well-founded as witnessed by past history. As pointed out, one articulated purpose of the child abuse legislation was "to stabilize the home environment, to preserve the family life whenever possible" (Education Commission of the States, 1975: 9). As noted later, however, "Keeping the family unit intact is not the primary purpose of the legislation. Protection of the child takes first priority." The implication of this latter provision, for lower-class families in particular, becomes apparent when the ramifications of the loose and ambiguous definitions of child abuse and neglect are examined. As Katz adequately interprets this: "Child neglect occurs when the expectations of parenthood that are dominant in our culture are not met... (it) connotes a parent's conduct that results in a failure to provide for the child's needs as defined by the preferred values of the community" (1971: 22). Such definitions are handily filtered through a middle class value system beginning with reported community perceptions, with their subsequent enforcement through traditional socio-legal institutions personified by the judge who is granted broad discretion in interpreting the statutes. As some authors (Katz, 1971; Keniston, 1977) point out it is the visible poor because of their reliance on public service agencies, particularly, in this case, public health clinics, that brings them under the purview of society's scrutiny. It is their living conditions, their children's appearance; acting in the "best interests of the child" can impose their norms of morality and upbringing upon families... Most families accused of abuse and neglect are minority families with low incomes, often "one parent" (1977: 187). Sometimes however, this eagerness to protect the child may cloak punitive attempts to regulate "undesirable" adult behavior that has little to do with one's performance in the parental role. Thus, the family's receipt and management of
government assistance in the visits by the child protective worker without regard to the mother's constitutionally based claim that such accompanying "service" is unwanted and unnecessary (Burt, 1971). Finally, when parental rights are terminated in the child's best interests it usually means an exchange of masters. The result is even worse abuse and neglect in state institutions (James, 1975) or consignment to the "endless limbo of foster care" (Polier, 1977: 505).

While citing biased reporting laws and prosecution of poor parents, these advocates also accuse the present social service system, in particular, the child welfare system of contributory negligence. Charges of inaccessibility, fragmentation of services, inadequate performance, and lack of accountability are well founded. As one advocate put it: "Child welfare may mean foster homes of institutional care only, but not the generally conceded needed diversity of support to help families stay together" (Kahn, 1974: 6). Such advocates are committed to a comprehensive national policy for families that include the families right to an adequate income and to comprehensive support services from a responsive and integrated service delivery system (Advisory Committee on Child Development, 1976: 4-5). These are indeed necessary efforts in securing a child's right to economic security. Such singularly focused efforts, however, ignore a crucial complimentary dimension in a children's rights policy. The policy of parental rights are to be maintained. While several commentators (Gil, 1970; Brown & Daniels, 1968; Mulford & Cohen, 1968; Young, 1964; Sattin & Miller, 1971) cite the sometimes overwhelming pressures of poverty as a cause of child abuse, one cannot presume that if there were no poverty there would be no child abuse or neglect. Indeed, national indices support the fact that this learned response, rather than being an anomaly or a lower class phenomenon, is quite common. Even though "our society protects the privacy of large numbers of families, particularly those in the middle and upper classes... This does not mean that middle and upper class parents do not neglect (or abuse) their children" (Katz, 1971: 23-24). In spite of this and other difficulties in obtaining accurate national indices, Light (1973) estimated an annual rate of 200,000 to 500,000 cases of physical abuse in addition to 465,000 to 1,175,000 cases of severe neglect or sexual molestation. Proportionately, this means "approximately one child in every hundred in America is physically abused, sexually molested, or severely neglected" (Light, 1973: 567). As Gil (1970), Bakan (1971), and Walters (1975) argue, the physical and sexual abuse of children is the "logical outgrowth" of a society that incorporates physical force as a method for rearing and controlling an extremely
little valued part of our population. As Steele suggests: "abusing parents are characterized by the implementation of the culturally accepted goal (in "civilizing" the child) and... this style of parental behavior... can be considered "culture bound" in the sense that it is widespread and is passed from one generation to the next as a socially useful pattern" (1968: 453). It has already been documented how our culture and history, beginning with our Judeo-Christian heritage, sanctions the harsh and chattel-like treatment of children. Even with a policy of social entitlements for the family, the child is still legally considered to be in the care of his parents or the care of the state, and not as belonging to himself. Thus, legally, parental care could be exercised in the form of slapping, yanking, and choosing not to "spare the rod and spoil the child."

Given then, our cultural predisposition to violence, the acceptable use of physical force in our child rearing practices, and the powerless position consigned to children in relation to adults, one can expect the incidence of child abuse and neglect to grow unless there is a reevaluation of what is being done in children's best interests. Children's advocates must begin with the premise that "human childhood provides a potential basis for exploitation..." (Gerzon, 1973: 64). The chief priority then is to change the powerless position of children in relationship to adult authorities. Gamson points out:

The greater the inverse relation between the amount of resources controlled and the amount of discontent among potential partisans, the freer the authorities are from influence. In short, they are most free when those with the most discontent have the least ability to influence (1968: 114).

According to Gamson's social psychological model of power, children's power can be viewed as their ability to exert influence on the decisions made by adult authorities. The basis of such influence or resource must "be controlled by the influencer... (also) he must be able to bring it to bear on authorities in interaction with them" (1968: 73). Continuing to operate on a policy of paternal benevolence and granting children social resources via their parents will not really increase the child's basis of influence. The previous examination of this policy indicated that the appointed protectors cannot be trusted to know and act in children's best interests. It has been clear throughout our history that protection without legal rights is only another form of absolute social control. Decisions
in *Miranda v. State of Arizona* (1965) where a suspected criminal was denied the rights of the accused and *Lessard v. Schmidt* (Wisconsin, 1972) that dealt with the unconstitutional commitment of the mentally ill, indicate the court's awareness that worse abuses will result unless an individual's Constitutional rights are guaranteed. Therefore, the critical factor in establishing a basis of influence for children is legal recognition of their Constitutional rights as citizens. The landmark decision of *In re Gault* (387 U.S. 1, 1967) is considered to be the keystone of the children's rights movement (*U.S. News and World Report*, 1974: 207). Gerald Gault, tried in the juvenile court, had been committed until his majority (6 years) for a crime (making lewd telephone calls) that for an adult would have resulted in a $5 to $55 fine and a maximum sentence of two months (*Richette*, 1969: 296-300). In protecting the youth's best interests, the Arizona juvenile court denied Gerald the following: (a) notice in writing of the charges against him; (b) the right to be represented by a lawyer; (c) guarantee of the right to cross examine hostile witnesses; (d) guarantee against self-incrimination (*Richette*, 1969: 299). In reviewing the decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "neither the fourteenth amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone;" a child is entitled to his rights of due process when his liberty is in jeopardy. While *In re Gault* was a milestone for the children's rights movement, it did not go far enough. In particular, *In re Gault* guaranteed the child independent representation by counsel only in criminal cases where he is in danger of incarceration (*Kleinfeld*, 1970; *Fraser*, 1976 a & b). It was not until 1977 in *Kremens v. Bartley* that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a child facing commitment to a mental institution was entitled to the same constitutional safeguards. Up to this time, some 38 states had laws supporting the parents' "right" to commit their child as a "voluntary" patient (*Ferleger*, 1977: 89). The Bartley court decision finally recognized that "because parents' may at times be acting against the interest of their children," the constitutional guarantees possessed by all adults in civil-commitment proceedings extend also to juveniles" (*Ferleger*, 1977: 91).

*In re Gault* also did little in providing counsel when, instead of his liberty, the child's health (both emotional and physical) and his life were endangered (*Fraser*, 1976b: 21). In civil cases, that is divorce/custody, adoption, and abuse and neglect proceedings, the traditional guardian ad litem system is still employed on the presumption that the adult, be it claimant, defendant, or state, adequately represents the child's interests. Slowly, however, the child's emotional vulnerability to a break in the continuity of the psychological parent-child's relationship (*Goldstein, Freud, Solnit*,

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began to be recognized. As guidelines for placement decisions in divorce proceedings, a few states now legally consider the child's need for individual representation. Regarding cases of child abuse and neglect, when proceedings are initiated under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (1974), it is mandatory that the court appoint a guardian ad litem to represent the child (Education Commission of the States, 1975: 59). There are, however, few guidelines as to the qualifications of such persons and it is not a requirement that the guardian ad litem be an attorney (ECS, 1975; Fraser, 1976b).

In conclusion, children's rights advocates are attempting to develop carefully a complete children's rights policy on the basis of such Constitutional safeguards. On the one hand, there are advocates like John Holt or Richard Farson who think that all rights, privileges, and responsibilities of adult citizens should be extended to children. On the other, there are those like Marian Wright Edelman, director of the Children's Defense Fund, who believes that this is a narrow focus that does not consider the special needs of children. Developing a policy that incorporates these different gradations of children's rights is a long and difficult undertaking. There is consensus, however, that a child's right to counsel is critical in the children's rights movement. Not only is the right important in a legal context, since "without counsel, rights not only fail to be vindicated; they fail also to be created" (Kleinfeld, 1970: 324), it is important for its subtle but powerful social implications. This legal recognition of a child's right to be heard and voice his preferences implies that adults will at the very least have to listen to and hopefully talk with the child. Increased communication might then change the trust dimension and thus be reflected in the power relationship between the parent and the child. From the child's perspective, he/she is accorded greater influence over decisions that affect his/her life. From the adult perspective, there is an increased likelihood that control when implemented will be in the form of persuasion rather than physical constraint. Hopefully, such a commitment to protection of children's rights will move us in this direction—beyond the use of adult perceptions alone in deciding the best interests of children.
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ABSTRACT

Since the mid 1960's the demand for accountability has been a major theme in the social work profession. The literature, however, has failed to provide a theoretical and practical guide on developing systems of accountability. This article traces the recent emergence of accountability; synthesizes the professional literature into four explanations as to why social work has not been accountable; and proposes a theoretical and practical paradigm to develop systems of accountability.

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1970's a considerable amount of attention has been devoted in the social work literature to the notion of accountability. The focus of this literature has centered around three themes: (1) that the profession has not been accountable; (2) that the profession needs to be more accountable; and (3) some suggestions on how the profession can be more accountable.

Professional reaction to this development has been mixed: some social workers have reacted defensively and believe that the profession is being scapegoated; others seem excited and hopeful by these new challenges; some are neither excited nor threatened and merely see this new development as a re-emergence of an old theme. They believe that accountability has always been, from the beginning of the profession, an ongoing practice. Whether this recent attention on accountability is a new development or the re-emergence of an old one, the fact remains that it has had an impact on social service management, front line workers,
and, to some extent, the social work profession.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a brief account of the recent development of accountability; to identify four explanations in the social work literature for the failure of the profession to be effective and accountable; and to propose some beginning ideas which may lead toward a theory of accountability. The recent literature on accountability chooses between being accountable to clients, administration or funding sources. It is the authors' view that choosing among one or two of these sources is insufficient and skirts the more fundamental issue of reciprocal accountability. Reciprocal accountability is a system wherein all persons involved hold one another accountable for specific commitments and activities in order to achieve the goals and objectives which bring them together.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ACCOUNTABILITY

The development of scientific management, effectiveness and efficiency in the private sector can be dated to the early twentieth century and credited to the work of Fredrick Taylor. The adaptation of these same technologies in the public sector, specifically human services, is of recent origin. They have penetrated the human services because of increased demand for these services, rising expenditures, changing political priorities and unclear accomplishments of the human service professions. This demand for criteria for measurement of accomplishment has been termed accountability.

Accountability in some form has usually accompanied the delivery of human services in the public sector. But the shape of accountability has greatly changed and in direct proportion to its prominence. Robert Haveman notes:

Until the late 1950's or early 1960's, public expenditure analysis was not generally recognized as a distinct field of economic inquiry...The neglect of public expenditure analysis by economists has been reflected in federal government practice. Prior to the late 1950's, it was the rare government expenditure program whose benefits and costs were evaluated either before its establishment or while in progress.

Haveman implies, therefore, that the Federal Government eventually recognized the need for an ongoing system of accountability. In 1963 the Defense Department initiated a program to insure accountability within that agency. Two years later the Johnson administration directed each Federal agency to develop a modern planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS). The objective of this program was "to use the most modern
management tools so that the full promise of a finer life can be brought to every American at the least possible cost." The intent was to enable the government to identify and prioritize goals and measure the performance of programs to insure a dollar's worth of service for each dollar spent. William Gorham, Assistant Secretary for Program Coordination in HEW, provided a further analysis: he stated PPBS could be counted a success if it helped to clarify objectives, improved understanding of the alternatives available in meeting these objectives, and allowed identification of the possible consequences of particular programs.5

Approximately one year later, after having reviewed some of the difficulties in conceptualizing and measuring the benefits of particular programs, Gorham offered this defense of PPBS:

But the very process of analysis is valuable in itself, for it forces people to think about the objectives of Government programs and how they can be measured.6

If this system emphasized planning and measuring objectives, then accountability was taking on a more quantitative as opposed to qualitative form, in addition to becoming much more visible to the general public.

Social work initially tended to ignore this new form of accountability, although as early as 1965 Alvin Schorr had warned that social work was due for a "year in the desert" as a result of the increasing stature of economics and of systems analysis.7 By the early 1970's however, the subject of accountability began to receive a great deal of attention from the social work profession; there was sufficient funding pressure to encourage them to do so.

Another program that elicited some attention was enacted by HEW in 1972. It was known as GOSSS (Goal Oriented Social Services System). A reading of the philosophical basis of GOSSS provided a critical analysis of "traditional" accountability:

Although $1.8 billion of Federal, State and local funds was spent for social services in fiscal year 1971, little information exists as to the effectiveness of these services—their actual impact on people. Basically, the reason so little is known about the effectiveness of social services is that State reporting has largely been a matter of 'process' reporting; that is, how many individuals and families received what kinds of services. No systematic, national format has existed for measuring the results of service activities toward a single set of goals and objectives.8

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GOSSS, in contrast to the traditional approach, was to have accountability "built in with the determination of specific operational targets toward which all efforts and activities are directed and against which effectiveness is evaluated. Also, the emphasis of the system is on the outcome of services for the consumers. The focus is on the product, not the process of the service."\(^9\)

With the change of administration in 1972, GOSSS failed to achieve greater recognition. Nonetheless, some human service agencies (e.g., the states of Montana and Minnesota) currently operate programs employing the GOSSS philosophy.\(^10\) GOSSS, along with PPBS, did further the trend toward a more objective form of program evaluation and accountability. Scott Briar in 1973 referred to this trend as the "Age of Accountability," an age when nothing will be taken for granted. Briar further interpreted this new accountability as a demand that social workers prove that what they do is worth supporting. To this end he advocated 20% of the resources in social work agencies, schools, and organizations be allocated to the task of improving and demonstrating the effectiveness of social work.\(^11\)

As rational devices, both PPBS and GOSSS had emphasized planning and measuring goals as criteria for demonstrating accountability. It must be recognized, however, that rational planning and programming processes are susceptible to political manipulation. As Aaron Wildavsky, discussing PPBS, points out:

> Because the cost–benefit formula does not always jive with political realities – that is, it omits political costs and benefits – we can expect it to be twisted out of shape from time to time.\(^12\)

A review of the literature indicates accountability re-emerged over the years from a nearly invisible, quantitative and political form. That is, process reporting was replaced by a systematic, technical, often econometric, method of program evaluation which was initiated by governmental decree and which sought approval of the general public.

### Four Explanations for the Failure of Social Work to be Accountable

A review of the social work literature on accountability reveals at least four explanations for the failure of the social work profession to demonstrate its effectiveness or ineffectiveness, and thus be accountable.

The first explanation focuses on the lack of 'good' or adequate measuring instruments. Exponents of this view believe that social work evaluative instruments are inadequate to demonstrate its effective-
ness and call for greater sophisticated technology to measure results, especially given the current demand for public funds.

"The usual case record in family and children's work consists of narrative or summary descriptions of the work activities and the activities of the members of the family. It is a record of case process and accounting of activity."13

As valuable as these records may be to workers and agency administrators, they fall short of the need for greater objectivity and quantifiable analysis. This is especially true given the current and foreseeable future of funding resources. As allocation of resources in the human services becomes more scarce and social needs continue to increase, there will be greater competition for available funds. Thus, the need for clearer evaluation criteria by which to judge program effectiveness and efficiency is essential.

"Existing techniques for measuring results and effectiveness are limited."14 ...and "The fact remains that we don't have adequate means for determining programmatic results, particularly in the social welfare area."15

The challenge to the profession is clear: "...to find more refined measuring instruments to trace the attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral movements that occur"16 within our practice.

Nearly all writers on accountability stress this concern: Briar,17 Kadushin,18 Newman,19 and Turem,20 to mention a few.

Proponents of this explanation believe that proper measuring and evaluation techniques can be developed to measure the effectiveness of human services. They seem to imply that social work can be shown to be effective; however, given the current knowledge of program evaluation it is difficult to justify.

A second explanation why the human services have difficulties in demonstrating results centers around poorly defined and selected goals. Exponents of this view believe one reason that social work is unaccountable is that it is unable or unwilling to state succinct, clear, reasonable and measurable goals. This theme is clearly articulated by Charles Morris, Secretary of the Department of Social and Health Services in the State of Washington. Morris believes that the failure of the war on poverty and nearly all social welfare programs lies in the "inflation of objectives that seem to plague social service programs."21

We have a tendency to adapt goals out of all proportion to the means we are prepared to expend or indeed the means that we would know how to expend if we had them. Then when we don't achieve those ends, when we don't reach El Dorado, we
tend to indulge in bitter self-recrimination.\textsuperscript{22}

As an example of these inflated goals, Morris mentions reduction of recidivism and predicting success in future client behavior. He cites the poor success rates in rehabilitating criminal offenders, drug addicts, and the mentally ill patient. Since, according to Morris, "we have a tendency consistently to choose goals out of all proportion to our capacity to perform or to measure performance," he proposes that we should reject setting goals which attempt to predict the future behavior of clients.\textsuperscript{23} In his words, "...we should proceed as though we lived in a world where recidivism is a constant."\textsuperscript{24}

This solution, however comforting, does not eliminate the necessity of setting goals. He suggests therefore, that we define "limited and realistic objectives which generate some fairly definitive evaluation criteria which can put us very far ahead of the game."\textsuperscript{25} He provides an example of selecting limited and realistic goals: If we need an institution to take care of youth who commit crimes, our goals ought not to be to improve their behavior so that they don't commit crimes, or to decrease the rate of recidivism. Instead, our goals ought to be more modest. Perhaps we should teach them how to read or learn a useful trade. While admittedly these goals may not change criminal behavior, he believes they, nonetheless, do no harm and they are goals which can easily be measured.

Kadushin also makes a similar point:

In many agencies there is no clear statement of set agency objectives. The administrator would say for example, 'It's obvious what we are doing. We are a Traveler's Aid Society, and we aid travelers.' If pressed on his hopes for achievement he would remain general—e.g. as would many other aid groups. Help people to help themselves. Improve the quality of life. Strengthen the family. Improve the capacity for adjustment. All of these are incredibly global statements of objectives. Nothing would be said about the specific consequences that could be introduced as the result of social welfare efforts.\textsuperscript{26}

Newman and Turem elaborate on the importance of stating clear, measurable goals:

Social work needs an improved technology for defining goals in terms that entail not only measures of effectiveness but also measures of efficiency. There may have been a time when it was sufficient to state objectives in obscure terms, but this is no longer the case.
Defining goals more rigorously is so large a first step for social work practitioners and supporting scholars to develop that a concerned effort to go so would probably satisfy critics for a while.27

Those active in the social work profession must learn to focus on the few, perhaps narrow, areas in which they can demonstrate that what they can do makes a difference, a difference not possible by other means for fewer resources. They cannot afford to make promises that, given the resources, they will reduce welfare rolls, eliminate delinquency, cure the mentally ill, or educate the poor.28

Hoshino warns that, "Until the goals of policy can be made more coherent and consistent and criterial of performance more explicit and realistic, there is little hope of obtaining accountability in any real sense for either the services program as a whole or for the individual worker."29

The proponents who share the view that we suffer from unclear and inflated goal statements, assume that clear and less inflated goal statements could be more easily measured and that the technology exists or could be developed to assess the effectiveness of social work practice. They further suggest a rather simplified view of the helping process, if for no other reason than it would lend itself to the research design. On the other hand, they do challenge the profession to become less global and more clear and definitive in setting goals.

A third explanation which addresses the difficulty social work has in showing its effectiveness, is the distance or potential conflict which researchers and their parties in the service delivery system seem to have in valuing each other's importance. Kadushin articulates this difficulty quite nicely. He identifies three professional relationships or roles as sources of potential conflict which affect the evaluation process. These relationships are: between the administrator and the researcher, and between the clients and the researcher.

In the first instance, the administrator usually seeks information so that something can be done about a pressing problem or to justify a particular program. The researcher on the other hand is, first of all, interested in the scientific approach to gathering data. The researcher is a theoretician who must remain objective. He or she is also an academician who feels responsible to fellow academicians and is compelled to follow a rigorous methodology. The administrator is less concerned with these professional constraints and more interested in immediate answers to the pressing problems of the daily work situation.
As can be seen:

They both have different points of view, different interests with regard to research, and consequently different orientations for research.30

A second source of potential conflict is between the practitioner and the researcher. Here the conflict is often visible.

The worker sees the prime purpose of activity as service to the client. Any activity which intrudes on the worker's time and energy is apt to be resented as a disservice to the client. The worker is predisposed to individualize each client. This is central to the ethics of social work. All research is concerned with, however, are generalizations in which individual response, needs, etc., are parts of a group aggregate.31

The researcher is oriented to inquiry with objectivity, critical skepticism, and precise methodology. Furthermore, the researcher has no responsibility for implementing research findings. The practitioner cannot afford this luxury. The practitioner is a doer—always responsible for a given caseload or task. The practitioner is more often concerned with subjectivity, the emotional state of the client, the exploration of feelings and intuition, and in changing the forces which create hardships and problems to their client system. As Kadushin points out: Workers often feel that what is researchable, they already know, and what is not researchable, is because it is not measurable—the important things—the researcher can't help them with.32

Joel Fischer makes a similar point:

...the human service professions never developed the tradition of basing even part of their practice on the results of research. In fact, most professionals—on constitutional or more properly institutional grounds—appear to be so resistant to research findings—especially when they are negative, but even when they are positive—the major structural or institutional changes appear necessary in order to alter that pattern.33

Equally important is that any evaluation quite often is interpreted by the practitioner as an evaluation of their effort, work and competence.

Proponents of this view point out the degree of conflict and interests between practitioners and researchers. While these differences are very real, it assumes that practitioners and researchers cannot find a middle ground for working together and mutually helping one another.
It further dichotomizes the age old issue of practice versus theory or the scientific approach. It also suggests little room for practitioners becoming competent researchers and for researchers becoming competent practitioners. It suggests a great need for less specialization and implies the need for greater synthesis in different educational experiences for future social workers.

The third source of potential conflict between researcher and the client system can be simply stated: clients are fed up with all the questions they must answer and forms they must complete, often for strangers who have no apparent remedy for their situation. They often feel they are being used as guinea pigs, and their privacy invaded, and seldom knowing how this information will be used. On the other hand, the researcher faces the problem of incomplete data, due to client resistance, mobility and apprehension. Further, the researcher experiences frustration between the necessary research design and the constraints which are encountered in its implementation.

The fourth explanation which appears in the literature is more often implied than clearly stated: the basic issue is an inaccurate definition of the problems and inappropriate intervention. Human service practitioners are often seen as treating individual symptoms, and not the basic causes which are structurally rooted. It is argued that practitioners in human services are doomed to fail as long as they continue defining social conditions which are endemic to our economic and political systems in terms of social or individual problems. To quote in more familiar terms:

It is necessary to face the question of whether any program of service or rehabilitation can succeed when clients must live on such inadequate allowance. Mothers are always completely occupied with the struggle to meet the family's basic needs and have no part in planning for the future. While adequate assistance grants do not automatically insure rehabilitation, inadequate assistance definitely makes rehabilitation more difficult.

Casework emphasis on rehabilitation, good as they might be, cannot make up for not enough food, heat or clothing, nor could they compensate for feelings of emotional deprivation in children and mothers who, in reality, are being neglected and deprived by a public indifferent to their needs.

Joel Fischer makes a similar observation and challenges the human service professions:

...professionals have to recognize their responsibility not
only to treatment of individual clients but the changing social conditions whether this means improving the humanity of our institutions, redistributing income or eliminating discriminatory practices. There are several hundred thousand helping professionals...If all these spent just 10% of their time working to improve social conditions, this would be one of the potentially more potent forces in the country involved in pressing for social change.\(^3\)

Those who stress this view reason that if the human services professions really want to be effective they must clearly define the problem they are working on, its causes and not its symptoms, and not treat social conditions with psychotherapy. They assume that clear delineation between social or structural conditions and individual problems is a simple and clear task. They imply that if human service professionals focused on eradicating social conditions, the need for psychotherapy would diminish greatly. They further imply a clear problem definition is possible in spite of the complex structure of our society.

**Directional Accountability**

There is a trend in the literature which concerns the direction of the accountability demand. As previously pointed out, the demand for accountability in social work was external, i.e., economic and political pressures and internal fellow social workers calling for measurable results. Both of these demands have had an impact on the profession and the organizational structure of service agencies. However, the demand appears to have been unequally distributed. A careful reading of the literature suggests that front-line service providers have received the brunt of the demand. More specifically, the thrust of the demand to be more accountable has mainly stressed the need for front-line service providers to be more accountable. With few exceptions, surprisingly little attention has been given to others beyond the service provision level to be accountable. As Cruthirds points out: (We) may have proceeded from blaming the victim(client) to blaming the technology, to blaming the human service workers for the persistence of problems that social service strategies are designed to combat.\(^3\)

And why not, argue Henderson and Shore:

It is difficult to define where realistic evaluation of practice ends and scapegoating for problems inherent in the society begins. Someone has to be blamed for the ills the system. Why not social workers? Their activities in
the area of human concern are highly visible. They become easy targets for the criticism.  

Front-line workers in the age of accountability find themselves filling out more forms, writing more reports, going to more meetings, and attending more training workshops than ever before. There is little doubt that these activities are important in feeding back to the administrative hierarchy what is taking place in the front line. However, we must also look at the cost that this additional activity had had on the delivery of services, especially to clients.

It needs to be pointed out that the accountability demand does not end here. Agency middle managers and top level administrators feel the intense pressure of accountability. They, too, must be accountable, cost effective, efficient, etc., to their board of directors, foundations, city, state, and federal government.

An interesting observation of the accountability demand is that it is directional: those on the bottom are accountable to those on the top. Very little is being said about front-line workers holding supervisors and administrators accountable, or administrators holding boards, foundations, city, state or federal governments accountable.

In the demand for accountability, clients seem to have been left out. Presumably being accountable will ultimately benefit the client. But how do we know this for sure? The answer depends on what form of accountability we are interested in establishing and whom we define as the client.

TOWARD A THEORY OF ACCOUNTABILITY

The demand and need for accountability in human services is crucial and the time has come to develop a conceptual and operational theory of accountability. The benefits of such a development are far reaching:

1) Clients stand to benefit because more qualitative services may be provided if a system of accountability, including intent, goal, and evaluation became an integral part of every human service program.

2) Human service workers would benefit because they would have a clearer understanding of their professional responsibility and the expectations placed on them. Also they would have the tools with which to measure their effectiveness.

3) Administrators would be provided with more realistic resources with which to effectively manage human service programs. They would also have a clearer social mandate from funding sources and clients regarding their responsibility as brokers.

4) The social work profession stands to benefit because a system
of accountability as defined below could do much toward accruing and enhancing the knowledge base of social work practice, especially in terms of goal and objective formulation and its relationship to resource allocation and evaluation.

5) **Funding sources** would be better able to make funding decisions in terms of their own goals and objectives. Those funding sources that wish to adopt a cost-benefit criterion may do so, while others who wish to adopt a less economic criterion may choose a quality-loss analysis.

**RECPROCAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

A current problem with the accountability literature is that the concept of accountability is poorly and too loosely defined. We define accountability as a statement of clear intent by the service provider (agency, worker, etc.) and recipient of the intended services (client system), and evaluation of the effectiveness and/or efficiency of the intent of both parties. This definition provides a reciprocal process of evaluation between client system and the service provider. Thus, to be accountable in this formulation depends upon a clear statement of intent by the service provider and client system and the evaluation of this intent. In brief form, this reciprocal formulation would be stated: $A=f(I_p+I_o+E)$.

The intent of the service provider ($I_p$) is comprised of a clear statement of goals, objectives, resource allocation and time. The service provider can be the agency, staff member, funding source; whomever, who attempts to clearly state what they can do; how they can do it; with what resources; and within what time period.

Goals are statements of ideal ends to achieve if everything went according to plan or if all things were equal. Being an ideal end, goals are seldom, if ever, achieved.

Objectives are specific steps taken which will lead to the goal(s). They are micro activities which, when added together, would approximate the goal. "Objectives derive logically from the goal and specify the actual impact" to be made in the process of reaching the goal(s). Consequently, evaluation of objectives is a valuable activity in monitoring how closely goal(s) are being achieved.

Resource collection is the supply of money, personnel, motivation, communication, workers, commitment, etc., needed or used to reach objectives and subsequently the goal(s). Resource allocation is the input needed to reach a desired objective; it includes tangible and intangible inputs.
Time is the period believed necessary to accomplish the stated goals and objectives. Time is dependent upon the goals and objectives selected, and resource allocations to be utilized. That is, the broader the goals, the greater the number of objectives, the greater the amount of resource allocations required and the greater the time needed to reach the desired results.

The intent of the recipient of service-(Ic) client system, consumer of services—is also a clear statement of goals, objectives, resource allocation and time. The recipient of service can be the agency or staff member, but it is most usually the consumer of services or the client system. Here the recipients of service must clearly state what they want done; and what resources they are willing to invest, e.g., money, self-exploration, and within what time period. The same definition of goals, objectives, resource allocation and time that applied to the service provider, equally apply to the service recipient.

Evaluation(E) is the measurement of effort, effectiveness and/or efficiency of intent of the service provider and service recipient.

Effort refers to assessment of program inputs, e.g., activity, money, staff, time and commitment necessary. Effort is not a measurement of outcome, it merely measures the input of activity.

Effectiveness is a measurement of the degree to which objectives and goals have been reached in a given time or stage of program planning or program implementation.

Efficiency is a measurement of ratio between effort and effectiveness. It is the means with which to accomplish specific goals and objectives with the minimum use of resources, e.g., time, money, workers, energy, etc.

Administrative Accountability

If we wish to simplify this conceptualization, we could eliminate the recipient of service(Ic) involvement, and assume that clients must be involved in any social work activity. Thus, the conceptualization would be: A=f(I+E). Here we are only holding the provider of service accountable in terms of intent: goals, objectives, resource allocation and time. A problem here is that this statement of accountability excludes the client system from involvement. This very issue of whether clients should be involved in the accountability process has divided some writers of accountability. Obviously this model lends itself more readily to the research design, political process and to many management
Application

Either formulation of accountability presented, we believe, can be applied in diverse settings and on different levels. It can be applied in settings ranging from mental health clinics dealing with psychotic patients, court programs working with probation and parole, family counseling services, community organization programs and traditional casework agencies. The concepts would equally apply for private and public agencies. They can also be applied from front-line service providers to supervisors to administrators to funding sources.

Space does not permit a full application of the formulations presented. A brief illustration of what the application may look like may be helpful. Table I is an example of one administrative accountability system applied at several levels of child abuse program. It shows the accountability relationship among various levels of service providers; it shows a relationship between the elements of intent—goals, objectives, resource allocation, and time—and it suggests some measurement instruments for evaluation.

The first half of Table I illustrates a close relationship between the goals of the funding source, the agency’s top administration, middle management and the front-line service providers. It also specifies a relationship between goals and objectives: as stated previously, objectives are micro steps to be taken which will lead to the goal, or very close to it. Note that one of the objectives in all of the levels of accountability is concerned with some aspect of a research design. The column resource allocation addresses both tangible and intangible resources needed to reach specific objectives. A fuller illustration of this application would state other resource allocations required to reach a single objective. It should be pointed out that resource allocation is a difficult element to partialize since it requires tangible and intangible resources.

*A serious problem, and there may be many more, with both of the above formulations of accountability is that they do not account or provide for externalities, that is, unintended consequences, e.g., withdrawal of funds, conflict among Ip and Io unrelated to task, etc. Some researchers do, however, include externalities when evaluating effectiveness.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Name</th>
<th>Unit</th>
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<td>E001</td>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>Provide students with skills for employability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care</td>
<td>5678</td>
<td>H002</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Improve health outcomes in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety</td>
<td>9101</td>
<td>P003</td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>Ensure public safety and security.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Evaluation**

- Accountability: Measure program impact and adjust accordingly.
- Objective: Achieve specific outcomes.
- Sustainability: Ensure program longevity.

**INTER**

- Improve accountability processes: Continuous feedback loop.
- Target 1: Focus on key indicators.
Too often the mistake is made of identifying mainly tangible resources, while neglecting intangible ones, i.e., motivation, empathy, enthusiasm. The time column indicates the time required to reach specific objectives and goals.

The second half of Table I identifies some measurements available to evaluate the activities and results of goals and objectives. It is important that more than one measuring technique be used, since programs can be effective but inefficient as well as ineffective but efficient. Having both kinds of measurements are a more reliable indicator of outcomes.

CONCLUSION

The described formulation is crude and needs to be adapted and modified to specific situations and practitioners. However, preliminary experimentation and evaluation of the model has proven it to be helpful in thinking through and planning a given program. It seems to be especially helpful in preparing programs for funding, again with personal and situational modification.

Finally, we have dealt in this paper with those factors directly within the system of human services, and the importance of developing systems of accountability. Beyond the scope of this paper, and equally as important, is the development of systems of accountability which includes those factors less directly involved in human service practice yet intricately related to the development and maintenance of human services, i.e., government and business.
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