September 1983

Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare Vol. 10, No. 3 (September 1983)

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw

Part of the Social Work Commons, and the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol10/iss3/1

This Complete Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Social Work at ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact maira.bundza@wmich.edu.
Cover: Charlotte Goroff
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Action Organization Participation and Personal Change in the Poor: Part II</td>
<td>ROBERT D. HERMAN</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology In Social Welfare Policy Instruction: An Examination of Required Readings</td>
<td>PAUL LYONS</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client Privacy and Social Work: A Comparison by Agency Function</td>
<td>LINDA R. HOGAN, MARY SKI HUNTER, M. COLEEN SHANNON</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Law and Social Welfare: A Framework for Analysis</td>
<td>JAN L. HAGEN</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coordination Dimensions Scale: A Tool to Assess Interorganizational Relationships</td>
<td>STANLEY BLOSTEIN</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Non-Orthodox Cancer Therapy Movement: Emergent Organization in Health Care Crisis</td>
<td>JOSEPH BEHAR</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Use of Telephone Surveys In Human Service Needs Assessment - An Idea Whose Time Has Come?  
LAWRENCE L. MARTIN 451

The Wife of the Alcoholic: Sexist Stereotypes In the Alcoholism Literature  
JAMES T. DECKER  
JOHN REDHOURSE  
ROBERTA D. GREEN  
RICHARD STARRETT 462

ROBERT A SNYDER  
JANE M. RIDOLPHI 472

CHRISTOPHER P. EKPE 484

Constitutional Dilemma and Social Welfare Policy In Canada  
ANGELA W. DJAO 497

The Local Impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942  
MICHAEL W. SHERRADEN 514

Notes On A Forgotten Black Social Worker and Sociologist: George Edmund Haynes  
IRIS CARLTON-LANEY 530

BOOK REVIEWS

Letter From An Author  
ASOKE BASU 540

The Limits of Reform: Women, Capital and Welfare by  
Jennifer G. Schirmer  
Reviewed by KRISTINE NELSON 542

Marxism and Domination: A Neo-Hegelian, Feminist, Psychoanalytic Theory of Sexual, Political and Technological Liberation, by Isaac D. Balbus  
Reviewed by DAN LA BOTZ 534
SOCIAL ACTION ORGANIZATION PARTICIPATION
AND PERSONAL CHANGE IN THE POOR: PART II

Robert D. Herman
L.P. Cookingham Institute of Public Affairs
University of Missouri-Kansas City

ABSTRACT

In Part I (Herman, 1982) evidence bearing on the hypothesis that participation by the poor in social action organizations results in personal change was reviewed and found to be inconsistent and open to diverse interpretations. In Part I it was observed that not all social action organizations are alike and, thus, that participation is also of varied kinds and extents and may have different consequences for personal change. A typology of social action organizations forms (developed in Part I) is used here to comparatively classify information on organizational characteristics and personal change drawn from eleven case studies. The comparative review leads to three principal implications. First, it offers more support for the situational than for the sub-cultural perspective. Second, the review implies that the emphasis of both perspectives on the necessity of personality change may be inappropriate. Third, the review suggests personal change in the poor, either dispositionally or behaviorally, but especially the latter, is much more likely in those organizations in which the poor are highly included and are sponsored by groups or institutions with relatively few resources. Finally, the paper concludes with a few observations on the meaning and significance of social action organizations of the poor.

Introduction

Anti-poverty policies have often been based upon (or, at least, consistent with) the view that the poor are psychologically different than the non-poor. Such differences have usually been conceived as deficiencies on the part of the poor. Additionally, some strategies to eliminate, reduce or ameliorate poverty have proposed that participation in social action organizations would lead to beneficial changes in the personalities of the poor. In Part I (Herman, 1982) studies that explicitly
addressed this participation hypothesis were reviewed and found to be inconsistent and open to a variety of interpretations. The term "participation" includes a range of relationships between the poor and an organization (from client to policy-making member) and the poor may participate in highly different sorts of social action organizations (from OEO-style agencies to grassroots social influence organizations). It seems likely that the personal impact of participation will be mediated by the extent and type of participation. In Part I a typology of social action organizations was developed. The typology (see Diagram I) will be used here to comparatively review eleven case studies of the poor's participation in social action organizations. The tasks of the review are to determine the positions of each organization on the typological dimensions and to determine the extent of each organization's impact on the poor who participated.

Diagram I

**Typology of Social Action Organizations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-political Change</th>
<th>Individual Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Resource Sponsor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Inclusion of Poor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Inclusion of Poor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Resource Sponsor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Inclusion of Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Inclusion of Poor</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case studies vary considerably in theoretical perspectives, availability of systematically collected data, and comparability and quality of data. This variability has precluded the application of rigidly specified criteria. Rather, the comparison requires interpretation and judgment. The classification of each case study organization on the characteristics of sponsor's resource base and organizational inclusion of the poor are relatively simple matters. The classification of output goal orientation and the determination of personal impact are often more difficult. For these reasons the classifications, and the conclusions based upon them, must be considered as suggestive. Chart I provides information on the case study organizations.
# Chart I

**Classification of Case Study Organizations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Inclusion of Poor</th>
<th>Resource Base of Sponsors</th>
<th>Personal Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zurcher (1970)</td>
<td>Topeka (Kansas) Office of Economic Opportunity Board (TOEO)</td>
<td>service</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogler (1972)</td>
<td>Hispanic Confederation of &quot;Maplewood&quot;</td>
<td>change</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitlin and Hollander (1972)</td>
<td>JOIN Community Union of Chicago</td>
<td>change</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollinger and Pollinger (1972)</td>
<td>Tremont Community Council, Bronx, NY (TCC)</td>
<td>service</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall (1971)</td>
<td>Board of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, Los Angeles (EYOA)</td>
<td>service</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert (1970)</td>
<td>Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc., Pittsburgh (MCHR)</td>
<td>service</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernstein (1971)</td>
<td>The Woodlawn Organization Youth Project, Chicago</td>
<td>service</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through the review and analysis of these case studies can be only interpretative and suggestive, the effort is justified on three related grounds. First, available comparative analyses of social action organizations (i.e., Rose, 1972; Vanecko, 1969; Orden, 1973; and Austin, 1972) consider only official OEO inspired and funded community action agencies. Though OEO community action agencies differed in some ways, there are other types of social action organizations. It is important to broaden the range of organizational types included in a comparative analysis. Secondly, as implied in Part I, the effects (if any) of organizational participation on the poor may be mediated by differences in the characteristics of the poor and by differences in the characteristics of the organizations. The exploration of the hypothesis that the effects of participation are mediated by differences in the characteristics of the organizations is the primary task of this study. Thirdly, while both the cultural and
situational theories of poverty imply that the personalities of the poor "need" to be changed, this review and interpretation will not assume that proposition to necessarily be true.

In interpreting the personal impact of organizational participation on the poor, then, the following questions will be crucial. First, is there any evidence of personality change? Secondly, is there any evidence that organizational participation required or led to the acquisition of qualitatively different and important behavior(s) on the part of the poor? Obviously, this question will often require substantial judgment. Answers to these questions can fall into four classes. There may be evidence of change only in personality characteristics. There may be evidence of only the acquisition of qualitatively different behavior. Neither may have occurred. Both may have occurred.

To reduce, if only slightly, the faith the reader must place in my interpretation of evidence bearing on personal change, the following descriptions summarize the most important evidence I relied upon to reach the conclusions about the kind and extent of personal impact.

The Topeka OEO Board, initiated by the Topeka Welfare Planning Council, included 24 target neighborhood representatives and 40 agency and community representatives. Zurcher (1970) found significant changes in the poor on three (sense of mastery over the physical and social environment, achievement orientation, and universalistic orientation) of ten personality measures after a year's inclusion on the board. The non-poor did not change. Zurcher's observation of board and organizational functioning led him to conclude that the poor were not required to engage in new behaviors as the Topeka OEO adopted a service strategy.

The Hispanic Confederation (Rogler, 1972) was, unlike the Topeka OEO, an "unofficial" social action organization that a small group of Puerto Ricans established that was intended to help other Puerto Ricans. The organization appointed a committee to study the educational problems of Puerto Rican children in Maplewood; the organization investigated the formation of a food cooperative; and the organization visited the mayor, requesting that the city establish an office to serve the needs of the Puerto Rican community. The office would be controlled by the Hispanic Confederation. This proposal generated substantial opposition. Eventually a compromise was reached. Rogler's (1972) detailed account leads one to believe that organizational participation had a substantial impact on the participants' behavior. Bargaining with the mayor and social service officials were behaviors qualitatively different than any they had engaged in previously.

-359-
JOIN Community Union (Gitlin and Hollander, 1970) was an outgrowth of an SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) organizing effort and is reported by activists in that effort. Participants in JOIN frequently engaged in new, highly political activities (picketing, organizing and joining in rent strikes, and other confrontational actions). Similarly there are numerous self-reports of value change, about race relations, fatalism and the like: Though the evidence is "impressionistic," participants in JOIN seemed much changed.

The Tremont Community Council of the Bronx (TCC) was established by the New York City anti-poverty agency, the Council Against Poverty (Pollinger and Pollinger, 1972). Arguing that the official goal of the New York City anti-poverty program was socio-political change, Pollinger and Pollinger (1972) investigated the TCC to determine to what extent that general goal was achieved in the Tremont area. Briefly, Pollinger and Pollinger (1972) concluded that the TCC did not function as a source of political influence for the poor, rather it functioned as a source of social control of the poor. Utilizing questionnaire responses Pollinger and Pollinger found no evidence of values or other personality changes, but some evidence of behavior change (e.g., participants became more active in politics and in a wider variety of social action organizations).

The Board of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Los Angeles (EYOA) was the official anti-poverty agency in Los Angeles (Marshall, 1971). The EYOA emphasized services and services coordination. Utilizing questionnaire responses Marshall (1971) found no change in feelings of political efficacy or in feelings of militancy on the part of the poor representatives on the EYOA board, though there was some evidence that they believed they now participated in more organizations than previously. However, such changes were matters of slight increases rather than a qualitative shift.

The Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc. was Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's official OEO agency. Gilbert's (1970) account of this organization examines its creation by social work professionals, the early and unchanging goal of providing and coordinating social services, and the extent to which neighborhood council board members were demographically representative of poverty neighborhood residents. While Gilbert did not collect evidence directly relevant to the personal impact of participation, the indirect evidence suggests that the more educated and more politically active neighborhood residents participated and that there was no personality or behavioral change among them.

The Woodlawn Organization Youth Project was a temporary organization created on Chicago's South Side by The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), an early Saul Alinsky assisted community
organization, and two youth gangs, the Blackstone Rangers and the East Side Disciples (Bernstein, 1971). TWO received a contract from the national OEO office to provide a job training program for unemployed youth. The gangs were involved in planning and designing the training program and many of their members or would-be members later received job training. Though a University of Chicago evaluation concluded that the job training program was fairly successful, opposition from powerful political forces (including then Mayor Daley, the city's official anti-poverty agency, and the Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare) resulted in a refunding application being turned down. Though successful in providing a service, there is no evidence that the TWO Youth Project affected the personalities or behavior of the youth gang members.

The Southwest Alabama Farmer's Cooperative was a small producer cooperative of black farmers in ten Alabama counties (Zimmerman, 1971). With some technical assistance from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Cooperative League, the SWAFCA was established in 1966 and had over eight hundred members by early 1967. Though the SWAFCA's goals were the economic goals characteristic of other farm cooperatives, achieving those goals had very important characteristics for the socio-political structure in southwest Alabama. Zimmerman's (1971: 146) description of agricultural institutions and relations prior to the cooperative puts the situation clearly.

Before the cooperative, the economic situation of black farmers in southwest Alabama looked hopeless. For the most part, they grew cotton and corn. Some owned their land; most were tenants. Virtually all were tied to whites by their need for credit at the beginning of each year to buy food, seed and fertilizer in return for handing over the crops they produced each fall. The loans were of goods in kind marked up to unreasonably high prices. No cash changed hands. For the few who escaped the credit bind, there was still no open market. The black farmer dealt with the white man in control of his area. He bought or borrowed far above retail and sold wholesale according to the artificial price structure of monopoly markets.

While there is no evidence of changes in SWAFCA member's personalities, it is clear that there were dramatic differences in their behavior. Participating in the cooperative required many to take substantial risks and commit themselves to an uncertain venture.
UP was a social action organization created as a result of a training program undertaken by extension personnel at an eastern university (Herman, 1976a). Over its short life UP unsuccessfully pursued goals of improving housing for the poor and establishing a food-buying cooperative. Members of UP showed no changes in personal control, social control or traditional control beliefs (Herman, 1976b). Nor was there any evidence that UP participants acquired new, qualitatively different behaviors.

HOPE was a social action organization created by grass-roots organizing in an upstate New York city (Herman, 1976a). HOPE conducted a successful voter registration drive in the city's black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods, and opposed building additional single site public housing directly adjacent to the existing public housing project. HOPE, however, failed to convince the city to build single dwelling, scattered-site public housing. Members of HOPE showed no measurable changes in control beliefs, but many members did engage in behaviors (e.g. confronting city housing inspectors and landlords, meeting with and making demands of housing authority and city officials, and publicly demonstrating their views through picketing and sit-ins) new to them and that demanded much (Herman, 1976a; 1976b).

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Neighborhood Problems Project (Bloomberg and Rosenstock, 1968) were temporary social action organizations that resulted from community organizing projects sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The first organizing project carried out a successful voter registration drive, and participants in the UWM project were important members of separate social action organizations that produced a housing rehabilitation program and a summer jobs program. A second UWM community organizing project led to successful "direct action" efforts to have a school-crossing traffic light installed, a pedestrian overpass constructed, and an education program. Bloomberg and Rosenstock (1968) did not collect evidence on personality change in the UWM projects. Their report does suggest that many of the participants engaged in behaviors new to them.

Discussion and Interpretation

Though the positioning of the case study organizations in the typology is not without some discontinuities, the patterning does strongly imply that type 5 organizations (social action organizations that are oriented, to some degree, toward socio-political change, that are sponsored by groups with comparatively few resources, and in which the poor participate at a high level) have had the clearest and most consistent personal impact on the
poor (see Table I). Most of the studies of those (type 5) organizations provided no systematic evidence on the personality change issue at all. It is, thus, possible that members of those organizations may also have undergone personality change as well, although in the case of HOPE, and to a lesser extent the Hispanic Confederation, there is some evidence that suggests that they did not. The only solid evidence of personality change occurring in other (non-type 5) organizations is the Topeka Office of Economic Opportunity case. While it is, of course, impossible to prove that personality change did not take place in the other organizations, there is no reason to suppose that personality change occurred. Further, there are even stronger reasons to believe that (excepting the TCC) the non-type 5 organizations did not require or lead the poor who participated in them to acquire important new behaviors.

As was noted earlier, the distinction between a socio-political change orientation and an individual service orientation is often difficult to make, and such classification often obscures the varied, mixed nature of the activities and goal orientations of many social action organizations. Except in the case of the TCC, all of the organizations that required or led to important, qualitatively different behavior from the poor have been classed as oriented toward socio-political change. This suggests that the goal orientation dimension may not be as important as often assumed. Perhaps sponsorship and inclusion of the poor are more important. Table II explores this possibility. There is no appreciable difference in the patterning of Table II as compared to Table I, lending further support to the view that inclusion and sponsorship affect the personal impact of the participation of the poor. One can further speculate that high resource sponsors are reluctant or unable (for legal or other reasons) to turn an organization over to the poor. Since the participating poor are unlikely (though the Topeka case shows it not impossible) to be personally affected by their experience in anti-poverty or social action organizations unless they are in substantial control of the organization, it seems reasonable to conclude that governmentally-sponsored social action organizations have not been, nor are they likely to be, the most effective means of changing or mobilizing the poor.

The empirical patterns in Tables I and II have two important implications for the principal contemporary theories of poverty. Neither the situational nor the subcultural theory contains an unambiguous, consistent prescription for the design of social action organizations. The subcultural theory implies little about anti-poverty or social action organization design, except for limiting the poor to client-level participation. The situational theory strongly implies organizations with high inclusion
Table 1

Position of Case Study Organizations in Typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal Orientation</th>
<th>Socio-political change</th>
<th>Individual service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High inclusion of poor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>UP**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Resource Sponsor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>TCC**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low inclusion of poor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Resource Sponsor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOEO* EYGA* MCHR*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High inclusion of poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hispanic Confederation** SWAFCA** HOPE** JOIN*** UW/M**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Resource Sponsor</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>TWO Youth Project*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low inclusion of poor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low inclusion of poor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: *No evidence of substantial personal impact
*Evidence of change in basic personality characteristic(s)
**Evidence that organizational participation required or led to important, qualitatively different behavior from the poor
***Evidence of both personality change and behavior acquisition
Table II
Position of Case Study Organizations when Classified by Sponsorship and Inclusion Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sponsor's Resource Base</th>
<th>Resource High</th>
<th>TCC**</th>
<th>UP^-</th>
<th>TWO^- Youth Project</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOEO*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EYOA^-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCHR-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWM**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisp.C.**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAFCA**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOPE**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOIN***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: Same as Table I

^a The organizations are placed here in a manner that *roughly* indicates differentiation within a given cell, as well as between cells.
of the poor, though additional structural prescriptions are vague. The comparative review of the case study organizations offers more support for the situational prescription than it does for the subcultural prescription. Instances of personal impact and of more important impact are concentrated in the organizations consistent with situational theory and inconsistent with subcultural theory. In this first implication for theories of poverty, support for the situational theory, this research is similar to other research on poverty. For example, research by Coward et al. (1974) on the characteristics of the poor and the non-poor in a community survey, by Placek and Hendershot (1974) on family planning and contraceptive practices of welfare mothers, by Berger and Simon (1974) on socialization practices of black families, and by Davidson and Gaitz (1974) on the work habits and attitudes of the poor and non-poor all support the situational theory and contradict the subcultural theory.

The second major implication of this analysis for theories of poverty calls the heavy emphasis on personality change into question. As noted earlier, those situationalists who have considered the organizational participation of the poor have stressed the need for personality change, although none have been very precise in defining and detailing what is meant by that term. If the argument is that effective participation by the poor cannot be achieved without concomitant change in the poor's basic personality system, the comparative review presented here offers little support for it. If the argument is that social action organizations must present the poor with the opportunity and the requirement that they engage in behaviors not usually available to them, then this review supports it. It further suggests that what is important is that an organization's sponsors and participants not create an organization with the view that the personalities of the poor need changing. This most often happens when the poor are both involved in creating and directing the organization.

These implications, support for the situational view and de-emphasis on personality change as an outcome of effective participation, for a theory of poverty may not be generally applicable. As noted earlier the organizationally active poor often differ from the less active and inactive poor. Social action organizations, of whatever structure, do not recruit or attract all of the poor. The subcultural view, though suffering from a number of empirical disconfirmations, may account for the behavior of some proportion of the poor. Lewis (1968: 11) once estimated that proportion: "My rough guess would be that only about 20 percent of the population below the poverty line in the United States have characteristics which would justify classifying their way of life as that of a culture of poverty." If so,
then social organizations that attempt to resocialize the poor may still be necessary and sometimes effective, as the Topeka Office of Economic Board was. This analysis of the structure of social action organizations and the poor's experience in them cannot, and should not, be overgeneralized. This entire paper, throughout, has argued that theory and research on poverty, anti-poverty, and social action organizations, and the participation of the poor recognize contingent relationships and search for mediating personality and organizational variables.

Closely following from the foregoing considerations is this review's chief implication for research and theorizing on the personal impact of organizational participation by the poor. Both earlier research and the case studies reviewed here undermine any unconditional participation hypothesis. Research on the organizational participation of the poor can no longer assume that all of the poor need or will undergo personality change. Whether the poor need to be changed is certainly debatable; whether, in any particular case, they are likely to be depends at a minimum on the relation between the characteristics of the participating poor and the structural characteristics of the organization.

Conclusion

Though poverty and anti-poverty strategies are not currently important policy issues, it is not because poverty in the United States has been eliminated. It may not be long before questions about anti-poverty strategies are again raised—either by governmental policy-makers or by voluntary organizations. In any case important questions about the social action organizations approach to reducing poverty remain. Can such organizations be an effective means of reducing or eliminating poverty? Before we can begin to answer this question a prior question must be considered. Is poverty primarily an economic or political phenomenon?

The nature and causes of poverty have long been debated and I do not propose to review the debate. I do want to observe that most parties to the debate assume that there is not only a distinction between the economic realm and the political realm, but that economic events, activities and issues are (and should be), in essence, different than political events, activities and issues. The pervasiveness of this assumption is one of the triumphs of capitalism. I have become persuaded that the economic and the political are, if not exactly the same thing, very closely intertwined.
One of the consequences of the assumed essential difference between the economic and the political has been that social action organizations of the poor (both official "War on Poverty" and independent organizations) have often been thought to be economic instruments. Because the distribution of income and the proportion of the population classified as poor (using a relative not absolute measure) did not appreciably change during the "War on Poverty" years (Plotnick and Skidmore, 1975), there is a widespread consensus that the "War on Poverty" was a failure. If we think of the "War" as a set of programs intended to change the skills or labor market position of the poor and/or to reform economic practices and institutions, such a conclusion must, by and large, be accepted. But, if we (following Piven and Cloward, 1971) think of the "War" as initially a political strategy for maintaining the electoral support of inner city blacks and poor for the Democratic party and subsequently as a strategy employed by local political establishments to blunt and co-opt the political demands and incipient political mobilization of these collectivities, we must conclude that the "War" was a success (for some).

Though it may be true that the official "War on Poverty" and its community action agencies failed to change the economic conditions of the poor and succeeded in maintaining the boundaries and stability of the contemporary national political system and of local political systems, what did independent social action organizations accomplish? More importantly, what is the meaning and significance of their existence? It is, of course, impossible to offer any well-documented, conclusive assessment of the accomplishments of independent social action organizations. Some of these organizations have apparently had limited, local effects on economic practices and the economic situation of some of the poor. We can expect no more than that. To suppose that the nation's political economy and its mechanisms for distributing income can be changed by relatively small, resource-impoverished, locally-oriented groups represents, it seems to me, a serious misunderstanding of the nature of political and economic power in the United States. This is not to deny the strategic utility of economic goals for such organizations, since such goals are often the best means for organizing the poor on their own behalf. The poor, however, cannot directly affect the extent or causes of poverty themselves. We will miss the sociological meaning and significance of social action organizations if we think of them as primarily efforts at economic self-help.

As two relatively recent studies (Lamb, 1975; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974) emphasize, the existence and fate of social action organizations of the poor constitute important evidence about the operation of pluralist democracy in the United States.
A number of authors have built a convincing case that the American system of democratic pluralism is one of limited pluralism and that the poor are the major collectivity excluded from full participation in the system (for theoretical summaries see Bachrach, 1967 and Gamson, 1968; for empirical evidence see Hamilton, 1972 and Gamson, 1975). All social action organizations of the poor are potentially challenging groups (in Gamson's terms). Because of their pattern of sponsorship and internal control, independent social action organizations are particularly likely to become attempts by the poor to gain increased admittance to the local political system.

The evidence on the extent to which organizations of the poor penetrated local political systems is mixed and sparse. Lamb (1975), for instance, in a study of 100 poor neighborhoods (not organizations) finds that the majority were not highly mobilized. However, he does find that militant (as measured by such activities as sit-ins, boycotts, demonstrations and mass marches) mobilized neighborhoods have achieved greater degrees of change in local institutions such as private welfare agencies, local schools, and employers than other types of poor neighborhoods. Based upon a qualitative interpretation of recent urban political movements (meaning politicized organizations of blacks, Latins and other non-whites) Fainstein and Fainstein (1974: 235) conclude:

These movements cannot be called a success. Many of them have not been able to withstand internal disaffection or diversion from their stated goals. Externally they have largely not managed to exploit local issues for broader purposes. The political and numerical weakness of urban minorities has caused them to concentrate their demands on local targets. Here the need to appeal to followers on the basis of narrowly defined issues has resulted in movements oriented toward highly specific goals. Within the limits of this arena, however, they have made some gains. Most important, they have assisted in forcing local governmental institutions to consider constituencies which they have previously ignored, and this consideration has resulted in an improvement in public services in some instances and, at least, the halting of such policies as indiscriminate urban renewal.

In short, what evidence is available suggests that most of the poor have not been members of social action organizations or otherwise politically mobilized and that many (most?) social
action organizations have not managed to fully enter local political systems, though they have sometimes achieved some important changes in local institutions. If this is a reasonably accurate conclusion, why have social action organizations not been more effective political instruments?

One (once?) prominent view holds that the poor have not succeeded, and cannot, in developing stable and effective social action organizations because they are psychologically incapable of doing so. I believe otherwise. I concede that not all of the poor are equally capable of effectively participating, which is also true, no doubt, at other levels in the stratification system. The evidence reviewed here as well as other evidence (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1974; Lamb, 1975) supports the presumption that the poor can effectively participate in purposive social action organizations when opportunities to do so are available. That more of the poor do not participate in social action organizations is due to a lack of resources. As Olson (1965) and, more recently, Gamson (1975) have demonstrated, there is nothing "natural" about collective action. The poor have few, if any, resources to spare for such risky endeavors. They are not completely unwilling to take such chances, however. Several of the case studies show that the poor are especially likely to participate (and invest resources) in social action organizations when others have provided the initial investment and thus a promising opportunity. That many social action organizations have not been especially politically effective is due to the formidable obstacles any challenging group faces.

Notes

1. Social action organizations, as defined in Part I, are those organizations, regardless of whether they are governmentally or privately sponsored, in which the poor participate to some extent and which are oriented to either changing the skills, attitudes or personalities of the poor or to achieving socio-political change, or both.

2. Because it would result in a very lengthy paper I have not included descriptions of the case study organizations. Those interested in a more extensive documentation of the cases may either write me for a detailed consideration of each case or turn to the original reports. Additionally, I want to be as straightforward as possible about the extent of interpretation involved in this paper. The comparative review rests upon two levels of interpretation. Though some of the studies (e.g. Zurcher, 1970; and Bloomberg and Rosenstock, 1968) present original quantitative data, most represent the author's interpretation of qualitative data. On top of those interpretations rest my interpretations.
about the structure of the organization and the kind and extent of personal impact. Though it has long been commonplace to recognize that data "do not speak for themselves," the gap between data and interpretation here is larger than is the case in more "rigorous" sociological research. Obviously, I do not believe this larger gap invalidates this kind of project. That only one person has reviewed and interpreted the case studies raises questions about the extent to which interpretations may be biased in support of a given hypothesis. Though I began with no explicit hypotheses and though I have tried to apply the same criteria in the same way throughout, the possibility of bias or selectivity (though unintended) is, indeed, there. Some may feel that the use of uninformed coders working from a set of operational coding guidelines would have reduced the chance of bias or selectivity. Perhaps so. Such a procedure would certainly have given the research a more scientific aura. Besides lacking the resources to undertake that procedure, I think the use of a single, informed interpreter is, in the present circumstances, defensible and desirable. This project is one interpretation of the personal impact of the poor's participation in social action organizations -- no more, and no less.

3. For those interested in the psychological assumptions upon which this interpretive scheme rests, let me state that I do not believe that any and every behavioral acquisition must be preceded (or succeeded) by a change in basic personality characteristics. Though the four-fold interpretation to be used here is consistent with either behavioristic or cognitive paradigms, I prefer the cognitive approach. I conceive the pursuit of new behaviors by the poor without apparent personality change as an instance of the expectancy theory of motivation, in which a person's actions are regarded as determined by outcome preferences, expectancies linking efforts and performances, and expectancies linking performances and outcomes. Though expectancy theory has been developed by those interested in work behavior, it is equally applicable to "voluntary" behavior. For major statements about expectancy theory see Vroom (1964) and Porter and Lawler (1968).

4. Louis Zurcher has informed me, in a personal communication, that those who participated, and experienced personality change, had fairly significant roles (high inclusion) in the TOEO. He suggests that the TOEO case is not inconsistent with interpretation advanced here.

5. See the papers in Haveman (1977) for evaluations of the various component programs of the War on Poverty. Some of the authors in the Haveman (1977) collection do not entirely agree with the view that the war was a failure. For instance, Haveman (1977: 9) concludes that: "A reasonable appraisal of the results
of the War on Poverty might, however, run as follows: While the direct contribution of the War to raising the income of the poor does not appear to have been great, the total effect of that effort on poverty reduction may have been substantial. The extent of a favorable judgment rests on how one interprets subtle and indirect evidence regarding the causes of the unexpected and unplanned [federal policy] developments, in particular their dependence on the announcement of a War on Poverty and the implementation of its programs.

References

Austin, David R. 1972 "Resident participation: political mobilization or organizational co-optation?" Public Administration Review 32: 409-20.


Fainstein, Norman I. and Susan S. Fainstein
1974 Urban Political Movements

Gamson, William A.
1968 "Stable unrepresentation in American society."
1975 The Strategy of Social Protest
Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey.

Gilbert, Neil
1970 Clients or Constituents

Gitlin, Todd and Nanci Hollander
1970 Uptown: Poor Whites in Chicago

Hamilton, Richard R.
1972 Class and Politics in the United States
New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Haveman, Robert H. (ed.)
1977 A Decade of Federal Antipoverty Programs.

Haveman, Robert H.
1977 "Introduction: poverty and social policy in the
1960's and 1970's - an overview and some
speculations," Pp. 1-19 In Robert Haveman (ed.),
A Decade of Federal Antipoverty Programs.

Herman, Robert D.
1976a The Participation of the Poor in Social Action
Organizations: A Contingency Approach.
Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell
University.

1976b "Voluntary organization participation and
personality change in the poor: a longitudinal
study," Journal of Voluntary Action Research
5: 95-105.

1982 "Social action organization participation and
personal change in the poor: Part I," Journal of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamb, Curt</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Political Power in Poor Neighborhoods</td>
<td>Schenkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose, Stephen M.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>The Betrayal of the Poor: The Transformation of Community Action.</td>
<td>Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanecko, James J.</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>&quot;Community mobilization and institutional change.&quot;</td>
<td>Social Science Quarterly 50: 609-30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Zimmerman, Stanley  
1971  "Economic development: the SWAFCA cooperative."  

Zurcher, Louis A., Jr.  
ABSTRACT

A national survey of required readings in social welfare policy courses indicates that a liberal, pro-welfare state ideology is predominant. Such an ideology rests on the concepts of modernization and industrialization within a structural-functionalist methodology. This predominant model of social welfare policy suggests the inevitability of the welfare state while effectively excluding serious consideration of both conservative and socialist alternatives.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper developed from the author's concerns as a social welfare policy instructor within an undergraduate social work program. In the disarray of the late seventies and early eighties, the mainstream and essentially liberal policy framework has been under attack, mostly from a conservative and neo-conservative electoral surge. This counter-attack ranges from the simple-minded homilies of Reaganomics to the more sophisticated critiques of liberal reform associated with the journal *The Public Interest*.

My concern, bolstered by experience in the classroom and in conversations with other social welfare policy educators, is that students lack the conceptual tools to comprehend and, therefore, to evaluate the ideological dimensions of the present policy struggles.

Students have minimal exposure to conservative social welfare policy analysis, except as it is reduced to greediness and venality by most liberal-and radical-analysts. In addition, their awareness of socialist social welfare policy approaches is severely distorted and confused by a prevailing conceptual framework that either places socialism along a continuum of liberal policy and practice or rules it out of order as "extreme" and "utopian."

Consequently, many social work students lack the conceptual skills to understand what is happening in the world around them. They receive a close to monolithic view in their policy courses that limits their ability to understand the power and the contradictions
of various policy frameworks. Many of our students were utterly unprepared for the current conservative counter-attack and could respond to it ethically and emotionally, but not analytically.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE

This paper rests on a questionnaire survey of readings in undergraduate and master's level social welfare policy courses. The author sent questionnaires to the nearly three hundred such programs in the United States in late January, 1982. Responses were received from 168 programs, including 195 social welfare policy classes, given in either 1980 or 1981.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE #1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROGRAMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the questionnaire sought information only about required readings, it would be inappropriate to view the results of the questionnaire as indicating the extent of coverage in social welfare policy courses or programs or as revealing of doctoral instruction. The questionnaire results simply inform us about the central and undoubtedly most emphasized readings in policy courses.

The results of the questionnaire are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Required Readings in Social Welfare Policy Courses, Undergraduate and Master's Levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTHORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One must note two social welfare history texts are used extensively in policy courses: Axinn and Levin's *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need* (2 undergraduate, 8 master's; 10 total) and Walter I. Trattner's *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America* (4 undergraduate, 4 master's; 8 total). It would be useful to know to what extent social welfare policy is integrated with the teaching of the history of social welfare and, one should add, community organization and development. The remaining texts and monographs are listed in descending order: Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht, *The Emergence of Social Welfare and Social Work* (3 undergraduate, 4 master's; 7 total); Tropman, Dluhy, Lind, *New Strategic Perspectives on Social Policy* (4, 3; 7 total); Paul E. Weinberger, *Perspectives on Social Welfare: An Introductory Anthology* (6, 0; 6 total); Charles Lindblom, *The Policy-making Process* (3, 3; 6 total); Jeffry H. Galper, *The Politics of Social Services* (6, 0; 6 total); Thomas Dye, *Understanding Public Policy* (5, 1; 6 total); Ronald Frederico, *The Social Welfare Institution* (5, 0; 5 total); W. Joseph Heffernan, *Introduction to Social Welfare Policy* (4, 1; 5 total); Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* (1, 3; 4 total); James Leiby, *A History of Social Work and Social Welfare* (0, 3; 3 total). Within the 168 programs, I received the following: 143 total books mentioned among 404 selections (290 undergraduate and 114 master's level).
III. TEXT ANALYSIS

The most notable qualities among heavily used materials are the pervasiveness of the concepts of modernization and industrialization, the methodological framework of structural-functionalism, the influence of Wilensky and Lebeaux' conceptualizations of the residual and the institutional definitions of social welfare, and the assumption of the inexorability of the welfare state.

Industrialization-Modernization

The conceptual framework of most of the examined texts affirms a particular historical explanation enforced by the continual usage of such words and phrases as "industrial," "industrial society," "pre-industrial," "post-industrial," "industrialization," "modern society," "urbanization." Note Elizabeth Huttman's conventional way of discussing the family in twentieth century life:

The family has to deal with the consequences of the strain of industrialization imposed on family life when it disrupted the pattern of farm living. The family has been equally vulnerable to the related stress of urbanization, which has often separated it from supportive relatives. In our present post-industrial era, the family has had to develop the geographic mobility needed for many corporate jobs...

As future changes come in the large society, the family must again respond and change...

Huttman's technological determinism is characteristic of the literature. There are no human subjects in her reflections on everyday life; only human objects of forces to which they can respond "as future changes come." In addition, part of our ability to respond to such inexorable forces will be, according to Huttman, "through science" and "through technology," through which "we have had" and through which "we have been given" inventions and commodities to ease our adjustment.

Dolgoff and Feldstein provide us with similar explications of social change:

The coming of industrialization and accelerated movement from rural to urban locations produced great social problems...Along with modernization, specialization developed so that functions which would have been performed traditionally by family members soon became the tasks of specialists.
Processes "come", and "develop" beyond the capacity of humans to perform as actors on history's stage. Human intervention is tempered by the assumption of its inevitability; it is a task built into the changing social order.

**Structural-Functionalism**

The motor forces within the above examples of social change assumptions are structures and functions, the transformation of structures from pre-industrial to industrial, pre-modern to modern, agrarian to urban and the consequent re-routing of functions from defunct to emergent institutions. Many of the most popular texts refer to functional analysis or structural-functionalism, or credit particular theorists like Talcott Parsons or Robert Merton for their conceptual framework.

Gilbert and Specht most precisely articulate this approach with their delineation of the institution of social welfare as fulfilling the primary social function of mutual support previously maintained by the family:

> The institution of social welfare is that patterning of relationships which develops in society to carry out mutual support functions.

Indeed, Huttman, while admitting that "conflict theory can also help in assessing need," affirms the functionalist paradigm:

> ...disequilibrium is temporary; the society moves to a new equilibrium or stable state because adjustments occur to take care of tensions caused by change.\(^4\)

**Residual-Institutional Definitions**

The third component part of the prevailing pattern derives from Wilensky and Lebeaux's influential *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, a monograph on virtually all supplementary reading lists and specifically cited and extensively used in the most popular texts. Prigmore and Atherton quote the central thesis:

> Two conceptions of social welfare seem to be dominant in the United States today; the residual and the institutional. The first holds that social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structures of supply, the family and the market, break
The second, in contrast, sees the welfare services as normal, "first line" functions of modern industrial society. While Prigmore and Atherton criticize the Wilensky-Lebeaux model as insufficiently sensitive to informal institutions, they affirm its historical outlook:

...it can be said that humans ordinarily recognize their interdependence, lose sight of it during the transitional period to an industrial society, and regain it when industrialization has taken hold. Therefore, after a brief (as history goes) hiatus of two hundred or so years, we humans of the Western world seem to be regaining an understanding of the need to reach out to each other and to find ways to be supportive in a very fragile world.

In all cases, with the exception of Gil's more radical framework in Unravelling Social Policy, The Wilkensky-Lebeaux model is presented as reflecting the central alternatives available to policy-makers. Indeed, since the residual view is definitionally anachronistic within the model, there is in fact no choice but to embrace the institutional definition. At most one can, like Gilbert and Specht, posit that "residual functions will linger even as social welfare approaches institutional status."

The Welfare State

The institutional definition of social welfare presupposes the welfare state as the political embodiment of industrial and modern society. Huttman quotes T. H. Marshall's affirmation of the welfare state:

The social services were not to be regarded as regrettable necessities to be retained only until the capitalist system has been reformed or socialized; they were a permanent and even a glorious part of the social system itself.

And she concludes her discussion by noting that despite problems, the welfare state dominates social policy in most "industrial countries" and its future will be mere additions "on some aspects of older welfare philosophies." As Dolgoff and Feldstein indicate, "Inexorably the creation of the modern world has brought with it the welfare state."
The most popular social welfare policy texts, in reducing conservative, residual definitions to history's dust-bin and in either reshaping socialist visions to the welfare state model or placing them outside the boundaries of legitimacy, effectively limit policy parameters to "the vital center."

The Vital Center

This vital center of intellectual respectability and ethical normativity rests on a theory of cultural lag, a commitment to liberal pluralism, a consciously pragmatic and anti-utopian stance, and a remarkable avoidance of the role of the corporation in American society.

The Vital Center model of social welfare policy understands the incompletion of the welfare state as a function of cultural lag, which develops, according to Huttman,

...where the nonmaterial culture still holds on to the ways of the past instead of adjusting to the technological changes.10

Dolgoff and Feldstein argue that "in many unconscious and subtle ways" we repeat "patterns that belong to philosophies we have long since rejected."11 Dobelstein speaks of the need for "ideological reform,"12 while Gil speaks of the need for "educational agents" to overcome "false consciousness."13 The structures of industrial society made what Dobelstein calls "liberalist" ideology, which we conventionally label American conservatism, dysfunctional, incapable of charting "social goals" and, in any case, shattered by 1929.14

The Vital Center model celebrates pragmatism and incrementalism. Prigmore and Atherton, while duly noting the attractions of more "radical" guaranteed income and more "conservative" negative income tax proposals, ask, "...must unmet needs continue until the resolution of the ideological differences of right and left?"15 They denigrate left-wing alternatives as requiring "a total restructuring of society" that require us to "pin our hopes on the revolution," and, therefore, reducible to "pure ideology." Their Vital Center advice logically follows:

Unless one has become a true believer in an alternative model (and hence a zealot) there is a certain

*The Vital Center is a metaphor for mainstream liberalism as initially articulated by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in The Vital Center (1948).
appeal in the notion of a pluralist decision-making process that is open to inputs from various interest groups and coalitions.\textsuperscript{16}

Dobelstein concludes that, granted "half-truths" and limitations, capitalism, liberalism, and positivism...have stood the test of pragmatism."\textsuperscript{17} Kahn stresses the ways in which both "the Left and Right converged in their distrust of professionals and professionalism." While Morris tends to reduce radical alternatives to Marx's problematic communist stage in arguing that they

\textldots require for their execution a basic change in social values and attitudes and, therefore, perhaps even several generations to bring about the changes desired. An illustration is the view that income should be distributed according to need and not according to ability or to any contribution to society's productive capacity.\textsuperscript{18}

In brief, the Vital Center model eliminates both conservative and radical critiques.

The historical narrative such accounts present to sustain the Vital Center, the institutional view, the liberal Welfare State, generally limits its critique of capitalism to its early, laissez-faire, robber baron phase, a "transitional" period, as Prigmore and Atherton suggest. Such analyses include both an "order model" and a "conflict" model. Huttman's structural-functionalism posits that all units work together "to fill the functions as a more or less integrated whole," considers that "disequilibrium is temporary." She even goes further, consistent with the dominant historical narrative, in stating:

In the ideas of Marx, the father of conflict theory, the workers would struggle with the bourgeoisie or capitalists. Today these conflict theories have been reshaped by a number of writers to fit the contemporary scene.\textsuperscript{19}

The re-shaping includes other social movements, e.g., blacks, as they engage in conflicts that seek to restore the structural-functionalist equilibrium.

Prigmore and Atherton admit that we have not yet achieved "a mature pluralism", but assert that
It is in the interest of all groups in the society to see that the poor, the disadvantaged, and the powerless gain such access.\textsuperscript{20}

Gilbert and Specht speak of "pluralistic planning", while Dobelstein devotes an entire chapter to the unique role that federalism serves as the American operationalization of conflict theory and pluralistic decision-making processes.\textsuperscript{21}

**Present Directions**

Whether one focuses on the technological determinism of modernization theory, structural-functionalism, pluralist theory, or "adaptive functions", all roads lead to the welfare state. Whereas all of the popular texts recognize that the welfare state is a modification of capitalism, most are seemingly reluctant to state the obvious, preferring to ignore the "supply-side" of the equation:

\begin{quote}
What is needed in social policy is less interest in philosophizing about power over production, which is a complicated problem, and more interest in increasing control over consumption, which is a comparatively easy task for competent social engineering...\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

In fact, most texts lack the buoyancy, if not the arrogance of Alva Myrdal's approach, and, while still ignoring the productive process, take a more sober, cautious approach to social welfare. Prigmore and Atherton stress the need for greater efficiency in social services, support an increase in private practice, believe in a differential minimum wage for teen-agers, and empathize with suffering employers:

\begin{quote}
Today the pressures on the employers are redundant, unnecessarily cumbersome, and, worst of all, prone to create gaps and inadequacies in the programs.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

They add,

\begin{quote}
Employers were widely regarded as the chief architects of unemployment, work injuries, disability, and poverty in old age...Today, in a more sophisticated world, these social problems are seen to relate more to actions and attitudes of government and the public as well as employers.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

Such views, a growing trend in the literature, suggests the tempering of the institutional view by perceived economic and political
realities. Rather than a serious consideration of conservative models, Prigmore and Atherton's approach suggests the influence of what is called both neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideology.

Most of the popular texts reflect the toning down of welfare state optimism in an age of economic stagnation. Few of the authors join Gilbert and Specht in explicating the contradiction between social welfare benefits and economic growth. Even Gilbert and Specht mute their point:

The consideration of stabilization goals means that designs for financing social welfare programs must be analyzed in terms of their effects upon the larger social system, specifically with reference to the functioning of the economic market. While students of social welfare policy tend to emphasize the distributional characteristics of alternative modes of public financing, it is important that they remain aware of these additional considerations relating to stabilization goals of government.25

With the deflation of Great Society hopes coalescing with the economic malaise of the 1970s and 1980s, sobered texts speak critically of the "maximum feasible participation" goals of the War on Poverty, emphasize the excessive and inequitable middle-class tax burden, criticize public employment strategies, accept welfare transfer as adequate, if not high, and join the neo-conservative call for intermediary institutions to limit the power of the welfare state.26 Indeed, there is a new sobriety as the Vital Center liberals fend off both conservative and radical criticism. Kahn, operating within this framework, emphasizes the need for social services to increase their productivity especially when economic growth has become problematic.27 The inexorability of the welfare state, more accurately the welfare capitalist state, must return to questions long dismissed as anachronistic, utopian, extreme, or selfish.

The Corporation

None of the liberal texts focus attention on the centrality of the modern capitalist corporation in all aspects of contemporary society and culture, except, as in the case of Prigmore and Atherton, to express empathy for its strangulation by federal regulators. It may be possible to sustain a pluralist model in the American environment but to do so without a serious and systematic examination of the corporation, national and multi-national, is profoundly inadequate and unsatisfactory. Neither of Gilbert and
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One can make a good case that most of the popular social welfare policy texts suffer from what Gilbert and Specht shrewdly call the "iron law of specificity," the tendency to reify concepts, to come to belief that they are material phenomena rather than guides to thought and action. Our students, at least in terms of their required readings, tend to be presented a view of the world, a view of social welfare policy, that seriously limits their abilities to understand the contemporary policy issues and dilemmas, insofar as it offers a one-sided and parochial view of the nature of social change and of United States social history.

Our students do learn a great deal in their texts about the process, product and performance of social welfare policy, although the considerations of process are substantially weakened by a neglect of the types of societal forces Gil examines. They learn about problems of fragmentation; they gain a conceptual framework for understanding many of the choices involved in "who gets what and how" process. Several of the texts, Gilbert and Specht's Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy and Kahn's Social Policy & Social Services in particular, are outstanding liberal presentations of the complexities of policy analysis.

Left and Right

The dilemma is that even such competent and thoughtful texts remain within a framework that effectively eliminates certain alternatives. The single exception among the popular texts is Gil's Unravelling Social Policy which takes a broader approach that integrates social welfare, social and economic policies on the basis of their influences on "the overall quality of life," "the circumstances of living," and "the nature of intra-societal relationships." Gil argues,

"The view that man responds primarily to the profit motive is not necessarily a correct indication of mankind's social and cultural potential."

There is, in fact, no meaningful use of conservative social welfare policy texts or monographs, at least as required reading. Whereas the required bibliography includes a scattering of, albeit, little used radical monographs, ranging from Rogers' Poverty Amid Plenty to Terkel's
Hard Times, the only decidedly conservative choices, each picked once, were Williams' The Implementation Perspective, Gilder's Wealth & Poverty, and Friedman's Free to Choose.

This survey and evaluation suggests significant limitations in our ability to effectively teach social welfare policy. I would like to list the most salient problem areas, based both on the results of this survey and on several years of teaching policy courses.

1. Is it sufficient to assume the inevitability of the liberally-defined welfare state, particularly when its rarely stated but essential foundation, ongoing economic growth, has become problematic? The liberal, mainstream responses seem to be of two types: one, a call for persistence and continuity, even advance, e.g., national health insurance, guaranteed national income; two, a neo-liberal and neo-conservative toning down of welfare state vision and promises, a return to the skeletal New Deal core and a ruthless shedding of all or much of the Great Society layers. Neither approach questions any of the premises of the industrialization model.

2. Is there a legitimate conservative social welfare policy and can one, as a consequence, be a conservative social worker or policy planner? Most texts answer in the negative through the residual definition and a stream of what is essentially invective, assumptions of venality, callousness, and atavistic thought. Is there a plausible market model of social welfare policy, a la Friedman? More intriguingly, is there an implicitly conservative framework extant but not fully articulated. This academic year, for example, I used Martin Anderson's Welfare to start the term, based on my hunch that our students rarely had been given the opportunity to come to grips with a conservative study (I also used Rodgers, Gilbert and Specht, and Titmuss' The Gift Relationship.)

In the fifties Wilensky and Lebeaux could posit that

it seems likely that distinctions between welfare and other types of social institutions will become more and more blurred. Under continuing industrialization all institutions will be oriented toward and evaluated in terms of social welfare aims. The 'welfare state' will become the 'welfare society' and both will be more reality than epithet.

A number of issues, including the problematic of economic growth, the inability of the society to achieve any semblance of social justice and equality, and the issue of the extent to which the "welfare society" subverts our primary institutions -- issues addressed in divergent ways by liberals, conservative, and radicals -- indicate that we have more to consider than the short-term catastrophe that is the Reagan Administration.
3. Is there a legitimate socialist social welfare policy? Most policy texts implicitly deny the possibility in their exclusive focus on the demand-side. Kahn suggests that the Soviet bloc societies are within the same social welfare policy parameters as the capitalist democracies. Others like Gilbert and Specht contribute more confusion than enlightenment by arguing that socialist societies, at least in theory, hold to Marx's communist goal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." In fact, the only openly socialist policy monograph is Galper's *The Politics of Social Services*, an astute critique of bourgeois ideology in social welfare policy that suffers from a tendency to indiscriminately merge all non-socialist strategies. Morris' challenge to socialist policy analysts remains:

The explicit character of socialist policies has not yet been presented in terms of specific problems, such as programs for an income system, for the mentally or chronically physically ill, or for the delinquent. If such approaches no longer claim that a socialist society eliminates such human difficulties, neither do they present the skeletal outline of how a program and a policy for such would differ from current capitalist approaches.

The difference between the more radical and the 'liberal' alternatives lies in underlying causal analysis: is socialism the essential prerequisite to improvement? If it is, the explicit social welfare content of that alternative, as seen in proposed sectoral policies and programs (not only in attitudes) remains to be launched.

As a socialist policy analyst, I welcome Morris' critique and challenge but add that he and most of the mainstream liberal authors of our basic policy texts need to engage more in such problem-setting endeavors. Martin Rein provides us with the appropriate "value-critical" posture. He emphasizes that

...social policy is, above all, concerned with choice among competing values, and questions of what is morally or culturally desirable can never be excluded from the discussion.

His criticisms of attempts at value-neutrality, e.g., positivism, structural-functionalism, and value-commitment, e.g., Marxism, as incapable of establishing appropriate questions, lead Rein to conclude,
The main safeguard against bias lies in insuring that different perspectives are heard, and that much more systematic attention be given to problem-setting.37

Rein's suggestion that "there is no reality except that reality which is informed by value screens and ideological frames,"38 offers teachers of social welfare policy an appropriate guideline for instruction. We need to question the value screens and ideological frames of all perspectives, such that our students have the capacity to make evaluations with the maximum of information, theory and insight. If our required reading lists are any indication, we are falling at this task.

2Ibid., p. 40.
6Ibid., pp. 11-12.
8Introduction to Social Policy, p. 94.
9Ibid., p. 101.
10Introduction to Social Policy, p. 24.
15Social Welfare Policy, p. 84.
16Ibid., pp. 161-62, 194.
Mao, "Dissent" (March-April 1970) for an incisive Marxist critique of the communist stage as utopian.


22 Alva Myrdal, as quoted in Gilbert and Specht, **Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy**, p. 83.


24 *Ibid*.


27 **Social Policy and Social Services**, p. 25.


33 **Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy**, p. 42. The line is Marx's and is not directly quoted by Gilbert & Specht.


CLIENT PRIVACY AND SOCIAL WORK:
A COMPARISON BY AGENCY FUNCTION

Linda R. Hogan, M.S.S.W.
Mary Ski Hunter, Ph.D.
M. Coleen Shannon, Ph.D.
The University of Texas at Arlington
Graduate School of Social Work
Arlington, Texas 76019

ABSTRACT

This study examines the effect of agency function or purpose on the handling of client privacy issues in social work agencies. Practitioners working in public and private agencies were compared. The data revealed that, more than those in private agencies, social workers in public agencies: (1) thought that their work would be more affected if they could not rely on outside sources for information about clients; (2) were more often requested to supply information about clients to outside sources; and (3) were more likely to reveal information about clients as a form of ethical dilemma resolution. It is suggested that compliance from clients is the primary social reward sought by practitioners in public agencies and that client information is used as an instrument of power in obtaining it. Practitioners in private agencies, on the other hand, seek different social rewards and tend to be more protective of client privacy.

Dilemmas about what to do with client information are frequent in social work and other human service situations. At the heart of these concerns is the extent to which this information should be kept confidential. As an ethic, confidentiality requires that such information not be disclosed to third parties unless authorized by the client or in unusual circumstances (Shan, 1970). The latter has usually been thought to portend danger to the client or others (Jagim et al., 1978).

The issue of confidentiality has been addressed in social work and related literature (see, for example, Arnold, 1970; Noble, 1971; Reynolds, 1976; and Wilson, 1978). Yet, there has been little accompanying empirical work. The purpose here is
to report the findings of a study on how knowledge about clients, specifically the gathering and exchange of information and resolution of ethical dilemma situations, is affected by the function or purpose of the employing agency. Opinions about general privacy issues were also obtained.

BACKGROUND

Confidentiality in the human services is based on protection of an individual’s right to privacy. Privacy requires the ability to control what is to be communicated about oneself, to whom, and under what circumstances (Marshall, 1972). It can be maintained by one’s own efforts and, in addition, by others who have access to the information one desires to control. Confidentiality, then, has both an inward-control dimension and an outward-control dimension.

Inward- and Outward-Control Dimensions of Confidentiality

As suggested above, inward-control of confidentiality implies self-control over what information is shared or withheld. The outward-control dimension is manifested when an individual, who has information about another, controls whether it is shared with or withheld from third parties. Therefore, one’s privacy can be protected not only inwardly but, in a confidential relationship, by the other(s) involved.

The outward-control dimension of confidentiality has particular pertinence for social work. In some practice situations the loss of privacy may be forfeited by the client as in the case of voluntarily sought therapy. The client most likely trusts that the outward-control dimension will be operative. In other social work settings, however, the client’s privacy may be routinely encroached as in the case of involuntary clients who appear to require mental health or protective services.

The availability of the outward-control dimension of confidentiality appears to reflect status differences within society. The relationship between privacy and status may be curvilinear, those with the highest status (e.g., movie stars and presidents) and lowest status (e.g., children, welfare clients, prisoners, the institutionalized elderly, the mentally and physically ill, and morally stigmatized) have least access to outward-control of privacy (Warren and Laslett, 1977). It is the latter category of people which most often receives
services in public agencies and in many instances access to outward-control of confidentiality may be denied to them. In order to receive services such as foodstamps, welfare benefits, or Medicare, information must be given which is likely considered confidential by most citizens and, presumably, could be revealed to third parties.

Public-Life Versus Private-Life Secrecy

Another set of labels regarding privacy is between public- and private-life secrecy. Information about one's life remains secret or confidential by the mechanisms of inward- and outward-controls or becomes public "on the part of those in power and their agents, acting purportedly in the public interest" (Warren and Laslett, 1977:47).

Although ideal types, social service agencies can be viewed as public-life or private-life. Private-life agencies include adoption and selected mental health services. Services from these agencies are for the most part obtained voluntarily. Clients also willingly share personal life secrets with representatives of these agencies. Public-life agencies include those which provide protective services (child and adult), probation and parole services, and selected mental health services. Their representatives often obtain information coercively and involuntarily as they act to discover how private-life secrets are relevant to public life. Public-life agencies, then, are aggressive in obtaining private-information and making it public while private-life agencies are passive and protective of such information. It would seem, then, that practitioners in each type of setting would require differing opinions on client privacy issues. The study discussed here compared the opinions of practitioners in public- and private-life agencies concerning client privacy, information gathering and exchange, and the resolution of ethical-dilemma situations.

METHOD

Sample Selection

A stratified sample of public- and private-life agencies was selected from the Directory of Social Services and the telephone directory of a large southwestern city. Those agencies about which there was some doubt concerning the voluntary or involuntary status of clients such as social services in hospitals and drug and alcohol treatment centers were
The voluntary/involuntary status of agencies was determined primarily on the basis of legal sanction for services. Those agencies whose clients were determined on the basis of court referral or legal mandate were classified as involuntary or public-life agencies. The public-life agencies sampled included: probation and parole departments, child protective services, inpatient psychiatric services, and agencies that perform court-ordered social studies. The private-life agencies sampled were primarily those offering voluntary psychotherapeutic services.

The Questionnaire

Data were collected through a pre-tested opinion questionnaire. A total of 108 questionnaires were mailed once in November, 1981. Sixty were sent to practitioners in agencies whose services were primarily public-life, forty-eight to practitioners in agencies whose services were primarily private-life. Sixty four (59 percent) usable questionnaires were returned. Twenty-six were from public-life agencies, thirty-eight from private-life agencies.

Description of the Sample

Sixty-seven of the respondents were female. Age ranged from twenty-three to sixty-two years; the average age was thirty-six. Sixty-four percent had a masters degree; of those 48 percent obtained this degree in social work. All respondents employed in private-life agencies had a masters degree compared to 40 percent of those employed in public-life agencies.

Respondents had been with their current place of employment an average of 5.3 years. Twenty percent had been employed one year or less. The average length of total time employed in social service was 10 years.

RESULTS

General Opinions

When asked to agree to disagree, on a four point scale, with general statements about client privacy (Table 1), a majority of both groups agreed that: "For services with my agency the client is entitled to withhold information from the
TABLE 1
GENERAL OPINIONS ABOUT CLIENT PRIVACY BY AGENCY TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Client entitled to withhold information</td>
<td>50.0*</td>
<td>78.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency sharing eliminated</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privileged communication</td>
<td>23.1*</td>
<td>78.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case records destroyed</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>00.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chi square p<.05

worker even if it means less progress in treatment." However, agreement in private-life agencies was significantly higher (79 percent versus 50 percent, p<.05). More than three quarters (79 percent) of the private-life respondents also agreed that: "Communication between worker and client should be considered privileged, e.g., the social worker should not be required to give testimony in court as to what has taken place between the worker and client."¹ This contrasted with only 23 percent agreement from public-life respondents (p<.05). In both groups, few agreed that: "Much information sharing between agencies should be eliminated" or that: "Case records should be destroyed after the case has been closed." Even though less than a quarter of the private-life respondents agreed that

¹ Disclosures in judicial proceedings raise issues of privilege; confidentiality concerns issues of privacy outside of the courtroom. See Shaw (1969).
information sharing should be eliminated, they reported less reliance than public-life respondents on sources other than the client for information. This finding is discussed later.

The Sharing and Exchange of Information

Reliance on outside sources for information. Respondents were asked how their work would be affected if they could no longer receive information about clients from a list of sources (Table 2). Responses ranged from little, somewhat, to a great effect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Public-Life Percent High Effect</th>
<th>Private-Life Percent High Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Client family</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital or physician</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>57.7*</td>
<td>28.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public agencies</td>
<td>73.1*</td>
<td>18.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
<td>80.8*</td>
<td>7.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private agencies</td>
<td>26.9*</td>
<td>13.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>26.9*</td>
<td>13.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and/or neighbors</td>
<td>46.2*</td>
<td>5.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chi-square p<.05
deal. All respondents felt they would be somewhat affected on a majority of the sources. Public-life respondents however, reported the probability of being highly affected on all sources to a greater degree than did the private-life respondents. The differences were significant (<.05) on six of nine sources. The clients' family appeared to be of highest importance as a source of outside information for private-life respondents. For the public-life respondents, both the family and law enforcement were highest in importance, followed by hospitals or physicians, schools, and public agencies.

A moderate association ($r = .54$) occurred between the frequency of court testimony and the amount of reliance on outside sources for information about clients. Respondents who testified in court frequently or occasionally relied more heavily on outside sources for information about clients than those who gave testimony seldom or never.

Frequency of outside requests for release of information. A moderate association ($r = .41$) also occurred between the frequency of court testimony and requests from outside sources to release information about clients. The more frequently workers testified in court the more often they were requested by others to supply information to outside sources. Those employed by public-life agencies testified in court more frequently than those employed in private-life agencies. The most frequent request sources for the public-life respondents were law enforcement, attorneys, and public agencies. The private-life respondents had notably low requests from all sources (Table 3).
TABLE 3
SOURCES FREQUENTLY REQUESTING INFORMATION BY AGENCY TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Public-Life</th>
<th>Private-Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High Request</td>
<td>High Request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public agencies</td>
<td>42.3*</td>
<td>18.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
<td>53.8**</td>
<td>10.5**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney</td>
<td>42.3**</td>
<td>7.9**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private agencies</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals or physician</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Chi-square p<.05
** Chi-square p<.01

Types of information gathered. The respondents were asked to indicate how often they gather information of different types in order to perform services provided by their agencies (Table 4). A majority of all respondents frequently obtained information on topics regarding the clients' marital status, family, work, self-esteem, and use of drugs. A majority of public-life respondents also frequently gathered information about spare time usage and arrest record whereas a majority of private-life respondents also gathered information frequently about personality and thoughts of suicide.

A significant difference occurred between sphere of employment and the gathering of four types of information. Workers employed in the public sphere gathered information about clients' arrest records to a significantly greater extent than did
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information Type</th>
<th>Public-Life Percent High</th>
<th>Private-Life Percent High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family size</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>92.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family mobility</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self esteem</td>
<td>69.2**</td>
<td>81.6**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career or work history</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family income</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings towards parents</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of drugs</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughts of suicide</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality assessment</td>
<td>42.3*</td>
<td>57.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spare time usage</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual/homosexual orientation</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How income is spent</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrest record</td>
<td>61.5**</td>
<td>21.1**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whether money is saved/how much</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past sexual experience</td>
<td>7.7**</td>
<td>47.4**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational aptitude</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious beliefs</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political beliefs</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chi-square p<.05

**Chi-square p<.01
private-life workers \((p<.01)\). Workers employed in the private-life sphere gathered information to a significantly greater extent about clients' self-esteem and past sexual experiences \((p<.01)\), and personality \((p<.05)\).

Resolution of Ethical Dilemma Situations

The ethical dilemma scale consisted of six items designed to measure the probability of revealing or keeping confidential information disclosed by the client in a social work practice situation. Each item presented a situation that could have negative or dangerous consequences if the practitioner did not disclose the information and what could be interpreted as a breach of confidentiality if the practitioner did disclose this information. The six items included:

1. A violent crime (murder, sexual assault) that the client has committed recently.

2. A non-violent crime involving a large amount of money (stealing, embezzlement) that the client has recently committed.

\(^2\) See Jagim et al. (1978) for a discussion of the position that confidentiality should be absolute. Under no circumstances would confidentiality be broken. Also noted is the conflict with legal statutes in many states requiring disclosure of information related to situations of danger to the welfare of others. Also see Bernstein (1977) who claims that whether in a public or private agency, social workers "are being asked with increasing frequency to testify as experts on such matters as adoption, the custody of children, or a client's state of mind during a given period. They also furnish opinions as to what would be in the best interest of children in many kinds of litigation. In addition, they are frequently called on to reveal information they have gained during individual and group sessions." Although the social worker may agree not to disclose information to a third party, s/he can be "subpoenaed to court, records in hand, and forced under contempt to testify fully and completely, under oath as to what was said before the parties and what was recorded during such exchanges."
3. A violent threat made by the client against a family member.

4. A welfare client earning several hundred dollars that has not been reported.

5. A violent threat made by the client against yourself.

6. A serious suicidal threat made by the client.

Respondents were asked to indicate their opinion of whether or not they would reveal this information and, if so, to whom.

A majority of the total group of respondents indicated that they would reveal to third parties, excluding a supervisor or other workers, information regarding a client in five out of six ethical dilemma situations. The highest projected disclosures (80 percent) related to the client committing a violent crime or threatening suicide. Sixty-three percent would also disclose a violent threat made to a client's family or to the practitioner, 56 percent, a nonviolent crime. The only item less than half of all respondents would not reveal involved welfare fraud.

To reveal or not reveal information regarding ethical dilemmas did not appear to be associated with variables such as the frequency of court testimony, highest degree obtained, sex, age, length of time employed by the current agency, or experience in social services. However, when sphere of employment was taken into account, public-life workers indicated they would reveal all information to a greater degree than would private-life workers. As shown in Table 5, the difference between the two groups was significant (p<.05) in four out of six dilemmas.

Table 5 shows the differences between public- and private-life practitioners on the individual items. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they would reveal the information and the source of the revelation.

Violent crime. If the client were to recently commit a violent crime, 96 percent of those employed in public-life agencies indicated that they would reveal this information to others as compared to 68 percent employed in private-life agencies. This relationship was significant (p<.05). Approximately 85 percent of both groups of disclosers indicated that
### TABLE 5
ETHICAL DILEMMA BY AGENCY TYPE AND SOURCE OF DISCLOSURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethical Dilemma Situation</th>
<th>Percentage who would disclose (N=26)</th>
<th>Most frequent disclosure source by percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>96.2*</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonviolent crime</td>
<td>84.6*</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent threat family member</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare client's unreported income</td>
<td>69.2*</td>
<td>responsible agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent threat practitioner</td>
<td>80.8*</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicidal threat</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>client's family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethical Dilemma Situation</th>
<th>Percentage who would disclose (N=38)</th>
<th>Most frequent disclosure source by percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent crime</td>
<td>68.4*</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonviolent crime</td>
<td>36.8*</td>
<td>law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent threat family member</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>threatened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare client's unreported income</td>
<td>26.3*</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent threat practitioner</td>
<td>50.0*</td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicidal threat</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>client's family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Chi-square p<.05
they would probably report the incident to a law enforcement agency.

Nonviolent crime. If the client were to reveal a nonviolent crime, such as stealing or embezzlement, 85 percent of the respondents employed in public-life agencies and 37 percent employed in private-life agencies indicated that they would reveal this information. The relationship was significant (p<.05).

Most disclosers in public-life agencies (82 percent) stated that they would give this information to law enforcement officials; 62 percent of disclosers employed in the private-life agencies would do the same. Others in private-life agencies would reveal this information to sources such as their own lawyer for advice or members of their own family. Several stated they would disclose such information to others only after failing to convince the client to report this information to the proper authorities.

Violent threat against family members. The majority of respondents in each group (69 percent, public-life; 61 percent private-life) indicated that they would disclose to others a violent threat against a family member. Fifty-eight percent of disclosers employed in public-life agencies would report this information to law enforcement officials as compared to only 8 percent of disclosers employed in private-life agencies. Sixty-seven percent of disclosers employed in private-life agencies stated that they would tell the person against whom the violent threat was made.

Welfare client's unreported income. If a welfare client were to disclose unreported income of several hundred dollars a year, 69 percent of those employed in the public-life agencies indicated that they would report this information compared to 26 percent of workers employed in private-life agencies. This relationship was significant (p<.05).

The majority of all respondents (59 percent) who stated that they would reveal unreported income to others indicated that it would be reported to the agency responsible for welfare allotment. Twenty-eight percent of disclosers employed in public-life agencies stated that they would report this to law enforcement officials. Several of the disclosers in private-life agencies stated that they would report this information only if asked directly by a representative of the welfare agency or if subpoenaed by a court.
Violent threat against the practitioner. If a client were to make a violent threat against the practitioner, 81 percent of those employed in public-life agencies and 50 percent of those employed in private-life agencies stated that they would disclose such a threat. This relationship was significant (p<.05). Seventy-five percent of the disclosers employed in public-life agencies stated that they would report the information to a law enforcement agency. Fifty-five percent of the disclosers employed in private-life agencies stated that they would report it to other sources such as an attorney or their own family. Sixty-eight percent of the female disclosers and only 27 percent of the male disclosers stated that they would report a violent threat against themselves to law enforcement officials. The majority (72 percent) of males indicating disclosure stated that they would report a violent threat made by a client to their attorney or family.

Suicide threats. Eighty-nine percent of public-life and 76 percent of private-life respondents stated that they would reveal to others a serious suicidal threat made by a client. The most frequent disclosure source was a member of the client's family, 63 percent for private-life respondents and 33 percent for public-life respondents.

DISCUSSION

This research study examined the effect of agency purpose or function on practitioner's general opinions regarding client privacy, the gathering and exchange of information about clients, and the resolution of ethical dilemma situations involving privacy issues. Social agencies can be seen as functioning in one of two spheres with regard to clients. Agencies which are legally sanctioned most often provide services that are involuntary. Private information is felt to be relevant to public life. These settings were termed public-life agencies. Private-life agencies provide essentially voluntary services and are more passive and uncontrolling toward the client. Protection of client privacy is integral to the agency's service.

The data in this study support a greater social control function for public-life agencies in contrast with private-life agencies. Workers in public-life agencies testified more frequently in court, relied more heavily on sources other than clients for information and were more frequently requested to supply information about clients to outside sources.
The social control emphasis of the public-life sphere is also seen in responses to vicarious ethical dilemma situations involving client privacy. Public-life practitioners were more likely to reveal information to others as a form of ethical dilemma resolution than were private-life practitioners. In addition, workers in public-life spheres most frequently selected disclosure sources that would be potentially punitive to the client such as a law enforcement agency.

Courses of action for the social worker in both public- and private-life spheres appear to be largely defined and limited in terms of the agency's function within society. Consequently, worker choices are not necessarily autonomous, but are regulated by the employing agency. As one public-life worker noted: "These answers are related to how one has to function within the demands of the job, not personal philosophy." A protective service worker stated: "Although I believe in client privacy so far as the general public is concerned, it is necessary in our work to gather and share information with other agencies and the courts." This disjuncture between private and/or professional values and agency policy is likely to produce conflict situations for the practitioner, particularly if employed in a public-life agency. Social work has traditionally advanced a cooperative form of service delivery but many interventions, especially with involuntary clients, are characterized by conflict rather than cooperation (Murdoch, 1980).

Differences between public- and private-life agencies in the handling of privacy issues can also be viewed in terms of the differences in rewards sought by public- and private-life practitioners from their clients. According to Blau (1964):

...human beings tend to be governed in their associations with one another by the desire to obtain social rewards of various sorts. and the resulting exchanges of benefits shape the structure of social relations.

Blau conceptualized four general classes of social rewards: (1) money, (2) social approval, (3) esteem, (4) compliance. Although all practitioners might seek any social reward from their clients from time to time, those in each sphere appear to emphasize different ones. This may influence the contrast between the two spheres in the handling of client privacy issues.

The primary social reward sought by public-life practitioners appears to be compliance from their clients. They have
legally sanctioned power to provide a social control function for society (e.g., attain client compliance with various rules). They may, then, use information about clients as a way to extract compliance from them. The use of private information may prevent clients from receiving their own desired rewards such as return of a child, release from an institution, or the closure of their case. Just the threat of using private information which might have negative consequences for clients would seem to be a controlling sanction in gaining their compliance.

Private-life practitioners do not overtly seek compliance as a primary reward from their clients. The interrelationship between client and practitioner is also more balanced than that of the public-life practitioner and client. If social rewards are not obtained by either party, the relationship can be terminated by either party. Essentially, then, the reward of compliance may determine the difference in public- and private-life agencies in the handling of client privacy issues.

REFERENCES

Arnold, Selma

Bernstein, Barton

Blau, Peter

Jagim, Ryan D., William D. Wittman and John O. Noll

Marshall, Nancy

Murdoch, Allison D.
Noble, John H. Jr.

Reynolds, Mildred M.

Shah, S.A.
1970 "Privileged communications, confidentiality and privacy: confidentiality." Professional Psychology 1:159-164.

Warren, Carol and Barbara Laslett

Wilson, Suana J.
CASE LAW AND SOCIAL WELFARE: 
A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Jan L. Hagen
Lecturer, School of Social Work
University of Minnesota

ABSTRACT
This paper illustrates an approach for analyzing case law within the framework of social welfare programs and policies. Drawing on a framework first developed by Burns and later expanded by Gilbert and Specht, selected court decisions related to income maintenance are categorized on the basis of four parameters: basis of social allocation, the nature of social provisions, the structure of the delivery system, and the method of financing. Unlike the legal framework typically used to analyze court decisions, an assessment of court decisions along the parameters of social welfare policies and programs highlights the court's role and its importance in social welfare policy.

INTRODUCTION
Although much narrower in scope than statutes or administrative rules and regulations, decisions made by the judicial branch of government frequently have a significant impact upon the provision of services and benefits by social welfare institutions. Given the implications of some of these decisions in terms of eligibility criteria, adequacy
of benefits, and procedural restrictions, it is appropriate that a model be developed for the analysis of court decisions within the context of social welfare policy. The legal frameworks typically used to analyze court decisions related to welfare law generally emphasize the constitutional parameters, the impact of case law on the structure of federal-state relations, and a case-by-case analysis of eligibility conditions and benefit entitlement. Framing the analysis of court decisions around the parameters of social welfare policies and programs may enhance understanding of judicial decisions and their applications.

Such an approach for analyzing case law within the framework of social welfare programs and policies is illustrated in this paper through the application of an analytic framework to selected court cases. Drawing on a framework first developed by Eveline Burns (1946) and later refined by Gilbert and Specht (1974), court decisions related to income maintenance programs and policies are categorized on the basis of four parameters: the basis of social allocation; the nature of social provisions; the structure of the delivery service; and the method of financing (see table 1). This process helps to specify the usefulness of the model as well as to identify limitations in its application. By assessing court decisions along these four parameters, one measure of the court's role and its importance in social welfare is provided.

MODEL

Although components of this model have been used by others such as Rein (1970), Titmuss (1968), and Kahn (1969), the original and most elaborate application of the model was done by Eveline Burns (1946) in her classic analysis of the social security program. She specifically dealt with decisions that are made about the nature and amount of benefits, eligibility conditions, risks covered, financing structure, and administrative
structure. Gilbert and Specht have adapted this model and further clarified the options and the underlying value systems of each component within the framework. The framework places social welfare policy "in the context of a benefit-allocation mechanism functioning outside the marketplace" (Gilbert and Specht, 1974, p. 28). The central concern is the plausible alternatives within social welfare policy or, as they prefer to call it, the dimensions of choice. (Table 1 highlights the components of each dimension.) Given its comprehensiveness and wide range of application, this framework is a useful one for analyzing judicial decisions related to social welfare, particularly income maintenance.

APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

To illustrate the use of the model in analyzing judicial decisions, selected court decisions related to income maintenance programs are discussed within the framework of the dimensions of choice.

Basis of Social Allocation

Within the social allocation dimension, the U.S. Supreme Court has set limits on eligibility conditions imposed by the states, distinguished between recipients of means tested and attributed need programs, fostered the concept of social integration, and affirmed the use of work requirements in income maintenance programs.

For example, in 1976, the Court was asked in Mathews v. Eldridge, 424 U.S. 319, what procedures were necessary prior to the initial termination of disability insurance benefits. The Social Security
Administration terminated disability benefits without the beneficiary being provided with an evidentiary hearing prior to that termination. The beneficiary was, however, informed by the state agency that he might request additional time to submit additional information pertaining to his condition and later, by the Social Security Administration that he could seek reconsideration within six months. Legally, the issue before the Court was clearly one of due process; specifically, what procedural safeguards were necessary to satisfy the due process requirement of the constitution. A previous ruling in Goldberg v. Kelly, 397 U.S. 254 (1970), had indicated that a hearing prior to termination was an essential part of procedural due process. However, the Court noted in this case that a disabled worker's need is likely to be less than a welfare recipient's and that other sources of potential temporary income are available to disabled workers. In justifying its position that less than an evidentiary hearing was sufficient prior to the termination of benefits, the Court discussed at length the issue of cost effectiveness:

Financial cost alone is not a controlling weight in determining whether due process requires a particular procedural safeguard prior to some administrative decision. But the Government's interest, and hence that of the public, in conserving scarce fiscal and administrative resources, is a factor that must be weighed. At some point the benefit of an additional safeguard to the individual affected by the administrative action and to society in terms of increased assurance that the action is just, may be outweigh by the cost (96 S. Ct. at 909).
In arriving at its decision, the Court clearly distinguished between recipients of a program which is means tested and one in which the need for benefits is assumed. In this decision, then, the Court addressed the issues of cost effectiveness and the allocative principles of means tested need and attributed need. This latter distinction seems to imply two separate systems for procedural due process in income maintenance programs.

If one measure of social integration is the ability of a society's members to move freely within that society, then the Court has twice acted to uphold the principle of social integration. In the first instance, The People of California v. Edwards, 314 U.S. 160 (1941), a California statute making it a misdemeanor to bring or assist in bringing a non-resident indigent person, knowing him to be indigent, into the state was challenged. The state attempted to justify its statute on the basis of the tradition of the English poor laws. However, the Court held that the state could not restrict the transportation of indigent persons across its boundaries because it interfered with interstate commerce, the regulation of which is reserved by the constitution to Congress. This decision threw into question the constitutionality of the state durational residency requirements which was not settled until 1969. In Shapiro v. Thompson, 394 U.S. 618 (1969), the Court held that the durational residency requirements denied equal protection of the law under the constitution by restricting the right to interstate travel.

The issue of work incentives has also been addressed by the Court. In Dublino, 413 U.S. 405 (1973), the major question before the Court was whether federal work incentive requirements prevented
the states from having more stringent work requirements. Legally, the issue before the Court was one of federal preemption, a doctrine which makes state laws in a particular area invalid if Congress has demonstrated a clear intent to regulate the entire area through its own legislation (Hill, Mossen, and Sogg, 1976, p. 23). Although the Court required that the New York Work Rules be examined to see if they conflicted with the federal work incentive requirements, it did not accept the argument that the federal laws had preempted the field for work requirements.


As might be expected, the Court has had little to say about the various forms of social provisions. Determining the form of social provisions rests with the legislative branch of government. However, the Court had to address the use of vendor payments in Engleman v. Amos, 404 U.S. 23 (1971). The use of vendor payments rather than cash seriously compromises the concept of consumer sovereignty and introduces an element of social control into the provision of benefits. In Engleman, a New Jersey regulation which allowed the state to make vendor payments under its welfare statutes was challenged as being in conflict with the Social Security Act. The Court held that states were not prohibited from using vendor payments as long as no federal matching funds were involved. Whether or not such payments violated constitutional or statutory conditions was not addressed. Protective payments, which also compromise consumer sovereignty, have been challenged as well. Thus far, protective payments have been upheld as constitutional (Hodges v. Weinberger, 429 F. Supp. 756, 1977). In general, it would appear that protective payments and payments to vendors are permissible forms of social provisions.
Delivery System

Most of the court cases involving the delivery system for income maintenance programs are concerned with the pattern of authority between the state and federal governments. A significant decision in 1923 helped set the pattern of state-federal cooperation that has been so prevalent. That decision also provided the transition from viewing welfare as a local concern to a national concern. In Massachusetts v. Mellon, 262 U.S. 447 (1923), the constitutionality of the 1921 Maternity and Infancy Act (Sheppard-Towner Act) was challenged. This act, aimed at reducing maternal and infant mortality and at protecting maternal and infant health, was one of the first attempts at federal and state cooperation in social welfare. Because the states were given the option of participating in the program, the Court held that the states' powers were not in question and that, indeed, the alleviation of poverty was permissible national objective (La France, 1979, p. 9). This decision opened the door for further federal government activity in the area of social welfare.

The following case illustrates the legal issue of the supremacy of federal law. In terms of the framework used here, the issue becomes which level of government has authority. King v. Smith, 292 U.S. 309 (1968), raised the issue of the use of a "substitute father" regulation in Alabama which denied AFDC payments to children of mothers who "cohabit" with a man, either inside or outside her home. The Court held that this was unacceptable as a condition of eligibility. It clearly indicated that states must conform to the eligibility criteria set forth by Congress and that this criteria was essentially financial for a federally
funded program. The states, however, retain a great amount of discretion in determining the level of financial benefits and the method of computation.

In *Rosado v. Wyman*, 397 U.S. 397 (1970), the method of determining the need standard for recipients was challenged. The question before the court was whether states were required to adjust AFDC benefits to meet the cost of living. The Court held that, although the state had to update the standard of need to the 1969 level, the state was still free to use benefit reductions and to pay inadequate benefits. In the *Townsend* case, 404 U.S. 282 (1971), an Illinois procedure of limiting AFDC funds to dependent children enrolled in vocational training was challenged. Congress had specifically provided that AFDC funds were to be available to dependent children until age 20 if enrolled in vocational training or college. In effect, the state policy was encouraging vocational education and attempting to conserve funds. The Court held that the Illinois policy was in clear conflict with congressional legislation.

The patterns of authority have also been at issue in cases based on equal protection challenges. For example, in *Jefferson v. Hackney*, 406 U.S. 535 (1971), the Texas system for computing financial need was challenged. At that time, Texas used a percentage reduction of the level of need before outside income was deducted and the percentage reduction varied for each category of aid (e.g., Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Aged, and AFDC). Both of these practices were challenged: the former on the basis of obscuring actual need; the latter on the basis of discrimination because a higher percentage of need was paid to the adult programs than to the program for dependent children. The Court rejected these challenges thus leaving states considerable latitude in the area of financial allocations.
In Dandridge v. Williams, 397 U.S. 471 (1970), a Maryland procedure which restricted the total amount of benefits any one family could receive under AFDC was challenged on the basis of conflicting with the Social Security Act as well as denial of equal protection. The Court did not uphold these challenges. But interestingly, in its opinion, the Court found it necessary to address the procedure:

We do not decide today that the Maryland regulation is wise, that it best fulfills the relevant social and economic objectives that Maryland might ideally espouse, or that a more just and humane system could not be devised. Conflicting claims of morality and intelligence are raised by opponents and proponents of almost every measure, certainly including the one before us. But the intractable economic, social and even philosophical problems presented by public welfare assistance programs are not the business of this Court...The Constitution does not empower this Court to second-guess state officials charged with the difficult responsibility of allocating limited public welfare funds among the myriad of potential recipients (397 U.S. at 487).

If access to the delivery system includes the procedures which must be adhered to in terminating benefits, the 1969 decision in Goldberg
v. Kelly, 397 U.S. 254, has significant implications for administrative discretion. The legal issue before the Court was one of due process. The specific question dealt with the right of AFDC recipients to an evidentiary hearing prior to the termination of benefits. The Court held that for the termination of welfare benefits, only a pre-termination evidentiary hearing assures the recipient of procedural due process. The Court made clear that it was concerned with depriving an eligible welfare recipient of those benefits which are essential to the recipient for his livelihood. The Court found it necessary to address the issue of cost effectiveness. However, in this instance, it was the Court's thinking that the interest of the recipient in the continuation of benefits and the state's interest in not erroneously terminating benefits outweighed concerns about increased financial and administrative costs in implementing these due process procedures.

Financing

The final dimension to be considered is the method of financing for social welfare programs. The source of funding for social welfare programs has been of particular concern. Building on the cooperative system established by the Maternity and Infancy of 1921 and the Court's ruling in Massachusetts v. Mellon, 262 U.S. 447 (1923), which implied that the alleviation of poverty was a permissible federal concern, the Social Security Act of 1935 broadened the scope and funding of social welfare programs. The taxing mechanisms set up to finance the programs were challenged as being unconstitutional; they were viewed as interfering with the taxing powers of the states.
In *Steward Machine Company v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937), the Court held that the tax imposed on employers (for which they were given credit if the employers made contributions to a state unemployment fund) was not in violation of the constitution (the Tenth Amendment) because states were not compelled to participate in the program. A companion case, *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937), challenged the provision for retirement benefits through taxation of employers and employees. The Court held that this provision did not violate the constitution (the Tenth Amendment) either. These decisions clearly established the federal government's right to tax for the general welfare.

An interesting lower court case held that welfare could be treated as a matter of local concern by the state. In *Lindsay v. Wyman*, 372 F. Supp. 1360 (1974), the Mayor of New York City challenged a New York State plan which would distribute the costs of welfare among the localities in proportion to the number of recipients. It was argued that this was an unfair burden on the City of New York because it has a disproportionate share of the poor population. However, the Court held that, even though poverty was a national problem, it was also a local one and reasonable for the locality to be responsible for the funding of social welfare programs.

**DISCUSSION**

As can be seen from the summary of court cases in Table 2, legal challenges to social welfare legislation and procedures arise from a limited number of issues. Although legislation and procedures have been challenged on various grounds, most challenges arise from three concerns: due process, equal protection, and supremacy of either...
federal legislation or the constitution. Thus, the impact of court
decisions is fairly well limited to questions of eligibility, federal-
state conflicts, and program procedures.

In analyzing court decisions within the Gilbert and Specht framework,
it becomes obvious that the Court has played a strong role in defining
and clarifying the patterns of authority within the programs and
methods of financing social welfare programs. (See Table 3.) The
Court, however, has had limited impact on such issues as inadequate
benefits and inequities among the states. Given the restrictions
on legal challenges, changes in these areas may be beyond the
scope of the courtroom. It would appear that legislative action
on the federal and state level as well as administrative regulations
must be relied upon to address these concerns. Application of
the Gilbert and Specht framework points up the limitations of
case law and litigation as vehicles for changing social welfare
programs and policies. The framework is limited, however, in
its inattention to the methods by which policies and programs
are implemented, particularly in light of due process and equal
protection concerns.

The framework's utility in the analysis of court cases rests on its
ability to place court decisions within the perspective of the plau-
sible alternatives to social welfare policies and programs. Applying
the framework to court decisions readily identifies the areas in
which those decisions have influence as well as the boundaries
of those decisions. In addition, application of the framework
clarifies the possible implications of those decisions for
current programs and policies. The framework may also be used
to identify current concerns which may be amenable to change through litigation. In a complementary fashion, the framework delineates those areas in which social action or advocacy may be a more appropriate strategy in attempting to bring about change in social welfare programs and policies.

REFERENCES


### TABLE 1

Dimensions of Social Welfare Policies and Programs and Their Components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basis of Social Allocation</td>
<td>Universal v. Selective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Effectiveness v. Cost Effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incentives to work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incentives to procreate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stigmatization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional v. Residual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allocative Principles</td>
<td>Attributed need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diagnostic differentiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Means tested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Social Provisions</td>
<td>Cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In-kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Credits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values: Social control v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consumer sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Variable of Poverty Theories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resource deficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individual deficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional deficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of Delivery System</td>
<td>Patterns of authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roles and status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Substantive composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode of Financing</td>
<td>Source of funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System of transfer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constitutional Issue</th>
<th>Court Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctrine of Preemption</td>
<td>New York Department of Social Services v. Dublino (1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathews v. Eldridge (1976)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roberts v. Harder (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wyman v. James (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Protection</td>
<td>Dandridge v. Williams (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jefferson v. Hackney (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lindsay v. Wyman (1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shapiro v. Thompson (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interstate Commerce</td>
<td>The People of California v. Edwards (1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States' Powers</td>
<td>Engleman v. Amos (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helvering v. Davis (1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massachusetts v. Mellon (1923)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steward Machine v. Davis (1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supremacy</td>
<td>King v. Smith (1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosado v. Wyman (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shapiro v. Thompson (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Townsend v. Swank (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Search</td>
<td>Parrish v. Civil Service Commission (1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>Court Cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basis of Social Allocation</strong></td>
<td>King v. Smith (1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mathews v. Eldridge (1976)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York Department of Social Services v. Dulbino (1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The People of California v. Edwards (1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shapiro v. Thompson (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roberts v. Harder (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure of Delivery System</strong></td>
<td>Dandridge v. Williams (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jefferson v. Hackney (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King v. Smith (1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massachusetts v. Mellon (1923)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New York Department of Social Services v. Dulbino (1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parrish v. Civil Service Commission (1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The People of California v. Edwards (1941)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosado v. Wyman (1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shapiro v. Thompson (1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Townsend v. Swank (1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mode of Financing</strong></td>
<td>Helvering v. Davis (1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lindsay v. Wyman (1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massachusetts v. Mellon (1923)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steward Machine Co. v. Davis (1937)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE COORDINATION DIMENSIONS SCALE:
A TOOL TO ASSESS INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Stanley Blostein, Ed.D., MSSW
The Ohio State University
College of Social Work
1947 College Road
Columbus, Ohio 43210

ABSTRACT

This article describes a tool—the Coordination Dimensions Scale (CDS)—for use by human service organizations in assessing the viability of a coordinated relationship. A working definition of coordination is presented, followed by a description of the components of coordination: types, structural forms, medium, and auspices. Based on this framework, the writer presents fifteen Dimensions of coordination, each of which is placed on a scale—the total is the CDS Score—which can be used to provide structure to the decision-making process. Suggestions are made for use of the CDS in assessing an existing or proposed coordinated relationship.

Human service organizations are increasingly faced with an environment in which resources are decreasing, as demands for services increase. It appears that this trend will continue for the intermediate-range future, and, at best, may stabilize within a decade, but will probably not return to a period of expansion in the human services, as was seen in the 1960s. This trend is coupled with a general agreement among professionals in the human service field that, in order to provide needed services to individuals and families, there is a need to coordinate the array of public and private organizations that deliver services. From the days of the Charity Organization Societies in the late 19th century, through recent efforts at "services integration" at the state level, there is recognition of the necessity for independent organizations to jointly provide the range of services that are needed by many individuals in the society, e.g., health, mental health, corrections, public welfare, employment services, etc.

For the most part, administrators in the human services, faced with this need to establish relationships with other organizations, frequently make decisions based on little or no data. Yet, an extensive amount of research (cited throughout this article) has been conducted on interorganizational relationships. It has, however, not been organized in a framework that is useful as a tool for the administrator concerned with the operational problems in an organization. In order to make the most effective and efficient use of diminishing resources, the administrator needs a means of organizing relevant data on which
to base decisions regarding whether or not to enter into an interorganizational relationship with one or more specified organizations, and, secondly, whether or not previously established relationships can, or should be maintained.

This article proposes a tool that is a decision-making model for use by human service organizations, and is derived from the findings that have come from the work of a number of researchers. This tool—the Coordination Dimensions Scale (CDS)—is not intended as an end product, but is proposed as a way of organizing one's thinking in the decision-making process. It is intended as a means of assisting an organization to identify the key variables in a given situation, and to then make some assessment of each of these variables. The framework on which the CDS is constructed includes a Definition of Coordination, and the Components of Coordination: types, structural forms, the medium, and the auspices. Based on this, the Dimensions that comprise the CDS are identified, with recommendations for use of the CDS in the assessment of existing or proposed relationships.

The CDS has been used by a number of administrators to assess current interorganizational relationships in which their organizations are engaged. It was employed in a variety of settings, including a health facility, a mental health center, a state correctional facility, a county-wide planning agency in mental health, a United Way agency, a university, a child care agency, and a county department of public welfare, among others. There was general agreement that the CDS performed the major functions for which it was designed: (1) it provides a framework for the administrator to identify data on which to focus attention, as well as data which is not relevant to this decision, and (2) it provides a means of assessing which of the Dimensions require attention in order to facilitate the relationship.

Definition of Coordination

An administrator of a large human service organization, when asked how he assessed the level of coordination between his organization and those with which they interacted, responded, "When they're doing what I want them to do, then we're coordinated!" While this may be a somewhat simplified—not to mention cynical—notation of what coordination is, it nevertheless highlights a crucial element of the concept—coordination is often in the eye of the beholder! For the purposes of this discussion, certain assumptions about coordination are made which, taken together, form an operational definition of coordination.

1. Coordination is one form of interorganizational relations (IOR). Other forms will not be addressed, nor will this discussion address intraorganizational coordination.

2. Organizations need to obtain resources—money, personnel, support and recognition, clients,* information—and entering into an IOR is often seen as a means of obtaining resources needed to achieve the organization's goals.

*The term "client" will be used throughout this discussion to specify the recipient, or consumer, of services.
3. Organizations need to control--to the greatest extent possible--the environment, and coordination is a means of gaining control over uncertain environmental conditions (Whetten, 1981).

4. Efforts at coordination among two or more organizations occurs when (a) the organizations perceive mutual benefits or gains from interacting (a symmetrical exchange relationship), or (b) when one party is motivated to establish a relationship and the other(s) are not. In this latter instance, the relationship forms when the motivated party is powerful enough to force the other(s) to interact (Schmidt, 1977). This is termed a power-dependency relationship, and may occur through employing the power of the motivated organization, or by gaining access to power of an organization outside the immediate linkage (generally known as using "clout").

5. Few, if any, interorganizational relationships are either purely symmetrical or power-dependent. Between two organizations, they tend to vary from issue to issue, and among a number of organizations, a range of relationships may be found.

6. Commonly held propositions in the human services field are: coordination is good; lack of coordination is bad. The more coordination the better. These propositions are not necessarily so. Coordination has a price, and should be assessed in a cost/benefit context.

7. Finally, as described by Hall, et al. (1977), "Consumers or clients of organizations are usually served, processed, changed, or harassed not by a single organization, but by a number of related organizations." This is most abundantly true in those areas of service to population groups that range across problem areas and human needs, and this is particularly so if the choice is made to attempt an integrated or "continuity of care" approach to service delivery. In these circumstances, coordination is strongly advocated, if not mandated.

The bulk of the literature on coordination as a form of IOR stems from the writing of Levine and White (1961) who formulated the concept of coordination as "organizational exchange," and focused on voluntary coordination (see also Litwak and Hilton, 1962; Hasenfeld, 1972). Another major theoretical perspective focuses on power relationships and mandated (either by law or by administrative regulation) coordination (March and Simon, 1958; Aldrich, 1976). As can be seen in the assumptions stated above, the writer utilizes portions of both major constructs in attempting to present a model for analyzing IOR. The dimensions described later reflect this approach.

Components of Coordination

The following components each describe an element that is intrinsic to the process of coordination, or that shapes the relationship, and which together form the basis for the dimensions described later in this article. The components are the Types of Coordination, the Structural Forms of Coordination, the Medium for Coordination, and the Auspices for Coordination.
Types* of Coordination

1. Dyadic Linkages
   This describes a situation where two organizations find it mutually beneficial to collaborate to achieve a common goal. This might involve, for example, two organizations jointly purchasing a vehicle and sharing overhead costs, thus decreasing the cost for each. Another example might be a mental health center providing space for a counselor from vocational rehabilitation to meet with clients who are referred to the center for mental health services. In general, this form of coordination requires a minimum commitment of organizational resources, tends to be less formal and, therefore, more difficult to maintain (Aldrich and Whetten, 1981).

2. Organization Set
   This refers to the total system of linkages established by an organization, and is composed around a focal organization. The primary issues related to the notion of an organization set are (a) what factors affect the size and composition of the set, and (b) how does the focal organization cope with the conflicting demands of the other organizations in the set. A significant portion of the decision to view a system of interorganizational relationships as an organization set comes from the perspective of the analyst, i.e., whether the analyst chooses to view the system from the perspective of a focal organization, or as a system of interacting organizations attempting to achieve a specific purpose. An illustration might be a community mental health board serving a geographic area and its IOR. If perceived from the perspective of the board, it is an organization set; if perceived as a coalition of organizations working together to provide specified services, it could be an action set, a type described next.

3. Action Set
   This form of IOR is a network with a specific purpose. The factors which determine whether an action set will be able to achieve coordinated behavior are (a) the number of organizations in the set; (b) the extent to which a single powerful organization assumes a leadership role, e.g., the largest university in a state system of higher education; (c) similarity in values (operational) and attitudes among the members; and (d) the influence of the behavior of related action sets. An illustration of an effective action set is the efforts of the drug industry in state and national lobbying efforts.

4. Networks
   A network is all the interactions among organizations in a population, regardless of how the population is divided into dyads, organization sets, and action sets. Networks are seen as "loosely coupled" (Whetten, 1981) subsystems; the subsystems themselves, however, are densely coupled. An illustration of a network would be all the organizations that are related to the elderly in a state; one subsystem is composed of state agencies.

*This typology is taken from Whetten (1981).
A central element in the concept of networks is the role of "linking pin" organizations. These organizations have ties to more than one action set and, by virtue of this fact, play a key role in integrating the network. The linking pin organization serves as a channel of communication between organizations, and provides services that link third parties to one another through the transfer of resources.

Structural Forms of Coordination

This section will look at the component of coordination that describes the structures in which the process of coordination occurs. The typology used is that developed by a number of authors (see, among others, Warren, 1967; Lindblom, 1965; Clark, 1965), and describes three forms of coordinating structures: Mutual Adjustment, Alliance, and Corporate. These three forms vary in terms of intensity, nature of power utilized, formalization, and the scope of activities involved. They range from mutual adjustment, as the weakest, to corporate, as the strongest. Weakness and strength, in this case, referring to degree of control, resources committed, and breadth and formalization of activity.

1. Mutual Adjustment
   This form develops between organizations that have few shared goals, and coordination tends to focus on specific cases. Staff involved are usually at the supervisory level, rather than at the highest levels, and rules tend to be developed ad hoc in the process of interaction. This form often involves individuals whose concern is the day-to-day activity of the organization, who interact with counterparts in other organizations as the need arises. Mutual adjustment achieves the narrowest range of benefits and requires the fewest costs.

2. Alliance
   This form of coordination is at an intermediate level between mutual adjustment and corporate. The attempt is to coordinate autonomous organizations through the use of negotiation, and without the authority of any formal hierarchy. It includes a number of arrangements, including federations, councils, and coalitions. One of the primary considerations in this form is whether or not a central administrative unit with staff is formed for the purpose of developing programs and administering day-to-day operations, as delegated by the member organizations. These staff can act as third party mediators and, in their absence, coordination is much more difficult to achieve.

3. Corporate
   The most distinctive characteristic of this form is that coordination occurs under the umbrella of a formal authority structure. Activities are divided among organizations on the basis of specialized work, but all organizations work toward the goals of the interorganizational system. An example of this type of structure is the departments within a state government. The objective of this structure is to closely approximate a single multi-unit organization. Needless to say, this approach is generally resisted by participating organizations, and results in an ongoing tension between, on the one hand, loyalty to the overall interorganizational system, and, on the other, commitment to the autonomy of the individual organization.
The Medium for Coordination

In bacteriology, the term "medium" refers to the nutrient that serves to cultivate micro-organisms; in art, the term applies to the material in which pigments are mixed to produce the working tool for the artist. In considering coordination, this notion of "medium" has relevance, as well. It refers to the factors that play a part in the decision by an organization as to whether or not it will enter into a coordinated relationship with other organizations.

In every interorganizational agreement there are costs and benefits (and these may be perceived differently by different individuals or groups). In general, the benefit is the increased access to some resource controlled by other organizations. The cost is resources committed, including the cost in terms of decreased autonomy, since each agreement with another organization limits the choices that can be made by an administrator in any given situation. Thus, an administrator must perceive that, in any situation involving an agreement for coordination, the benefits exceed the costs, or the administrator must perceive that, in the totality of the organization's agreements, the total benefits exceed the total costs.

Auspices for Coordination

A number of researchers have addressed the issue of the auspices for coordination (for example, see Schmidt and Kochan, 1977; Schermerhorn, 1975; Akinbode and Clark, 1976; Rogers and Glick, 1973; Whetten and Aldrich, 1979) and a general finding is that there exists certain critical preconditions for coordination to develop and thrive. A basic precondition that requires further elaboration is whether the coordination is voluntary or mandated.

The conditions for voluntary coordination (Whetten, 1981) are as follows:

1. There is a strong, positive attitude toward coordination, supported by professional staff and organizational reinforcement for engaging in coordinating activities;
2. There is a clearly recognized need for coordination, with the organization having broad goals, and a wide range of services and clients;
3. There is an awareness of potential organizations with which to establish IOR. This often occurs through informal contacts, as well as formal communications;
4. Potential associations are seen as being with compatible and desirable organizations and, in general, the organizations are seen as complementary;
5. Finally, the organizations possess the resources and internal structure necessary to maintain the coordination process.

We will now turn to a discussion of the conditions for mandated coordination, noting that while some of the conditions discussed above continue to operate, the relative strengths are different, and there is a shift in the nature of the conditions.
1. There must be an awareness of the mandate by staff, with a full understanding of the need for the relationship. While a positive attitude is no longer as crucial (at least, this is what is demonstrated by the research to date), it would appear, from the past experience of the writer when practicing as an administrator, to be in the best interests of the organization to at least have staff in a neutral, if not a positive position as regards the IOR.

2. Assessment of organizations as being compatible and desirable continue to operate as a strong factor; it is important that organizations in an IOR have roughly equal status.

3. The organization should have a common perception of the problem to be solved and have a professional ideology.

4. The organization should not pose threats to others involved in the IOR with respect to domain claims, and should have organizational structures and procedures which are compatible.

Perhaps an illustration will serve to place these last two conditions more sharply in focus. As is often the case, there exist a number of examples that demonstrate coordination not working, and one of these is the effort, in some locations, to coordinate activities of mental health programs with those of law enforcement programs. Using some of the points discussed above, the discrepancies become evident, e.g., both the mental health center and the police want to reduce drug abuse (compatible stated goals), but the primary technology employed by the police is incarceration, while the mental health center primarily employs "treatment" (non-compatible technologies), thus, each demonstrates a different perception of the problem to be solved.

5. The final condition for mandated coordination is the existence of a capacity by the organizations to maintain the linkage. Breakdowns in the IOR can occur because, for example, one or more of the organizations suffer a cutback in resources; staff are overloaded with internal administrative responsibilities (the IOR may, in fact, not be as valued as certain internal activities); staff are not technically capable of maintaining the IOR; or there are inadequate internal or interorganizational communication channels.

If these conditions are not adequately met, and an organization is mandated to establish large numbers of interorganizational linkages (as are most human service agencies), staff tend to subvert the coordination process, and research shows (Whetten, 1977) that mandated coordination under these circumstances creates a negative attitude among staff that impedes the overall effectiveness of the organization, as well as sabotaging the effort at coordination.
The Coordination Dimensions Scale (CDS)

The following dimensions of coordination (see Figure 1) are based on the preceding discussion, and reflect the key variables that the writer suggests are determinants of (1) the likelihood that coordination can develop, and be maintained, and (2) the quality or effectiveness of that coordination. Further, the dimensions can assist in determining the form of coordination that appears the most feasible under the circumstances. The CDS should be used to suggest directions and possible alternatives, by eliminating other less desirable alternatives. It will not replace sound administrative problem-solving and decision-making activities,* but will provide an organizing framework for those activities.

It is imperative that completion of the CDS be by individuals thoroughly knowledgeable of the formal and informal policies, procedures, and politics of the organizations under review, or by someone who will be given access to this knowledge. If a questionnaire is utilized, it should be completed by individuals able and willing to provide the required information. The information is then used to complete the CDS (an example of a questionnaire is available from the writer).

The dimensions each are presented on a continuum of one (low) to seven (high), with the low end of the continuum (one) suggesting that coordination is unlikely, and the high end (seven) suggesting coordination is likely. When the CDS is used to assess an existing IOR, the low end (one) suggests a low level of effectiveness, and the high end (seven) suggests a high level of effectiveness. Low assessments on specific dimensions can be used to pinpoint problem areas. The numbers assigned to each end of a continuum are to informally provide a framework to each Dimension, and should be considered as such rather than as a true scale with discrete points. It is intended as a means of introducing some degree of structure to what is, for the most part, an unstructured process.

Procedurally, the steps are:

1. Assess the existing or proposed IOR on each of the 14 Dimensions. This provides an overall assessment, in terms of the "score," as well as an identification of particularly weak or strong individual Dimensions;

2. Clarify whether the Auspices, i.e., the initiative for the IOR, is Voluntary or Mandated;

3. Based on the preceding determinations, identify the preferred Structural Form.

---

*The writer is reminded of the sage advice of a friend and former colleague, who was an experienced and successful handicapper of thoroughbred racehorses: "While you may not be able to pick the winner of a race, good handicapping can eliminate a lot of the losers!" This would appear a sound approach for any decision-making process.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Continuum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Operational Goals</td>
<td>Incongruent - Congruent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Technology/Values of Decision-Makers</td>
<td>Incongruent - Congruent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Domain (Clients)</td>
<td>Low Agreement - High Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Competitive - Symbiotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Availability of Resources in Environment</td>
<td>Inadequate - Exceed Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Awareness of and Linkage to Alternate</td>
<td>Many Alternate - No Alternate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sources of Resources</td>
<td>Resources - Resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Amount of Resources Invested</td>
<td>Large - Small Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benefits Accrued</td>
<td>Small Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency of Interaction Required</th>
<th>Large Number</th>
<th>Small Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Formal Structure</th>
<th>Relationship and Procedures</th>
<th>Relationship Formal and Procedures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Resource Needs</th>
<th>Conflictual</th>
<th>Complementary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Awareness &amp; Understanding of Agreements by Staff</th>
<th>Complete</th>
<th>Rejection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perceived Status</th>
<th>Unequal</th>
<th>Equal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ability to Maintain Coordination</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initiative (auspices) for Coordination:* (see use in Figure 2)

V- Voluntary, initiated by Participating Organizations

M- Mandated by Higher Level in Vertical System

ML- Mandated by Law/Regulation, and Perceived as Affecting Both (All) Participating Organizations by the Organizations Themselves.

*This item is not placed on a continuum, as are the preceding dimensions, since the initiative, or auspices, for coordination influences the structure and the medium, but is not an indicator, in itself, of the likelihood of coordination existing or not.
Figure 2 is used to illustrate how the analysis of an existing IOR, or a proposed IOR, obtained from the use of the CDS, and depicted as a CDS Score,* can be used in conjunction with the initiative for the relationship, to identify a preferred structural form. For example, two organizations, with assessments at the high end on the 14 dimensions, suggests a high probability of developing and maintaining an IOR. If the initiative is voluntary, the most appropriate structural form would be an alliance, probably a coalition. In the event of a larger number or organizations, the structural form would likely be a federation with staff. At the lower end of the dimensions are organizations that score less than 42 (1-3) and which are highly unlikely to attempt a voluntary IOR. If mandated, it is likely not to succeed for a variety of reasons reflected in the Dimensions Score. This relationship, between the position on the continua of each Dimension, presented as a total in the CDS, and the Auspices and, ultimately, a Preferred Structural form, is depicted in Figure 3.

A final point that should be noted is that the corporate structural form is preferred in all instances where the initiative for coordination is mandated by a higher level in the vertical system. This is true as well when coordination is both mandated by law and perceived as having an equal impact on the participating organizations. The exception to this latter point is when the Dimensions Score is low, indicating some serious question about the ability to maintain an IOR. In this instance, mutual adjustment is suggested as the structural form, since it is the least intense form of coordination and the least demanding.

Discussion

This article describes a decision-making model to begin to provide some structure to what has been essentially an unstructured process. It encourages coordination under specified conditions; but, some additional observations are required. If one perceives coordination as involving costs as well as benefits, rather than viewing it as a fundamental good toward which to strive, then it is incumbent to be aware of some of those costs.

1. Coordination, as does any IOR, has a cost in terms of decreased organizational autonomy as well as those costs in committed resources. As the total costs increase, organizations are more hesitant to enter into IOR's. It should be recognized that this reduction in organizational autonomy has an impact on the structure of the organization (Paulson, 1977). This in turn impacts the functioning of the organization, and its ability to deal with problems. Organizations will not enter into agreements unless it is felt the benefits will outweigh the total costs.

2. It is not as useful as it might be to view IOR's only in a one-dimensional context, e.g., horizontally, but not vertically. Horizontal coordination relationships affect vertical intraorganizational relationships (Mathiesen, 1971) as well as vertical IOR's. The addition of these further dimensions is a needed next step.

*These scores, at this point, are suggestive, and are open to modifications, particularly in the mid-ranges (42-83). The end-points, however, are reasonably firm as they are derived from the extensive research cited throughout this article. In general, the CDS should be seen as more a topographic map depicting broad characteristics of the terrain, rather than a road map showing details of the route to follow.
Figure 2
Preferred Structural Form Based on CDS Score
And Initiative for Coordination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CDS Score</th>
<th>Initiative (Auspices)</th>
<th>Preferred Structural Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84+</td>
<td>M-ML</td>
<td>Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-83</td>
<td>M-ML</td>
<td>Mutual Adjustment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42-75</td>
<td>V-ML</td>
<td>Mutual Adjustment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 42</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Corporate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coordination unlikely to develop voluntarily or be maintained if mandated
Figure 3
Relationship Of Individual Dimensions And CDS Score To Auspices And Preferred Structural Form Of An IOR

Dimensions Continua Individual & Total | Relative CDS Position | Auspices (Initiative) For IOR* | Preferred Structural Form
--- | --- | --- | ---
1 | High | M/ML | Alliance
2 | Upper Mid-Range | V | Corporate
3 | M/ML | Mutual Adjustment
4 | Upper Mid-Range | V | Corporate
5 | Lower Mid-Range | M/ML | Mutual Adjustment
6 | Low | V/M/ML | Coordination Unlikely
7 | Total Score |

*V-Voluntary
M-Mandated
ML-Mandated by law
3. The more closely integrated a system of organizations, the less able it is to adapt, since a change experienced by one organization is felt by all organizations, and requires a complex response.

4. Extensive coordination may reduce the quality of services provided by the network as a whole (Warren et al., 1974). Coordination tends to reinforce the status quo and reduces useful duplication among services. (With the current situation of diminishing resources, the issue of duplication as a useful device to encourage innovation becomes less likely, but is still a valid consideration.)

5. Any severe lack of domain consensus, i.e., those dimensions addressed by 2 and 3 on the CDS (clients served, types of services, manner of providing services), is particularly likely to make coordination difficult, if not impossible. This suggests the need to begin to determine relative weights of the dimensions.

6. In the current environment of scarcity in the human services, it is highly unlikely that organizations will be willing to risk their scarce resources; the environment is seen in zero-sum terms. When they are willing, they will probably require a larger pay-off in relation to risk. In addition, these harsh circumstances cause organizations to be much more protective of their domain.

While it is clear that the tool suggested, the Coordination Dimensions Scale, is in a preliminary stage, it is derived, nevertheless, from a firm foundation of research. The degree of its utility can only be determined by using it to assist in the decision-making process associated with considering and entering into coordinated relationships, or assessing existing relationships. This use also will serve to refine the Scale, particularly in those Dimensions that now can only be assessed in the broadest of terms. As a tool, it can never replace that factor that determines how and when to use it—the judgment of involved and knowledgeable individuals. At best it can serve, however, as a guide for that judgment.

References


THE NON-ORTHODOX CANCER THERAPY MOVEMENT:
EMERGENT ORGANIZATION IN HEALTH CARE CRISIS

Joseph Behar
Dowling College
Oakdale, New York

ABSTRACT

The ideology and organization of the non-orthodox cancer therapy movement are analyzed as social constructions in an area of professional ambiguity and failure. The movement articulates, integrates, and orders the personally and socially disabling consequences of health care failure in cancer. The protest activities of the movement are characterized by political opposition to medical "orthodoxy" and "monopoly." The challenges of the non-orthodox movement are generally ineffective, non-legitimated, or coopted. Yet, in providing conceptual and organizational frames for the disordering consequences of medical failure and in establishing a politically polarized deviant position in relation to conventional practice, this movement socially organizes and isolates various problems in cancer health care that threaten the institutional dominance of professional medicine. The emergence of this movement is discussed as an illustration of the social organization and management of crisis.

Medical Crisis and the Alternatives to Disorder

Today, in the United States, cancer is the second leading disease killer. Over 1,000 people die of cancer each day, and statistics indicate that the number of fatalities increases each year (Cairns, 1975). Cancer occurs in two out of every three families, one out of every four individuals, and kills one out of every six (American Cancer Society, 1976a). A review of recent developments in the "war on cancer" reports that "not only have there been none of the breakthroughs we're always promised, but...there really has been little if any progress in cancer treatments since the mid 1950s" (Von Hoffman, 1975). As the fundamental questions of the origins and pathology of cancer remain unanswered or disputed, social policy is deficient in the development of effective and comprehensive programs for the prevention, control or cure of cancer. On the individual and family level, medical interventions frequently fail to "cure" patients, lead to terminal prognoses, and may compound the fear, hopelessness, and anxiety associated with cancer. Sociologically, the disorientation and dissidence arising from the unresolved problems of cancer threaten basic values, behavioral norms, and institutional conceptions of order (Douglas, 1970; Kleinman, 1978). As the consequences of cancer are personally disruptive and socially disordered, the emergence of conceptual and institutional re-orderings alternative to the perceived failures of conventional medicine is basic to the development of the non-orthodox cancer therapy movement.
The non-orthodox cancer therapy movement, of which Laetrile advocacy is only a single popularized example, involves lay individuals, maverick scientists, marginal practitioners, and non-professional "health" organizations. In protesting the inadequacies of conventional medical approaches to cancer, the movement seeks to promote, distribute, and legalize unproven and unrecognized cancer treatments in direct opposition to the licensing and modality restrictions fundamental to the institutional dominance of the medical profession. Materials for the ideological and organizational analysis of this movement are derived from participant observation in several associations advocating and implementing the principles of alternative cancer treatment. Supporting information was obtained from the journals of the American Medical Association and the American Cancer Society, related Federal and other documentary materials, and from personal interviews with organizers, advocates, patients, and practitioners active in developing or responding to the movement.

The major sociological principle involved in the analysis of the non-orthodox movement reflects Douglas's (1970) conception of the necessity for the social ordering of disease. On a patient level and under conditions of perceived medical failure, the movement provides an alternative system of beliefs and practices supporting personal re-integration. On a social level, the movement as a counter-institutional formation organizes protest resulting from exposed inadequacies in the professional and political management of cancer. Significantly, health care insurgency, potentially involving mass disaffiliation and political revolt, is contained and limited by the movement's emphasis on unapproved, illegitimate therapies. Social protest developing from the cancer crisis is disconnected from political mobilization for institutional change and is channeled into advocacies for questionable "victim" centered therapies. In effect, the non-orthodox movement, with its promotional treatment interest and its ideological insularity, develops few if any significant changes in the social organization of cancer on the national level, and, more importantly, sustains disidence in politically ineffective and discredited deviant polarizations subordinate to professional medical authority.

Overall, we observe how the unstructured consequences of social crisis in an area of professional dominance are managed and politically neutralized. Threatening dissent and other divergent discontinuities of the cancer crisis are channeled, tracked, and regulated by the non-orthodox movement in politically marginal contexts subordinate to the dominant power structures. With disorder and dissent organized and isolated in a repressed and repressive social movement, disruptive conflict and contradiction in the professional and institutional management of cancer is contained and reduced.

The Ideological Order of the Non-Orthodox Cancer Therapy Movement: Personal Re-integration and Social Pathology

Given the confusion, mystery, and fear often associated with cancer (Sontag, 1978) and the apparent hopelessness in many cases, cancer patients become especially vulnerable to fringe practitioners and non-orthodox approaches that promise to meet needs left wanting
by conventional medicine. Patients "terminated" by the medical profession, or otherwise "turned off," turn to fringe practitioners hoping not only for cures as "sun-worshippers" (Cobb, 1958), but also for the emotional and social support provided by these practitioners and the organizations which may represent them (Bernard, 1963; Garland, 1961 Inglis, 1965; Whitehurst, 1974).

While a list of over 200 unrecognized, unapproved cancer therapies that are reported to "work" may be compiled (Brown, 1968), only a dozen or so of these methods are prominent or accessible. The various fringe methods and health sects constitute a broad spectrum of alternative approaches and practices, and differ considerably in style, content, and orientation. Many are characterized by underground, deviant social contexts, while others are remote hold-overs from folk and traditional medicine, and still others involve eclectic combinations of innovative and "scientific" rationales. Non-orthodoxy in cancer includes nutritionists grounded in materialist and natural rationales, chiropractors, acupuncturists, Laetrilists, as well as faith healers, spirituallasts, psychics, and the metaphysicians of various energy systems.

To the novice, the pluralism of the diverse methods and claims is often confusing and ambiguous. For cancer patients and families experiencing the stress of terminal prognosis, introduction to non-orthodoxy may be initially quite confusing. Each method, however, in encompassing a knowledge system that re-orders and re-orients the personal and social calamities of cancer, can be "explained" technically and metaphorically. Indications include specific references to rationales, applications, and alleged rates of success. These knowledge systems embody a variety of clinical, social, and political articulations and develop a world of meanings that constitute significant ideological re-constructions of reality which serve ultimately to root and organize patients and families in altered personal relations and in movement activities (Behar, 1976).

The vacuum of effective scientific knowledge and medical practice has made possible, and perhaps necessary, the development of alternative explanations and interpretations of cancer (Petersen and Markle, 1979b). In the non-orthodox movement, "theories" of cancer engage alternative paradigms of the nature of disease and its relation to the social order. Cancer is projected, identified, and resolved ideologically as a social pathology or "social disease." Douglas's (1970) observation of the necessity for the social meaningfulness of disease is applicable to the efforts of the non-orthodox movement to ideologically transform cancer from disease to social theory. Political de-legitimation of the movement and the consequent "deviancy" of its members involves therefore not only medical rejection of alleged clinical quackery, but reflects attempts by established power structures to repress and discredit the movement's incompatible and conflicting world views.

Initially, this ideology characterizes and rejects the American Medical Association, the Federal Food and Drug Administration, and most cancer research as an established cartel, fundamentally exploitative of the "cancer industry." Conventional practice is viewed as an enormously ineffective "rip off" of the uneducated and naive public. Despite substan-
tial failure, physicians allegedly work to maintain the *status quo* in cancer treatment because of vested interests in the "industry." Surgery is viewed as destructive "cutting" and "butchery"; chemotherapy as "poisoning"; radiation therapy as "burning." Indeed, in this conspiratorial perspective, most physicians are viewed as incompetent, licensed "quacks," and the A.M.A. as a totally corrupt organization protecting elite privileges and lucrative mystifications (Brown, 1968; Caum; Haines, 1976; Hoffman; IACVF, 1971; Kittler, 1963; Lowrey, 1971; Morris, 1977; Rorvik, 1976). On the other hand, "non-toxic" therapies such as Laetrile, Hoxsey, Krebiozen, and various other methods are actively promoted and demanded.

In relation to a world view of the social order, proponents in the movement define cancer as a "social disease" or as a "disease of civilization." Primitive, undeveloped societies are presented as cancer free such that the "real" causes of cancer are to be found in the economic and industrial processes of modern society. The environment of the "advanced" world is viewed as thoroughly polluted: carcinogens exist in the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink, and contaminate most areas of everyday life. The "natural" world, subject to industrial pollution, unrestrained economic exploitation, and political corruption, is thus conceived as a destructive, pathological environment with cancer as its most characteristic product.

In its most intense negative formulations, the non-orthodox ideology reflects a general consciousness of "cultural despair." Critical assessments of the cancer "epidemic" are related to (1) the moral confusion of contemporary society, (2) the debasement of traditional institutions, (3) the diminishment of human freedom by bureaucratic systems of collective control, (4) the destructiveness of governmental and industrial priorities, and, of course, (5) the deterioration of natural, health securing environments. Reduced to its simplest terms, the non-orthodox ideology focuses on the alienation, anomie, and alleged illegitimacy of the major institutional "establishments" of contemporary society. This ideological radicalism is effective in solidifying a meaningful and coherent re-articulation of cancer in relation to personal victimization through social pathology.

While cancer is portrayed as a "social disease," and it is alleged that technological industrialization and political corruption determine the cancer complex, therapeutic responses are geared to the promotion of questionable and generally ineffective patient-centered bio-chemical approaches. The individual patient is isolated for therapy, specifically implored to "de-pollute" or "de-toxify" bodily impurities, and to refuse "toxic" therapy as unnatural, destructive, and immuno-suppressive. Sociological diagnoses and "theories" function as ideological abstractions in the movement, while practical applications center on individual and subjective life-style adaptations, especially patient-centered commodity consumption.

Beyond therapeutic individualism, the non-orthodox movement idealizes resolutions to the cancer complex is the social imagery of a reformist "return to nature." This somewhat nostalgic and mythical appeal to recapture the alleged innocence, purity, and vitality of traditional, communal society is as consequential politically as it
is realistic. While advocates certainly cannot return to the traditional folkways of a romanticized *gemeinschaft*, their adherence to organic, natural, vegetarian, and other unadulterated diets reflects a shadow-like attempt to reproduce the natural world through the imitation of "primitive" diets. Again, the healing practices are individually based and involve no political action.

In summary, publicly represented "theories" of cancer causation are most often commentaries on industrial chaos and political corruption. For those patients and families who need to condition their experience of pain and loss within a meaningful framework, a framework perhaps not available in the medical prognosis of terminal incurability, the phenomenal world of the non-orthodox therapies offers a context of rules, perspectives, values, and interpretations which may support a sense of integrated moral existence. More than "strawgrasping" for dubious clinical alternatives, patients, relatives, and friends become subject to sets of experiences and interpretations which help to authenticate their adjustments to personal calmety.

Politically, however, the ideologies of cancer therapy, couched in social generality and vague imagery, remain theoretically abstract and support no substantial movement mobilization. Socially engaging critiques become vehicles not for directed political transformation but rather for the promotion of alternative clinical practices. The potential of the movement for social change, as implied in expressed ideologies, is neutralized by an emphasis and almost exclusive pre-occupation with individual problems. Thus, without a central political praxis directed toward institutional change, and with a continuing official discrediting of its dubious clinical and ideological promotions, the non-orthodox cancer therapy movement resides in a nether world of marginality, illegitimacy, and institutional impotence.

**Movement Organization: Polarization and De-Legitimation**

Promotional activities of the non-orthodox movement are coordinated by national "health" organizations. Five major associations act to inform the public and the cancer patient of the "suppressed" truth about non-orthodox cancer therapies that "work." The organizations develop socially effective networks for the distribution of practices and beliefs that specify medical inadequacies in cancer therapy and identify accessible alternatives. In addition to claiming that conventional medical treatment is clinically iatrogenic within the context of broader ideological theories of cancer, these organizations support legislative initiatives to establish "Freedom of Choice" in cancer care such that patients and "doctors" be permitted to pursue whatever promising treatments they wish without interference from the government or medical profession.

The *International Association of Cancer Victims and Friends, Inc.* (IACVF) is one of the largest and oldest organizations involved in the promotion of Laetrile and other non-orthodox approaches to cancer. The organization reports a membership of approximately 20,000 and has 50 local regional chapters throughout the United States, Canada, and Australia. Income generated by membership is supplemented and substantially
increased by the extensive sale of publications, convention activities, advertising, private donations, and foundation grants. In "Suburbia," a local chapter of the IACVF, with approximately 400 members, provides cancer patients, relatives, and other health minded individuals with information and directives about cancer specifically regarded as fraudulent "quackery" by the medical profession. Other major organizations in the movement are: The Committee for Freedom of Choice in Cancer Therapy, The Cancer Control Society, The Foundation for Alternative Cancer Therapies, and The National Health Federation.

Leaders and other volunteers in the IACVF and its sister organizations claim to have had cancer that they were able to "cure" or "control" through the use of one or more of the non-orthodox therapies. Many ex-"terminal" patients give powerful dramatic testimony to the efficacy of the non-orthodox methods and the vileness and failures of A.M.A. endorsed medicine. On the local chapter level, cancer patients and relatives who attend a meeting of the IACVF are exposed to sets of incentives and opportunities for non-orthodox therapy that are uniquely optimistic, comprehensible, and emotionally and socially responsive and supportive. With political explanations given for the suppression of the methods within the context of the general ideology, many patients are convinced, may seek out alternative methods, and begin an initial yet deepening conversion to the non-orthodox way. Patients travel to Tijuana for therapy, smuggle contraband drugs across the border, convert to "natural" food regimens, conceal treatment information from their regular physicians, and use "illegal" methods locally. Publicly, the chapter functions to present "educational" lectures which are generally thinly veiled promotions. On another, more interactive level, the chapter creates a context for patient recruitment and for the informal yet persuasive sharing, directing, and controlling of information and practices about illegal or quite marginal medicine.

The Laetrile case is illustrative of movement organizational controls and the development of ideological and clinical promotions. The Laetrile "connection" includes many scientists, physicians, "doctors," distributors, political publicists, foundations, clinics, and "health" organizations in a complicated, international network of vested interests, controlling structures, ideological media bases, and "service" deliveries. The emergent "underground railroads" of the non-orthodox movement in developing the ideological and practical availability of Laetrile reach into a sundry assortment of "suppliers," "cancer victims," and "friends," and pass through numerous cities, states, and countries. It is estimated that in the United States alone, Laetrile has been used by over 70,000 individuals. For patients and others vulnerable to the promotions of non-orthodoxy, the organizing structures of the movement make accessible practical alternatives and provide integrated incentives for social conformity among recruits and advocates (Petersen and Markle, 1979a; Markle, et al., 1978).

Yet, non-orthodox organizations and underground networks are only marginally viable in an arena historically and politically dominated by the American Medical Association. In establishing its "orthodox" domain, professional medicine has systematically relegated interests
and practices it chooses not to represent or support to marginal, deviant, and "quackery" status (Kaufman, 1971; Shryock, 1947). The continuing de-legitimation of "alternative," "unproven," "unrecognized, and "non-orthodox" competitive health care practices, approaches, and "sects" is thus a well established political activity of the medical profession. Indeed, the American Medical Association's advancement as a professional organization parallels its capacity to discredit "unorthodox" methods, criminalize their practitioners, and generate belief in the singular legitimacy of allopathic health care.

In specific reference to the non-orthodox cancer therapy movement, the American Medical Association and the American Cancer Society have consistently been active and determined in denouncing the alleged fraudulent quackery of the IACVF, Laetrile and all other "unproven methods of cancer management." Reporting on the IACVF, the American Cancer Society (1976b) states:

This organization attacks medicine such as the American Medical Association, the American Cancer Society, the Food and Drug Administration and the National Cancer Institute for their orthodox approach to the management of cancer.

The IACVF is associated with an "underground railroad" whereby cancer patients from all over the United States are directed to Mexico for treatment with readily available worthless methods.

Similarly, the American Medical Association (Kotulak, 1975) indicates that among the most prevalent health frauds promoted today are:

**CANCER TREATMENTS**--As authorities put pressure on the phony cancer treatments, many are moved across the border to Mexico. These patients are offered Laetrile and other disproven treatments such as Krebiozen, the Hoxsey treatment, and the Koch treatment. The International Association of Cancer Victims and Friends has been set up to recruit frightened cancer patients from the U.S. and Canada to patronize the Mexican clinics. (emphasis added)

Additionally, movement organizations have been a target of state and federal actions typically involving border arrests, smuggling indictments, conspiracy trials, crackdowns on Laetrile operations, and suits of member physicians and doctors for non-licensed or illegal practice. One indictment of Laetrile traffic, peripherally involving the IACVF and directly involving leaders of the Committee for Freedom of Choice, consisted of 187 separate counts, 19 major conspirators, and dozens of unindicted co-conspirators (Holles, 1976). In effect, the non-orthodox movement is subject to intense medical discrediting and legal suppression.
Interestingly, in this social conflict, the medical profession, with its claims of unilateral, singular legitimacy and with its private practitioners entrenched in the orthodoxy of the profession, is not immune to criticism. Increasingly, conventional medicine is subject to the attacks of critics who report on the continuing failures of ineffective cancer therapy and an unresponsive delivery system. Organizations such as the IACVF, in developing and promoting a critical ideology of medical "monopoly," have capitalized on public and private disenchantment with the medical profession, and have succeeded in organizing patients, families, and legislators in non-orthodox orientations that most medical professionals, the American Medical Association, the National Cancer Institute, and the Federal Food and Drug Administration consider illegitimate and fraudulent.

Yet, in the medical profession's construction of a rationalized health system, it has achieved a powerful bureaucratic and ideological dominance that is only slightly modified by these external assaults and criticisms. The public order of medicine, to the extent that it is ideologically legitimated, bureaucratically maintained, legally protected, and technologically capitalized, is considerably unresponsive to the challenge of critics, especially when these critics are defined as opponents located in "deviant" non-orthodox health "sects." The IACVF and the non-orthodox cancer therapy movement effect very little fundamental change either legally, morally, or institutionally; their interests and practices remain eccentric, deviant, and fundamentally discredited.

Conclusion

The polarized structure of this social conflict is extremely indicative in analyzing the institutional management of health care crisis. The polarization maintains the external boundaries of professional medicine and yet allows for the internal cohesion of an alternative world view. Disorder, discontinuities, and dissidence arising from professional failure in cancer are organized, structured, and socially re-integrated by the ideological and organizational constructions of the non-orthodox movement. The medical profession is thus relieved of some of its potentially disruptive failures by a tracking system which is both outside of its legitimate area of responsibility and is made politically impotent by the continuing de-legitimation of the non-orthodox movement's alleged deviant quackery. The first consequence of the tracking is to provide a safety-valve for the outletting of dissidence, while the second consequence is to reduce the efficacy of external attempts for institutional change.

Additionally, while the non-orthodox movement suffers the fate of illegitimacy, deviancy, political eccentricity, scientific discreditation, and general institutional impotency, its emphasis on patient-centered, individual modalities and therapies distorts its perspective on genuine social alternatives. Radical challenges to the medical profession's organization of health care which might require a fuller investigation of the political economy of the cancer complex on a variety of ecological, social, and cultural levels are neutralized.
by the vague metaphors and abstractions of the ideological rhetoric. In exploiting individual victimization, the movement has opted for freedom of choice in commodity consumption and not for health care insurgency directed toward fundamental social change.

The dynamics of cancer management are a significant illustration of social ordering. Movements mobilized in times of crisis may serve to channel and track divergent discontinuities developing from perceived societal failures and, in effect, provide a social regulation. This regulation, appearing as a self-contained control system and occurring outside the limits of professional legitimacy, may be both internally repressive and externally repressed, and consequently consistent with the continuing dominance of elite power groups.

References

American Cancer Society.
1976a Cancer Facts and Figures.
New York: American Cancer Society.

1976b Unproven Methods of Cancer Management.
New York: American Cancer Society.

Behar, Joseph.
1976 Ideology and Protest in Cancer Therapy.
Ph.D.dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Bernard, Viola W.
1963 "Why people become the victims of quackery."
Proceedings of the Second National Congress on Medical Quackery.
Chicago: American Medical Association.

Brown, Arlin J.
1968 March of Truth on Cancer.

Cairns, John
1975 "The cancer problem."
Scientific American (November): 64-72.

Caum, Suzanne.
1975 Cancer Cures Crucified.
(publication n.a.).

Cobb, Beatrix.
1958 "Why do people detour to quacks?"
In E. Gartly Jaco (ed.), Patients, Physicians and Illness.


Markle, Gerald E. et al. 1978
"Notes from the cancer underground: Participation in the Laetrile movement."
Social Science and Medicine (12): 31-37.

Morris, Nat. 1977
The Cancer Blackout--Amended.
Los Angeles: Regent House.

Petersen, James C. and Gerald E. Markle. 1979a
"The Laetrile controversy."
Sage Publications.

1979b
"Politics and science in the Laetrile controversy,"

Rorvik, David. 1976
"A defense of unorthodoxy."

Shryock, R.H. 1947
The Development of Modern Medicine: An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Factors Involved.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Sontag, Susan. 1978
Illness as Metaphor.

Von Hoffman, Nicolas. 1975
"A cancer on the U.S."
New York Post (February 13).

Whitehurst, Carol. 1974
"The quack as healer: A study in doctor-patient interaction."
In Jerry Jacobs (ed.), Deviance: Field Studies and Self-Disclosures.
"THE USE OF TELEPHONE SURVEYS IN HUMAN SERVICE NEEDS ASSESSMENT -AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME?-"

Lawrence L. Martin
Arizona State University

ABSTRACT

This article explores the potential use of telephone surveys for the conduct of human service needs assessments. After reviewing relevant literature bearing on the subject of telephone surveys, a theoretical telephone survey human service needs assessment of Maricopa County, Arizona is compared with an actual human service needs assessment using the traditional personal survey approach. The results suggest that the two approaches produce similar findings at the aggregate data, or community, level but that the underrepresentation of certain target groups of interest to human service administrators (e.g. low-income and ethnic minorities) may cause disaggregation problems. Methodological techniques to deal with the underrepresentation of these target groups in telephone survey human service needs assessments are discussed. The article concludes by suggesting that the successful utilization of a telephone survey approach to human service needs assessment may ultimately turn more on political rather than methodological concerns.

It has been said that no planning function is more important than needs assessment (1). The identification of human service needs to be addressed through the allocation of resources and the provision of services is the key to the remaining planning tasks.

There are numerous approaches to needs assessment--service provider surveys, key informant surveys, review of secondary data, review of management information, and public hearings--to name just a few. But of all the possible approaches to needs assessment, the most valid is the general population survey (1,14). The general population survey's major advantage over other forms of needs assessment is that it is based upon a random sample of the general population and thus permits statistically valid inferences to be made about the incidence of human service needs in the population as a whole.

Historically, the preferred mode of implementation of a general population survey has been the face-to-face interview or what shall be referred to in this text as a personal survey. Increasingly, however, cost considerations and disappointing response rates have prompted many researchers to begin exploring the possibility of utilizing telephone surveys as a viable alternative approach to personal surveys (3,8,9,10,12). The cost per completed personal survey interview has been estimated to vary anywhere from $60 to $200 depending upon the geographical dispersion of the respondents and the type of organization, commercial or non-commercial,
conducting the research (10). Most human service agencies generally lack staff skilled in survey research techniques thus necessitating the retention of an outside organization. Consequently, a human services administrator desiring to conduct a human services needs assessment, using the personal survey approach with a sample size of 1,000, might well be facing out of pocket expenses of some $60,000 to $75,000 for a community survey and upwards of $200,000 for a statewide survey. While perhaps being somewhat overstated, it has nevertheless been suggested that by resorting to telephone survey techniques the costs of field work and sampling might be reduced by as much as 75 to 80 percent with significant overall cost savings (9). Regardless of the magnitude of cost savings, any cost savings would appear attractive to the human services administrator in this era of scarce resources.

The general phenomenon of declining response rates for personal surveys is also serving to enhance the credibility of telephone surveys as a viable alternative. At one time, telephone response rates of 50 to 60 percent were viewed as unacceptable by proponents and practitioners of the personal survey approach. But some recent studies have reported that response rates for personal surveys in metropolitan areas have likewise declined to levels close to 50 percent (8). Given the perceived cost advantage of telephone surveys combined with the possibility that response rates might be as good as those of personal surveys, the increasing attractiveness of telephone surveys is understandable.

Telephone survey techniques have also succeeded over the past several years in overcoming many of the criticisms that were previously levied against the approach, thus enhancing its general acceptance. For example, as demonstrable evidence of the increasing acceptability of telephone surveys within the social science disciplines, one can compare the first and second editions of Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar's Survey Research. The first edition (1963) warned researchers against resorting to telephone surveys while the second edition (1981) devotes equal time to telephone surveys together with personal and mail surveys.

The change in perspective regarding the acceptability of telephone surveys by the social science community over the last 20 years, is the direct result of the increasing number of households having access to telephones and to the cumulative effect of research findings exploring the biases perceived to be inherent with the telephone approach. The percentage of the population that have telephones today has been variously estimated at 90%, 90.4%, and 94% (7,8,13). Additionally, the difference in the estimation of population variance between personal surveys and telephone surveys has been found to vary only a few percentage points. Kelcka and Tuchfarber (9), in what is believed to be the first study comparing a random-digit-dialing telephone survey to a personal survey, found few significant differences between the respondents on either demographic variables or citizens' attitudes on crime. Groves and Kahn (8), in their work Surveys by Telephone, compared a national telephone survey to a national personal survey on some 200 different measures and concluded that demographic comparisons between the two modes of interviewing were more notable for their similarities rather than their differences.

At one time, it was also believed that responses to sensitive questions might be significantly different between personal surveys and telephone surveys. Recent research has found this concern to be unsubstantiated. For example, Colombotos (4) found that there was only a "slight" tendency for the telephone method to solicit socially acceptable answers. Coombs and Freedman (6), in a longitudinal
study of fertility, successfully asked telephone respondents a number of sensitive questions regarding pregnancy, fetal mortality, expectations of future births and income. Moreover, Groves and Kahn (8) found that telephone survey respondents were more likely to state extreme positions. This latter finding suggests that the anonymity of the telephone interview may be less likely to solicit socially acceptable responses.

Market researchers and political pollsters now routinely resort to telephone surveys to assess attitudes, as do some local governments. Dallas, Texas, Dayton, Ohio, and Tempe, Arizona, for example, have all resorted at different times to telephone surveys as a method of gathering information about citizen perceptions of city government and their preferences for public expenditures (15). Telephone surveys have also been utilized as a method of collecting human service needs assessment data (10,11,15). With respect to this latter use there is, however, a fundamental question regarding telephone surveys as a method of collecting human services needs assessment data that does not appear to have received much attention. The question is, whether the incidence of a human service need is a sufficiently different research question than is the incidence of a particular attitude toward a political candidate, a consumer product, or the workings of local government? If this research question is indeed different, then the successful use of telephone surveys for attitude assessment may not be sufficient substantiation of their validity for human service needs assessment.

In point of fact, most of the research suggesting comparability between the results of telephone and personal surveys appear to have focused almost exclusively upon the relative stability of demographic and attitudinal findings between the two approaches. Yet in one particular non-attitudinal study using 1970 Census data, Tull and Albaum (13), found significant (.001) differences between households having access to a telephone and those without with respect to the ownership of certain durable goods including housing, automobiles, and television sets. The findings of Tull and Albaum suggest that while comparisons of demographic variables between personal and telephone surveys may yield similar results, dependent variables of the non-attitudinal type might well have significant variation. For human service needs assessment then, variation between personal and telephone surveys might also yield different results on dependent variables (needs). Also, it could be that while differences between dependent variables in a personal survey and a telephone survey human services needs assessment of the same population might not be statistically significant, the differences might nevertheless still be important for human services policy analysis purposes.

To explore the possibility that there might in fact be important differences with respect to human service needs between households with a telephone and those without, a secondary data analysis was conducted of a recent general population survey needs assessment conducted in Maricopa County, Arizona. The study was commissioned by the Maricopa Association of Governments and conducted by the Behavioral Research Center, a local commercial concern. The study, an area probability sample design, collected personal survey data on 1,319 households over a sixty day period in late 1981. One of the questions asked in the personal survey was, "Do you have an operating telephone in your home?" By inclusion of this question it became possible to separate respondents into two groups--one group consisting of all respondents and the second group consisting of only those respondents who had an operating telephone in their homes. By so separating respondents, a comparison of a human services needs assessment by personal survey and by telephone survey could be simulated.
Table I presents the data, in percentages, comparing the results of the personal survey (P.S.) with the simulated telephone survey (T.S.) on certain selected demographic variables and on four selected health and human service problem areas. The primary problem in the household is a composit index of some twenty health and behavioral health problems. The secondary problem in the household is an index of other social problems.

As can be seen, the major comment that might be made regarding the demographic variables in Table I is that they are singularly uninteresting. Using Chi Square as the measure, there are no statistically significant (.01) differences between demographic variables. This finding is very much in keeping with what the literature suggests and is simply a function of the small percentage of persons, (7.9%) or 104 respondents without telephones, who are included in the personal survey (P.S.) but who are not included in the telephone survey (T.S.). In essence the 104 cases simply get "washed out" in the personal survey (P.S.) of 1,319 cases. This is, of course, the major argument put forth by the proponents of telephone surveys. The number of cases of persons not having telephones that are included in personal interviews is generally so small that the impact and thus the differences between what would be found in a telephone survey vis-a-vis a personal survey are not statistically significant. It is at this point, however, that some of the proponents of telephone surveys would end their analysis. Having found no statistically significant differences between the findings of the telephone survey and the personal survey with respect to demographic variables they conclude that the methods are similar.

But what about the dependent variables (needs)? When we turn our attention to the data on dependent variables presented in Table I, what can we discover? At first glance it appears that there is a statistically significant difference between the personal survey (P.S.) and the telephone survey (T.S.) with respect to one of the dependent variables—lack of transportation. However, the difference of 2.9 percent between the findings is still within the plus or minus 3 percent range attributable to sampling error in this study and consequently we must conclude that the findings are the same. With respect to the other three dependent variables (unemployment and the presence of primary and secondary problems), the differences between the personal survey (P.S.) and the telephone survey (T.S.) are not statistically significant despite the 4 percent variation between the groups on the secondary problem variable.

Considering the finding of no statistically significant differences on the four dependent variables, of which two are broad indexes of health and human services problems, the data appear to suggest that the full range of potential variation is captured just as well in the telephone survey as would be the case in the personal survey.

But there is more to human service needs assessment than statistical significance and aggregate data for the general study population at large. Specific data on certain target groups (e.g. low income and ethnic minorities) of interest to human services administrators are also usually desired and conclusions regarding these target groups—conclusions that may have policy implications—are drawn. If the 104 cases that are lost between the personal survey (P.S.) and the telephone survey (T.S.) in our simulated comparison were to be pursued further, would such analysis shed additional light on, for example, the target groups of low income and Hispanic? Hispanics constitute the largest ethnic minority in Maricopa County, Arizona.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Charitable Donations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.1.5</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2.5</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3.5</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4.5</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A SIMPLIFIED COMPARISON OF RESIDENTS TO A PERSONAL SURVEY (P.S.) AND A TELEPHONE SURVEY (T.S.)
Table II details the actual number of cases in the personal survey (P.S.) and the telephone survey (T.S.) as well as the number of lost cases (L.C.) and the percentage of lost cases between the P.S. group and the T.S. group. As can be seen, the lost cases are distributed in quite different proportions than might have been suggested by the apparent lack of difference between the personal survey (P.S.) distributions and the telephone survey (T.S.) distributions. With respect to the two target groups of low income and Hispanic, both fare badly. Nearly one quarter (24.8%) of the total number of cases representing respondents with annual incomes below $7,500 per year is lost between the personal survey and the telephone survey. Nearly a quarter (24.3%) of all the Hispanic cases is also lost. Other target groups with significant case losses include: persons under 35 years of age (12.8%), those with less than a grade school education (21.1%), and individuals whose only income is from a government subsidy, i.e., welfare (37.1%). Among dependent variables the lost cases represent 17.4% of all unemployed persons and a substantial 40.7% of those lacking transportation.

In Table III, the 104 lost cases are pursued further by juxtaposing those respondents with telephones (W.T.) and those without (W.O.T.). As can be seen, an entirely different picture emerges that appears to have both policy analysis implications and statistical significance. Of the thirteen demographic and dependent variables there are statistically significant differences between the group W.T. and the group W.O.T. on ten measures.

In terms of policy analysis implications, our simulated comparison suggests that significant amounts of data on citizens of Maricopa County, Arizona who are: low income, Hispanic, under 35, renters, welfare recipients, unemployed, transportation handicapped, and who possess less than a grade school education would be lost in a telephone survey. From a human services policy analysis perspective, this lost data could constitute a real problem for it is specifically these types of groups that are generally most in need of human services. Clearly, the implication here is that while at the aggregate data level there may be no significant difference between, for example, the distribution of income for respondents to a personal survey and a telephone survey, there may be disaggregation problems. The lost cases (data that would not be captured in a telephone survey) might preclude meaningful disaggregate analysis in that: (1) the data may be so biased that their validity is questionable and (2) cross tabulations on such variables as unemployment among Hispanics might be precluded due to insufficient numbers of cases.

To summarize, the simulated comparison of a personal survey and a telephone survey needs assessment in Maricopa County, Arizona suggests that there are systematic differences between households that have access to a telephone and those which do not. Furthermore, target groups of particular interest to human services administrators (e.g. low income, minorities, unemployed, welfare recipients, etc.) are found disproportionately among the group lacking access to a telephone. Thus the use of a telephone survey for a human services needs assessment may either preclude analysis or paint a biased picture of the incidence of human services needs among certain target groups due to their under-representation in the telephone survey sample. This finding of underrepresentation of specific target groups in telephone surveys is in keeping with other findings reported by both Groves and Kahn (8) and Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar (3).

The systematic bias inherent in the use of telephone surveys for human service needs assessments does not, however, totally preclude their use. To the extent that human service administrators are interested only in the aggregate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(3.9)</td>
<td>(6.8)</td>
<td>(12.1)</td>
<td>(21.6)</td>
<td>(34.2)</td>
<td>(50.8)</td>
<td>(69.3)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education Distribution**

A. Household Characteristics

**Household Characteristics**

- Household size
- Median income
- Presence of children
- Presence of parents
- Presence of grandparents
- Presence of relatives

**Income Sources**

- Wages
- Self-employment
- Rental income
- Dividends
- Interest
- Profit sharing

**Marital Status**

- Married/living as
- Single
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Separated

**Race**

- White
- Black
- Hispanic
- Native American

**Hispanic Origin**

- Mexican
- Puerto Rican
- Cuban

**Occupational Mobility**

- Blue collar
- White collar
- Professional

**Income Distribution**

- Low income
- Middle income
- High income

**Occupation**

- Self-employed
- Wage and salary worker

**Personnel Survey (14.6?) and Telephone Survey (14.7)?

A simulated comparison of respondents to a personnel survey and a telephone survey.
incidence of human service needs in the general population, the biases inherent in
the telephone approach are not significant. If data at a level lower than that of
the general population (i.e., target group) are desired, a telephone survey can still
be used provided the biases are compensated for.

Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar (3) suggest three approaches that might be used
in overcoming the biases inherent in the use of telephone surveys: weighting,
oversampling, and the selected use of personal interviews. Weighting involves
giving added value to the responses of target groups known to be underrepresented
in the telephone sample. This statistical manipulation achieves the net effect of
increasing the target group's overall representation in the sample. However, a
problem with this approach is that if the target group members surveyed are not
characteristic of the total target group, weighting only compounds the error. In
oversampling, an attempt is made to interview more members of the under-
represented target group than would otherwise be the case, with the intended hope
that more of the variation within the target group will be captured. Weighting
must also be used in conjunction with oversampling to distill the responses down to
their appropriate proportional values. Because oversampling involves weighting,
this approach suffers from the same potential problem—if the target group
members who are oversampled are unrepresentative of the target group in general,
the error is again compounded.

The third approach suggested by Backstrom and Hursch-Cesar (3) is the
selected use of personal interviews. In this approach, target groups that are known
to be underrepresented in telephone surveys would be contacted using a personal
interview. Working from census data, community informants, or other sources,
areas of high concentration of target group members can be identified. Sufficient
numbers of personal interviews are then secured and the personal interviews can be
used to validate the telephone interviews and suggest appropriate weightings.

A recent experience suggests that when weighting, oversampling and the
selected use of personal interviews are combined with a strategy for building
community consensus around the telephone survey approach to human services
needs assessment, the results in terms of validity, acceptance of the process, and
use of the resulting data may be significantly enhanced.

The burden of proof that there is no difference between particular target
group members (Hispanics, for example) who have telephones and those who do not,
falls to those human services administrators who would use the telephone survey
approach to conduct a human services needs assessment. The issue of compara-
bility may become as much a political issue as a methodological one. The socio-
economic correlates of telephone ownership are generally known to and understood
by low income persons, minorities, and their advocates. Human services adminis-
trators utilizing the telephone survey approach to human services needs assessment
should be prepared to adopt an implementation strategy that will allay the fears of
underrepresented target groups and their advocates or run the risk that the
resulting data will be viewed with suspicion thus affecting its usefulness.

As a follow-up to the personal interview human services needs assessment
reported on in this paper, Arizona State University and the Maricopa County
Human Resources Department pilot tested a telephone survey approach to human
services needs assessment in Chandler, Arizona during 1982. A key aspect of the
implementation strategy was the creation of an advisory committee made up of
local Chandler government and private sector members including representatives
of target groups which would be potentially underrepresented in the telephone

-459-
survey. University researchers attempted to educate the advisory committee members on the potential biases of the telephone approach and how the biases would be dealt with. In turn, the advisory committee members assisted the University researchers in determining areas where high concentrations of potential underrepresented target groups resided and where personal interviews would be conducted. The advisory committee also served as a community diffusion mechanism for information concerning the continued progress of the needs assessment project. Data gathered in the personal interviews will be used to validate the telephone survey and assist in determining appropriate weighting factors for underrepresented target groups. While the final report has not been released, human services administrators with the Maricopa County Human Resources Department are very optimistic about the overall receptivity with which the report will be received.

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to illustrate that, despite great strides over the last 20 years, telephone surveys still present significant problems for human services administrators who consider using this approach to conduct a human services needs assessment. Nevertheless, the problems are not insurmountable and the biases associated with a telephone survey human services needs assessment can be compensated for using weighting, oversampling, and selected use of personal interviews. In the last analysis, the success or failure of a telephone survey human services needs assessment--as with any needs assessment--will ultimately turn on how well the data are received and utilized. It has been suggested in this paper that the potential success of a telephone survey human services needs assessment can be increased by educating and involving significant segments of the survey community in the process.

As a concluding comment, it appears that telephone surveys as a method of conducting human services needs assessments may be an idea whose time has not totally come. Yet there will be increasing economic pressures to abandon the more costly personal surveys. The challenge will be to insure that in the trade off between cost and method, the validity and usefulness of the resulting human services needs data are not compromised.

REFERENCES

ABSTRACT

Current alcoholism literature, alcoholism education, and alcoholism treatment suggests that the wife of the alcoholic is every bit as sick (physically, mentally, and spiritually) as her practicing alcoholic husband. How did we come to this view of the wife of the alcoholic?

This paper will review 1) how the wife of the alcoholic has been regarded over the years; 2) how these portraits of the wife of the alcoholic that appeared in the scholarly literature have influenced current thinking and treatment, and 3) how this body of literature and the popular concepts of the wife of the alcoholic that evolved from it, carry sexual biases and stereotyping that can potentially interfere with optimum treatment, full recovery, and effective marital and family functioning.
INTRODUCTION

Studies in the social science literature imply that whatever it is that woman is, she is not quite as healthy as man. Broverman (1972) asked a group of psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers to describe a healthy mature man, a healthy mature woman, and a healthy mature adult. Results revealed that clinicians have different concepts of mental health for men and women and that these differences correspond to current sex-role stereotypes. These findings suggest that clinicians accept stereotypic role definitions of women and in practice are likely to guide their clients toward acceptance of these "normal" female attributes, whether or not they are defined as desirable by women themselves and regardless of the price women must pay for "adjustment" and "normality."

This investigation began with the author's discovery of sexist statements in educational materials directed toward the wife of the alcoholic. The recognition of this phenomenon suggested that such attitudes might, in fact, exist in other literature concerning the wife of the alcoholic. Sexism in the literature would reinforce stereotypic role definitions for the wife of the alcoholic and influence practitioners to guide these clients toward these roles.

Of particular concern is the possible effect of sexually biased literature in the therapeutic relationships of clinicians with wives of alcoholics. The purpose of this study is to trace the historical view of the wife of the alcoholic as portrayed in the alcoholism literature with particular attention to the sexual biases which might exist in this literature.

THEORETICAL VIEWPOINTS

Disturbed-Personality Theory

The disturbed-personality theory was first postulated to account for abnormalities frequently seen in the wives of alcoholics.

In one of the first reports describing such abnormalities Lewis (1937) wrote that the relationship between an alcoholic and his wife is extremely complicated. Lewis believed that the wife finds an outlet for her aggressiveness in her marriage to a man who is dependent and who creates situations that force her to punish him.

Boggs (1944) stated that the wife "...knocks the props from under him at all turns, seemingly needing to keep him ineffectual so that she feels relatively strong and has external justification for hostile feelings."

Price (1945) described the wife of the alcoholic as a basically insecure person who brings to her marriage feelings of insecurity which she hopes will be met by her husband. These women then become hostile or aggressive toward their husbands because they too are dependent.

This dysfunctional personality theory continued to dominate the literature into the 1950's. For example, Putterman (1953), suggested that "...unconsciously because of her own needs, [the wife of the alcoholic] seems to encourage her husband's alcoholism." He further suggested that when the husband becomes sober the wife often decompensates and begins to develop symptoms of her own. Whalen (1953) concluded that, "generally speaking, the wife of the alcoholic has as poorly integrated a personality as her husband, even though she is usually able to function..."
more acceptably in the eyes of the community." Whalen labels four types of wives of alcoholics. "Suffering Susan" whose need is to punish herself, "Controlling Catherine" who marries an alcoholic to validate her distrustful, resentful attitudes toward men in general, stemming from her own inadequacies, "Wavering Winnifred" who searches out the weak and helpless with whom to form relationships, and "Punitive Polly" who marries an alcoholic because he is frequently vulnerable to her rivalrous, aggressive, and envious attacks.

Ruth Fox and Peter Lyon in *Alcoholism: Its Scope, Cause and Treatment* (1955) support the disturbed personality theory. In referring to the wife they state that the wife is "the protective, maternal kind of women who marries a man whom she knows to be an alcoholic, in order to, she thinks, help him over his addiction. But unconsciously she wants no part of his recovery. Her need is to dominate a weaker man; his recovery is an actual threat to her neurotic demand that he be weak, inferior, helpless, and dependent. . . . It may be the wife who makes sure the drinking problem remains insoluable."

Pursuing this theory of psychopathology, MacDonald (1956) stated, "an account has been given of 18 female patients who were admitted to a state mental hospital, all of whom were or had been married to alcoholics and in 11 of whom the mental disorder became manifest following a decrease in the husband's drinking. It is suggested that this decrease was a precipitating factor in the onset of the mental disturbance." Ballard (1959) asked the question, "Did his drinking drive her to nag or her nagging drive him to drink?" He then hypothesized that "the wives of alcoholics stood to gain unconscious vicarious gratification from their husband's asocial behavior, while gaining defensive reassurance by their overt castigation of it. This castigation provided some easement and externalization of the husband's super-ego conflicts . . . ."

Kalashian (1959), also writing in support of the disturbed personality theory, implied that by being "needed" the wife is able to deny her own dependency needs. "By being the strong partner, she can keep from recognizing her own feelings of inadequacy as a woman. By insisting on the "weakness" of her husband, the wife of an alcoholic reveals her need for non-threatening partners toward whom she can feel superior. Such a wife seeks to handle her unresolved Oedipal conflicts through marriage to a man she can unconsciously regard as 'not a man.'"

This classical clinical description of the disturbed wife of the alcoholic was dominant in the literature from 1937 to 1959. It is interesting to note that in the late 1970's this theme re-appeared. Maxwell (1977) states that, [the wife of the alcoholic] "actually helps her husband to drink. Her actions are such that she herself becomes emotionally unstable and raises emotionally crippled children." Also see Estes (1977), Orford (1977), Neely (1982), Kellerman (1982), and Roth (1982).

**Stress Theories**

In an early attempt to describe wives of alcoholics from a situational point of view, Mowrer (1940) compared a sample of 25 alcoholics' wives with a group of 25 wives defined as "normal," i.e., being without any personality disorder. Mowrer discovered that the wives of the alcoholics had developed a vacillating attitude toward their drinking husbands, being inclined to criticize them while nevertheless
expressing sympathy and maternal feelings for them.

One of the earliest books on alcoholism (1949) which described the wife of the alcoholic is Alcohol--One Man's Meat by H. A. Streker and Francis T. Chambers (1949). She is mentioned only briefly when she is described as having trouble adjusting to her newly sobered husband and "finds herself at a loss as to how to cope with a newly matured husband. . . ." This does not seem to be in support of any particular view of the wife, but might possibly imply that she is reacting to the stress of the situation. There seemed no further interest in this point of view evident in the literature until Jackson's influential studies in the mid-1950's. Jackson (1954) was one of the first to adopt the stress theory to families. Between 1954 and 1962 she theorized that in their efforts to handle problems associated with alcoholism, family members came to feel guilty, ashamed, inadequate, and isolated from social support.

As an empirical test of her theory, Jackson (1954) studied fifty wives of alcoholics who belonged to Al-Anon over a three-year period. From this study she developed a seven stage process characterizing the reactions of families over-time to an alcoholic husband/father. In the beginning of the marriage according to Jackson, the drinking of most men is within socially acceptable limits, or, for a variety of reasons, the wife is not aware of the extent of the husbands' drinking and/or its implications.

In Stage 1 there are attempts to deny the problem. Incidents of excessive drinking begin. In Stage 2 there are attempts to eliminate the problem in the face of social isolation, alienation and the wife's feelings of inadequacy. Stage 3 is labelled "disorganization" in which the family accepts the husbands' drinking problem as permanent, gives up attempts to control his behavior and behaves in a manner geared to relieve tension rather than to achieve long-term ends. Stage 4 is characterized by attempts to reorganize in spite of the problems. The wife takes over many responsibilities which Jackson describes as the "husband and father roles." Jackson describes the roles as "manager of the home, discipliner of the children, the decision-maker" and states that the wife becomes "somewhat like Whalen's 'controller.'"

In Stage 5 efforts are made to escape the problem. The wife separates from her husband, if she can resolve the problems and conflicts surrounding this, in Stage 6. The wife is without her husband and must reorganize her family on this basis. In Stage 7 her husband achieves sobriety and the family which has become organized around the fact of an alcoholic husband must reorganize to include a sober one. Jackson states the the family experiences problems in reinstating the ex-alcoholic to his former roles.

Jackson concluded that the "clinical picture presented by the wife to helping agencies is not only indicative of a type of basic personality, but also of the stage in family adjustment which has been reached. The wives of alcoholics represented a rather limited number of personality type. This can be interpreted in two ways which are not mutually exclusive: a) women with certain personality attributes tend to select alcoholics or potential alcoholics as husbands in order to satisfy unconscious personality needs; or b) women undergoing similar experiences of stress within similarly unstructured situations . . . will emerge from this experience showing many similar neurotic traits. As the situation changes, some of these personality traits will also change.

-465-
Jackson viewed families as involved in a cumulative crisis in which all members (and especially the wife) behave in a manner which they hope will meet the crisis and permit a return to stability. "Wives," she states, "are at all times affected by their own personalities, their previous role and status in the family, the previous history of the present crisis and past effectiveness of their own actions." Thus, the behavior of the wives of alcoholics is described in large part as a function of changing patterns of interaction and not solely as a consequence of personality disturbances or personality type.

In support of the stress theory, Joseph Kellermann (1974) writes, "The usual situation is not an initial pathology that perpetuates the husband's alcoholism but the development of a pathology in mind and spirit from attempting to adjust and readjust to the crisis and deviant behavior which result from his pathological drinking." Other books concur with this assessment of the behavior of the wife and also state that the wife appears to be of no distinct personality type (Cohen and Krause, 1971; Kellermann, 1974; Hayman, 1966; Preston, 1968).

In an attempt to broaden the generalizability of findings about the wives of alcoholics, Lemert (1960) interviewed 116 families contacted through divorce courts, a public welfare agency, county commitments to state hospitals, police probation cases and an Al-Anon group. His conclusions indicated that more than one half of the women had married men for whom drinking was already a problem. In an effort to verify Jackson's findings of a common sequence of events in the wives' adjustment to the crisis of alcoholism, Lemert was generally unsuccessful. He found, instead, that adjustment events tended to cluster. The nature of that clustering, however, suggested only that there might be early, middle, and late phases in adjustment.

Beginning with Jackson in 1954, the trend in the studies of the wives of alcoholics was to question and criticize much of the earlier impressionistic clinical literature and to suggest concrete and testable hypotheses concerning the functioning of wives in these marriages. These studies set the stage for a fusion of competing theories and the development of the psychosocial perspective.

Psychosocial Theories

In 1961 Margaret Bailey published a review of the research and professional literature on alcoholism and marriage. In this paper she cites both of the general views of the wife presented and reviewed in this essay (personality dysfunction and stress theory), concluding that further research was needed to integrate the two hypotheses. She also recommended that future research be more rigorous in design than the majority of studies done in the past which had confined themselves to descriptive clinical observations.

It appears that, following Bailey's study, there was, indeed, an effort made toward a fusion of these ideas. Bailey, Haberman and Alksne (1962), for example, contributed to the psychosocial theory in a study which revealed a high level of psychophysiological symptoms in the wives living with drinking alcoholics; however, those separated from their alcoholic husbands showed fewer symptoms and those living with abstinent alcoholics showed the least. Although personality disturbance was evident in this study, the data clearly lend support to the stress theory.

Haberman (1964) did another study testing the wife's psycho-physiological disturbance. The results again did not support the early theories which emphasized the
wife's neurotic need for her spouse to continue drinking. However, his data did suggest that the less disturbed the wife, the more favorably she reacted to his achieving sobriety.

Another study by Bailey in 1967 represents the theory of neurotic complementarity prevalent during this time. This theory presumes that both the alcoholic and his wife choose each other as mates to fulfill their neurotic needs. Again, results did not support the theory that wives of alcoholics decompensate emotionally if the husband achieves sobriety. Bailey maintains that "the decrease in psycho-physiological symptoms which accompanies the husband's lengthening sobriety does not negate the theories of neurotic complementarity on mate selection as proposed in the early literature supporting the wife's personality disturbance." However, she acknowledges that this fact does not uniquely define the alcoholic relationship: "Presumably all persons are influenced by unconscious needs in their choice of a marital partner."

Results from two Kogan and Jackson studies (1963 and 1964) support Bailey's suggestion that alcoholic marriages are no different than any other conflicted marriages. In fact, results of the study by Ballard (1959) even concluded from MMPI scores that wives of alcoholics were as well adjusted as, or better adjusted, than wives in the control group.

Another popular theory, that the wives of alcoholics have a personality type distinct from that of wives of non-alcoholics, has not been conclusively supported by current studies. Kogan, Fordyce and Jackson (1963) found that although a significantly greater number of wives of alcoholics than of non-alcoholics manifested some form of personality dysfunction, less than one half could be labeled disturbed on any one measure. The types of disturbances found were varied and showed no clear-cut pattern.

Corder, Hendricks, and Corder (1964) also used the MMPI, finding no significant difference in personalities between a control and experimental group (wives of alcoholics and wives of non-alcoholics). Rae and Forbes (1966) delineated two different groups in their study, characterizing one group as manifesting personality traits similar to the "classic wife" who used her husband's alcoholism as a neurotic defense. The second group appeared to exhibit normal personalities reacting to the stress inherent in marriage to an alcoholic.

A Kogan and Jackson study (1965) most clearly integrates the personality disturbance and stress theories as it compares life-history reports of wives of alcoholics to a matched group of non-alcoholics' wives. They found that those wives who reported having inadequate mothers and unhappy childhoods or who had experienced personal stress were more likely to have symptoms of personality dysfunction and that those women were disproportionately represented among the group of alcoholic's wives.

Since the middle 1970's, psychosocial theories in alcoholism have advanced the idea of co-alcoholism which views spousal behavior as enabling or supporting of alcoholic patterns in mates. In a pamphlet distributed by the National Council on Alcoholism in 1973, Ruth Fox describes the wife's personality disturbance as being "even more serious than her alcoholic husband's" and cites such researchers as Boggs (1944), Putterman (1953), and Whalen (1953) in support of her view. This description of the wife is supported with little variation in several other preceding and subsequent works: Pitman, 1967; Cantanzaro, 1968; Perry, 1970; Maxwell, 1979.
In 1977, Maxwell in her book *The Booze Battle* explains that the wife of an alcoholic's "actions are such that she herself becomes emotionally unstable and raises emotionally crippled children." Richard Roth in his article "Putting the Pieces Together" (1981) makes a point about treatment centers' philosophies when working with families of alcoholics: "The pathology of the family itself has long been suspected as a causal factor in some cases of alcoholism"; he goes on to state, "as one treatment center director puts its, sometimes the non-alcoholic spouse needs the alcoholic to be sick."

In the opening statement of Stephanie Abbott Leary's article "The Forgotten Man" in *Alcoholism* (1982), she states, "seeing wives who control and enable, researchers infer such wives need a weak husband." She goes on to state, "Other scientists observe passive wives enduring verbal and physical cruelty from alcoholic husbands and suggest these women suffer from such low self-worth that they court punishment."

The aforementioned theoretical viewpoints are vital to treatment with alcoholics. They not only advance underlying assumptions regarding normal behavior which wives should demonstrate but also lay out principles which therapists should use as guidelines to reconstruct family life. With this in mind let us now draw attention to the treatment arena.

**TREATMENT VIEWPOINT**

Lewis (1937), Barker (1945), Clifford (1960), Cahn (1970), Fajardo (1976), Maxwell (1977), Kellerman (1981), and Neely (1982) stated or implied that in order for the alcoholic to recover, the wife must relinquish control of the masculine roles, i.e., head of the household, breadwinner, disciplinarian, authority, etc. Clifford (1960) describes a pattern of "wifely behavior" which "renders unlikely rehabilitation of the male alcoholic." This pattern of wifely behavior was described as being the wage-earner, head of household, and decision-maker.

Sidney Cahn (1970) writing about the treatment of alcoholics and their families, stated that "clinics report that unless the wife relinquishes this dual role, i.e., dominant position in addition to the wife (inferior) role, her husband's recovery is likely to be only temporary." Neely (1982) writes about Bill and his spouse. Bill's ex-wife remarried. Her relationship with her new husband is almost identical to the one she had with Bill for twenty years. She still tries to control people and circumstances around her.

This treatment attitude has its roots in earlier articles. For example, Lewis (1937) writing in *Family* (now the *Journal of Social Casework*), recommended that "where the woman has been the wage earner and the man has been idle that this situation should be reversed and the man restored to some measure of economic masculinity."

A less obvious recommendation occurs in any literature which implies that the wife is deviant when she takes over or performs "masculine" roles. The implied recommendation to a professional working with the wife of the alcoholic is to urge her to modify or discontinue this "deviant" behavior.

Kellerman (1982), Roth (1982), Estes and Heineman (1977) demonstrate how treatment methods of past are still present in 1982. Roth (1982) makes an important point about the popular concept "co-alcoholic." "Should family members be called 'dry drinker' or 'co-alcoholic'? Isn't it insulting or demeaning, and doesn't it
Irrespective of Roth's observation, treatment literature published and distributed by Al-Anon support the conceptual assumptions of co-alcoholism most strongly. "Living With an Alcoholic," (1966) describes the wife, in becoming the head of the household, as "strong, self-reliant, and aggressive." It goes on to say that "she may unconsciously be disappointed" in that she can "no longer lean on her husband for authority ..." and "unwittingly she may be losing her femininity just as her husband may be losing his masculinity." "A Guide for the Family of the Alcoholic," (Kellerman, 1974) suggests that there are wives who need alcoholic husbands to gratify their own neurosis," and go on to describe them as being possibly masochistic, sadistic, neurotically dominating and controlling persons. Kellerman (1981) in describing a woman he interviewed explained that "She had been in continued therapy for over twelve years before someone sent her to Al-Anon, where she learned that the problem was her constant efforts to adjust to an alcoholic husband."

SEXIST LITERATURE AND IMPLICATIONS:
Summary Discussion

Throughout the literature reviewed in this study, there appears to be a tendency to portray the wife of the alcoholic as dominating and controlling in her marital relationship, for whatever reason. In many instances, it was also implied that by taking this role, she was somehow losing her femininity and/or depriving her husband of his masculinity.

Although much of the literature reviewed described the wife of the alcoholic as dominant in her marital relationship, the term "dominant" was only defined in one study. In this study Lemert (1962), in objecting to the ambiguous use of the term "dependency," used frequently in previous studies on the alcoholic marriage, defined "norms of a typical American family." He defined dominance in terms of a deviation from the norms when the wife "1) controlled the finances, 2) disciplined the children, and 3) made major decisions, e.g., concerning job and residence changes, organizational memberships, etc." This seems to imply that a woman should not carry out these roles in a "typical American family" and that if she does, then she again, as in the aforementioned studies, is deviant.

Other literature suggests that often the wife of the alcoholic was forced, or chose to take over, some of the stereotypic male roles, such as working outside the home, disciplining the children, controlling the finances or making the major decisions for the family. In much of the literature this was seen as deviant for the wife, with the implied instruction that she must give this role up for her husband's sake. It was also suggested that some agencies continue to assign traditional sex-roles rather than to explore the human potential of clients.

This picture seems to be changing from that of an aggressive woman who married an alcoholic to fulfill her need to be dominant through that of one whose personality fluctuated with the stresses of marriage to an alcoholic, to that of a woman who may or may not have been experiencing personality dysfunction prior to her marriage and who may or may not react to the stress of her marriage with personality dysfunction.

Research on wives of alcoholics now seems to indicate that they are women who
have essentially normal personalities of different types, rather than of any one particular type. They may suffer personality dysfunction when their husbands are active alcoholics, but if their husbands become abstinent and the periods of abstinence increase, the wives experience less and less dysfunction. Concurrent with these personality fluctuations are changes in the wives' methods of coping with their husbands' drinking patterns and in the roles the wives play within the family. In all of this, these women seem much like other women experiencing marital problems.

Throughout the literature, regardless of the approach taken toward the wife's behavior, there is a complete disregard for the socialization process that a woman is exposed to as a female member of the species. From Inge Broverman's (1970) study, "Sex-role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," "it is clear that for a woman to be healthy she must adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex even though these kinds of behavior are generally regarded as less socially desirable." It is clear that with this prevailing attitude, the wife of the alcoholic is in a "no-win" position. Her treatment may be analogized to the "victim blaming ideology" exposed by William Ryan (1971) in his study of poverty and its treatment in American society. He suggests that "the generic formula of blaming the Victim--justifying inequality by finding defects in the victims of inequality--is applied to almost every American problem."

It is our position that alcohol workers and other human services providers should be aware of their own sexist assumptions and the resulting limitations they impose upon their clients. The past decade has seen redefinition of gender roles with general acceptance of compassionate responsibilities by spouses. Moreover, many family types currently in vogue, particularly dual-career families, do not confirm to traditional role definitions that stereotype male-female behaviors. It would seem appropriate, therefore, that efforts in theory building and treatment for alcoholics and spouses adapt to this socialization process.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


---


---


---


---


---


---


---

Ballard, R. G., "The Interrelatedness of Alcoholism and Marital Conflict." Symposium, 1958. 3. "The Interaction Between Marital Conflict and Alcoholism and


Kalashian, Marion W. "Working With the Wives of Alcoholics in an Outpatient Clinic Setting," Marriage and Family, p. 130, 1959.


"The Souse's Spouse: Victim or Villain?" Alcoholism, Jan/Feb 1981.


WORK-RELATED PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS VERSUS ADMINISTRATORS:
MORE GRIST FOR THE "IS SOCIAL WORK A PROFESSION?" MILL

Robert A Snyder
Northern Kentucky University

Jane M. Ridolphi
The University of Alabama

ABSTRACT

The work-related perceptions of 683 employees of a federally funded public assistance agency were examined by occupational classification. The results show that persons employed as social workers report distinctively different patterns of attitudes and values than do those employed as administrators. These distinctions were most dramatic for the younger members of each group. The overall results fail to refute previous predictions of an evolving and critical duality in the field of social work.

From the time that Flexner (1915) first raised the issue of the professional status of social work, writers in every decade have debated the topic. Some, like Flexner, have denied that social work is a profession, while others (e.g., Greenwood, 1957) have awarded it full professional status. Still others have created such labels as "semi-profession," "mid-level profession" or "emerging profession" to describe where social work lies in the middle ground (see Leighninger, 1978, for a review). The concern with this issue has been so great that Leighninger (1978) concludes that much of social work's history can best be understood in light of attempts at professionalism — and, apparently, attempts to resolve the matter of the field's professional status. Yet in spite of the attention this topic has historically received, an acceptable resolution does not seem to be at hand. Even in the 1970's, writers at the same school of social welfare (Leighninger, 1978; Specht, 1972) reached dramatically different conclusions with regard to both the present professional status of social work and its foreseeable future.

In what is perhaps the most negative appraisal, Specht (1972) argued that social work was "undergoing a fundamental change and may even be approaching its denouement." In support of this position, Specht examined a number of ideological trends (activism, anti-individualism, communalism, and environmental determinism) each
of which the writer viewed as impacting negatively on social work's professional status. Specht predicted that social work would break up into two tiers, one professional (comprised of administrators) and one not (comprised of social workers or direct service personnel). He differentiated these tiers by the terms "social welfare" for the former and "social work" for the latter. Specifically, Specht suggested that: 1) "those professionals whose major tasks and functions are concerned with the planning, administration, and evaluation of social welfare services will probably continue as a professional group with their own identity." And, thus, "graduate schools of social work would then become graduate schools of social welfare devoted to training this type of professional," while 2) providers of direct services, turned out by undergraduate schools, would be absorbed into other fields such as public health or education or be left with the role of providing sub-professional service in areas such as public assistance or corrections. (All emphases added here.)

The present paper provides some rudimentary evidence that Specht's prediction of a split between "social welfare" and "social work" may indeed have come to pass -- at least as reflected by the work-related perceptions of administrators vs. providers of direct services in one rather large public assistance agency. No attempt will be made here to conclusively define the characteristics of a "profession" nor to comparatively place administrators vs. service providers on a continuum of professionalism. Rather, it is our intent to examine some potential differences between the perceptions of administrators and service providers in a public assistance agency and stimulate some thought about the implications of these differences for social work education and on-the-job training in social service organizations. In this regard the present study is, perhaps, unique; to date there has been no empirical test of Specht's predictions, however indirect. It only seems clear at this point that Specht's beliefs are, at least, not shared by social workers themselves -- who have been found to report high levels of self-perceived professionalism (Clearfield, 1977; Dyer, 1977). The present paper provides data that are relevant to Specht's predictions, yet less susceptible to acquiescence or respondent bias than are self-reports of professionalism. Furthermore, while other studies have examined the perceptions and attitudes of the composite social service employee (e.g., Finch, 1975), the present paper provides, to the authors' knowledge, the first empirical study that compares the perceptions of different occupational classifications of social service employees, in particular administrators vs. social workers. Such analyses by occupational classification may be important. Elsewhere (e.g., Fein, 1973; White, 1977) researchers have found critical between-sub-group differences that were initially masked in previously published composite analyses.
Method

Sample and procedure

A general attitude survey was handed, by various departmental representatives, to all employees (n = 931) of a federally-funded public assistance agency in an eastern state. Six hundred eighty-three (73%) of these questionnaires were completed and returned by direct mail to the senior author. Each respondent could be classified into one of eight occupational groups, the designations for which were provided by the host organization. The designations are: upper-, mid-, and lower-level administrators, social workers, case technicians, consultants, reviewers, and clericals. Demographic characteristics of the total sample are shown in Table 1.

Measures

In addition to demographic questions, the survey used in the present study assessed the five traditionally important organizational variables described below.

Sources of Organizational Attachment (SOA). A measure developed by Mowday, Porter, and Dubin (1974) was used to assess the perceived influence of 12 specific aspects of the job, work environment, and organization on the individual's desire to remain with or leave the organization. Responses to each potential source of attachment to the organization are assessed by convention on a seven-point scale ranging from "strong influence toward staying" (+3) through "no influence in either direction" (0) to "strong influence toward leaving" (-3). Scores on this scale are typically used to assess the relative value of each SOA to the members of different occupational groups or organizational units. It is generally assumed that groups with similar value systems will have similar SOA profiles, i.e., their ratings of the attachment value of the various sources will be parallel.

Organizational Commitment. This nine-item scale assesses the extent to which the individual: 1) believes in and accepts the values and goals of the organization; 2) is willing to exert high levels of effort on behalf of the organization; and 3) desires to remain a member of the organization (Porter and Smith, 1970; Porter, Steers, Mowday, and Boulian, 1974).

Perceived Competence. The individual's basic psychological feelings of competence which result from mastery of his/her work environment were assessed with the 23 item index developed by Wagner and Morse (1975). Initial validation studies of this measure (Wagner and Morse, 1975; Morse, 1976) have provided strong evidence that scores on this scale predict objective indices of work performance such as employee and work unit output.
Job Satisfaction. Respondent job satisfaction was assessed with the Job Descriptive Index (JDI) (Smith, Kendall, and Hulin, 1969). The JDI assesses satisfaction with work, pay, promotion opportunities, supervision, and co-workers.

Propensity to Leave the Organization. This one-item scale asked the respondent to estimate the likelihood that he/she will seek and accept another job (five point response format with the anchors: Very likely, somewhat likely, not sure, somewhat unlikely, very unlikely).

Results and Discussion

One of the primary causes for the "de-professionalization of social work" Specht contends is that "increasing numbers of social work functions are being performed by non-MSWs," especially in government where there is increasing reluctance "to support graduate social work education or to hire professional social workers." This is certainly true in the present sample. Among the 154 employees who are designated as social workers, only 10% have a Master's degree and none have a doctorate. In contrast, 43% of the administrators (including all three levels) have Master's degrees and 3% have doctorates. This comparison is even more dramatic when only upper-level administrators are considered.

Table 2 summarizes the responses to the Sources of Organizational Attachment Scale for the total sample and each of the occupational classifications that comprise it. (Due to the relatively small number of upper-level administrators, upper- and mid-level administrators were combined for this analysis.) Given that upper- and mid-level administrators comprise the most highly educated sub-group, their responses are anchored against the left-hand margin of the table and the sources of organizational attachment are ordered in accord with the rank they were given by that particular sub-group. Responses for other sub-groups were then added to the table as appropriate within that framework.

Two findings here are worthy of note. First, the profile ranks of upper/mid-level administrators and social workers differ substantially. And, the largest rank differences occur for "job duties" and "values of the organization." One might speculate that of the 12 sources of attachment, these are the very two that might best differentiate professionals and non-professionals. In each case, these sources of attachment are rated lower in importance by social workers than by administrators.

Second, when the profile of ranks provided by social workers is compared with each other sub-group profile, that profile is most
similar -- not to other "professional" respondents (i.e., administrators) -- but to the profile provided by clerical workers ($r_s = .63, p< .05$) who constitute the least educated and professionally socialized sub-group.

Thusfar, the data provide little if any evidence that would refute Specht's predictions. It is important to note, however, that these data were obtained within a public assistance agency -- the very type of organization in which Specht predicted the professionalism of service providers would be at its lowest level. A dramatically different picture may emerge in other organizations, especially those organizations in the private sector which tend to hire more highly educated and socialized practitioners.

The means and standard deviations of the remaining study variables are presented by occupational classification in Table 3. The results in this table show that while social workers generally express mid-range levels of job satisfaction, they report lower levels of organizational commitment and perceived competence and a higher likelihood of leaving the organization than any other group. Upper- and mid-level administrators, on the other hand, discriminate themselves by reporting higher levels of commitment and competence and a lower likelihood of leaving the organization than any other group -- in addition to generally high levels of satisfaction with the facets of work sampled by the JDI. (These findings do not appear to be confounded by level in the organization in that clericals, reviewers, and case technicians provide profiles on these variables that are comparable to, or more "positive" than, the profile provided by social workers.) Although the differences between lower-level administrators and social workers are not as extreme, the overall results in Table 3 serve to illustrate some of the substantial differences between the attitudes and perceptions of administrators and social workers that may have been underestimated in previous studies which assessed responses of the composite social service employee (e.g., Finch, 1975) or only one sub-group of employees (e.g., mid-level managers, Haynes, 1970). In particular, the fact that social workers in the present study reported relatively low levels of perceived competence may have important implications for their performance and working life quality. Much recent evidence (Dipboye, 1977; Korman, 1976; Morse, 1976; Snyder and Williams, 1982) has shown, for example, that low or negative perceptions of competence may lead to such undesirable work outcomes as poor performance, absenteeism, turnover, and career dissatisfaction. In addition, several theorists have suggested that such attitudes may act as a barrier to self-selection into administrative roles -- a common source of promotional opportunities for social workers.

Given the likely importance of low levels of self-perceived
competence among social workers, and Specht's prediction that the situation was worsening across time, one further analysis was conducted. In an attempt to simulate longitudinal data, perceived competence scores for administrators and social workers were broken down by respondent age group. (To provide the n necessary for this analysis, upper-, mid-, and lower-level administrators were combined.) These results are presented in Table 4.

An examination of the data in Table 4 reveals that the perceived competence of social workers decreases monotonically with age, a finding that is not true for administrators. Additionally, it may be worthy of note that although the competence of social workers increases with age, it never even reaches the lowest level of competence reported by administrators in any age category. The most compelling and significant contrast between administrators and social workers, however, involves the perceived competence of the youngest members of each group of respondents. It is clear that the most recently trained administrators and social workers in this sample (those trained in the decade since Specht's predictions) are entering the workforce with dramatically different beliefs about their ability to perform effectively on the job. Even if relatively high levels of perceived competence were not to be construed as an indication of professionalism, in light of the research on competence cited previously this finding could signal some very unfortunate future consequences for young social workers in the public sector.

Within the organization examined here, the overall findings of this study empirically substantiate an aspect of Specht's (1972) predicted duality in the field of social work, though not the demise of the field he forecast. While the present study has clear methodological limitations (e.g., it does not provide the actual longitudinal data necessary for an adequate test of trends across time; its sample is comprised of workers employed by a single public assistance agency), it does suggest that: 1) previous studies that had investigated only the composite social service employee or that involved self-reports of perceived professionalism may have underestimated some of the important (and evolving?) differences between the relative values and attitudes of administrators and social workers, and 2) more rigorous tests of the issues addressed here are warranted -- particularly in the private sector where circumstances may differ substantially. Such studies may help educators and practitioners head off some unintended and unwanted developments in the field of human services. In fact, the acid test of social welfare/social work as a profession may well involve how the field attempts to understand and deal with the apparent duality focused upon here.
References


Flexner, A. Is social work a profession? Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Maryland, 1915.


Morse, J. J. Sense of competence and individual managerial performance. Psychological Reports, 1976, 38, 1195-1198.

Mowday, R. T., Porter, L. W., and Dubin, R. Unit performance, situational factors, and employee attitudes in spatially separated work units. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1974, 12, 321-238.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (yr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Occupant of Supervisor position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51+</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Time on present job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1-5 yr.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td>Time in present organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high school or less</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 yr.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1-5 yr.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5 yr.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate degree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post Bachelor's work</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some post Master's work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral degree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2

Ranks and Mean Scores for Sources of Organizational Attachment by Occupational Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Organizational Attachment</th>
<th>Upper and Middle-level Administrators (n = 35)</th>
<th>Lower-level Administrators (n = 66)</th>
<th>Social Workers (n = 154)</th>
<th>Technicians (n = 210)</th>
<th>Case Consultants (n = 30)</th>
<th>Reviewers (n = 46)</th>
<th>Clericals (n = 130)</th>
<th>Total Sample (n = 683)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>( \bar{x} )</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job duties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate work colleagues</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of unit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical location of office</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction to performance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values of the organization</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of the overall organization</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reputation of the organization</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-.57</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion prospects</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-.42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-.54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor's response to feelings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-.34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary Prospects</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor's structuring of work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Tied ranks are assigned the mean of the ranks they would otherwise occupy.

*Designations (Upper, Middle, Lower) for administrators were provided by the focal agency. They represent exactly the system the agency itself uses to classify its managers.*
The system the agency uses to classify its members.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designations (Upper, Middle, Lower)</th>
<th>For Employees that are Provided by the Local Agency. They Represent Exactly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2.21</th>
<th>1.32</th>
<th>2.09</th>
<th>2.08</th>
<th>1.39</th>
<th>3.23</th>
<th>1.33</th>
<th>2.64</th>
<th>1.36</th>
<th>2.46</th>
<th>1.40</th>
<th>2.08</th>
<th>1.39</th>
<th>2.39</th>
<th>1.33</th>
<th>2.64</th>
<th>1.36</th>
<th>2.46</th>
<th>1.40</th>
<th>2.08</th>
<th>1.39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sample          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Credentialed    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Professional    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Technical       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Other           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |

Remaining Variations by Occupational Group

Table 3
Table 4
Perceived Competence of Administrators and Social Workers
By Age Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages in yrs.</th>
<th>Administrators</th>
<th>Social Workers</th>
<th>t-test of Mean Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>86.36</td>
<td>7.72</td>
<td>72.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>79.59</td>
<td>11.74</td>
<td>76.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>83.18</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>78.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51+</td>
<td>83.42</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>79.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIAL WELFARE AND FAMILY SUPPORT:  
THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE  
Christopher P. Ekpe, Ph.d.  
Institute of Training and Organizational Development  
University of Pittsburgh

ABSTRACT

The African family has been the basic structure that performed the functions of a social system even before contact with European and other white cultures. These included not only the organization of behavior and economy, the preservation of culture, the realization of political goals, the control and integration of the members but also the provision services classified today as social welfare. However, sweeping changes have been taking place in the African family and these have seriously affected its function as a social system. The roles of men and women, religion, education, in short, the African culture itself has been experiencing a lot of changes. These changes have weakened the family as a social system. This has also affected the role of the family as a social welfare system. That role is also changing. Nevertheless, it is strongly suggested that the African family is still capable of assuming that role. It should be encouraged and aided to continue to do so. The importance of community development as a more effective and more relevant model of social welfare in Nigeria is emphasized.

Introduction

The basic structure of African life is the family. Even before the arrival of the white man in Africa, the social structures possessed a system of organizing behavior and economy, a cultural system for the preservation of its uniqueness and independence, a system of polity for the realization of the societal political goals, and a system of control and integration. These are characteristics which any viable social system should possess (Parsons 1971).

Every societal function was, therefore, assumed and performed through that network. Even the function of what is known today as social welfare and social services was exercised by the family network.

With the coming of the Europeans and the white man's culture in contact with the African systems, changes have swept through the systems. The purpose of this paper is to examine those changes and their effect on what is the present African family with a look at its function in relation to the new social welfare system.

I. The Family

Membership in a family includes not only the natural parents and their children but also uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, etc., all related to one person known as the ancestor. The family can include the collateral descendants of the same ancestor up to the fourth generation. The family name of almost every African is that of the ancestor.
Along with this, there is a customary law of collaboration and self help among the members of the family. The organization and execution of tasks are supervised by the patriarch, the chief who also assumes custody of the material and spiritual goods of the family. He has family counsellors who assist him in matters of settling problems between members of the family or decisions affecting the welfare of the family. African life is a type of unlimited co-responsibility.

Parents devote a great part of their lives to the care and nurturance of the young ones. They are never in doubt as to their inescapable obligations to feed, clothe, shelter, educate, and protect the lives, rights, and freedom of their offspring. More often than not, they are ready to discharge these obligations at the expense of their own personal comfort or lives.

The offspring too are never in doubt as to their natural obligation to care for their parents in their old age or infirmity. The well-being of each member of the family is the concern of all and vice versa, and the wealth of the family is shared among its members with manifest fairness and equity. The needs of the young, the aged, the sick, and the disabled and the relative contributions of the able-bodied constitute important factors in the distribution of the family wealth (Awolowo, 1968).

Relatives are also available to help anyone in need. If there is distress, people move in to live with their kinsmen in another area (Rodney, 1974). Thus, the individual at every stage of his life has a series of duties and obligations to others as well as a set of rights. This is to say that kinship implies a combination of security and obligations. The family is the group the African can depend totally on and to which Africans owe allegiance, a group which transcends the individual and gives him/her position in society and in history. It gives the individual importance and status as well as physical necessities or even wealth.

All families and clans who share the same ancestor make up an ethnic group which has its norms, values, customs, and determined behavior patterns.

Whether the ethnic group is directed by a king or a chief is not important. What matters is the family ideal and its sanctity. The family has for its function the creation and maintenance of order as well as social justice. It is considered as a religious unit, a sacred reality because everyone of its members is a descendant of the same ancestor.

Thus, the functions of adaptation, political organization, and community commitment as well as pattern maintenance are demonstrated in the family. To fully understand the life and solidarity of the family as social structure, it is necessary to consider the following elements that are factors in the community life.

A. The Ancestor Cult

This is the basis for solidarity and of submission to authority. The dead are considered the source of life. They are also the origin of laws and customs and continue to protect their descendants. That is why they are consulted, why prayers and offerings are made to them. They are believed to provide personal order and stability to the members of the ethnic group. They are believed to be near to God. By their force they are able to influence, reinforce, or sometimes punish the living. They, therefore, are seen to remain very intimately interested in every person that springs up in their line of family tree and their participation is very intensely felt. As collaborators with God, they are principal intermediaries in His work of
giving life and power. It would be difficult to find a better expression of a pattern maintenance system, a value structure whereby every behavior, law, and relation is explained by the same unique fundamental belief. As Parsons would put it, this constitutive symbolism is the basis of all social life, giving meaning to, and integrating, all the elements of the group human condition.

B. Land

Land, the major means of production, was owned by groups such as the family or clan. Land is an important element of the community life. The community was built fundamentally on relationships within social groups based on some principle other than "economic." The community was set into space not by the principle of associations of "ownership" as it is recognized in the West. The importance of land derives from the necessity of farming or other uses. The use of the farm land was of very periodic and of brief duration. A man or woman had precise rights to a piece of land (for farming) during the time it was under cultivation. Once the farm returned to fallow, the rights lapsed. However, a man always had rights in the "genealogy map" of his agnatic lineage wherever that lineage happened to be in space. These were part of his birth rights and could never lapse. Thus, the position of a man's farm varied from one crop rotation to the next. "Farm tenure" rather than "land tenure" was the context (Bohannan, op. cit., p. 124).

Thus, the land was an aspect of the kinship group and not its basis. Everyone was assured of sufficient land to meet his own needs by virtue of being a member of a family or community.

C. Marriage

Marriage is not defined as an individual affair but as a collective concern. It enlarges groups, multiplies alliances, and reinforces economic capacities. Consequently, divorce causes a great rupture. Its multiplication in recent decades has contributed enormously to the degrading of ancient social structures.

There are elaborate rules defining the woman whom a man can and cannot marry. Marriage within the family is strongly tabooed. At marriage, the majority of girls shift homesteads. They leave their parental households and join those in which they have become wives and in which they will become mothers. Men do not undergo this kind of change but continue to live embedded in the group of their kinsmen.

During the marriage ceremony, the husband has to pay a bride price. This entitles him to claim the children who are the issue of the marriage as his own, irrespective of whosoever the physical father may be.

The payment of the bride price and the ritual ceremonies of marriage create a very strong bond not broken even by death of the husband. Sometimes, if the husband dies, a kinsman is chosen by the widow to cohabit with her and the dead husband still ranks as father to the new children born, though he did not beget them. Sometimes, when the man dies and leaves several wives, his son by one of the other wives may cohabit with one of the other widows except his mother. He may beget a boy, physically his own son, but whom he will call his 'brother' (Cluckman, 1956, p. 71). In some ethnic groups, at a divorce the full bride price paid by the former husband must be returned to him. This, however, does not alter the parental status of the father in relationship to children born to him before the divorce.
However, the conventional mode of behavior, or the cultural principle of kinship ordains that each spouse should maintain strong links with his or her own kin. This implies that very intensive emotional attachment between the spouses is not expected. In most cases spouses observe the conventional expectation of not spending too much time in one another's company to the neglect of their kin. Thus, the attachment, companionship, passion and love that the spouses have for each other has to compete with wider attachment to other kins. As a consequence of this kinship situation, the relationship of emotional bonds of marriage does not outweigh other kinship ties. This situation forms part of the cohesion of the larger society (Gluckman, op. cit.).

D. Children

Children grow up in an intense situation of kinship, family, and lineage. They learn and are bound by their family obligation and family histories. From infancy they are constantly dealing with relatives who stand to them as substitutes for parents, brothers and sisters, or who may have special duties towards them. They learn from a very early age to spread their love and regard, their rewards and their worries and concern over larger groups of people. They grow up thus with many affectionate relatives to whom they build up sentimental attachments even if these are not as close as their attachments to their own parents. This may have the effect of lessening the conflict of relationship. For instance, when a child is annoyed with his parents, he can seek refuge with these others; if he is orphaned, they practically take his parents' place (Gluckman, 1956). The child is thus brought up with a strong sense of community. This mutual support, community, and sense of kinship are among the qualities of the family.

E. Social Welfare

As in all traditional societies, problems that could not be explained or solved by available technical competence inspired a fatalistic attitude. There was little understanding of social problems as we know them today and there were no organized agencies to deal with the problems of suffering, deprivation, want, deviance, and death. When these problems occurred, they were handled by the family or the lineage. Thus, services we term social welfare traditionally fell exclusively into the domain of the extended family. The family in Africa had for centuries arrogated to itself social, economic, political and cultural functions. Each man was truly his "brother's keeper" (UN '64, 5). Religion, the ancestor cult, was the principle behind the assumption of such functions by the family as it was the basis of all family life and activity. It not only provided explanation for the unexplained or little understood, it also provided the impetus for action.

The extended family thus provided natural support for members, the care of the elderly, care of the sick and handicapped, the orphaned and the destitute. Thus, the family was the structure that provided services that are nowadays offered by organized social agencies. Moreover, the family did not only provide the material needs but most importantly it provided psychological security for its members. This is a very significant factor when discussing social welfare.
II. Causes of Change in the Family System

A. Western Form of Religion

The introduction of the new religion by the missionaries led to the abandoning of the traditional religious rites and manifestations. The converts to the new religion were forced, as a condition of their conversion, to abandon their former practices and their ritual objects were either burned or sometimes confiscated by the missionaries. Thus, the homage to the spirits of the ancestors, the expression of loyalty to birthplace and local kinsgroup, the concept of sacred community of both the living and the dead, the feeling of belonging to a common ancestry and of sharing a specific heritage of customs, have been gradually disappearing. The new religion—Christianity has replaced the African ancestors by the European saints and very recently a few African saints.

The ancestor cult is fast disappearing even in the rural areas. Politically, since the traditional rulers and chiefs had a religious legitimation, the loss of religious significance has led to the loss of political power and influence. However, though the traditional laws and rulership in the North had been supplanted by Islam institutions, it could be said that religious piety and government are still linked together. Thus, the tradition simply had received an alternative form of expression in the North (Damachi, 1972, p. 20). In the South such a tradition has simply been abolished.

B. Western Styled Education

As Udo (1980) indicates, by the time of Nigerian Independence in October, 1960, the following characteristics of Nigerian formal education prevailed. A very small percentage of school-age children had the opportunity to attend school. In fact, the figure had been determined to be 20% and less of those qualified for colleges and university. The educational system was such that it produced assimilation of the European norms and values. The more the student conformed to these, the higher his certificate and position. The curriculum was European oriented without Nigerian cultural content. Though the local languages were used in the elementary school, no effort was given to their development. The English language has been compulsory in colleges and universities. A pass in English was mandatory, otherwise even if the student passed all the other subjects required, he had to repeat the whole examination. The examinations in universities and the finals in the secondary school level were set and graded in England.

Nigeria had only one university at Ibadan which was a college of the University of London. Today, there are over 13 universities in Nigeria, and hundreds of other institutions of higher education. It must be pointed out that these are modelled along the British system of education. The impact of western education is reaching a greater number of Nigerians. The resulting effect is that we "seem to have one foot in the Western and the other in African culture" (Udo, 1980, p. 35-36). The educated Nigerians seem to suffer from a "cultural mix" (Ibid. 40) since they have to try to satisfy both the Western values they have acquired in formal education and the traditional values in which they grew up. The prefix "mix" seems to be prevalent: mix-economy, mix-culture, etc. It makes it difficult to evolve a national and collective identity. People have become more individualistic and there is no longer the same quality of social integration and cohesiveness. Since the source of
sanction for moral conduct has become a "mix", the level of such conduct has fallen.

C. Urbanization

In addition to the change in the traditional value system and beliefs, there has been an increasing tendency towards individualism. Assertion of individual rights and freedom is fast replacing the group consciousness which was characteristic of traditional Nigeria. This is most evident among the Western educated and particularly the urban dwellers. The effect of rural migration towards the cities is first of all "detribalization" and "urbanization" (Damachi, 1972) of the migrant. There is loss of the intense personal relationship with the family and loss of the sense of community. Though the town dweller maintains fairly close links with his family and village, the intensity of the relationship is lessened by the separation and new individualistic lifestyle. The extended family ties thus still persist though very much weakened because of the fact that nuclear families are becoming more common and an urban style of life is increasing. It should be emphasized that the impact of the colonial period was less among the Northern population where the traditional units have been maintained. Though the pattern is fast changing, the autocracy of the Emir and his control over his subordinate chiefs was very little modified by the British. Islam has proved more tolerant of indigenous social structures than Christianity (Damachi, op. cit.).

D. Marriage

Marriage is one of the most important social institutions everywhere and very particularly in any African country. Before the arrival of the Europeans and their occupation of Nigeria, there was only one form of marriage, though the form differed in the North as compared to the South. This was marriage according to the indigenous customs which in the non-Moslem South permitted unlimited polygamy, and demanded the payment of the bride price to the bride's parents. In the Moslem North, the custom limited polygamy to four wives. However, Christian marriage which is inherited from colonial times and which is prevalent among the Western-educated, and the urbanized Christians, is gaining more prominence.

Thus, there is a co-existence of three marriage customs in Nigeria: (1) the Moslem marriage custom in the North, (2) the indigenous marriage custom in the South, and (3) the English marriage custom based on the English Common Law, now gaining grounds over the two others. Very often this English custom conflicts with one or the other of the two. This adds to the alienation of the people resulting from the "cultural mix." As Damachi points out, "the disintegration of the traditional family is shown first in the diminishing importance of the collective or group aspect of marriage. Marriage is becoming an arrangement between individuals in which the prospective husband, instead of his kinsmen, provides the bride price which is so important in cementing family groups" (Damachi, 1972, pp. 28-29). Evidently, the result is that the authority of the kinsmen has been weakened. Thus, the original basis of social solidarity has been disrupted. Urbanization has contributed enormously to this disruption. In the urban areas the traditional marriage customs are not suited to the environment both social and economic. In fact, such customs are not only considered out of context in the cities, they are regarded as "obstacles to marriage." This is so because of conflicts regarding bride prices, roles of
husband and wife, values, and even the relationship between parents and children. In all these aspects, the urbanized Nigerian tends to lean towards the Western ideals which differ so markedly from the traditional ideals of marriage. The tendency towards the nuclear family system has become more and more pronounced as the urban population increases.

E. Parental Attitude Towards Children

In Nigeria as in all Africa, children are still considered as very important. They are a sign of blessing on the marriage and on their parents. They are a factor of social prestige and status. They are a sign of the fulfillment of the parents. They still care for their parents in old age. They play an economic role—providing labour, and also bride price in time of marriage.

However, as with all other aspects of the family, change is taking place. It is not so much the attitude towards children as the lifestyle that has changed. The tendency towards the nuclear family, for instance, logically leads to the reduction of the number of children in the family. The move towards urban dwelling also has the effect of limiting the number of family members. This is true not only because there is limited space, but the value system is also different. Lastly, the Christian religion which propagates the English marriage custom of one wife one husband has the effect of reducing the number of children in the family. These factors are operative everywhere in the country among the Western educated, the urbanized and the Christians. Their numbers are fast increasing. However, in the North where the Moslem tradition still allows up to four wives per husband, the attitude towards children has not significantly changed, children are as valued as ever before.

However, throughout the country, the education of children has become more and more the responsibility of the schools. This has tended to set the children more and more apart from their parents. It is rapidly creating the culture of the child which is quite different from adult culture. In other words, it is increasingly the Western culture that is prevalent. In this way, the parents especially those who are not Western educated, are being alienated from their children.

F. Introduction of the Western Concept of Social Welfare

Organized welfare services were pioneered by missionaries. They concerned themselves mostly with medical services, education and the care of needy mothers. They also brought to the attention of the colonial governments the necessity to concern themselves with the social welfare of their subjects. Colonial administration assumed responsibility for welfare activities either because of considerations for industrial efficiency or because of the fact that the influence of the working class was being felt in the home countries and the needs of the underprivileged were becoming increasingly recognized. However, the limited social services within Africa during the colonial times were distributed in a domination/exploitation pattern.

The white settlers and expatriates desired the standard of life of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. So the bulk of the social services went to the whites in predominantly black countries.

The administrative structure for social welfare services was a direct imitation of those in the home countries. Thus, the services reflected the structural
traditions, intellectual values and concepts of the colonizing countries and not of the indigenous African societies.

In the former British colonies, many of the welfare services were those that were found in Britain, and as many other activities undertaken in the colonies, they were intended primarily for the maintenance of the colonial administration. Social Welfare Services were available to the colonial settlers and a few selected Nigerians engaged in the productive activities. Since the rural areas and smaller urban centers did not figure in the priority of the colonial masters, they did not receive these services. Consequently, the effect of the introduction of the Western concept of social welfare services was limited to those areas and people actively engaged in the machinery of colonial administration and production. Very little of it reached the masses of the people. Nevertheless, the natural helping systems--family, lineage--which had tended to meet the welfare needs of the masses were seriously weakened by the impact of the colonizing forces.

III. The Present Social Welfare Services in Nigeria

When discussing the Nigerian social welfare system, one has to distinguish between articulated social welfare policies and actual social welfare provisions. As already noted, social welfare, before the advent of missionaries and colonialists, was provided by the extended family system. Organized welfare began to take shape with the pioneering efforts of missionaries. At present, social welfare services are provided by (1) the family system, (2) voluntary agencies (missionaries and international agencies) and (3) government. Individually or collectively, these three systems provide social welfare services to Nigerians.

The Nigerian social welfare organizational structure has gone through four stages. First of all, as administered by the colonial government, the provision of services was the responsibility of the administrative officers. In stage two, the provision of services became the responsibility of departments of government. The third stage was the integration of services within various ministries. Finally, in 1975, the federal government established the Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youth and Sports, to ensure continuous improvement and transformation in the quality of life of the citizens, to coordinate the activities of the various service sectors.

Types of Welfare Services Provided

Social welfare has been the responsibility of the different states. The Federal Ministry of Social Development, Youth and Sports has had the function of coordination of the services on the national basis. In each state, different ministries or departments have been responsible for welfare service delivery. For instance, education and community development was handled by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in some states and Ministry of Home Affairs in some other states. However, social welfare services have tended to follow the same pattern: casework, group work, rehabilitation of the handicapped.

(1) Casework: Which comprised family and child care, juvenile welfare services, after care for approved school children and adult probation service. These services are classified as casework because they are aimed at helping individuals or families in need and helping neglected children. Juvenile welfare centers for the probation
services of juveniles are also available in the states. This probation aspect seems to have been and continues to be one of the most active sectors of social welfare in the country. Adult probation service also enjoys an important consideration for the supervision and rehabilitation of adult offenders.

(2) Groupwork: These are boys' clubs, girls' clubs, women's clubs, etc. These clubs provide social, moral, intellectual and physical activities for assisting members in becoming integrated personalities and useful members of the community. Especially in the cities these groups tend to replace age group guilds and the traditional imitation groups.

(3) Rehabilitation of the Handicapped: This has been carried out in collaboration with regional governments, religious organizations and volunteers. The most outstanding organ for the rehabilitation services is the Nigerian National Advisory Council for the Blind founded in 1960 and which in 1966 became part of the Federal Ministry of Labor. This council has been very active in the care and rehabilitation of the blind. The Ministry of Labor coordinates services to the different categories of handicapped persons in the country.

These three types of services tend to follow patterns of services inherited from colonial times. However, it appears that there are also in the country other forms of welfare services. Prominent among these are foster care, care of the elderly, community development.

(a) Foster Care: One of the aspects of the Western styled social services that does not seem to have figured in the activities of the government is foster care. This is one sector where the kinship ties may still be strong. It has been part of the function of the extended family and kinship system that a man or woman of moderate or exceptional affluence should not use his/her resources simply to his or her own advantage. These resources should be used also for the benefit of the poor kinsmen in particular (Peace, 1979). Thus, foster care sometimes takes the form of apprenticeship where the young person is helped by the kinsman to acquire education or a trade. This is still practiced though it is tending more and more to take the form of contract. The governments, and especially, voluntary agencies such as the religious organizations provide orphanages for children who have lost their parents and for whom the extended family does not assume responsibility.

(b) Care of the Elderly: This is another area in which Nigeria has not yet adopted the Western structure of social service practice. Traditionally, this care has been assumed by the family. As has been noted before, children had recognized their responsibility to take care of their aged parents and grandparents. It appears that this is still the practice. However, this practice is weakened by the overall impact of change. Change in the degree of respect for the elderly, change in composition, function and role of the family, change in terms of cultural values, change in terms of urbanization, Western styled education and so on, have combined to make the care of the elderly more difficult for the family than it was when the kinship system was strong. In addition to this, the fact that more and more women are becoming educated and taking up different roles renders the care of the elderly more difficult also.

This area deserves a lot more consideration by the government. However, in doing so, care should be exercised. It is better to maintain the care of the
elderly by the family than to put the elderly in special homes and institutions as it is the practice in the Western form of social welfare care for the elderly. This would only further alienate them from family. It would help to weaken even further the family ties and family role as "welfare agent." Rather, the government should devise a means of encouraging the family to maintain this care by subsidizing it, for instance. Or, the government may create services whereby the elderly can continue to play a role and thus be maintained as useful citizens while receiving services themselves.

(c) **Community Development:** One of the sectors of social welfare services which requires considerable attention is community development. This is important because the bulk of the population live in the rural areas where casework services and group work activities do not reach. These services have been mostly concentrated in towns. In addition, even in the urban centers where casework is practiced, it is evident that many needs will not be met. Thus, the importance of community development should be unquestioned. It would widen the scope of services, orient the services towards prevention and self-help rather than curative and probationary. Moreover, since the people, especially in the rural areas, are traditionally more community conscious than individualistic, community development is probably the best social welfare approach to adopt. In rural Nigeria, for instance, when an individual has a housing project, the whole village or community would rally together to effect the construction. It is not uncommon to find young people sent for training and to be educated overseas through the collaborative effort of all the members of village or a combination of villages. There are also many local self-help groups, artisans, small scale traders, and cooperatives through which collective effort is mobilized and local projects realized. Thus, recognizing this spirit of the cooperation, mutual help and support, the sense of belonging together which is part of the culture of the people, the encouragement of popular participation in development programs and projects is imperative.

The Federal government has recognized the need to stimulate local participation and contribution to the nation’s development through self-development activities. One way in which the people are encouraged to undertake or participate in community development activities is provision by the government of what could be termed "matching fund." By this is meant the practice whereby the local community would initiate a project with local effort and finance, and the government would provide a subsidy to match the effort. This seems to encourage many community projects which would otherwise not be possible. There are also other ways of encouraging popular participation.

As noted earlier, social welfare services are principally the responsibility of the state governments. In the area of community development, generally state and local governments provide the funds for community development projects. There are different types of projects. Some communities may need feeder roads, others, water pumps, wells, or schools, dispensaries for primary health care, sanitation, sports and recreation facilities, or drainage facilities.

The community development workers are trained by the state government. In recent years many states in Northern Nigeria have been sending community development officials for further training in U.S. These workers and others like them have to mobilize the local communities, and "train local community workers on-the-job" as
one ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Social Development from one of the Nigerian states pointed out. The participation of the local community often may take the form of labor or provision of some material if possible.

The community worker has to work through the local structures, for instance, if a village needs water supply and the work to be done is to dig wells or build roads, the people have to be organized on the local basis to provide the labor needed. The village chief and his council or the local authority structure is the venue through which to rally the people for the project. Thus community development is the social welfare model which approaches the communal or collective experience of the Nigerian people. It not only aims at helping the community help itself, it makes it possible for the individuals to find satisfaction to some of their needs in the groups. It 'pools' resources and makes possible to the individual the realization of what perhaps would not be possible to him.

It is relevant not only to the rural areas, it will be effective in reaching the different communities, rural and urban.

Community development promotes the active participation of the community in order to utilize the available resources for development. These resources include both goods, materials, people and institutions within the community.

In Nigeria these institutions are:

1. Local administrative institution, e.g., different levels of government.
2. Traditional Rulers, e.g., the Council of chiefs and the councils of Emirs.
3. Voluntary Social Organizations.
4. Religious Organizations.

Local Administrative Institutions: These include local government councils, district and village councils. They have development responsibilities besides administrative work. They are much involved in promoting self help activities in most of communities.

Traditional Rulers: These include Chiefs, Emirs, Divisional and Village Heads. They are recognized leaders within a community who command the respect of their subjects. The community workers have to work through the leaders in order to achieve their objectives.

Voluntary Social Organization: These include self help groups, youth clubs, cooperative unions, farmer's clubs etc., often created by the people with specific objectives including the promotion of self help activities, like communal projects.

Religious Organization: In addition to concern for the spiritual needs of the members, they are involved in social development programs. The community development workers need to work with these organizations also.

Government Institutions: These include the various governmental departments like agriculture, sports and recreation, education, health, forestry, community development, etc., involved in various aspects of development through the promotion of specific programs.
The Community Development section of the Federal Ministry of Social Development is responsible for policy development and regulations relating to community development, coordination of inter-state and inter-governmental community development matters and technical advice and assistance to the states. The operation of the section falls under urban community, and rural community, development services. The Urban Community Development Unit should coordinate and assess inter-state and inter-governmental urban community development programs and give technical advice on urban self help programs. It should take responsibility for the operation of community centers and clubs. Rural Community Development should coordinate inter-state and inter-governmental rural community development programs.

So far it has been possible to describe the different structures of the social welfare service activities in the country. As noted before, we have to distinguish between policies and actual service provision. It is hoped that through the above policies and structures, actual service delivery to the population will increase.

Conclusion

Thus, even though the European colonialists have left Nigeria, the alienating effect of their activities is still present. The traditional value system, the family and its basis, are fast being replaced by the Western value system, and style of life.

With regard to implications for welfare policies and practices, we have seen how the introduction of the Western concept of welfare was supposed to take over from the extended family role of social welfare. We have seen also that the welfare system in the colony (Nigeria) was modeled after what obtained in Britain. Not only was it cure oriented, but also limited in scope and clientele.

It has also been noted that the family system, which formerly assumed the role of social welfare services, had been weakened. The result is that since the governmental social welfare services are very limited, a vacuum may have been created. This means that many of those who need social welfare services may not be receiving them.

In terms of policy orientation, it is recommended:

(1) That though the role of the family in the provision of welfare services has diminished, the family should be considered still capable of performing this role and encouraged to continue to do so. "The main task of social services should be to maintain and strengthen the stability and health of the family." (UN, 1964, p.6.). This suggests that in the context of Africa, not only should social welfare services not be fashioned after the colonial model but that in Africa it should be family oriented and adapted to the culture of the people.

(2) The importance of community cannot be overemphasized. If it is true, that despite all the influence of the Europeans in Africa, the African way of life survived somewhat through the persistence of the element of societal community, it goes without argument that social welfare built on this aspect of the African life would be fruitful. Community development and community organization, therefore, should be the vehicle by which this can
effectively be achieved. In this way, not only the communal-
ism which has always manifested itself in African traditional
society, but also the humanism that had been the basis of the
African social organizations would be recaptured. In community
development, the spirit in which each person sees his/her well-
being in the welfare of the group will be revived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


-496-
CONSTITUTIONAL DILEMMA AND SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY IN CANADA

Angela W. Djao

Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan

ABSTRACT

The Canadian Constitution is usually interpreted as giving the provinces primary jurisdiction over social welfare. However, the federal government utilizing other powers provided in the constitution has expanded its role in legitimating the social order by promoting social integration and providing the disadvantaged groups with minimum social security. Thus social welfare is administered by both levels of government. Yet the fact that no mandatory obligations are imposed on either level of government has led to the development of social welfare policy in Canada in a fashion that resembles a crazy patchwork quilt. This is shown in a review of the post-World War II federal-provincial relations in both income security programs, and personal and community social services.

The review also reveals the present situation as one of unresolved contradictions of split responsibilities. The provinces by and large attempt to restrict the federal role in social welfare to that of cost-sharing with minimum policy input. The federal government, on the other hand, is attempting to reduce its money transfers to the provinces and escape from financial responsibility for many programs.

Finally, an examination of the new Constitution reveals the lack of guarantee of social and economic rights for Canadians. The virtual silence over social policies in the recent constitutional debate is not only lamentable but will eventually prove detrimental to the development of Canada as a nation.

INTRODUCTION: BASIC CONTRADICTIONS

The official goal of any welfare state is egalitarianism or at least a reduction in social inequality. Wilensky (1975), after examining the social welfare programs of 22 countries, concludes that the net short-term economic effect of the welfare state is egalitarian, while he holds off speculations about the non-economic or the long-term effects. Yet it is a well-known fact that in the last 30 years the distribution of money income in Canada has not changed significantly (Gillespie, 1976; Caskie, 1979; Ross, 1980). The share of the lowest quintile of income earners has remained about 4% while that of the highest quintile around 42%.
Studies into the nature, role and processes of the welfare state, both in North America and Western Europe, have revealed serious dilemmas in the welfare state such that the express goal of social equality is thwarted. The basic contradiction in social welfare is "between the protective, standard-raising, life-enhancing functions of social security and its role in disciplining the labour force, more specifically as a mechanism for compelling people to adapt to low or intermittent wages" (Guest, 1980: 168), and generally to a social position of dependency and subordination (see Piven & Cloward, 1971; Canadian Civil Liberties Association, 1975; Galper, 1975; Mayo, 1975; Loney, 1977). The overall consequence for the welfare beneficiaries is one of social control.

A second and related dilemma is that while the poor have benefitted from the payouts of social welfare programs, so have the high-income and advantaged groups. In fact the rich are likely to benefit more as they tend to have greater utilization of such in-kind government transfers as education and health services (Badgley & Charles, 1978). Moreover, the financing of social insurance programs (i.e. unemployment insurance, Canada/Quebec Pension Plan and health insurance) is regressive. This is not to mention the "fiscal" welfare system and the "occupational" welfare system which are predominantly enjoyed by the high-income groups and which are typically not perceived or treated as part of social security.

The purpose of this paper is not to elaborate on all the diverse manifestations and consequences of these dilemmas in the Canadian welfare state. Rather, the focus is on the constitutional dilemma in social welfare policy which compounds the difficulties in reducing social inequality in Canada.

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

The British North America Act, the Constitution by which Canada was founded as a nation-state in 1867, was interpreted as giving the provinces primary jurisdiction over social welfare. According to Section 92 of the Act, the legislature in each province could exclusively make laws in relation to such matters as

- public reformatory (subsection 6)
- hospitals, asylums, charities and ellemosynary institutions (subsection 7);
- municipal institutions in the province (subsection 8);
- property and civil rights (subsection 13);
- matters of a local and private nature (subsection 16).

Insofar as the federal government has more revenue at its disposal than the provincial governments, it has from time to time sought to expand its role in legitimating the social order by promoting social justice and integration, and by providing the disadvantaged groups with minimum social security (Stevenson, 1977). Through the adoption of two constitutional amendments, the federal government has increased its powers in the area of social welfare policy. The amendment in 1940 gave the Parliament of Canada exclusive legislative authority in unemployment
insurance (Section 91 (2A) of the B.N.A. Act), and the 1951 amendment gave it authority to make laws in relation to old age pensions and supplementary benefits, including survivor's and disability benefits (Section 94A).

The federal government has not hesitated to make use of other powers provided in the constitution either. Thus in 1945, it introduced Family Allowances without constitutional amendment, on the ground that it had the right to make payments directly to individuals. Moreover, it has established extensive employment-related services on the basis of its powers over the economy and the unemployment insurance; welfare services for veterans on the basis of its responsibility for the military service and the militia; social welfare for Native Peoples because of its responsibility for the well-being of these peoples; and services to immigrants and "citizenship" services because of its responsibility to aliens and naturalization (Armitage, 1975: 61). Finally, the federal government has relied on conditional grants to the provinces to extend its influence in social policies. Medicare, public housing, higher education and Canada Assistance Plan are the most important examples of past or ongoing conditional grants.

Thus we see that power for social welfare is divided between the two levels of government: federal and provincial. The virtual impossibility of matching division of sources of revenue with the division of government powers has led to serious constitutional controversies (Birch, 1955). But it would be well to recall also another observation made by Elizabeth Wallace in 1950:

The Act did not impose any obligations to provide welfare services upon either the Dominion or the provinces, but simply allocated, with less precision than its framers had hoped to achieve, the various spheres of jurisdiction, any subsequent action being permissive, not mandatory (Wallace, 1950: 384, emphasis added).

The fact that no mandatory obligations were imposed on either level of government has led to the development of social welfare policy in Canada in a fashion that resembles a crazy patchwork quilt. Consequently the rights and needs of Canadians are compromised while "the federal government (wavers) between leading the nation and bargaining piecemeal with the provinces" (Bell & Tepperman, 1979: 181).

POST-WORLD WAR II DEVELOPMENT

The post-World War II development of income security programs and social services must be seen within the context of federal-provincial relations because the Canadian state actually comprises eleven governments: one federal and ten provincial. The total Canadian social welfare institution can best be viewed as an outcome of a peculiar federal system with a weak and unpopular central government. The years between 1945 and 1962 are known as the era of "joint federalism" during with the federal government and provincial governments, utilizing the conditional cost-sharing program device, jointly established no fewer than 56 programs (Guest,
1980). Particularly in the area of income security, the federal government's attempts at greater political centralization led to the creation of direct cash transfer payments from the federal government to individual Canadians (Banting, 1982). This move towards greater federal involvement and, in fact, leadership in social welfare was not simply due to the financial inability of the provinces to meet increasing demands. The main reasons that the federal government assumed more powers in social welfare, while acknowledging provincial paramountcy in the area, were:

1. Only the central government could effect a national income redistribution.
2. The federal government wishes to be seen by citizens as conferring tangible cash benefits such as Family Allowances and Old Age Security.
3. Only the federal government could ensure some common standard such that there would be a measure of equity in social security provision from province to province.
4. The welfare programs must be portable so as not to impede the movement of Canadians across the country.
5. The federal government saw in the exercise of welfare powers the opportunity of stabilizing the economy by affecting Canadians' total demand for goods and services (Armitage, 1975).

The last consideration, that is, federal influence in national economic policy, was especially important in the expansion of public assistance. According to Drover and Gartner (1980), the developments during the fifties and sixties of growing domination of the Canadian economy by the foreign-based multinational corporations, the creation of a branch-plant economy and the preponderant reliance on the resource sector relative to the manufacturing sector, combined to weaken the power and control of the federal government over economic decisions. As the federal government lost its grip over the economy, it turned steadily to the legitimation function of introducing social welfare programs to promote social harmony and of assuring an acceptable standard of living to the poor. This legitimation function was all the more urgent in the face of mounting militancy among Quebec nationalists that threatened the country's unity itself. The legitimation function was carried out in the name of the war on poverty (Thatcher, 1982).

Meanwhile, since the end of WW II, there was rapid development of the economies of the larger provinces, especially in the resource industries which are under provincial jurisdiction. This not only brought more revenues from resource royalties to the provinces but led to the expansion of provincial government institutions and structures as demands for their services increased. Provincial government spending likewise increased, from 6.4% of the Gross National product in 1955 to 16% in 1974. While sizeable amounts of the increase were due to health and welfare expenditures, most of the additional costs were related to the development of the physical infrastructure and education as required by economic growth. Increasing provincial spending spawned frictions between the provinces and Ottawa, with increasing pressures from the larger provinces for fiscal decentralization and more "tax points" (Stevenson, 1977).
By means of conditional transfers the federal government was able to persuade the provinces to institute medicare and various social programs. However, the federal government's participation in policy decisions on social welfare was seen as an invasion of provincial jurisdiction. The provinces opposed the federal intervention for a number of reasons. People in different regions had different needs and the provincial government was in the best position to assess these needs and make provisions for them. Moreover, different provinces had set precedents introducing new programs, for example, medicare and the Family Income Plan in Saskatchewan; they did not have to wait for the federal initiative. The provinces also argued that divided jurisdiction over social welfare only added to the questions of responsibility and accountability. Finally, a high profile of the federal government in social welfare would necessarily mean more transfers from the richer provinces to the poorer ones. This was not always looked upon favourably by the richer provinces of Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta (Armitage, 1975).

Between 1967 and 1977 there was a series of federal-provincial negotiations over revenue collection, financial contributions and distribution of monies and services. The issues have by no means been resolved, but the entire question of welfare policy has receded from the limelight in federal-provincial relations, pre-empted by the question of constitutional division of power over natural resources and severe economic problems in the early 1980's. There was, however, agreement on the Established Programs Financing (EPF) arrangement for funding of health and post-secondary education programs by the end of the Seventies. Those programs would no longer be cost-shared. The federal government gave up a share of the income tax to the provinces, thus allowing the provinces a free hand in the operation of the program.

In the area of income security and other social services, no clear-cut resolution was attained, as will be seen in the following two sections.

1. Income Security Programs

The Canada Assistance Plan of 1966 (CAP) consolidated previous federal-provincial, shared-cost programs including unemployment assistance, old age assistance, blind and disabled persons assistance, child welfare and administrative costs. Through the Plan, the federal government entered into agreements with the provinces to reimburse 50% of the costs incurred in provincial or municipal assistance to the needy. There would be no upper limit on the federal contribution provided that (a) there would be a needs-test; (b) residence would not be a condition of benefit, and (c) there would be a procedure for appeals by recipients against administrative decisions (Armitage, 1975; Djao, 1979; Guest, 1980).

The administration of social assistance is left to the provinces, sometimes in cooperation with the municipalities. The Canada Assistance Plan contains two important features. First, assistance is not only intended to assist persons in need but also those who are likely to be in need. The latter category is interpreted to include individuals and families of the wage-earning poor who could be given public assistance to supplement their income from employment. However, in
practice assistance to the wage-earning poor has been insignificant. Second, the Plan provides services to help people, mainly social assistance recipients, find and maintain employment. The services include training, counselling, homemaker and child care services.

The rates of assistance and criteria for eligibility are set by each province. The differences among the provinces are determined not so much by differential living costs as by differential ability or willingness to spend on the poor (Armitage, 1975). Thus, the definition of a recipient's needs and the way these needs are met are somewhat arbitrary. The rates established by all the provinces are below the poverty line, whether one uses the poverty line provided by Statistics Canada or the Canadian Council on Social Development or the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Nevertheless, from 1960 to 1975 the growth of public assistance in Canada was phenomenal: the number of persons assisted increased by 278% while expenditures on constant dollars increased by 840% (compared to 254% and 246% in the U.S. respectively) (Drover & Gartner, 1980).

Critics point out that as the Plan stands now it is ineffectual in combating poverty. The Special Senate Committee on Poverty recommended the guaranteed annual income (GAI) approach instead.

In 1970, John Munro, the minister of National Health and Welfare published Income Security for Canadians. According to this White Paper, while demogrants (ie: universal programs), social insurance and social assistance were to be retained as instruments of income security policy, the main thrust of the government's proposed policy for the coming years was "developing the guaranteed income technique as a major anti-poverty policy" (Canada Health & Welfare, 1970: 2).

The guaranteed annual income is not a special method of income security. Rather it represents a social goal. In public discussion so far, the basic components of GAI include an income support program to assist those not in the labour force and an income supplement program to assist the wage-earning poor. These programs would be administered according to demonstrated need and would have built-in incentives to encourage the recipients to earn additional income. GAI would cover many more of the wage-earning poor than presently covered by the CAP. Assistance received in this way would be less stigmatizing, as a simpler income test for eligibility can be integrated within the tax system. However, the differential reduction rates in the two-tier program would reaffirm the "less eligibility" principle, ie: "total financial rewards to those who work would always exceed benefits to those who do not work" (Guest, 1980: 193).

There was a great deal of interest in the GAI in the early seventies although only Manitoba took up the federal offer of assuming 75% of the costs in launching a GAI experiment. Meanwhile, in 1973, the new minister of National Health and Welfare, Marc Lalonde, initiated a comprehensive social security review with his Orange Paper, Working Paper on Social Security in Canada. The Mincome Manitoba experiment staff worked closely with the Federal-Provincial Working Party on Income
Maintenance which was one of the three major components of the social security review. (The other two were, Working Parties on Employment, and Social and Employment Services.)

In 1977, as a result of the social security review, the federal government tried to persuade the provinces to accept some form of GAI. There was some urgency on the part of the federal authorities in the light of the new constitutional crisis posed by the election of the separatist party, Parti Quebecois, in 1976. However, the interest in GAI had waned. The provinces, led by Ontario, opposed the scheme. Inflationary pressures following the 1974 oil pricing crisis, increasing unemployment, and a general economic downturn did not augur well for a new thrust in income security endeavours. The GAI was shelved. However, the technical reports of the Mincome Manitoba experiment published in 1979 provide valuable data on a number of technical and policy questions, such as the integration of the GAI with the tax system and the existing social insurance programs. Should some form of nation-wide GAI be reconsidered at a later date to replace the stigma-conferring social assistance plan, useful information and experience could be gleaned from the Mincome Manitoba reports (Splane, 1980).

There were changes in other income security programs in the seventies. In 1974, the amount of Family Allowances was increased. While Ottawa continues to provide all the funds for Family Allowances, the provinces could vary payments according to the age and/or number of children in the family. This change was an attempt at reaching some measure of jurisdictional harmony between the federal and provincial governments.

As a result of the social security review, the benefits of both Old Age Security (OAS) and Old Age Security Guaranteed Income Supplement (OAS-GIS) were increased and indexed to the consumer price index on a quarterly basis. On the other hand, in the late 1970's, unemployment insurance regulations were tightened to limit eligibility. Economic projects such as Opportunities for Youth and the Company of Young Canadians were abolished, and the Local Initiatives Programs were curtailed. These changes all took place in the income security field traditionally handled exclusively by the federal government and were instituted as part of the budgetary restraint policy. But this decreased responsibility for welfare programs also took place at a time when the provinces were asserting their jurisdictional rights and prerogatives with renewed vigour. As will be seen in the next section, personal and community social services became an even greater casualty in government cutbacks and increasing tensions in federal-provincial relations.

II. Personal and Community Social Services

Most of the personal and community social services established in the first half of the century were operated by philanthropic organizations in the private, voluntary sector. Until 1966, the provinces alone were responsible for state-provided social services, except for vocational rehabilitation services for the disabled for which there was federal cost-sharing since 1952 (Guest, 1980). Through the cost-sharing arrangements agreed upon in the Canada Assistance Plan
(1966), the federal government began to exert influence on the development of social welfare services across the country. The broad objectives of the CAP social services were "the lessening, removal or prevention of the causes and effects of poverty, child neglect or dependence on public assistance" (quoted in Armitage, 1975: 149). Services include casework, counselling, homemaker and day care services, and community development. It should be noted that preventive services are part of the express purpose of the Plan, although in practice, access to services is limited to those who are already deemed to be "in need", that is, social assistance recipients. Thus, the social services provided by the provincial departments of social welfare are labelled, and they, along with social assistance payments, are stigma-conferring.

Although the provision for the federal government to pay 50% of the costs of the welfare services has been instrumental or even decisive in establishing many services badly needed in some communities, there has also been resentment by the provinces that the priorities are often set by the central government without due regard for the particular needs and conditions in the different regions.

By the early 1970's, inadequacy in both quality and quantity of publicly provided social services became increasingly apparent (Canada Special Senate Committee on Poverty, 1971; Quebec Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare, 1971). The thinking on social services in Marc Lalonde's Orange Paper (1973), however, did not indicate any significant departure from the orientation already embodied in the CAP. The paper focused narrowly on those services related to income security and the entry or re-entry of those on assistance into the labour force. Job counselling, training, placement, rehabilitation, homemaker and child care services were among the services emphasized. Despite the limited version of the Orange Paper, new perspectives on social services were soon introduced by the Federal-Provincial Working Party on Social and Employment Services. The Working Party rejected the "case" approach in the provision of social services heretofore relied upon by government social workers. Instead, members of the Working Party argued for community development and social change goals for social services. Among the recommendations were that eligibility for services should be separated from financial assistance. "Certain public social services should be available to anyone upon demand, without needs-testing or payment of fees ..., other services upon the basis of diagnosed need ('case services'). User charges should applied to some services ..." (Kelly, 1977). Citizen participation in planning and provision of social services was also recommended.

As a result of the social security review and negotiations, the federal and provincial ministers of welfare acknowledged in a communique, February 4, 1976, that there is

a recognition of the importance of social services for ensuring the opportunity for personal development of all Canadians and preventing and alleviating the social and economic problems of individuals and communities. It is intended that the new legislation assist the provinces in responding to the changing
social and personal needs of Canadians. To that end, the scope of cost-sharing of a number of services will be extended and a number of new services will become eligible for cost-sharing (Canada Federal-Provincial Ministers of Welfare, 1976).

The Social Services Act (Bill C-57) introduced in the Commons in June, 1977 sought to meet this promise. Under Bill C-57, some services would be cost shareable when provided on the basis of identified need. User charges related to a person's income would apply to certain services (such as day care, meals on wheels, and counselling of all types). Other cost-shareable services would be made available free upon demand, without any needs- or means-test.

Bill C-57 was intended to provide an impetus toward and a financial incentive for developing a system of universal and less stigmatizing social services by the provinces. It signified a strong federal commitment to the development of personal and community social services. The provinces, on the other hand, would waive residency as a criterion of eligibility and establish appeal boards independent of provincial department of social services (Riches, 1977).

Despite the approval accorded to the proposed legislation by all the provinces in prior negotiations, during the summer of 1977, there was opposition by Quebec and two other provinces. The federal categorization scheme of certain services as universal, limited access, or fee chargeable was perceived to be inflexible and to indicate undue federal control of the services. Demanding more tax points to finance and run its own programs, Quebec denounced the Bill as "an unwarranted intrusion by the federal government into an area of exclusive provincial jurisdiction" (National Council of Welfare, 1978).

In September, 1977, three months after Bill C-57 was introduced, Marc Lalonde withdrew it from the Parliament. He announced that the income security programs under the CAP would continue to operate on the current 50:50 cost-sharing arrangement while social services were going to be financed by block funding. Part of the block funding would be "basic cash contribution" (a lump sum grant of equal per capita amounts to each province) and part a "levelling payment" (Boadway, 1980).

A new bill (C-55) proposing the block funding formula was given first reading on 12 May 1978, but died on the order paper. So legislation is still at the stage of the CAP 50:50 cost-sharing arrangement for both income maintenance programs and social services. Nor have there been any remarkable changes in the kind of programs offered.

The inability of the federal and provincial governments to devise a concerted strategy for improving social services has serious consequences, not just for the poor, but also for many other minority groups such as women, the Native Peoples, the elderly, the disabled, and the mentally retarded, regardless of socio-economic backgrounds. All these categories of people share the experience of having to cope with a bureaucracy that makes it difficult to discover which level of government offers a given service or funding program.
PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The above review of federal-provincial disagreements on social welfare shows that the present jurisdictional division of powers in this area, even with amendments to the Constitution and periodic federal-provincial negotiations, have not resolved the contradictions of split responsibilities. The conditional grant as a method of financing social welfare has its supporters and opponents. However, the question is more than just that of the best way of federal financing; conditional grants, tax abatements or unconditional equalization payments. The question is also more than just one of jurisdiction. As has been noted, there was very little discussion of income redistribution during the entire period of social welfare review, although that problem was "central to the articulation of an equitable social security plan" (Bergeron, 1979: 3). This silence over a very crucial point in social welfare is all the more distressing if one recalls the stated goal of the social security review by Marc Lalonde in his 1973 Working Paper. Assuring the provinces some degree of flexibility in determining the levels of income guarantees and supplementation within joint federal-provincial programs in their own provinces, Lalonde states:

Inherent in this flexibility formula ... is the proposition that the Parliament of Canada must continue to play a role in the income security system: that it has a responsibility to combat poverty by way of a fair distribution of income among people across Canada; and that it has a responsibility to promote national unity through preventing extremes in income disparities across the country.

If social welfare including both income security programs and social services is considered in the light of redistribution of income, commitments and obligations are at issue. Obviously only the federal government can redistribute income on a national scope, but there are also disparities within provinces for which redistribution by the provincial government is needed. Thus, shared responsibility as a principle should be recognized as such, the presence of the federal government in social policy should be ensured, and the duties of the federal government in social welfare, especially in the income security programs, should be more clearly stated. Similarly, the acknowledgement of provincial paramountcy in the provision of social welfare is not enough. Rather, obligations to provide social welfare should be imposed on specific levels of the government, be it federal, provincial or even municipal.

During those times when the federal government tried to expand its role in social welfare policy, it used arguments such as strengthening national unity, promoting national interest, or achieving some degree of uniformity in standards, etc. Yet we have seen that during periods of economic slump, it has not hesitated to back away from these goals or diminish its support for social equality in Canada (Carrier, 1981: 8). On the other hand, the provincial governments have typically argued that they are in the best position to judge local needs and hence provide the
appropriate social services. On the basis of this argument, they have vehemently opposed federal intervention in areas of provincial jurisdiction. However, there is no convincing evidence that the provinces on their own have the will or resources to provide a social services minimum paralleling the income security minimum. Perhaps the case of Saskatchewan, where a social democratic government avowedly with a social conscience was in power in the recent past for eleven years, 1971-1982, may illustrate the point.

Saskatchewan's average annual growth rate of real spending on the Departments of Health, Education and Social Services declined from 4.5 per cent from 1971-76 to 1.3 per cent for 1976-81 (Harding and Riches, 1982). Yet by 1977, 77 per cent of the provincial spending on social services was going to institutional care (mostly operated by commercial agencies), and 50 per cent was spent on "privatised" welfare (that is, services provided by non-profit, commercial or voluntary agencies). This pattern of spending left little resource for initiating and developing preventive services, or more generally, developing a comprehensive social welfare system aimed at an equitable distribution of social and economic benefits from Saskatchewan's growing wealth. The government was "primarily concerned with (natural) resources such as oil, potash and uranium and with the capital requirements of two Crown Corporations -- Saskpower and Sasktel" (Riches, 1980: 14). It would appear that in ideology, policy orientation and practice in the area of social welfare, Saskatchewan like other provinces was throwing back the responsibility for citizens' welfare to the individual, the family, private organizations and the forces of the marketplace.

This rather gloomy picture of social welfare policy development in Saskatchewan should serve warning to the urgent need of a constitutional reform that will not only delineate jurisdicitional division of power but also impose duties on the different levels of government to provide comprehensive social welfare to all Canadians. Such a reform should ensure that the roles of the federal and provincial governments be accepted and developed as creative and constructive forces (Riches, 1977) in envisioning, structuring and implementing a system of social security needed in modern society.

CANADA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

Canada's new Constitution was formally proclaimed in April, 1982. However, it does not resolve the dilemmas ensuing from split responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments. Section 92 of the Constitution remains unchanged. The most salient feature of the new Constitution is the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But the Charter also falls short of expectations. Although it is said in Part III of the Charter, Equalization and Regional Disparities, that "Parliament and the Legislatures together with the government of Canada and the provincial governments, are committed to ... promoting equal opportunities for the well-being of Canadians," there is no guarantee that every person has social and economic rights.
In speaking of rights, one could broadly distinguish between "civil and political" rights on the one hand and "social and economic" rights on the other. The rights of life, freedom of association, freedom of belief and opinion, and democratic rights belong to the first category. The rights to work, equality of economic opportunity and social security fall into the second category (Watson, 1976). In many European countries it is generally accepted that rights of citizenship include social and economic rights (Wolfe, 1980). It is recognized that the nature of social rights is neither self-evident nor given. The content of social rights, moreover, is relative to the prevailing standard of living in a particular society at a particular time. However, in this regard, we can refer to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, (Canada, incidentally, played a key role in bring about its proclamation in 1948). The U.N. Universal Declaration includes economic, social and cultural, as well as political and civil, rights. Article 25 (1) reads:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control;

and Article 24 reads:

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay (United Nations, 1978, p. 1).

The U.N. Declaration not only recognizes that social services to meet human needs are a human right, but also that economic rights include the right to an adequate standard of living. One can argue that the latter could embrace the right to a guaranteed income. In Canada we are in a good position today to venture into this income security program. Not only do we have the technological capabilities for the data processing and computation necessary for such a program, but experiences gained in recent years have provided answers to some important questions. The refundable child tax credit established in 1979 has demonstrated that the personal income tax system can be integrated with the social welfare system in the form of an equitable, non-stigmatizing income security program. The simple income test employed in Guaranteed Income supplement to Old Age Security has also been proven to be workable. Moreover, the Mincome Manitoba reports have provided solutions to some technical problems in implementing GAI. Whether or not GAI will become a reality in the 1980's will be "related more to political and constitutional factors than to the availability of answers to technical problems of social security" (Splane, 1980: 87).

Some of the wording in the U.N. Universal Declaration may be subject to discussion and modification. Nevertheless, the general principles proclaimed are sound guidelines for a constitutional framework that seeks to ensure the well-being
of citizens in a modern industrial society. Unfortunately such issues were not considered in discussions leading to the adoption of the new Constitution.

To conclude, the prospects for social welfare in Canada at this point in history are dim. The virtual silence over social policies in the recent constitutional debate is lamentable and will eventually prove detrimental to the development of Canada as a nation. One way of resolving the other dilemmas stated at the beginning of the paper -- social development vs. social control and differential welfare benefits to different social groups -- was to address the constitutional dilemma regarding social welfare. It would not be enough simply to allocate spheres of jurisdiction. Rather, only when obligations are imposed on each level of government for various aspects of social security could citizen groups articulate their demands for income redistribution and quality social services in a directed and focused way.

NOTES

1. "Social welfare" and "social security" are used interchangeably in this paper. Social welfare is conceptualized as the societal institution concerned with the security and well-being of the individual and the family. It includes such measures as "general income redistribution programmes, payments to persons in need, social insurance schemes, welfare counselling and other services, housing, hospital and medical care insurance, public health clinics, and other preventive health measures, vocational training and rehabilitation, urban redevelopment and the development of depressed regions and other programmes" (Statistics Canada, 1978). The entire institution is made up of two broad components: income security and social services. The latter in turn includes three categories: preventive and public health services, curative health services, and social welfare services. In this paper, in addition to income security programmes, we are mainly concerned with social welfare services, and not those services related to education, health, adult corrections, recreation or housing.

2. The cost-shareable services based on needs-test include: "children's protective, preventive and developmental services; home support services, such as homemakers and meals on wheels; family and other types of counselling; rehabilitation services for the disabled, whether or not employment enhancing" (Kelly, 1978: 158).

3. The universal, free services include: information and referral, crisis intervention, family planning, community-oriented preventive services (such as family life and pre-natal education) and community development services.

4. By the early 1970's it became increasingly clear that all Canadians, and not just the poor, had need for personal and community social services at some time.
in their lives. However, the poor would likely have greater reliance on services provided by the state while the rich could purchase certain services in the private sector.

5. It should be noted that the "social minimum" suggested in the Marsh Report (1943) was essentially an income support minimum formed by an integration of social insurance, family allowances and social assistance.

6. In this paper, I follow the definition of "rights" given by Baines (1980: 1): 

A 'right' is any claim which is protected by law. The phrase 'human rights' will be used to designate those claims which people make against the state by virtue of their membership in the state. There are other terms such as 'civil liberties' or 'fundamental freedoms and rights' which might be used interchangeably with 'human rights'. Generally speaking, these terms focus on the distinction between what a citizen is entitled to do or not do and what a government can do or not do. If the normal function of government is to make and enforce rules; then a human, or citizen's, rights imposes limitations on that rule-making ability. There is, nevertheless, a wide variety of expectations about what those limitations should be.

REFERENCES

Armitage, Andrew
1975 SOCIAL WELFARE IN CANADA: IDEALS AND REALITIES. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Badgley, R.F. and C.A. Charles

Baines, Beverley

Banting, Keith G.

Bell, David and Lorne Tepperman
1979 THE ROOTS OF DISUNITY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Birch, A.H.

-510-
Boadway, Robin
1980  INTERGOVERNMENTAL TRANSFERS IN CANADA. Toronto: Canada Tax Foundation.

Canada. Department of National Health and Welfare

Canada. Government of Canada
1940  REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON DOMINION-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada. Special Senate Committee on Poverty
1971  POVERTY IN CANADA. Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada. Statistics Canada

Canadian Civil Liberties Education Trust
1975  WELFARE PRACTICES AND CIVIL LIBERTIES: A CANADIAN SURVEY. Toronto: Canadian Civil Liberties Education Trust.

Canadian Council on Social Development

Carrier, Jean-Guy

Caskie, Donald M.
1979  CANADIAN FACT BOOK ON POVERTY. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Djao, A.W.
Drover, Glenn and Dennis Gartner  

Galper, Jeffry H.  


Guest, Dennis  

Hepworth, H. Philip  

Kelly, Maurice  

Loney, Martin  

Marsh, Leonard  

Mishra, Ramesh  

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward  

Quebec Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare  
Riches, Graham

Ross, David P.
1980 THE CANADIAN FACT BOOK ON INCOME DISTRIBUTION. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Splane, Richard

Stevenson, Garth

Thatcher, Richard W.
1982 "The Political Economy of Canada's 'War on Poverty'." Paper read at the Conference of the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, February 11, 1982.

Wallace, Elizabeth

United Nations

Watson, David

Wolfe, David

Yelaja, Shankar A.
ABSTRACT

The success of Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) has been well documented. The program was productive in conservation work and popular with the general public. For the most part, CCC camps were welcomed by nearby communities. Most scholarly work on the CCC has focused on policy developments in Washington and, in many of these accounts, the popularity of the CCC has been described in terms of agrarian values such as tree planting and healthy outdoor living. In contrast, this study focuses on the local level, looks at concrete variables directly related to camp-community relations, and concludes that acceptance of the CCC camps was governed largely by more tangible economic matters.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was a New Deal program which engaged unemployed young men in conservation work in rural areas. The brainchild of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the CCC was genuinely committed to tree planting, erosion control, and other conservation projects. The program was highly successful in these efforts. The U.S. Army was given responsibility for managing the residential work centers, or "camps," and the Forest Service, the National Park Service, and other conservation-oriented offices of government managed the work projects. The CCC lasted from April of 1933 to June of 1942. Over this nine year period, approximately three million young men, ages 17 through 28, were employed for an average period of ten months.

"Roosevelt's Tree Army," as the CCC was sometimes called, was among the most highly regarded New Deal agencies. Republicans supported the program almost as enthusiastically as Democrats. Approval also was reflected in the small, rural communities near the CCC camps. Communities generally welcomed the camps. As one indication of this support, an overwhelming majority of letters from communities to the CCC director's office were positive. Most letters requested new camps or requested to keep already existing camps (Table 1). For the camps, this support was crucial—the nearby community often represented the only social and recreational opportunities available to CCC enrollees and staff.

* The author has received research grant support from the U.S. Department of Labor and the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute

-514-
Many communities were willing to go out of their way to keep a CCC camp, as illustrated by this telegram from the Arcadia Community Club in Wisconsin to Senator F. Ryan Duffy: "KINDLY CONTACT CCC HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON AND MILWAUKEE SO THAT WISCONSIN EROSION CAMPS MAY BE CONTINUED ANOTHER SIX MONTHS IMMENSE AMOUNT OF WORK STILL LEFT UNDONE NEAR HERE WINTER QUARTERS AVAILABLE IN ARCADIA IF BARRACKS ARE NOT DEEMED ADVISABLE." Note also this observation following a survey of 272 former CCC enrollees in Cleveland: "From the boys' own stories it would seem that, on the whole, the surrounding communities were not only glad to receive their money for the commercial recreation available but were friendly to the boys themselves. Some mentioned being invited to private homes. One interviewer noted that one small town arranged beds in the town hall so that the boys who came into town could have a place to sleep other than the hotel."

Most accounts of the CCC have suggested or implied that the foundation of the CCC's popularity was agrarian romanticism. According to this view, the simple, hard work and country living of the CCC represented, in the minds of many Americans, a return to a pristine era—an era which existed before the factory replaced the frontier as the most imposing symbol of American life. No doubt this vision substantially influenced public reaction to the CCC, and continues to do so. However, there are also more down to earth explanations for the CCC's popularity. And specifically, there are more down to earth explanations for the nature of CCC camp relationships with nearby communities, not all of which were positive. It is these more tangible influences, rather than ideological perspectives, which are the focus of this study.

HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH METHODS

A variety of possible influences have been suggested in previous accounts of the CCC. Six of the most frequently suggested variables have been: (1) race, (2) local enrollees, (3) behavior in town, (4) the work project, (5) local staff, and (6) camp spending. These six variables are selected as hypotheses for analysis in this study not only because they have been mentioned in previous accounts of the CCC, but also because they represent three distinct categories of variables. "Race" and "local enrollees" are enrollee characteristic variables. "Behavior in town" and "work projects" are variables which relate to daily CCC activities. And "local staff" and "camp spending" are variables which relate to the CCC's impact on the local economy. Thus, the six specific variables are used in this study to gain some insight into the importance of the broader categories which the variables represent. In doing so, the study attempts to move toward some broader conclusions regarding the nature of the camp-community relations in the CCC.

As the primary source of data, the study utilizes correspondence from communities across the country to the CCC director's office in Washington. The study attempts to "see" camp-community issues from the viewpoint of local communities rather than the viewpoint of policy-makers in Washington. Correspondence from communities is the only data source which permits such an analysis. These letters—about 1700 in all—are arranged alphabetically by city or county and are housed with the CCC records in the U.S. National Archives. Of the 43 boxes of letters in this series, five boxes have been selected at random, yielding a total of 202 letters in the sample. Because letters are arranged alphabetically by city name, the sample covers all states. A "letter", in the context of this study, is often represented by a petition or by a series of letters concerning
the same issue in the same locality at the same time. The content of this sample of community correspondence is illustrated in Table I.

To reach more detailed conclusions regarding community concerns, it is useful to look not only at overall correspondence, but at community complaints as well. Because of the small percentage of complaint letters in the overall correspondence, however, it would be prohibitively time consuming to get a reasonable sample of community complaint letters from this file. Fortunately, the researcher has discovered another source of CCC correspondence data, the "Precedent File" (unlisted in the National Archives inventories). The Precedent File contains, on separate notecards, a reference to each piece of correspondence to the director's office arranged by subject. The researcher has pulled all cards under headings such as "complaints," "dissatisfaction," "protest," etc. A total of 558 such letters are identifiable from "communities," i.e., persons other than CCC enrollees, their families, or CCC employees. More than half of these letters (324) were part of an organized drive by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to halt the sale of beer in CCC camps; these letters are not included in the analysis. The remaining letters, illustrating community complaints by topic, are detailed in Table 2. The number of community complaint letters identified in the Precedent File, not including the WCTU letters, is remarkably consistent with the sample of overall correspondence. (If the sample is extrapolated to the universe of community correspondence, we would expect 232 complaint letters, while the Precedent File yields 234.)

DATA AND INTERPRETATION

Race. There is reason to believe that black CCC camps were not welcomed as cordially as white camps. (In the CCC most black enrollees were segregated into all black camps.) Many observers of the CCC have reached this conclusion, for example: "It was soon obvious that the success of Negro camps was conditional on winning the acquiescence of the local communities in their establishment. This was no easy task. No sooner had such camps been occupied than angry complaints began to flood Fechner's office insisting that they be filled with white enrollees or be removed." This observation, by John Salmond, is the generally accepted view, but it is in need of qualification.

To begin, there is little doubt that black camps frequently were targets of fears and complaints on the part of nearby white communities. In three studies focusing on the CCC in specific regions of the country, Kenneth Baldridge, James Hanson, and Barrett Potter have illustrated the depth of racist sentiment. Potter, looking at the CCC in New York state, has suggested that "perhaps no single problem was as great as that raised by the enrollment of blacks and the location of camps for them." Revival of Ku Klux Klan activity in at least one New York locality was attributed to the presence of black CCC enrollees. For the northern rocky mountains, Hanson has reported: "There was apparently only one black company in Montana... The shocking discrimination against the black companies was all too apparent at this camp... the boy's exemplary behavior did not protect them from discrimination." And note the following plea from a woman in Brigham City, Utah, to Governor Harry Blood: "At present the War Department has stationed a very undesirable class of men, such as Mexicans, Philippians sic and, worst of all, Negroes. Imagine the social problems this incurs in our city. As a mother of two growing daughters, whose property and home joins this camp, I implore your support and influence in having this group of men moved from our community."
## TABLE 1

**COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AS INDICATED BY GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE CCC DIRECTOR'S OFFICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Request Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Request for new camp</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request to keep existing camp</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Request for specific work project</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General praise, need for jobs or business, or other remarks indicating positive impact of CCC camp</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL POSITIVE LETTERS</strong></td>
<td>172</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL NEGATIVE LETTERS</strong> (Complaints, Concerns, etc.)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL LETTERS ON NEUTRAL SUBJECTS</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OVERALL TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>202</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Community Correspondence, Series 300, Correspondence of the Director, General Records, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. These data represent an approximately twelve percent random sample of all letters in this file. The term "letter" has a special meaning in these data, sometimes indicating a petition or multiple letters on the same subject from the same community.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not employing local tradespersons, complaints about CCC job appointments, or negative effects on local jobs</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaints about camp conditions, enrollee welfare, or staff misconduct</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not purchasing supplies locally, damage to local businesses, not taking competitive bids, or not paid for services</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollee misconduct</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaints about negative impact of work projects</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposed to black camps</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollees inappropriately selected</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>234</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Precedent File, Correspondence of the Director, General Records, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. The Precedent File contains on separate notecards a reference to each piece of correspondence which reached the CCC Director's Office between 1933 and 1939, arranged by subject. The data in this table represent the complete listing of letters under headings such as "complaints," "protests," "dissatisfaction," etc. The term "letter" has a special meaning in these data, sometimes indicating a petition or multiple letters on the same subject from the same community. The total of 234 letters shown here does not include 324 letters which were written in a campaign by members of The Women's Christian Temperence Union protesting the sale of beer in CCC camps.
Looking at more systematic evidence, letters protesting black camps did reach the director's office in Washington, but not in the "flood" that Salmond has suggested. Among complaint letters from communities, only 16 letters were in opposition to a black camp (Table 2). This was only 6.8 percent of all complaint letters filed. Outspoken opposition to black camps was not extensive. Overall, it is less than certain that enrollee race was a constant and enduring problem in camp-community relations in the CCC. Kenneth Hendrickson, CCC historian, has supported the more moderate conclusion that enrollee race was "generally not much of a problem."

Some communities, in fact, requested black camps for their vicinity. One notable example is a 1935 letter from Lyndon Baines Johnson, who was then director of the National Youth Administration in Texas. Johnson wrote to Fechner supporting a proposal for a black CCC camp at Prairie View, Texas:

Dear Mr. Fechner:

Attached is self-explanatory correspondence with regard to the establishment of a C.C.C. camp for negro boys in the vicinity of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College at Prairie View, Texas.

Any assistance you may be able to give us concerning this project will be deeply appreciated. I have no doubt that it would contribute very much to the solution of the problem of unemployed negro youth in Texas.

With every good wish I am
Sincerely,
Lyndon B. Johnson,
NYA Director of Texas

Very often it was the Chamber of Commerce which wrote in support of a black camp. Note for example this request from a Chamber of Commerce in Georgia: "This is to advise you that Laurens County is above prejudice of this kind and we offer you this large county for the location of a Negro camp. We can promise you the wholehearted cooperation of all our civic bodies and county officials in locating a camp of this kind for negroes in the county." As this letter indicates, racist reactions to black camps often were of secondary importance to the positive economic impact of the camps on nearby communities. Rarely, in fact, did a letter of protest reach the Director's office after a black camp had been established for even a short while. Protests generally arose prior to establishment of black camps. In a "Report on Colored Camps in the Fourth Corps Area," CCC Chaplain George Imes wrote: "It is common knowledge that at the inauguration of the CCC Camps, many communities objected strenuously, and sometimes violently, to locating a colored camp in their vicinity. In most instances this has entirely disappeared, and over and over again did I hear in person expressions of a preference for colored camps among the residents of these same communities." No doubt Chaplain Imes was painting a rosy picture, but his point was nevertheless congruent with the scarcity of community protest letters which reached Washington after black camps were estab-
lished. Many communities which initially protested black camps eventually grew dependent on the increased business activity and employment opportunities which the camps brought to the area.

Local Enrollees. A large number of CCC enrollees were placed in camps far removed from their home states. In particular, young men from populous eastern states were often sent to camps in western states, where most of the national forests and national parks were located. There are some indications that communities near CCC camps did not respond as favorably to out-of-state enrollees as they did to their "own boys." The reasons for alleged community suspicion of non-local enrollees are typically interpreted as sociological rather than economic. For example, Baldridge has looked at the CCC in Utah and reported: "Many CCC administrators agreed with local residents who felt that the hoodlums of New York and New Jersey had been rounded up off the streets and shipped west into the CCC camps." Conflict arose in the eastern states as well, where rural communities were sometimes suspicious of urban youth. Potter has discussed this problem in New York: "The rural residents' mistrust of anyone from outside the immediate vicinity was especially evident during the first months of the Corps' existence when individuals attached to the camps encountered feelings of suspicion if not outright animosity."

Accounts of this type, however, constitute only weak evidence. For every tale of strained relationships between non-local enrollees and community citizens, there are dozens of tales of harmonious situations. Also, Potter's comment above that mistrust "was especially evident during the first months" is instructive. As with black enrollees, fear of out-of-state or urban enrollees was a prejudice soon forgotten by community residents.

It is useful to look at a more systematic measure. Turning to "complaint" letters from community residents which reached the CCC director's office in Washington, not a single letter discussed out-of-state or non-local enrollees as a central concern (Table 2). Six letters were devoted to inappropriate selection of enrollees, but none of these was concerned with the issue of non-local enrollees. Overall, there is little evidence that the issue of non-local enrollees was significantly related to camp-community relations once camps were established.

Behavior in Town. The behavior of enrollees when they visited town probably influenced camp-community relations. Comments of many observers of the CCC support this view. Hanson, for example, has suggested that enrollee behavior was the "usual" reason for bad feelings between a camp and the nearby community. Disruptive incidents were almost common. For example, a letter addressed to Eleanor Roosevelt from a Mrs. Chambers of Sussex, New Jersey, was typical:

My Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know the President is much too busy with greater problems. So, I as one mother to another beg of you to take this matter up with him if he has a spare moment.

-520-
About four and one half miles from Sussex, N.J., and very near our little farm is a camp of re-forest workers, young men from 18 to 25, and sorry to say the roughest kind. Up until three weeks ago our daughters were free to go to and from the village unmolested. These fellows have been to our door and neighbors trying to sell over-alls, bits of jewelry or work in the garden for a little money.

Last Friday our High School at Sussex gave a dance for the graduation class. Four of these chaps in over-alls and work shirts walked in and demanded admittance since it was public. It ended in a fight and the town policeman had to be called.

Saturday night our little movie house, only open Friday and Saturday for our children who can only see pictures seldom. Again a crowd of them got in the house and because it was an old picture, they hissed and made all sorts of remarks about it. They were asked to leave and the language from them was terrible.

Now I am sure you will understand what we are suffering. Our community has never been so upset. Any hour of the night, Saturday and Sunday groups are on the road from the camp to Sussex and it isn't safe for women or girls to be driving alone. Last week one of my neighbors daughters was driving alone and two of four fellows asked for a ride and she refused, of course, so they stood in her way where she couldn't turn out without going in the gutter or hit them.

Now please Mrs. R. won't you intercede for we Mothers here. And we shall be more than grateful.

Mrs. Chambers
R.F.D. 1

Note also the following telegraph from the Judge and Sheriff of a California community: "ADVISE WHY MEN FROM THE CCC CAMPS ARE ALLOWED TO COME INTO TOWN TO PILFER AND STEAL INSULT OUR WOMEN DISTURB CHURCHES AND TO BE ALTOGETHER A MENACE TO THE COMMUNITY PLEASE LOOK INTO THIS MATTER AS THE PEOPLE ARE GETTING WIGHTY TIRED OF SUCH CONDUCT."

Such letters and telegrams were typical. Of 234 total negative letters from community residents, 36 (15.4 percent) were related to enrollee misconduct (Table 2). Enrollee misconduct was the fourth largest category of complaint correspondence. The frequency of references to enrollee behavior and community relations from a wide variety of sources is striking, for example: "The Chaplain said he would like to bring one matter to the attention of all -- the conduct of boys in town when on recreation trips. He thinks that this conduct has improved but that we should all work toward still greater improvement. The Officers, the Technical Service, and the Advisors should carefully watch their language as they associate with the boys."

The chaplain's comment warning staff to "watch their language as they associate with the boys" was naive. The CCC "boys" were, for the most part, not so young and innocent. On occasion enrollees were implicated in serious crimes, including arson, grand larceny, and murder. By today's stand-
ards, a great deal of violent behavior was absorbed in many communities. Accounts of fighting at town dances were characteristic. Clare Hendee, a former CCC administrator, has verified the prevalence of these incidents. Fights were often taken in stride by the town, looked upon as normal behavior for a bunch of young men who had been out in the woods all week. But there were times when violence went too far and townspeople reacted. In extreme cases, CCC enrollees and personnel were no longer welcome in town. As a national program, the Civilian Conservation Corps escaped serious consequences of enrollee misconduct, but this variable nonetheless influenced camp-community relations at the local level.

Local Staff. With the scarcity of jobs during the Depression, the CCC's impact on local employment very likely played an important role in camp-community relations. CCC officials recognized this issue from the beginning: "Fechner, all members of the Advisory Council, and all cabinet members involved except the Secretary of War warned the President that unless the CCC provided work for these unemployed woodsmen, the local populace would resent the incursion of outsiders to do the work usually done by local men. Incendiaryism, they feared, and even 'personal tragedies' might result." To ameliorate this threat and help establish positive relationships between the camps and nearby communities, the CCC adopted a policy of hiring 'local experienced men' (LEMs): "To the 250,000 recruits a special group of approximately 25,000 older men was added. These were 'local experienced men,' residing in the immediate vicinity of the work projects and selected because of their special knowledge of the work to be done. It was expected that they would exercise a wholesome leadership over the younger men, and in general insure a hospitable local attitude toward the camps." Local ties were established primarily through the hiring of LEMs. In the beginning, no quotas were imposed on hiring of LEMs and some CCC companies enrolled large numbers. One observer reported that "fifty companies were made up entirely of LEMs." By 1933, LEM enrollment in the CCC was limited to 16 men per camp.

In spite of the effort to hire locally, complaints were heard about the CCC taking away local jobs. In general, however, more local residents complained because of the political nature of LEM and other CCC appointments. Still other complaints arose around the issue of employing unionized tradespersons to construct and maintain the camps. Altogether, issues related to jobs for local citizens represented an important variable in camp-community relations. Among complaints from communities received by the director's office, 27.3 percent dealt with employment of local citizens (Table 2). This was the largest single category of complaints. Moreover, many of the positive letters from communities which requested to keep or obtain a CCC camp (Table 1) cited the beneficial impact of the camps on local employment.

Work Project. The CCC was not a "make work" organization; the camps generally engaged in useful work projects. Overall, the contributions of the CCC to conservation of natural resources and park development were impressive. And there is reason to believe that local community citizens recognized the impact of these projects -- usually positive, but sometimes negative -- and that the work projects themselves influenced camp-community relations to a significant extent.

In the sample of community correspondence (Table 1) it is striking that over 12 percent of the letters were devoted specifically to suggestions of work projects. An additional 64 percent of the correspondence requested to obtain a new camp or keep an existing camp and these letters almost invar-
iably discussed the importance of a particular work project. Community complaints (Table 2) provide further evidence. Over ten percent of complaints were related to negative effects of work projects, the fifth largest category of complaints. In general, evidence is consistent and fairly strong that work projects were associated with camp-community relations.

There is another aspect of this variable which merits attention -- emergency and disaster relief projects. CCC camps engaged in emergency projects as needed, including fire fighting, winter storm rescue, and flood clean-up efforts. According to CCC records, six million man-days were devoted to fighting forest fires and two million additional man days were devoted to emergency work other than fighting forest fires. The public was favorably impressed by these efforts, for example: "Southeastern Oklahoma sustained great loss during the past summer as a result of forest fires. The personnel of the CCC camps located in that section of the state rendered valiant service in controlling such fires." The CCC was relied upon as a great search and rescue organization and constantly received requests to help law enforcement officials in one way or another. As might be expected, the emergency activities of the camps did much to create enthusiasm for the program. "The CCC was always ready in time of need to lend the aid of both men and equipment whether the emergency took the form of a lost hunter or child, flood, hurricane or fire. It was the emergency service as well as work on projects large and small, which played an important part in gaining approval for the enrollees by the people of the nation." Also, many of the regular work projects were aimed directly at community needs. In this regard, CCC camps had some flexibility. "There were few handcuffs on project selection," which served ultimately to enhance camp-community relations.

**Camp Spending.** As former CCC administrator Clare Hendee has observed, "Money for local business was the most important factor. The towns needed the money." There is convincing evidence that camp spending in the nearby towns had a very significant influence in camp-community relations. Estimates of the total amount of spending by a CCC camp in the surrounding area have varied. Two estimates are shown below:

1. "An estimate of about $25,000 to $30,000 is conservative for the amount pumped annually into the economy in the vicinity of each camp. The total payroll at each installation, the major portion of which probably was spent nearby, was over $16,000 annually, while over $13,000 per year was disbursed for food."

2. "An average camp cost nearly $20,000 to build and at least $5,000 a month was spent in the nearby towns to maintain the camp. Money spent by the officers and enrollees could easily yield another $2,000 to the coffers of the business communities each month."

Thus, an individual CCC camp directly generated between $23,000 and $85,000 annually in local spending. The larger figure is probably more accurate. The direct and indirect effects of this amount of money during the Depression years was substantial. "In some of the smaller rural communities . . . the money circulated as a result of the CCC was about all that was available." Small towns, especially isolated ones, enjoyed a spectacular boom in sales and employment when a camp was established nearby. Researchers who have taken a close look at the CCC in limited geographical areas have noted the central role of the Corps' impact on the local economy. The following example captures the essence of the reaction to the CCC on the part of many communi-
ties. "Although some Provo citizens showed reluctance to accepting a camp in Provo, the majority agreed with County Commission Hilton J. Robertson who reminded his colleagues of the cash benefit of the enterprise."

Correspondence to the director's office emphasized the importance of camp spending. Some of the letters which requested to obtain or keep a camp mentioned the importance of the CCC to the local economy. But it is more instructive that most requests for camps came from local Chambers of Commerce, commercial clubs, or other alliances of business persons. A typical example is a letter from the secretary of the Albia, Iowa, Commercial Club to Senator Murphy. This letter was devoted entirely to the need for soil conservation work in the area, but the Commercial Club letterhead more accurately revealed the writer's primary interest -- local commerce.

Looking at complaint letters from communities, 17.5 percent of such letters dealt with some issue related to camp spending, such as not purchasing supplies locally, damage to local business, camps not taking competitive bids, or businesses not paid for services to the CCC (Table 2). This was the third largest category of complaints, ranking above enrollee misconduct and work project complaints. The large number of complaints related to business matters further supports the view that camp spending was strongly related to camp-community relations in the CCC.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The variables most clearly associated with camp-community relations in the CCC were the two economic variables -- hiring local staff and camp spending in the community. The effects of these variables were direct, unambiguous, and usually strong enough to overcome other influences. In the case of new camps, the positive effects of the economic variables were sometimes delayed a few months, but once a community began to feel the economic impact of the CCC, a cooperative attitude generally developed. Both employment and increased commerce were important. The CCC, above all else, was welcomed by local communities because jobs and cash flow were desperately needed. Economically, the local response to the CCC was exactly what Roosevelt intended and John Maynard Keynes later recommended: government spending served as a significant stimulus to the depressed local economy.

Also influential, but at a second level of importance, were the CCC "activity" variables, work project and enrollee behavior in town. CCC work projects were valued when they addressed local needs, such as a new road, fire protection, or erosion control. Emergency and disaster relief projects were especially valued in this regard. Enrollee conduct—or misconduct—also influenced relations between the camps and nearby towns. By today's standards, a remarkable amount of rowdy behavior was tolerated, but crime and property damage led to strained relationships. Additional data in Table 2 support the importance of CCC "activity" variables. The second largest group of complaint letters was a category of complaints about camp conditions, enrollee welfare, and staff misconduct. Apparently local communities took a keen interest in CCC camp activities. Also, in the two variables—work projects and enrollee behavior—economic themes were again apparent. Public works projects and property damage were issues connected with economic well-being. The shadow of the Depression and the severe hardships felt in many rural communities inevitably caused events to be measured against this standard.

At a third level, only slightly related to camp-community relations, were the two enrollee variables, enrollee race and local en-
rollees. These results indicate that enrollee demographic characteristics were not of much importance once camps were established. This is best illustrated by the enrollee race variable. Although it often has been said that enrollee race was a critical community relations issue in the CCC, a close look at the evidence indicates that community prejudices were a problem only at the beginning of a black camp's existence. Just a few weeks, in most cases, was sufficient for nearby white communities to realize that racial fears were unfounded. With this issue defused, many communities began to discover the economic benefits of having a CCC camp in the vicinity and, in most instances, the stage was set for a mutually compatible relationship. Similarly, there is little evidence that having non-local enrollees in the camps made much of a difference. Overall, enrollee characteristics were superficial issues, while economic concerns were more at the heart of community response to the CCC.

Regarding more ideological interpretations, deep-seated agrarian values may indeed have been a foundation of the CCC's general popularity, but it is not very informative to rely on this conceptualization to explain day-to-day relationships between the camps and nearby towns. These relationships were governed primarily by jobs and cash flow. During the Depression years, economic matters were of immediate concern, while romantic visions of tree planting, although perhaps appealing, did not play a direct role in the relationships between CCC camps and rural communities.

Looking at implications of this study for present policy, two points are worth noting. First is the general point of economic stimulus during severe recession or depression. This study gives us a close-up view of such stimulus and how it was valued at the local level. Between 1933 and 1980, the wisdom of this approach was generally accepted. With the election of Ronald Reagan, however, an opposing "supply-side" approach has influenced public policy. The supply side view holds that tax cuts and investment incentives are a better formula for recovery. To evaluate these approaches in the context of this study, one would ask what value tax cuts might have been to rural communities near CCC camps in 1933. The answer, of course, is not much. The nationwide unemployment rate was about 25 percent in 1933; and where there is little income, tax rates are of little relevance. Viewing this from the grass roots perspective, it is significant that so many communities wrote to Washington requesting CCC camps, and there was no simultaneous flood of letters pleading for reduced taxes. This is not by any means to say that economic stimulus was the only important aspect of the CCC. At the local level, however, economic effects were, at the time, very important.

Second, because the CCC idea persists in public policy, we might ask what lessons this study offers for a future CCC. These lessons include the following: (1) hire local staff; (2) spend a large portion of the budget locally; (3) engage in projects with direct benefits to the local community; (4) be on good behavior in town; and (5) don't worry too much about initial opposition based on race or other enrollee characteristics; these issues are likely to be overshadowed by economic matters.

It is instructive that many of these same lessons have been relearned in the Job Corps program during the 1960s and 1970s. Especially in rural areas or small towns where economic impact has been more focused, local citizens have recognized that Job Corps centers have provided a welcome boost to the local economy. As with CCC camps, local communities has frequently protested when a Job Corps center have been closed or relocated. In larger urban areas, the economic impact of Job Corps has not been as
focused. In this regard, the lessons from the CCC must be somewhat tempered if new programs are to operate in urban contexts. Nonetheless, it would seem to be prudent policy design to economically integrate any such program at the local level, urban or rural.

NOTES


2. Arcadia Community Club to Duffy, September 18, 1933, Box 568, Series 300, Correspondence of the Director, General Records, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives (Washington, D.C.).


10. Hanson, p. 173.


-526-


15. George Imes, "Report on Colored Camps in the Fourth Corps Area", November 2, 1936, Box 932, Correspondence of Investigators, Division of Investigation, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives (Washington, D.C.).

16. Baldridge, p. 136, citing interview with unnamed former CCC company commander.

17. Potter, p. 83.

18. Chambers to Roosevelt, June 11, 1933, Box 956, Correspondence of Investigators, Division of Investigation, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives (Washington, D.C.).


23. Regarding enrollee misconduct and its consequences, the CCC experience stands in sharp contrast to the Job Corps experience. (The Job Corps is a job training program for disadvantaged youth which began in 1964). CCC enrollees were clearly more violent and committed more crime than Job Corps enrollees, yet the Job Corps has endured a great deal more negative publicity, often for events--such as a fight or a petty theft--which would have gone unnoticed had they occurred in the CCC. There are at least two reasons for this. First, standards of acceptable behavior have undoubtedly changed since the 1930s; in the 1930s fighting often was considered normal behavior for young men, while today it is generally viewed as deviant. Second, the Job Corps has been predominantly non-white and the response of the press to the Job Corps has been racially influenced. If the Job Corps were predominantly white, it is likely that the press would not have paid such careful attention to minor disturbances. Related to this point, it is remarkable that the Job Corps' successes in recent years--which have been substantial--have been virtually ignored by the press. In contrast, CCC successes were well publicized.


27. For example, see Hanson, pp. 328-330.


30. Weaver to Fechner, Box 598, Series 300, Correspondence of the Director, General Records, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives (Washington, D.C.).


32. Potter, p. 150.


34. Hendee.

35. Potter, p. 77, calculating from information in CCC annual reports.


37. Baldridge, p. 328.

38. Hanson, p. 312.


40. Lundy to Murphy, March 10, 1936, Box 568, Series 300, Correspondence of the Director, General Records, Record Group 35, U.S. National Archives (Washington, D.C.).

41. Roosevelt was essentially following Keynesian economic policies before Keynes published *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* in 1936.

42. The CCC idea is one of the more tenacious public policy ideas. The various youth "corps" created during the 1960s and 1970s have been political grandchildren of the CCC. These have included the Peace Corps, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Youth Conserva-
tion Corps, and Young Adult Conservation Corps. Several states also have experimented with conservation corps programs, the largest of which is the California Conservation Corps. At this writing, there is under consideration in the Congress a bill to establish an American Conservation Corps. (This bill is very actively lobbied by the National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni.) In a broader application of this idea, there recently has been renewed interest in a national youth service (or simply, national service), which would provide opportunities for a wide variety of service projects in areas such as disaster relief, social services, education, urban development, etc. A policy analysis is provided by Michael W. Sherraden and Donald J. Eberly, eds., *National Service: Social, Economic, and Military Impacts* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982).

NOTES ON A FORGOTTEN BLACK SOCIAL WORKER AND SOCIOLOGIST: GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES

Iris Carlton-La Ney, Ph.D.
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte

ABSTRACT

This paper highlights the career of Dr. George Edmund Haynes, a pioneer sociologist and social worker. It places Haynes in a historical context examining his professional contributions during the early 1900s. Haynes' professional activities reflected the Progressive Era's emphasis on scientific research and social justice. Although he received some recognition as a sociologist and social worker, his contributions were relegated generally to the periphery of both the discipline of sociology and the field of social work.

George Edmund Haynes is best known as the co-founder and first executive director of the National Urban League. That he was a trained social worker and sociologist has been forgotten except by a very few. Yet for nearly two decades, from the time he received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1912 until shortly after World War I, Haynes was responsible for some impressive pioneering research on American Blacks. He must also be given credit for establishing the first recruiting and training program for Black social workers in the U.S. In both his training, the quality of his published scholarship, and his contributions to the social work profession, Haynes compares favorably with other social workers and sociologists of his time. But, because of the racial prejudice among early professional social workers and sociologists his work was relegated to a minor status.

The field of social work was just emerging as a profession at the turn of the century. Similarly the discipline of sociology was taking on an identity as an academic specialty. Both social work and sociology were embedded in the general field of social science—including economics, the study of politics and social problems and history (Bernard and Bernard, 1943:559-644). The first school of social work was not organized until 1898 when the New York School of Philanthropy opened, and the second was Chicago's School of Civics and Philanthropy established in 1903 (Meier, 1954:6; Wisner, 1958:4). Only a few years earlier in 1892, the University of Chicago organized a department of sociology, and in 1894 Columbia's sociology department was developed (Bernard and Bernard, 1943:657). In 1905, the American Sociological Society was founded while the first professional organization for social workers did not begin until 1918 when medical social workers solidified their ranks in favor of association. It was the founding of the American Association of Social Workers in 1921, however, which played the major role in formulating professional goals and standards for the social work profession (Bernard and Bernard, 1943:559; Lubove, 1977:127).
In the early years of the twentieth century, the field of social work and the discipline of sociology were closely intertwined and students studying social work at the New York School of Philanthropy, for example, were encouraged and expected to study sociology and/or economics at Columbia (Haynes, 1960:4). These students of social science were often interested in using their knowledge to uplift man's lot in society by solving social problems. They were not usually radical but reformist in their pursuits of planned change. In fact, many of the significant studies of Blacks during the early twentieth century done by Haynes' contemporaries like Mary White Ovington (1911), R.R. Wright, Jr. (1908) and Sophonisba Breckenridge (1913) were all intended to provide knowledge for social work practice. Haynes, like many of these early social scientists, shared the faith that a broader sociological knowledge would lead to the amelioration of social problems. He strongly believed that social problems could be subjected to study and methods of treatment and that a theory for prevention could be formulated. He contended that "conditions of segregation and opposition due to race prejudice" were caused by a lack of co-operation and ignorance and that "grounding in the social sciences" would provide the necessary knowledge (Haynes, 1912:33; 1960:4).

By the time Haynes enrolled in the New York School of Philanthropy in 1908, the school's curriculum enthusiastically supported the need for social research as an integral part of the educational program. Haynes had developed a strong interest in social science while studying for his masters degree at Yale. Among the subjects he took at Yale was a course in sociology, or "societology" as it was termed by the professor, William Graham Sumner (Roberts, 1974:56). Haynes remembered distinctly how Sumner "taught us to subject any notions to rigorous tests of facts" (Roberts, 1974:58). He received additional inspiration as he listened to Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, deliver the opening session address at the New York School of Philanthropy in 1908. Commons urged the entering students to engage in constructive research for the cure and prevention of social ills, and further stated that such research should awaken the public mind and carry the conviction that something must be done (Devine, 1908:82). The practical nature of constructive research coincided with the motives which drove Haynes to seek further education in sociology and social work—the need to address, through scientific inquiry, the social problems confronting urban Black Americans (PPCU, Box 48). As a research fellow in the New York School of Philanthropy's Bureau of Social Research, Haynes had the opportunity to engage in research which held both broad general social value and met his particular self-interest as well. This research was directed toward providing knowledge for social work practice (Haynes, 1912:8).

Haynes got the opportunity he wanted early in his academic career at the School of Philanthropy, when Edward Devine, professor of social economics at Columbia and Director of the Bureau of Social Research instructed him to describe and analyze the migration of the Black population as part of a national study of urban migration patterns to be used as the basis of starting a national employment finding agency. During his three years as a traveling secretary for the Young Men's Christian Association, Haynes had worked out a schedule and kept records of the
operation of the Jim Crow cars on Southern Railways and was planning to make that
the basis for his thesis for doctoral research. As he studied the movements of the
Black population and the whole movement of urban populations, however, it struck
him "that here was a factor fundamental to the races of white and Negroes in the
United States and a subject worthy of deep study" (Haynes, 1912:143). As Haynes
gathered data for this study between January, 1909 and January 1910, it became
clearer to him that "Negroes were being influenced by the same economic and social
forces as the whites and the response of the two were similar" (PPCU Box 48). He
found that the divorce of Blacks from the soil in the breaking down of the planta-
tion system just after the Civil War, the growth of industrial centers in the
South, and the call of higher wages in the North, were the strongest influences to
account for the concentration of Blacks in the cities (Haynes, 1912:143). Haynes
later noted that he was challenged by southern scholars whose conclusions were the
accepted views of the day—that the migration would soon cease and that Blacks
would return to the South and the land (Haynes, 1960:6). It is reasonable to infer
that Haynes was somewhat annoyed that his research, supported by statistical and
carefully gathered data, would be challenged. His annoyance was demonstrated when
in 1924, at the National Conference of Social Work, he referred to those who
claimed that Blacks were returning in large numbers to the South as "propagandists"
(Haynes, 1924:65).

As indicated by his list of published research studies, 1 Haynes was not de-
terred by disbelievers and critics, and continued to conduct research and collect
facts zealously. His research study under the auspices of the Bureau of Social
Research was conducted not only to fulfill his requirements as a fellow, but also
"in the search for the truth, that the enthusiasm of reform may be linked with the
reliability of knowledge in the effort to better the future conditions of the city
and the Negro" (Haynes, 1912:8). As reflected by the above statement, Haynes was
moving steadily toward the actualization of his philosophy of education or knowl-
edge for service and social reform.

Dr. Samuel Lindsay served as Haynes' faculty counselor at Columbia University
and consented to allow him to use his research study conducted under the super-
vision of the Bureau for his Ph.D. thesis. As Haynes proceeded to expand his
research by utilizing data from the United States Census, another phase of the
subject finally came into the picture: "What was happening to those Negro migrants
when they settled in Northern cities?" He referred to the only studies which pro-
vided similar information, such as Dubois' Philadelphia Negro (1898), and R. R.
Wright, Jr.'s The Negro in Pennsylvania (1908), and decided to answer that part of
his inquiry by studies of the migrant Blacks, in the city of New York (PPCU Box 48).

Haynes' study, based upon figures of the New York State Census of 1905, con-
sisted of a sample population of 2,500 families, totaling 9,788 persons. The
families studied resided in three segregated neighborhoods 2 in the city. The
Sample population was representative of the three neighborhoods and of the total
Black population in New York City. Haynes' study used numerous charts, graphs,
and statistics to present a scientific study of Blacks in the City. His study
presented the facts, as Haynes found them, by measurement and comparison and
concluded with valid generalizations. With this study, Haynes moved from the role of social scientist and fact gatherer to the role of social reformer recommending solutions to the problems faced by Black urban dwellers. The study was divided into two parts: Part I dealt with Blacks as wage earners and with the various occupations open to them under the general headings of domestic and personal service, trade and transportation, and manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. Part II dealt with Blacks in business and with the character of Black business enterprises.

Haynes' findings indicated that Black wage earners, in comparisons with the cost of living, received very inadequate wages in domestic and personal service with the exception of the few occupations that afforded tips. The limited number of workers who were able to join unions did receive union wages. Haynes notes that the number of Black trade union members increased from 1,271 in 1906 to about 1,358 in 1910—slightly over 5 percent of the total working population of Black males (1912:82). He also found that it was imperative for women to work and that such women were often employed in domestic and personal service. The low income capacity of the families studied made it necessary for them to seek lodgers in order to meet the escalating cost of rent. Haynes believed that the low income of Black males, the presence of lodgers in the family, and the absence of the mother due to employment kept the standards of living at a minimum and made the family unable to protect itself from both physical and moral disease (1912:88).

Others who conducted similar research studies of Blacks in urban centers concluded, as did Haynes, that family life was in jeopardy. John Daniels, for example, in his survey of Blacks in Boston, showed that the necessity which compelled women to work imposed severe "obstacles to home-building" (1914:176). Mary White Ovington, in her study on the economic and social status of Blacks in New York City, found the infant mortality rate staggering. "Negro mothers," she noted, "owing to the low wage earned by their husbands...leave their homes [for employment] but...sacrifice the lives of many of their babies" (1911:56). She also found that, "the poorer the family,...the more eviable appears the fortune of the anti-social class," and since temptation was continuous, the children of the poor that grow up "pure in thought and deed" do so in spite of their surroundings (1911:38). The fortune of the anti-social classes was often obtained by illicit means since there were few opportunities for Black business enterprises.

In surveying the business enterprises among Blacks in the city, Haynes found such enterprises limited primarily to barber shops, grocery stores, dress makers and tailors, restaurants, employment agencies, real estate and insurance agencies. Of the 309 firms surveyed, Haynes found few had been established through partnerships. Of those in partnerships, there were rarely more than two persons. There were no cooperative or corporate businesses. He attributed the small number of businesses to lack of experience, initiative, accumulated capital, established credit, and good will. In addition to the handicap of the social environment, Haynes attributed the inability of Blacks to establish lucrative business enterprises to the prejudices and indifference of white groups, and to previous conditions of servitude (1912:139-147).

-533-
Throughout the study and in conclusion, Haynes indicated that Blacks would continue their migration to urban centers and that such migration would result in maladjustments and subsequent problems. He further indicated that the problem... alike of statesman, race leader, and the philanthropist is to understand the conditions of segregation and oppositions due to race prejudices that are arising as a sequel to this urban concentration and to co-operate with the Negro in his effort to learn to live in the city as well as the country (1912:33).

Haynes not only made this a charge for others, but incorporated it similarly into his own professional ideals and endeavors. His commitment to this charge can be observed throughout his life's work as a social work activist and reformer and as a sociologist. His efforts to understand the consequences of segregation and opposition (a term which today may be called "oppression") ranged from the planning and implementation of interracial conferences and "clinics" to scholarly research and publications.

In 1910 Haynes completed his investigation of the Negro in industry in New York City and submitted the final written report to the Bureau's Director, then Ms. Pauline Goldmark. He also graduated from the School of Philanthropy in 1910, an achievement which marked a first for any Black student.

Following his graduation, Haynes continued his studies at Columbia which included further development of the research on the Negro in industry in New York. This research ultimately culminated in the publication of The Negro at Work in New York City (1912). After its completion, Haynes' thesis was honored by being selected for inclusion by the faculty of political science of Columbia University in a published series entitled, "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law."

In addition to a strong commitment to research and sociology, Haynes was also dedicated to establishing a national organization to provide social work to newly urban Blacks and to training enthusiastic young Blacks for social work in such an organization. To that end, he and Ruth Standish Baldwin founded the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (NLUCAN) in 1911, an organization which by 1916 had become synonymous with social work in the Black community. (The organization's name was changed to the National Urban League in 1920.)

Shortly after the new organization was founded, Haynes was offered a position as director of the Department of Social Science at Fisk University. Upon accepting the faculty position at Fisk, he immediately put his plan into effect. The plan included (1) preparatory instruction and training of Black students as well as (2) selecting promising students and providing opportunities for further professional social work study and practical experience among their own people in cities (Haynes 1911:384).
The Department of Social Science at Fisk was to serve as an example and a powerful stimulus to other institutions and other centers to emulate and draw experience from" (PPCU Box 32). This made Haynes' task even more complex because it required that he work carefully and exhaustively to establish and maintain a high quality training program that could withstand constant scrutiny. Haynes, however, was not averted by the complexity of his task. Rather, he was confident that capable students enrolled in a rigorous broad course of study would raise the standards and increase the efficiency of social work among urban Blacks (Haynes, 1911:387). The program of providing professional training in social work was very successful and can be measured by the impressive list of graduates who benefited from Haynes' enthusiasm and careful planning, including such scholars as Drs. Inabel Lindsay, Ira DeA. Reid and Abram Harris (PPCU Box 55).

The program of study that Haynes developed at Fisk reflected his faith that a thorough knowledge of sociology, economics and social problems was needed to alleviate social problems. He developed five courses in the Social Science Department which included: (1) Elementary Economics; (2) Advanced Economics; (3) Sociology and Social Problems; (4) History of the Negro; and (5) The Negro Problem (Fisk Bulletin, 1912:49; 1913:49). This course of study also included a series of lectures on problems and methods of bettering conditions among Blacks in cities (Fisk Bulletin, 1912:48). Each student was required to spend four hours per week for thirty weeks in field placement in Nashville as well as to participate in an investigation of some social problem, such as housing or occupations, among Black Nashvillians (Fisk Bulletin, 1916:58). The Fisk program developed in a way that reflected the trends in other social work programs. The two courses on the history and social problems of Blacks, however, added a dimension to the Fisk program which had not been included on any large scale in other schools of social work. This dimension gave the students at Fisk an opportunity to develop their power of independent thinking on the subject and to know, beyond personal experience, the background and social situations of the client population which they were preparing to serve. Haynes' beliefs about the value of history to social workers was similarly held by several other leaders in social work education. Edward Devine of the New York School of Philanthropy, in a presentation before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1915 stated that it was desirable that social workers should have definite knowledge of the historical relations of social classes to one another, of the privileged and the exploited, of the distressed and their benefactors, of the employers and wage earners (1915:609).

George Mangold, Director of the St. Louis School, presenting at the same conference, concurred with Devine and added that, social work leaders who lacked a historical perspective, "will lack the sound and permanent elements which are necessary for the definite improvement of social conditions" (1915:613).

The two history courses that Haynes taught began the systematic collection of masses of source materials for the study of Blacks in the United States. These
Courses were the first systematic courses in Black history to be given in American colleges. Haynes' interest in Black history and its relevance to social work led him to become a founding member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 (Jones, 1974:143).

Despite the seriousness of Haynes' commitment and the high quality of his professional involvement in history, social work education, and sociological research, he was, in the main, ignored by the elite in both sociology and social work. It is difficult to account for his contributions being disregarded except for reasons of racial prejudice. His contributions to social work as founder of the first national social work organization for social services to Blacks and the first school of social work for Blacks have also been relegated to a footnote in social work history.

Haynes was, however, given a forum at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC) in 1911 to discuss the new social work program (Haynes, 1911). Yet, in 1915 when several prominent social work educators, such as Lee, Devine, Smith and Abbott spoke on issues in social work education, Haynes was not among them. Only two papers presented at the NCCC between 1915 and 1932 dealt with professional training for Blacks, one with medicine and the other with nursing (Kenny, 1928:180-83; Roberts, 1928:183-85).

Haynes' expertise as a sociological researcher was, however, given some recognition when in 1919 and 1924, he discussed Black migration patterns and the problems of employment. He took that opportunity to urge social workers to assist Black migrants' integration into the educational, civic and economic life of the community (1924). Yet, it is interesting to note that his works were clearly of minor importance. And, ironically, Haynes, who by research orientation and training toward both empiricism and reform was part of the mainstream of American social work and sociology as they were evolving at the turn of the century, found himself relegated to the periphery of his professions.

As times changed, the Department of Social Science that Haynes established at Fisk eventually became an intellectual center for sociological studies of the socioeconomic and racial structure of the South. The social work program, however, never maintained a reputation as the center for pioneering and modeling social work education for Blacks. It was perhaps the opening of the Atlanta School of Social Work in 1920 which brought Haynes' long-held ideas of professional social work training for Blacks into focus. The pioneers of this school, Jesse Thomas and Gary Moore, were both beneficiaries of the stimulus which Haynes gave to social work education and representatives of the next generation of social work educators and leaders (PPCU Box 48). Haynes, by then had turned his attention elsewhere.

Perhaps, it was social work's preoccupation with Freudian psychoanalysis after 1920 that encouraged Haynes to seek another arena for his skills and expertise. Although he never criticized the social work profession, he, unlike many social workers during the 1920's, did not favor minimizing the integration and coordination functions of the profession in favor of Freudian psychoanalysis (Lubove, 1977: -536-
Haynes realized, instead, that opening lines of communication between individuals, classes and institutions, mobilizing community resources and conducting scientific research were vital and legitimate professional responsibilities worthy of continued pursuit; and he worked indefatigably, until his death in 1960, to that realization.

NOTES

1. This list included: THE NEGRO AT WORK IN NEW YORK CITY (1912); THE NEGRO NEW-COMER TO DETROIT (1918); NEGROES AT WORK DURING WORLD WAR I AND RECONSTRUCTION (1921); COTTON GROWING COMMUNITIES (1934) with Benson Y. Landis; and AFRICA, CONTINENT OF THE FUTURE (1950).

2. Within the Eleventh Assembly District, the area bounded by Thirtieth and Thirty eighth streets, Seventh and Tenth avenues; within the Nineteenth Assembly District, Sixty-first, Sixty-second, and Sixty-third streets, between Amsterdam and Eleventh avenues, commonly called "San Juan Hill"; within the Twenty-third and Thirty-first Assembly Districts, One Hundred and Thirty fourth and One Hundred and Thirty-fifth streets between Fifth and Seventh avenues (Haynes, 1912:52).

REFERENCES

Bernard, L.L. and Bernard, Jessie

Breckenridge, Sophonisba

Daniels, John

Devine, Edward

Dubois, W.E.B.

Fisk University Bulletin
1912
Guichard Auguste Bolivar Parris Papers at Columbia University Libraries' Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Referred to as PPCU within the text—Boxes 48 and 55. New York, New York.

Haynes, George Edmund


Jones, Butler

Kenny, John A.

Lubove, Roy

Mangold, George

Meier, Elizabeth
Ovington, Mary White

Roberts, Abbie

Roberts, Samuel K.

Wisner, Elizabeth

Wright, R.R.
Mr. Terrell has raised a number of criticisms in his review of our book, *Poverty in America* (with Ralph Segalman, not Seligman, as he erroneously writes six times) that require comment. He believes the book is "mean-spirited, sloppy, and pedantic...[and] is carelessly constructed, repetitive, and dated." Moreover, "the authors ignore facts and analyses that do not conform to their thesis" and "complexity and multiple explanations are not the authors' strong points." I seriously disagree with these characterizations and maintain that a more careful reading of the book does not support these accusations. For brevity's sake, I will not undertake a point-by-point rebuttal, but confront the testier elements of his argument.

First, Mr. Terrell simply misses the point of our argument when he writes we "argue by accretion." The first ten pages of the book state, criticize, and synthesize alternative and competing perspectives of poverty. On page 7, for example, we note the inadequacies of the culture of poverty and situational perspectives.

Second, in the first chapter we never stated that our typology of marginal, transitional, and residual poor would capture the "human diversity" of a poverty community as an ethnographic study would. Our typology is an abstraction constructed from a multitude of ethnographic studies of the poor. Since our study does not purport to be ethnographic, Mr. Terrell has erected a very weak strawman to knock down.

Third, Mr. Terrell overlooks the role the typology plays in our argument. We argue that the poor are not a homogeneous mass, that there are many causes of poverty (cultural and structural), that helping the poor move into the mainstream of American society requires that poverty programs be tailored to meet the specific needs of the poverty population the programs are intended to help, and that such programs are related to the country's overall economic needs.

Fourth, we do not rely "principally on the culture-of-poverty literature of the 1960s." We reserve the culture-of-poverty explanation (with structural modifications) for the residual poor who are at risk of becoming America's transgenerational poor; but we are not monists. In Chapter One, we clearly state (p. 14): "The American black, the American Indian, and other minority groups, however, have often been held back by conditions and forces that have prevented meaningful access to many of the facilities readily offered the immigrants. These include effective education, consistent and fair wages, opportunities for upward economic mobility, and housing relatively free from restrictions."

Fifth, we do not argue against public intervention. In the postscript (p. 369), we argue "a multistep pattern of assistance and services needs to be formulated for welfare, housing, education, and employment. Services and constraints should be commensurate with the readiness of that segment of the population to utilize both to their own and society's advantage." Given our four complex and interrelated problems, it is difficult to see how Mr. Terrell concludes that "complexity and multiple explanations are not the authors' strong points." Parenthetically, the cost-effectiveness of continuing the Great Society programs as they are presently constituted is open to criticism; however, space precludes me from challenging Mr. Terrell on this point.
Sixth, the use of the term "Negro" occurs in Chapter Two, which compares the assimilation experiences of early immigrants, refugee immigrants, and the "American Negro slave." Elsewhere in that historical chapter the term "Negro" and "black" are often used interchangeably, but "black" is the modal usage. The main objection we have to Mr. Terrell's comment is that we do not believe the use of the term "Negro" to be racist, nor is it an attempt to turn back the historical clock.

Finally, we believe Poverty in America provides the student of welfare with an historical overview of poverty in America, relevant contemporary data, and an analysis of all the major proposals for welfare reform. Since welfare reform has not been enacted under Presidents Carter and Reagan, the book is hardly "dated." Lastly, Mr. Terrell failed to cite one major study published prior to 1979 which we ignored. Mr. Terrell should either substantiate his claim with evidence or withdraw this reckless charge.

This comment does not answer all the criticisms raised by Mr. Terrell. I have, however, refuted his more explicitly formulated criticisms and submit that a more careful and thoughtful reading of Poverty in America provides no evidence to support his characterization of our work. Let the reader judge.

Asoke Basu
Visiting Scholar
Hoover Institution
Stanford

KRISTINE NELSON
The University of Iowa

The Limits of Reform is an important book, especially for those who harbor illusions about the liberal state's ability and willingness to bestow full equality on women. In her book, Jennifer Schirmer exposes the sexist truth behind the liberal rhetoric of the Danish welfare state. She argues that the "structure of the labor market, the bureaucratic control of the corporate state, and the traditional view of gender" (p. 43) combine to maintain women's inequality. Specifically, the state depoliticizes and limits social conflict through social reform while protecting the interests of capital and intruding on everyday life and the family in a process Schirmer calls "incorporatism" (pp. 33-34).

Schirmer starts with a useful historical overview of the Danish welfare state and economy. The early development of capitalism, the influx of women into the labor force in the 1960s and 1970s, and the retrenchment in social spending in the 1970s and 1980s closely parallel developments in the United States. Schirmer's devastating critique of the Social Democratic party's response to these developments demonstrates that, however advanced the Danish efforts to mitigate the inequality of capitalism through social welfare and educational reforms, they rest on the false assumption that equal opportunity can create real equality. "The economic inequities of the capitalist system and the very social reforms that were enacted to improve the position of women impede them both as a gender and as members of class groups from attaining real equality" (p. 168). Specifically these social reforms attract women into a low paying, unstable secondary labor market while maintaining their position as flexible, marginal workers by reinforcing their traditional responsibilities for home and family. Women's participation in the labor market, Schirmer asserts, should not be seen as a "willingness" to combine work and family, but as a response to economic and political forces which draw them into low paying service jobs such as day care, home help for the elderly, and nurses aides (p. 62).

Although, formally, equal pay for equal work has been the law in Denmark since 1976, Schirmer shows that through job reclassification, impediments to training and, most importantly, manipulation of women's family roles and loyalties, women remain at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. She also exposes the inherent dishonesty of meritocracy when applied to persons unable to attain the basic conditions for competitiveness. Even liberal, well-educated professional women are shown to be handicapped by their heavy burden of family responsibilities and by employers' preference for hiring and promoting male workers.

The much-admired services of the welfare state such as government-supported day care and extended paid maternity leave are also shown in practice to limit women's choices by their inflexibility and inadequacy and by employers' flagrant discrimination against women who are pregnant, mothers, or even of child-bearing
age. Catch-22 situations in which unemployed women cannot keep their children in day care, yet cannot take a new job without day care (p. 135) show the ineptness of the system. "Man in the house" rules which require the sexual isolation of women receiving public assistance (p. 145) show its patriarchal bias.

This book was written to alert women to the danger of seeing the Danish welfare state as "a model for improving women's position" (p. 171) and to the error in relying on any state which is itself enmeshed in patriarchal and capitalist imperatives. To the extent that the evidence Schirmer presents is persuasive, the book succeeds in this mission. The many statistics and quotations, however, sometimes are tedious and make no clear point. A judicious editing of the manuscript would have produced a book which was easier to read, free of annoying stylistic inconsistencies, and which better integrated theory with fact and fact with conclusion.


DAN LA BOTZ

Chicago

Isaac Balbus examines the "crisis in Western Marxism" and attempts to point the way out of it both theoretically and practically in his new book Marxism and Domination. Criticizing both Marxist and neo-Marxist theories of the state, patriarchy, and technology, he finds them flawed and inadequate, and argues instead for a liberation theory "beyond Marxism" based on participatory democracy, ecology, and feminism, especially on Dorothy Dinnerstein's analysis of "mother-monopolized child rearing" as the root cause of the problems of Western civilization.

Balbus rejects both the Marxist model, with its emphasis on production, the political power of the state, and the role of the proletariat as the emancipator of humanity, and the eclectic neo-Marxist models which grafted contemporary feminist and ecological theories on to Marxism, as "instrumental modes of symbolization" which, like capitalism, perpetuate a "death-denying, mothervile defying unconscious psychic structure" (p. 334) which embodies a "bio-social and cultural imperialism" (p. 278). Balbus argues for an analysis based on his extensions of the psychological theories of Dinnerstein and Nancy Chodorow, Hegel's philosophy of the Absolute Idea, Anthony Wilden's dialectic of general systems theory, and the writings of Norman O. Brown on death, all permeated with anarchist theory.

In a final chapter that draws the political conclusions of this analysis, he argues that even a revolutionary socialist labor movement is not necessarily liberating and may well be reactionary, and calls for a feminist-ecological-participatory-democratic movement. Unfortunately, while Balbus would like to resolve the crisis of Western Marxism, his book strikes one as only another expression of it, a former Marxist scholar reverting to an anti-humanist,
reactionary Romanticism with quasi-religious overtones. His political program raises the dangerous possibility of dividing the labor movement from the feminist movement, and of separating both from those who fight for democratic socialism—in fact, he becomes the advocate of a petty-bourgeois politics of 19th century anarchism.

Balbus's critique of Marxist philosophy, theories of patriarchy, and technology is well informed and interesting and must be taken seriously—even though this reviewer finds explanatory and even compelling theories which Balbus finds inadequate and ultimately misleading. His critique of the Marxist theory of the state is, on the contrary, incomplete and ahistorical, based almost solely on one famous line from the Communist Manifesto. One wonders why he ignores the historical writings of Marx and Engels, particularly those on Bonaparte and Bismarck (or why he didn't make use of Hal Draper's already classic work Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution: Part I State and Bureaucracy). It is unfortunate, too, that he chose to mix Marx with (nominally) Marxist fashionable writers like Louis Althusser or Nicos Poulantzas, while ignoring the more important writings on the state of Marxists such as Lenin, Trotsky, or Gramsci.

Without going into his critiques of the neo-Marxists, suffice it to say that he finds them either eclectic or subject to the same critical charges he makes against Marx. Against both Marxist and neo-Marxist views of the primacy of production and the centrality of the state he argues, in short, that the premises are either too narrow or are tautological. Balbus finds inherently reactionary characteristics in modern industrial technology as such, which Marxism cannot explain. And he uses familiar contemporary feminist arguments to criticize Marx's inadequate explanation of patriarchy.

The heart of Balbus's critique is his view that Marxism and neo-Marxism are, like capitalism which they criticize, "instrumental modes of symbolization." He argues that a theory and practice based on industry, politics, and working class struggle come to use nature, to use women, and to use political power as means to an end. Ultimately, people are using people and nature as means not ends, and thus would undo the very ends that even the best of them seek to achieve.

Such critiques have been made in the past, usually by Kantian Marxists like the Austrian Max Adler. Balbus's critique, however, derives from Hegel's criticism of the Enlightenment in the Phenomenology of Mind. Balbus will derive a "post-instrumental mode of symbolization" from Hegel's Absolute Idea (i.e., God), and from a recognition that there are intentions and intelligences other than human ones. Notwithstanding his denials, the quasi-religious implications are unavoidable. So while Hegel can conceive the "purposefulness or 'freedom' of [a] stone," likewise Balbus can refer to "the homeostatic capacities of natural ecosystems which can be described as a form of 'intelligence'...." (pp. 285 and 365).

He argues that "Totalitarian or technocratic politics is the corollary of a totalitarian stance toward nature..." (p. 283), which derives from child-rearing by women: "The domination of nature is the domination of the mother: the symbolization of nature as an absolute, dangerous other which must be tamed lest it destroy us is rooted in the unconscious, childhood symbolization of the mother as an other who must be punished for having betrayed our love" (p. 336). Consequently the answer: "Shared parenting thus establishes the
necessary psychological bases for...the post-Instrumental mode of symbolization" (p. 339).

The answer is feminism, partly because, "Contemporary women...have an unconscious emotional structure that is, in certain respects, far closer to that of both primitive women and men than is the structure of contemporary men" (p. 341). In other places Balbus calls this structure emotional and relational. All of this is part of a valorization of the primitive and irrational which goes hand in hand with the quasi-religious view of nature and which must be repugnant to any humanistic outlook, and certainly to a Marxist socialist view.

His feminism is riddled with problems. How reconcile the fight for contraception and abortion with nature? How reconcile lesbian rights to raise children with a view that "mother-monopolized childrearing" is the origin of all our problems? How explain Golda Meier, Indira Gandhi, Eva Peron, and Margaret Thatcher if "...support for (almost always male) political despotism continues that repudiation of the mother that began with the embrace of the despotism of the father" (p. 323)?

Most important, however, are the political conclusions--the social movements against labor. "Women's restaurants [run by participatory democracy] typically offer vegetarian fare that has been 'naturally' prepared, i.e. cooked without additives, refined sugar etc." (p. 368). It is the old Proudhonian mutualist cooperative in new feminist garb. A political movement built on such a basis will be crushed by the weight of capital unless allied with the labor movement. However, Balbus argues that, "The proletariat, as Marxists and neo-Marxists define it, cannot be understood as the or even a revolutionary agent within contemporary societies..." (p. 353), so the movements should eschew alliances with it. Balbus would condemn the most progressive movements to defeat by taking away their most powerful explanatory theory--Marxism--and their potentially best ally--labor.
Manuscripts should be sent to:

Robert D. Leighninger, Jr.
School of Social Work OR Department of Sociology
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI 49008

Please submit three copies. Manuscripts are reviewed anonymously; please omit names and affiliations from the title page and make any internal self-reference in the third person. Manuscripts will not be returned. Reviewing normally takes 45-60 days but can take longer in the case of split recommendations. Authors should feel free to write or call the editor if they feel an undue amount of time has elapsed.

The Journal welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare institutions, policies, or problems from a sociological perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

Books for review should be sent to:

Paul Adams
School of Social Work
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242

Subscriptions to the Journal may be obtained by writing to:

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare
University of Connecticut
School of Social Work
1800 Asylum Avenue
West Hartford, CT 06117

Volume 10 (1983)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Rate (North Am.)</th>
<th>Rate (overseas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>$12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individual issues and back issues are available.