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The Perceived Effectiveness of Medical Social Work Faculty.
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Below the Belt:
Situational Ethics for Unethical Situations

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The word "politics" generally conjures up images of smoke-filled, back rooms where unscrupulous men in shirt sleeves chew their cigars and make shady deals that serve partisan interests. But politics is neither inherently shady nor specific to back rooms. In fact, as long as society is differentiated along ethnic, sex and social class lines, politics pervades all of social life. You are involved in politics and so is your mother.

A statement or decision is political when either the content of the issue is viewed differently by people from different social groups, e.g. race, sex, age, or the decision has different consequences for different social groups, or both. For example, consider the problem of unemployment among blacks and chicanos. Many of these people view the problem as lack of access to jobs in the primary economy, i.e. the large, manufacturing organizations in which workers are unionized and salaries reflect some accommodation to increases in the cost of living. Other people, largely white males who are employed, call unemployment among blacks and chicanos "lack of motivation". These two segments of society define the problem in terms of their own experience, including their special values, concerns and vested interests. That is to say, the content is viewed differently by the different people, hence, definition of the problem is a political statement. And when the people who call the problem "lack of motivation" decide to establish motivation programs, e.g. W.I.N., instead of expanding the job market, there are negative consequences for those who see their problem as lack of access to decent jobs. Thus, the decision is also political in consequence.

Moreover, since the people who call unemployment "lack of motivation" have more money than those who call it "lack of access to jobs", they are more powerful. And people who are more powerful get to impose their definition of problems and their rules for behavior on people who are less powerful because the former have greater access to resources for marketing and enforcing their rules. Less powerful people may not agree with these rules, but because they are less powerful, they cannot change them. They can, however, find ways around and under the rules, as will be demonstrated later. For now, it is sufficient to note that adults make rules for children; men make rules for women and whites make rules for blacks and chicanos. The rules are based on the ruling group's values and vested interests and often have negative consequences for those outside the ruling group who may see the whole thing differently. That is to say, some people obtain benefits for themselves at the expense of other people. This is an unethical situation.

Consider, for example, the old maritime rule about the captain being ethically bound to go down with the ship. Who do you think..
made that one up? Captains? Their wives and children? Not likely. Chances are that it was started by ship owners who figured that captains who 'knew that they had to go down with ship would make every effort to keep the ship afloat. And they were right. More captains lost their lives, but fewer ship owners lost their ships. The ship owners benefited at the expense of the captains and their families. This was an unethical situation. In other words, ethics are usually functional, but only for some people - the more powerful people. Right now, the upper and middle classes are alleviating their energy problem by pricing gasoline beyond the purchasing capacity of the lower class. This, too, is an unethical situation.

Consumers of social work services, especially in the public sector, are often recipients of negative consequences in such unethical situations. They are relatively powerless, and often victimized. Yet, when they find ways around and under some of the rules and ethics of the more powerful, rules that perpetuate their victimization, many of us frown upon them and denounce their strategic behavior as manipulative because it robs the more powerful of their right to self-determination. This is accurate, of course. Political tactics are manipulative, and manipulation does deprive the manipulated of their right to determine their own destiny. But rules that are functional for some and not others are also manipulative, for they deprive those others of the right to be self-determining. So, as Brager and Specht suggest, "For the social worker...to eschew manipulative behavior...is to diminish even further the ability of the disadvantaged to obtain a re-distribution of resources".4

Since social workers do not have much power in the larger scheme of social organization, and line workers who do the actual face-to-face work with clients do not even have much power in the social welfare agencies, it seems reasonable to assume that the social worker who categorically refuses to engage in behavior designed to manipulate those who are far more powerful is denying her/his clients what is frequently the only avenue to obtaining their entitlement. In other words, rigid adherence to an a priori definition of ethical behavior is a luxury that those with limited power can ill afford. As the late Saul Alinsky argued, "The most unethical of all means is the non-use of any means" and "a means that will not work is not a means. It is nonsense."6 Self-righteousness is a poor substitute for helping clients when the choice boils down to exactly these two alternatives.

Having experienced both the strides of the Sixties and the backlash of the Seventies, it seems appropriate now, on the eve of 1980, to take moral inventory and choose or re-choose our ethical base for social work practice in the coming decade. This paper is one such effort. It calls for a contingency approach to ethics and describes power tactics for use in helping client get what
they need where their interests are in conflict with the interests
of the powerholders and no viable, traditionally acceptable alter-
natives exist.

CONTINGENCIES

When power is relatively balanced and both parties are con-
cerned with solving problems instead of maintaining the status quo,
joint problem-solving and bargaining are the strategies of choice.
But, as previously indicated, this is rarely the case, because most
clients of social service agencies are relatively powerless. Given
this, we suggest the following ethics for determining strategies
to use:

1. If a variety of viable alternatives exists for solving a
   particular problem, choose the least manipulative.

2. If only one alternative will work, use it.

3. When there is more than one victim, work in behalf of the
   one with the fewest choices and most basic, unmet needs.

4. Use power tactics only when dealing with more powerful
   others and only in behalf of client interest.

To illustrate these ethics in action, take the situation where
a family is living in rat-infested housing and the landlord has
failed to respond to requests for extermination. The social worker
should first try non-manipulative strategies such as mediating the
dispute between the tenant and the landlord. If this fails to bring
the desired result, the social worker may appeal, through the courts,
for a solution to the problem. If all such non-manipulative efforts
at persuasion are not successful, then manipulation is both appro-
priate and in order. Even though the landlord, himself, may be the
victim of increased urban taxation, housing code demands, medical
bills and college expenses for his children, we can sympathize with
his plight, but our primary concern would be for the tenant who has
fewer alternatives. That is to say, the landlord is choosing to own
property and send his children to college, while the tenant is seeking
to meet far more basic needs — clean, vermin-free housing. It is for
situations such as this that power tactics are necessary.

TACTICS

Within the guidelines set forth by these four ethics, many
simplistic and useful tactics are available for obtaining compliance
from power holders by manipulating their perception, motivation and
the size and sequence of your requests.
Given that what a person sees, feels, knows and believes governs her/his behavior, manipulation of perception is a powerful tool. The power of it is demonstrated in movies that engage us to the point of evoking tears, anger and fear — all over an illusion skillfully created by sets, costumes, make-up, script, lighting and sound. In Biblical days, Gideon routed a host of Midianites by creating the illusion of a mighty army that was, in actuality, only 300 noisy men. During World War II, Rommel, the Desert Fox, held off an attack by allied forces by creating the illusion of a long line of armored tanks, ready and waiting for combat. In actuality, the tanks were nothing but wooden shams. In much the same way, a few concerned tenants, welfare mothers or unemployed black teenagers, with the help of an imaginative social worker who subscribes to situation ethics, can create the illusion of greater numbers and appear more powerful than they actually are, increasing the probability of their obtaining improved housing, more skill training, and increased job opportunities.

Besides creating the illusion of greater numbers, perception can also be manipulated so that target persons begin to doubt their own judgment and/or experience vague fear — both of which result in greater susceptibility to persuasion. For example, Charles Boyer introduced us to "Gaslight" as a strategy for leading a person to doubt the validity of her/his own judgment. In the movie of that name, a husband convinces his wife that she is losing her sanity by turning down the gas lights and denying that there is any change in the illumination of the room. For our purposes, the director of a children's institution who prides himself on "running a tight ship" may be more amenable to suggestions that he not be so rigid after a three-week "gaslight" campaign in which different staff members remind him of contradictory statements he supposedly made a day or two earlier and "must have forgotten", leading him to question his memory and worry about his inconsistency, during which time he will be more vulnerable to attempts at persuasion.

Similarly, Solomon Asch long ago demonstrated the potency of what we call "Stooges Three" as a means of changing a person's perception when he presented two lines to three confederates and one naive subject and asked them to indicate aloud which of the two lines was the longer. All three confederates said the shorter was the longer and, in general, the naive person followed suit. This tactic, using group pressure to alter perception in the direction of conformity, can be used to persuade a policeman who regularly harasses teenagers at a local hangout that the gatherings are not only harmless, but beneficial in keeping the youngsters off the streets. All it takes is a campaign during which different small groups of adults walking past the hangout tell each other, within earshot of the policeman, what a wonderful idea it is for teenagers to have such a wholesome place to meet. If some adults, after
several episodes of walking past and commenting positively, can in-
clude the policeman in their conversation and ask him if he, too,
doesn't agree with their opinions, the policeman may find himself
saying positive things about the hangout, thereby committing himself,
in order to avoid cognitive dissonance, to a different position on
the matter.

Vague fear that leads a person to compliance or susceptibility
to persuasion may be generated by the implied threat in "The Game
of the Name" and the "Notebook Number". A government employee who
is not responsive to requests for assistance may be moved to do so
when asked for her/his name, title, and the name of his/her supervisor.
Observing what is going on in a welfare office when a complaint is
being discussed, pulling out a notebook and writing in it, creates a
vague fear about who you are and what you're doing there and may lead
to greater willingness to be of assistance to those requesting help
at that time, just in case you are someone he/she should be concerned
about such as a reporter, central office auditor, or a member of a
citizen's review board.

Motivation, just as perception, can be altered through the
employment of other strategies to manipulate the structure of the
situation. One such strategy, "Sticks and Stones", involves defa-
mation of character. For example, in an effort to get a reluctant
rehabilitation counselor to authorize payment for a client's den-
tures, the social worker can have a confederate place an anonymous
phone call to the rehab counselor during which the counselor is
called a racist. Shortly thereafter, the social worker calls the
rehab counselor about the client's need. The rehab counselor is
more likely to authorize the payment since he now feels a need to
do something good. Wherever defamation of character precedes a
request for help made by a person other than the name-caller, the
target person is motivated to comply with the request for help in
order to offset the bad feelings created by the name calling. This
is true whether or not the name is related to the request, because
the name calling taps into the target's storehouse of guilt whether
or not he/she has actually done something for which it is appropri-
ate to feel guilty.

Another strategy for altering motivation is "The Lesser of
Two Evils Routine" for stretching a group norm in order to get a
favorable decision for clients. It goes like this. At a staff
meeting, a confederate of yours takes an extreme position about ex-
tending work hours into the evenings to accommodate clients who
cannot get off work. If the majority of the staff would rather not
work at night, your confederate suggests that the agency should be
open every evening and on weekends. You remain silent while he
argues his case with the other staff members. His extreme position
makes your later proposal for two evenings open per week more acceptable. Two evenings is seen as a compromise as well as the lesser of two evils. The success of this tactic has been demonstrated on the macro level by the way the Black Panthers made the NAACP more acceptable to the white power structure.

In a similar situation one might use the "Like Sally and John Were Saying Ploy". All you have to do is wait until two highly respected staff members, Sally and John, have each said something. Then, you can propose that, "Like Sally and John were saying, a lot of our clients cannot get off work during the day and need to come in at night". You then go on to propose staying open only two nights a week. Even if Sally and John had not made the exact statement they aren't likely to refuse credit for a good idea, and other staff members are likely to go along with well-respected Sally and John and accept your proposal.

A variation of this tactic is the "Next Logical Step Phenomenon". Even if Sally and John had not said that clients can't come for services during the day, but they had made comments in the discussion, you could state that the next logical step following Sally and John's reasoning is to have the agency open two evenings a week. In both instances your proposal is hooked to persons with whom the others tend to agree, increasing the probability that it will be accepted.

Other ways to increase the likelihood that clients will receive what they need involve manipulation of size and sequence of requests which the Fuller brush man and insurance salesmen have long been using to advantage. The best known of these tactics is the "Foot In The Door Ditty". It involves making a small request with no justification whatever, that is likely to be granted by the target person. Then, you make a slightly larger request which is also likely to be accepted because the target person, by agreeing to the first request, begins to attribute himself with the tendency to be responsive. In the context of social work, you have two young clients having difficulty in school. You ask the teacher to stay five minutes after school to make sure these two children understand the assignments for that day. After the teacher agrees to this and has done it, you then ask her to spend twenty minutes after school tutoring them in Math, the subject they find most difficult. If it can sell brushes, it can sell help.

A related tactic has been called "The Door in the Face Maneuver". In this case, you first make a large request that is likely to be rejected and when the target person rejects it, you immediately reduce your request considerably. Given the norm of reciprocity, this tactic puts pressure on the target person to reciprocate your concession with a concession of his own. For example, you are trying to open a halfway house for alcoholic women, recently released from the detoxification center. No funds are available for furnishings.
and you approach the owner of a local furniture store hoping to get him to donate a chair for the living room. The first thing you would do is ask for a contribution of an entire living room suite. When he says no, you immediately ask if he will donate a chair. Your reduced request sounds like a concession which should be reciprocated by him. This being the case, he may well donate a chair; whereas, he would be less likely to donate a chair if that was what you had asked for first.

YOU

Imagine that you are a social worker at the state public assistance office. If you visit the home of an AFDC recipient and discover that her husband is living there, what will you do? Agency regulations require that you report this so that the AFDC checks can be stopped. Will you comply with the agency regulation? Will you fail to report this so that the family can continue to get the check they so obviously need?

Imagine you are a social worker at the public housing authority. If the units are poorly maintained, and individual tenant requests for needed repairs, as well as your own requests on their behalf are continually ignored, will you organize the tenants and apply pressure to the housing authority even if the housing authority has expressly forbidden its social workers to take part in such activities? Will you sit on your ethics and comply with the housing authority's prohibition, thereby keeping your clients powerless?

Add to these moral dilemmas your own plight. On the one hand, if you violate rules and get caught ten times, five times, or even once - you may be denied promotion, salary increments, or worse: you may be fired. And the job market for social workers is not exactly wide open. On the other hand, if you comply with agency rules that run counter to your client's best interest in order to protect yourself, that is, if you place your self-interest ahead of the best interest of your clients, then you join the ever-mounting conspiracy against the poor. What will you do?

Perhaps you will say "What's the use?", drop out of social work and go into business or join a religious movement. Perhaps in order to stick with social work you will tell yourself that such situations are not common or are not common in your particular practice context. Perhaps your wish will come true. Or perhaps you will make it come true by redefining client interest so that it is consistent with agency rules.

If you do allow yourself to recognize the dilemmas and if you do not run from them, surely you will feel angry, outraged, even put upon. Such situations are not ennobling. They are not likely to make you more open to the needs of your clients. You will have to work at staying open despite the conflict of interest between you and them. But it
is possible to do. It is possible to face the dilemmas, feel theﻯeeings they evoke in you, wrestle with the unpleasant choices,
make the tough decisions and bear the consequences of them - not easy,
but possible. Clearly social work is not for the faint-hearted.

FOOTNOTES


10. This tactic has also been called the Mau Mau and the Moderate (for obvious, racist reasons).


Non-governmental emergency food services: A descriptive study of the tertiary welfare sector

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Abstract

Non-governmental emergency food services: A descriptive study of the tertiary welfare sector

This paper presents the findings of an exploratory study of voluntarily organized emergency food centers in Baltimore. These agencies comprise the heart of a tertiary welfare system that provides basic survival supplies without a means test to the needy who cannot obtain relief from traditional public or private sources. Forty-one emergency food services were identified in Baltimore and the heads of 37 of these agencies were interviewed in depth. The findings indicated that a large and heterogeneous population had utilized emergency food agencies and that the agencies generally met the requisites for a true safety-net function - i.e., accessibility, non-bureaucratic structure, and few eligibility rules. The data suggest strengthening the role of voluntary charitable agencies in welfare reforms directed at achieving universal safety-net coverage in the society.

Non-governmental emergency food services: A descriptive study of the tertiary welfare sector

Despite the provisions of public social agencies and social insurance programs, poverty is still a social reality of urban America. Many individuals and families lack basic life-supporting supplies and are unable, or unwilling in some cases, to obtain these from existing public and voluntary agencies. In order to survive the needy often turn to voluntarily organized emergency food centers. These agencies constitute the heart of what we
have defined as tertiary welfare sector. This paper presents the findings of a systematic investigation of voluntary emergency food services in Baltimore. The results afford some fresh data from which to consider anew fundamental social policy issues, such as the shape and substance of basic social protections in the society, who should provide these - public or voluntary sectors, church or state, and in what combination - and how such benefits should be delivered.

The Tertiary Welfare Sector

Historical development aside, our current complex of social welfare programs and services can be located within a tri-level conceptual framework of social protections. Primary forms of social protection consist mainly of the kinship and friendship arrangements that exist in all societies. Very simply, in time of need the first line of assistance is family and friends. Both the Poor Laws of the past and present public assistance regulations and policies have recognized these sources of support through requirements that relatives accept responsibility for their immediate kin before public aid is granted.

Secondary level social protections can be considered as the various social insurance and public assistance programs found in both modern and developing countries. Within these areas of governmental responsibility, Shlakman has pointed out that social insurance programs represent a first-line entitlement because they minimize the use of a means test and correspondingly reduce the exercise of arbitrary administrative discretion. Categorical public assistance programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, on the other hand, have served as a second line to defense for persons not eligible for first line entitlements. Those persons ineligible for preferred treatment "slip through the interstices of the categories...into the safety-net for means-tested, second track, inferior treatment." These programs retain some of the residual character of Poor Law treatment wherein recipients are viewed as undeserving and constant surveillance is maintained to protect the society from "welfare chisellers". A final resort - General Assistance - has been left to state and local governments for the unemployed who have exhausted or are not entitled to unemployment insurance, usually single employable males and two parent families. Not surprisingly, General Assistance programs have been the most marginally financed and haphazardly applied forms of social protection.

Many needy persons unfortunately fall through our second
3.

tier social insurance programs and public assistance safety-net because they are unable or unwilling to meet the requirements of available programs or because coverage is simply not offered. In order to survive they are forced to resort to a tertiary level system of social protections. The tertiary system may be defined as a network of voluntarily organized social agencies and services that can provide emergency relief and counseling without a means test. Some familiar examples are church missions, and voluntary sector agencies such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. The emergency food services that are the subjects of this paper lie at the center of this system. The existence of emergency food "agencies" is certainly not unique to the history of social welfare, though the passage of Social Security legislation led to a decline in their numbers. Still, some pre-Depression emergency food agencies have persisted to the present and others have been more recently re-created.

Conceptually, the definitions of a tertiary system of social protection is less clear than primary or secondary forms. Voluntary social agencies, such as those funded by United Way organizations, for example, offer many useful social services for the needy. To the extent that some of these services include tangible relief or the type of counseling that concerns itself with obtaining basic provisions for their clients, we would include them in the tertiary system. With few exceptions, however, such voluntary agencies do not define their functions in terms of the provisions of tangible relief, and much of the counseling is psychologically oriented.

Background of Study

The existence of a number of small, informally organized emergency food "agencies" is a well known phenomenon to public welfare service workers and others concerned with helping the poor. Typically some of these agencies are also listed in Health and Welfare Council directories of community resources and other such informational handbooks. But an accurate accounting of the number of these agencies, identifying and locating them, describing their organizational characteristics and service populations has seldom been pursued. A survey of church and synagogue health and welfare services conducted in 1975 by the Chicago Council for Community Services uncovered 27 scheduled and 65 "as-needed" emergency food services provided by Chicago congregations. For a city as large as Chicago probably many more such services would be identified with further
in-depth investigation. Aside from the Chicago study, an extensive search of the literature failed to turn up any other information on non-governmental emergency food services.

In Baltimore traditional public and private social agencies have been unable to meet the emergency resource needs of the citizenry for several years. A 1974 study conducted by the Central Maryland Health and Welfare Council of emergency financial assistance provided by Baltimore's voluntary social agencies found that more than 20,000 requests for help had been received by six major voluntary agencies, and that more than 11,000 referrals had been made to these agencies by the public welfare department. A 1976 report of the Baltimore City Department of Social Services-Emergency Services Center indicated there had been an 18% decrease in the number of cases served by the Emergency Services Center from 1975 to 1976, or 12,511 cases, including requests for emergency food, because "grant allotments have not been sufficient for the Center to adequately meet the demand for services." 

In 1976 the Maryland Food Committee (MFC), a church-supported charitable agency dedicated to promoting policies and programs for the reduction of hunger in Maryland, organized a loose coalition of some fifteen Baltimore emergency food agencies that it partially or fully funded. According to MFC figures, these agencies had provided food or meals to an average of 7200 different individuals per month over a seven month period. These data and the extent of unmet need mentioned above formed the basis for an exploratory-descriptive study to search out and identify voluntarily organized emergency food services in Baltimore as completely as possible, and to study their service delivery characteristics, including organizational structure, providers clientele, and relationships with one another and other organizations and institutions.

Methodology

Data collection centered around two main approaches. The first dealt with identification of emergency food services (EFS's) through a snowball search technique (described below). The second dealt with studying the characteristics of the EFS's themselves through a series of structured interviews with the persons in charge of these agencies. For purposes of this study, emergency food services were defined as units (individuals, groups, or organizations) which provided emergency food or meals voluntarily
on some regular, organized basis. The critical element in this definition was the notion of a deliberately organized and regular, as opposed to a haphazard or occasional, effort of a provider to meet a community need for emergency food. In this way large numbers of individuals and organizations, especially churches, that occasionally give out some food to a needy community member or congregant, were eliminated from the category of emergency food service.

The identification process began with a dozen EFS's known to the Maryland Food Committee and grew from there. Each EFS was asked to generate a list of other places that they know of where people went for emergency food or meals. These places were called in turn, and those identifying themselves as EFS's were then asked to identify other EFS's known to them, as above. A major assumption of this approach was that no matter where the snowball began, eventually the same emergency network would be traced out. The search process continued until no new names appeared. Systematic application of the snowball technique eventually produced a firm list of 41 EFS's.

The final list of EFS's was checked out against other existing lists of emergency food services for purposes of external validity, viz. a Health and Welfare Council list, the Maryland Food Committee complete list, and a DSS Emergency Services list and findings from a DSS survey of some 250 churches in Baltimore. The project list included all of the EFS's mentioned in the other files and added to them, with the exception of the church survey. Here some 40 emergency food services had been identified beyond the project list. A random sample of 10 of these names was drawn and contacted. None of these contacts proved successful, either because there was no response to repeated phone calls, or because they did not meet the definitional criteria for EFS's established by the project.

The research team was able to interview the directors of 37 of the 41 EFS's identified in the study using a lengthy structured interview schedule. Interviews lasted between 2 and 3 hours and were sometimes completed in more than one visit. The respondents generally viewed these interviews positively despite their length.

Limitations

Before turning to the major findings of the project some of
the limitations of the study bear mention. First, the size of
the tertiary sector and its client population in Baltimore is
probably under-represented as we cannot be certain that all of
the EFS's in the city proper were identified. It is also
possible that our methodology systematically ignored an emergency
services subsystem in one or more of Baltimore's ethnic communities
either because of differences in style of service delivery or a
lack of interconnectedness between the projectidentified network
and other emergency service networks.

Secondly, most of the EFS's that were studied did not have
extensive recordkeeping systems to draw on in answering the
interviewer's questions. The findings of the study are therefore
based upon respondent estimates and perceptions, subject to errors
in recollection, inaccuracy, and bias. In the case of questions
about historical origins and service delivery system information
at the inception of an EFS, retrospective bias was quite likely.

Finally, all of the information in the study was gathered
from service providers. Within the scope of this study a sample
of clients could not be adequately interviewed. However, client
perspectives of the EFS's would surely have added much to our
understanding of the tertiary welfare sector. The need for such
information points the way towards further study in the future.
Without a more extensive census of the client population and in-
depth interviews and observations of a client sample, the present
study remains as the best available information on tertiary food
agencies and their clientele to our knowledge.

Findings

The findings of this study have been assembled to highlight
the characteristics of Emergency Food Services "agencies" as
service delivery systems and the population that is served. Some
findings have necessarily been omitted so as not to dilute this
description.

Characteristics of the EFS Client Population:

Tertiary sector emergency food centers serve a sizeable
number of persons. The 37 EFS's in this study responded to
approximately 15,000 separate requests for food per month during
the past year (Table 1). (See Fn. for question of overlap.)
Stated differently, some 180,000 separate individuals and families,
or between 15 and 20% of the population of Baltimore, received
food or meals from an EFS during a 12 month period. Most of these clients were single individuals, but a substantial number of families also received aid. If each family were considered to have 4 members, the total number of persons per month benefiting from EFS assistance would be 19,519, raising even higher the percentage of Baltimore residents who received emergency food or meals from EFS's. (Not to be forgotten is the unknown number of needy persons who did not get help from any source).

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND TYPES OF CLIENTS SERVED BY EFS's PER MONTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Clients</th>
<th>Number Served/Average Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>14,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>1,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,646</strong> (Case Units Served)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the clients who received aid from EFS's most were 1-2 time users, as opposed to periodic or regular users. One or two time users represented persons requesting aid only once or twice during the year, or clients who were generally able to sustain themselves, but for some reasons did not have sufficient reserve resources to help them get through an emergency situation. Periodic users were defined as clients who had used the service more than once or twice during the year, but less frequently than once a month.

These clients probably had enough resources to survive most of the time, but lacked a stable enough incomes to remain independent consistently. In addition to fluctuating circumstances, this group may also have included persons who did not live in Baltimore on a regular basis, but who used the EFS services once a month or better. The chronic use pattern was probably indicative of a highly dependent group whose members had no regular incomes and/or an inability to manage what resources they did have.

Table 2 indicates that although a substantial number of EFS's served periodic or regular users, for the majority of EFS's, more than half of their clients fell into the 1-2 times user range. High frequency responses regarding periodic and regular users, on the other hand, in most cases fell into the lower percentage ranges.
TABLE 2
FREQUENCY OF CLIENT USE PATTERN OF EFS's

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of Client Population</th>
<th>1-2 Time</th>
<th>Periodic</th>
<th>Regular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-49</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36*</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Missing data (N=37) = "don't know" or "not applicable" responses

The client population of Baltimore's EFS's was also quite heterogeneous. Contrary to expectations, it was composed of mostly female-headed single parent families, rather than homeless men. Two-thirds of the EFS's served a predominantly female client population. A substantial number of EFS's served a predominantly black population. As expected, most clients lived at a subsistence level economically (at or below the poverty line), were poorly educated, and had problems with unemployment or underemployment. At least a third of the EFS's also indicated that they served a majority of clients suffering from alcoholism, and a majority of EFS's served at least some deinstitutionalized mental patients and prisoners. Drug use was a relatively infrequently seen client problem. Almost all of the EFS's served mainly clients who were Maryland residents with stable (3 months or more) local addresses.

When EFS's were categorized as to type of service provided, e.g., Food only (27 EFS's), Meals Only (4 EFS's), or both food and meals (6 EFS's), differing service patterns appeared. The Food Only group, geographically located in neighborhoods, served 60% of the client population. The clients of the Food Only EFS's appeared to consist mostly of neighborhood families, many of whom were white, under and unemployed, and 1 or 2 time users. Meal only EFS's served mostly a single male, black population of periodic or regular users, with a high prevalence of alcoholism and a greater degree of transiency. The client characteristics of the Food/Meals combined group of EFS's as might be expected, exhibited attributes of each of the pure types of EFS's.
EFS Organizational & Service Delivery Characteristics:

Though the causal link cannot be stated directly, nearly 50% of the EFS's indicated that at their inception Department of Social Services (DSS) referrals to the EFS and service worker's requests for help for clients were significant factors in starting up services. The present service referral pattern between DSS & the EFS's supported this developmental relationship. As can be seen in Table 3, nearly 50% of the EFS's received most of their clients from the Department of Social Services, while two-thirds of the EFS's referred "few" clients to DSS in turn.

**TABLE 3**

EFS Referral Pattern To And From Baltimore DSS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EFS Estimates of Number of Clients</th>
<th>Total Numbers of EFS's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Few Some Most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimates of EFS Clients sent to DSS</td>
<td>26 9 2 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimates of EFS Clients received from DSS</td>
<td>9 9 17 35*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Missing data (N=37) = "no answer" or "not applicable" responses

Service delivery problems with the welfare department constituted a major reason that persons sought help from EFS's. These included such difficulties as delays due to lost or stolen checks, long waiting periods to begin receiving assistance, running out of food before arrival of a DSS check, and ineligibility.

The EFS's in the study seemed generally to represent a continuation into the present of many pre-Depression types of voluntary welfare organizations founded on the principles of charity. The findings indicated that ninety percent of EFS's were church-related, (Catholic & Protestant) either through auspices, major sources of funding, or background of the providers, or all. Most of the EFS's were begun through the inspiration and efforts
of single individuals who saw a community need and felt a moral obligation to act to alleviate it. Eighty-five percent of the individuals and groups responsible for beginning an EFS were affiliated with religious institutions, primarily Catholic and Protestant. Sixty-seven percent of the persons who began these EFS's are still involved and the majority of providers were affiliated in one way or another with an organized religious body, either as clergy or lay people devoted to church work. Seventy-five percent of the providers were college educated and white. One was an MSW and three were BSW social workers. Most EFS's were actually housed in churches or parish buildings (51%); the rest chiefly operated out of row houses or store fronts which they either owned or which had been donated to them. Over three-fourths of the resources sustaining the tertiary sector were contributed by religious institutions, especially Board members, staff, and funds.

EFS's largely operated without means tests or eligibility rules of any sort. Most EFS's did not require proof of need (24%), identification (16%), income (8%) referral papers from some other agency (11%), or residence in a particular geographic locale (38%). Most did not limit the number of times that a client could receive emergency assistance within any specific time period (24%). Most EFS's (70%) did ask for basic information from the clients, and this seemed essentially to be accepted at face value. Some EFS's, particularly those serving meals, maintained behavioral requirements, such as being sober and not being prone to violence. In general a simple indication of need by a client was sufficient to bring forth whatever EFS resources could be mustered.

As service delivery systems, not only did EFS's refer few clients to the welfare department, but also they tended not to refer clients to other sources of assistance either. EFS's saw as their primary aim the provision of direct help with few strings attached and minimal bureaucratic delay. Fifty-nine percent of the EFS's reported meeting direct emergency needs as the purpose of their services, as opposed to such longer range goals as rehabilitation, spiritual counseling, or social reform. The literature suggests that client referrals to other agencies are often a means for social agencies to select out a desirable service population, and that referrals are frequently unsuccessful. In order to be able to provide direct emergency assistance, virtually all of the EFS's offered other forms of assistance beyond food or meals - such as shelter, clothing, and help with utilities or rent payments and evictions.
EFS's also proved to be geographically and temporally accessible. The greatest concentration of EFS's was found to be in the center of the city (40%), with another cluster (22%) in the southern section of the city, and the rest spread around areas adjacent to the inner city. Neighborhood-based EFS's tended to provide emergency food rather than meals, the latter being reserved for the EFS's in the central city. No emergency centers were found in the outer parts of the city near the city/county line, probably reflecting the greater affluence of suburban life.

Most EFS's indicated that they were open on a regular basis, many for 6-7 days per week. Almost all had both regular business hours (meaning they are open between 4 and 8 hours per day) and some provision of service outside of regular hours. Several EFS's indicated that people were around most of the time, frequently on a 24 hour per day basis, to respond to requests made after hours. In a few cases a phone number was posted so that clients could phone for needed help when the facility was closed. Clients found out about the EFS's mostly from other clients (72%) and from DSS. In addition, most EFS's made at least some efforts to let people know about themselves, usually by handing out a sign or by putting notices in community bulletins.

Organizationally, the structure of the EFS's supported their accessible service delivery style. In general the ERS's were non-hierarchically structured. There was little specialization and differentiation among the various roles of the providers according to status (volunteer or paid or clergy), task, or educational background. The typical EFS had a small staff of about five workers, most of whom were part-time or volunteers, with many EFS providers doing this work as part of their parish duties. Decision-making seemed to be at the direct service level; the providers had a great deal of autonomy in the exercise of judgment. Most EFS's had some sort of an advisory board structure to oversee their programs, but boards seemed to play a subdued role in the functioning of the centers.

Interestingly, most EFS's showed no development as organizational or service delivery systems. They tended to offer the same range of services and served the same numbers of clients at the time of interview as when they began, and 21 of the 37 had been in existence for three or more years. This non-developmental dimension of the EFS's may reflect the truly voluntary caste of the agencies, as well as their limited resources and direct assistance goals. The EFS providers were either volunteers or
"professional poor" (i.e. students, clergy etc.) for whom the work was only a part-time occupation. Since the providers' livelihoods were not dependent upon the EFS's, nor was that a fundamental reason for their involvement, organizational aggrandizement apparently was neither a manifest nor a latent goal.

As service delivery systems EFS's thus exhibited many of the characteristics necessary for providing last resort social protections in the society. We would characterize the major requisites of a true safety-net service as: willingness and ability to accept all who seek its provisions; minimization of bureaucracy; provision of direct, tangible assistance; accessibility; and commitment to service by the providers.

However, EFS's could not furnish protections adequately. While EFS's seemed essentially to be accepting of all who needed help, they could not provide help for all who needed it. Their chief impediment was lack of resources. In many ways EFS's operated marginally, much like the clients they served. Most did not have annual budgets, and where total operational worth could be estimated, including in-kind donations of facilities, staff, and goods, few of the budgets exceeded an annual value of $10,000. Most EFS's had no stable source of supplies, including food and other necessities, as well as income. Many closed their doors temporarily when their resources were exhausted. EFS's therefore operated with a great deal of daily uncertainty. In such a system clients could never be sure that emergency assistance would be available. One wonders further about needy persons who never learned about these services, or who came only to find the larder empty, but who had already been denied assistance from the public sector.

Discussion

The findings of this study offer some fresh data with which to re-examine a number of familiar and fundamental social policy questions: the matter of universalistic vs. selective services; the place of charity in social welfare; the professionalization and bureaucratization of social welfare; and public/voluntary welfare sector relationships. Our discussion of the findings will attempt to touch on these matters without going too far beyond the exploratory material that has been gathered.

First of all, the study has documented the existence of serious gaps in structure of social protections provided by
governmental programs. The fact that 15% or more of the citizens of a major urban center like Baltimore resorted to non-governmental emergency food services at least once in the course of a year suggests that the substance and delivery of existing social provisions is highly inadequate. We assume that Baltimore is not unique. Explanations for this unfortunate state of affairs are, of course, multiple. Among the most obvious are: the low level of public assistance grants; the categorical eligibility requirements of public assistance programs that render many persons ineligible; the lack of publicly provided emergency resources; the inaccessibility of the resources that do exist; administrative delays and bureaucratic mismanagement.

A significant number of the users of emergency food services were welfare recipients. This finding at least partially explains how people survive on inadequate welfare grants. Although the tertiary welfare sector is not formally legitimated by the architects of social policy, in practice, the poor and those who assist the poor in public agencies frequently turned to EFS's for subsistence resources. These organizations responded where public services failed because of their accessibility, avoidance of means tests, commitments to direct service, and non-bureaucratic styles. Their marginality, however, though conducive to these positive aspects of service delivery, also limited their capacity to offer reliable and widespread emergency provisions. This straightforward point bears further elaboration.

The evolution of the modern welfare state has been a history of the gradual transfer of welfare responsibility from private individuals, voluntary associations, and religious institutions to public auspices. Accompanying this transfer we have witnessed a shift in underlying societal values from welfare as charity to welfare as legal entitlement. We have also moved haltingly towards universalistic systems of social protections. Since the public sector alone has the resources to guarantee adequate and stable social protections, the voluntary sector has largely accepted this reality. Nevertheless, the findings of this study have demonstrated that the voluntary sector is still significantly involved in the business of giving relief.

The tertiary sector's ability to assist many of the persons who slip through the public sector safety-net is bound up with its charitable value ideal. The state as a political body must establish its legal entitlements in a manner consistent with socially acceptable values. It therefore must decide who is
deserving or undeserving of benefits, that is, who is eligible and in this society the criterion generally rest on a judgement of ability to contribute to the community through labor. Voluntary welfare institutions can respond to need alone and offer assistance out of simple concern for humanity to all who ask without proof of worthiness.

Charity as a value has been demeaned in this society with the ascendancy of the concept of legal entitlement. The loss of a charitable base for welfare has resulted in a corresponding loss of flexibility in the provision of social protections. A universalist system of social protections, that is, a noncategorical non means-tested approach, requires a societal commitment to the values of both (social) justice and mercy (to paraphrase the Prophet Micah). In the development of social welfare programs for a complex industrial society, mercy and the humanitarian impulse have been relegated to the uncertainties of a marginal, tertiary welfare system.

Nor has professionalization of the charitable impulse in the form of social work been sufficient to ensure the delivery of concrete services to the poor either in the voluntary or the public sectors. Instead, social work practice in both spheres has stressed the development of rehabilitative and social treatment technologies in the delivery of services. Additionally, within the public sector bureaucratic imperatives have frequently stifled social work's humanitarian value ideals such that, on balance, social workers have often behaved merely as an extension of the political will of governmental functionaries.

The findings of this study have similarly suggested incompatibility between the practical implementation of the charitable value ideal and its professionalization. Professional social workers were notably absent from the operations of tertiary sector EFS's. The staff members of the EFS's seemed to have a strong "mission orientation", that is, a commitment to simply meet needs as presented by clients, and a willingness to accept the status of "professional poor". By way of contrast, professional social workers who do serve the poor usually work within large bureaucratic organizations where relatively high salaries, professional culture, and rehabilitative practice modalities supply primary sources of gratification. None of the above is necessarily surprising. It points up the limitations of professions, whether social work or some other human service profession, in delivering basic social provisions.
Conclusion

The thrust of modern social policy has been towards the development of universalist state-supported and state-delivered social protections. Recent welfare reform proposals have included the notion of cashing out inkind benefits so as to consolidate and simplify the administration of public assistance. Clearly social protections would be buttressed and the safety-net extended through a guaranteed income scheme of some sort, through establishment of the principle of need alone as the criterion for aid, and through increases in existing grant levels. But just as clear is the reality that universalist social protections under state auspices will always be imperfect; at the least, some segment of the population will always slip through the safety-net by exhausting their state-supported social provisions or through bureaucratic inflexibility. Therefore, present and future costs of human suffering compel us to attend to strengthening non-governmental relief-giving capacities as well. The question is how to fortify the tertiary welfare system through public policy initiatives without destroying its voluntary character.\(^{15}\)

Though lack of space prevents full exploration of the complexities here, we would propose that social protections could be meaningfully expanded by: (a) increasing the availability of emergency in-kind supplies for the needy, such as food and clothing; (b) through government surplus commodities and government incentives to private industry to furnish additional resources;\(^{16}\) (c) utilizing the tertiary sector to distribute these publically supplied in-kind benefits. Rather than the elimination of in-kind provisions through cashing them out, these should be utilized as a kind of inflation-proof, last-resort protection. This form of legitimation for the role that the tertiary welfare sector is already performing would reduce its marginality and take advantage of its assets. (The resources of the tertiary sector would also be increased, of course, by a re-ordering of priorities in the voluntary/philanthropic sector itself towards meeting fundamental human needs).

The assignment of a relief role to non-governmental agencies, partially subsidized by government, would have to be accompanied by a search for fiscal accountability that would not unduly limit the autonomy of the voluntary parties in the relationship. An indirect system of improving tax incentives for contributors to tertiary system agencies would allow for the most autonomy, but also the most uncertainty about secure resources.\(^{17}\) Contractual arrangements between public and tertiary welfare agencies, along
the lines of purchase of service agreements, might also be con-
sidered. Such agreements would offer more resource security but
decrease voluntary agency autonomy. At the very least, tertiary
sector agencies could receive government surplus commodities to
add to their stock of emergency supplies with minimal account-
ability requirements. Even a modest governmental-tertiary sector
program along these lines would improve the safety-net function of
both.

Summary

The findings of this study of non-governmental emergency food
services have demonstrated that a tertiary welfare sector in Bal-
timore serves as an emergency safety-net for a large proportion of
its citizens. By the same token, the public welfare agency in
Baltimore, the intended repository of the safety-net function for
the community, often is not adequate in this emergency capacity.
It has been proposed that the unique characteristics of the tertiary
sector delivery system, founded on a charitable ideal, enable it
to perform its "agency-of-last-resort" function. However this
function is hampered by the severe resource limitations of tertiary
agencies.

The development of broad-based social protections in the
society would be enhanced by a policy of deliberate cooperation
between the public and voluntary welfare sectors to achieve these
ends. The voluntary sector has not generally been viewed as hav-
ing a significant contribution to make in meeting basic social
needs. But the state cannot achieve these ends by itself because of
its political character. At the least, a simple transfer of in-
kind provisions, such as surplus commodities, from governmental to
voluntary sector agencies for distribution would be a step to-
wards guaranteeing basic social protections for all. It would also
be a way of giving recognition to the principle that the strength
of a pluralistic society lies in bringing together creatively the
separate agencies of justice and mercy without forming them into
a singular monolithic institution.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. See, Gilbert, Neil, "Alternative Forms of Social Protection
   for Developing Countries", Social Service Review, 50 (3),
   September, 1976.

2. Shlakman, Vera, "The Safety-Net Function in Public Assistance:

3. Ibid., p. 198


6. Baltimore City Department of Social Services, Fiscal Year '76 - End of the Year Report, David L. Tabler, Chief, September 9, 1976, p.7

7. Because of space limitations, the description of research methodology has been abbreviated. The process of exploring and identifying emergency food services was neither simple nor tidy. Several weeks alone were spent observing a few better known EFS's in order to get a feel for the phenomena under study and determine what kinds of questions and issues ought to be investigated.

8. The data on the number of persons receiving emergency food or meals assistance from EFS's were derived from asking each respondent, "How many separate individuals do you serve each month?" and how many separate families do you serve each month?" Since these are provider estimates, we had no way of checking for overlap between EFS's or for repeaters within an EFS. Essentially each request can be counted as one case and there is some case overlap. However, we have preferred to treat each case as a different individual or family unit because the data in the study suggest that case overlap is fairly small. For example, many EFS's primarily serve persons in their own neighborhoods, and the EFS's are geographically dispersed throughout the city. Undoubtedly a core group of users exist who follow a "route" to different EFS "stations" each week. These do not represent the overwhelming majority of the EFS clients in this study. (See for example) Wiseman, Jacqueline P. Stations of the Lost: The Treatment of Skid Row Alcoholics Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970. In fact, most EFS's indicated that they served primarily one or two time users (see Table 2). Finally, it is likely that some
EFS's in the city were not uncovered by this study, so that the figures may actually be under representative of the amount of service being provided.

9. It is possible that respondents interpreted the question about the number of separate individuals served each month as the total number of different cases served, whether single (unmarried) individuals or families. If this were so, then the number of families (1,531) ought to be subtracted from the total number of individuals (.4,115) served. The result would mean that only a total of 12,764 single (unmarried) individuals were served each month, and that annually the total number of individuals and families served is closer to 170,000 rather than the 180,000 mentioned in the text. These adjustments are presented to make the reader fully aware of the "roughness" of the data. Whether the correct proportion for the number of different EFS users over the year in Baltimore is 15% or 20%, allowing for overlapping cases and other inaccuracies, the fact remains that a substantial number of people experienced dire need last year, enough to contend that our present system of social protections is seriously flawed.


11. Title IV A of the Social Security Act, through a 50% matching grant to states, proves Emergency Assistance to Families with Children (EAFC) and allows a one time only grant for specified emergencies of up to $250.00. In Maryland in addition a state funded program will provide Emergency Assistance (EA) once in a maximum of $100., that can supplement EAFC for families with children; or for individuals or families without children (and hence ineligible for EAFC) EA will provide a first time emergency maximum grant of $200.00 and a second time maximum grant of $100.00. The Emergency Services Center of the Baltimore City Department of Social Services Center can go to anyone in need, but are severely limited by lack of funds, so that assistance is generally restricted to one 3 day supply of food (twice a year) and minor grants for utilities shut-offs or evictions. Most other local political jurisdictions in Maryland have no such Emergency.
12. They also utilized private-for profit services which are sometimes all that is available. Consider the welfare hotel, the skid row boarding houses and the host of other private enterprises that profit directly from payments by the destitute and the sick or indirectly from third party arrangements on their behalf.


16. For example, through public/voluntary cooperation in some cities, food banks have been able to be established, with space donated by the municipality, food stocks contributed by private industry through tax incentives, and manpower provided by voluntary organizations. Tertiary sector agencies then draw on the food banks for their emergency supplies.

17. A series of recommendations employing tax incentives has recently been proposed in a Report of the Commission on Private
Philanthropy and Public Needs entitled, *Giving in America: Toward a Stronger Voluntary Sector*, 1975. The Commission was a privately initiated, privately funded citizen's panel, stimulated by John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, and numerous prominent governmental figures. After two years of careful study the Commission's main recommendations in the area of tax incentives were:

a) retaining and adding into the charitable reduction rather than replacing this with other governmental stimuli to giving;

b) allowing all taxpayers who take the standard deduction to deduct charitable contributions as an additional itemized deduction;

c) allowing families with incomes below $15,000 a year to deduct twice the amount of their giving, and those with incomes between $15,000 and $30,000 to deduct 150 percent of what they contribute;

d) that corporations set as a minimum goal by 1980 the giving for charitable purposes of 2% of pre-tax net income. (pp. 18-20). Numerous other recommendations for strengthening the voluntary sector are also included in this report. See also a critique of this report prepared by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy entitled, "Private Philanthropy: Vital and Innovative or Passive and Irrelevant?", 1975. NCRP, 1028 Connecticut Avenue. N.W., #822 Washington, D.C. 20036
ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY IN SOCIAL WORK

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Abstract

Ecological systems theory is explicated as a current form of successive systems models used in social work. Behavior principles assumptive in this model are identified: of exchange balance, inner consistency, and dialectical change. Several misconceptions of ecological systems theory and a cultist aspect of its current popularity are addressed. Advantages, including the emergence of practice principles derived from this model, as well as its limitations are then discussed. The charge that systems theory helps maintain the status quo and the use of systems theory by radical proponents of system change are considered in terms of the dual function of social work: to serve as an instrument of both social stability and social change. It is suggested that both conservative and radical contributions to current systems theory and practice are needed in order to implement this dual function.

Introduction

In our media-controlled society, intellectual fads seem to be taking on the character of dress fashions. Their life times and careers seem to be subject to similar passing fancies, and to rapid, noisy cycles of birth, popularity, and death. They swing through intense phases, with a pell-mell, band-wagon acceptance of key words and phrases, and a massive attitudinal and behavioral conformity. Then follow reactions of disenchantment, rejection, and withdrawal, and a banishment of the concepts and theories into limbo, though with later revivals in some instances. Or they may fade, and be transformed or integrated, into new fashionable products.

This process may be observed to be taking place in regard to general systems theory. In successive forms, systems theory has had a long heyday, an enthusiastic popularity, an aura of a holy cause, especially on the part of faculty members of schools of social work. For a time, general systems theory was hailed as "the" unitary theory for social work. Now there is a shift to "ecological systems theory." There are increasing expressions of doubt, disinterest, and disillusion about systems theory. Along with these symptoms, there seems to be a belief that "to be out of fashion is to be out of this world." Such extremist, faddish gyrations may well result in over-reactive counter-phobic behavior. Defensive behavior of this kind can be expected to have self-destructive consequences, and may jeopardize
an important paradigm shift that has been taking place within social work. The term, paradigm, is used here to refer to the set of models and theories that identify the functions, domain and rationale, the appropriate problems and their definitions, the indicated solutions and procedures, that characterize a profession and are accepted by its members. [1]

It would seem helpful for us to consider here the nature and functions of systems theory for social work practice. The current ascendant form of ecological systems theory will largely be the focus of our discussion. We are particularly interested in its relation to the emergent new paradigm of social work professional practice. We will sort out some of the advantages and limitations of systems theory and then consider some current issues around its use in social work practice.

Ecollogcal Systems Model and Theory

What is now called "Ecological Systems Theory," and the models of practice associated with it, have a long history in social work. Systems theory itself may be traced to diverse intellectual sources, particularly to organismic biological ecology, the social survey movement in social work, "human ecology" in sociology, information theory, and cybernetics. [2] In social work, there was from the beginning of the profession a concern for character and circumstance, for people and environment. Therefore there also was a concern for their inter-relationships, and for the whole unit which encompasses them. This orientation had one form of expression in the surveys of the needs of the poor in urban communities, as done by Booth, Rountree and Kellogg, which studies influenced the development of the "ecological method" of community research in sociology. [3] Another form of expression was the emphasis given by Mary Richmond to the notion of "charitable cooperation," which integrated and utilized the "forces" and "resources" internal to a client family, and those external to it: of kindred and friends, neighborhood, civic, private and public charitable people, agencies and institutions. [4] Later, Ada Sheffield suggested the concept of a "total situation," of a "dynamic field of experience," involving "sub-situations" in which people and their physical-social settings are inter-related. [5] The idea of "total situation" became very popular in the social sciences, and was adopted by such theorists as W. I. Thomas and Kurt Lewin. [6] Situation theory suffered a decline during the psychoanalytic era in social work, though Hamilton and then Hollis forged what is now called a "psycho-social approach" to casework, in which, for Hollis and also for Turner, systems theory has a central place. [7] However, for a long period, psychoanalytic personality theory dominated the accepted "skill and method" paradigm of practice. [8]

During the 1950s, the trend to put the social back into social work, and to develop a more realistic and profession-wide conception of practice, marked a new paradigm shift in social work. This led to the widespread embrace of "social system theory," and of the structural-functionalist models of Parsons and Metz. [9] During the 1960s "general systems theory" became the rage in social work and psychiatry. [10] It served major purposes in supporting the development of family therapy, and also of the community mental health movement, with their expanded focus on the family unit and on the community as targets and contextual systems for the care and treatment of the mentally ill. [11]

In more recent years, a further extension has emerged in the form of "ecological systems theory." This is in the process of being widely adopted, much more so in social work than in the other helping professions. Perhaps this is because social workers like to think of themselves as being more "down to earth," and they feel more partial to the "earth-consciousness" of an ecological view. Perhaps also, this model is congenial to the self-image as "earth-mothers" held by many social workers.

An ecological model of man and society, and of how to help people in current behavioral and ecological sciences, as well as in social work, refers to a conceptual system about mind-body-environment in transaccional relationships. [12] People and their physical-social-cultural environment are understood to interact in processes of mutual reciprocity and complementary exchanges of resources, through which processes the systemic functional requirements are met, dynamic equilibrium and exchange balance are attained, and dialectical change takes place.

Ecological theory includes and adds dynamic and humanistic dimensions to general and social system theories. It is concerned with people interacting in real life time and space, within territorial habitats, so that there is a renewed emphasis in social work on the concepts of reciprocal complementarity, of resource exchange, and adaptive fit between sub-systems of person and situation, of client and milieu. It also is concerned with processes: of mobility and distribution of populations; of the use of land, technology, energy, social organization, and other resources in natural input-output flows; of life-cycles and developmental tasks in evolution, adaptation, deviation, conflict, feedback, self-regulation, and change. Ecological theory thus deals with the web of life, at the interfaces between systems and subsystems, so that it relates to "open, self-organizing, self-regulating and adaptive complexes of interacting and independent subsystems." [13] As Germain points out, this is an appropriate metaphor for social work, which seeks to enhance the quality of transactions between people and their environment. [14]
During the 1950s, the trend to put the social back into social work, and to develop a more realistic and profession-wide conception of practice, marked a new paradigm shift in social work. This led to the widespread embracement of "social system theory," and of the structural-functionalist models of Parsons and Meton. [9] During the 1960s "general systems theory" became the rage in social work and psychiatry. [10] It served major purposes in supporting the development of family therapy, and also of the community mental health movement, with their expanded focus on the family unit and on the community as targets and contextual systems for the care and treatment of the mentally ill. [11]

In more recent years, a further extension has emerged in the form of "ecological systems theory." This is in the process of being widely adopted, much more so in social work than in the other helping professions. Perhaps this is because social workers like to think of themselves as being more "down to earth," and they feel more partial to the "earth-consciousness" of an ecological view. Perhaps also, this model is congenial to the self-image as "earth-mothers" held by many social workers.

An ecological model of man and society, and of how to help people in current behavioral and ecological sciences, as well as in social work, refers to a conceptual system about mind-body-environment in transac-tional relationships. [12] People and their physical-social-cultural environment are understood to interact in processes of mutual reciprocity and complementary exchanges of resources, through which processes the systemic functional requirements are met, dynamic equilibrium and exchange balance are attained, and dialectical change takes place.

Ecological theory includes and adds dynamic and humanistic dimensions to general and social system theories. It is concerned with people interacting in real life time and space, within territorial habitats, so that there is a renewed emphasis in social work on the concepts of reciprocal complementarity, of resource exchange, and adaptive fit between sub-systems of person and situation, of client and milieu. It also is concerned with processes: of mobility and distribution of populations; of the use of land, technology, energy, social organization, and other resources in natural input-output flows; of life-cycles and developmental tasks in evolution, adaptation, deviance, conflict, feedback, self-regulation, and change. Ecological theory thus deals with the web of life, at the interfaces between systems and subsystems, so that it relates to "open, self-organizing, self-regulating, and adaptive complexes of interacting and interdependent subsystems." [13] As Germain points out, this is an appropriate metaphor for social work, which seeks to enhance the quality of transactions between people and their environment. [14]
For our practice purposes, an ecosystem consists of people, their life situations, and the well-functioning or dysfunctioning behavior patterns that result from their interaction. This is a problem(s) - person/people - situation unit that is basic in social work thinking, and that is basic to a needed comprehensive approach to assessment and intervention. Social functioning refers to a system's integrated, coordinated application of well-developed, well-working capacities and abilities, within basic social relationships, utilizing internal and external resources, so as to accomplish life task-functions, meet needs, and perform life roles.

There is an exchange principle derived from this theory: The well-functioning of a system - in the sense of satisfying and socially approved performances, productions, and states of being - is the result of an exchange balance, or positive reciprocal complementarity, in mutual need-meeting relationships, between sub-systems, and between the ecosystem and its environment. Conversely, the dysfunctioning of a system - in the form of such deviance as mental disorder, physical disease, criminal behavior, as well as in the form of social disorganization, such as high rates of divorce, crime, warfare - results from a mis-match and lack of fit between the sub-systems and between the ecosystem and its environment.

This exchange balance needs to take place in terms of a goodness of fit and resource reciprocity, between parallel characteristics of sub-systems, of:

a) their directional, motivational tendencies, in terms of given task-functions (or systemic functional requirements of adaptation, integration, pattern-maintenance, and goal-achievement), and of conscious goals, interests, needs, and expectations for carrying out such tasks.

b) their internal capacities and resources, including their organizational-structural patterns and operational processes, their coping competence and self-esteem.

c) their integrative linkages with external systems in the milieu or environment, such as through input-output relations, feedback loops, and situational definitions.

This ecological systems model and exchange principle are represented in Figure 1, in terms of generic variables and categories.

This principle asserts that the adaptive fitness between subsystems requires matching external relationships, so that the attributes of each unit are positively complementary, and the resource exchanges between them is in a state of exchange balance. For example, a woman who wants to be a successful engineer can meet her expectations only in work situations that provide the institutional needs for such
Figure 1

Exchange Model of Social Functioning

Well-Functioning or Dysfunctional Behavior of a System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client - Beneficiary</th>
<th>Situational Milieu*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Directional Tendencies:</td>
<td>a) Directional Tendencies:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>task-functions, needs, motives, goals, interests, expectations</td>
<td>task-functions, needs, goals, expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Capacities:</td>
<td>b) Capacities:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(resources, assets, immunities, limitations, constraints)</td>
<td>(resources, opportunities, supports, constraints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meanings, norms, values, standards</td>
<td>meanings, norms, values, standards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical qualities</td>
<td>physical qualities of people and settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizational patterns</td>
<td>organizational patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including self-regulating, reward system)</td>
<td>(including self-regulating, reward system)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-awareness, self-esteem</td>
<td>self-awareness, self-esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coping competence</td>
<td>coping competence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) External Integration</td>
<td>c) External Integration:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Input and output links:</td>
<td>Input and output links:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role - relations, feedback loops</td>
<td>role - relations, feedback loops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definition of situation</td>
<td>definition of environment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This refers to family/work/educational/community/health-care/welfare/housing/legal, and other significant situations
qualifications as she possesses, and the opportunities, resources, and supports to enable her to utilize her competence effectively. Within the larger ecosystem, the subsystems - as of person and situation - are viewed as bound together in reciprocal interdependence as a necessary condition for their own optimal functioning.

This model is applicable to a wide range of service situations, where the client may be an individual, or a corporate person, such as family, a friendship group, a work organization, a community, or a welfare service system. Depending on the nature of the client, the situational milieu has a different character. Where the client is an individual, there may be significant dysfunctional family, work, school, neighborhood, and legal situations. Where the client is an organization, there may be dysfunctional situations in regard to its interorganizational service network, its governmental relations, its local community and economy.

A second behavior principle we can identify in the ecological model is that the attributes of person-client and of situation need to be internally consistent, coherent, and positively complementary. Thus, a person's expectation of becoming a successful engineer needs to be consistent with his capacities and resources, his commitment to the values of the engineering profession, his physical stamina, his learned competence, his positive definition of his vocational situation as one that encourages a successful and satisfying career, and his development of positive role linkages to a social network that can support such a vocation and career.

With these two principles, we recognize that each subsystem - such as an individual, family, organization, or community - requires the access to and the utilization of adequate and well-matched internal and external demands, to take and to give from within and without, so as to cope with life tasks and stresses, in effective, efficient, and satisfying ways, and thus to attain growth and self-fulfillment. Therefore, each subsystem requires adequate and well-working, input-output, integrative linkages with other subsystems and with the larger environment, for adequate, equitable exchanges of resources. An individual person can function well only if he has mature internal abilities and competencies, and has access to needed social resources in the way of positive, nurturing supports, facilities, opportunities, demands. A well-functioning family requires competent and coordinated role-performances by its members, as well as the input of community resources and supports, from kinfolk, community groups and organizations representing the wider social structures and institutions. A well-functioning community requires competent performances of citizen and neighbor roles by its individuals, families, groups, and organizations, as well as adequate cultural, institutional structures and adequate social provisions from city, state, and federal governmental systems. Conversely, social dysfunctioning is understood in terms of a lack in such reciprocal interdependence, internally and externally, and a lack of adequate, equitable resource exchanges between systems.
A third principle of the ecological model may be termed a dialectical principle of change. This states that systemic change and transformation of the structure, elements, and processes of a system stem from the inherent dialectical forces expressed in the discrepancies, contradictions, and conflicts to which we have just referred. The ideal state of complementary exchange balance - between internal and external attributes and resources that has been presented as characteristic of well-functioning systems - is often disrupted or not fully attained because of the inevitable changes that occur in life processes of adapting, becoming, and being. The natural polarities and dichotomies of life forces pose thesis and anti-thesis, bi-modal oppositions, between inherent tendencies for growth and decline, control and deviance, freedom and necessity, identity and difference. This results in continuing transactions of positive and negative feedback, of transitions and transformations. [15] Outcomes of diffusion and definition, differentiation and complexation, assimilation and accommodation, make for a dynamic emergence of new forms of integration and synthesis in system structure and operating processes.

The dialectical principle of ecological system development and change has much interdisciplinary support. Thus, Marxian "dialectical materialism" refers to a process of socio-economic, political, and cultural transformations and productions, in structures and in human consciousness, that results from contradiction in the very essence of things"; this dialectic constitutes "the motor of all development."[16] Lester Ward, the pioneer sociologist, asserted that the "universal," and basic organizing principle" in nature and society is the dialectical process between antagonistic forces that achieve balance and integration, and what he called a creative "synergy" of their teamwork. [17] He emphasized this particularly for the social institutions and structures that utilize and channel the social energies and psychic powers of men for social ends. Biological ecologists similarly emphasize that system development, productivity, and innovation are emergent properties resulting from symbiotic and competitive linkages and mutual adaptation between organisms and environment that maintain efficient energy exchange and nutrient recycling. [18] Current dialectical psychology also gives salience to continuing developmental changes in human beings that are brought about by inner and outer polarities and contradictions; such changes are generated by discordance, conflicts, and disruptive crises. [19] Developmental progressions may thus take place through stages and lines of activity that are linear and multi-dimensional as well as non-linear, recursive, and cyclical. [20] What Mancuso calls "Dialectic Man" uses biopolar mental constructs and schemes in perception and reasoning, and, according to Rychlak, makes use of a "transcendental dialectic" to perceive and create new realities. [21]
Misconceptions and Cultism

In the process of social work adoption of ecological systems theory that now is taking place, there are certain misconceptions and usages that merit our attention because their amplification may lead to serious and costly difficulties.

One misconception of ecological systems theory relates to an understanding of its origins, theoretical nature, and domain. Although organismic biologists early developed certain ecological concepts and theories about animals in transaction with environment, sociologists developed "human ecology" as a theoretical and research model, applied to the study of human communities. [22] General systems theory was a later development, addressed to a larger concern, not only to the living, open systems of organisms and environment, but also to closed and non-organic systems, and thus to systems in general. [23] However, general system theorists, such as von Bertalanffy, Grinker, and Miller, have given much more attention to living systems, and to the application of general system concepts and principles in psychology and psychiatry, including to an understanding of individual psychopathology. [24] Both ecological and general systems theories thus apply to the individual person and to social systems. They have analogous and common concepts and principles (such as structure, functioning, development, adaptation, complementarity, exchange) which have conceptual and practical validity, and which are generic across systems while avoiding reductionism and reification.

In contrast, ego psychology is concerned with the domain of inner structures and processes of the individual person, though in relation to the environment. Certain concepts of ego psychology correspond to or are parallel to those of general and ecological systems theories, as Germain has usefully demonstrated. [25] For example, there are significant connections between the ideas of exchange, adaptation, and ego adaptive processes, and between the concepts of equilibrium, adaptive balance or goodness of fit, and ego autonomy. Yet Germain somehow considers these sets of ideas, and thus the three models, as discrete, with different origins, assumptions, and domains, so that she favors maintaining their separateness. This kind of misunderstanding is further reflected in the artificial distinctions she makes, as in attributing exchange and adaptation concepts to different theory categories. As a result, there is an avoidance of necessary integrative tasks in identifying analogies and developing a common conceptual language and framework, needed to facilitate practice applications.

There are other kinds of misunderstandings and misconceptions as well. Thus systems theory refers to a cognitive construction of reality, involving a selection of some area of reality for understanding and operation, including in some cases, for redefinition. The identity,
boundary, and environment of the system vary with the identity of the client and problems to be tackled. Many concepts, such as a client or situation, are "holons" in the sense that, conceptually, such system elements may be both a component "part" of a suprasystem and a "whole" suprasystem for its own components, at the same time. [26] The use of such a high level theory and its concepts therefore requires a specification of significant operational variables and principles for practice applications, but little of this has been done. Although Meyer and Germain have provided important and helpful explications of ecological theory, and discussed or presented discussions by others of its practice applications, neither have yet presented systematic assessment or intervention schemes. [27] System theorists generally have rejected operational concepts of resources, or of situational assessment and intervention, though such terms are frequently used in social work discourse. There is a lack of recognition of how we distinguish between and utilize behavior and practice theories, or between developmental, structural-process, and conflict models, based on ecological theory. The persistently abstract level of explication at which ecological theory is so often presented maintains it at a metaphorical, non-empirical level, and has a quality of grandiose rhetoric.

In addition, there is a continued adherence to inappropriate medical models of social problems and social functioning, with inhibiting effects on the needed development of ecological theory and methods. Thus there is a renewed effort to revive and to espouse epidemiological and public health concepts as primary models for social work research and practice. [28] Though certain concepts and procedures in this orientation have some value, there is a neglect of valuable and more germane ecological methods and techniques for research and practice purposes. Also, social change considerations, particularly in regard to social structural reform, get short shrift. The focus of concern remains upon the individual, as disease host, carrier, or victim.

Still further, there is an aspect of cultism about the major presentations and discussions of ecological theory. Thus, most of the publications concerning this orientation have come from a close-knit coterie. A doctrinal sect atmosphere is indicated in the lack of regard for outsiders who have contributed to an ecological systems orientation for social work practice. For example, Germain's "life model" of treatment, (which is a direct-service application of ecological system theory), could profit from some integration with similar models developed by Oxley and Strean. [29] This kind of exclusivism does not encourage the open dialogue and creativity that furthers real progression in either theory or practice. It may repeat the cultism that was characteristic of the psychoanalytic and behaviorist schools of thought in social work's historical development.
Positive Contributions

Notwithstanding the above aspects of current ecological theory development, we can identify certain positive results of the adoption of general and ecological system theories, without attempting to differentiate the relative powers or contributions of either of them. There also are limitations and dangers to be noted. Yet the advantages are substantial and definite, and we deal with these first.

The ecological systems approach has enabled us to gain a larger perspective, a more unitary and comprehensive unit of attention, for a holistic and dynamic understanding of people and the socio-cultural-physical milieu. We can apprehend common properties of subsystems, and common behavior principles. We understand more clearly, for example, how the dysfunctional behavior of a child can help maintain the pathological balance of a family system. [30] This includes a concern for the social structures, for social class, ethnic, sexual, economic factors and for the social institutional organizations - such as school, work, family, welfare, legal systems - as they operate in and powerfully affect the lives of clients. Such a perspective avoids blaming the victim, and places responsibility on systemic relationships, rather than upon any evil motives of men.

The ecological model is, like general systems theory, a "metatheory," an "overarching global theory which embraces several limited theories."[31] This umbrella of a general theoretical framework permits a "strategy of multiple perspectives," and is "a way of thinking of relationships, or parts and wholes, and of inputs and outputs." [32] Thus multiple dimensions, levels, and factors of a case or program system can be grasped and interrelated, using the same concepts and variables, as they apply for different subsystems, whether this be an individual and situation, or a community and milieu. A variety of functions, purposes, objectives, and activities can be accommodated within such a super-structure, to meet the developmental, maintenance, integrative, and problem-solving/goal-achievement needs of different systems. Having such attributes and capable of parsimonious and generic use with many types of systems, the ecological model provides a common core of knowledge, attitudes and skills, a basic perspective and helping approach for the social work profession as a whole. [33] Within this basic approach, more specific theories, methods, and techniques can be utilized, from a range of behavior, personality, and social system theories. Upon this base, social work has developed a variety of specialized helping approaches: psychodynamic, cognitive-behavioral, interactional, humanistic-existentialist, social provision-radical, and problem-solving.

Such an orientation encourages the social worker to be theoretically and technically eclectic, in the best sense of the term. This means to take and test the best of the various schools of therapy, administration,
Positive Contributions

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The ecological systems approach has enabled us to gain a larger perspective, we can identify and comprehensive view of all the factors of a system, for a holistic and dynamic understanding of people and the socio-cultural-physical milieu. We can comprehend common properties of subsystems, and common behavior principles. We understand more clearly, for example, how the dysfunctional behavior of a child can help maintain a pathological balance of a family system.[30] This includes a concern for the social structures, for social class, ethnic, sexual, economic factors and for social institutional organizations - school, work, family, welfare, legal systems - as they operate in and powerfully affect the lives of clients. Such a perspective avoids blaming the victim, and places responsibility on systemic relationships, rather than upon any evil motives of men.

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Such an orientation encourages the social worker to be theoretically and technically eclectic. In the best sense of the term. This means to take and test the various schools of therapy, administration, planning, as they are consistent with the basic social work value system and conceptual framework and as they are validated through practice experience and research. Thus, we now see emerging new syntheses of practice models, new formulations of practice methods, principles, and operational procedures. A new practice principle, for example, is to respect the worth and integrity of the ecology. This means to respect the balances and processes through which people and environments have adapted to each other's needs, while attempting to improve transactional patterns that are maladaptive. As we noted, a fundamental behavior principle is that optimal system functioning requires a positive reciprocal complementarity of client-worker role expectations. [34] Applying such a systems view, Hasenfeld has suggested a set of such principles for organizational helping behavior, for example, that "The greater the perceived congruency of the client's personal goals and the organization's operative aims, the greater the degree of trust between them."[35] Other principles have also emerged: A social study needs to be done from a systemic perspective, and to include a concern for people-milieu variables and their interaction. Monitoring and evaluation of intervention efforts were concerned with unintended as well as intended consequences. Intervention needs to be both people-helping and system-changing, not only to effect change, but also to ensure that the altered, new state of affairs will last and be self-maintaining within the selected ecosystem.

Significant advances have been made in theory and operational procedures for social standing and dealing with environmental systems. Both personality and social institutional system changes are pursued and effected through situational assessments and interventions. [36] This transformation in situational assessments and crisis-intervention, in work with victims of natural disasters, in family therapy and network intervention, in organizational and neighbor-hood development. Socio-behavioral therapy in social work expresses a systemic orientation to social work, in its assumption that change in one person requires situational change in the contingency reinforcement system, as well as change in such personality variables as situational perceptions, cognitive beliefs and expectations, inter personal consistency, social-self identity. Still further, we are learning how to transform aspects of macrostructures of sociocultural institutions - of complex service organizations and systems - into the immediate, cognizant social situations that are amenable to transformation and intervention. Thus, institutional policies and programs, organizational and family group interaction patterns and operating processes, are altered so that they may be more supportive of individuals, parents and children, as individuals and as family-community members.

An ecological systems model of social functioning is directly useful as an assessment instrument. It enables the identification of consistencies, strengths, and complementarities, as well as of inconsistencies, discrepancies, and conflicts, in regard to particular systemic attributes and in their relationships. The strengths and weaknesses involved in the internal structures and operating processes of subsystems also become evident. One
can clarify how well a system is structurally adequate and operating effectively in order to meet systemic functional requirements, or basic task-functions: of adaptation, integration, pattern-maintenance and goal-achievement. A person's directional tendencies - of motivation, needs, goals, and expectations - may be unrealistically high or low in relation to internal capacities and resources; these may be impaired or undeveloped. Social situational demands upon a group's capacities may be too stressful in being over- or under-demanding, or conflicting; external resources, opportunities and supports in a milieu may be inaccessible, lacking, or inadequate. Systemic linkages between an organization and a community may be weak and defined in negative and unrealistic terms. Such discrepancies and inconsistencies are signified by tension, strain, conflict, and other maladaptive behavioral symptoms of dysfunctioning and disorganization.

This model also is directly useful as a treatment planning instrument. It enables an identification of actions to be taken to alter systemic attributes and the nature of inter-systemic relationships, in order to establish an optimal good of fit between person and situation, or between the client system and its milieu. This means altering directional tendencies, such as perception, decision-making, role performance; and external linkages, such as definitions of one's life situation. One then can choose from alternative objectives, levels, strategies, and tactics of intervention to formulate an interventive plan.

Because an ecological approach to intervention is multi-factorial and is addressed to systemic attributes and intersystemic relationships, social workers have been encouraged to develop and utilize a strong and varied repertoire of assessment instruments and helping interventions. We now make use of a wide range of strategies, roles, and techniques, through which to work with a person, a family, a work situation, a neighborhood organization, a welfare service system. We are less apt now to select cases or program tasks, or to define problems, so as to suit narrow methods or techniques.

It is in accord with the requirements of an ecological systems model of practice that new forms of service and manpower patterns have appeared. Comprehensive, systemic approaches to programs and cases need social work and inter-disciplinary teams with many different kinds of knowledge and skills. As Carol Meyer has pointed out, "A systems perspective permits the argument that imaginative use and deployment of manpower teams ...where an array of competencies can be made available to clients, would also enhance the quality of services.... The framework makes possible imaginative uses of all levels of manpower...." [37] This trend has led us to utilize technicians, paraprofessionals, indigenous workers, as well as to develop case management forms of service. There also is an increasing emphasis on an enriched use of volunteers, and on the development of, and assistance to, self-help and natural support groups. [38]
Some Limitations

Recent critiques of systems theory have identified a number of limitations and difficulties that relate to its application. Systems analysts assume that all systems are similar, but actually there are important differences between a person and a work organization, between the design of aerospace hardware and of a social service program, between mediating a national labor dispute and a marital conflict. As Robert Leighninger observes, systems theorists "do not have a terribly impressive track record," considering such examples as the War in Vietnam, or the Pentagon's cost-benefit planning for military equipment. [39] Leighninger further states that systems theory is deficient in its conception of society in normative terms; its overconcern with self-regulating homeostasis; its lack of recognition that feedback may be deviance-amplifying or not result in corrective action; its neglect of control issues about local, decentralized control and participation; its overestimation of subsystem integration, which leads to "conservative, status-quo, political positions," and a discouragement of constructive conflict and variety.

We can note here a tendency on the part of systems theorists to overestimate the rationality of human beings and particularly of decision-making and problem-solving in organizational behavior. Thus, there is an effort to impose an unrealistic kind of rational image upon organizational life. There is increasing evidence that our communities and our bureaucracies, including the universities and the military services, actually are "organized anarchies." [40] They actually are difficult to understand and often intractable to administer because they require endless and complicated processes of negotiation between opposing interest groups, who often are unwilling to recognize a superordinate authority or accept common interests and objectives.

The pretense to rational administration is associated with a use of systems models, particularly in industry, that has operated to exacerbate certain establishment tendencies. One pernicious trend has been the increase in bureaucratic, centralized control, with power placed in the hands of "systems-experts" rather than managers, with escalated costs due to overstaffing of non-productive personnel and to reams of paperwork. [41] The increased bureaucratization and authoritarianism in our society have been hidden by the use of systems theory as an ideology, and as part of a claim that it would provide greater effectiveness in societal efforts against social problems. [42] Such a technocratic approach is also seen to attempt to paper-over real conflicts in values and interests.

Another difficulty posed by the systems model is the assumption that systemic components are so interdependent that impactful intervention at some crucial point should affect other elements, and set off rippling, reverberating effects that will alter systemic structure and processes. We do not have many more points of entry and levels of intervention into systems, with individuals, dyads, families, groups, organizations, communities, etc. But we often do not know just what these critical
pivotal points may be. Also, we do not know how to control the consequences so that they consistently follow predictions and have positive, constructive results, in the immediate, as well as in the long-term, future. Unintended and negative consequences are a common result of planned systemic change programs, as in the classic example of how street gangs were weaned from gang warfare against each other, yet wound up addicted to drugs. [43] Or how the de-institutionalization of mental hospital patients has resulted in serious dumping of severely handicapped and incompetent people into hostile communities, and into revolving-door type of treatment experiences for such people. [44]

One implication of systems theory is an encouragement of the practitioner to see things big: to think and plan and try to act in comprehensive, systemic terms. One result has been the use of systems theory to justify a generalist kind of social work practice, and for practitioners to believe that they need to be, and to be equally expert as, social planners, family therapists, community organizers, psychotherapists, etc. The result of such grandiose pretensions has been an increasing disenchantment of service agencies and of the public with the insubstantial rhetoric and lack of competence in the effective provision of basic social services that is exhibited by many mental health and social service practitioners. A more recent reaction has been the scaling down of claims for a generalist practice, and a recognition of valued specializations and of individual talents to be confirmed within service teams. [45]

A major limitation of systems theory is held to be its seeming inability to deal with subjective experience, and thus with meanings, aspirations, and values. [46] A system design may be technically and aesthetically elegant, scientifically and statistically reliable and valid. But without a value system that can give it constructive direction and purpose, it will lack meaning, will not motivate its members productively, and therefore will follow an entropic course into stagnation and decline. The popularity of systems theory has been associated with a prevailing adversary, competitive culture and a dominant value system that features prominently a narcissistic hedonism, individualistic autonomy and freedom, and materialistic achievement. [47] Such a value system is now held to be influential in contributing to the increased level of communal and family disorganization in our society, in low birth rates, and in high rates of divorce, family violence, child abuse and neglect, and criminal behavior. This kind of personalist, hedonistic value system - that gives primacy to self-actualization, autonomy, and present gratification - is also accepted and endorsed by many social workers. It appears to underlie certain harmful aspects of social work practice, a fact that now is being openly discussed and criticized. Glasser and Glasser, for example, charge that social system theory, as applied in social work, has focused on family functions for the good of individual members with a neglect of the needs of the society and of a proper balance between them. [48] There is an increasingly evident contradiction between this individualistic, "self-fulfillment" orientation
expressed by many social workers and the humanistic values of equality, democracy, justice, altruism, social responsibility, and mutual aid, which are publicly and ritually professed by the social work profession.

The Dialectic of Stability and Change

The criticism of systems theory as reinforcing the maintenance of the status-quo is at variance with the use of systems theory by radicals and reformists, who characteristically proclaim the need to reform and "change the whole system." Thus Karl Marx did make use of systems theory. He spoke of the "capitalist system," and apparently did use a systems analytic model as a basis for developing his theory of historical materialism, and for his view of the key subsystem of economic production. This is well argued by McQuarrie and Maburugey, who also find that Marx conceived of the key system elements as the economic forces and social relations of production, and the political-cultural superstructures and forms of consciousness in a society which are derived from them. [49] They suggest that economic factors were actually understood by Marx, not as a sole determinant, but as a dominant determinant, of the limits within which a society functions, and within which limits a dialectical process takes place between the means and relations of production. Social change was viewed by Marx as taking place as a result of the dialectical process concerning these inherent contradictions and resultant class conflicts.

In addition, Marx and Engels were committed to what we now call an ecological systems conception of man in relation to fellow man and to nature, as is well demonstrated by Howard Parsons. [50] Both were severely critical of the exploitation, pollution, waste, and destruction of people and natural resources by capitalism. They viewed and affirmed man in dialectical relations with nature, whereby each reciprocally creates and transforms the other. Their vision of a communistic society encompassed a "socialist ecology," to use Parsons' phrase, in which there would be "real human freedom" in a harmony between man and nature. [51]

The Marxist philosopher Habermas is, however, critical of systems theory where it neglects to recognize the inherent incompatibilities of class interests, and how these block social integration within the capitalist system. [52] He also suggests that systems theory cannot deal with the issues of the validation and legitimation of normative and interpretive structures needed in a society. As a result, there are characteristic tendencies toward chronic crises, in the economy, and in regard to the rationality of organizational administration, the legitimation of social forms, and the motivational structures of the society.
We need to recall here that ecological systems theory is a general super-structure, which enables the combined and integrative use of many different types of sub-theories for different kinds of system functions. This applies particularly to the systemic functions of pattern-mainten-ance and change. Such ecological system models and system functions allow, as Leibniz points out about general systems theory, "both conservative and radical interpretations of the same situation." [53] Such usage results from the differences in functions that are being pursued: to reinforce the status-quo and stability of the social order or to support radical, reformist efforts. The dialectical life process, as we noted, involves bi-polar oppositions between inherently contradictory tendencies, such as for conformity/control and deviance/change. The ecological model thus can subsume structural-functionalist and conflict theories. [54] It can accommodate what looks like contradictory motivational rationales and belief systems for different systemic purposes.

Social work is an institutional instrument for both social stability and social change. [55] It is charged, in its social contract, with a crucial societal function: to mediate between the opposing forces in this dialectical process within our human ecology, and thus to facilitate the progressive forces of social evolution and of community and individual development. Social work arose as a response to the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system and its socio-economic modes of production and relationships. Society has supported the development of the social work value and knowledge base, and of its ideology and intervening forms, so that these were and are integrative, meliorating, protective and controlling, as well as consciousness-raising and oppositional in regard to poverty, discrimination, injustice, alienation, as well as the exhaustion of such basic social practices. Social work has contributed greatly to the development of the social welfare system, and to positive changes in societal attitudes and practices in regard to the poor, disadvantaged, and deviant members of society. [56] Yet social work and continues to reflect the inherent contradictions in our society, and in our welfare system, between the forces for social control and social change. [57]

One important function of social work, essential to the dialectical social process, is to aid people with their difficulties around deviant behavior and careers. [58] Deviant behavior is normally in-violating action that often arouses negative, punitive or repressive community reactions, and is a form of non-complementarity in subsystem relationships. It represents a potentiation of essential tendencies for de-velopment and change, and thus a potentiation and amplification of opposites and contradictions. In mediating deviance-control processes in our society, social workers are concerned to help people achieve constructive outcomes. They are norm-senders and rule enforcers as well as norm-changers and value stretchers. They have become not only particularly receptive, caring, supportive group of professional helpers, accepting the ambiguity of deviance, tolerating the contradictions, ambivalences, paradoxes, and conflicts involved until its consequences can become probable or manifest; and per-mitting as well as encouraging the creative emergence of new forms and functioning processes for growth, living, and relation. In addition to a characteristic person-in-situation perspective, social workers have a dialectical vision, one that identifies discrepancies and contradic-tions in terms of polarities, and also identifies the "unity of opposites" in their essences. [59] This is part of an approach that "comprehends the unfolding of oppositions and aims at a new synthesis which negates and affirms." [60] Such a dialectical vision enables social workers to help people negotiate conflicting necessities; and to integrate opposing interests, values, and beliefs into complementary, synergistic relationships and productive transactions.

By its very nature, then, social work practice is a praxis, a union of practical, instrumental theory and practice, through which social workers act and intervene to help people consciously shape their life conditions and history, to change both their consciousness and their reality. [61] Praxis, explains Aronin, "revolutionizes existing reality through human action," and does so in terms of a dialectic process, in a "reciprocal relation between man and his circumstances." [62] This takes place through mutual and transactional processes of transformations and productions, to achieve liberating changes both in societal conditions and in the inner consciousness of people, in-cluding in the structures and interpersonal relationships of our social economy. As Marx and Engels said of this process, "in revolutionary activity the changing of oneself coincides with the changing of circumstances." [63]

This conception of social work as a praxis expresses a traditional social work orientation, what we now call an ecological helping approach. It aims to effect change in person and situation and in their trans-actions in relationships for an optimal and equitable exchange balance, as well as to help people "achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment." [64] Social work thus is an institutionalized, self-organizing force in our society for both social integration and radical change. Its societal tasks call upon the social worker to be a social conscience, a moral and educative agent, an advocate and liaison for the dependent and deviant, a caretaker and a social reformer. Their responsibilities are bounded by social work's essential function in the societal dialectic, to balance individual and community rights and interests, and to mediate personal and community trends for sta-bility and change, toward a just, pluralistic and integrated, peaceful, communal society.
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Such task-functions are complex, have interdependent moral and political dimensions, are role-conflicting and stressful for social workers to implement. To be influential and effective in accomplishing them, and to have public legitimation and support, social authority and resources, social workers need to be highly credible, unified, and competent. They are required to provide efficient and beneficial social services, and to present expertly organized and persuasive evidence of unmet needs and for requisite changes in social welfare policies and programs.

Social workers therefore need to understand and to utilize both control and reform types of strategies, principles, and procedures, as they are appropriate in helping situations. Social work practice needs both conservative and radical contributions. We note, however, that the contributions of the establishment-practice approaches have for a long time been extensive and predominant. Part of the appeal of establishment-oriented psychoanalytic and behaviorist approaches has been the operational, technical, and thereby usable, nature of their practice theories and procedures. These approaches and procedures actually are as capable of application for social reformist purposes, and they merit such a development.

It is only now that radical, social-provision, and reformist social workers are beginning to translate ideological rhetoric into the development of specific, realistic, operational theory, principles and procedures. The lessons and advances of what was effective social work practice during earlier social reform eras are valuable but as yet neglected resources. It is from current perspectives that Leonard declares, "viewing social structures in terms of systems is not necessarily a means of justifying them," and he urges the use of systems theory to understand and change existing institutions. [65] He and a number of fellow radicals are clarifying for practice purposes the importance of identifying the differential distribution of power and interests within social systems, as well as its consequences, particularly in terms of conflicts and strains as they affect people. [66] They suggest the use of dialogical relationships with clients, the raising of group consciousness about the destructive effects of capitalism upon person, family, and community, and the building of collective counter-systems for social institutional change.

We need here to recognize that many truly radical social work programs are developed and implemented without a "radical" label, such as a number of effective systems-based projects that have been realized in public welfare, industrial, health, and other institutional organizations and settings. [67] A dogmatic doctrinal approach to what constitutes systemic change or how to accomplish it poses the same dangers of cultism and of giving priority to narrow ideological considerations,
as we noted about psychoanalytic, behaviorist, and ecological systems theory advocates. An intellectual and attitudinal openness is needed to clarify and resolve what are presently confused and controversial matters: for example, about what are appropriate and effective moral and political roles consistent with the social work profession's social contract and mission, and with the professional, agency, and citizen roles of the social worker.

Conclusions

In this analysis of ecological systems theory, of its advantages and disadvantages, it is evident that these refer to their usages and applications, much more than to the inherent nature of the theory or model itself. We observed that the ecological systems model has advanced the evolution of systems theory and therefore of basic social work practice theory. It is meeting social work perspectives and purposes and its present contributions outweigh its limitations. Social work is a societal instrument that serves people in their efforts to maintain, restore and enhance their individual and collective social functioning and that mediates dialectical social control and deviance-change processes. Social work task-functions require a general conceptual framework as well as a set of theories and models that can enable social workers to deal with varied and complex types of people and systems, to understand and meet their common and different structural, processual, and developmental-change characteristics, and their adaptive, maintenance, integrative, and problem-solving/goal-achievement needs.

Ecological systems theory is such a general meta-theory, one that provides for the many, and at times contradictory, purposes and activities of social workers. It constitutes an essential element of the generic core of social work knowledge, of its common person-in-situation and dialectical perspective, and of its basic helping approach. It supports the social work assessment and interventive focus on people transacting with others in their situational milieu, utilizing inner and external resources to develop and to function well. From this base, social work practice has developed and adapted a variety of specialized helping models and approaches.

The ecological model itself is not a helping approach per se, although in recent years it has been conceptualized at less abstract and more operational levels, and we have identified certain behavior and practice principles that have emerged. However, ecological systems theory will continue to be used primarily as a framework for a complex and changing set of theories and models needed for the ever-evolving nature of social work practice. It therefore encourages an eclectic orientation
to practice theories and should help us avoid the kind of faddism and cultism that have characterized certain eras of social work history.

The current awareness of the sharp conflict in the social work value system - between individualistic, self-fulfillment orientations and the socially responsible, altruistic orientations - should help us arrive at new balances and syntheses of ethical and value positions, more in keeping with current reality needs. Social workers then can be of better help to clients with such value dilemmas and conflicts. The ecological systems model, by implication, gives priority to certain values: social integration and constructive conflict; a harmonious interdependence of parts that includes apparent contradictions or competition for resources; a goodness of fit between sub-system needs and competencies; a balanced complementarity of resource exchange that makes for reciprocity, mutual aid, and mutual need-meeting.

Ecological systems theory can provide support for the mediating function of social work in regard to the dialectical forces of social stability-control and social deviance-change, and in furthering the processes of social evolution. The predominant use of systems theory has seemed to favor the control-care responsibilities of practice, although the social-provision, radical, and reformist responsibilities have recently and currently been given more attention. Social work needs both control and reform types of strategies, principles, and procedures, including from conservative and Marxist persuasions. Ecological systems theory not only expresses a traditional social work orientation to man and nature, but it now can support a conception of social work practice as a praxis, as an instrumental theory and practice to help people shape their history and life conditions, and to change both their consciousness and their reality.

Such a conception of social work practice makes use of the ecological system as a metaphor and symbol for a social work utopian vision of good people in a right, just, democratic society. It is such a symbol that is needed at present in social work to help us resolve current value and ideological conflicts, and to advance the effectiveness of social work practice. It can enable social work as a profession to regain its esteemed and central place in society's effort to enhance the quality of individual and social welfare.

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References:


8. This older practice model is well described by Harriett M. Bartlett, The Common Base of Social Work Practice, New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1979, pp. 31-36.


22. See references in No. 3 above.


39. Leighninger, op. cit.


51. Ibid, p. 106.

52. Habermas, op. cit.

53. Leighninger, op. cit.

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FAMILY HEALTH POLICY FORMULATION:
A PROBLEMATIC DEFINITIONAL PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

The family has become a focus of much concern over the past two decades as a variety of family-related problems have become major social issues. These social-psychological problems are considered to have negative consequences at three analytical levels: individual, family, and society. Therefore, considerable discussion has been raised about the establishment of family policy. Family policy is discussed in this paper as a definitional problematic process. Several problems of a conceptual and logistical nature are cited and some guidelines for family policy construction are made.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to deal not only with health policy and decision making as they affect the family but also to bring out a more central problem: the issue of family policy in general and the ramifications of such policy for the family as a social unit. The following topics will be covered. 1) Why should we be concerned with a policy focusing on health and the family? 2) What is the history, if any, of health policy and the family in this country? 3) Then, at a more general level, what are some of the central problems in considering the establishment of family policy? And, finally, 4) How can we begin to develop family policy which facilitates the well-being of the family?

Why be concerned with a Policy focusing on Health and the Family?

There are several reasons why this is a legitimate question. First, it should be our interest to foster more effective use of the preventive medicine paradigm while at the same time offering care for those in need of the treatment of symptoms. Another reason we should
be concerned with policy focusing on family and health is to attend to the well-being of the family. This statement is obviously much broader and more sweeping than the other, and is intended to be so. When using the concept of well-being we expand the scope of the issue to include social, psychological, and environmental factors as well as the physical. Such an approach might be considered by some as too bold or too grandiose; but, conceptually it is the most accurate approach to the problem.

The third reason for this question is a consequence of the social awareness that has emerged regarding the family as a social institution. For a number of decades there have been policies which affected the family, but in the last two decades, and particularly the last ten years, there has been considerable concern and discussion given to the idea of policy focusing on the family as a unit. We have had our consciousness raised as to the problems inherent in certain family conditions with the conclusion that this social unit is disorganized, anomic, and in an alienated state. This is verified by certain critical indicators. One, there have been significantly higher rates of separation and divorce during the last decade. In a recent Census Bureau Report it was indicated that in 1977 there were 84 divorced persons for every 1000 who are married as compared to 47 divorced persons per 1000 marrieds in 1970. Two, large numbers of children are reportedly running away from their families. In the period October 1976 through May 1977 the Youth Development Bureau reported 22,240 runaway youth. These quarterly data are a conservative estimate of the actual number of youthful runaways as they are based on a census of those seeking help from agencies which report to the bureau. Thus, runaways over a one year period would probably exceed 100,000 young people. Three, adults are running away from their families, particularly we are becoming aware of wife-mother desertion. Historically, desertion has been carried out on the part of the husband; but, now we are discovering evidence of more and more women who are packing up and leaving.

The late Nathan Ackerman (1970:459) has conceptualized these problems by listing the following "maladies," as he calls them, of the modern family:

1) A form of family anomie, reflected in a lack of consensus on values, a disturbance in identity relations, and a pervasive sense of powerlessness.

2) Chronic immaturity, the inability to assume effective responsibility and an impaired potential for viable family growth.
3) Discontinuity and incongruity between family and society.

Another important consideration is the fact that most families which are considered "problem" families are really multi-problem families. Frequently those involved in family counseling find that when they are asked to help a family deal with a specific problem, they discover a family situation reflecting many, many problems. These are families which are experiencing multiple problems producing a crisis. They have either had a series of events which are defined as crisis in nature or they have had simultaneous problems of various types (i.e. social, psychological, or economic) which collectively represent a crisis. This is not to say that these problems are unique to this society, to this century, nor to this decade. But, it is to say that we should be prompted by these facts to consider that some form of supportive policy be developed which focuses on the family as a social unit.

What is the History, if any, of Health Policy and the Family in the U.S.?

In order to understand the current status of any policy and to anticipate the future of that policy, we must be reflexive and determine the extent, if any, of its past. This is based on the idea that policy is processual-dynamic not categorical-static. Policy construction is related to interest groups, and consequently becomes a political process. Further, because it is related to a special interest group it reflects a part of the whole -- the whole society. It is fragmented because of the way it evolves. In the case of health policy the focus has been on those persons in dependent status: the young, the old, and the poor. This means that the policy has been focused on parts of the family and not on the family as a whole. The best examples of this are medicare and medicaid which are not comprehensive in terms of the family. By comparison some form of Comprehensive National Health Insurance could focus on the health needs of all the members of all the families and thus not be so fragmented.

Because of the need for some understanding of policy as a developmental process, one of the policies that has evolved in the United States will be discussed. This is also intended to point out how it is political and fragmented. Some of the qualities to be discussed reflect the nature of "the beast" so to speak. That is, when we talk about government intervention and government policy there are some inherent problems.
The particular program to be discussed is called EPSDT or Early Periodic Screening Diagnosis and Treatment. The policy as we know it now emerged out of a series of legislative acts reaching back to the first maternal child act, The Shepherd Tower Act of 1922. It was followed by a series of programs such as the 1935 program to screen for crippled children. Next, there was an emergency maternal and infant care program for families of armed forces personnel during and after World War II. Various maternity, infant, and youth projects were created in the early 1960's that led to the establishment of Title XIX of the Social Security Act in 1966. Title XIX focused on health care for the indigent poor who were under 21 years of age. In 1967, Title XIX or Medicaid, was amended to include EPSDT, which defined as eligible those who qualified for AFDC, Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Anne-Marie Foltz (1975) cited several key problems in the development of this policy which indicated its ambiguous nature. First, there was the question 'Who was going to fund it?'. Second, it was not clearly indicated, 'Who was going to administer it?'. Third, really getting to the basics of health care, 'Who was going to receive the care?'. And, finally, even more critical, after identifying those who were legitimate recipients of care, what kind of services were legitimate and needed? These were questions for which there was no definitive answer. It is not argued here that the program, EPSDT, has no merit; however, it is an all too typical program and exemplifies the need for a "total" family health policy.

What are some of the Central Problems in considering the establishment of a Family Policy?

The overriding problem of policy formation arises from the fact that it springs from the image of man or, more correctly, the image of family which the policymakers hold. By this is meant that there are working assumptions which are the basis for efforts to conceptualize and categorize all social processes and events which are faced. Policy making is such a process. Here are some ideas of what is meant by the images of man and how they affect the family policy process. An economic image of man would propose that man is determined primarily by economic factors. By comparison, a medical image of man would envision man to be determined by his bio-physical condition. A theological image is dominated by the argument of supernatural causation. A psychological image of man offers man as controlled by intra-psychic processes. Finally, a sociological perspective of man argues for societal determinism. Most persons or groups who align themselves with one of these "images of man" are not so myopic to argue exclusion of the other perspectives. However, as Royce (1964:3) points out we are prone to the "outlook that only certain views are correct and that only certain people have the proper background to
have these views." Two basic difficulties emerge out of this situation. First, if the policy formation process is dominated by one group the subsequent policy would reflect an "encapsulated" approach to the problem and therefore would not attend to the family as a multi-dimensional (viz. social, psychological, religious, economic, etc.) group. Second, policy formation involves many people trying to come up with a single statement. Persons participating in such a collective endeavor may not share the same image of man resulting in an arena of debate over whose "correct" about what path a policy should follow.

Arising from this basic problem are a number of others which need to be discussed. First is the problem of a definition of the family. We are all familiar with family if for no other reason than because we have all had experience in some kind of family. It may have been negative or positive. The ironic thing about this particular concept is that even though we have such close, subjective experience in relationship to it, at a collective level we have difficulty coming together and defining what we mean by the family. This is especially true when we talk about the concept in relation to the formation of policy. There is no specific universal definition, but several definitions which are used to include or exclude certain individuals or living units from the benefits that a certain policy might give. For example, the nuclear family might be defined as two adults of opposing sexes with their own or adopted children. Some people say that is not a good definition of the family because it excludes other units. They in turn might say a single parent, male or female, with youthful dependents is a family. Or, a single parent, male or female, with adult child is a family. Or, two adults of opposing sexes with or without children who co-habit with or without formal state or religious social sanctions is a family. Finally, group marriage, multiple adults with or without dependents is a family. There are other possibilities but these give an indication of what is meant by the lack of a clear-cut definition of what constitutes the family. Each of us has his own idea of what a family is. But we are talking about social policy, involving collective decisions -- a decision about a definition of family. Some countries have been very explicit in their definition. For example, the French have a very legalistic definition of the family. (Rodgers, 1975:114). It might be difficult to come up with such a legal definition of the family in this country, primarily, because of the factions involved.

Another problem is the definition of the concept of policy. It has become a very appropriate and frequently used word and in the last two decades as we have been in a "policy frame of mind." Actually, going back to Franklin D. Roosevelt, we've been in a policy frame of mind. But there is still no collective consensus on the concept
itself. Here are some examples: First, policy might be defined as formalized ideology which is operationalized through action. Schorr (1972) says that ideology and public policy are so interrelated that they may only with great difficulty be seen separately. So he says that ideology and policy are about the same. Another conceptualization proposes that policy may be defined as the principles and procedures guiding any measure or course of action with regard to a social phenomenon that governs social relations and the distribution of resources within society, (Alvin Schorr, 1972). Thus, policy becomes a point of view in a context of social action. Last, policy might be viewed as the implicit or explicit core of principles or continuing lines of decisions and constraints underlying specific social welfare programs and provisions.

Some of the key terms, from these definitions might help us conceptualize the notion of policy. One, is that it is an idea. Whether we are talking about ideology, principles, etc. idea is involved in each of these definitions. Secondly it involves action or procedures. Policy is a process in terms of the development of a particular idea and the implementation of that idea. And finally, any policy should focus on the basic qualities of the nature of man (ie. physical, intellectual, emotional, psychological, and social). Thus, policy conceptually involves form, content and process.

A third conceptual problem area is that of values which form the basis of policy formation. Policy construction involves the reflection of and attempt to integrate values. Gunnar Myrdal (1972:1) in his article "The Place of Values in Social Policy" points out that the term values "carries the association of something solid, homogeneous, and fairly stable while in reality valuations are regularly contradictory, even in the mind of a single individual and also unstable, particularly in modern society." So, when one thinks of values, he/she frequently think of things that are always there, always stable and not debatable. One's personal experience should invalidate this as in his/her subjective experiences he/she deals daily with conflict. When one questions oneself with regard to alternative forms of behavior there is an underlying value behind such questioning. "Human behavior is typically the result of a compromise between evaluations on different levels of generality." (Myrdal,1972:1) In other words, when people get together to talk and make decisions about an issue they establish compromises in their values. Myrdal (1972) proposes that in such a case there is "creative harmony." The social action that creates this "harmony" is an arena of confrontation and potential conflict (Goffman, 1969). Where there are different value perspectives in the context of decision making some individuals attempt to get the others to accept their values. This type of conflict produces questions such as "What are the important social issues?", "What are the salient needs of individuals?".
In American society in many ways family oriented values have been sacrificed for values emphasizing the individual. The family has been regarded as a private venture for personal satisfaction. This is in large part a consequence of the emergence of industrialization which has "freed us" from locality and family. A key issue here is that industrialization has produced situations where many take jobs which make them geographically mobile. Success within many career patterns is contingent on one's willingness to move from one city to another; indeed, it has "freed us", from locality and from family and offered us instead alienation and aloneness.

Another interesting value conflict is related to what Ralph Turner (1970) calls the privacy principle. This is a value on maintaining territoriality and exclusion of others. The consequence of this has lead to a 'laisse faire' approach to family policy. In other words, "Here is my family. Don't bother with us because we have privacy within our own domain." A laisse faire policy is really no policy at all for it follows the notion that no government is the best government, a proposition which was preferred by the social Darwinists in the early 20th century.

One last comment on the problematic effects of values on policy is that there is no absolute resolution of value conflict because of two things. One, the circulation of power within society means the different sets of values may be reflected by different political groups during different periods of time. When one political group is in power its values will be reflected in policy. In turn, when another group is in power, its values will be reflected in the policy. There is obviously some continuity or the changes in administration would be revolutionary. We can look at the administration of a number of Presidents over the past two or three decades and there is some continuity. However, this might be a consequence of the bureaucratic nature of governmental order and not actually continuity of values between political administrations. There has almost always been contention. One administration comes in and sets up a policy and the next will come in and begin to chip away and make changes. A second factor that prohibits value stability is the fact that value change occurs within groups. Even if there were no circulation of power there would be value change. So values are a problem in policy because of differences between groups and changes within groups.

Fourth, the direct and indirect effects of policy can be a problem in the development of family centered policy. Because of the nature of society, institutions are intertwined into a system. Thus, to effect a change in one part of the system would produce a change in another part of the same system. Consequently, when policy has been implemented which impacts on one part of society, other than the
family, it may have either functional (positive) or dysfunctional (negative) consequences for the family. Although the purpose of a given policy may be for the stimulation of the economy through the creation of new jobs it might have an unintended consequence of meeting family needs. For example, it could provide the role of breadwinner to a family member, an important part of the social organization of the functioning family unit. But, the intent of the policy may not have been to facilitate someone as a breadwinner but to let a person have a job or, more probably, to create economic growth or stability in the social system as a whole. An example of the unintended dysfunction of AFDC has been its impingement on informal relationships of spouses in the family by producing secret visitation by the male. The female cannot get benefits if there is a two parent family or a two adult family.

Fifth, it has been pointed out earlier in the discussion of health policy and values that there has been no policy for all families as social units. Barbara Rodgers (1975:115) cites this as a shortcoming of the British system which, like several European countries, does have a family policy. She says "the British family system is concerned with deprived and problem families rather than with ordinary families." This is an accurate description, in part, for our own situation, but we must go further saying that our policy with regard to health and welfare has dealt with individual status differences -- for example being poor, being young, or being old -- and has not focused upon the family as a unit. It is not being argued that policy doesn't affect family -- that is what was addressed in a previous question -- but it does so only indirectly.

The last problem area in policy involves the criteria for judgement. Values or more accurately, ideology and not research have formed a basis of policy formulation and implementation in many of the efforts carried out in the past. This is not to take an anti-humanistic position but to say that rational observation, not sentiment, should be the primary guide for policy formulation and implementation. David Mechanic (1969:80) has pointed out the problems of such an approach in the area of mental health programs. Specifically, he was referring to the report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health and Illness in 1961 and the subsequent community mental health legislation. That report made the following argument:

The objective of modern treatment of persons with major mental illness is to enable the patient to maintain himself in the community in a normal manner. To do so, it is necessary (1) to save the patient from the debilitating effects of institutionalism as much as possible, (2) if the patient requires hospitalization, to return him to home and community
life as soon as possible. Therefore, aftercare and rehabilitation are essential parts of all service to mental patients, and the various methods of achieving rehabilitation should be integrated in all forms of services, among them day hospitals, night hospitals, aftercare clinics, public health nursing services, foster family care, convalescent nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, work services, and ex-patient groups.

In conjunction with this, there was a mandate within these community mental health related laws to decentralize psychiatric hospitals. The proposal was that no hospital would house more than 1,000 individuals. These facilities were to be phased out. In California we see this has been implemented probably to a greater extent than in any other state at this time. The humanistic statements that were proposed by the general commission, are those with which many, if not most, can be sympathetic. However, after review of research findings, Mechanic (1969) points out that there have been a number of unintended, negative consequences of such legislation. 1. There has been considerable social cost in keeping the patient in the community during the early periods of psychiatric illness. He was not talking about economic costs only but also social costs -- to family, the community, and the patient himself. 2. Some patients may attain a higher quality of life in a sheltered institution than when outside of one. And, in condemning bad institutions, we certainly need not abandon the institution idea entirely, since some persons probably function best within them. Community mental health, as a social policy, has been under strong criticism for a long time. It is not being argued that there be no community mental health policy, but the process by which the community mental health policy arose reflects the validity of such criticism. It was basically an outgrowth of an ideology. A caveat to those involved in family policy formation is to tender decisions based on systematic observation as well as other criteria.

How can we begin to develop a Family Health Policy which Facilitates the Well-Being of the Family?

Since social policy is a product of social behavior it is a problematic process. The formulation of a policy involves a series of decisions which focus on several issues which have been mentioned: What is the family?, What is policy?, How are values a problem in policy formation?. These questions make policy formation a problem. Therefore, we must be critical and systematic in our approach to policy. The following are suggestions which should be considered in this effort. First, there should be effort to make policy based on evaluation. Namely, the intended and unintended consequences of a number of possible policies should be considered. Those that
presently exist and indirectly affect the family, as well as those that might be developed to affect the family either directly or indirectly. Such a policy analysis (Rossi, 1972) or evaluation procedure is imperative. An effort has already been initiated to some degree as the government has held a Commission on Children and Youth with a report reflecting the state of policy with regard to this area. In addition there are current plans to have both state and federal commissions on the family. Now we are talking about the central issue of this presentation. Policy focused not just on children, not just on youth, but on the family.

Another consideration to be proffered is that policy construction and program administration should include consumer participation at each level: federal, state, and local. A precedent has already been established for the participation of the consumer at the economic level of governmental policy making and this procedure should extend to the family policy area, too. The French who have a Family Policy place a heavy emphasis on consumer participation. As Rodgers (1975:12) points out "the Caisse (Agency) emphasizes the needs of ordinary families with representatives of families themselves having an important say in what welfare services their local Caisse shall provide." Rue (1973) in advocating the establishment of a governmental Department of Marriage and the Family suggests that such a formal organization should exist at all levels of government with consumer participation at each level.

A third element to be suggested is the development of a research base to be carried out by social scientists who are motivated to focus their efforts on human needs as well as academic and professional goals. This might include training and encouraging family researchers through continuing education projects as well as guided monitoring of funded research.

Fourth, policies should be developed with related programs that are flexible enough to deal with the dynamics of change at each level of impact -- society - family - person. Such a goal is most difficult to fulfill, in large part, because of the conceptual problems referred to earlier. However, with the utilization of consumer participation at the inception of the policy making process, this goal might be facilitated. A dynamic type of policy called for here has been endorsed by Larry Hirschhorn (1977:447) in his article, "Social Policy and the Life Cycle: A Developmental Perspective." He argues that policy is needed which addresses "...the inherent problems of transitions, shifts and movements between life states, jobs, careers and locales." His emphasis is on policy which helps the individual overcome "stalematation life states and provide for second chances." However, it is these same propositions which should be applied in the
area of family policy.

Fifth, the development of meaningful policy goals with practical restraint is a most salient caveat when policy is formulated. Because policy frequently emerges from an ideological base it fails to be circumscribed by the practicality of rational observation. Consequently, there is a liability of developing rather naive assumptions about our capacity to change the conditions of human existence. The cliche of the '60's "war on poverty" or a war on anything is an inappropriate paradigm. A "supportive paradigm" should be used with the connotations it promotes. Interest in facilitating the well-being of families in society not fighting evil should be the focus of our efforts.

Finally, policy should not impede but facilitate decision making in families. It should not be destructive but aid individual and family development. It should focus on affording the family opportunities to meet its socially defined purposes and goals such as procreation and socialization of the young (Zimmerman, 1976) as well as a social arena for adults to find and establish a meaningful social-psychological life experience.

In summary, it has been proposed that social policy is a social process with many of the incumbrments of social processes in general. Since policy is a decision making process, it is problematic in nature thus leading to the focus of this article -- the problem of Family Policy. Several critical questions have been cited that are related to the area of family policy in general and family health policy in particular. Issues examined range from those of little complication to those of seemingly insurmountable magnitude. However, all of these must be attended to if the challenge is to be met and a policy constructed which centers on the well-being of American Families.

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The relationship between rural sociology and rural social work can be traced back to the days of the Country Life Commission (1908), and has experienced many fluctuations throughout the years. This paper examines the interconnections between the developments in the two fields, drawing from historical data which lead to the hypothesis that those fluctuations were caused by forces within each discipline as well as by developments affecting the interactions of each field with the other. It appears that academic and theoretical issues were not alone in causing contention in the relationship between rural sociology and the practice of rural social work. Political moods and market priorities were equally influential.

INTRODUCTION

A unique feature of rural social work in the seventies has been a renewed emphasis on dialogue with rural sociologists, especially those in the Agricultural Extension Service. Some aspects of this dialogue have been documented in the literature (Demerath, 1977; Deaton, 1977; Gibbons, 1977). Rural Social Work's only publication Human Services in the Rural Environment (HSITRE) further illustrates the results of

1I am indebted to my colleagues, Roy C. Buck, Professor of Sociology and Donald Crider, Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at The Pennsylvania State University for their comments and suggestions.

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joint efforts between the two fields. This journal which began in 1976 was a publication of the University of Wisconsin Extension until recently, when the University of Tennessee School of Social Work assumed responsibility for its continuation. There were many other rural forums and collections of rural social work papers which boasted the names of distinguished sociologists and social workers cooperating in the study and resolution of the social problems of the country.

The student of the history of rural sociology and rural social work alike will hasten to point out that these cooperative endeavors are not a novel phenomenon. The relationship between rural sociology and rural social work can be traced to the days of the Country Life Commission (1908). In fact, rural social work and rural sociology claim identical ancestry in the figures of some of the early rural pioneers who were both social philosophers and budding social scientists of practical orientation. It will be the purpose of this paper to examine fluctuations in the relationship between rural sociology and rural social work from the beginning days of both fields to present years. Interconnections between the developments in the two fields will be drawn from descriptive data provided by the literature.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL SOCIAL WORK: THE PRE-DISCIPLINARY PERIOD

Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life

Widespread exploitation of lands, forests and natural rural resources in the United States had gone virtually unchecked for many decades after the Civil War. The battle for government control over natural resources was futile until the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt's chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, succeeded in mobilizing public support for efforts of conservationists and gave impetus to needed legislation, much of which is claimed to have set the stage for the discipline of rural sociology. "But the most important event for rural sociology," says Lowry Nelson, "was the appointment in 1908 of the Commission on Country Life" (1969:9). Roosevelt perceived this commission to be "the full twin brother of his National Conservation Commission and the Human side of the conservation movement" (p. 9).
It is not by accident that historians of rural social work also claim the Country Life Commission as the midwife of rural social work practice. Merwin Swanson suggests that the idyllic view of the country held by most nineteenth century urban social workers was only dispelled through the efforts of country lifers who "...convinced a handful of social work leaders that social welfare problems in rural areas were as urgent as those in cities" (1972:515). And so it is that the early ancestry of both rural sociology and rural social work is embodied in figures such as Liberty Hyde Bailey, Dean of Cornell University College of Agriculture and President of the Commission on Country Life, Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of Massachusetts State College, who assembled data on rural life and declared that the same problems which existed in the cities were to be found in the country where they were likely overlooked because of the urban emphasis of social work practice (Bailey, 1908; Butterfield, 1913).

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, rural sociology had not yet been established as a separate discipline but the road had been paved by the Country Life Commission which was "the first important milestone on the way to the establishment of the rural social sciences" (Nelson, 1969:12). Rural Sociology is a uniquely American academic phenomenon of highly practical orientation. This was the kind of discipline social workers could comfortably utilize in their ameliorative efforts. The creed of the early evangelizers of rural sociology was akin to that of social workers, in spite of the fact that, at the time, the first group stressed community betterment through collective efforts and the latter group collective improvement through individual remediation.

**Common Ancestors and Their Creed**

Looking more closely at the thinking of the early common ancestors of rural sociology and rural social welfare, we discover that Bailey emphasized retaining local institutions, strengthening community life, and even dividing large farms to help achieve these results. Bailey was an advocate of "rural betterment" and "community action" and, in that sense, his words are echoed by contemporary social workers. Butterfield was equally evangelical in his social philosophy. He was a deeply religious man. He saw the farm problem as a social problem and stressed the need for remedial measures including "better organization, fuller and richer education, quicker communication." Butterfield emphasized definition of and education in rural sociology. Because he was more theoretically inclined than Bailey, he is a more
pleasing ancestor to modern rural sociologists. But Butterfield also emphasized remediation, and in that sense, his statements are equally congruent with those of his social welfare descendants. Politically, both figures were socially minded and progressive, concerned with improving the health, welfare, and happiness of rural people, and with preserving the country for the working farmer rather than for exploitative nonworking private owners. These were the men who advised Theodore Roosevelt and who, like Gifford Pinchot, twice Pennsylvania governor, and Benton MacKaye, regional planner, Harvard professor, originator of the Appalachian Trail and a founder of the Wilderness Society, were concerned with conserving not only natural but also human values and resources.

It is important to point out that while social workers claim the early rural sociologists as significant forebears, rural sociologists also recognize the early nurturing influence of pioneer social workers. Edmund de S. Brunner points out in The Birth of a Science that "although precise information about the inception of American rural sociological research is lost in the limbo of things unrecorded, certain events and personalities were clearly highly influential, though not specifically concerned with rural problems" (1957:1). Among those events, Brunner lists: (1) urban social workers who "increasingly stressed the need to prevent pathological conditions... instead of concentrating on the amelioration of such conditions;" (2) women of good will who as early as 1905 undertook study of wages and living conditions of unmarried mothers and skilled laborers; (3) the thorough social surveys sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation which aimed at "coordination of civic action and social investigations;" and (4) the influence of a number of churchmen who devoted themselves to rural social problems and convinced the public that something was amiss with rural life (1957:1-2). An analysis of the tools and objectives of those precursors of rural sociology makes it evident that they functioned from an interdisciplinary perspective in their preoccupation with rural social institutions. Sociology gave them the tools and methods (surveys and observation) to work and social philosophy legitimized their objectives (remediation and improvement of individual and social conditions). It is evident that the predisciplinary period in rural sociology was oriented to problem solving and rural policy formulation. Distinctions between its practice and that of rural social work were minimal.  

The period which I am describing as "predisciplinary" coincides with the decades which Galpin has named "humanitarian and conference and survey" stages of rural sociology (Galpin, 1938).
Rural Sociologists Organize

The next step was the establishment of rural sociology as a separate discipline from general sociology. In 1912, the American Sociological Society chose "Rural Life" as the theme of its annual meeting. "During its sessions, twelve persons interested primarily in rural sociology assembled in a hotel room. From this meeting grew annual information gatherings, which eventually expanded into the rural section of the Society and then into "The Rural Sociological Society" (Brunner, 1957:3). Early members of the Society were Kenyon L. Butterfield, whose practical orientation has already been mentioned; Warren H. Wilson who was involved with the country church department of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions; Charles J. Galpin of Wisconsin and Edmund de S. Brunner, who was to become a long time associate of rural social welfare.

The time was ripe for an organizing move among rural sociologists. In 1911, the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities had recommended the inclusion of "strong courses" in rural sociology for the purpose of raising "the college courses in agriculture above the materialistic plane" and emphasizing "the vital connection between agricultural science and the welfare of rural people" (Nelson, 1969:20). Rural sociology was thus born as an independent discipline strongly rooted in a problem solving, practical, and social-reform orientation.

One other manifested tradition in the early days of rural sociology was the religious orientation. Charles Otis Gill, Warren H. Wilson, and Gifford Pinchot were all pastoral in their aspirations. In 1919, they all became involved with the Inter-Church World Movement. They were very much committed to the resolution of the social welfare problems of farmers as a way to secure a better spiritual life for all countrymen. Gifford Pinchot, in particular, became a regular contributor to the Survey, the most prominent forum for social work in the early decades of the 20th Century. He was one of the most influential national spokesmen for the enactment of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, perhaps the most important piece of legislation to influence the creation of social work delivery centers in the interior of the country.
Between 1911 and 1930, rural sociologists and social workers cooperated in several studies conducted by the Children's Bureau and the United States Department of Labor which brought about important knowledge and reforms in the child labor laws. During the early thirties, many community organizers utilized material developed by rural sociologists, Dwight Sanderson in particular, whose Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell University included programs in rural recreation, community organization, rural leadership, and rural dramatics.

Cementing Cooperation

In 1930, Sanderson published an article in *Rural America* entitled "Trends and Problems in Rural Social Work." Sanderson suggested that the child welfare worker was the pioneer agent for rural social work. "Inevitably," he wrote with conviction, "the child welfare agent meets many problems of family adjustment and before long she is engaged in a general program of social work" (1930:4). Sanderson was instrumental in bringing about better understanding for the role of the trained professional social worker.

We have come to understand that we cannot entrust the supervision of public health to anyone but a physician. It is equally important that the baffling problems of adjusting human relationships be entrusted only to those who by study and experience have qualified themselves for such a responsibility (1930:5).

He criticized the common rural practice of entrusting delivery of social work services to local political proteges:

...the public must be educated to understand that these difficult problems of human relations cannot be adequately handled by the furnishing of grocery orders and clothing or medical attendance in emergency, by one whose chief qualification is his or her loyalty to the local political machine, but that they need the service of one who has had the best possible professional training (1930:5).

Finally, Sanderson, like E. C. Branson (1919) and Howard Odum (1926) of North Carolina, advocated county level organization for the social
services, thus pioneering the model to be supported by social workers and operationalized by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration of 1933.

During the Depression years, the coalitions between rural sociologists and rural social workers advanced the cause of basic economic survival of the country and village. Sanderson went to Washington in 1933, "to organize the social research division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and was instrumental in working out a system of cooperative research in rural social welfare problems between the states and the federal government" (Anderson, 1946:13).

The Depression and New Deal years were "halcyon days" for rural social welfare. Institutionalized relief agencies in remote corners of the nation moved even further to realize that "social work must struggle to lift burdens from those who suffer (so often through no failing of their own) and seek also to correct the basic maladjustments to which this wreckage bears witness" (Chambers 1963:77). And so, some of the caution which community oriented rural sociologists had had in prior years about collaborating with a profession which was ameliorative and oriented to the intrapsychic rather than preventive and directed to the social milieu, increasingly diminished. Brunner pointed out that during the Depression and New Deal years rural sociologists were involved in collaborative studies first under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and later on the Works Progress Administration (Brunner, 1957:99). Sanderson's Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization (1942), prepared during the Depression years, devoted a full chapter to "Rural Public Welfare Organization." Sanderson was amply familiar with the works of rural workers such as Josephine Brown (1935), Josephine Strode (1940), Mary Ruth Colby (1933), and others whose writings are seminal in rural social work. In 1940, Paul H. Landis published Rural Life in Process with four chapters devoted to rural social welfare. In his preface, Landis acknowledged the collaboration of A. A. Smick, professor at the Graduate School of Social Work of The State College of Washington, for his suggestions and review. Finally, in 1949, Benson Y. Landis published Rural Welfare Services containing not only descriptions of the rural social work field but careful reviews of the rural social work literature published up to then.

Warning Signs and Trauma

It was in the midst of all the collaborative activity that we begin to see the seeds of concern with the theoretical validity of the
studies done by rural sociologists. This concern was to become pro-
gressively more serious because of trauma within rural sociology itself,
and culminate in the termination of all significant interdisciplinary
coalitions with social welfare for many years. Brunner suggested that
"in the nature of the case, the emergency permitted little opportunity
for developing a theoretical structure for the field of rural sociology"
(1957:99-100), and William H. Sewell (1965) stated that most rural
sociologists of that period were not doing good empirical research or
reporting it well. Sewell further observed that this was probably due
to "lack of concern with theoretical and methodological issues and
their own interests in amelioration" (1965:441). In fact, sociologists
were beginning to conclude that rural sociology was providing valuable
insights into complex situations, defining problems and possible remedial
measures, but not contributing to the development of "theory" in any
sophisticated scientific sense. It was apparent that sociology as a
field had begun to express dissatisfaction with the practical orienta-
tion of its rural branch, and that theory-building researchers felt
that something was amiss within rural sociology. The sociological guild
has become status conscious and rural sociology, particularly its prac-
tical line, was critically placed in a marginal position vis-a-vis
the parent discipline.

FROM POST WAR YEARS TO PRESENT DAYS: DIVORCE AND RE-ALLIANCE

The Case of Rural Sociology

The dilemma of rural sociology had become a delicate matter by
1948. Brunner alluded to it in his presidential address delivered
to a joint meeting of the Rural Sociological Society and the American
Sociological Society in 1946. Brunner proposed, in conciliatory fashion,
that many arguments over the theoretical merit of rural sociological
research had been dialectic, based primarily upon the fact that sociolo-
gists had wished to emulate the physical science models of research.

We see now, I believe, that our semantic battles
were caused in part by the inevitable differences
in procedure and material between the so-called
physical and social sciences, for all our efforts
to copy the former, and between theorists long
insured to a drought of research funds and re-
searchists overenthusiastic over their new oppor-
tunities (1946:96).
In the aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Brunner suggested to the societies that those events should open possibilities for new models of research for sociology. Sociologists had been overconcerned with the hard sciences and had been scorned by them. But the atomic tragedies had caused physical scientists to develop a far more sympathetic understanding of the limitations and difficulties of the social scientist who had to be concerned with what happened to his discoveries in terms of human welfare (Brunner, 1946:97). However, few heeded Brunner’s hopes and his suggested new models of research did not get reflected in action. Sociology continued to emulate theory building mechanisms of the physical sciences, and rural sociologists continued to feel the threat of the rigid scientific orientation of the parent discipline.

The trend of rural sociological research away from a problem solving orientation during the decade between 1945 and 1955, and then, further away from a social welfare emphasis between 1956 and 1965 has been documented by Sewell in his "Rural Sociological Research, 1936-1965" (1965). While the category "Social Welfare and Policy" including a wide variety of action oriented topics commanded the greatest research interest during the 1936-1945 period, by the second decade under study, 1946-1955, "entries in this category had dropped to one-sixth" and in the period 1956-1965, "to less than one-twelfth of the published articles" (1965:432). Even more relevant to the understanding of the hypothesis of this paper are Sewell’s explanations of the trend:

All in all this brief examination of major areas of interest would seem to indicate the rural sociologists...have shifted away from a consuming interest in rural social problems and policies to major areas of greater sociological interest. This does not mean that they have abandoned their concern with the problems of rural people but that they have tended to see these problems in more sociologically relevant terms as the problems have decreased in their urgency and as rural sociologists have learned to formulate their problem research in more meaningful sociological terms (1965:435). (Emphasis mine).

Theoretical Sophistication and the Practitioner's Quandary

Before analyzing the parallel dilemmas social work was facing and which affected its relationship with rural sociology, it is important
to make reference to another quandary which caused concern within the discipline of rural sociology itself. As rural sociologists grew in theoretical sophistication and meaning in "sociological terms," their findings became less and less relevant to that segment of the discipline which remained involved in practice, namely, the rural sociologist of Extension.

Emory L. Brown presented an intriguing analysis of the sociological practitioner's quandary in "the Professional Practitioner Role of Rural Sociologists" (1967). Brown suggested that "much of the sociological research is of little value to the social practitioner" and of little relevance to the policy-maker since theoretical research tends to assume "that verbal behavior is predictive of overt behavior" (1967:207). Brown bemoans the lack of communication between theory and practice, and utilizing Ernest Greenwood's (1963) notions of "practice theory" (a bible for most social workers), Brown proposes that the "applied field of rural sociology will be effective and useful to the extent that research and practice are appropriately related one to the other" (1967:207). Interestingly enough, Brown utilizes the example of social work to illustrate the need for "research-oriented practitioners and applied-oriented social scientists" (1967:207). He further alludes to the early coalitions between social work and general sociology, their divorce, and their recently attempted collaborative schemes, but falls short of analyzing or proposing similar cooperative efforts between practitioners in rural sociology and their counterparts in rural social work.

The Case of Rural Social Work

We now turn to the field of rural social work after the years of World War II. The war had brought to the country a fair amount of prosperity. Agriculture became a war-necessary industry and for the most part, relief loads in rural areas decreased sharply. The literature showed the disappearance of the "able-bodied" category from the relief loads. However, we have come to learn that the decrease in total number of "able-bodied" recipients was misleading since, for the most part, it indicated an exodus of the young and able from rural areas and a remaining of the elderly and ill, who were labeled The People Left Behind by the 1970 President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty. During the postwar years, social workers lost interest in rural America. Swanson reported that after 1941, the Survey published fewer than five rural articles until its demise in 1952. The National Conference on Social Welfare and the
Social Service Review followed similar patterns (Swanson, 1972:525). Rural subjects scarcely appeared in the programs at national social work meetings and were but rarely seen in the literature. References to "Rural Social Work" all but disappeared from the Social Work Yearbook, and it was increasingly obvious that the profession had become more concerned with securing the higher status that urban and casework oriented practice could offer than with continuing efforts on behalf of rural populations.

It must be noted, however, that schism which gave rise to two accrediting organizations in social work education between the years of 1942 and 1952, had its roots in the rural-urban dichotomies of existing social work education programs and in the rural-urban animosities of practitioners. The National Association of Schools of Social Administration (NASSA), a proponent of undergraduate education for social work and a supporter of programs located in sociology departments, had been born out of the displeasure of many land-grant universities with the requirements imposed on social work education by the American Association of Schools of Social Work (AASSW), requirements which were unrealistic for rurally oriented programs. The AASSW represented primarily the large private universities of the east coast and the overt concerns of the profession with improving its educational standards. The two dissenting organizations eventually merged in the Council of Social Work Education in 1952, and much of the rural emphasis which had characterized the NASSA was lost in conciliatory statements which tended to support the high-status aspirations of the profession and the AASSW. Social workers were demanding more training, more autonomy from related disciplines, and more commitment from the worker as an emerging practitioner-theoretician of the social sciences. The notion of coalitions became also threatening to the professional image of social workers who had finally gained independence from sociology, and, so they thought, from psychology as well.

During the sixties, antipoverty programs, national rural commissions organized for the redevelopment of lagging areas, and the advent of the community mental health movement had far reaching consequences for the delivery of social work and other human services to nonmetropolitan America. Social workers became perforce, if not by choice, heavily involved in communities in which they worked. Advisory boards became cognizant of their decision-making powers, and intra- and inter-community relationships solidified, as citizens organized, often regionally, in quest for federal dollars, realizing full well that lack of political organization would deter them from
securing the advantage of federal funds. Finally, social workers and rural sociologists, particularly in Extension, realized that the quality of their jobs and the feasibility of federal funding could be significantly strengthened by collaboration and interdisciplinary efforts.

In 1969, after two decades of oblivion, the National Conference of Social Welfare included once again the rural theme with the participation of Leon Ginsberg, Dean of the School of Social Work of West Virginia University. The 1970's witnessed the establishment of political platforms for rural citizens and a renewed focus on rural social problems (Rural America, the Congressional Rural Caucus, the National Rural Center). Monies began to flow once again to support problem-oriented and social welfare relevant research in rural sociology. Practitioners in Extension began to see their role closer to human services and alliances began to redevelop. Rural sociologists re-introduced questions about practice-relevant research and practice-related training in their professional forums. Questions about the interdisciplinary dimensions of rural social work and the significance of rural sociology for the field re-appeared as a preoccupation of social workers.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

The historical data examined in this paper lead to the hypothesis that the fluctuations in the relationship between rural sociology and rural social work were caused by forces within each discipline as well as by developments affecting the interactions of each field with the other. It appears from the examination of past events that although academic issues such as the focus and/or nature of theory building for the discipline of sociology were at times important, they were, by no means the only cause of the sometimes amiable and sometimes contentious relationship between problem oriented practitioners and theory oriented academics. As in most areas of investigation and fields of practice, political moods and market priorities often determined the orientation of rural sociology. When governmental demands were heavy and welcomed the efforts of problem solvers, rural sociologists focused upon amelioration in their research. Such was the case during the Depression and New Deal years. Coalitions with rural social workers flourished, and the two fields cooperated and supported each other. When amelioration was no longer a market priority, the two fields drifted apart and engaged in contentious discussions.
Given the present market and economic realities which affect all aspects of rural life, including social science theoreticians and practitioners, it might be suggested that rural sociologists and rural social workers should re-examine avenues which might reduce the often semantic and dialogical tensions of the applied aspects of the fields.

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DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL FACTORS ASSOCIATED
WITH PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL WORK

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ABSTRACT

Demographic and attitudinal correlates of perceptions of social work practice were examined among rural and urban residents. Data obtained from 301 persons indicated that attitudes toward public assistance and knowledge about social work had independent effects on perceptions of social work practice. Sex and education also explained a significant amount of the variance in attitudes toward social work with women and persons with more education having more positive attitudes. One-third of the respondents had personal experience with social work, however, when other variables were considered, previous association with a social worker had no impact on attitudes. Dimensions of religiosity previously found to be related to attitudes toward social action, were not associated with attitudes toward more traditional social work practice. Future research should focus on links between attitudes toward social work and subsequent utilization of social services.

The purpose of this paper is to examine personal and attitudinal correlates of perceptions of social work practice among rural and urban residents. In commenting on the limited data available on public attitudes toward social work, Condie et al. (1978) recently observed that more research has focused on perceptions of social work by other professionals than by the public. Indeed, public attitudes toward welfare, welfare recipients, and the poor have been assessed more frequently than attitudes toward social work although Condie et al. examined personal characteristics in relation to public attitudes toward various aspects of social work. In this research, relationships between religiosity, knowledge about social work, attitudes toward public assistance, community size, and attitudes toward social work are considered in a sample of the general public.

Religiosity and Attitudes toward Social Work

In recent decades, both organized religion and social work have
endorsed greater involvement in social issues with the result that some of the goals of social work as a profession and those of social service-societal action programs sponsored by churches are frequently shared. Among other factors, both may reflect interests in social change and a concern with promoting the well-being of individuals and groups. Previous research has examined the attitudes of social workers toward social action strategies (Epstein, 1968) and the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward forms of social action among the general public (Marx, 1967). But there has been little investigation of how religiosity influences public perceptions of social work practice. Yet, there is reason to expect that religiosity may be associated with perceptions of social work practice.

Although religious institutions have generally been conservative forces providing legitimation for the status quo, at the same time they may also be sources of humanistic values that would support social change to assist others. The contradictory implications of religion for social action, however, have been noted in that one may stress an after-life and urges acceptance of one's lot while 'another is more concerned with the realization of Judeo-Christian values in the current life' (Marx, 1967). Persons holding a more humanistic and less doctrinal orientation that incorporates the concept of involvement in secular changes might be expected to express greater support for professional helping services.

More orthodox views of religion, however, entail an other-world orientation in contrast to a more temporal focus while social work practice is directed to the "here and now" rather than concern for the well-being of persons in an after-life. Thus, persons who hold more orthodox views of religion would likely have less positive attitudes toward social work than individuals with less orthodox religious values.

Earlier research indicated that religion inhibited protest and militancy while religious orthodoxy was inversely related to church activism among persons to whom religion was very important (Marx, 1967; Bahr et al., 1971). This suggests that both orthodoxy and the salience that religion has for the individual may also influence attitudes toward social work practice. In this study the relative influence of three dimensions of religiosity -- orthodoxy, salience, and frequency of church attendance -- on attitudes toward social work practice are examined.

Demographic Characteristics and Attitudes toward Social Work

For the most part, demographic characteristics have not been very good predictors of attitudes toward welfare or approval of welfare services (Kallen and Miller, 1971; Ogren, 1973), but Alston and Dean (1972) found that men, the young, and the well-educated held more negative definitions of the poor. Further, Ogren observed that individuals with the least knowledge about public welfare had the most favorable attitudes toward welfare recipients. In the present research, knowledge of social work practices is examined in relation to attitudes toward social work. Condé et al. found that professionals tended to have more knowledge of social work roles than nonprofessionals, while women tended to identify roles of social workers somewhat more accurately than men, and young people were more likely to be acquainted with a social worker than older persons (Condé et al., 1978).

Since much of the research on public attitudes has focused on attitudes toward welfare and welfare services, in this research attitudes toward public assistance in general are examined separately from attitudes toward social work and social workers. Issues involving public assistance are likely more politicized than those pertaining to other social services in that perceptions of government-sponsored assistance perhaps would tend to reflect more general political beliefs about governmental intervention than would attitudes toward social work practice.

Much of the research on public attitudes toward welfare or social work has not considered the influence of community size. Yet, Fenby (1978) recently observed that differences in perceptions of public assistance in a rural and urban social workers practice may influence relationships with their clients and perhaps their effectiveness. The greater visibility of social workers in small communities may also affect perceptions of the profession and of social work clients. Fenby implied that some of the consequences of high visibility in a rural community may be negative resulting in"high role strain for the social worker and his/her family (e.g., difficulty in maintaining confidentiality, maintaining a professional image, separation of personal life and friendships from professional-client relationships, and over-familiarity). On the other hand, it could be argued that the higher visibility of the social worker in small communities may lead to greater knowledge and more positive attitudes toward social work in general. However, there may also be a greater emphasis on individualism and self-help among rural populations. These outlooks may be reflected in perceptions of public assistance and attitudes toward clients with a greater emphasis on individualism and more negative perceptions of social work in rural areas or small communities. In a multivariate analysis it is possible to determine the relative effect of community size, previous contact with social workers, and other variables on attitudes toward social work.

Methods

Sample

Data were collected by means of a questionnaire that included questions on attitudes toward social work, knowledge about social work, religiosity, community size and other demographic characteristics. Questionnaires were completed by 301 persons who were in attendance at Sunday worship.
endorsed greater involvement in social issues with the result that some of the goals of social work as a profession and those of social service-society action programs sponsored by churches are frequently shared. Among other factors, both may reflect interests in social change and a concern with promoting the well-being of individuals and groups. Previous research has examined the attitudes of social workers toward social action strategies (Epstein, 1968) and the relationship between religiosity and attitudes toward forms of social action among the general public (Mark, 1967). But there has been little investigation of how religiosity influences public perceptions of social work practice. Yet, there is reason to expect that religiosity may be associated with perceptions of social work practice.

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services in churches located in the open country and as well as in communities of 20,000 or more in Iowa. Permission to administer the questionnaire was obtained from pastors and priests. Respondents completed the questionnaire, and they were collected at the services with researchers available to answer any questions. Although a nonrepresentative limited sample is never preferred, the initial intent of the study was only exploratory and was to investigate possible relationships between attitudes toward social work and religiosity among individuals who attended churches, both rural and urban.

Characteristics of the Sample

Respondents ranged from 15 to 76 years of age with a mean age of 35. Perhaps reflecting more general church attendance patterns, more than half of the sample were women (69 percent). Yet, the sex distribution was not greatly different from that found in a random sample of the general population in four communities in an earlier study of attitudes toward social work (Condie et al., 1978).

The educational attainment of respondents was somewhat skewed toward the higher levels (Table I). This may reflect the high literacy rate of the state as a whole and is probably, in part, a function of the location of a college in one of the communities. Even so, the educational levels do not differ greatly from those reported by Condie et al. in their random sample of four western communities. They reported, for example, that about 40 percent of their sample had a high school diploma or less while in the present group of respondents, one-third were in this category.

Because one interest was to examine potential rural and urban differences, respondents were intentionally obtained from farms and small communities as well as from somewhat larger towns and cities. Consequently, about one-third of the sample were located in rural farm areas and one-third in towns and cities of 10,000 or more (Table I).

Measures

Attitudes toward social work. Attitudes toward social work were assessed by responses to eight statements primarily focusing on the perceived functions of social work. The content of the statements was derived from current text materials and articles. Using a five point scale, response categories ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." A score was obtained by summing across the eight statements with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes toward social work. The mean was 17.8 and the coefficient of reliability was .65 (Alpha). Representative items were: "Social workers are only needed in large cities that have slum areas"; "Most of the people whom social workers try to help could get along just as well without their help"; Social work services
interfere with the functions of the family group; "Social work services enable individuals to play significant roles in their communities."

Knowledge about Social Work. Knowledge of social work was assessed by responding true or false to ten statements about social workers, their clients, and work environment. The number of correct responses was summed across the ten items with scores ranging from zero to ten. The mean score was 5. Knowledge questions were derived from undergraduate social work texts; however, an attempt was made to select statements for which documentation was provided. As in the instance of all of the questions, it was necessary to include statements that lay persons of various ages and educational backgrounds could understand. Representative examples were: "Social work services are directed toward a larger number of children than adults"; "Social workers have special skills to carry out programs that volunteers do not have"; "The minimum requirement for social work positions is generally a bachelor's degree"; "Social work services are often included in a hospital's service programs."

Religiosity. Measures for religious importance and orthodoxy consisted of statements with five point response categories ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Scale scores were obtained by summing across items for each of the measures.

Religious importance was assessed by six items (Putney and Middleton, 1961). The coefficient of reliability was .87 (Alpha). Representative items were: "I find that my ideas on religion have a considerable influence on my views in other areas"; "If my ideas about religion were different, I believe that my way of life would be very different." Orthodoxy was measured by six items with a coefficient of reliability of .84 (Alpha) (Putney and Middleton, 1961). "I believe there is a life after death" and "I believe there is a supernatural being, the Devil, who continually tries to lead men into sin" were two of the items.

Frequency of church attendance was measured by the question, "How often do you attend Sunday worship service?" Respondents checked one of nine categories ranging from every week to less than once a year.

Attitudes toward public assistance. Attitudes toward public assistance in general were assessed separately from attitudes toward social work. The attitudes toward social work scale attempted to examine more general perceptions of social work functions rather than attitudes toward any specific form of assistance. Four items, with response categories ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, were used to measure attitudes about public assistance; for example, "Public assistance programs have gone too far in this country"; "Public assistance kills the spark in individuals that make this country great." On all scales higher scores indicated more positive attitudes or greater amounts.
Results

Knowledge about social work, attitudes toward public assistance, personal contact with a social worker, size of community, age, sex, education, and three measures of religiosity (importance, orthodoxy, church attendance) were entered in a multiple regression to consider simultaneously their relationship to attitudes toward social work. This statistical technique indicates the relative influence of each of the variables on attitudes toward social work. Four of the variables explained 27 percent of the variance in attitudes toward social work (Table 2). Positive perceptions of public assistance and greater knowledge of social work were correlated with favorable attitudes toward social work and explained the most variance. Attitudes toward public assistance and knowledge of social work were not significantly related to one another; thus, they had independent effects on perceptions of social work. Sex and education also explained a significant amount of variance in attitudes toward social work; women and persons with more education had more positive attitudes.

Although community size was positively related to favorable attitudes toward social work (r = .17), it did not have an independent influence on attitudes. Rather the impact of community size on perceptions of social work may have been mediated by educational level and attitudes toward public assistance. Individuals from larger communities tended to have more education (r = .34) and more positive attitudes toward public assistance (r = .26) both of which had a direct influence on attitudes toward social work.

One-third of the respondents had personal experience with social work service and for the most part the contacts were positive (73 percent). Although contact with a social worker was weakly correlated with favorable attitudes toward social work (r = .13), when other variables were considered, previous association with a social worker had no impact on attitudes. Likewise, dimensions of religiosity, either attitudinal or behavioral (e.g. as reflected in attendance), were not significantly related to perceptions of social work. Further, none of the aspects of religiosity were associated with either attitudes toward public assistance or knowledge about social work. Dimensions of religiosity that have been found to be related to attitudes toward social action then were not associated with attitudes toward more traditional social work practices.

Summary and Discussion

Attitudes toward public assistance and knowledge about social work were the best predictors of attitudes toward social work. At one level attitudes toward public assistance probably reflect more general approval or disapproval of social intervention with the intent of effecting change.
Further, the effects of other factors on attitudes toward social work were likely mediated through their influence on attitudes toward public assistance. For example, age, community size, and education all influenced attitudes toward public assistance which in turn impacted social work attitudes. Of these factors, only education also had an independent influence on perceptions of social work.

Knowledge about social work had a direct influence on attitudes toward social work with greater knowledge associated with more positive attitudes. This contrasts with Ugren's finding that knowledge about public welfare was negatively associated with attitudes toward welfare. Furthermore, unlike attitudes toward public assistance, knowledge about social work seemed independent of most of the demographic and personal factors considered.

Sex was also an important predictor of attitudes toward social work with women holding more positive attitudes than their male counterparts. Women's slightly greater knowledge of social work practices correspond to the observation by Condie et al. that women were somewhat better able than men to identify the roles of social worker. Although they did not consider social work practices, Neisen et al. (1971) also found that men more than women had negative definitions of the poor. Sex differences in attitudes may be a reflection of the personality characteristics and roles frequently attributed to women. Considerable evidence suggests that women are believed to be more nurturant, expressive, and, therefore, perhaps more likely to endorse assisting and helping others. On the other hand, the instrumental roles frequently ascribed to men would emphasize individualism, perhaps rejection of help, and possibly encourage a tendency to be less supportive of those who are engaged to provide help professionally.

Clearly, despite the similarity of some of the goals that organized religion and social work may share, dimensions of religiosity have little salience for attitudes toward social work. Persons who were more humanistic and expressed greater concern that religion relate to the present rather than the hereafter (i.e. those who exhibited less doctrinal orthodoxy) were not any more likely to be supportive of social work services than persons who had more conventional religious beliefs. Among persons with less orthodox beliefs, social services were not especially identified as a means by which some of the tenets emphasizing help, assistance, and the well-being of others in the present world could be implemented. Although the attitudes toward social work scale was not constructed to reflect social action beyond that traditionally included in social work practice, religiosity might have been more closely associated with attitudes if measures of specific types of activism had been used.

Contrary to some speculation, persons in smaller communities seemed to have less opportunity for contact with a social worker. However, contact in either rural or urban communities was benign in terms of any
influence on attitudes toward social work. Condie et al. (1978) also observed that contact with a social worker made little difference in the level of knowledge about the profession. A possible reason that contact had little or no influence on attitudes may be due to issues of confidentiality in which social workers may reveal little about their work and hence diminish their impact on the attitudes or knowledge of persons with whom they associate. More information about the nature of the contact or the extent of the acquaintance between social workers and the public might differentiate the positive and negative effects of interaction with social workers on attitudes toward the field and practice.

Although some research has found demographic factors to be poor predictors of attitudes toward welfare or welfare services (Kallen and Miller, 1971; Ogren, 1973), in this investigation two demographic factors (sex and education) were among the primary determinants of attitudes toward social work. Research then should continue to examine demographic variables and include additional measures such as occupation, income, and marital status. Future research should also focus on links between attitudes toward social work and subsequent behavior with respect to utilization of social services. Although personal characteristics of utilizers and nonutilizers of services have been investigated (Keith, 1978; McKinlay, 1972), examination of how personal attributes interact with attitudes toward provision of services to influence usage needs to be undertaken as well.

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McKinlay, J.B.  

Nelson, Hart M., R.L. Yokley, and T.W. Madron  

Ogren, Evelyn H.  

Putney, S. and R. Middleton  

Table 1. Characteristics of the Sample

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<td>10,000 or larger</td>
<td>95</td>
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Table 2. Zero-order Correlations and standardized partial regression coefficients for attitudinal and demographic characteristics and attitudes toward social work.

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R = .551; $R^2 = .30$
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Introduction

Carl Jung's contributions to psychology, psychotherapy, and social science have had little impact upon social work practice. Social Work Abstracts1 to lists only one article2 where Jungian theory is utilized by social workers. McBroom3 has recently written an article "The Collective Unconscious as a Unifying Concept in Teaching Human Behavior Cross Culturally." If only two articles about Jungian psychology have appeared in the social work literature in the last twelve years it seems safe to assume either that the Jungian oriented social workers practice their Jung underground and fail to publish or that Jung remains anathema to the profession.

In part one of this article an attempt will be made to understand why social work has chosen to ignore Jung's teachings. The compatibility of Jungian and social work theory is the content of the second part of the paper. The paper proposes that the incorporation of Jungian theory into social work theory may inspire our future creative growth as a profession.

The Politics of Popularity

In one of his more intimate interchanges with a colleague Freud spoke about his secret ambition to be more the writer than the psychotherapist.4 Freud utilizing the great German authors Lessing and Goethe as his literary models, was an excellent writer; Jung's writing was cumbersome and at times unintelligible. As Robert Bly5 the contemporary poet who is a Jungian put it, "Jung with all his greatness was not good with words. I am sorry about that. Anima and Animus are not very good
words to convey Jung's concepts." Partly because of his excellent writing skill Freud overshadowed Jung in the published polemics about their theoretical differences.

Jung became disreputable because of alleged support of the Nazi party during World War II.

In 1933 Jung took over the editorship of the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapy*. In his first editorial comment Jung stated: "That there are actual differences between Germanic and Semitic psychology has long been known to intelligent people. These differences are no longer going to be obliterated, which can only be to the advantage of science." 6

To take a comment such as the preceding one out of context without understanding Jung as a human being does him a grave injustice. Jung believed that the psyche of each member of each ethnic group contained the collective unconscious mythology of the group. Within Jung's view Germanic and Semitic mythologies and cultures differ. Jung was utterly bewildered and taken aback by the storm that he had gathered about himself. He asked why it was in order for him to discuss differences in French and English psychology or Western and Chinese psychology without reprisal but could not do so about Jews. His disciples many of them Jews felt his remarks were truly innocent of any derogatory or malicious political intent.7

Unfortunately Jung also believed an ancient myth that a great Reich would rise in Germany. He was too slow to recognize that the government of Adolph Hitler was not the fulfillment of this myth.8

Circumstantial evidence was gathered by some Freudians as ammunition for their theoretical battle with the Jungians designed to associate Jung with the Reichsführer of the Nazi Psychotherapy Society. Appearing simultaneously to Jung's editorial statement in the *Zentralblatt* mentioned above was Reichsführer's Professor Dr. M. H. Goring's statement to the Nazi chapter, "the society assumes of all members who are active as writers or speakers that they have worked through in all scientific earnest Adolph Hitler's fundamental work "Mein Kampf"
and that they acknowledge it as the basis of their work." It is ironic that Jung's contact with Dr. M. H. Goring, a cousin of the notorious Herman Goring, was for the purpose of protecting his Jewish colleagues in Germany and to provide them with some international status if expelled from Germany.

Our retrospective knowledge about Jung as a humanitarian makes it inconceivable that he would support the Nazi butchers. Jung's theory acknowledges the imperfection of man, human fallibility. Jung confessed his own errors about the Nazis. Just as Jung accepted the shadow behavior of his clients and thus cured them, let us try to understand and forgive Jung for his self acknowledged errors. Jung's optimistic clinical bent made him slow to condemn the Nazis. He had an optimistic hope that the Nazis were capable of relinquishing their madness. He confesses in a letter dated April 20, 1946 that he had illusions about people when it came to Nazism. Jung confessed to the gallant Rabbi Leo Baeck: "I slipped up." (on the slippery grounds of politics.) Jung's mistake according to Jaffe (and in his own opinion after the event) lay in talking too much. Jaffe emphasizes the fact that Jung was too optimistic and goes on to say, "which proves once again the truism that a great scientist is not necessarily a good politician." When Rabbi Baeck heard Jung's side of the story at a meeting they had in Zurich immediately after the war Rabbi Baeck became completely reconciled to Jung and announced this fact publicly. After meeting the Nazi leaders Jung recognized that they were indeed madmen. To repeat Jung regretted that he was slow to recognize the Nazi barbarity and slow to declare his anti-Nazism.

Jung's reputation and influence in America in the 1930's, 1940's and post war years suffered tremendously given the anti-fascist and political climate of this era. Of equal importance two aspects of the content Jung's theory had to await their time for acceptance. Jung reintroduces the feminine principle and the God complex for the achievement of psychological wholeness. Both concepts found infertile ground to take root and flourish in a social cultural climate subsumed by predominantly patriarchal and scientific world views.
The aforementioned aspects of Jung's theory made him unpopular and yet this paper proposes that it is precisely these concepts that currently have relevance for social work practice. The feminine principle and the God complex therefore can serve as logical transitions into the second part of this paper where they will be more fully discussed.


For social workers displeased with labelling persons within diagnostic categories Jung offers the notion of wholeness as opposed to pathology. Each of us, says Jung, achieves wholeness by integrating our persona and shadow. The persona is our mask to the world: how we choose to appear to others and how we choose to integrate ourselves into society via our social roles. Perlman’s Persona immediately offers congruence between Jungian and social work theory. In her text Perlman emphasizes assisting the persons we work with to develop their work and love roles ipso facto to develop a strong persona.

In contrast, the shadow contains aspects of ourselves equivalent to what Harry Stack Sullivan would call "not me." Robert Bly's imagery about it can assist our understanding of the shadow:

We come into the world with three hundred sixty degrees of personality, a full circle. Then imagine a little black bag next to you place all the aspects of yourself that your parents, teachers, and other significant persons train you to disown. If you are a man you may put your appropriate rage, your tenderness into the black bag. If you’re a woman you may put your aggressive scientific propensities into the black bag. Before long the man’s personality can be represented by a piece of the circle so big \( \Theta \); the woman’s personality can be represented by a piece of circle so big \( \Theta \). Essential aspects of both their personalities are placed into the black bag, are lost in the shadow. Most of us spend
eighteen years of our lives burying parts of ourselves into the shadow and spend the next fifty years trying to recover them. In the process of each spouse rediscovering his or her shadow, a marital pair may spend hundreds of hours finding out who they really are and if they really belong together.

Note the dialectic structure of Jung's concepts. The self is the integration of the unity of opposites namely the persona and shadow.

More important for our discussion Freud and many of his followers viewed the shadow as the sick part of ourselves. Jung says it is only when we try to live out our shadow that we may get into difficulty with our society. Viewing one's shadow nonpejoratively as an unconscious undeveloped part of oneself is subtly yet significantly different than disowning the shadow as a sick part of oneself. When we counteract the depletion of our energy required to guard against our erroneous fears of the shadow's energy, when we incorporate the energy available from the shadow into our self system, we rediscover our naturally curious, lustful, vital selves and become free to explore, love, and creatively engage our world. Robert Bly\textsuperscript{18} describes his incorporation of his shadow's

I am fifty years old and I feel more alive now than when I was younger. When you accept your shadow when you no longer guard against its energy your depression lifts.

Bly goes on to describe Jung's capacity to laugh from the depths of his being, an exemplar of what occurs when one no longer fears and accepts his own shadow.

Freud's concept of the id sounds similar to Jung's concept of the shadow. The subtle difference between the two are profound. To repeat for emphasis, to Freud the shadow equivalent of the id was to be defended against through isolation, repression, denial, and other mechanisms of defense. Freud's concept of sublimation, the capacity
of the ego to incorporate id impulses and divert them into higher social acts comes closest to Jung's view about the shadow. Adler sums up the major difference in Freud and Jung's major emphases. Adler speaks of Freud's thrust as causative--reductive vs. Jung's thrust as synthetic creative. Freud interpreted many aspects of psychological phenomena as being "nothing but" something that could be reduced to a lower level phenomena. Freud reduced much of dysfunctional psychological phenomena to the negative id which he viewed as the sewer of our sexual and aggressive drives. In contrast Jung views the unconscious, inclusive of its shadow as an a priori source of our essence, of our life's task and our creative energy. A cursory understanding of Jungian theory may have already alerted the reader to the practice implications of a theory where the major thrust is to understand what a client's communications portend when contrasted with a theory where the major thrust is to understand what a client's communications tell us about his past.

Jung's theory of personality types offers another source for achieving wholeness of self. The theory of personality types has the potential to offer us another method for assessing therapist-client compatibility. In addition personality type theory has the potential to assist us in the understanding of marital incompatibility and marital compatibility.

Jung hypothesizes that the ego, the "little light" which helps us adapt to our environment attempts this adaptation by means of four basic forms of psychic activity or major functions. Von Franz succinctly describes these as follows:

1. The sensation function which consciously registers inner and outer facts, irrationally;
2. the thinking function by means of which our conscious ego establishes a rational (that is in accord with reason in general), logical order among objects;
3. the feeling function, which rationally establishes or, alternatively "selects" hierarchies of value (this is more pleasant,
more important, etc. than that);  
4. the intuitive function which like sensation is irrational, which appears to be a kind of perception via the unconscious and which seems to be mainly concerned with the future possibilities of what is at hand. (Intuition is not identical with fantasy which Jung regards as a human capacity independent of the functions, just as will is.)

Jung also hypothesizes that each of us in our development cultivates and differentiates one function more than the others and tends to overdevelop this function for his adaptation. Undergirding the four functions is Jung's more basic dichotomy of introversion--extraversion. These can be defined in short hand manner by using David Riesman's terms inner and outer directness, respectively. The underdeveloped functions Jung calls our inferior functions. This is not to say for example that sensation is inferior to thinking or to say that extraversion is more desirable than introversion. In fact we often project both our needs and deficits upon other persons. Opposites may attract and marry or may not be able to endure one another. A client will often project his poorly developed functions upon the therapist, a source of transference. The fit between client and therapist, the attraction and repulsion, or both of marital partners can be explained by Jung's personality typology.

Again helping clients achieve their wholeness and ipso facto more adequate social adaptations may require that we be alert to their undeveloped functions.

It is of interest to this writer who was both a member of a settlement house and received his basic professional training in settlement houses how Jungian theory was put into practice without recognizing it as such. Much of social work with groups described by Wilson and Ryland can be reconceptualized as utilizing program (e.g. drama, dances, crafts, games) as methods for helping clients get in touch with and develop both their superior and inferior functions. Part of the therapeutic impact of the settlement may have been to assist clients to
become aware of and integrate their shadows. As we change partners in a square dance each of our partners becomes the mirror of a projected shadow or personality type aspect of ourselves.

To summarize, Jung's concept of wholeness honors social work's commitment to the client's strengths rather than weaknesses. The shadow and undeveloped aspects of one's personality require development rather than denunciation.

Jung regards society as a superordinate to the individual, another arena of compatibility between his and our profession's perspectives. It was probably because of his own need to partialize, to work out his own arena of cognitive mastery that Jung chose to focus upon the psyche simultaneously recognizing the superordinate a priori importance of society. It is surprising to discover that

".........Jung is interested primarily in the individual; but from the larger perspective of the study of man he regards society as the prior fact. Society and the social experiences of history are ultimately the main suppliers of the individual psyche. It comes about then that while his primary focus is on the individual personality, the conception of individuality is not a given fact for him but only a derivative of the more fundamental category of society."

Similar to Mead's view, Jung sees society as strongest and most vital when the individuals within it can express the archetypes of their collective unconscious in the symbols of their particular society. Social Work's social action orientation when viewed from a Jungian perspective requires changing our society and its concomitant symbols so through these symbols each of the persons we work with can express the meaning of his or her life.

Another major contribution of Jung related to discovering our wholeness is the integration of both
our masculinity and femininity. Here again a subtlety distinguishes Jung and Freud. This subtlety has major implications for the understanding of mental anguish and its alleviation.

Freud’s patriarchy tends to devalue the feminine as lesser, at times pathological. Similar to disowning the shadow it is preferable for men to disown their femininity and for women to disown their masculinity. Through his anima–animus concepts, the feminine essence in man and the masculine essence in women, Jung postulates that becoming a whole person requires that we accept and integrate the opposite sex within us. Time and space prevent a full discussion about the role of the aforementioned integration in the enrichment of our creativity and selfhood. The reader is encouraged to read June Singer’s "Boundaries of the Soul" for a fuller exposition. It is more comforting and more therapeutically helpful to persons to perceive and accept their inner opposite sex attitudes and feelings as part of their wholeness rather than as homosexual, or sick, or both.

The religiousness of Jung’s theory, theretofore viewed pejoratively, has the potential for being the source of our inner personal and professional spiritual renewal. "All the powers of creation are in us and we are in them" says Tillich. We have looked to our extraverted empiricism to help us find how we can best serve the persons who consult us with their difficulties. "Mighty casework has struck out," extraverted empiricism has thrown back into our faces. Jung would support logical positivist research. He prided himself for repudiating either-or positions in favor of both–and positions. Perhaps the time has come to accelerate looking inward to the collective unconscious, to the objective reality within, for practice principles. Many of our social work theoreticians30 imply, if not explicitly state, their belief that we possess an innate autonomous a priori self whose dictates are equal to social and cultural inputs to personality development. We accept many of Freud’s teaching but find it difficult to accept that it was Freud who first conceptualized the collective unconscious. It is Jung who brings the concept to the collective unconscious to its logical conclusion.
The God complex, says Jung, is an empirical cross cultural reality. Disbelief in the sacred is partially a by product of belief in logical positivist scientific method. Scientific method itself has become religion. At its worst scientific method devoid of the feeling function of the ego led to the Nazi holocaust. At its best many top ranking creative scientists talk about their more spiritual hunches which lead them to discovery. Robert Jastrow, founder and director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, a theoretical physicist and astronomer with high credentials expresses the aforementioned point in the following manner:

"...it is impossible to ever find by scientific reasoning what the creative force or the prime mover of the energy was that brought this universe of cur into being...So the scientists have painted themselves into a corner by proving by their own methods that there are forces are forces in this world—and you can call them God or the forces of physics—that are forever beyond the reach of scientific inquiry. And that's just mind blowing to me. This a point of contact between science and religious thinking that goes beyond the superficial resemblance of the flash of light to a few passages in the Bible."

Whether one's faith rests in Spinoza's pantheism—God or nature take your pick—Darwin's natural selection, or the Deity, it is this author's belief that the self exists a priori, be it caused by laws of nature, inherited mutations, or a God given essence one can choose to reject or fulfill. This author also agrees with Jung's view that the psyche is the product of the impact of external natural and social phenomena upon a pre-formed human essence. Jung reaffirms the necessity for reexploring and rediscovering our inner essence. While Freud helped us to look within to discover how our personal unconscious, our early experiences with the significant others in our lives, can trip us up or be a source of inspiration, Jung's collective unconscious, containing the wisdom of eternity, may also be an objective source of our creative
inspiration and creative growth.

The imagery of two social work examples may help the reader make contact with Jung's ideas. Imagine the brutalized child moving into adolescence and adulthood searching within for his or her sexual identity if he or she has grown up in a predominantly single sex correctional facility, or in a single parent family. Kagan states that such children may have encountered significant others who can serve as role models for healthy development. In some circumstances the personal environments of such children are so poor that it is difficult to convincingly explain the individual's source of inner strength by significant persons in his or her social environment. This writer's clinical experience has forced him to face the possibility that the individual's inner capacity to grow may reside in the person's ability to make contact with the anima-animus and archetypes of his or her collective unconscious. The person battered as a child, the person deprived of an opposite or same sex role model may be helped to make contact with the archetype of the wise old man or the great mother within the a priori collective unconscious of his or her psyche. This inner imago, in addition to external role models, perhaps even instead of external role models, may indeed be the source of the person's growth.

Conclusion

To paraphrase Bellow's restatement of Spinoza's philosophy in "Humboldt's Gift," once you grant a flying stone consciousness you've granted it free will. Jung's belief that spirit is granted to us a priori in the collective unconscious deserves a hearing. Consistent with Jung's "both and" position perhaps we have swung the pendulum as far as it can go in the direction of extraverted logical positivism. Perhaps it is time we mine introverted phenomenology for the truths within ourselves as both persons and healers. Perhaps it is time we help the persons we work with mine the truths within themselves. These explorations may be the arena of the future growth of the profession. Since this paper belongs to Jung let me allow him to speak for himself about having an open
mind so his ideas can be given a receptive hearing:

I was often amazed to the point of despair at the presumption of the organized knowledge and discipline of my day and their common attitude of all knowingness which I encountered everywhere among men in command of religious, scientific, and philosophic heights. I was enraged by their lack of just ordinary, natural, healthy curiosity in what they did not know and their instant dismissal as irrelevant, superstitious, or mystical rubbish of what seemed to me pointers towards increased knowledge and new areas for investigation.

Jung says that there is something above and beyond ourselves yet present within ourselves which if ignored can cause us psychic distress. Freud looked to Jung as his logical successor. Jung refused to lose his identity by becoming a symbiotic non-individuated shadow of Freud. It is this writer's opinion that Freud, as in many circumstances is again proven eminently correct, in part if not in toto. In this writer's view Jung has picked up Freud's torch and has brought many of his mentor's and beloved collaborators pioneer explorations to their next stages of development. One is advised to be open to the possibility that Jung's ideas are the transitions between our current and a higher stage of consciousness.

In this paper I have endeavored to explain why Jung was repudiated. McBroom points out that Maddi was forced to include Jung in his book about systems of psychotherapy because of student pressure. I have also attempted to demonstrate that Jung's views about the preeminent role and importance of society, his views about wholeness rather than pathology or patriarchal perfection, his views about integrating one's masculinity and femininity rather than viewing the opposite sex within us as sick, and his faith in the unconscious are all part of and compatible with social work practice and values. We have been open to many perspectives. Let us be open to a view that attempts to put us in touch with the spirit within us. Let us allow Jung's noble spirit to enrich our profession.
Footnotes


4Hendrik, Ruitenbeck, "Freud as We Knew Him," The Library of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 1, No. 4, (Ridgefield, New Jersey).


8Ibid. p. 194.

9Reich, op. cit.

10van der Post, op. cit. p. 196.


14Ibid, 1.

15van der Post op. cit, p. 196.

17 Ply, op. cit.

18 Ibid.


20 van der Post, op. cit. p. 142.


26 Progoff, op. cit.


31 Adler, op. cit.


35 Van der Post, op. cit. p. 102.

36 McBroom, op. cit.
PROTECTING BATTERED WIVES: THE AVAILABILITY OF LEGAL REMEDIES

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ABSTRACT

Abused wives have often times been victims of neglect by legal authorities due to the long-held belief that the criminal law system should not intrude into family problems. Unfortunately, this attitude ignores the seriousness and extent of spousal violence. This paper first examines traditional legal thought with regards to violence in the family. It is then argued that drafting new laws may help to protect the battered wife, but other considerations such as enforcement and community support must be addressed if laws are to provide effective remedies. Remedies other than criminal ones should be pursued exhaustively in the attempt to achieve a permanent, long-term solution. A balanced approach is urged where spouse violence is treated as a serious law enforcement problem, but not where every interaction is subject to criminal sanction.

The proper role of law when dealing with family disputes and violence has been subject to considerable re-interpretation and debate. There was a time in ancient Rome when the legal system could not interfere with the husband’s control of intra-family affairs unless he acted in a manner which could be viewed as exceedingly unreasonable or unjust. Even decisions of life and death were entrusted in the role. This extreme situation has slowly been changed so that it is now permissible for the civil law system to impose itself on certain family matters. However, the same cannot be said for the criminal law system.

This paper will examine the past roles of the civil and criminal law systems in regulating intra-family conduct and will examine the issues surrounding proposals for increased criminal law intrusion into the family. First, an overview of family violence will be presented, with the main focus on spouse violence. Second, a look will be taken into the American and English legal traditions with respect to spouse behavior. Finally, if in certain instances criminal law remedies are to be preferred over matrimonial ones when dealing with family violence, what types of enforcement problems could be anticipated?
The Nature and Extent of Spouse Violence

Due to difficulties of measurement and a general lack of empirical data, the extent of spouse violence is not accurately known. What does seem certain is that there is in fact widespread abuse occurring in American families resulting in numerous injuries. To begin with, the home is a setting where high intensity emotions are likely to be found (Goldstein, 1975:66). There is a great deal of evidence which would support this contention. The risk of serious attack from a spouse, family member, or friend is almost twice as great as from strangers (Eisenberg and Nicklow, 1977:140-141). In a study of Detroit, it was found that 76.4 percent of conflict motivated homicides occurred in private homes and 28.7 percent of the time it occurred in the home shared by both the victim and the perpetrator (Bannon, 1973). In Chicago, between September 1965 and March 1966, 46.1 percent of all major crimes except murder perpetrated against women took place at home (Martin, 1976:11). Of the figures available on domestic complaints, 82 percent in Montgomery County, Maryland, were filed by women (Martin, 1976:13). One could also cite increasing divorce rates as further evidence of spouse conflict, although there may be other factors which have led to this increase.1

Knowing the approximate extent of the problem or that a problem exists at all are not the only important aspects. In determining what the role of criminal law should be, it is also important to look at the form that this violence takes.

It is the wife who is usually the initial victim. In a study by Richard Gelles, it was found that 47 percent of the husbands surveyed hit their wives at least once a year, while 25 percent hit their wives from six times a year to daily (Gelles, 1974:50-51). These assaults normally occur in the kitchen or bedroom, with most homicides occurring in the latter. They are also more likely to occur on weekends and on holidays (Gelles, 1974:106-107, Pokorny, 1965). This violence rarely takes place if an individual who is not a family member is present (Gelles, 1974:107-108). Finally,

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1One such factor is the change which has occurred in divorce laws. Since divorce laws now make it much easier to obtain a divorce, it would be expected that the rates would increase. However, since the rates are so high, it would seem safe to say that there is a great deal of conflict in the home. Of course this conflict need not be violent.
alcohol appears to be a factor, although it would be unsound to treat it as a casual one (Martin, 1976;55-56, Gelles, 1974:111, Michigan Women's Commission, 1977:19-20).

When these assaults occur, what factors influence the response which the wife will take? First, the availability and response of the legal system greatly affects the alternatives a wife has. The problem of non-response on the part of legal authorities will be dealt with at a later point, but suffice it to say that the criminal law system has frequently been accused of non-response; often times the result of written policy guidelines.

Second, the fact that safe houses are not yet a viable alternative for large numbers of battered wives also has a profound effect on the choice of response. These homes are few in number and have been severely limited by funding restrictions. Frequently those homes which have been established cannot provide needed services other than a place to temporarily hide out. This is unfortunate since a 1976 study showed that of a total of 101 victims of domestic violence in a Michigan county, 38.5 percent required housing, 33.3 percent required financial aid, 79.1 percent wanted legal information, and 77.1 percent wanted counseling (Michigan Women's Commission, 1977:123).

Third, many women cannot leave the abusive situation because of their inability to survive economically if they were to set up a separate household for themselves and their children (Chapman, 1978:253, Martin, 1976:83). In marriages where the husband is violent, he will often times effectively isolate his wife and will be in total control of the family finances (Chapman, 1978:253). In some states, if a wife leaves the household even to escape assaults from her husband, she may be found guilty of desertion and forfeit the right to alimony should she file for divorce (Chapman, 1978:254). Not only this, but a battered wife living in a shelter or in someone else's household frequently cannot qualify for welfare because Aid for Dependent Children regulations require that she have her own household.

Fourth, the medical profession, including psychiatrists, are of little help to the woman seeking an alternative to the violent home. Doctors seldom report abuse cases involving spouses (Eisenberg and Micklow, 1977:155). Women many times reject psychiatric help because of the stigma associated with such treatment and the cost of such treatment. Some victims have reported that their psychiatrists tell them they are "masochistic" and that "all women like to be dealt with
Fifth, fear is a factor of importance when considering the possible responses of the wife. If there is a perception on the part of the battered wife that outside agencies such as the police, the medical profession, social service agencies, and the courts will not adequately protect her if she turns to them, the fear of retaliation by her husband may be overwhelming. She may feel it better to endure the present abuse rather than risk having to suffer worse beatings or assaults in the future.

In attempting to understand why there is still a great deal of non-response, it is useful to look at the American and English traditions in terms of the role of law in domestic matters. In both instances, legal tradition appears to be an important element in explaining present practices.

The American Tradition

While it is perhaps true that the United States is over-litigated, there has been a reluctance to extend the arm of the law into family matters. This is slowly changing, but present policy still reflects traditional legal philosophy.

The word "family" is derived from the Roman word familia, signifying the totality of slaves belonging to an individual (Martin, 1976:27). Wives were a part of this totality. Both women and children were considered property of the male head-of-the-household and they were subject to his desires as were any other slaves and property. As it was mentioned earlier, the male even had the power to take the life of his wife and children as long as he was acting in a just manner. For the most part, this strict patriarchal view was carried over to the United States and became an integral part of American law.

In the United States, women were considered property and the male was expected to exercise control over her. In certain instances the male was legally responsible for the actions of his wife. If a woman attempted to assert herself, it was expected that the husband beat her to keep her in line. Our law permitted this wife-beating for correctional purposes within certain limitations. This is evident in a series of North Carolina cases in the late 1800's. In one, State v. Black, it was stated, "A husband is responsible for
the acts of his wife, and he is required to govern his household, and for that purpose the law permits him to use towards his wife such a degree of force as is necessary to control an unruly temper and make her behave herself (60 N.C. 262 (1864)). The only limitations placed upon this use of force was that it not cause permanent injury and that he not hit his wife with a switch thicker than his thumb (State v. Rhodes, 61 N.C. 453 (1868).

What was especially evident in these opinions was the treatment of the family as a separate government with the husband as the ruler. This view of families led to the legal system refusing to impose itself on family matters for fear that by imposing itself, it would only disrupt family living rather than provide cures for certain conflicts.

Every household has and must have a government of its own, modeled to suit the temper, disposition, and condition of its inmates. Mere outbursts of passion, impulsive violence, and temporary pain, affection will soon forget and forgive; and each member will find excuse for the other in his own frailties. But when trifles are taken hold of by the public, and the parties are exposed and disgraced, and each endeavors to justify himself or herself by criminating the other, that which ought to be forgotten in a day will be remembered for life...We will not inflict upon society the greater evil of raising the curtain upon domestic privacy to punish the lesser evil of trifling violence" (State v. Rhodes, 61 N.C. 453 (1868).

In 1874, there appeared to be a change in approach by the North Carolina Court. It was stated, "We may assume that the old doctrine that a husband had a right to whip his wife, provided he use a switch no larger than his thumb, is not law in North Carolina...The husband has no right to chastise his wife under any circumstances (State v. Oliver, 70 N.C. 60 (1874))." However, the Court still refused to expand its own role in handling domestic disputes: "If no permanent injury has been inflicted, nor malice, cruelty nor dangerous violence shown by the husband, it is better to draw the curtain, shut out the public gaze, and leave the parties to forget and forgive."

Another interesting phenomenon in the American tradition is the
so-called marriage contract. A marriage contract is unlike most other contracts. Its provisions are unwritten, its penalties are unspecified, and the terms of the contract are typically unknown to the 'contracting' parties. Prospective spouses are neither informed of the terms of the contract nor are they allowed any options in most cases about these terms. One wonders how many men and women would agree to the marriage contract if they were given the opportunity to read it and to consider the rights and obligations to which they were committing themselves (Weitzman, 1974:1170).

Common law saw the marriage contract as an incorporation of the legal rights of the women into those of the husband. The very legal existence of the woman was to be suspended during the marriage (Martin, 1976:36). This was known as the Law of Coverture. Some recognition of the woman's legal existence began to occur with the passage in some states of the Married Women's Property Acts. These allowed women to retain control over property they may have had before marriage and to seek employment and retain their earnings. Recently, most states now allow the woman to break the marriage contract (divorce) if her husband has been adulterous, has inflicted mental or physical cruelty, and in some states, there need be no fault to break the marriage contract.\(^2\)

It can be seen that the American legal system has been very reluctant to interfere with family matters and the rights of the husband. It should be noted that this discussion of legal tradition is far from comprehensive and has only dealt with the judicial tradition. Later, when enforcement is examined, the actions of the police and prosecutors will be looked at.

It would be a mistake to leave the impression that the American perspective has not changed over the years. The civil law system has become increasingly active as evidenced by new child custody laws, by an acceptance of divorce litigation, by improving the availability of restraining orders against the husband, and in some states by the imposition of marriage property laws on individuals living together, but not legally married. It is also now possible to bring tort actions against a spouse in certain instances. However,\(^2\)

\(^2\) Many states had allowed only one ground for divorce; that being adultery by the woman. Therefore, it was virtually impossible for a woman to obtain a divorce since adultery on the part of the husband was not recognized in many places as a legitimate ground for divorce.
it must again be emphasized that the criminal law system has not undergone as much change and has remained relatively static over the years.

The English Tradition

As might be expected, the English and American traditions are very similar. The value in looking at the English tradition separately is that it is not marked by the numerous variations due to differing state laws. It can provide a clear picture of the changing role of law in family matters and these changes are very similar to those which have occurred in many U.S. jurisdictions at various times. Of special interest in the English tradition is the concept of cruelty and its evolution.

The concept of cruelty was first incorporated into the law as a defense to a petition for restitution of conjugal rights. No one would compel a wife to return and grant conjugal rights to a husband from whose cruelty she had fled. Cruelty at this point in England was defined as deadly hatred between the spouses evidenced by violence causing danger to life (Biggs, 1962:10).

Later, as a result of action taken by the Roman Catholic judges of the English ecclesiastical courts, cruelty was made a ground of divorce a mensa et thoro. "When it has been said on one hand that 'the wife need not comply with the husband's request to resume cohabitation because he has been cruel', it was not hard to extend it on the other by saying 'The wife need no longer live with her husband because he has been cruel' (Biggs, 1962:10)." This type of divorce was not legally permanent, but was similar to the notion of separation today. Marriage still remained indissoluble by the courts. Only a private Act of Parliament could permanently dissolve a valid marriage.

In 1857, the Matrimonial Causes Act was passed. It created a Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes to take over the duties previously held by the ecclesiastical courts. A decree of 'judicial separation' was permitted and in addition to adultery and cruelty, desertion for two years or more was added as a grounds for divorce a mensa et thoro. Cruelty was also recognized as an aggravating feature in a petition for divorce a vinculo matrimonii on the ground of adultery (Biggs, 1962:12).

The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1937 extended the grounds for divorce beyond adultery by including the new grounds of cruelty, desertion for three years, and incurable insanity. Of course these
new grounds for permanent legal divorce could hardly be described as overly lenient by today's standards, and one is struck by how recent this change was.

In terms of definitional evolution, the concept of cruelty was expanded to include threats of violence and the admission of conduct from which the likelihood of subsequent violence might be inferred. Later, even non-violent conduct or threats were included in the definition of cruelty. These areas of cruelty include drunkenness, willful communication of venereal disease, provocation, abuse, false accusations, nagging, maltreatment of children, offenses against third parties, and other abnormal marital relations (Biggs, 1962).

What can be seen above is very similar to the American trend; an expansion of civil or matrimonial remedies, but a strong reluctance to use criminal remedies. The English perspective views civil remedies as being more appropriate because they are more subjective and therefore more flexible than criminal standards. "On the one hand is the objective viewpoint of the criminal law, whereas on the other is the subjective attitude more appropriate to matrimonial law (Biggs, 1962:6)." Civil law is seen as more capable of dealing with the personality factors which lead to conflict in the marriage, whereas the criminal law theoretically must treat all parties the same if their conduct was the same. However, it is well established that personality does have some importance in the criminal law system, primarily evidenced in the sentencing stage.

If this attitude were to change in England, but more importantly in the United States, and criminal laws dealing with such offenses as assault and rape were modified to include offenses between spouses in the language of the statutes, would there by any significant change in the behavior of legal authorities? It is often naively assumed that changes in the written law are the ultimate solution to a particular problem. However, enforcement is perhaps the key to the success of any law, and there are some potential problems which could exist in the enforcement of criminal laws in family situations.

Criminal Remedies: The Enforcement Problem

Even with our existing set of laws, most of which can be applied in domestic situations, enforcement has been a very large problem. This problem encompasses the police, the prosecutor, and virtually any other legal actor. Each encounters unique obstacles and each
has developed ways to avoid enforcing criminal laws in domestic situations.

When a woman being assaulted by her husband calls the police, her call for help is usually given low priority. Del Martin (1976) suggests that it is not uncommon for responses to be anywhere from twenty minutes to several hours and that sometimes there will be no response at all. Police departments often use "call screening" because of understaffing, and those calls reporting family troubles are usually the first calls screened out (Michigan Women's Commission, 1977:70).

If the police do respond, they seldom take any action. Family disturbances are treated as an order maintenance problem rather than a law enforcement one. By the time the police respond, fear may have overcome the victim so that she will not desire to offer a complaint or to adequately describe the assault (Martin, 1976:76).

It would be a mistake to assume that all police departments would respond alike if new criminal statutes were adopted. James Q. Wilson describes three types or styles of police behavior: the watchman style, the legalistic style, and the service style. Understanding each of these makes it possible to determine within certain limitations whether or not changes in the criminal code would have any immediate practical significance.

The watchman style emphasizes order maintenance rather than law enforcement. This emphasis is made into the operating code of the

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Procedure outlined for police at the Police Training Academy in Michigan:

a. Avoid arrest if possible. Appeal to their vanity.

b. Explain the procedure of obtaining a warrant.
   1. Complainant must sign complaint
   2. Must appear in court
   3. Consider loss of time
   4. Cost of court

c. State that your only interest is to prevent a breach of the peace.

d. Explain that attitudes usually change by court time.

e. Recommend a postponement.
   1. Court not in session
   2. No judge available

f. Don't be too harsh or critical.
department. Police emphasizing this style tend to judge the seriousness of infractions less by what the law says about them than by their immediate and personal consequences. It therefore makes distributive justice the standard for handling disorderly situations (Wilson, 1974:157).

How are family disputes handled using this style? "For the most part, private disputes - assaults among friends or family - are treated informally or ignored, unless the circumstances (a serious infraction, a violent person, a flouting of police authority) require an arrest (Wilson, 1974:141)." What is interesting in the above passage is that an assault is not necessarily considered violent, since a "violent person" is treated differently from others. It seems therefore, that changes in the written criminal code would have little effect in those areas utilizing this police style.

In the legalistic style, the police will see law enforcement as their primary function. They will produce many arrests and are likely to intervene formally rather than informally. They will encourage the signing of a complaint rather than encourage conciliation as a means of avoiding future trouble.

Changes in the criminal code may be taken more seriously in this style. However, Wilson warns that private disputes are still seen as less important than public disturbances and that the police are willing to overlook certain situations. This points out a potential danger. Police in this style may not respond to family disputes at all. If they do respond, there is pressure from their administrators to arrest. The police may find arrest in domestic situations against their personal beliefs, and this might lead to them avoiding the situation entirely.

The service style is a middle approach where the police take seriously all requests for either law enforcement or order maintenance, but are not likely to use formal sanctions such as arrest. This style is usually found in homogenous, middle-class communities. Therefore, the police are very sensitive to community attitudes and will tend to act accordingly.

Wilson states, "though there will be family quarrels, they will be few in number, private in nature, and constrained by general understandings requiring seemly conduct (Wilson, 1974:200)." If the changes in the criminal code are the result of wide-spread community concern or are strongly supported by the community, the service style can be very effective in enforcement activities. This
is so because it has been noted that the police in a service style environment are very sensitive to community desires and attitudes. However, if the changes are the work of a few and are not representative of community norms, the service style may be the least effective of the three styles. One desirable aspect of this style is that it attempts to strike a balance between law enforcement and order maintenance; an approach which may be the best for domestic calls.

Besides these orientations of the police department, other factors will influence the degree of enforcement. Enforcement capabilities depend upon how much time and money are available. "First, a community decides how much it wants to invest, generally speaking, in law enforcement. Once that decision is made, there are subdecisions about how to parcel out these resources (Friedman, 1977:13i)." Usually, police departments are understaffed and underfunded which leads to the "call screening" mentioned previously. Again, family disturbance calls will be given low priority because of this resource limitation, and changes in the criminal code are not going to change this situation.

Police are not the only crucial actors in the enforcement process. Prosecutors are also an important link. Standards set by prosecutors for accepting a case for trial are very strict and narrow which means that wife-assault cases will not often go to trial. No prosecutor is willing to stake his reputation upon the number of "family squabbles" he prosecutes (Eisenberg and Micklow, 1977:45). While this political reality is important, there are also practical problems which lead prosecutors to avoid taking wife-assault cases to trial.

Evidence problems are enormous. Since there are usually no witnesses to see any of the injuries being inflicted, it is often times just the word of the wife against that of the husband. With prevailing community attitudes toward female victims, the prosecutor is left with little chance of success; whether the case is heard by a judge or a jury.

Another problem is time and money; the same difficulty as the police face. Often times the woman will drop her complaint and therefore, the prosecutor is not going to give priority to such cases. He simply cannot afford the time and money to prepare the case and select a jury, only to have the wife back out. This has led to a "cooling off" tactic of delay. While the prosecutor has legitimate
reasons for using this method, it tends to compound the problem. The delays allow for more fear to grip the victim, only adding to the number of dropped complaints.

As it can be seen, enforcement of any new criminal laws dealing with family violence would be difficult. It has been a long-held tradition or custom that criminal laws should not be utilized in family matters. Whether or not this tradition can be changed or not, a necessary condition for effective enforcement, depends on a number of factors. These include: (a) the utilitarian and moral significance of the tradition to its adherents, (b) the extent to which the custom enjoys popular support, (c) the degree to which practice of the custom is visible to enforcement agencies, (d) the extent to which the custom is of such a nature that a general change may eliminate individual drives to follow it and, (e) the degree to which the change in custom meets current community needs (Zimring and Hawkins, 1971). Many of these factors present problems for any immediate hope of significant change. However, point (e) offers some hope since it is slowly becoming recognized that there is a need to deal with violence occurring in the home. The innovative function of law and its ability to redefine relations among people should not be minimized.

Recommendations and Discussion

1. There should be increasing use of civil and matrimonial remedies. More flexible divorce laws should help to allow women to escape abusive situations more frequently. Any moves to make divorce more difficult should be resisted. Stricter laws regulating the issuances of marriage licenses may be desirable. An especially promising area is the use of tort actions. With the partial demise of inter-spouse immunity doctrines tort actions could be used as a means of obtaining monetary help for those women who have found it necessary to leave the home. One desirable aspect of tort actions versus criminal ones is the burden of proof required of the women. In criminal cases the woman must prove her case beyond a reasonable doubt, but in civil cases her burden of proof would only be the preponderance of the evidence.

2. Assault within the family needs to be treated more as a law enforcement problem than it is currently. Quick police response is crucial, even if they decide to use informal tactics once they have arrived on the scene. No response on the part of the police is intolerable and displays gross indifference or ignorance of the potential danger facing the woman. Police officers need to receive
better training in order to effectively handle these cases. This training must include tension management and investigative techniques to be utilized when handling the report of violence in the home.

3. Research is needed to assess what combinations of police and community resources might be effectively used to handle complaints of domestic violence (Michigan Women's Commission, 1977:118). If there is to be effective enforcement of current laws or proposed new ones, the community must give support, both normatively and financially, to enforcement authorities such as the police and prosecutor.

4. There needs to be more pressure put on the medical profession to report suspected cases of spouse abuse and to cooperate more fully with legal authorities. Hopefully, educational programs for medical practitioners can accomplish this goal rather than punitive measures. The legal system must be seen by doctors as a potential friend, not an adversary.

5. Changes in the criminal code are needed to provide a catalyst for new attitudes and patterns of behavior. Self-defense laws should be rewritten to provide more flexible standards in wife-assault cases. However, over-criminalization must be avoided. Too often the criminal law ends up regulating conduct which should not be regulated by criminal laws. Solutions other than criminal remedies should be exhaustively pursued and these will probably be much more effective in the long-term. Issues such as marital rape must be approached very cautiously and all remedies other than criminal ones should be given full consideration. If this caution is not exercised, legitimate changes in the criminal code risk disrepute because of a few bad changes.

6. While safe houses have provided a much needed escape alternative for battered women, other alternatives need to be explored. The woman should not be the one to have to leave the home with her children and the legal system must provide a means for removing the offender quickly and effectively from the home. It is no wonder that many women return to the violent home when they are forced to live in a semi-institutional setting with their children.

To conclude, changes in the criminal code, while in many instances necessary, will not have much practical significance unless much broader and significant legal and social changes take place. Effective enforcement depends on community support. This may mean very
large resource allotments to community agencies and these prospects do not look good at the present time. In the move to show that assaults are not that different whether they occur in the home or on the streets, it should not be forgotten that the family is a unique social institution in many respects, and may require different approaches than is normally the case in criminal matters. A balanced approach is the best where violence is taken seriously as a law enforcement problem, but not where every interaction within the family is subject to criminal sanction.

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NONVIOLENT AGENCIES IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND STRUGGLE: 1968-1979

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Abstract

The Northern Ireland struggle has enlisted or given birth to a great many social welfare organizations allegedly dedicated to the nonviolent solution of the area's problems. These consist principally of three types: (1) agencies of religious denominations or groups of denominations, (2) voluntary social work, demonstration, and protest societies, and (3) political actionist bodies. Those of the first two types face the pitfalls of the ready middleclass recourse to conscience-soothing rituals and to compromise at the expense of lowerclass and ethnic outgroup interests. Those of the third type include ones that are effective, but some tend to fall into lowerclass dependence in frustration upon violence, a counterproductive procedure. The first two types apply "band-aids" to painful symptoms or create a kind of social anesthesia. Despite noble intent, they both leave the exploitative social structure intact. At this time, only such cross-class organizations as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the Association for Legal Justice, and Amnesty International appear to have made substantial nonviolent contributions to the movement of Northern Ireland toward a just settlement of differences, a settlement that is still far in the future.

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Insurgent efforts to modify or to seize control of Northern Ireland by violent procedures during the current disorders there have been counterproductive. Ambushes and bombings by the ("nationalist," "Green," "Roman Catholic") Irish Republican Army Provisionals and by the ("British loyalist," "Orange," "Protestant") Ulster Volunteer Force and Ulster Defense Association justify for the British establishment its further suspension of civil rights and its repressive military and police measures. Insurgent violence has thus strengthened rather than undermined the domination of Northern Ireland by the British government and, in consequence, by multinational corporations.

The continuing violence of the British army and of Ulster police has been similarly counterproductive. Raids, imprisonments, brutal interrogations, woundings, and killings have not achieved the pacification of the province. (Bennett, 1979; O'Hearn, 1979)

On the contrary, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association led an illegal nonviolent march in Derry (called by the English "Londonderry") Sunday, January 30, 1972. British paratroopers massacred thirteen of the unarmed marchers (Widgery, 1972; Dash, 1972) and thus stimulated nonviolent marches, strikes, and days of mourning all over both Northern Ireland (sometimes called "Ulster" or "the six counties") and Ireland as well as some outbreaks of violence. "Bloody Sunday," based on a disciplined nonviolent event, thus did much to stimulate the replacement of the Protestant-controlled Northern Ireland (Stormont) government by direct rule by the British (Westminster) government.

Comments on the Selma, Alabama, "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965, apply equally to the Derry "Bloody Sunday" seven years later. Emanuel Celler, chairperson of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, observed: "There are times when the civil-rights movement has no greater friend than its enemy. It is the enemy of civil rights who again and again produces the evidence to convince this nation that we cannot afford to stand still." (New York Times, June 8, 1966: 26) The coercive nonviolence of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, like that of Martin Luther King, Jr., and his associates, thus even by precipitating physical injuries proved itself to be a pragmatic course of action.
In the current phase (since 1968) of the struggle for the control of Northern Ireland, the Green and Orange paramilitaries get most of the attention in the mass media. The conflict has, however, attracted and given birth to many social welfare organizations ostensibly dedicated to the nonviolent mitigation or solution of the area's problems. Of these, only the most aggressive nonviolent groups, as we shall see, rise to the challenge of both the military and the paramilitary. Too many concern themselves with a vagary they call "peace." Too few exert themselves to try realistically to help create social bases for a just and lasting cessation of violence. Like so many mortals, they are absorbed with symptoms rather than with causes, with "band-aids" rather than with social reconstruction. (Mitchell, [1978])

Just how can social workers and other community welfare specialists differentiate between nonviolent and violent efforts? The dividing line—especially in the case of massive confrontations or blockades but also in certain less spectacular social work procedures—is not an easy one to draw. Nonviolence clearly includes traditional pacifism, refusal to fight, willingness to "turn the other cheek." It also comprises many types of nonviolent action that are "used to control, combat and destroy the opponent's power by nonviolent means of wielding power." (Sharp, 1973: 4) These techniques can include the linking of arms to block streets, sit-ins, and other devices that employ physical strength just short of violence. Nonviolent action requires a high degree of dedication, training, and discipline upon the part of its participants for it to be effective.

Before describing and analyzing the variety of nonviolent organizations now or recently involved in the Northern Ireland struggle, let us look (1) at the historical background of nonviolent efforts in Ireland and (2) at the social setting of the present conflict. This background is needed for the subsequent discussion of current nonviolent agencies.

Nonviolent procedures date in Ireland at least from the eighteenth century. The Protestant Theocald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798) led joint Protestant and Roman Catholic nonviolent agitation that resulted in the Catholic Relief Act of 1793. This legislation permitted "Catholics to bear arms, to become members of corporations, to vote as forty-shilling freeholders in the counties and in the open boroughs, to act as grand jur-
ors, to take degrees in Dublin University [Trinity College], to hold minor offices, and to take commissions in the army below the rank of General." They still could not obtain parliamentary seats and major governmental positions. (E. Curtis, 1950: 332)

The Roman Catholic politician Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847) is called "the political genius who discovered the modern technique of nonviolent mass demonstration." (Thompson, 1967: 33) He was "The Liberator" and an "uncrowned king of Ireland." His huge rallies brought success in 1829 to his drive for further Roman Catholic (and also for religious dissenter) political emancipation. The Emancipation Act of 1829 raised the financial test for franchise to ten pounds, but it eliminated other tests for office and for Parliament except for the monarch, regent, lord lieutenant, and chancellor of England. The latter remained Protestant. Even though "the law now opened public and municipal posts to Catholics and others, admission to them was controlled by a caste which was reluctant to share them." (E. Curtis, 1950: 361-62) In O'Connell's rallies in 1840 and 1843 favoring the repeal of the Act of Union with England, he involved more than 200,000 at a time. (Lecky, 1912: 83-8, 244-73; Kee, 1972: part 3, chaps. 4-11)

Another "uncrowned king of Ireland," the Protestant Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), organized in the 1880s the first campaign to be called a "boycott." (Marlow, 1973) Aimed at land reform, this campaign used rent withholding and the social ostracism of landlords and of those who cooperated with landlords. The technique "proved a much more effective protection to the tenants than the more violent methods of the past." In consequence, the number of evictions from land declined sharply. (Beckett, 1966: 389) Parnell's efforts and those of others in this nonviolent "land war" led to the Land Acts of 1881 and 1887 and finally to the Land Purchase Act of 1891. The latter is said to have changed Ireland as a whole into "a land of peasant proprietors" rather than of tenants. (E. Curtis, 1950: 381)

A few more historical examples may suffice to demonstrate the continuing attractiveness of nonviolent confrontations to the Irish and the effective use they make of them.

Curiously enough, Sinn Féin--later to be associated with the Irish Republican Army--came into existence
in 1905 as a passive resistance movement under the leadership of Arthur Griffith. Griffith sought to use nonviolent methods such as boycotting the Westminster parliament in order to bring about the re-establishment of the Irish constitution of 1783-1800. That constitution was a compromise providing for a Dublin parliament under the British king. Griffith remained active in Sinn Fein as it became more of a political party, but his interest in a monarchist compromise and his rejection of violent methods alienated from him many who belonged to the organization. At the time of his death in 1922, however, he was president of the Irish parliament, the Dáil Éireann. (Davis, 1974, 1977: 35-36; Macardle, 1965: 65-68; E. Curtis, 1950: 403)

Impressed by the worldwide attention to the hunger strikes of English women suffragists in 1909 and later, Irish women suffragists introduced that procedure into Ireland in 1912. Irish nationalists, both women and men, then "developed and exhibited its most remarkable forms and results" in their struggles against the British and among their own factions in 1913-1923. (Ratcliffe, 1932: 553)

Other nonviolent techniques used in Ireland have included noncooperation with officials, refusal of jurors to indict or convict persons accused of crimes against the British establishment, protest strikes, demonstrative funerals, and the withholding of utility payments. (Macardle, 1965: 134 etc.)

In order to understand the role of nonviolent efforts in the Northern Ireland struggle of 1968 to date, it is first necessary to clarify somewhat who is at odds with whom and over what principal issues. To do this is at least in part to try to undo as briefly as possible the ethnic bias and/or confusion permeating mass media accounts. (Lee, 1972-73, 1975-76, 1979b) It will indicate the setting in which nonviolent agencies try to function.

Mass media mythmaking typically identifies agitation and confrontation with "extremists," with brutal and pathological misfits or guerrillas outside of the law. This permits the reduction of such a struggle as the current one in Northern Ireland to a neat and simple formula: Two small groups of warring irreconcilables there are said to have made violence a way of life. The leaders of those hard cores of the "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic" ethnic groups cannot themselves bring an
end to their internecine violence through signing a formal accord. Such an agreement would merely mark the withdrawal of one or two groups tired of being always on the run and their replacement by one or two others still fresh and still committed to active conflict. One writer even asserts that "the need for violence has been one of the master strains in the struggle for a united free Ireland." (New York Times, December 30, 1973: 2)

This interpretation is that taken by major English and American news reporters and commentators. For all the conviction that it may give to newswriters and editorializers, to policymakers, and to the complacently uninformed, it neglects thorny facts. It not only ignores notable nonviolent accomplishments, but it also fails to take into consideration the suppression of civil rights and the many examples of ordered as well as spontaneous violence against Irish civilians by British police and soldiers throughout so many years. (N.C. C.L., 1936: 23-37; Kitzon, 1971: part 2; Bell, 1972; Provisional I.R.A., 1973; Clutterbuck, 1974: chaps. 5-10; Farrell, 1976: chaps. 11-12; Amnesty International, 1978)

The interpretation destructively caricatures Northern Ireland's ethnic groups. It applies to them all the dehumanizing "stage Irish" stereotype, "that feeble, childish, whimsical, and violent Irishman, who... served as a convenient scapegoat... of countless Englishmen." (L. Curtis, 1968: 65)

The news fictional (Chibnall, 1977: xi-xii) rationalization for the Northern Ireland struggle neglects the basic inequalities of opportunity, the lack of human rights safeguards, and the artfully maintained ethnic divisions that serve so well the imperialistic "needs" of the plutocratic state, of the multinational corporations, and of the bureaucratized churches. (Bell, 1976) Average earnings of those employed in Northern Ireland are reported by governmental agencies as being only 85 percent of the average for the rest of the United Kingdom. In addition, unemployment at more than 11 percent in 1979 is consistently higher than in Great Britain. (Whitelaw, 1972: 30; N.I.I.S., 1979: 11)

An ecumenical report by church leaders to their members on Violence in Ireland (Daly & Gallagher, 1977: 13) points out: "Britain, like most imperial powers, whether Protestant or Catholic, frequently used religious division as an instrument of imperial policy." It
is that "dependable legacy" that makes the Northern Ireland civil war a three-sided one among groups identified as Irish nationalist (Green, republican, nominally Roman Catholic), British "loyalist" (Orange, nominally Anglican or dissenter in ethno-religious identity), and British (West English, United Kingdom politicians and entrepreneurs, soldiers, managers, and non-British and other hangers-on).

The British "loyalists" differ from the British in being an assimilated Northern Ireland ethnic group typically labeled as being identified with the Church of Ireland (Anglican Catholic or Episcopalian) and with the dissenting religious denominations, especially the Presbyterian and the Methodist. The "loyalists" include a great many of the skilled factory workers; they do what they can to retain control of such employment to the exclusion of Roman Catholics. On the other hand, the West English British who try to maintain their English identity include more of the upper- and upper-middleclasses.

Lowerclass "loyalists" and the underprivileged Green Irish are groups most directly in competition and confrontation with each other and with the police and army units. From these groups come the rank-and-file members and the willing and unwilling social support for illegal paramilitary bodies. Entrepreneurs in the United Kingdom and abroad and especially in Ireland and the United States, who have financial concerns in Northern Ireland, have at times contributed to one or both sets of the paramilitary. Members of some Irish societies in the United States and in British Commonwealth countries have also given to the Green insurgents, especially to the I.R.A. Provisionals. The paramilitaries have in addition discovered that the robbing of banks and other types of looting are useful money-raising endeavors.

Both Labour and Tory British policies have led to what is often characterized as a "stalemate" in the Northern Ireland situation. After interviewing Roy Mason, then British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and David Owen, then British Foreign Secretary, on December 5, 1978, United States Senator Daniel P. Moynihan is reported to have stated: "I came away absolutely dazed; he [Mason] had no intention of doing anything about Northern Ireland except keeping the British there. The question of Northern Ireland never came up at conferences of the two leading British political parties. There is no political will to settle." (Holland, 1979)
The British in 1969 had 2,500 troops in Northern Ireland. These supplemented the local and predominantly Protestant police. They raised this number to 12,000 in 1972 and still had 13,500 there in 1979. Approximately 2,100 people—more than 1,000 civilians and the balance police and soldiers—have died in the struggle since 1968. There are only 1.5 million people in that province. Other damages to people, to intergroup relations, and to property throughout the United Kingdom are vast and can scarcely be estimated. (Dec. of State, N.I., 1974: 1; Portingh, Dec. 1973 Jan. 1980: 12-13.)

Too few of those involved have done as did the lower-class Protestant leader (quoted by Schmid, 1978: 17) who observes: "We have looked across the fence at the "Gaels" (Roman Catholics) and have seen that they are living in the same conditions as we are living. That is a fact...our working-class constituency is suffering just as the "Gaels" suffer." Or as a middle-class Irishman is quoted (by Gilhooley, 1977: 178) as replying when asked whether or not the struggle is one between Protestants and Roman Catholics or one between haves and have-nots: "Neither. It's a fight between the have-nots on both sides. The haves stand above it and laugh all the way to the bank." (Pfeifer, 1980)

These considerations all need to be borne in mind in connection with the following examples of the three principal breeds of nonviolent social action now operating in Northern Ireland: (1) agencies of religious denominations or groups of denominations, (2) voluntary social work, demonstration, and protest societies, and (3) political activist bodies. The categories used are not at all mutually exclusive, but they appear to be workable for the purposes of comparison and contrast.

1. Agencies connected with religious denominations. In outlining the nature of these bodies, it is well to bear in mind that the "present uneasy union of interests" among "all Protestant groups to the disavant-
gagement of the Roman Catholics in N. Ireland," is "a recent event." It is not long, for example, since the Presbyterians "suffered under imperial policies and be-
coming rebels against the Anglicans." (Wilson, 1977: 41; cf. Beckett, 1976: 90) Cooperation among all principal churches, including the Roman Catholic, is a very re-
cent development, precipitated by the current "troubles." Thus, the National report to the church leaders (Daly & others, 1977: 71) cited above admits: "The Irish Churches have until recently been slow to recognize that total religi-
ous segregation is by no means a necessary nor a desir-
able consequence of legitimate denominational differences; nor is it a basis for compartmentalization for religious beliefs." These agencies include such interdenomina-
tional bodies as the Fellowship of Prayer for Christian Unity, the Assisi Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (launched by Quakers), Friends of Corrimeela (started by Presbyterians), Protestant and Catholic Encounter or PAEC, Peace Point (an offshoot of the Methodist Council for So-
Social Welfare), and Peace Forum. The Society of Friends (Quakers) and their Friends Service Council have long been active in trying to offset recourses to intergroup violence. Pax Christi, a Roman Catholic body started in France and Germany in 1945, got under way in Ireland in 1967, and the Servite Order's priority at Belfast offered facilities for interdenominational conferences. Early 1969, the Irish Council of [Protestant and dissenting] Churches and the Roman Catholic Church began to sponsor a Joint Group on Social Questions with many Working Par-
ties. Out of its consultations grew, among other things, the Church Leaders' Peace Campaign initiated at Christmas time 1974.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation dates from 1915 in the United States. Beginning in Northern Ireland with a "War on Want" in 1960, its small membership tried to stimulate the concern of the churches in a series of is-
issues, to organize conferences, to help offset Inter-
ethnic violence. Friends of Corrimeela derived from an organizing meeting September 1964 in the Presbyterian Centre at the Queen's University in Belfast. Ray Davey, a clergyman who headed that centre, provided the leadership. By the next June, the group had collected enough support from a few "tokens" of possession on the northeastern coast of a building called "Corrimeela," Gaelic for "The Hill of Harmony." To re-
pair the building, interdenominational groups of willing workers were organized. These working parties not only did physical labor, but they also by doing so got the Cor-
imeela program of reconciliation into some action. The object of the centre is to build bridges of understanding among the opposing factions in Northern Ireland. The view is stated: "At a workcamp people get to know each other, they get to trust each other, and a new com-
raderie...and unity develops." (McCready, 1976: 31) Through a range of programs, Corrimeela Community "has
ous segregation is by no means a necessary nor a desirable consequence of legitimate denominational differences; nor is it an acceptable protection for religious beliefs."

These agencies include such interdenominational bodies as the Fellowship of Prayer for Christian Unity, the Assisi Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (launched by Quakers), Friends of Corrymeela (started by Presbyterians), Protestant and Catholic Encounter or PACE, Peace Point (an offshoot of the Methodist Council for Social Welfare), and Peace Forum. The Society of Friends (Quakers) and their Friends Service Council have long been active in trying to offset recourses to intergroup violence. Pax Christi, a Roman Catholic body started in France and Germany in 1945, got under way in Ireland in 1967, and the Servite Order's priory at Sarsburg offers facilities for interdenominational conferences. In early 1969, the Irish Council of [Protestant and dissenting] Churches and the Roman Catholic Church began to sponsor a Joint Group on Social Questions with many Working Parties. Out of its consultations grew, among other things, the Church Leaders' Peace Campaign initiated at Christmas time 1974.

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Friends of Corrymeela derived from an organizing meeting September 1964 in the Presbyterian Centre at the Queen's University in Belfast. Ray Davey, a clergyman who headed that centre, provided the leadership. By the next June, the group had collected enough money to gain possession on the northeastern coast of a building called "Corrymeela," Gaelic for "The Hill of Harmony." To repair the building, interdenominational groups of willing workers were organized. These working parties not only did physical labor, but they also by doing so got the Corrymeela program of reconciliation into some action. The object of the centre is to build bridges of understanding among the opposing factions in Northern Ireland. The view is stated: "At a workcamp people get to know each other, they get to trust each other, and a sense of comradeship and unity develops." (McCreary, 1976: 31) Through a range of programs, Corrymeela Community "has
brought different groups together, it has tried to create
dialogue and, more important, to keep that dialogue going
when the delegates from each group have gone back home."  
(McCreary, 1976: 107) It has a centre in Belfast to help
maintain interests nurtured at Corrymeela. It has appar-
ently been especially helpful with children and families
who were victims of violence and intimidation.

PACE or Protestant and Catholic Encounter was
"formed in 1968 to oppose growing bitterness of the time
by showing that people from all communities could live
and work harmoniously." A representative, Eddie Gourley
(quoted by Bowman, 1978: 3), reports: "All kinds of ac-
tivities go on in sub-groups: self-development, councils,
leisure-time action. We offer support to all reconcil-
ers."

Peace Point, dating from June 1973, is conceived
as an agency to serve other peace bodies. In this, it
resembles both PACE and Peace Forum. It has tried to pro-
ject an image of being "nonpolitical," of emphasizing con-
structive possible recourses, and of offering formal
training courses for leaders of like-minded peace groups.
Just how a group can work effectively for "peace" and
avoid decisions of a political nature is not made clear.

Peace Forum "enables fourteen organizations to meet
monthly," according to the Rev. Dr. Donald Fraser (quoted
by Bowman, 1978: 3), "for exchange of ideas, mutual sup-
port, sorting out who will do what, and reaching out to
all engaged in reconciliation work."

The Society of Friends (Quakers) has traditionally
consisted in Ireland of artisans and merchants, "part of
the economic establishment, but of that benevolent, rela-
tively non-exploitative part. . . . the most acceptable
face of Irish capitalism." (Byrne, [1978]: 9) In the cur-
rent "troubles," Quakers have chiefly worked through the
other organizations listed, especially the Fellowship of
Reconciliation. Through their Friends Service Council,
they have also maintained a canteen and an advice center
at the Long Kesh prison, developed vacations for children
in Scotland, and furnished minibuses to transport children
and adults to meetings outside their areas.

Pax Christi's work for peace is inspired especial-
ly by Pope John XXIII's encyclical, Pacem in Terris (peace
in the lands). Since its governing committee is centered
in Dublin, even though the organization has scattered mem-
bers in the north, it has not been very active in Northern
Ireland as yet.
The Church Leaders' Peace Campaign has featured chiefly statements and actions by the top officials of the four principal churches in Northern Ireland: the Church of Ireland (Anglican), the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic. These leaders "appeared together on television, placed full page advertisements in the press, met the Secretary of State [for Northern Ireland], the Prime Minister [of the United Kingdom] and the Taoiseach [prime minister of the Republic of Ireland], and were in conference together seventeen times in the course of a few weeks." (Daly & Gallagher, 1977: 68)

Coincident with the launching of the joint campaign of the leaders of the four denominations came an effort by "some Protestant churchmen acting on their own initiative" to arrange a conference with representatives of the Provisional I.R.A. They met at Feakle, County Clare, in the Republic of Ireland, on December 9 to 11, 1977. This conference resulted in a cease-fire agreement, at first to be for the Christmas season but then later extended "indefinitely." In addition, the "provisionals agreed to set up a number of 'Incident Centres' which would investigate and report to the Northern Ireland Office [government] on any alleged breaches" of the cease-fire. (Daly & Gallagher, 1977: 39-40)

The coincidence of the Feakle development and the launching of their own interchurch campaign at first worried the church leaders. Such brash action unsettles middleclass thinking. A Working Party of the continuing Joint Group on Social Questions of the churches stated in a subsequent report that at first blush they were afraid the coincidence "would confuse the public and perhaps undermine the Church Leaders' Campaign, but eventually it became clear that this practical step had reinforced in the public mind the appeal of the Church Leaders and had exemplified ways in which individual Christians could respond to the appeal put out by the official leaders." But the lull did not last, and it was not used as constructively as it might have been. (Daly & Gallagher, 1977: 68-69)

2. Voluntary social work, demonstration, and protest societies: The present type of group is difficult to differentiate from the previous one, but their relative autonomy is their distinguishing characteristic. Noteworthy examples from among the many are the International Voluntary Service, Women Together, the Community of the Peace People, and Witness for Peace.
International Voluntary Service organized work-camps beginning in 1955. It is an attempt to combine reconciliation with personal development through such camps and through holidays for Protestant and Roman Catholic children. (Mitchell, [1978]: 23)

Women Together took shape in 1970 with a promise to separate warring street gangs by interposing their own bodies as shields, to help defend neighbors under attack, and to talk to youth gangs. Monica Patterson, an English Roman Catholic, was the principal founder of the group. She perceived the Roman Catholic establishment's lack of a peace policy and her organization's lack of a peace policy as more than "peace" made her suspect and largely ineffective. In 1974, she was succeeded by Sadie Patterson. The body's office was destroyed by a bomb in 1976, and it now continues in a nominal manner, largely supervised by the Peace People.

The Community of the Peace People, an initiative similar to Women Together but with more charismatic Irish leadership, better public relations guidance, and apparently more establishment backing, dates from August 10, 1976. That day British soldiers shot and killed the driver of a car they were chasing. Out of control, the automobile killed three small Roman Catholic children and seriously hurt their mother. Their aunt, Mairead Corrigan, and a friend, Betty Williams, emerged as symbols of a renewed pacification movement under the guidance of Siaran McKeown as director and publicist. "(These two women," according to McKeown (1976: 12), "had instinctively, intuitively called into the light of day the will of a probably majority of the Northern Irish people to seek a new loving, peaceful way forward after the long night of violence."

Corrigan, Williams, and McKeown among them jetted to Norway, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States presumably to raise money for the Peace People's program in Northern Ireland. As part of this international promotion campaign, Corrigan and Williams received recognition from the queen of England, the Nobel Peace Prize, and honorary doctorates from Yale University. Irish Catholics at home correlated these developments with the Peace Women's failure to join in protests at British army violence and with their lack of a cogent peace-development program.

The "Declaration of the Peace People," formally adopted by the organization and proudly read by McKeown in an address on behalf of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation before the Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations on June 12, 1978, is far from specific with respect to appalled with glittering generalities such as "We want to live and love and build a just and peace-ful society. . . . We dedicate ourselves to working with our neighbors, near and far, day in and day out, to building that peaceful society in which the tragedies we have known are a bad memory and a continuing warning." McKeown (1978a) used this Declaration as the conclusion of his address. Early sentences in that speech brashly reasserted the multinational corporate interests of his plutocratic soundness when he asserted: "Let us put the entire Special Session on Disarmament into a realistic perspective. Disarmament is highly improbable. To expect that governments can create a disarmed world is like expecting elephants to cultivate a garden. . . . The courage with which alone can disarm the world must come from within individuals." (cf. McKeown, 1978b:6)

The Peace People hold ecumenical open-air prayer and song sessions, raise funds, bought a Headquarters in Belfast called "Fredheim," contribute money to youth clubs, loan or donate assets to a variety of self-help projects, and publish a fortnightly journal that especially features the thoughts and exploits of Corrigan, Williams, and McKeown. Incidentally, the some $50,000 of the Nobel Peace Prize was retained by Corrigan and Williams.

The Peace People thus ignored or alienated the Northern Irish masses and even middleclass groups at the same time that they captured the attention of the world's mass media and received recognition from a great many religious pacifist groups and from the British and other politico-economic establishments. Then, belatedly, Mairead Corri- gan fell under a cloud when she appeared at a London conference sponsored by the National Council for Civil Liberties. The media failed to report her remarks there on November 9, 1978, because she criticized the army and the Northern Ireland police and complained of the suppression of free speech and a free press.

Witness for Peace was created by the Rev. Joseph Parker after bombings in Belfast on "Bloody Friday," July 21, 1972, killed his son and eighteen other people and injured about 130. Some 40,000 signed his declaration of individual Christians to work and witness for peace. He held cross-planting ceremonies in remembrance of those killed in the continuing struggle, maintained a scoreboard on the death toll in the center of Belfast, and gave recog-nition to individuals and groups working for peace. Par-
of Reconciliation before the Special Session on Disarmament at the United Nations on June 12, 1978, is far from specific. It sparkles with glittering generalities such as "We want to live and love and build a just and peaceful society... We dedicate ourselves to working with our neighbours, near and far, day in and day out, to building that peaceful society in which the tragedies we have known are a bad memory and a continuing warning." McKeown (1978a) used this Declaration as the conclusion of his address. Early sentences in that speech brashly reassured the multinational corporate interests of his plutocratic soundness when he asserted: "Let us put the entire Special Session on Disarmament into a realistic perspective. Disarmament is highly improbable.... To expect that governments can create a disarmed world is like expecting elephants to cultivate a garden.... The courage which alone can disarm the world must come from within individuals." (cf. McKeown, 1978b/c)

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ker became frustrated in 1975 and emigrated to Canada, but some of his Witness for Peace activities continue.

A Northern Irish journalist (Maconee, 1978) sums up the categorical opposition of outgroup members to such mild peace efforts as the foregoing thus: "The violence here stems from an attempt to alter the nature of the existing institutions and constitutional arrangements by force. Against that background an appeal to abandon force means an appeal to abandon the attempts to change the present constitution. In Northern Ireland any peace movement means supporting the status quo." He is equating the notion of a "peace movement" with reconciliation and not with a nonviolent quest for social justice.

3. Political actionist bodies: The organizations to be mentioned in this connection are the Alliance Party, Amnesty International, Association for Legal Justice, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, and People's Democracy. This is a "mixed bag," but they have in common programs seeking to use available legal and governmental instrumentalities to cope with the conflict situation in Northern Ireland constructively and nonviolently.

The Alliance Party was formed in April 1970 to serve in a non-sectarian manner as a political bridge among the three ethno-religious-economic groups. It had "substantial backing from the new commercial and industrial interests," the multinational corporations. (Farrell, 1976: 300) It gained establishment recognition and some ten percent of the votes. While it is a minority, centrist-type party, its leadership feels that it is making some progress in substituting voting in terms of issues in place of tribal voting patterns.

Previous to the foundation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, middleclass Roman Catholics and especially professionals had in 1964 begun the Campaign for Social Justice. This body devoted itself to fact-gathering and educational work concerning religious discrimination and social injustice more generally. Then, in 1967, the Campaign for Social Justice, the Republicans (the Sinn Féin Party), and other groups opposed to the ethnic Protestant "Orange state's" denial of civil rights and social opportunities to the ethnic Roman Catholics launched the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. They patterned it at the outset on the British National Council for Civil Liberties, a politically eclectic lobbying, litigating, and educating organization.
To understand the development of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, a few notes on changes in Sinn Féin and its coordinate, the Irish Republican Army, are relevant. In 1969-1970, there was a split into Sinn Féin Officials and Provisionals and a simultaneous division into Irish Republican Army Officials and Provisionals. The Officials tended to have a radical and more secular socialist ideology. They favored a current emphasis upon agitation, demonstration, and organization rather than upon violent procedures. On the other hand, the Provisionals included traditional nationalists and both religious and secular radicals, all convinced that the British should and could be driven out by paramilitary methods. Thus the Provisionals have been involved as army targets and as aggressors in a large share of the violence since 1970. The Officials plan for a socialist commonwealth. The Provisionals appear to aim at some form—not too well defined—of island-wide Irish nationalist compromise between capitalism and socialism. (Goulding, 1978; Prov. I. R.A., 1973: 96)

This did not mean at all that the Officials opposed the use of violence at all times and in all places. Cathal Goulding, Official I.R.A. chief of staff, put it this way: "I don't see any establishment . . . handing the wealth over to the ordinary people unless the people have the necessary physical force to support their political ideas." (Foley, 1971: 25) In other words, the current policy of the Officials calls for consciousness-raising and organization preparatory to an eventual seizure of power. Their commitment to nonviolence is strategic, not categorical. Goulding (1978) contends the current use of violence by the Provisionals and others on the nationalist side has been "a total failure and ended only in a tricolour [the Irish flag] on a coffin," that in the current situation "anything in the nature of a military campaign would be reactionary, counter-revolutionary and would play into the hands of the British imperialists."

With aid from what became the I.R.A. Officials, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1968-1972 coordinated many mass demonstrations. In its policies, it gradually moved from a middleclass libertarian viewpoint toward a more radical actionist type of nonviolent operation. (cf. Beach, 1977) Especially from the time of the split in Sinn Féin in 1969-70, the Officials became more influential in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association both as policy-makers and as stewards for nonviolent marches. The latter had become more actionist prior to that. It was especially aroused by the
allotment in June 1968 of a public authority house to a single woman of 19, secretary to a Protestant politician, rather than to one of many Roman Catholic families in need. In consequence, many spontaneous protests were held, and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association participated in them, especially in one it organized over a four-mile route from Coalisand to Dungannon. That this march was orderly and peaceful and thus effective stirred the Protestant extremists to counter-action. Then both the Civil Rights Association and the Protestant Apprentice Boys (a traditional organization celebrating the siege of Derry in 1688) announced a march in Derry at the same time on October 5, 1968. The Northern Ireland Minister of Home Affairs forbade both marches, but the association went ahead, and police batons blooded some 70 civilians in the march, and the current civil war was joined. (Kellsner, 1972: 16; Campaign, 1971)

Helpful in providing enthusiastic nonviolent "muscle" for later demonstrations was the People's Democracy, formed October 9, 1968 by students of The Queen's University in Belfast. This body was said by a governmental commission (Cameron, 1969: 47) to have "reckless bravery" and to engage in "calculated martyrdom." People's Democracy's most impressive event was a four-day, 75-mile march from Belfast to Derry on January 1-4, 1969. It was ambushed by a Protestant mob supported by police and special part-time police at Burntollet bridge near Derry. In spite of that and two lesser ambushes, the remnants of the march finally "arrived to a rapturous welcome from a huge crowd in Guildhall Square." Derry. (Farrell, 1976: 251; see also Egan & McCormack, 1969; Arthur, 1974; Beach, 1977)

On "Bloody Sunday," January 30, 1972, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association staged its most spectacular and possibly its most effective march. In preparation for it, the Association had stated on the front pages of the Derry Journal and Irish News: "Special emphasis will be placed on the absolute necessity for a peaceful, incident-free day on Sunday." On the contrary, the commanders of a resident parachute regiment of the British army decided to "accept a high risk of civilian deaths and injuries." (Dash, 1972: 7) In consequence, the police fired and killed thirteen unarmed civilians, wounded a great many more, and detained many of those who took part in the Protestant-dominated provincial parliament at Stormont, Northern Ireland. (Widgery, 1972; N.I.C.R.A., 1978)

Since 1972, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association has devoted itself particularly to fact-gathering for the purposes of litigation and agitation and to the support of related organizations. The National Association for Irish Freedom, its American affiliate, reflects the Irish association's strategy by asserting: "Only through non-violent mass action can democracy be won in Northern Ireland." (NAIF Fact Sheet, 1978: 8)

The other examples of nonviolent organization to be mentioned here are the Association for Legal Justice and Amnesty International.

Extensive interrogation and interrogation operations in August and September 1972 "had the effect of uniting the Roman Catholic community in opposition to current security policies." With this support, a group of Belfast lawyers undertook to provide the legal basis for this opposition. In the case for Legal Justice, they "set out to encourage the use of legal processes to deal with allegations against the security forces and thus to help lessen the risk of direct retaliatory action against them." (Hadden & Hillyard, 1973: 30; Boyle et al., 1975: 130)

As the Association for Legal Justice continued its work, Amnesty International brought into the picture its broader prestige and facilities for organizing legal and other social pressures. Amnesty International's official statement of purposes, carried on many of its publications and its letterhead, points out that it is "a worldwide human rights movement which works impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience: men and women detained anywhere from their beliefs, colour, ethnic origin, religion or language, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence." The body's opposition to torture and capital punishment "in all cases without reservation" and its advocacy of "fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners" made it a source of hope for the Northern Ireland minority and an encouragement to such nonviolent efforts as the Association for Legal Justice and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

Amnesty International has investigated the mistreatment of prisoners and their detention without trial both in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland. The findings of its commissioners in both parts of the province have done much to strengthen faith in nonviolent procedures and to bring pressures against United Kingdom and Irish officials in behalf of more humane practices, Amnesty International, 1975-76, 1977, 1978; cf. O'Hearn, 1979)
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The professionals who do the work of the Association for Legal Justice and Amnesty International only involve lower-class individuals and groups as clients, but this helps to give direction and credibility to organizations with direct lower-class representation such as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. The latter channel data and cases to them.

In sum, the first two sorts of nonviolent "peace" organization discussed—(1) agencies connected with religious denominations and (2) voluntary social work, demonstration, and protest societies—are typical middle-class efforts to make the existing social structure at least appear more benign. They provide conscience-soothing exercises in reconciliation. Their materialistic and band-aid procedures inflict a kind of social anesthetia on those they influence. The Peishke incident of realistic inter-class legislation "turned off" the middle-class groups and had no follow-through other than that provided by the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Few middle-class people even in Northern Ireland can face realistically the implications of Russell Stettler's (1970: xi) statements, in his book about early phases of this civil war in Derry: "Britain's 'civilisation' has rested on centuries of violent racism, colonial conquest and social injustice. The Northern Ireland problem is rooted in these traditions." (See also Lee, 1974, 1977, 1979a/b)

In the foregoing, there is an ethno-religious contrast apparent between out-group concern for "justice" and in-group or establishment-oriented desire for "reconciliation." Concern for "justice" more directly suggests a desire for some degree of social change. It also implies a willingness to struggle for modifications in the control of social power. Change to obtain more "justice" has the drawback, so far as the in-group is concerned, of requiring concessions upon the part of those who are entrenched.

"Reconciliation" could mean something similar to "justice," but too often it is used to suggest striving for a kind of truce, peace with no change in the social structure, no gain to the out-group's members, to the deprived.

In so-called "nonviolent" and "pacifist" circles, this noteworthy contrast is often to be observed between organizations catering to the "haves" and organizations more directly serving the "have-nots," as in the present situation.

Few lower-class people develop a political capability at all comparable to that of the lower-class Irish labor leader, James Connolly (1868-1916). Even Connolly got turned aside from a nonviolent approach by his comrades, and in 1916 participated in the abortive "Easter Rising." This cost him his life before a British firing squad. Similarly Bernadette Devlin became a promising potential nonviolent "Joan of Arc" during early stages of the current civil war, but she got distracted to violence and to other moves that destroyed her charisma. (Devlin, 1969; McAliskey, 1976)

Lower-class people usually depend, as in this situation, upon leaders drawn from the upper classes. Too often they are offered only the opportunity of following middle-class "front people" whose policies fall far short of lower-class needs and expectations.

At this time, only such organizations as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the Association for Legal Justice, and Amnesty International appear to have made substantial contributions to the movement of Northern Ireland toward some just settlement of differences, a settlement that is still far in the future.

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Within the health care field, medical social work has expanded rapidly over the past few years (Bracht, 1974). Medical social workers comprise approximately 1.5 percent of the total medical schools' faculty in the United States (Grinnell, Kyte & Hunter, 1976). There is additional evidence that medical social work faculty will increase over the years to come (Grinnell, Kyte, Hunter & Larson, 1976; Grinnell, Kyte & Hunter, 1976; Grinnell & Kyte, 1978b; & Grinnell & Kyte, 1979). Additionally, empirical studies have been conducted that analyzed the functions of social work faculty in medical schools (Grinnell & Kyte, 1978c; Grinnell & Kyte, 1980). However, the above literature has left two important questions unanswered. First, how do social work faculty in medical settings perceive their effectiveness, and second, what educational factors are associated with their perceived effectiveness? Thus, the purpose of this article is to present the results of an empirically based research project that examines these two areas. This information will serve as a valuable benchmark in contributing to the data we now have on the general effectiveness of social workers.
METHOD

Advisory Board

An advisory board was formed which included members from the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC), medical social work practitioners, and/or educators, and/or researchers. The board's main function was to increase the validity of the project by formulating relevant questions most closely related to the study's research area. The board also aided in refining the opinion questionnaire utilized in this project through the various five drafts.

Instrument and Reliability

The sixth draft of the questionnaire was pretested by interviews with nineteen non-randomly selected medical social work faculty employed by five different medical schools located in three states. The pretest subjects' reactions and comments were utilized to formulate the final questionnaire which contained 41 close-ended and 16 open-ended questions.

No attempts were made to test the reliability for any of the open-ended questions as they were worded in an extremely straightforward manner. To test the reliability of the 41 close-ended questions, eleven non-randomly selected medical social work faculty employed by two different medical schools located in two states answered each question twice with a 10-day waiting period. A correlation coefficient was generated for each close-ended question from time 1 with time 2. High correlation coefficients were obtained with the lowest $r = .72$, $p = .018$. The 41 close-ended questions mean $r = .81$, and mean $p = .01$, which indicates that the questions were relatively reliable.
Medical Social Work Population and Sample

On January 1, 1977, the AAMC's current data bank indicated that a little over 40,000 individuals were employed as faculty in the 116 accredited medical schools in the United States (Association of American Medical Colleges, 1976). Of these, 561 were medical social work faculty. For the purposes of this study, the medical social work faculty were operationally defined as individuals who held a master's degree in social work from an accredited graduate school of social work and were currently employed by a medical school on January 1, 1977 (Council on Social Work Education, 1976). As reflected in the following data analysis, these social work faculty represent the total population of all graduate-level social work faculty employed by medical schools in the United States.

A 33% random sample was drawn from the 561 social work faculty resulting in a random sample of 187. With AAMC providing the mailing labels, each member of the sample was mailed the above questionnaire with an accompanying self-addressed return envelope. Exactly two months later a follow-up questionnaire was sent to those social work faculty who had delayed forwarding the requested information. From the original sample, 36 (19.3 percent) questionnaires were returned because of incorrect address, transfers, retirements, or terminations of employment which resulted in a workable sample of 151. Of these, 121 (80.1 percent) social work faculty responded by June 1, 1977, which represents the sample of this study.

Characteristics of Sample

Out of the 121 social work faculty, 47.9% stated that their major area of specialization in their master's program was casework, where 24.0% indicated generic social work. The remaining 28.1% were distributed among eight other specialities with only 4.1% of the entire sample indicating medical social work.
Seventy-six percent indicated that their master's program did not offer a specialization in health care, however, 54.9% stated that courses in health care and/or health delivery systems were offered within the school. Only 7.4% indicated that they enrolled in a health and/or health related course(s) outside (seven different departments) their social work graduate school.

The types of agency settings that the social work faculty were placed in for their field practicum/internship while they were enrolled in their graduate program were: hospitals, 33.5%; welfare agencies, 16.5%; family service agencies, 13.9%; psychiatric clinics, 11.7%; mental health centers, 6.1%, community organization planning agencies, 4.8%; public schools, 1.3%; and other settings, 12.2%.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Perceived Effectiveness

Social work faculty have four major job responsibility areas as designated by AAMC. These areas are: patient service, teaching, administration, and research. The social work faculty in this study rated each of the four areas in relation to three different perspectives: how effective they saw themselves, how they felt non-social work faculty would assess their effectiveness, and how medical students/interns/residents/fellows would assess their effectiveness. The ratings were accomplished on a 5 point Likert-type scale where 1 represented "very ineffective" and 5 represented "very effective." No operational definition of "effective" was provided. Table 1 presents the means of their perceived effectiveness for each of the three perspectives broken down by the four job responsibility areas.
### TABLE 1

**MEAN RATINGS OF PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS BY JOB RESPONSIBILITY AREA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY AREA</th>
<th>One's Self</th>
<th>Non-Social Work Faculty</th>
<th>Medical Students/Interns/Residents/Fellows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient Service</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**F ratio for column**

- 100.5
- 79.3
- 54.9

**df**

- 3/285
- 3/231
- 3/186

**p**

- .001
- .001
- .001
The means in Table 1 indicate definite differences in how social work faculty perceive their effectiveness in their four job responsibility areas. Patient service received the highest rating followed by teaching, administration, and research. Analyses of variance showed the differences between the means to be statistically reliable.

As can be seen in Table 1, patient service was seen as the most effective area from all the perspectives from which the ratings were made. The social work faculty felt personally that their effectiveness was particularly high in the area of patient service, and felt that non-social work faculty and the medical students/interns/residents/fellows would likewise view their efforts in this area as effective. In all job responsibility areas, the social work faculty felt that non-social work faculty and medical students/interns/residents/fellows would view their work just as they did (correlational analyses gave the same conclusion; the correlations across perspectives were uniformly high relative to what is expected in rating data). These findings are not surprising since patient service may be the major job responsibility area as seen by social work faculty or this area may be where they prefer to spend most of their time. Also, they may believe they possess a higher level of professional training in patient service in relation to the other three areas.

It is common knowledge that social work faculty do not heavily participate and/or execute research projects in medical settings. This may be due to the lack of professional training in this area in their graduate schools of social work. This may also be due to the attitudes of non-social work faculty where they may be hesitant to invite social work faculty to participate in research studies for various reasons. However, the social work faculty may be penalized for the lack of research when it comes to retention, promotion or tenure (Grinnell & Kyte, 1976).

It would be interesting to know if social work faculty possess the adequate knowledge and skills necessary to participate and/or execute research projects within medical settings. Do graduate
schools of social work adequately prepare them for research? Or, do they prepare them for patient service? The authors feel that graduate schools of social work prepare their students more for patient service than research. And, this may be the very reason why social workers are hired on medical school faculty. However, an extremely important issue is raised: What are the specific criteria for retention, promotion and tenure of social work faculty within medical settings? All evidence indicates that it is generally the same for all faculty in medical schools which is research and publications (Grinnell & Kyte, 1978d). This may be the reason for the large turnover of social work faculty within medical settings, as social work faculty are generally inactive in this area.

Educational Factors Related to Effectiveness

Since the particular perspective adopted made no difference, the ratings were averaged across perspectives which created a more reliable measure for each of the four job responsibility areas for the following analyses.

To see if particular types of graduate social work training were related to the sample's perceived effectiveness, the following variables were related to the four effectiveness ratings: whether the individuals specialized in casework, generic social work, or medical social work in their masters' program; whether their masters' program offered a specialization in health care; whether their masters' program offered any course(s) specifically devoted to health care services and/or delivery systems; whether they took a health and/or health-related course(s) outside their masters' program while enrolled therein; whether there were any knowledge areas covered in their masters' program which proved to be helpful as a medical school social work educator; and, whether they took an internship/field placement in their masters' program in a hospital setting. These variables were related to the four effectiveness measures by the multivariate profile
analysis procedure (Timm, 1975). The analysis first indicated that there was no relationship between the educational variables and the overall, average rating of effectiveness ($F = 1.01, df = 11/92, p > .05$) regardless of the specific job area. And, those educational variables which came close to being related were just as likely to be related negatively as positively.

Second, the profile analysis provided tests of whether the educational variables were related to social work faculty's rating themselves more effective in a particular job responsibility area such as patient service rather than an area such as research. Here too, the overall multivariate analysis indicated no significant relationship ($X^2 = 37.7, df = 33, p > .05$). While univariate analyses did suggest that several educational variables were moderately correlated with the perceived effectiveness of various job responsibility areas, it should be noted that these relationships may be attributable to chance findings from scanning a large number of such analyses. The overall analysis, as reported above, was non-significant. Hence, the general conclusion is that there is little or no relationship between the educational variables and perceived effectiveness as a medical school social work educator.

The results regarding graduate schools of social work preparation may be a function of the fact that perceived effectiveness was used as the criterion variable. It may be that those faculty who are not adequately trained have systematically distorted their perceptions in their efforts to keep up with those social work faculty who have had better and/or more specific training. Or, it may be those interested in the medical school setting concentrated upon picking up the necessary knowledge or practice skills that they had not received from their graduate work when they first came into the medical setting and are now functioning at the same level as those who acquired it earlier.

This project was one of the first empirical studies that focused on the effectiveness of medical social work faculty. Their views in regard to this area have never been empirically explored before. It is hoped that this study will encourage further
research into medical social work. It is also hoped that the opinions of the medical social work faculty as indicated in this project will be given serious attention to by social work practitioners, educators, and researchers.

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