7-1974

The Social Construction of Professional Knowledge Illustrative Empirical Patterns in Social Work, 1956-1973

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THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE

ILLUSTRATIVE EMPIRICAL PATTERNS IN SOCIAL WORK

1956-1973

A Thesis

Presented To

the Faculty of the Department of Sociology

Western Kentucky University

Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Danny L. Jorgensen

July, 1974

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to fully acknowledge in this brief space the range of family, friends, associates and teachers that have contributed to my "education" and thereby to this thesis. Nevertheless, Carol and Eric make life more meaningful and to them this thesis is dedicated. Dr. M. L. Nelson of Northern Arizona University stimulated my interest in action sociology, introduced me to "radical" inquiry, and she has continued to assist and advise the management of this deviant identity.

Numerous members of the department faculty at Western Kentucky University have provided encouragement and valuable assistance from time to time. Dr. John R. Faine, in particular, provided valuable methodological assistance and advice in various stages of this project.

Special gratitude is extended to Dr. J. W. Grimm, Dr. K. A. Kalab, and Dr. R. L. Yokley who as members of the thesis committee provided valuable time and assistance toward making this thesis possible. I am most particularly indebted to Dr. J. W. Grimm for his perseverance, support, insight, encouragement and direction of this research through the seemingly endless months during which this thesis finally emerged.

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Traditional sociological conceptions of professions are examined in this thesis by refocusing attention upon knowledge and ideology as as key to understanding changes in professional reality and action. In a proposed transcending model of professional knowledge it is hypothesized that conflicts between certain ideological positions will result in the displacement of one position by an opposing position and thereby produce changes in the definition and meaning of specific aspects of professional knowledge. Furthermore, it is suggested that knowledge construction, ideological debate, and changes in professional meaning may be observed in the arena of professional communication which is represented by major professional journals in a field.

Using the field of social work as a test case for this study, a content analysis design is employed to examine a population of 778 journal articles appearing in this field's major journal publication, Social Work, from 1956 through 1973. The results of this analysis indicate the presence of six identifiable ideological positions in social work knowledge. Three pairs of these ideological positions were found to conflict and vary inversely with each other between 1956 and 1974, and thereby illustrate three unique temporal patterns of ideological conflict and debate. Another set of ideological positions

were found to be positively associated together and vary inversely with an opposing constellation of ideological claims. In general, these findings support the proposed transcending model and evidence a relatively radical change in the defined meaning of social work from 1956 through 1973.

Several possible interpretations of these findings are explored from the perspective of traditional sociological conceptions of professions and the proposed transcending model. The favored interpretation suggests that the normative view of the professions is outdated by recent changes in professional meaning, and that a processual conception of the professions and their operation as dynamic and competative is a more accurate and useful theoretical model of professions, their reality, and their change. Implication of the results of this study for social service fields are explored and in conclusion certain suggestions are made for needed future inquiry into professional knowledge and related topics raised by this thesis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine critically current sociological conceptions of professional associations from the perspective of what these groups mean to their members, and what the members of professions would have the public believe about them. More specifically, the present study focuses upon a proposed model of professional knowledge, components of this knowledge, and the proffering of professional knowledge in the form of ideology. This concern for knowledge and ideology in a professional arena transposes certain aspects of the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of occupations and professions, and political sociology. In so doing, it is argued that this model of professions transcends previous models. E. Krause (1971) notes the need and merit of such an endeavor. He states:

> In general, the findings of our analysis indicate the need for a combination of the field of the sociology of occupations and such fields as political sociology and the sociology of knowledge. A political sociology which does not treat the political action of occupational groups is risking irrelevance, whereas an apolitical sociology of occupations and professions misses what has <u>always</u> been a major dimension of these group's actions (p. 353).

The second chapter of this thesis reviews two dominant sociological conceptions of professions; the normative model and the processual

model. From a phenomenological perspective on the sociology of knowledge, these traditional views are refocused upon the place of knowledge and ideology as the keystone of professional groups and their change. From this refocusing of attention and perspective of professions a number of questions are raised for theoretical consideration. In Chapter III those questions are addressed in the form of major premises which comprise a transcending model of professions. In order to test empirically these ideas, professional knowledge is analytically demonstrated to consist of three major components; stance on the field, stance on practice, and stance on the professional role. Two polar positions on each of these stances are then identified in terms of ideologies and stated in the form of working research hypotheses.

A content analysis of the journal, Social Work, is used to provide a source of research data for analysis. In Chapter IV the content analysis design and related methodological issues are discussed. Using the field of social work as a test case the working hypotheses which were proposed in Chapter III are then examined. Those findings are presented in Chapter V.

Chapter VI is a discussion of these research findings. Several possible interpretations of these findings are presented and related to the proposed model of professions. In conclusion certain remaining questions are discussed, limitations of the present study are noted, and suggestions made for future research in this area.

CHAPTER II

PROFESSIONS AND THEIR REALITY: A REVIEW AND THEORETICAL REFOCUS OF PERTINENT SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Introduction

Two distinctive approaches to occupations can be identified in the sociological literature. The dominant approach to occupations is represented by T. Parsons' (1939:457-467) emphasis upon the structural-functional attributes of profession-like work and the mechanical cohesiveness of professional communities (see Goode, 1957:194-199). The second view of occupations is derived from the Chicago tradition as it is advanced by E. Hughes (1958) and his students. This view focuses upon conflict, history and processual changes in occupations (see Bucher and Strauss, 1961:325-334). Despite a persistent tendency for sociological discourse to present these two views polemically, both contribute to sociological understanding of occupations and neither view alone is an adequate theoretical model of occupations.

In this chapter and the next chapter these traditional conceptions are interpretatively reviewed by refocusing attention upon the place of

knowledge and ideology as the keystone of occupational institutions and their change. The terminologies, "occupational institutions", "structure of occupations" and "occupational associations" will be used interchangeably to connote a focal concern with the voluntary association of an occupation's membership in a relatively self-conscious, nationwide collectivity. This focus is obviously distinguishable, analytically, from the study of an occupation's social organization, or its relationship to other groups in society although these areas are often combined.

The scope of the present study, however, is restricted to an occupation's voluntary national association. It is in this form of occupational interaction that the reality of an occupation is defined.[1] Members of these groups construct the intended meaning of the occupation, enact norms, codes of conduct and validate group values, advance various types of practice and discuss other issues which are relevant to group action. This focus upon an occupation's association excludes questions concerning the social reality of occupational activity, in particular organization settings, adjustments in definitions of reality that may be made by individuals or groups in various organization and the functional relationship between different or rival definitions of an occupation's social reality.

In the following section of this chapter a sociology of knowledge framework of occupations is developed. Through the integration of traditional approaches and this sociology of knowledge perspective a number of suggestions are made toward a transcending model of pro-

fessions. The present thesis, then, is an attempt to derive and test in an explanatory fashion a transcending model of occupations which may provide a foundation for future theory and research.

Occupational Knowledge and Ideology

Any sociological discussion of knowledge or ideology faces a perplexing array of conceptual and definitional problems (see Price, 1972:6-62). The sociology of knowledge itself has, in recent years, changed considerably in part because of renewed interest in this field and also as a consequence of the recent influx of European ideas, especially certain phenomenological thinking.[2] The sociology of knowledge perspective that will be presented here is drawn from P. Berger and T. Luckmann's work, The Social Construction of Reality (1967). Their phenomenological approach is largely derived from A. Schutz (1962) although the combination of Schutz with other major theorists represents a distinctive contribution of the field. From M. Weber (1947) they develop an emphasis upon subjective meanings and the social construction of reality; from Durkheim (1950) the objective nature of social reality; from Marx (1936; 1939) a dialectical perspective; and from G. H. Mead (1934) the internalization of reality. These influences are in part represented in Berger and Luckmann's definition of the sociology of knowledge as it is concerned with

> . . . whatever passes for 'knowledge' in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria) of such 'knowledge'. And insofar as all human 'knowledge' is developed and transmitted and maintained in social situations,

> the sociology of knowledge must seek to understand the process by which this is done in such a way that a taken-for-granted 'reality' congeals for the man in the street. In other words, we contend that the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality (1967:3).

Implicit in this definition of the sociology of knowledge is the important assumption, drawn from K. Marx (1936; 1939) that society consists of an ongoing dialectical process. That is, social actors produce and construct society (social reality) and in turn this product acts to produce them. How society produces social actors is of little interest to the present study, except to note that these processes involve the internalization of reality as explicated by G. H. Mead (1934) and others in the symbolic interactionist tradition (see Cooley, 1926: 59-79; McKinney, 1955:144-149; Faberman, 1970:3-13).

The present study is largely concerned with the social construction, production and definition of occupational reality. Drawing upon the phenomenology of A. Schutz,[3] Berger and Luckmann contend that the total social reality consists of various symbolic universes of meaning. These universes of meaning correspond to a socially constructed order. This social order consists of a series of interrelated role typifications or routinized normative patterns of social interaction which are embodied in major social institutions. Stated differently, social institutions are typified patterns of social interaction. Through the legitimation or justification of these universes of meaning as they correspond to institutions, like the educational system, the economy, the government, the family, or the religious sphere these various

meanings are integrated into the total social reality (1967:47-128).

In the total social reality various universes of meaning represent a common stock of knowledge which is more or less available to and differentially shared by members of society. In other words, the availability of knowledge and who shares in this common stock of knowledge is dependent upon the degree or extent to which this knowledge is institutionally segmented. In relatively complex, technological societies, for example, certain segmented universes of meaning such as the economy may be divided into numerous subuniverses of this institutional sphere. Occupations are a major way in which a subuniverse of meaning may be socially constructed and structured (1967:79-92).

In traditional societies common knowledge about child rearing, hunting, decision making and so on is likely to be possessed by nearly every member of the society. But as a society's division of labor becomes highly differentiated or segmented and along with the creation of economic surplus the social distribution of common knowledge becomes less available and increasingly remote to specific social actors. Thus in highly segmented and differentiated societies the possession of the common stock of knowledge is likely to be distributed unequally among various members of the group. Indeed, knowledge may be so segmented that certain persons specialize in knowledge about how knowledge is distributed and certain documents also contain this information. The yellow pages of any telephone book, for instance, represent

a guide to how certain types of knowledge are distributed in that locality. A good example of a highly differentiated body of knowledge is orthodox medicine in the United States. It is not uncommon, for example, to seek advice from one medical expert, only to be referred to a series of other experts in order to find the expert with the appropriate knowledge for the solution of a certain problem (see Berger and Luckmann, 1967:46).

The emergence of a body of knowledge as a relatively distinctive subuniverse of meaning requires that members of the group legitimize its existence and thereby integrate this knowledge into the larger symbolic universe of reality. The importance of the concept of legitimate knowledge is noted in the following passage by B. Holzner (1967):

> Major differences in the development of working theories derive from rather simple aspects of the work community's relations to its social setting. ...Certain work communities, like the medical profession in the United States today, or the German university professor of the late nineteenth century, achieved a very high degree of dominance over the flow of resources, and over the recruitment to their own ranks, and high prestige. Others such as lawyers were by virtue of their institutional anchorage directly and powerfully integrated into the political system (p. 127).

Within this context legitimation is a process by which members of an occupation attempt to integrate their redefinition of a specialized portion of social reality into the larger symbolic universe of reality. Legitimation of knowledge raises two questions for additional consideration. In the first place, the issue of which members of an occupation perform this legitimizing function and secondly, the manner in which

the process of legitimation is accomplished.

Elites

In answer to the questions concerning who performs the legitimating role, it is useful to briefly review Pareto's conception of elites in a society. According to Pareto society may be understood in terms of conflict.

> . . . between an infinity of groups with different interests, and above all between the elites contending for power. ... Thus people in the same occupation naturally tend to group together. In many countries, the makers of sugar have acted in concert to exact tribute from their fellow citizens. Shipowners unite to get shipping bounties; the retailers combine to do in the big shops by taxes; shopkeepers with fixed premises join together to hinder street sellers; entrepreneurs in one region unite to exclude those of another region; 'organized' workers agree to take jobs away from 'nonorganized' workers; the workers of one country try to exclude from the 'national market' the workers of another country; the workers of one town, to keep out those of another (Pareto, 1902-1903:I, 117-119, cited by Lopreato and Hazelrigg, 1972:44, italics theirs).

Pareto's view of occupations is similar to Marx's conception of a class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoise although Pareto does not restrict society to two classes but rather places emphasis upon various elites who represent many different interests. Occupations are obviously a major type of interest group regardless of whether the interests are economic power, socio-political power or both. Thus the importance of Pareto's view, for this thesis, is the idea that power struggles are carried out by elite members of a group rather than some other group or some unidentified membership. In this context elites are further defined as those members of an occupation (interest group) who perform the specialized role of advancing the group's interests,

constructing its reality and knowledge and legitimizing its existence.

With regard to scientific fields in particular, D. Crane (1967: 195-197) has documented the existence of an elite group of professionals who play important roles in knowledge construction, which she calls "gatekeepers". Champion and Morris (1973:1256-1258) observe that scientific journals, also, often reflect the contributions of elites to a field. They state that journals function to "disseminate empirical research, describe and elaborate new methodological strategies, and generate dialogue" (p. 1256). These studies and a growing body of sociological information on elites in various fields are more fully reviewed in Chapter III.

Ideology

It is now reasonable to ask, in what manner the construction and legitimation of an occupation's meaning is accomplished. The answer to this question is that ideology (as part of a group's knowledge) serves to forward the intended meaning of the group. In this regard Berger and Luckmann contend that ideology is a particular definition of reality that is connected to a power interest in society (1967:123-128). More specifically, Holzner (1968) notes that:

> By 'ideology' we mean a limited aspect of the interpretive order of faiths and beliefs, namely, those reality constructs and values which serve to legitimate the claims for power and prestige and the activities of groups and their members. Ideologies, thus, are legitimating symbolizations; that is, they enable a group or person to justify their activities (p. 144).

In this manner it can be seen that ideologies are a part of a group's

reality which elite members use to advance the interests of the group and legitimize its activities and reality. The extent to which a group is integrated into the larger social reality would seem to be dependent upon the fate of its ideologies -- that is, their acceptance or rejection.

Krause (1971) comments that until very recently few sociologists have explicitely treated occupations as power interests; as dynamic and as processual systems and as groups oriented toward socio-cultural change. He uses the Marxian concept of "occupational consciousness" to connote the degree or extent to which an occupation is aware of and fights for its own interests (pp. 84-105). To the extent that a group's consciousness is directly related to its power and is a consequence of that power, the group is likely to demand and receive from society a general sanction. Physicians, for example, are a relatively highly self-conscious group as is illustrated by the American Medical Association. Through the American Medical Association physicians have been able to influence legislators and others and to gain considerable power. As a consequence of this power, physicians largely control their work settings such as hospitals; are able to withstand and influence legislation which may affect them such as Medicare; and to influence the activities of occupations related to medicine, such as nursing and pharmacy (see Denzin, 1972:55ff).

Dibble (1962:229-241) notes that a group's power and prestige is related to the extent to which an occupation's knowledge and ideology is either parochial or ecumenical. Parochial ideas are less likely to be diffused and dissemniated beyond the occupation originating

these ideas than ecumenic aspects of its knowledge base (pp. 230-231).

Krause comments that "An inevitable part of a group's action in its own behalf is an ideology which summarizes the meaning of its action and gives reason why others should support it" (1971:88). He defines ideology as:

> . . .texts, theories, phrases, or concepts which are proposed by an interest group (proponent) with a target group or groups in mind, for the intended purpose of directing, politically organizing, and energizing the target group toward behaving in a manner which is stated in the specific text of the message. This behavior is explicitly or implicitly stated as valuable and desirable as an activity or goal for the target group. Whether it is in fact valuable for the target group is an open question for research (1968:132).[4]

Ideologies, then, as they are defined in this thesis, are specific messages often derived from a group's knowledge and used by elite members of an occupation to direct the activity of such target populations as the occupations rank and file membership, clientele, the government, publics, other (sometimes) rival occupations, and other groups in society. Since an occupation's reality is a subuniverse of the total symbolic universe in a society, their meanings may be resisted by other established groups or segmented groups within the occupation. Berger and Luckmann for example discuss the rivalry between orthodox medicine, chiropratic, homeopathy or Christian Science for the definition of a portion of reality that deals with healing and physical well-being (1967:86).

In summary, the previous review of the sociology of knowledge perspective lends support to the consideration of occupations as repre-

senting specialized definitions of reality. Reality has been defined as anything which is taken for granted as real in everyday life and independent of the volition of social actors. In Berger and Luckmann's terms "we cannot wish them (it) away" (1967:1ff). Knowledge, therefore, pertains to the belief that phenomena are real and that they have a distinctive character (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:1ff). Occupations are a major way of constructing and structuring social reality.

It has been assumed that society is dialectical; that is, man produces social reality and, in turn, is produced by it. Occupations, as a subuniverse of the total social reality, are integrated into the larger social order by elite members of the occupation who construct and legitimize this knowledge. Ideologies are derived from an occupation's knowledge base and used by elites within a field to legitimize its reality and to gain increased support for the group's action. Before proceeding to further outline the present conception of occupations, it is necessary to review traditional views of professions.

Traditional Approaches to Professionalization

A pre-eminent concern of a majority of sociologists studying occupations has been the process of professionalization, usually defined as the degree to which occupations evidence those characteristics of structure and operation associated with "professions".[5] Ritzer notes three possible explanations for this intensive interest in the professions:

1. Professionals often represent the elite of a society and they perform roles which are generally considered to be critical and

central to societal well-being and order.

2. As societies become more industrialized there seems to be a tendency for occupations to become increasingly specialized and professionalized.

3. Professionals are likely to cooperate with sociological investigators since they are similar in prestige and status (1972:48).

The Normative Model

The dominant sociological approach to the study of occupations has been the attempt to identify certain distinguishing characteristics of professions and to isolate various structural-functional relationships which set professions apart from other occupations and which also link professions in unique ways to the larger social order. A major distinction is, therefore, drawn between those occupations which have established[6] "professional" status, such as the "classic" professions of medicine, law, the ministry, (to a much lesser extent the modern military, and sometimes including university teaching)[7] and other less developed and prestigious occupations (see Wilensky, 1964:137-141; Goode, 1969:267).

The resulting dichotomy between professions and nonprofessions has been rejected by a number of authors as less useful for theory and research than the conceptualization of occupations on a continuum from established professions, to new professions, to semi-professions, to emerging of striving professions and occupations (see Goode, 1960:903; Wilensky, 1964:157-158; Becker, 1962:27-46; Hughes, 1958:23-41; Walsh and Elling, 1968:16; Ritzer, 1972:49; Pavalko, 1971:16). Ritzer also

comments that while "most occupational sociologists subscribe" to the notion of an occupational-professional continuum, it is "more a product of the processualists from Chicago than the functionalists of the Ivy League" (1972:49).

Most writers seem to agree that the distinction between occupations and professions depends on both the presence of professional characteristics and the degree to which the group has each characteristic (see Ritzer, 1972:49). Pavalko (1971) maintains that:

> The very idea of a continuum implies that the differences on which we are focusing are differences of degree and not differences of kind. As will become evident, to ask, 'is a particular work activity really a profession?' is an inappropriate question. Rather, the notion of an occupation-profession continuum suggests that the proper question is, 'to what extent is a particular work activity a profession?' (p. 16).

Pavalko is certainly right in drawing this distinction between "degree" and "kind". To argue that one can theoretically determine what a "profession" really is begs the question, confuses a heuristic device with empirical reality and represents an unjustified priorism.

Both the proliferation of professionalization studies[8] and the considerable disagreement between theorists concerning what criteria define a profession-like activity make a concise presentation of any set of professional characteristics rather cumbersome. In spite of some deviation[9] the list of these criteria of professionalization usually includes: 1) technical skills derived from a systematic body of knowledge and control of group membership through recruitment, socialization and formal norms (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933:284-318):

2) a high degree of unity or solidarity and group culture, including shared values, roles, identity, language and continuing social status (Goode, 1957:194); and, 3) community license and mandate (Hughes, 1958:78-87).[10]

Proponents of professionalization generally elaborate that professional knowledge is systematic, formal and often derived from science. Medicine is often cited as an example of a profession with a systematic, scientific knowledge base derived from the fields of biology, anatomy, chemistry, neurology and so on. Scientific knowledge is not necessary, however. Both law and the ministry are non-scientific, and the former field is based upon a system of norms while the latter is based on lore and ritual (see Pavalko, 1971:17-27). In any case, the profession claims expertise in the appropriate field or fields of knowledge and therefore claims to possess unique or "scarce" technical skills.

A profession also maintains autonomous control of group membership. This is accomplished by controlling the university or particular portion of the university responsible for training new members. The profession also decides who is to be recruited and upon what criteria. Recruits are then socialized by either members of the profession or experts in related fields and required through learning and experience to become experts in the profession's knowledge. In most cases recruits are also required to internalize the group culture and to conform to the profession's formal code of

conduct. Thus, professionals determine who is or is not allowed into the profession, in what knowledge they are to be trained, and the appropriate norms and values for the recruit's professional conduct.

Both Wilensky (1964) and Goode (1969) contend that these general criteria are less useful in analyzing the structure of a given profession than are two "core characteristics" from which others on the list of professional attributes may be derived. These are autonomous expertise ("a basic body of abstract knowledge"), and a service ideal. The service ideal, ideal of service, or service norms refer to an altruistic or over-riding concern for the interests and well-being of clientele rather than a concern for professional self-interests, such as economic or social reward (see Wilensky, 1964: 139-140).

Goode lists a series of subdimensions of autonomous expertise which reflect this core of characteristics. Knowledge in which expertise is claimed must be systematically organized and perceived by the public to be applicable to specific societal problems. The society or specific target populations, such as the government, certain law makers or clientele must believe that this knowledge will solve their problems and they must believe that the particular profession claiming expertise is indeed capable of offering solutions. Furthermore, the profession claiming control of knowledge must be able to apply their knowledge. The profession must be accepted as the final arbiter in

disputes regarding the knowledge and its practice; and the society must perceive that the knowledge and its practice is largely beyond the knowledge and skill possessed by ordinary members of society (Goode, 1969:276-278).

The professional ideal of service, according to Goode, also may be used to derive several subdimensions or attributes which traditionally appear in attempts to define a profession. The profession claims exclusive jurisdiction concerning definitions of the client's needs which in turn requires that the client accept these definitions if professional autonomy is to be granted. The general public must also believe that the profession accepts and follows the moral ideals of the profession; namely service to the client's needs and expert solution of his problem (Goode, 1969:278-279).

Perhaps the most important criterion of professionalism, and one which is sometimes omitted (see Pavalko, 1971:15-43) is the importance of community license and mandate to professionals activity. The importance of these concepts is that they focus attention upon the role of the larger society in sanctioning professional activity. Hughes' (1958) conception of "license and mandate" refer to community approval or sanction of an occupation's knowledge and activity. This is illustrated by the following quotation:

> An occupation consists, in part, of successful claim of some people to license to carry out certain activities which others may not, and to do so in exchange for money, goods or services. Those who have such license will, if they have any sense of self-consciousness and solidarity, also claim mandate to define what is proper conduct of others toward the matters concerned with their work (1958:78).

Fredison provides a very good illustration of these concepts as they are pertinent in the field of medicine.

> In the case of illness, a critical difference exists between those considered to be competent to diagnose and treat the sick and those excluded from this special privilege--a separation as old and as ubiquitous as the shaman or medicine-man. This difference becomes solidified when the expert healer becomes a member of an organized, full-time occupation, sustained in a monopoly over the work of diagnosis and treatment by the force of the state, and invested with the authority to make official designation of the social meanings to be ascribed to physical states. When this stage of social organization occurs, only the expert healers are permitted to say what is and what is not legitimate illness, and who is and who is not legitimately ill (1972:ix).

Furthermore, according to Hughes, these claims to expertise and their fate in terms of community license and mandate are continually problematic for certain segments of the public.

> Such license appears to be as chronically suspect as it is universal in occurrence. In the hearts of many laymen there burns a certain aggressive suspicion of all professionals whether plumbers or physicians. In some people it flares up into a raging anger (1958:82).

Whether or not an occupation's activity may or may not be called professional is therefore largely dependent upon the community accepting its claims to possess expertise. This, in turn, affects the group's definition and construction of its reality.

Wilensky (1964:137-150) and Goode (1969:276-281) observe that only a relatively few occupations ever successfully obtain professional "status" from society, although presumably many occupations may desire the social and economic rewards of professionalization. Wilensky (1964) identifies a "typical sequence of events" by which occupations become professionalized. His findings are based upon

the extent to which occupations have undergone this sequence of professionalization. On this basis he places a number of occupations into four categorical levels of development; established professions, professions in progress, new professions, and doubtful professions. His sequence of professionalization involved:

1. become a full-time occupation
2. establishment of university training
3. development of a national association
4. political agitation for legal support
5. a formal code of ethics (pp. 141-146).

On the basis of this sequence established professions include accounting (CPA), architecture, civil engineering, dentistry, law and medicine. Professions in process are librarianship, nursing, optometry, pharmacy, school teaching, social work and veterinary medicine. New professions include city management, city planning and hospital administration, while the doubtful category lists funeral directors and advertising (pp. 141-146).

Wilensky's attempt to establish steps to professionalization is similar to an earlier attempt by Caplow (1954:139-140) and both are combined by Ritzer into a six step process. He adds that a name change is necessary to disassociate the group from its previous status (1972:54). Goode, however, disagrees with this natural history approach to professionalization. He argues that since the processes go on simultaneously, it is difficult to impossible to state which occurs first. He therefore maintains that this sequence is "time-bound" and "place-bound" and as a consequence it is accidental rather than theoretically compelling. Goode also notes that law, medicine, dentistry

and the ministry were all established professions before they developed a code of ethics and ministry still has no formal code (1969: 274-276).

In summary, the normative model distinguishes between profession-like work and nonprofession-like work. Professions are based upon a systematic body of knowledge from which technical skills are derived. The professional group is characteristically homogeneous, and members share a common culture including norms and values which emphasize service to the community. Group members are controlled and recruited by the profession and required to internalize this culture through an intensive university training program. The larger society or particular publics control professional license and extend mandate to professional prestige, high economic reward, autonomous practice, and control of legal standards and sanctions is dependent upon social acceptance of claims to possess these attributes.

The Process Model

The process model of professions was developed by Bucher and Strauss (1961) within the Chicago tradition of E. Hughes (1958). Historically, this view of professions offers an alternative and sometimes an antithesis of the predominately functional conception of professions. Bucher and Strauss (1961:325) pointedly criticize the normative model for what they consider emphasis upon normative patterns and "...upon the mechanics of cohesiveness and upon detailing the social structure (and/or social organization) of given professions." They approach

professions in terms of various different interest groups and the diversity which often results from their conflict over definitions of the profession's reality. Again, in juxtaposition to the normative model of professions, they state:

> But this kind of focus and theory (the normative model) tend to lead one to overlook many significant aspects of professions and professional life. Particularly does it bias the observer against the conflict--or at least differences--of interests within the professions; this leads him to overlook certain of the more subtle features of the profession's 'organization' as well as to fail to appreciate how consequential for changes in the profession and its practitioners differential interests may be (p. 325).

In this context, the focus upon differential interests and conflict is an analytical tool for examining changes in definitions or professional reality.

Bucher and Strauss label different interest groups within a profession "segments". These segments may correspond to professional specialities, such as surgery or internal medicine in the case of professional medicine, although they note that even specialists often contain groups competing for a particular definition of that speciality (p. 326). According to Bucher and Strauss these rival definitions of a profession characteristically concern the following issues (pp. 326-332): 1) A sense of mission or statement of the unique contribution that the interest groups intend to make to some area of professional activity. A conflict which has encompassed the field of sociology and is illustrative of this point is the recent emphasis upon Marxian sociology or social conflict in general as opposed to the more traditional structural-functionalism. 2) Segmented groups may

disagree over work activities, the type of work which is performed, or what activities take precedence. Many sociologists, for example, argue over the respective merits of consultation, teaching, research, and other professional activities (see I. L. Horowitz, 1967:358-383). In many university departments of sociology it is possible to discern a sharp division between researchers and teachers. 3) The methodology and techniques of the profession are a matter of profound disagreement. The emergence of ethnomethodology in the field of sociology is a good example. Ethnomethodologists attack contemporary sociological empiricism for what they see as its inability to grasp the underlying, subjective meaning of social phenomena, and they claim special competency in techniques for analyzing subjective social experience (see Tyler, 1974:56-61; Hill and Crittenden, 1968:1ff; Coleman, 1968:126-130; Wilkins, 1968:642-645). 4) Another matter of debate concerns who is considered to be clientele and how the practitioner is to approach the client. Bucher and Strauss observe that, in medicine, clientele vary considerably between general practitioners and psychiatrists. The general practitioner's approach to clientele is likely to differ considerably from the rather complex, therapeutic approach of the psychiatrist (pp. 329-330). 5) What person is considered a colleague may also reflect segmentation in many fields. This feature of professional activity is illustrated by the following passage in which an ethnomethodologist distinguishes himself from other sociologists.

> 'Our whole effort,' Sudnow says, 'is to look at facts from the point of view of the members (of society). The very phenomenon we try to discover is how the member of society reasons--and to see his world. They have the same kind of criteria of knowledge as the sociologists. Other sociologists say members' knowledge is imperfect; we don't say that. We treat their methods, the how, as the subject. We are interested in discovering the procedures of reasoning. Sociologists miss that phenomenon altogether' (Tyler, 1974:61, italics mine).

6) Interests and associations also reflect segmentation in professional activity. A prime example is the more than twelve sections of the American Sociological Association. Such differentiation reflects not only simply an interest in different matters but conflict between segments for control of definition of the group's reality. The recent movement to establish phenomenology as an area of sociology including the attempt by some phenomenologists to found their own journal reflects this conflict between interest groups in the field of sociology.[11]

Bucher and Strauss (1961:332-336) maintain that segments in the process of distinguishing themselves from the established groups within a profession are likely to alter or change the profession's definition of reality. In this regard segments are similar to social movements, as is illustrated in the following passage:

> As a beginning, the movement of segments can fruitfully be analyzed as analogous to social movements. . . . Professional identity may be thought of as analogous to the ideology of a political movement; in this sense, segments have ideology. We have seen that they have missions. They also tend to develop brotherhood of colleagues, leadership, organizational forms and vehicles, and tactics for implementing their position (pp. 332-333, italics mine).

Since segments are always in movement they are continually involved in struggles for power and control of the profession. These power struggles may involve various work situations, careers, socialization,

recruitment, public images, relations with other professions and leadership. The emergence of a segment (sometimes in a new speciality) and its new or different definition of the profession is likely to change work settings and role relationships of practitioners in these settings. The mental health movement in social work, for example, contributed to the construction of a nationwide network of community mental health centers (see Mechanic, 1969; Ginsburg, 1955). In these settings various role relationships changed and new ones were created or recreated. Psychiatric social workers in some centers found themselves under the control of community organizers although they had formerly controlled their own settings while community organization, as a speciality, was virtually non-existent (see Meyer et al, 1967:156-173; Strauss et al, 1964:4-10, 39-45, 125-146; Klein, 1968; Rossi, 1962).

From the above example, it should also be clear that career stages and patterns within a profession will change or result in segmentation. In the case of mental health the speciality of community organization was accommodated by new academic departments with their emphasis and shifts toward this speciality in existing departments (see Mechanic, 1969). As a consequence both socialization and programs of recruitment changed in a manner which constituted a refocusing of social work. Furthermore, new public images were forwarded, and new relationships developed among psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers. Finally, leader-

ship patterns shifted from treatment oriented practitioners to social reformers and activists (see Kopkind, 1971).

In summary, the process model has drawn sociological attention to the importance of social conflict and its likely consequence; changes in the definition of a given profession's reality and knowledge. Concerning the importance of these insights Ritzer (1972) states that:

> Viewing professions in this way has enormous implications for the over-all study of these occupations. The place in which they work are the arenas for the battle between members of the rival segments. This conflict is affected by, and affects, the organization in which the profession operates (p. 69).

These traditional conceptions of professions (the normative and process model) raise a number of questions about professional knowledge and ideology which deserve additional consideration. The normative model provides a systematic accounting of traditional professional attributes, especially the importance and character of professional knowledge. The process model supplements the normative view by refocusing attention upon intra-professional communication, conflict and change. In spite of Bucher and Strauss' insight, their view is only supplementary. In this regard they comment that if the process and normative models are viewed as supplementary, then a transcending model of professions will be necessary (1961:326).

In the next chapter (Chapter III) the place of knowledge and ideology is used to integrate these traditional approaches in an attempt to develop a transcending model of professions. The following questions will be addressed. First, what is the relationship among

a profession's reality, its knowledge, and its ideologies? Secondly, can certain central dimensions of a profession's knowledge be distinguished as representing important components of its meaning? Third, how is knowledge produced and what are some of its ideological uses? Fourth, can certain polemical issues and positions be identified as reoccurring sources of professional conflict? Fifth, what are some of the likely consequences of intra-professional, inter-professional and professional-community conflicts over different definitions of a profession's reality and knowledge?

Notes From Chapter II

[1]This is not to say that an occupation's national association is the only place that knowledge construction occurs. But as is argued in Chapter III it is a major source of knowledge creation, production and communication.

[2]See Fredricks, 1970; Price, 1972

[3]See A. Schutz, 1951; 1971; 1953; 1963; 1946

[4]For a series of more intensive discussions of the general topic of ideology see Birnbaum, 1960:91-117; Lichtheim, 1960:164-195; Dibble, 1973:511-549; Price, 1972

[5]See for instance Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Ritzer, 1972; Caplow, 1954; Habenstein, 1963; Hughes, 1958; Wilensky, 1964; Goode, 1969; Krause, 1971; Jackson, 1970; Pavalko, 1971

[6]Established usually means instituted as profession-like endeavors in a historical sense.

[7]Although university teaching is often included with the established professions, university teaching deviates considerably from the general criteria of a profession in terms of the normative model. Hughes, for example, distinguishes between "profession" and "learned society" (1958:157-168). Of course, university teaching was historically established as a "professional" activity since at least the Renaissance (see Krause, 1971:257-261). But the point is that using the normative criteria of a profession, university teaching is at best questionable. Its inclusion in the professional category, by many structural-functionalists, appears to be largely a matter of scientific bias, or wishful thinking.

[8]A brief list of these studies includes: social workers (Flexner, 1915; Greenwood, 1957; Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958), social scientists (Goode, 1960), librarians (Leigh, 1950; Goode, 1961), labor (Foote, 1953), business (Brandeise, 1914; Taeusch, 1926; Bowen, 1955), law (Pound, 1953), and others (Moore, 1970; Hall, 1968; Goode, Merton and Huntington, 1957; Cogan, 1953; Rodenberry, 1953) Also those studies in note 5 above.

[9]See Habenstein, 1963:296, and notes 5 and 8 above

[10]Although Hughes is definitely a processualist rather than a functionalist, his contribution of license and mandate is widely recognized by both schools as an important characteristic of professions.

[11]See any issue of the Phenomenological Sociology Newsletter

CHAPTER III

TOWARD A TRANSCENDING MODEL OF PROFESSIONS

Introduction

The present thesis is an attempt toward the development of a transcending model of professions. Although the normative and process models (reviewed in Chapter II) are often represented as contradictory, these traditional conceptions of professions will be viewed here as supplementing one another. The normative model of professionalization emphasizes professional knowledge and certain profession-like attributes which can be derived from this systematic knowledge base. Professions are, therefore, often characterized by technical skills, norms of professional conduct and ideals which stress service to the community. Processualists supplement the normative view by pointing out that most professions are in conflict over various definitions of their reality. Conflict between segmented professional interest groups often leads to changes in their definition of reality. Furthermore, both models converge upon the importance of the larger society in sanctioning professional action and the use of ideologies by professional groups to gain support.

The process model transcends these views by refocusing upon

the process by which professional reality is constructed, produced, defined, legitimized or otherwise made meaningful. The core of this argument is summarized in the premise that elites of a profession construct, produce, define and legitimize the meaning and reality of their profession. From this premise at least six components of a transcending model may be derived. These components serve to further illustrate the present view and they will be used as a rough framework for the present research.

Components of a Transcending Model

First, the reality of a profession is contained in its knowledge base. For this thesis professional knowledge will be considered the storehouse of professional definitions of reality. The normative model of professionalization describes some of the attributes of professional knowledge which have historically characterized the classic professions. The process model emphasizes that this knowledge is continually problematic and therefore subject to change in definition and meaning. As a heuristic device it is useful to further specify subdimensions or elements of professional knowledge which define important sectors of professional meaning.

J. Marx (1969) advances three major ideological dimensions of professional knowledge.[1] These are theory, profession, and institutional setting (pp. 80-84). He operationally defines the theoretical dimension as a theoretical orientation to specific models of treatment.

In the field of mental health, for instance, these treatment

models might include Freudian, Non-Freudian Analytic, Neo-Freudian Ego Psychological, Sullivanian, Rogerian, Existential, Milleu, and Social Psychiatric (p. 83). Each of these treatment models deals with the nature of personality, behavior, and treatment, all of which comprise a component of treatment ideologies (p. 83). Marx's second dimension of knowledge is professional orientation which is operationally defined as an ideological commitment to codes of ethics, sets of roles, and other portions of the professional culture (pp. 83-84). His third dimension of professional knowledge is called "institutional orientation" which refers to an ideological commitment to various work settings in the field. A major portion of this component concerns the relationship between professionals and clientele (p. 84). These three dimensions of professional knowledge can be translated into the second component of a transcending model.

Secondly, professional knowledge can be analytically represented in terms of three sectors of meaning. The first sector of professional knowledge concerns the stance that professionals take on their field. This corresponds to what Marx called a professional orientation. The second sector of professional knowledge refers to the stance that professionals take toward practice in the field. This sector is represented by Marx as a theoretical orientation to treatment. Stance on the professional role is the third sector of professional knowledge which essentially concerns relationships between professionals and their clientele. These dimensions of meaning and knowledge will be more

fully developed as this discussion proceeds.

The third component of a transcending model of professions states that professional knowledge is produced and legitimized by elite members of the profession, through the process of proffering this knowledge in the form of ideology. The social situation in which this knowledge is constructed is of particular importance. Many sociologists have been preoccupied with the formulation of professional knowledge in the context of institutional or other types of complex organizational work settings (see Strauss et al, 1964; Blau, 1960). These environmental factors do, of course, have an important effect upon knowledge and such social structures may also affect knowledge and construction. However, in any profession the intra-communication of knowledge which occurs at regional and national meetings of these groups and in their trade journals is more likely to serve as an conducive situation for the production of knowledge. J. Marx (1969) observes that the analysis of professional journals is especially appropriate ". . .for conceptualizing and assessing the diverse, competing ideologies in highly differentiated arenas (professions)" (p. 82). D. Champion and M. Morris (1973) also notice the importance of the journal media for the study of professional knowledge.

> Professional sociologists' journals reach and influence large segments of the sociological population. They are often considered barometers which reflect current professional attitudes, opinions, and the state of the discipline (p. 1256).

Intra-professional communication is clearly important for the analysis

of knowledge and ideology as well as for assessing changes in professional knowledge and structure. However, many researchers have too quickly bypassed the discussion and analysis of intra-professional communication because of the comparative ease at which they can study complex organizational settings (see Blau, 1960; Scott, 1969), and in order to address certain more well-publicized questions concerning the responses of clientele to professional ideologies (see Krause, 1971: 84-105; Fisher, 1969:423-433; Haug and Sussman, 1969:153-161; Dibble, 1962: 229-241). In short, the topic of intra-professional communication--in the context of construction of knowledge and the advocacy of ideology--has been largely neglected by previous sociological studies of professions.

Since it seems clear that the idea that intra-professional communication, in the form of journal context, is a significant factor in the construction of knowledge, it will be useful to identify those actors who play important roles in this process. D. Crane (1967:195-201; 1969:33 - 352) systematically reviews evidence which supports the hypothesis that a small, select and elite group of professionals control the construction of knowledge in at least certain scientific fields. In a survey of fifty journals in seven disciplines (biology, chemistry, economics, physics, psychology, sociology and statistics) she analyzed the effects of the author's background (education, institutional affiliation, age) on their contributions to professional journals (1967:196-198). She found that major contributors characteristically worked at prestigious universities, received their doctorate from

prestigious universities, and tended to be older, more established members of the profession (pp. 197-201).

I. L. Horowitz (1967:358-383) in a systematic study of various roles in the field of sociology also argued that elites often control this field's knowledge. He maintains that as an occupation becomes professionalized (strives to exemplify the classic attributes of a profession) its knowledge becomes increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few elite members of the profession. It is, therefore, plausible to expect that the process of professional knowledge construction is largely controlled by elite members of the profession (see pp. 380-383).

Inasmuch as professions are interest groups they use ideologies. Professional ideologies are defined here as specific dimensions of professional knowledge which serve to define the profession's meaning. As such, ideologies may take the form of "texts, theories, doctrines, phrases, or concepts" (Krause, 1968:132), to mention but a few possible forms of ideology. As interest groups, professions, especially elite members of a profession, may use ideology to advance certain ideas, in which informal support and formal mandates are sought from specific target populations or from the general public, professional ideologies may also be used to shape public policy in ways which are supportive of the profession. Ideological claims may, for example, be directed at gaining government funding or legislative support, toward increasing the use of services by clientele, toward

obtaining the cooperation of related occupational fields, or toward influencing the opinions and behavior of rank and file members of the profession. This last way in which professional ideology may be used has not received sufficient attention by researchers. The present thesis attempts to correct for this oversight by directing attention to the process by which ideologies are formulated and disseminated within the profession as a means of influencing professional, not public opinion. While previous studies have focused upon the development of ideology in work settings, where professionals meet and influence the public, this thesis rests on the premise that ideology is exchanged and reviewed before the professional audience before it is disseminated to outsiders. And communication networks which reflect this process are likely to be in evidence at professional meetings and/or in professional journals. It is interesting to note that both normative and processual theorists seem to agree on the importance of the development of knowledge and ideas systems within a profession, despite their disagreement over whether knowledge is characteristically a shared perception of reality or a source of continual conflict (see Bucher and Strauss, 1961:325-326).

The fourth component of a transcending model of profession concerns conflict within the professions. Segmented groups within a profession are often in competition for the definition of the profession. Professional segments may be viewed as representing conflicting points of view pertinent to the three sectors of professional knowledge; stance on

the field, stance on practice, and stance on the professional role. To the extent that segments reflect competing views on these three dimensions of knowledge, it becomes questionable as to which professional meanings stimulate responses from publics. That is to say, do various publics react to some stero-typical image of the profession, or do they respond to particular ideological components of the profession's knowledge.

A fifth component of a transcending model is that conflict over rival definitions of the profession's knowledge may affect changes in its knowledge and, as a consequence, changes in the structure of the profession are likely to result. Changes in knowledge may occur, for instance, as new segments arise within the profession or as existing segments are able to gain the support of the profession's rank and file membership.

The sixth component of a transcending model of professions states that the fate (acceptance, rejection, modification) of occupational ideologies vis-a-vis these various target populations, including the general public, affects the extent to which these definitions of reality are integrated into the total social reality and the subsequent development of the profession's knowledge. Fisher (1969) provides some historical evidence for this contention, as does the normative model of professionalization. Fisher investigated the field of mental retardation and social welfare (in a comparative manner) in terms of the

credibility of certain ideological claims. She finds that responses of incredulity on the part of clientele may affect a field's knowledge in four ways.

> At the point at which such lack of responses or rejection by clients convinces or forces the helping group to act, it may move in four ways: it may try to alter its ideology and the nature of the helping claim; it may try to alter its structure in order to affect its claim; it may seek to change the responses of its clients; or it may attempt to change the makeup of its clientele (p. 428).

Fisher adds six ways that claims may be altered: 1) how much will be done, "scale"; 2) the range of claims, "scope"; 3) the time period that help is extended; 4) the situation or "location" of help; 5) the particular practices or "technique"; or 6) the goal or end for extending assistance (pp. 428-429). She briefly notes examples of these changes in the field of mental retardation. A credibility problem was created in this field by workers claiming to be able to do more, theraputically, for retarded clientele than they could actually do. Therefore, reformers in the field redefined the scale and scope of their claims by specifying who could be helped and to what degree. The limitation in claims was accompanied by new techniques of practice, such as the employment of new diagnostic tests. Thus the responses of clientele to the field's claims to help affected several changes in the field's knowledge (pp. 429-430).

Limitations in temporal and economic resources prohibit empirical tests of all six components of a transcending model which were proposed. For this reason the present thesis will now focus in upon

those components (one through four) which are related to the three dimensions of professional knowledge.

Components of Professional Knowledge

Stances on the Field

The issue of what the profession means to its diverse membership often centers around various positions which are taken regarding its major interests. E. Krause (1971) specifies a way of identifying issues over which a profession or its segments may conflict. He observes that some occupations, such as police, firemen, and some teachers, are predominantly concerned with their own self-interests. Such interests include economic and social rewards and/or social power to affect increased status, prestige and economic gain. An occupation's self-interests may be contrasted with its concern for the interests of others, especially clientele. An intensive interest in poor or "have-not" clientele is termed occupational altruism (pp. 84-98). According to Krause, altruistic notions are often advanced by younger members of the profession, who seek to change the manner in which the profession serves "have-nots". Pro-change activists are often critical of certain "establishment" members of the profession. According to the "altruists", establishment members of the group have neglected the professional ideal of service in order to further the profession's status, prestige, economic benefit and social power and as a consequence their own importance (pp. 98-102).

The significance for changes in a profession's knowledge and

meaning of conflict between segments over altruistic interests as opposed to self-interests is as of yet empirically undetermined. Krause, however, observes an increase of altruism in recent years.

> The rise of altruism in the classic professions has been marked in recent years: the medical student activist, the young lawyer engaged in community action work or group action suits in the manner of Ralph Nader, the radical priest, and the draftee rebelling against the Army's legal system and its concept of freedom of speech. . . .each major profession, including university teaching in the social sciences, has been developing a radical-reformists wing (p. 99).

Another good example of this sort of radicalism is reflected in the title of a recent work in political science: The Tyranny of the Experts, "How Professionals Are Closing The Open Society" (Lieberman, 1970:1ff).

Similar conflicts have occurred between segmented groups in other occupational fields. In the field of education, Postman and Weingartner (1969:1ff) have argued that American educational institutions are largely unrelated to everyday life and to current social problems encountered by young people. In their opinion teachers (including university teachers) must become involved in the reconstruction of educational spheres of reality or accept the consequence of being irrelevant, one of which is student revolution. In the field of social welfare Piven and Cloward (1971:1ff) have argued that public welfare programs have functioned to regulate the poor and other recipients of public assistance. Their finding that government welfare programs regulate the poor have involved them as leaders in the current reform movement

in this field (pp. 341-348). In other fields, such as medicine, law, ministry, business, science, and journalism members of these groups have critically questioned the dominate definitions of their activities (Gross and Osterman, 1971:1ff).

Wilensky (1964) examined this issue somewhat differently. He constructed measures of what he called "professionalism" and "client orientation" and applied them to a probability sample of lawyers and university professors. Both variables were defined and measured by a series of questions which asked whether a colleague reference group or a client reference group was more important for the respondent's continuation on the job, and as a source of job satisfaction and support (pp. 152-153). Lawyers scored high on their client orientation and medium on professionalism, while professors ranked high on professionalism and low on their client orientation. Wilensky concludes that client and colleague orientations conflict which, in turn, helps to determine the extent to which a field is professionalized (pp. 152-154).

Epstein (1968:1970a; 1970b) has explored the effect of various social work role orientations which he measured by giving respondents an index (developed by Billingsley) based on a set of items that measured the extent to which various orientations were in conflict (p. 88). He found three different role orientations which he defined as follows: a) a bureaucratic role orientation refers to a personal or career commitment[3] to the employing organization; b) a professional orientation marks a personal or career commitment to a professional reference group, in this case social workers; and c) a client orientation, which

denotes commitment to clientele or recipients of service (1970a:87). Epstein's data supports the conclusion that a bureaucratic orientation is conservative. By conservative he means that bureaucrats tend to be predominately concerned with organizational goals, the organizational distribution of power, and social status and prestige. In contrast, persons with a client orientation tend to view the profession as a social movement or as a mechanism for social action and change. As a consequence of this latter view, Epstein classifies client oriented social workers as "radical" in their orientation to social work service (pp. 89-90). A professional orientation, in and of itself, is neither conservative nor radical in its consequences (pp. 90-92). When a professional role orientation is linked to a bureaucratic orientation it intensifies the conservative effect of this orientation. In contrast, a professional-client combination of orientations is found to intensify the radicalizing consequences of this role orientation (p. 92). Epstein concludes:

> Thus the critical question for social work is not whether to become more professional or not, but rather in whose interests we are going to use our professional commitment and expertise (p. 92).

Epstein's finding that a professional orientation may be coupled with either a bureaucratic or a client orientation provides additional support for the contention that professional knowledge is composed of numerous meanings, and that these may serve as the basis for segmentation.

Professional's stances on their field, then, may be roughly characterized in terms of two polarized positions--self-interests as opposed to the interests of clientele (see Table I). Table I illustrates that stances on the field are represented by these polarized positions. The ideologies which will be discussed as representative of each position are labeled "professionalism" and "clientism" respectively. These ideologies will be viewed as polar extremes of a continuum on this component of professional knowledge. The operational definition and usage of these ideological stances, as they pertain to social work, will be presented in Chapter IV.

Stances on Practice

The second component of professional knowledge is represented by the question: what stances are taken on the meaning of professional practice and activity? Ideological conflicts over issues of practice and professional activity are likely to be as diverse and varied as there are specialities in any given field. Bucher and Strauss (1961:327-328) have observed that even within specialities there exists considerable diversity and conflict over various types of practice. In many service occupations, however, and especially in the field of social welfare, two rather polarized ideological stances stand out. Simply put, one position focuses upon treating the individual on a one-to-one basis, while the other stance stresses manipulation of the social environment in which the client exists.

H. J. Meyer et al (1967) suggests that four levels of practice

TABLE I

THREE COMPONENTS OF PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE, CORRESPONDING ISSUES AND IDEOLOGIES

Components of Knowledge	Possible Stances*	Ideological Positions**
I. Stance on the Field	1. Self-interest (social and economic reward, power)	1. Professionalism
	2. Client's interests (based on client's needs and problems)	2. Clientism
II. Stance on Practice (and activity)	1. Fix the individual	1. Treatmentism (one to one)
	2. Fix the society	2. Reformism (change social structures and institutions)
III. Stance on Professional Role (relationship between professional and client)	1. Protect (safe-guard, shelter, take care of)	1. Paternalism
	2. Assistance (aid, consult, relate)	2. Self-determinism

*These are possible and "ideal-typical" issues or positions that are often raised by professional groups. Empirically they most likely pertain to service type occupations; medical professionals, public service workers, and social welfare workers.

**These are possible ideologies that are often advanced by service-type professionals as they define and construct the meaning of the profession in terms of the three components of knowledge which comprise the profession's definition of reality.

and theory characterize social work, and many other similar service professions. It is their contention that these emerging levels of practice reflect the influence of social science on the field of social work (pp. 158-160). The first level of practice and theory is termed the "interpersonal level". This level encompasses the social work practices of casework and group work which emphasize treatment of the individual in relationship to his interpersonal relationships. Meyer et al point out that the distinction between interpersonal treatment and psychotheraputic modes of helping are often blurred, and both methods attempt to change the client's social behavior (p. 160).

A second level, according to Meyer et al, focuses upon social agencies and organizations as a means of intervening in the treatment process. Interest in this level often focuses upon chaing organizations, such as prisons, schools, hospitals and courts in order to effect treatment of various individuals and social problems (p. 160). The community is the third level of treatment specified by Meyer et al. The major social work practice at the community level is community organization which stresses professional involvement in community processes. Through social work involvement in community power, decision making and development practitioners hope to effectively intervene in these processes in order to aid individuals and effect such social problems as delinquency, poverty, and mental health (pp. 160-161). The final level of practice is termed the societal level in reference to social work efforts to attack social problems through public policy, planning

and legislation. The practice of social welfare planning often attempts to increase the provision of public welfare services such as social security or other state and federal welfare programs (p. 161).

In the present scheme Meyer's interpersonal level of social work practice falls under the polar position on practice which concerns individualized treatment and changing the individual. The other three levels of practice are representative of the opposite polar position which is termed "fix the society" (see Table I). The contribution of social scientific approaches to these various social work practices is well represented by such writers as Scheff (1967), Mechanic (1962; 1969) and Szasz (1960).

Mechanic (1962), for example, argues that the recognition of mental illness involves a defining process which is dependent upon the perception and social situational context of the definer's and subjects. He finds, in an exploratory study of mental patients, that definitions of mental illness by the patient's peers, community agencies and psychiatric experts are more or less consistent. However, discrepencies in definition frequently do occur (pp. 66-70). In these problematic situations, Mechanic argues that although psychiatric definitions of mental deviation would seem to be more important than peer, or lay definitions, people receive help on the basis of lay recommendation (pp. 70-74). From that point an important part of psychiatric treatment is communication of the perceived pathology to the client. Mechanic states that:

> The necessity of having the patient accept the psychiatric definition of his case is especially apparent in the early

> hospital experience, where the patient must become socialized to a "patient-role", accepting the definition of his symptoms placed upon him by the hospital population, including staff and other patients. Should the patient refuse to accept the patient-role and deny his illness, this resistence is viewed as a further symptom of the "illness", and he is told that if he is to get well, he must recognize the fact that he is ill (pp. 73-74).

Evidence from other sources supports the idea that the process of defining deviancy may be as important for its comprehension as the so called problem or illness. S. Dinitz et al (1961) studied the predictors of case outcome in mental hospitalization. They found that social variables such as socio-economic class were more likely than psychiatric variables (the supposed cause and treatment) to be predictive of the patient's recovery (pp. 325-328). The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from these studies is that intervention into the defining process and changing certain social institutions and structures, such as hospitals, are likely to be as effective in treating individuals and sets of social problems as traditional one-to-one treatment modes.

Toren (1969) found a corresponding set of diverse and potentially conflicting ideological positions on practice, again in the field of social work. She labels this "the dilemma in social work" (p. 160:ff). In a review of literature she identifies this conflict in terms of "two basic orientations toward the achievement of social welfare". The first orientation emphasizes social reform or environmental (structure) manipulation while the second emphasizes casework with individuals clientele "one by one" in order to increase their psychological functioning and welfare (pp. 160-162). In reference to these two ideological

positions Toren states:

> Both the social reform and the one-by-one approaches are rooted in the same ultimate values and goals--the promotion of human welfare. The first was dominate in social work until World War I, and attempts to promote welfare mainly by changing man's economic and social environment. The other, the individual-focused approach which developed in the second decade of this century, tries to achieve improved social functioning by changing the individual's inner world--his perceptions, attitudes, commitments, and behavior--and consequently, enhance his adjustment to the environment (p. 161).

Toren argues that these orientations tend to fluxuate with the degree and extent of concern for professional status and recognition. Historically, reform orientations are often displaced by the individual casework treatment orientation when occupational concern for professionalism is high (p. 162). Some of the consequences of this conflict are illustrated in the following passage from Toren (1969):

> The basic ideological duality of society and individual reform and therapy, situation and motivation, casework and welfare, or whatever other terms we use, is also discernible on the structural level. The development of a profession is usually accompanied by more precise definition of its sphere of compentency and responsibility, e.g., the identification of social work as dealing with casework instead of the welfare of mankind. Within this limited area, a process of further specialization takes place (p. 162).

Other evidence would support this notion of a basic conflict between reform and individualized treatment. A number of historical aspects of this conflict are examined by Call (1969) who observes that:

> Under the sway of Social Darwinism and dominated by the COS, (Community Organization Society) charitable agencies of the late 19th Century declared war on pauperism and emphasized personal failure as its cause. The 20th Century attack on poverty was led in part by groups not traditionally concerned with the poor--social scientists, journalists, political thinkers. Their call for reform was reinforced by progressive churchmen--Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish--and particularly by the dedicated band of social workers from the settlement houses (p. 87).

Wilensky and Lebeaux (1958) also found that reform and treatment practices often conflict in the social work field. They note that this conflict was historically accompanied by a shift from social and political science to psychology and psychiatry as a basis for applied social work practices. "This shift in theory is intimately related to a major shift in practices; from preoccupation with reform to preoccupation with technical professionalism" (p. 326). On the basis of the above evidence Table I summarizes this second sector or component of professional knowledge. It is exemplified by the contrast of the ideological positions which are labeled to "fix the society" and to "fix the individual". The corresponding ideologies will be discussed as "treatmentism" and "reformism". These ideologies will be operationally defined in Chapter IV.

Stance on the Professional Role

The third component of professional knowledge concerns the meaning of the professional role vis-a-vis clientele. As it was previously discussed, this component of knowledge corresponds with what J. Marx (1969) called "institutional orientations". Although Marx largely restricts discussion of this component of knowledge to adjustments and strains in professional roles which result from specific work contexts (organizations) the present view has proposed that these issues are also communicated within the profession's general membership. It may be the case that role problems in specific organizational settings stimulate professional communication of these issues. Or, on the other

hand, discussion of such issues in the professional arena may provoke awareness which various practitioners are then able to relate to their work settings. But regardless of which arena has causal priority, these issues are likely to be discussed and debated by the professional membership above and beyond the communication which occurs between professionals and outsiders.

The essence of professional-client relationships concerns certain morally charged issues which refer to the manner in which professionals deal with clientele. Referring to the field of psychiatry Marx (1969:78-79) observes that clients may be approached in two different ways. The first is an "elitist" perspective which is based in the authority and expertise of professional practitioners. Such an approach to clientele emphasizes the submission of clientele to the professional authority. The polar opposite of this first approach concerns an equalitarian relationship with clientele (p. 78). In reference to these conflicting ideological stances on the professional role, Gilbert and Levinson (1957:64) observe that the first position stresses "custodialism" while the second focuses upon "humanism". They state:

> Custodialism and humanism, in this institutional sense, refers to differing forms of hospital organization and patient care...a dominately custodial system 'demands' (although it may not achieve) a custodial ideology and is most congenial to an authoritarian personality; and similarly, a humanistic system requires a humanistic ideology and best fits an equalitarian personality (p. 64, quoted from Marx, 1969:78).

Meyer et al (1967) observe that client-professional relationships

are affected by the practitioners treatment strategies. In the case of treatmentism, methods designed to change the individual are likley to stress "manipulative persuasion" on one hand, and coercive repression at the other extreme (p. 171). As a consequence, professional practitioners are likely to approach clientele as if they were children and therefore create a paternalistic professional-client relationship. In contrast, treatment strategies which are designed to affect change in the client's social situation (reformism) are more likely to seek the cooperation of clientele. The resulting professional-client relationship is therefore likely to be humanistic and equalitarian with a large measure of client self-determination of his problem and the solutions (pp. 172-173).

Wilensky and Lebeaux (1958) further illuminate the potential conflict in the component of knowledge from the perspective of the normative model. They maintain that professional-client relationships are traditionally governed by specific normative patterns which prescribe the action of both professionals and clientele (pp. 298-303). These norms specify that the professional is impersonal, objective, impartial and selfless. The client can expect that his professional helper is non-intimate, objective in his evaluation of the client's problem and impartial. The client is also aware that the professional is altruisticly dedicated to his needs and interests, first and foremost. If the client accepts these professional ideals, he is also likely to accept the professional's definition of his problem and the appropriate

treatment. The first extreme of this relationship is represented by an account of male social workers at the beginning of the 20th Century.

> Men social workers "saw themselves literally as 'caretakers' of the poor, who were weak and sometimes willful and who needed their assistance in finding the escape routes that would lead them away from poverty and into the middle class. They spoke to the poor, developed programs they felt the poor should have, interpreted the needs of the poor to the middle class community, and were untroubled by any doubts about whether or not they accurately reflected the wishes to those whom they felt they served" (Call, 1969:73-75, cited from Becker, 1968:86).

In recent years professional-client relationships have been affected by the emergence of client, consumer, minority and other activist groups who have confronted and questioned the function and legitimacy of "the establishment", including major occupational groups (see Krause, 1971: 334-356). Haug and Sussman (1969) observe that:

> Among poverty groups, clients claiming to know more about community needs and problems than the professional social workers and to be more concerned are organizing for a voice in welfare benefits and their distribution. Among blacks, the demand for power confronts the professional teacher, social worker, and public official. The thrust of the client revolt is against the delivery systems for knowledge application, as controlled by the professionals, and against the encroachment of professional authority into areas unrelated to their claimed expertise (p. 153).

In an interpretative analysis of "the revolt of the client" Haug and Sussman believe that when professionals are threatened that they react by cooptation. Such cooptation takes the form of strategies designed to increase lay participation in professional decision-making and action. One such strategy is the new career movement (see Gartner, 1969) which provides for the employment of minority or poverty

community members as para-professionals in social welfare agencies. Haug and Sussman (1969:160) conclude that tension between the public and professionals may lead to "deprofessionalization", "involving both narrower bounds for autonomy and lower status". By deprofessionalization they mean that the traditional autonomy of many professional groups exercised over definition of their work, task and setting will be restricted to narrower limits of claimed expertise, control of work settings and service to the community.

The so called client revolt represents an issue that most occupations are likely to face and with increased intensity in the future. Inasmuch as altruists and activists in many professions are able to affect change toward increased service to poverty clientele their reform efforts are likely to be accompanied by increased participation on the part of clientele. Reform activity must be accepted by those who are affected by reform of risk a lack of cocperation on the part of clientele. Despite developing analytical interest in this area the interrelationship between client activism and professional activism remains empirically undetermined. But, based upon the impressionistic evidence now available, one price of radical and reformist definitions of professional knowledge would seem to be acquiescence to client demands for increased participation in the decision-making process.

In summary of the stance on professional role component of professional knowledge, two polar, conflicting ideologies have been identified; a custodial, elitist approach based on professional authority,

and a humanistic approach based on cooperation with clientele. These will be discussed as "paternalism" and "self-determinism", respectively (see Table I). These six ideological positions will be more precisely defined in Chapter IV.

Research Problems and Hypotheses

In the previous explication of a possible transcending model of professions, six major premises were discussed. From these ideas three major components of knowledge were derived. Within each component of knowledge two ideal-typical positions were also identified. These ideological positions are to be viewed as opposite ends of an continuum of meaning on each component of knowledge.

The processual model, which was reviewed in Chapter II and subsequently refocused in the context of this transcending model, provides a basis for assuming that segments within a profession take sides on certain polemical issues, such as those continua of meaning in social work (Bucher Strauss, 1961). It should be clear that inasmuch as segments represent specialized interests these groups compete for definitions of professional reality and conflict with each other over these meanings (Bucher, 1962).

In the context of this transcending model, which attempts to systematically outline certain processes by which knowledge is constructed and communicated, each ideological position on social work knowledge may be viewed as an issue which is communicated by segmented professional groups. Competition and conflict between such segments over the various components of the profession's

knowledge should, therefore, be reflected in professional communication and show distinctive patterns of conflict. The ideological issues, over which segments in social work are expected to conflict, will now be tentatively defined.

The component of knowledge which defines stances on the meaning of social work consists of two ideological positions. Professionalism is tentatively defined as a concern for social and economic reward and increased social power. The polar opposite position is clientism which is defined as altruistic concern for the needs and interests of the profession's clientele.

The second component of knowledge refers to the meaning of social work practice. The practice mode of treating clients on a one-to-one basis with the intended purpose of changing the individual is defined as treatmentism. Its opposite is defined as methods for changing social structures and environments and is labeled reformism. These ideological positions are expected to reflect segmented interests in social work and therefore serve as a source of conflict.

The third component of professional knowledge articulates the intended relationship between professionals and their clients. Paternalism is an emphasis upon the dependency and submission of clients to the custody of professional service. Self-determinism, as the opposite ideological position, is defined as an equalitarian, humanistic helping relationship with clientele.

Five working questions will be addressed in this study. First, does evidence support the existence of each polar type of ideological

position as a 'escrete, definable and distinctive issue which is advocated by elites in the field? Second, which of these components of social work knowledge--stance on the field, practice and the professional role--is more frequently the subject of intra-professional communication? These two questions are exploratory and intended to provide evidence concerning the inductive generation of research categories and variables which is discussed in Chapter IV. For this reason, they will not be formally stated as hypotheses to be tested by the research data. However, these questions will be formally analyzed prior to testing the hypotheses in Chapter V.

Third, does evidence on intra-professional communication support the idea that advocacy of one ideological position will conflict with the advocacy of its opposite? Conflict, in this context, is defined as a negative association between the two opposing positions on each component of knowledge. The following hypotheses state the expectations for conflictive relationships.

Hypothesis 1, professionalism is negatively related to clientism.

Hypothesis 2, treatmentism is negatively related to reformism.

Hypothesis 3, paternalism is negatively related to self-determinism.

Fourth, do these data on communication in a professional arena support the idea that advocacy of one ideological position will temporarily displace advocacy of an opposing position. Displacement, as used here, is defined as an inverse study relationship between

ideological positions over the time period studied. The difference between hypotheses one, two and three and those stated below concerns the temporal convariation of positions as contrasted with simple covariation.[4]

Hypothesis 4, professionalism is inversely related to clientism over the time period studied.

Hypothesis 5, treatmentism is inversely related to reformism over the time period studied.

Hypothesis 6, paternalism is inversely related to self-determinism over the time period studied.

The fifth research question refers to the convariation and temporal patterns in covariation between similar rather than opposing ideological positions on the three components of knowledge--stance on the field, stance on practice and stance on the professional role. It is assumed that verification of each set of hypotheses stated below is necessary in order to test the others.

Hypothesis 7, professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism are positively related to each other.

The positive association of the professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism constellation of ideological positions will be called the conservative social work ideology.

Hypothesis 8, clientism, reformism and self-determinism are positively related to each other.

This constellation of ideological positions will be called the liberal social work ideology.

If the above hypotheses are supported then these constellations of ideological stance are expected to conflict and displace each other in the

following manner:

Hypothesis 9, the conservative social work ideology is negatively associated with the liberal social work ideology.

Hypothesis 10, the conservative social work ideology is inversely related to the liberal social work ideology over the time period studied.

In this chapter six components of a transcending model of professions has been outlined. From the ideas which compose the model professional knowledge has been categorized into a framework which specifies the existence of three components of knowledge. For each of these aspects of a professional knowledge, two opposing ideological positions were identified. Each polar stance is represented by an ideological position which is hypothesized to conflict with and be displaced by its opposite. And, these ideological positions are hypothesized to be arranged into positively related constellations of meaning which are expected to conflict with and displace the other. The working hypotheses, stated above, make clear the expected relationships between these ideological positions and components of knowledge. In the next chapter (Chapter IV) these ideological variables will be operationally defined, and the methods for researching the hypotheses and analyzing these data will be discussed.

Notes From Chapter III

[1]Marx maintains that these are only dimensions, or elements of possible ideological themes. It is this author's opinion that Marx's suggested framework or conceptual scheme is weak because of his failure to fully specify from what he derived these as dimensions, and of what. That problem is eliminated by placing his conception of dimension of ideologies into the present sociology of knowledge framework. Thus, ideologies are part of knowledge, and knowledge is a summation of the profession's reality.

[2]In the present scheme these items, theory, profession, and institution are viewed as components of knowledge which comprise the profession's reality. Marx derives these components from Strauss et al analysis of psychiatric ideologies (see Strauss et al, 1964). Marx argues that he presented these in a more systematic fashion than Strauss. This author agrees with that claim and therefore Marx's secondary presentation of Strauss' data is preferable for this review.

[3]For a discussion of the concept of "career commitment" see Foote, 1951; Becker, 1960; 1964; Ritzer and Trice, 1969a; 1969b; Trice, 1960; Stebbins, 1970a; 1970b; 1970c.

[4]It should be noted that the inverse relationships which are hypothesized in hypotheses four, five, six and ten should perhaps be more precisely defined in terms of the expected direction and exact time of displacement. The reason they are not stated in this manner is because of the underdeveloped state of current theoretical knowledge on this segmentation in professions and because of the considerable research that would be required to bring the pertinent historical evidence to bear on this problem in this thesis. In short, the current state of sociological knowledge on professional ideology and the limited scope of the present inquiry requires that questions of which position displaces which and when, will be left unanswered until these data are interpreted. The present thesis focuses, then, primarily upon a specification of the major types of conflict apparent in the development of a profession's ideology. This endeavor is legitimate and necessary to further study of the causes of such conflict. Stated somewhat differently, the present thesis analyzes the outcomes or effects of hypothesized conflict within a profession, not the causes of same.

CHAPTER IV

PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGIES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS DESIGN AND METHOD

Introduction

A content analysis of articles published in Social Work from 1956 through 1973 was used to investigate the nature of professional knowledge advocated by social work authors. The purpose of this chapter is to review the nature of the content analysis design which was used to describe the population of journal articles which was studied to outline the procedures used for obtaining data for analysis, to specify the methods used to determine the reliability of the data collected, and to summarize the nature of certain statistical procedures used to analyze the collected data.

A Content Analysis Design

According to Berelson (1952:8) content analysis is a technique for objectively and systematically describing the manifest content of communication (see also Holsti, 1969:3). Since the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the way in which professional ideological positions are communicated between members of the social work profession, content analysis is a particularly appropriate method. J. Marx

(1969:81-84) maintains that three methodological techniques have dominated the empirical examination of the development of ideologies in the professions. The first is the analysis of written documents; the second is the measurement of ideological positions espoused by individuals; and the third is the measurement of certain attitudinal dimensions of professional ideologies. Marx argues that content analysis has "greater relevance" in assessing conflicting ideologies within a profession than either of the other two methods (1969:84). However, he does not discount the other methods ". . .as long as the major dimensions that comprise the ideologies under consideration are specified in advance and assessed by measures that are independent of each other" (P. 82).

In previous portions of this thesis (Chapters II and III) it was noted that the analysis of intra-professional communication, especially in the form of professional ideologies, has been largely neglected by sociological researchers. Furthermore, the importance of elites within a profession and their communication, construction and production of knowledge (in the form of a national association of the profession's membership) was documented. From this perspective certain forms of communication, such as journals and text books, assume extreme importance in identifying ideological stances and assessing conflict between these points of view. A few sociological investigators have used content analysis to research various aspects of professional knowledge. One of the earliest attempts to employ

content analysis in this manner is C. W. Mills' (1943:165-180) analysis of the professional ideologies of social pathologists. In that study, Mills used text books in the speciality of social pathology to examine certain patterns of ideas which were common to prominant authors in the field. The major weakness of Mills' study was his vague description of his methods and the failure to concisely define variables and research categories. But for the present purpose, the importance of the study was the use of written documents to assess certain ideological dimensions of knowledge. Since Mills' early use of this method a number of other sociologists have used content analysis for similar purposes. D. Crane (1967; 1969) for example has used the content analysis of journals to examine communication patterns in certain scientific fields. D. Champion and M. Morris (1973) also used content analysis in the field of sociology. On the basis of these studies, it is reasonable to conclude that content analysis is both an accepted and beneficial technique for the analysis of professional ideologies.

In many respects, content analysis is similar to interview data which are often collected in conventional field research. This point is noted by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

> There are some striking similarties--sometimes obvious although often overlooked--between field work and library research. When someone stands in the library stacks, he is, metaphorically, surrounded by voices begging to be heard. Every book, every magazine article, represents at least one person who is equivalent to anthropologist's informant, or the

> sociologist's interviewee. In those publications, people converse, announce positions, argue with a range of eloquence and describe events or scenes in ways entirely comparable to what is seen and heard during field work. The researcher needs only to discover the voices in the library to release them for his analytic use.

Documentary data also offer other benefits other than conventional techniques and data. It is a natural everyday life phenomena; it is available and accessible to researchers at limited cost, both in terms of time and economic resources; and it may be analyzed in varous ways, depending upon the focus of the research problems.

In summary, content analysis is particularly appropriate for the investigation of professional ideologies since journal articles are a primary media for the communication of professional interests and their relationships with other groups. While content analysis is similar in many respects to field research techniques, it is "unobtrusive" and thereby minimizes potential bias which may be introduced by an artificial research situation and interaction between researcher and subject (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967:161-183). Finally, journal articles are accessible at limited cost. This enables the researcher to collect a reasonably large quantity of data and in this case over a lengthy period of time, which would be prohibitatively costly, if not impossible, through such conventional methods as interviewing or survey questionnaire research.

The Data Source

Two general considerations guided the author in the selection of a data source. The first was a concern for documents that would, in the

broadest sense possible, represent major issues confronting the profession of social work. A second issue was the selection of documents that would be accessible at reasonable cost in terms of time and resources.

Three major social work journals were considered for possible analysis. The first, Social Casework, is concerned with the specialized social work practice of casework, although in recent years (since about 1966-67) it seems to have developed a somewhat broader scope. The second, Social Service Review, tends to be largely concerned with reviewing research in social work and related fields, such as psychiatry, medicine, social science and education. In contrast to these two publications, Social Work attempts to represent a wide general range of ideological issues facing social workers. A major reason for this is that it is published by the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) which is the major occupational association for American social workers.

Several other sources, including specialty journals, newsletters, and text books materials were given initial consideration. The inclusion of these documents would have required some sort of sampling procedure because of the limitation of time and resources. That alternative was judged to be unsatisfactory, given time and resource, and because of the difficulty of sampling and defining comparable content.

Social Work was, therefore, selected as the data source since it is the major occupational publication. It was decided that a compre-

hensive and intensive analysis of this journal would provide more adequate data than the alternative of sampling a number of other documents.

The Population

The population was defined to include all articles written by "social workers" in the published issues of Social Work for the years 1956 through 1973. A few articles meeting the criterion for inclusion were excluded in that they dealt exclusively with the practice of social work outside the United States. The population was further deleted by including articles, rather than letters to the editor, editor comments or book reviews, because of the difficulty in comparing their content to the material in articles. The decision was made to analyze the entire set of articles in Social Work in order to avoid possible bias and to provide a more comprehensive data set upon which to base conclusions about patterns and changes of ideological positions in social work.

The year 1956 marks the date when Social Work was first published and benchmarks the birth and unification of social workers into the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) the year before, 1955. Since a major research interest was in the development and trends of professional ideologies this year seem an appropriate date to use in defining a universe of content, which has been exchanged between members of the NASW. The selection of material was extended through 1973 to provide the maximum range for analysis of temporal patterns in ideology.

Only articles written by social workers were included in the study.

For the purpose of data collection, a "social worker" was defined as any author with a degree in social work (Bachelors, Masters or Doctorate) or any author with a degree in a social science field who was also certified as a "social worker" by the Academy of Certified Social Workers (ACSW).[2] The issue of certification was determined, in most cases, by reviewing data regarding the author's background (name, academic degree, title, place of employment) which appeared on the title page of each article. Such information was available for all articles except those in the first volume, 1956. In these and a few other cases where the author's degree status was unknown or was in question the 1971 NASW Directory was used to establish identification.[3] Such questions arose most often in reference to non-social work masters degree, and Ph.D authors.

Seven hundred and seventy-eight articles met these criteria for inclusion and therefore serve as the population which is studied here. In nearly all cases in which articles were excluded it was because the author did not fit the criteria of being a social worker.

Data Collection

The data collection was composed of a two step process; the first stage was largely inductive and the second stage was largely deductive. In reviewing the data collection process this discussion proceeds from stage one which involved the emergence of research categories, definition of the social work ideologies and other variables, to stage two which was composed of the application of these categories and variables

to the research population.

Stage One: Generation of Research Categories

The first step of the data collection process involved the theoretical sampling of content while controlling for the emergent research categories and theoretically significant relationships among the variables (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967:45-77). Following the suggestions of Glaser and Strauss (1967:45-77) an attempt was made to exhaustively sample journal content for all possible ideologies that were being advocated by social work authors. At this stage, an attempt was made to identify other possible variables and to apply coding schemes to the variables.

The identification of social work ideologies was accomplished by initially reading a sample of articles for common reoccuring ideological issues appearing in them and for observalbe relationships among these ideologies. The identification of ideologies required numerous readings of sample articles in order to clearly distinguish all possible, major ideological themes in the journal. When no new ideological themes appeared following sample readings this stage of the data collection process was terminated.

Initially sample articles were chosen randomly from a single issue for alternate year periods of the journal. Following initial readings of these sample articles for ideological issues, a scheme was developed for coding and classifying the positions. Subsequent sample articles were chosen in the same manner but from different

issues. In these subsequent sample readings the initial coding schemes were applied, on a trial basis, to each ideological position. This inductive process was continued, along with the search for new issues, until reoccuring ideological themes were identified and an adequate method of classifying each position was developed.

In preliminary readings, for example, two commonly advocated positions were a concern for the social status and prestige of social work, and an interest in changing certain social structures or otherwise becoming involved in a community process. Using common elements from various authors' discussions, these ideological positions were tentatively defined and labeled "professionalism" and "reformism" respectively. At that time an attempt was made to place each journal article into one of these ideological categories. The application of those two ideological positions and the either/or (either professionalism or reformism) coding scheme to another sample of articles revealed several additional ideological issues in the journal. As this process was repeated on additional samples of articles four new ideological positions were identified and defined. In addition a method of coding these themes was developed and tested (see the discussion below).

Definition of Variables and Values

During stage one of the data collection six ideological positions were defined and assigned different values. The definition of these variables and their values required considerable explanation and therefore are discussed here apart from stage one of the data collec-

tion from which they were developed. Following this review of the variables, stage two of the data collection process will be discussed. In the second stage of data collection the following variables and values were applied to the entire population of journal articles.

Social Work Ideologies

Using the authors' definitions and wording these six aspects of social work ideologies which were identified are operationally specified below.

1. Professionalism is concerned with maintaining or increasing the status of the occupation, the prestige of its members or some aspect of occupational activity, such as a new stand for certification of practitioners or new standards for practice. Professionalism is often reflected in issues of occupational standards, ethics, codes of conduct, education, relations to various publics, role performance or other matters of occupational self-interest. To illustrate this social work issue a number of examples have been selected from the journal of Social Work.

> . . . we must utilize our new-found strength to attain a greater role and greater acceptance for social work in the community. Studies by sociologists show that our status is not high (Cohen, 1956:18)[3]

A well known social work spokesman, Bisno (1956) also comments on what he calls the "status problem".

> One important key to an understanding of the nature of the decision which social work is faced is to befound in the profession's status problem. At the present time it must be admitted that social work is not yet a high status profession. The reasons for this are multiple, and include such factors as professional immaturity and lack

> of standards, the character of certain services which are peripheral (and in a sense subordinated) to the functions of well-established, high prestige professions, the "lady-bountiful" tradition, the numerical dominance of women, the public identification of the worker with his low-status clientele, the invidious attitudes of an acquisitive society toward welfare functions and "service" . . . and the somewhat deviant ideology and value system of professional social work which contains an implied threat to the status quo (p. 14).

In the previous quotations both authors demonstrated awareness of certain research by social scientists as to the status and prestige of social work and certain characteristics of "classic" professions which are often considered hallmarks of professionalism. In the following quotation from a widely cited article (both in social work and sociology) Greenwood (1957) emplicitly refers to the normative model of professionalization to argue for the professional status of social work:

> It is often contended that social work is still far from having attained professional status. But this is a misconception. When we hold up social work against the model of the professions. . . it does not take long to decide whether to classify it within the professional or nonprofessional occupations. Social work is already a profession; it has too many points of congruence with the model to be classified otherwise (p. 54).

Towley (1956) related professionalism to educational standards in the field. He argues that professional status will not be attained.

> . . . until the doctoral degree is required as the criterion for membership--as I trust, it will be some day within the career of the younger of you. It is the next step toward which everyone must now work, just as the present standard was worked for by all of us during the past twenty or thirty years. This is the way a profession grows, the way it fulfills its responsibility to society, to its sponsors, and to its own best standards (p. 111).

Weinberger (1962) adds that:

> When a profession achieves legal regulation, it obtains the sanction

> of the community to operate in a defined area of professional practice. Some of the by-products of regulation have been higher public esteem, gradual elimination of unprincipled and incompetent practitioners, increased emphasis on professional education, and greater degree of professional maturity (p. 74).

Finally, concern for professionalism often raises questions about other activities, such as certain political action. In this regard Heffernan (1964) says: "The central question, however, is: "Would such a partisan position do damage to social workers' professional image or cost them allies in future battles?" (p. 23).

2. The second social work ideological position is labeled clientism. Clientism is concerned, in an altruistic manner, with specific target groups such as the physically, mentally, economically or socially disabled, disadvantaged or other groups perceived and defined by the occupation as recipients of group action. It is often expressed as concern for a particular group or with providing service to clients in general. Clientism is sometimes contrasted with professionalism or concern for occupational prestige. The following quotations serve to illustrate this position.

> The report presents four core concepts: (1) services are not a substitute for adequate income; . . .(3) effective services should be available to all citizens; (4) services should enrich the quality of life, not merely correct or control problems (Bell, 1970:5).

In some cases the call for increased service to clientele takes on a somewhat "radical" character. The next author argues for a proposed "Marxist" approach to social work. In R. Knickmeyer's proposition he illustrates clientism by arguing for increased services but he also advocates the position of "self-determinism" (to be discussed) by explicitly

stating the manner by which service is to be given. Knickmeyer (1972) states:

> Social service agencies for low-income people are controlled by the upper class, which not only creates many socioeconomic problems but also determines what services are provided. These agencies will become responsive to the needs of their clients only when social workers identify with and organize, together with their clients, to assume democratic control of them (p. 58). (Italics mine, added to denote clientism).

Other authors advocating clientism focus on ethnic issues.

> Black social workers are urged to develop militant and special professional responses to the problems of black people and to resist the diversionary urban repair and antipoverty programs and the social work theories and practices that are institutionalizing a new urban hustle, which exploits not only blacks, but all poverty-strucken minority groups (Funnye, 1970:5).

Some advocates of clientism call for the increase of welfare benefits for all members of the society.

> . . . the dismal record of services designed for the poor provides a declaration of the merits of universality in both social services and income maintenance. The truly radical position for the social worker is not merely being "against service" imposed on the poor; it includes the commitment to the goal of an infrastructure of universal social services (Fandetti, 1972:93).

> New separatist strategies that claim to solve the problems of the white working class will not only fail, they will divert reform from substantive institutional change and forestall solution of the basic problems of inequality that are at the core of the grievances of the working poor, white poor, black poor, elderly poor, Chicano poor, Indian poor, Puerto Rican poor--in short all the poor (Grosser, 1971:31).

> If we social workers do not vigorously join forces in support of those who advocate some form of a guaranteed annual income, we would do well to heed this little poetic admonition:
>
> The Upper Five gets its 20;
> Bangles, booze and broads a-plenty;
> The Lower Twenty gets its 5;
> Just enough to stay alive.

When the pie's in such a plight
Better lock the door at night (Erlich, 1969:57).

This final example of clientism illustrates the frequent demand for new services:

> Free Clinics developed as a direct response to young people's needs that were utmost by traditional social agencies. Many social workers, frustrated with the established social service system, gave their time to the movement's development. Experiences of a clinic in California illustrate why young people trust free clinics and utilize their services (Dunbar and Jackson, 1972:27).

In summarizing these two issues, professionalism and clientism, it is clear that professionalism emphasizes and advocates concern for the status of social work, and the prestige of its members, while clientism stresses increased service to clientele.

3. Treatmentism is the third ideological position that was identified in the content analysis of journal articles. It concerns the provision of help to individuals or small groups in order to eliminate non-conforming or "abnormal" action thereby increasing the social functioning of that individual or group. Stated concisely, treatmentism proposes to fix people so that they will fit into the existing socio-cultural environment. The following statements illustrate treatmentism.

> American social work assumes that these responses to stress can best be explained and the related problems dealt with primarily in terms of personality differences, or deviations from the normal patterns of growth and development. This implies that most clients have disabling anomalies of personality, that the clients are dysfunctioning, and that the worker uses treatment methods based on psychodynamic concepts. Since the problems presented by clients frequently are of psychodynamic origin, the social worker uses a psychodynamic model adapted for use in social agency and accepts the psychosocial assumptions of human growth and development. Treatment of clients (individual, group, community) is assumed to be of major importance in social work, while social action and institutional change are basically

of secondary importance (Varley, 1963:104).[4]

Varley clearly distinguishes the practice of treating individuals from the alternative mode which will be discussed as "reformism".

Sporin (1970) stresses the fact that treatmentism should involve changing the individual's action.

> Social treatment may be defined as a general method for helping individuals and family groups cope with their social problems and improve their social functioning. ...The intention is to assert influence through such procedures and process so as to effect desired change in the individuals...(p. 16).

Another social work author also emphasizes changing behavior as a part of treatmentism. In reference to school social work Wadsworth (1970) states: "One main goal in school social work should be to bring about behavioral changes in problem children" (p. 60).

Inasmuch as treatmentism aims at changing individual action it also focuses upon altering the action of these people. Vinter (1963) addresses the issue of treatment agencies as agents of social control and change.

> Treatment agencies are part of a larger class of organizations responsible for changing people. Viewed broadly, the major function of people-changing organizations are socialization and social control (p. 3).

The final illustration of treatmentism links this social work practice mode to police work as both seem to involve the social control of persons.

> By working together, law enforcement officers and social workers can achieve results that neither group is able to achieve alone. Experience in a social service project in Illinois has demonstrated that the police officer can make an important impact on social work treatment and thereby enhance

> the prospects for positive change in the offender and his family (Michaels and Greger, 1973:67).

4. Reformism is the fourth social work ideological position which was identified in the content analysis. Reformism concerns altering or changing social structures, systems, institutions, or environments in order to eliminate undesirable or detrimental conditions. Very concisely, it aims at fixing society so that people will be able to function more effectively within their social environment. The emphasis upon changing society (reformism) is clearly distinguishable from the advocacy of changing individuals (treatmentism). Reformism is illustrated by the following:

> What can be done? . . .(4) supporting political candidates who seek changes in national priorities, and (5) helping to initiate agency policy so that professionals employed in private and public agencies have the option of being attached full time with pay to counter-institutions like the free clinics (Wheeler, 1971: 24).

In April, 1969, Social Work presented an official report from the NASW.

> Broadly stated, then, the proposed program for NASW calls for concentrated and aggressive activities coordinated at local, regional, and national levels to achieve the needed involvement by individual social workers, backstopped by members in policy-making and administrative positions and community leaders, through education, demonstration, and consultation in program planning. . .and assistance to individuals who may experience retaliatory action by agencies or communities, ranging from intervention with employers to aid in obtaining legal counsel or finding suitable new employment (1969:22).

Advocacy, used in this context, seems to denote a concern for clientele and emphasis upon assisting clients in changing social conditions. The above article was accompanied by another entitled

"The Advocacy Challenge to Schools of Social Work." In both articles the authors focus upon advocacy or reformism but certain passages also denote some elements of clientism and self-determinism. This phenomena illustrates the possible interrelatedness of clientism, reformism and self-determinism as part of some large component of knowledge. Emphasis is added to distinguish the passages which are considered to be examples of reformism.

> Schools of social work teach their students theory, technology, and ideals that often are rendered useless by the abusive and dehumanizing practices toward clients students may witness in field work agencies, especially in captor-captive settings. The authors argue that the school of social work must put its action where its mouth is and fight the battle for human rights by using the power of the school to protect students who advocate in behalf of clients--and in so doing to engage in the teaching and practice of advocacy (Wineman and James, 1969:23). (Italics mine).

The following quotations illustrate a range of issues and some levels of intensity of reformism as a social work ideology.

> Stopping the oppression through social work values and commitment to social action, is a most worthy goal of the social work profession. The challenge is clear. The need is urgent (Simmons, 1963:30).

> Change is the way of the day, but all change is not necessarily for the better. As Peter Drucker has pointed out, we may only conserve by innovating--by stability in motion. We in public welfare have been motionless for too long. Let us move--with all our skills and integrity--but move now! (Brody, 1970:74).

In some cases, as illustrated below, the practice of reforming certain social structures is advocated for the intended purpose of enhancing the social situation of clientele (clientism). Emphasis is added for those passages which are considered examples of reformism.

> . . . the social worker has the professional obligation to try to effect changes in agency policies and programs that are deleterious to clients and staff. Three crucial phases of the intra-organizational change component in social work practices--goal formation, resource mobilization, and intervention--are discussed (Patti and Resnick, 1972:48).

5. Paternalism is the fifth social work position identified by content analysis procedures. It concerns protecting, guarding, keeping, or taking care of clients. Paternalism often maintains that social workers are in a position to make better judgments than are clients regarding the definition and solution of the clients' needs and problems. An example of paternalism is:

> We believe in social worker's responsibility for the most deprived families, who are failing their central function of child care. These families are a basic and proper charge upon the community; therefore the citizens who support social work have a right to expect us to give them top priority in service (Miller, 1969:69, as cited by Overton et al 1959:160).

Other examples of paternalism are:

> The final decision as to what he (the client) may or may not make decisions on lies with the social worker acting in the name of the community or of the profession, who may decide that a particular decision is too vital for the client to be allowed to make (Keith-Lucas, 1963:67).

> Participatory democracy can work in small voluntary efforts characterized by face-to-face communication such as block organization. It cannot work, however, as the major means of organizing human activity required to deliver health, welfare, and education services to the American people. . . . In this light, then, there can be no coequality in treatment but different roles, with the client granting to the social worker special abilities to assist in the problem-solving at hand. Without this inequality, there would be no social worker--client relationship, but a joint endeavor of coequals in problem-solving such as might exist between friends or within a social movement. Such coequality is possible, but redefines profession in such a way as to destroy the essence of professionalism (Beck, 1969:18).

6. The last social work position which was identified in the content analysis of Social Work, is self-determinism. Self-determinism emphasizes an interest in self-defined client problems, needs and solutions. It aims at cooperating and involving target groups in defining problems and solutions as well as involving these groups in the implementation of the appropriate self-defined solutions. Examples of self-determinism include the following:

> For social workers it means, at long last, that we work in behalf of clients (the advocacy role) (reformism) we visit them only when we are invited, we let them use to get things as THEY want, whether money, housing, jobs or treatment. Above all, it means that we interact as equals, different perhaps, but still equal (Miller, 1969:76).

> We can help build a counterculture. We can join with our clients and students so that institutions will begin to meet the demands of this new area. . . . Only in this way is there a chance that practitioners and clients, students and faculty, can begin to determine their own future in a communal way (Erlich, 1971:27).

> It is argued that the poor are in the best position to define their own needs and to suggest appropriate uses of the federal funds to meet these needs. Inclusion of the poor in the antipoverty programs, from this point of view, will help overcome a long-standing colonialism in both public and private sectors of the social welfare field (Dubey, 1970:78).

> The schools and social agencies must accept the fact that they have not moved rapidly enough to include the populations that they serve in relevant decision-making (Erlich and Tropman, 1969:71).

In the first stage of the data collection several schemes for coding or classifying the ideological positions were developed and tested. For data collection purposes a theme was defined as the unit for analysis. A theme was defined to include as much as the entire article and at least two sentences. If and only if the ideological

theme was found in at least two sentences of the article it was considered to be "mentioned". Any of the six ideological positions which were not found in at least two sentences of an article were coded as "not mentioned". Ideological positions were, therefore, coded as a dichotomy.[4]

Stage Two: Collection of Data

In the second stage of the data collection process the six ideological positions, which were defined in stage one above, were used to evaluate the content of each journal article in the population. All reserach data were collected by the author and recorded on a standard form (see Appendix A).

The following steps were followed in the second phase of the data collection. First, each article in Social Work was examined to determine if it met the criteria for inclusion. Second, for each article meeting the inclusive criteria an identification number (from 001 to 778) was assigned and certain procedural information was coded (volume, issue, author's name(s), title of the article and page reference). Third, articles in the population were individually reviewed for their basic content and the information required for coding and future reference was recorded. Fourth, the article was again surveyed for the presence or absence of each of the six ideological themes after which these themes were given tentative classification values. Finally, portions of the article which were pertinent to each identified ideological theme were reviewed and a final value

(mentioned, not mentioned) was assigned to each ideological position.

Coding Reliability

The reliability of the data collection procedures was tested. Four coders other than the author applied the data collection procedures (reviewed above) to a random sample of twenty journal articles in the population. Once all of the data were collected six sample articles were selected by the author on the basis of the original coding to represent an ideal-typical case of each ideological position. Then fourteen additional articles were selected from a systematic sampling of one-fourtieth of the population. The sample was selected using the statistical package for the social sciences subroutine "Sample" (Nie et al, 1970:78-83). This sample was judged to be adequate and representative of the total population.

Three graduate students in sociology at Western Kentucky University and the author's wife read and coded the twenty sample articles. Each "rater" was provided with a summary description of the project and written directions as to how to evaluate the journal content (see Appendix B). These instructions included: a) a general definition of ideology, b) operational definitions and an illustration of each ideological positions, c) definition of the coding procedures used for identifying each ideological position, and d) suggestions for systematically evaluating each article. Each rater received exactly the same written instructions.

The author developed several formulae for testing the reliability

of the coding procedures. For a given variable reliability was determined by the following formula, when N = the number of coders (5), M = the number of articles (20), and p = the percentage of agreement between raters based on the dictomization of variables, then

$$A = \frac{\sum_{I=1}^{N} \sum_{J=I+1}^{N} \sum_{K=1}^{N} PIJK}{NM}$$

The average percentage of agreement APA for any variable or set of variables was computed using the formula, when N = the number of variables then

$$APA = \frac{A}{N} \quad (6)$$

Table 2 illustrates the percentage of agreement for each of the six ideological positions. The lowest percentage of agreement for the six ideological positions was obtained for clientism (63 percent) and the highest percent of agreement was obtained for self-determinism (81 percent). This table also shows a total average percent of agreement for the entire set of ideological variables which was 72 percent. This percentage of reliability was judged to be adequate for present analytical purposes and to sustain the conclusions discussed here.[5]

Data Analysis

Data Processing

Data were collected on the standarized data collection form which was previously discussed (see Appendix A). This form was

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT ON CODING IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS

Ideological Position	Percentage Agreement
Professionalism	66%
Clientism	63%
Treatmentism	80%
Reformism	64%
Paternalism	79%
Self-determinism	81%
	72%*

*72 percent indicates the percentage of agreement among all the raters averaged among the six ideological positions.

designed in such a manner that data were directly keypunched from the collection form to standard eighty column IBM cards. The data processing staff of Western Kentucky University were employed to keypunch and verify the data. All collected data were analyzed using an IBM computer.

Once the data were collected and keypunched a data file was constructed on computer tapes using The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie et al 1970:51-59). All variables and variable values were labeled in this SPSS file called "SWII" (see Nie et al, 1970:27-41).

Data Modification

In order to simplify the presentation of the eighteen year time period these data were initially analyzed in two, three, six and nine year intervals. Two and three year periods were both found to be satisfactory for accurately representing the data. However, the two year interval tended to involve a somewhat greater appreciation for the temporal patterns and will, therefore, be used in this thesis to report the research findings.

Statistical Analysis

The research data will be analyzed in terms of descriptive statistics since the variables were researched using nominal level measures. In addition, descriptive statistics rather than inferential statistics are appropriate because these data represent an entire population and not a sample of the journal articles chosen for the study.

Support of presence of ideological positions and the data collection categories will be presented in terms of the percentage of Social Work articles which mentioned particular ideological positions, during portions of the time period studied here. These percentages will be averaged for the eighteen years studied in order to assess the relative frequency at which the various positions were mentioned during the entire period from 1956 through 1973. Since the temporal patterns of the variables is of central concern in this thesis, these average percentages are only supplementary to percentage of mention values for given time periods.

Negative and positive covariation between ideological positions (hypotheses one, two, three, seven, eight and nine) are tested by a linear regression analysis of the percentage of articles which mentioned these positions for the nine two-year intervals. Standard formulae were used to calculate linear regression and correlation coefficients. The regression techniques used here do not reflect intercorrelation among the variables over time and therefore they must not be misinterpreted as a test for temporal intercorrelation among ideological positions.

Temporal covariation patterns (hypotheses four, five, six and ten) will be assessed by three modes of evaluating the interrelationships between the percentage of articles which mentioned various idelogical positions. The first technique reports in time line graphs (the various labeled figures) the percentage of articles which mentioned specific ideological positions during each of the nine, two-year

periods studied. The third and final technique for testing temporal patterns of covariation between ideological positions is changes in the percentage of articles which mentioned various positions. These percentage change statistics are used to evaluate the extent to which each of the ideological positions variables vary over time. An average percentage change is also computed for a general over-view of these changes in temporal patterns. The average percentage change, like the other average statistics employed in this thesis, will be used to supplement the percentage statistics only to gain a very general picture for the entire eighteen years studied.

The change in percentage of journal articles mentioning an ideological position is computed by the following formula, when PC = percentage change, PT_1 = percentage mention at time 1, PT_2 = percentage mention at time 2, then

$$PC = \frac{(PT2-PT1)}{PT_1} \times 100$$

The average percentage of change is the simple average of all nine two-year intervals for each particular variable (Toether and McTavish, 1974:61-64).

Data analysis procedures were completed using "Crosstabulations" (Nie et al, 1970:102-105, 115-173). The analysis of linear correlation was completed on a Monroe 1766 (electronic programmable printing calculator for statistics). A hand calculator was employed for simple mathmatical functions.

Notes from Chapter IV

[1]ACSW is the only certifying body sanctioned by NASW.

[2]The decision was based upon the date on which the author received his (her) degree and whether the individual was a certified social worker (see note 1).

[3]Since these statements are taken out of context to illustrate clearly each ideology the author may or may not be actually arguing for the particular position.

[4]A much more complex two dimensional scheme for classifying the ideological positions was used in collecting these data. A description of those procedures can be found in Appendix B but they will not be discussed since only the mentioned vs. not mentioned dictomy is employed in presenting the findings of this thesis.

[5]This conclusion seems amply justifiable since the raters originally classified the ideological positions using the ten point scheme which is reported in Appendix B (see note 5) and in addition the raters classified four variables other than the ideological positions. Interested persons may refer to Appendix B for information concerning these additional variables, and copies of these findings may be obtained from the author. The point here is that the coding task which was required of the raters was considerably more difficult than the methods which are reported in this thesis. (These additional variables were omitted because none of them are used in the present thesis). Thus, considering the limited acquaintance with the project on the part of the raters and the complexity of the coding process they had to complete, reliability coefficients in the range found were deemed to be adequate.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL WORK KNOWLEDGE: THE FINDINGS

This chapter reports and discusses the findings of the content analysis of ideological issues and positions appearing in Social Work articles from 1956 to 1973. The chapter is divided into three major discussions. The first section deals with a presentation of data which are used to assess existence of various ideological positions. The second portion of the chapter tests hypotheses dealing with covariation between opposing ideological positions on social work issues, and the temporal intercorrelation between these conflicting ideological positions. The concluding section tests for the hypothesized conflict among social work issues and the temporal displacement of conservative and liberal social work ideologies.

Presence of Ideological Positions

It will be recalled that the first goal of analyzing ideological issues appearing in Social Work was to verify that articles studied did in fact evidence discussion of each of the six ideological positions which were defined in Chapter IV. The findings reported in Table 3 will be used to assess the extent to which various authors have in fact addressed themselves to these positions. The percentages pre-

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF SOCIAL WORK ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS BY YEAR

Ideological Position	Percentage By Year									
	1956-1957	1958-1959	1960-1961	1962-1963	1964-1965	1966-1967	1968-1969	1970-1971	1972-1973	
Professionalism	69.4	55.3	49.5	44.7	31.0	18.9	27.5	19.4	21.3	
Clientism	59.7	57.6	56.8	68.1	60.7	62.2	70.0	70.8	64.8	
Treatmentism	62.5	69.4	69.5	66.0	54.8	45.9	56.3	50.0	36.1	
Reformism	16.7	4.7	10.5	6.4	26.2	36.5	47.5	38.9	44.3	
Paternalism	29.2	22.4	20.0	14.9	7.1	5.4	6.3	12.5	00.0	
Self-determinism	4.2	3.5	3.2	6.4	10.7	18.9	26.3	25.0	18.0	
N=	72	85	95	94	85	74	80	72	122	778
	9.3	10.8	12.2	12.1	10.8	9.5	10.3	9.3	15.7	100.0%

Note: Since many articles mentioned contained multiple themes the column percentages do not total 100%.

sented in Table 3 indicate the proportion of journal articles which deal with the articulation of the positions in any given time period.

An examination of the top row of Table 3 reveals that professionalism was mentioned by 69.4 percent of the authors publishing articles in Social Work for the two years 1956-57. From this sizable proportion the percentage of articles mentioning professionalism gradually declines to 49.5 percent in 1960-61; 31.0 percent in 1964-65; reaching a low proportion of 18.9 percent in 1966-67. In 1968-69 the percentage of articles mentioning professionalism increases to 27.5 percent, followed by another decline to 19.4 percent in 1970-71, and a slight increase to 21.3 percent in the final two years, 1972-73. These data indicate that at least approximately one-fifth of the Social Work authors dealt with professionalism throughout the eighteen years studied here. It is also clear that the proportion of authors who addressed themselves to this theme steadily declined from 1956 to 1967 and thereafter fluctuated at a level lower than that prior to 1967.

As may be seen in the second row of Table 3, clientism was mentioned at a rate of 59.7 percent for the years 1956-57. In subsequent time periods the percentage of authors who dealt with this issue is, in all cases, in excess of the 1956-57 proportion or nearly equal to it. The lowest proportion of mention was 56.8 percent in 1960-61 while the largest proportion of mention was 70.8 percent in the years 1970-71. From these data it may be concluded that

a sizable majority of Social Work authors have advocated clientism throughout the eighteen years of the journal's existence. From the findings that have been discussed so far it is clear that both ideological positions on the meaning and purpose of social work have been of more or less consistent concern to those who have published in Social Work. It should be stressed, however, that relative to the concern for clientism the emphasis placed upon professionalism has waned since 1963.

As the findings reported in row three of Table 3 illustrate, treatmentism was mentioned by 62.5 percent of the articles which appeared in Social Work in the years 1956-57. Thereafter, the proportion of articles which deal with this position on practice increases to a high point of 69.5 percent in 1960-61, whereupon with some deviation it tends to decline to 36.1 percent in 1972-73. In seven of the nine two-year periods reported on in Table 3 at least half of the authors dealt with treatmentism. This sizable and consistent degree of involvement with treatmentism on the part of Social Work authors supports the conclusion that the treatmentism stance on social work practice has indeed been rather consistently present in this particular forum of communication between social work professionals.

Reformism, as is shown in the fourth row of Table 3, was mentioned by 16.7 percent of the authors in 1956-57. The proportion of authors mentioning this ideological stance on treatment fluctuates

between approximately 5 percent and 10 percent from 1958 to 1963. In 1965-66 the percentage of social work authors mentioning the reformism position on practice increases to 26.2 percent and from this point remains relatively stable at between 37 percent and 47 percent for the final eight years of the journal's publication. The largest percentage of authors who advocated reformism is 47.5 percent in 1968-69. These data indicate that the reformism issue is relatively insignificant in the first eight years but beginning in 1964 the proportion of authors who discuss reformism is more than one-fourth. Despite some deviation, these data show a relatively steady increase in the percentage of authors expressing concern for this position on social work practice for the entire eighteen years. It may be concluded that reformism has become an important issue of discussion in the arena of professional social work communication studied here. Furthermore, when comparing the two positions on practice--reformism and treatmentism--rows three and four of Table 3 indicate that with minor deviation the percentage of authors advocating treatmentism tends to decline from 1960 to 1973 while the percentage of authors advocating reformism tends to increase from 1964 to 1973, although with some deviation.

In 1956-57 the ideological position on the professional role defined in this thesis as paternalism, as is shown in row five of Table 3, was mentioned by 29.2 percent of the authors in Social Work. The proportion of authors mentioning this ideological position gradually

declines over the next eight years to a low percentage point of 5.4 in 1966-67. In 1968-69 the percentage of authors mentioning this stance increases slightly to 6.3 percent and then increases again in 1970-71 to 12.5 percent. In the final time period, 1972-73, the proportion of authors who discussed paternalism drops to zero (0.0). From these data on professional communication it is clear that whereas paternalism was advocated by approximately one-fourth of the authors publishing in Social Work for the first six years, this position became increasingly less important for the remaining twelve years studied here.

The self-determinism position on the professional role was mentioned by 4.2 percent of the articles studied in 1956-57, as is shown in the last row of Table 3. The proportion of authors mentioning the ideological issue of self-determinism increases with only minor deviation for the next fourteen years, to 25.0 percent. In 1972-73 the percentage of authors who discussed this position drops to 18.0 percent. Although the self-determinism position on the professional role of social workers is advocated by less than 12 percent of the Social Work authors for the first ten years, thereafter this proportion of mention increases to at least 18 percent or more for the final eight years studied. These findings indicate that at least for certain significant time periods the position of self-determinism is advocated by more than 18 percent of the authors publishing in Social Work and therefore serve to confirm the expected

presence of self-determinism. It must also be pointed out that when both positions on the professional role--paternalism and self-determinism--are compared, the findings in Table 3 show that for the first six years 20 percent or more of the authors mentioned paternalism, that in 1964-65 neither position was mentioned by a reasonable proportion of the authors, and for the last eight years 18 percent or more of the authors advocated a self-determinism position on the professional role.

In summary, the general findings reported in Table 3 support the existence of each of the polar positions on the three components of professional knowledge--stance on the field, stance on practice and stance on the professional role--which were derived and discussed in Chapter III. However, a comparison of the rates of attention given these positions illustrate that differences do exist between polar positions and among the three components of knowledge. In order to further illustrate these rate of attention relationships among various ideological stances in a summary fashion, Table 4 ranks each of the ideological positions from the most-often mentioned to the least often mentioned. It must be pointed out that data reported in Table 4 are based upon computation of average proportions of mention for the eighteen years which were analyzed, and tend to negate temporal patterns and yearly changes in rates at which stances were discussed. Nevertheless, in order to draw attention to those stances which have tended to dominate others during the full sweep of time, the average percentage mention for the entire eighteen

TABLE 4

RANK-ORDER OF SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGIES BY AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF MENTION, 1956-1973

	Ideology	Average Percentage of Mention*
1	Clientism	76.70%
2	Professionalism	65.20%
3	Treatmentism	56.70%
4	Reformism	25.70%
5	Paternalism	13.10%
6	Self-determinism	12.90%

*The base of all percentages is the total article population, 778 for each of the ideologies. Since many articles contained multiple references to various ideological themes the total of the average percentage of mention does not add up to 100%.

years will be used.

Clientism was found to be mentioned by an average of 76.7 percent of the articles which have appeared in Social Work since 1956, making clientism, on the average, the most advocated of all the ideological positions in social work. Since social work is a service-oriented occupation the fact that social work authors express a predominant concern with clientism is not unexpected. The professionalism position toward the field ranked second in importance and it was mentioned an average of 65.2 percent of the articles. The on-the-average discussion of professionalism by a sizable majority of authors indicates that concern with clientele and the status and power of the social work field have been the most idscussed ideological stances among those studied in this thesis. In short, concern with the meaning of the field has been the most notable ideological issue discussed by authors in Social Work.

The next most often mentioned ideological position is treatmentism which has been mentioned by an average of 56.7 percent of the authors in Social Work. The second position on social work practice, reformism, was found to be mentioned on the average by 25.7 percent of the articles in Social Work. Thus, over-all, reformism is mentioned by approximately half as many authors as treatmentism. When viewing both positions on practice-treatmentism and reformism-together as a single component of knowledge, it may be concluded that they represent the second most frequently discussed issue in the

population of articles studied in this thesis.

The stance on the professional role--paternalism and self-determinism--is found to be the least mentioned component of knowledge discussed by the social work authors who have published in Social Work. The average population of authors who mentioned paternalism was 13.1 percent, while self-determinism was mentioned on the average by 12.9 percent of the article population. These data indicate very little or no difference between these polar positions in terms of the average percentage of times these portions were mentioned in Social Work.

In general, the findings presented in Table 4 indicate that, while each ideological position derived in Chapter III has received the attention of Social Work authors, the stances taken on the meaning of the social work field are clearly the most often discussed topics in the major social work journal. The positions on social work practice, as a component of knowledge, are the second most often discussed issues in this publication. The issues which are least frequently discussed concern the meaning of the professional role.

Conflict and Displacement of Ideological Positions

Conflict Between Ideological Positions

From the presentation of a theoretical model of professional knowledge three components--stance on the field, stance on practice, and stance on the professional role--were derived. Within each of these areas of professional knowledge idealized positions were

hypothesized to be in conflict with each other. In order to test hypotheses one, two and three, which predicted conflict or a negative association among these opposing ideological positions, the percentage of Social Work authors that mentioned the various ideological stances are analyzed by calculating the intercorrelation between rates at which positions were mentioned for the nine two year periods studied here. The findings of this analysis are presented in Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3.

The first hypothesis predicted that professionalism would be negatively related to clientism. The linear regression coefficient which summarizes the rates at which professionalism and clientism were mentioned during the various two-year intervals, as shown in Figure 1.1, indicates a moderately high negative association (-.59) between these positions on the meaning of social work. On the basis of these data it may be concluded that the periods during which professionalism has received considerable attention from Social Work authors have not consistently been those times when similar levels of attention have been directed to clientism.

The expectation that treatmentism and reformism would be a conflicting definition of social work practice was stated in the second hypothesis. The proportions of social work authors that advocated each of these positions in the various nine two-year intervals, as shown in Figure 1.2, are found to be highly negatively associated (-.84) with each other. The high negative correlation coefficient which summarizes the statistical relationship between

FIGURE 1.1

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED PROFESSIONALISM AND PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED CLIENTISM 1956 THROUGH 1973

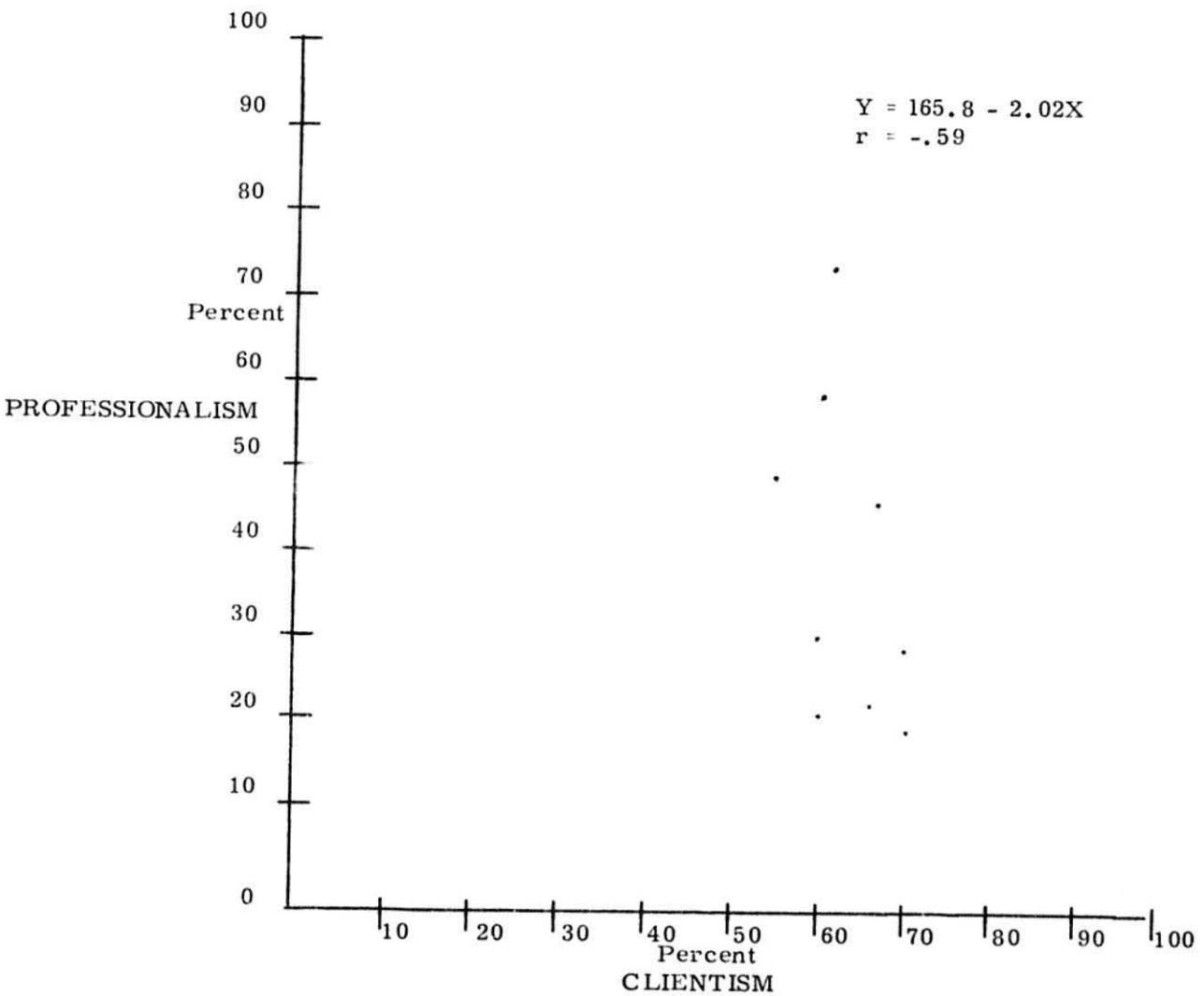
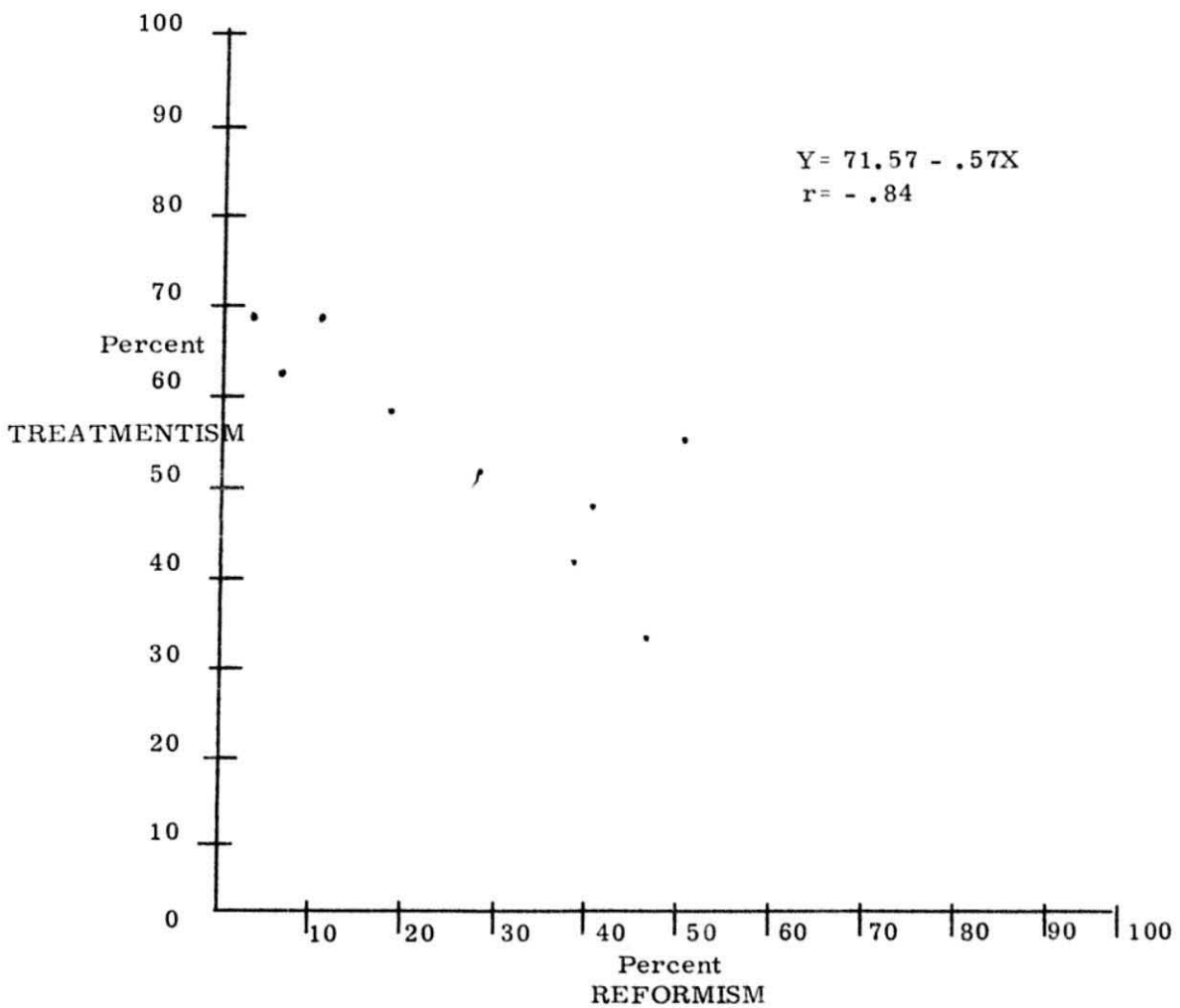


FIGURE 1.2

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED TREATMENTISM AND PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED REFORMISM 1956 THROUGH 1973



rates at which these ideological positions were mentioned supports the conclusion that treatmentism and reformism are polemical positions on social work practice.

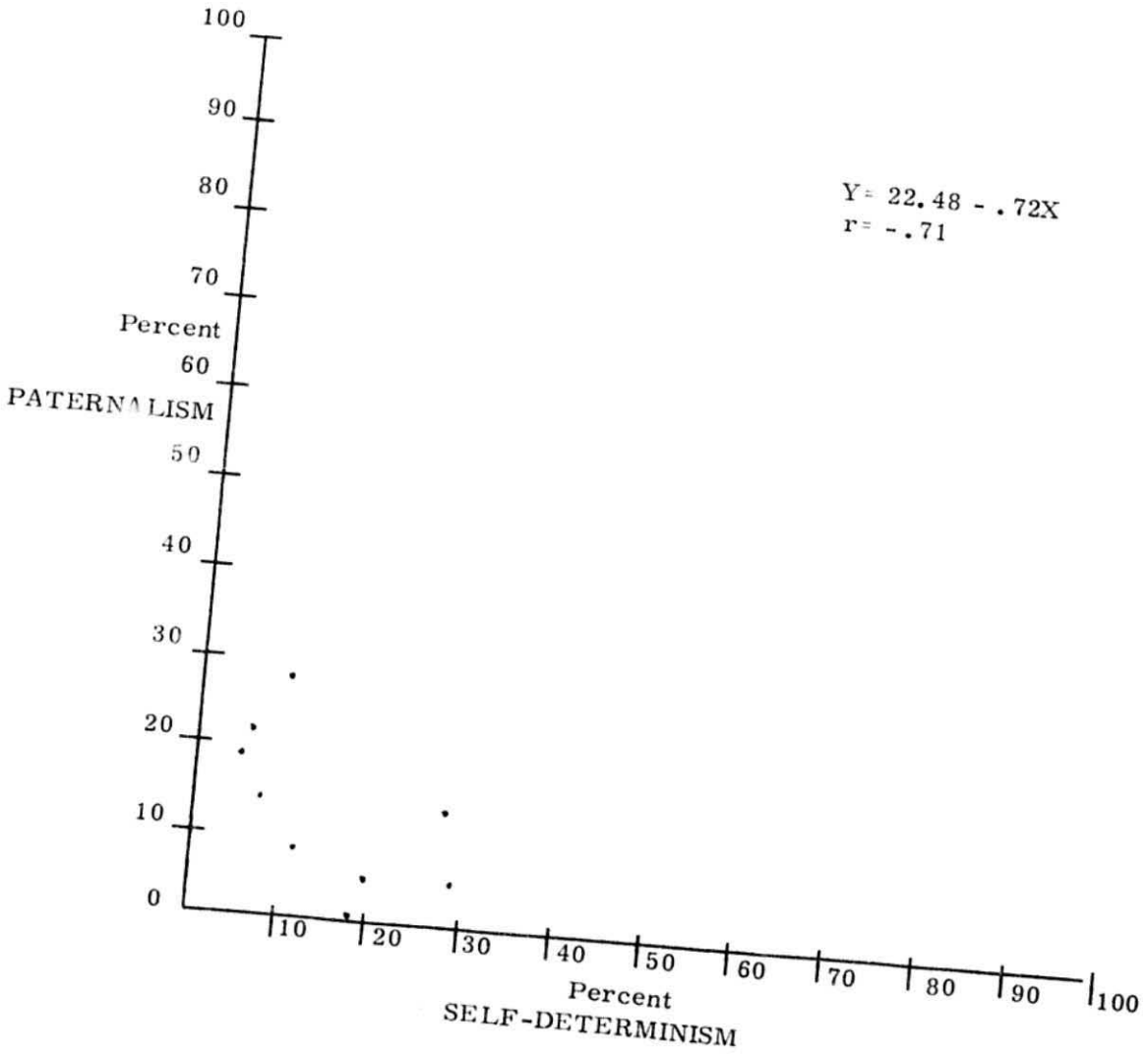
The hypothesized conflict between paternalism and self-determinism (hypothesis three) is tested by the data in Figure 1.3. The correlation coefficient which described the statistical relationship between the rates at which Social Work articles mentioned paternalism and the rates at which self-determinism was mentioned is -.71, indicating a large negative association. These findings clearly support the expected conflict between these ideological formulations of the intended meaning of the relationship between social workers and their clientele. It should be noted again that these ideological positions are relatively minor issues in the arena of professional communication, as is clear from the fact that entries in Figure 1.3 tend to cluster in the lower left quadrant.

Displacement Patterns Between Ideological Positions

In the previous section of this chapter the hypothesized conflict between polarized ideological positions on social work knowledge was supported. It will be recalled that support for conflictory positions has been viewed as necessary but not sufficient evidence for the existence of inverse temporal relationships between the rates at which opposing stances on a given ideological issue have been discussed. The next few pages of this thesis will present evidence, from communication patterns in Social Work, useful in assessing such temporal

FIGURE 1.3

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED PATERNALISM AND PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED SELF-DETERMINISM 1956 THROUGH 1973



intercorrelations between the rates of discussion for the opposing ideological positions.

Hypothesis four predicted that professionalism would be inversely related to clientism over the course of the eighteen years studied. The findings in Figure 2.1 report the percentage of Social Work authors that advocated professionalism or clientism from 1956 to 1974. If professionalism and clientism are, indeed, inversely related interpretations of the meaning of social work, as was predicted, then the proportion of articles which mentioned one position should increase over time while the proportion of articles which mentioned the other decreases during the same time period. The findings reported in Figure 2.1 indicate that, in general, the proportion of articles which mentioned professionalism more or less declines between 1956 and 1974 while the percentage of articles which mentioned clientism remains more or less unchanged for the same time period. A comparision of the proportion of authors that advocated each position reveals that, with the exception of 1956-57 clientism was more frequently advocated than was professionalism in all two year intervals studied. A further explanation of Figure 2.1 indicates that clientism is mentioned by approximately 57 percent to 70 percent of the social work authors, while professionalism was advocated by a gradually declining proportion of authors in the years 1956 to 1974. In fact, the proportion of authors that mentioned professionalism declines to less than 50 percent for

all periods after 1959 and to less than 25 percent for three of the remaining two year intervals. Inasmuch as professionalism, as an issue that was discussed by social work authors, consistently tends to decline over the time period studied, the findings in Figure 2.1 indicate a displacement pattern between professionalism and clientism. Since clientism remains unchanged, however, the type of displacement which occurs between these two positions will require interpretation. This particular displacement pattern may be referred to as a consistent strength-declining strength pattern of temporal covariation, in order to contrast this pattern with others which will be discussed in this and the next chapter.

The fifth hypothesis stated that treatmentism would be inversely related to reformism over time. The findings in Figure 2.2 indicate that treatmentism was mentioned by 62.5 percent of the authors and reformism is mentioned by 16.7 percent of the authors publishing in Social Work in 1956-57. For the next eight years treatmentism was addressed by more than one-half of the authors, while reformism was advocated by less than 26.2 percent of the authors. In 1966-67, however, the proportion of articles which mentioned reformism increases to 36.5 percent while 45.9 percent of the authors that published in Social Work mentioned treatmentism. The proportion of authors that advocated treatmentism increased slightly in 1968-69 to 56.3 percent, and during this same period the percentage of authors that mentioned reformism increased to 47.5 percent. From 1968-69 the proportion of articles which mentioned treatmentism declined to

FIGURE 2.1

PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED PROFESSIONALISM OR CLIENTISM BY YEARS

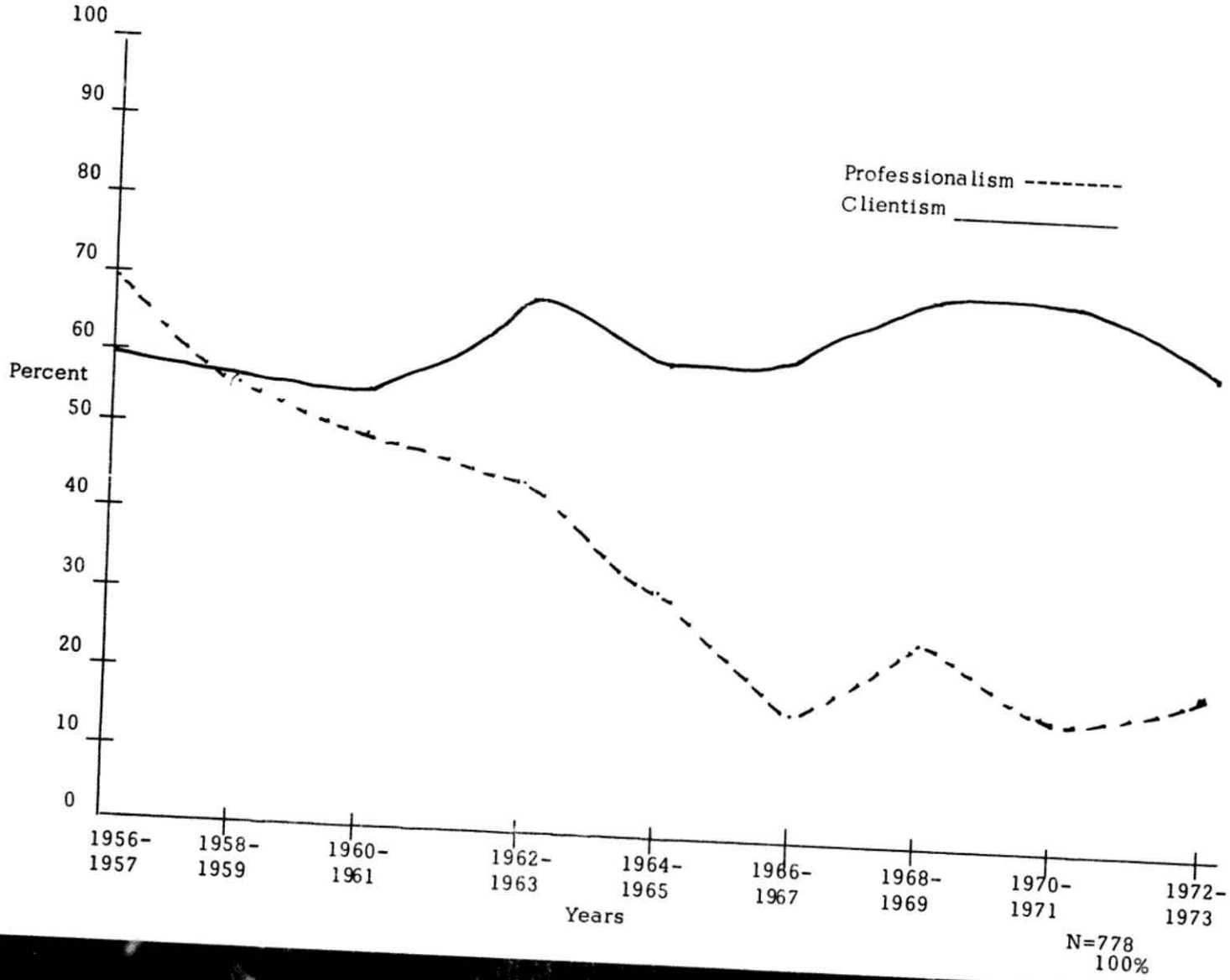
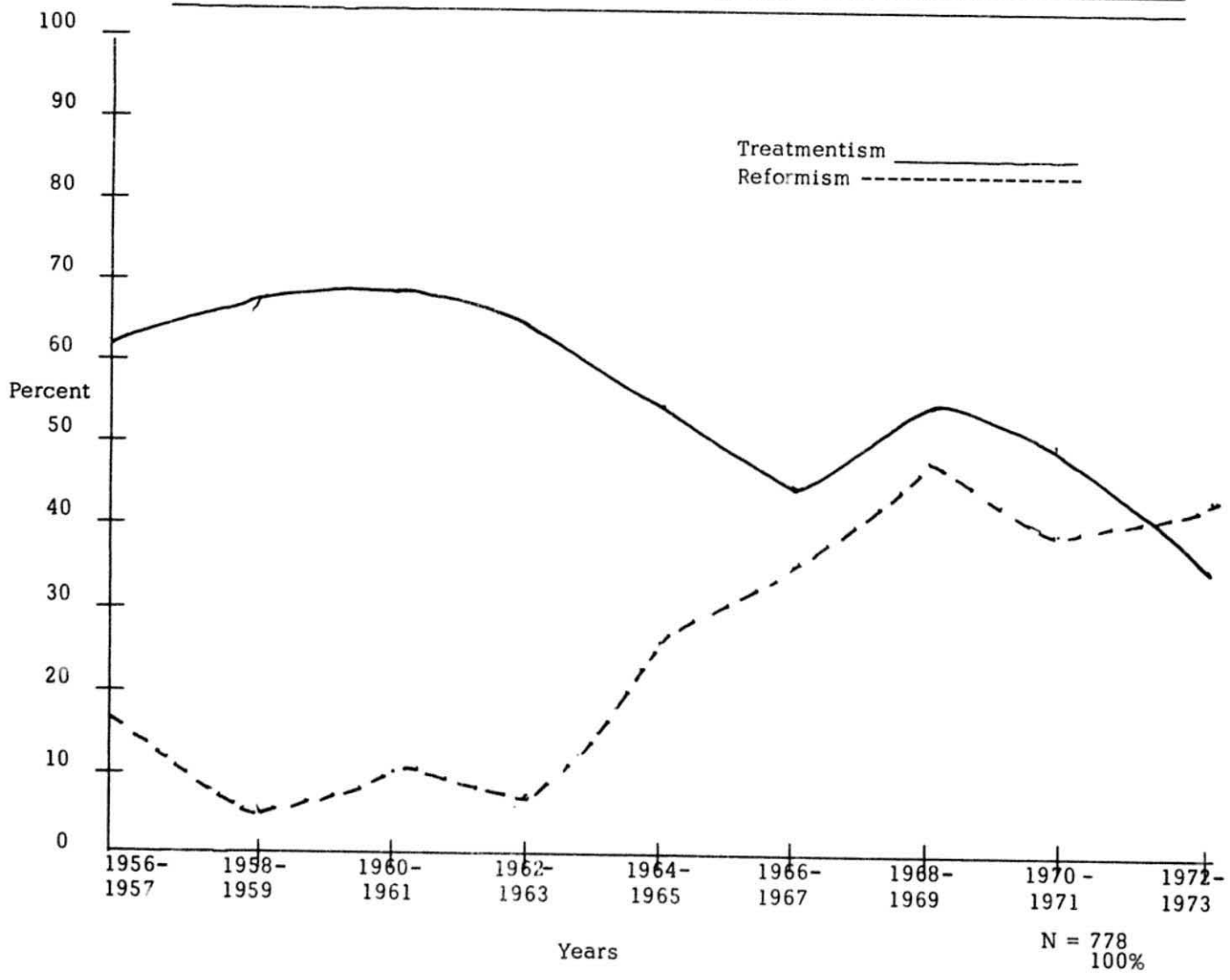


FIGURE 2.2

PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED TREATMENTISM OR REFORMISM BY YEARS

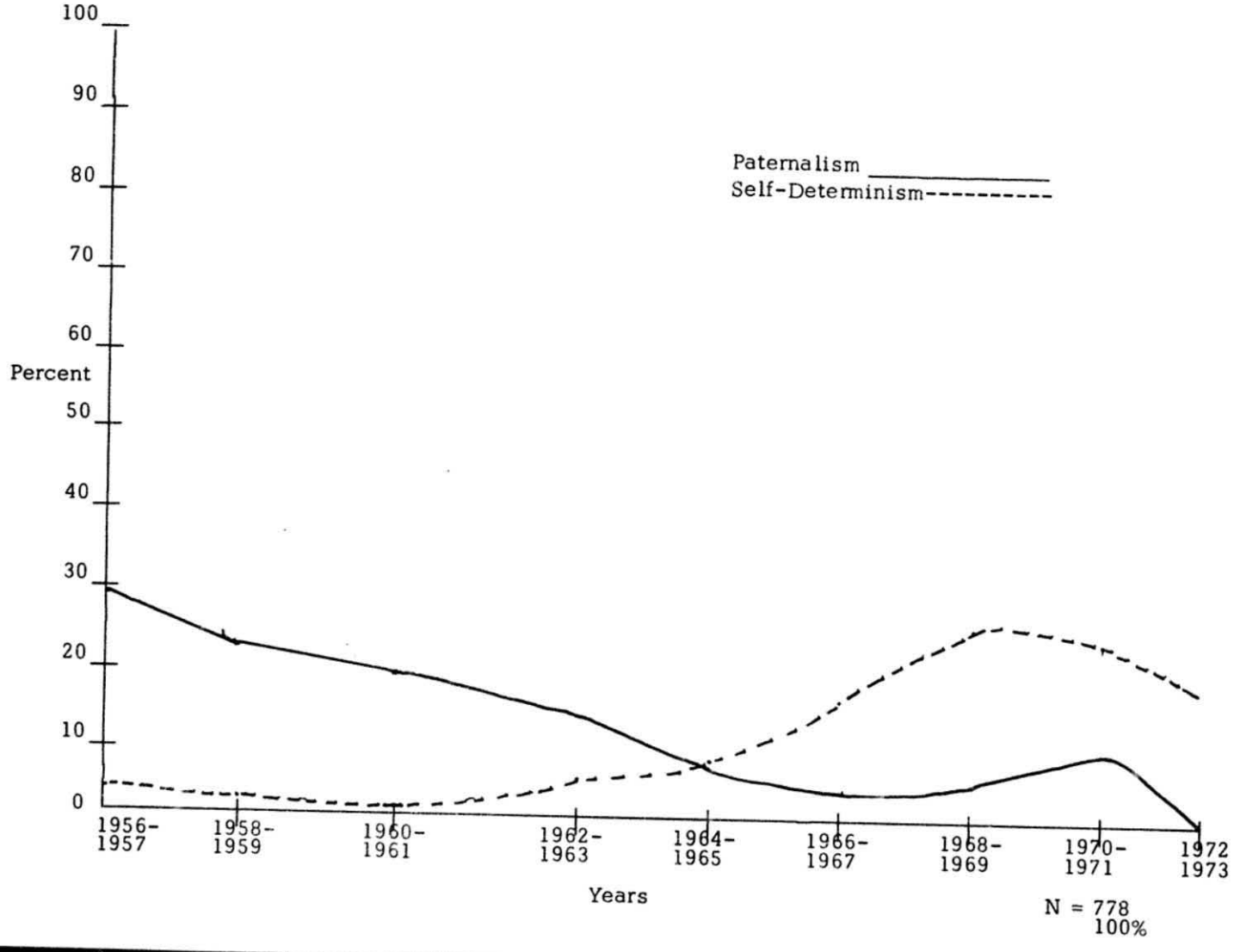


50 percent in 1970-71, and to 36.1 percent in 1972-73. In comparison, the proportion of authors who advocated reformism decreased in 1970-71 to 38.9 percent, and then increased to 44.3 percent in 1972-73. In general, the findings in Figure 2.2 support the conclusion that the proportion of authors that advocated treatmentism declined while the proportion of authors that mentioned reformism increased for the time period studied here. It should also be noted that in 1972-73 the proportion of authors that advocated reformism for the first time exceeds the proportion of authors that advocated treatmentism, making reformism the more frequently advocated position on social work practice in the most recent years. This particular temporal pattern of covariation between ideological positions may be characterized as a gradually declining strength-increasing strength relationship which results in displacement.

Hypothesis six, the final prediction concerning temporal covariation between ideological positions, postulated that paternalism would be inversely related to self-determinism during the eighteen years studied. Figure 2.3 is a comparison of the interrelationship between the proportion of articles which mentioned one or the other position from 1956 to 1974. An examination of Figure 2.3 indicates that paternalism was mentioned by 14.9 percent or more of the social work authors for the first eight years studied while self-determinism is never mentioned by more than 6.4 percent of the articles during the same time period. Despite some deviation

FIGURE 2.3

PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED PATERNALISM OR SELF-DETERMINISM BY YEAR



in the proportion of authors that mentioned the respective positions, self-determinism tended to increase (the highest percentage of mention is 26.8 in 1968-69) while the proportion of authors that advocated paternalism decreased (the lowest proportion is 0.0 percent in 1972-73) from 1964 to 1974. It may be concluded from the data found in Figure 2.3 that as the proportion of authors that advocated paternalism decreased the proportion of authors that advocated self-determinism increased. This pattern of displacement may be characterized as a rapidly declining strength-increasing strength relationship.

Another, and perhaps more concise, way of quantifying temporal covariation between rates at which authors stressed the opposing ideological positions on social work knowledge is to compare the differences between proportions of authors that advocated one position over its opposite. Table 5 presents the findings of such a percentage difference analysis as an alternative test of hypotheses four, five and six.

The first row of Table 5 shows the differences between the proportion of authors that advocated professionalism and clientism positions on the meaning of the social work field. An examination of this table reveals that differences between the proportion of authors that advocated one position or the other is relatively small in 1956-57, at 9.7 percent. These differences remain reasonably minor at -2.3 percent and -7.3 percent for the next four years. However, following the positive entry in 1956-57, all subsequent periods reveal negative

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED CONFLICTING IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS BY YEAR

Ideological Position	Percentage Difference by Years									
	1956-1957	1958-1959	1960-1961	1962-1963	1964-1965	1966-1967	1968-1969	1970-1971	1972 1973	
Professionalism										
Clientism	9.7	-2.3	-7.3	-23.4	-29.7	-43.3	-42.5	-51.4	-43.5	
Treatmentism										
Reformism	45.8	64.7	59.0	59.6	28.6	9.4	8.8	11.1	-8.2	
Paternalism										
Self-determinism . . .	25.0	18.9	17.0	8.5	-3.6	-13.5	20.0	-12.5	-18.0	
N=	72	85	95	94	85	74	80	72	122	778
%=	9.3	10.8	12.2	12.1	10.8	9.5	10.3	9.3	15.7	100.0%

entries which indicate that, with the exception of the first year interval, clientism was the more frequently mentioned position on the meaning of social work. Over the final ten years studied here, with only one exception, the percentage differences between these positions gradually increased to -51.4 percent. The tendency for the differences between the rates at which authors mentioned this issue to increase does lessen slightly in 1972-73, to -43.5 percent. These findings, when compared to those of Figure 1.1 previously reviewed, indicate that in general, it is the tendency of professionalism to consistently decline which created a difference of nearly 25 percent or more in six of the nine two year intervals studied. In one case, 1970-71, the percentage differences between professionalism and clientism, is in excess of 50 percentage points. The data presented in Table 5 clearly indicate one discernable pattern to the temporal intercorrelation between opposing ideological positions in social work--that is, for one position to continue in strength while the opposite pattern gradually wanes.

A comparison of the differences between the percentage of authors that advocated treatmentism and those that advocated reformism, from 1956 through 1973, is shown in row two of Table 5. These data indicate a substantial difference of 45.8 percent in 1956-57, with treatmentism being the more frequently mentioned position. From 1958 to 1969 the difference between the percentage of authors that discussed these opposing ideological positions gradually decreased, to a low point of 8.8 percent in 1968-69. There-

after, treatmentism is more often mentioned in 1970-71 (by 11.1 percentage points) and the difference between the percentage of articles which mentioned treatmentism and reformism was -8.2 percent in 1972-73. This latter difference between positions indicates that reformism was mentioned more frequently by authors that published in Social Work in 1972-73. Although this temporal covariation pattern differs considerably from the patterned relationship between professionalism and clientism, it clearly supports the hypothesized displacement intercorrelation between treatmentism and reformism.

Other impressive evidence for the general inverse temporal intercorrelation pattern between opposing ideological positions is presented in the last row of Table 5. It will be recalled that hypothesis six predicted that paternalism would be inversely related to self-determinism over time, and the law row of Table 5 presents the findings of the analysis of the differences between the proportion of authors that advocated either paternalism or self-determinism for the eighteen years in which Social Work has been published. For the first six years illustrated in Table 5 the difference in the proportion of authors that mentioned these positions is in excess of 17.0 percent, with paternalism being the more frequently mentioned. Entries of 8.5 percent and -3.6 percent in the period of 1962 to 1965 reveals relatively little difference between the percentage of authors that mentioned these positions, but from 1962-63 to 1964-65 the paternalism position on the professional role changes from the more to the less often mentioned position. After 1962, the

difference between the proportion of authors that advocated these polar positions varied between a low of -12.5 percent and a high of -20 percent with self-determinism continuing to be more frequently mentioned than paternalism. On the basis of these findings reported in Table 5 it may be concluded that paternalism is inversely related to self-determinism and that the latter displaces the former in the frequency of its being mentioned from 1964 to the present. Moreover, these data suggest a third pattern to the temporal interrelationship between ideological positions; that in which one position receives much more support than its opposite, they reach a point of equal advocacy, and subsequent to this point rates of advocacy reverse each other.

Another way of testing and quantifying the hypothesized temporal intercorrelation between the discussion of opposing ideological positions on social work knowledge is to compare changes in the proportion of Social Work articles which mentioned these conflicting stances over time. Table 6 contains the findings of this method of analyzing the data from the content analysis of Social Work and also reports an average percentage of change in the entries for each position for the entire time period studied. These average percentage changes in rates at which authors advocated various positions should be viewed cautiously since they do not reflect the fluctuations apparent from 1956 to 1974 which are central to the focus of this thesis. However, the average percentage change in the proportion of authors that addressed certain positions is useful for a general over-view of unit changes in ideological position over the entire

period of time studied here as well as the relationship between such changes.

The hypothesized intercorrelation between discussion of professionalism and clientism may be examined in Table 6 by comparing rows one and two. This comparison indicates that while both positions declined between 1956 and 1961, changes in the rates at which authors advocated the respective positions still are great enough to suggest an inverse (or displacement) relationship between them. Of the remaining six time intervals four clearly indicate an inverse relationship since the sign of the one rate of change in position is negative and the sign of the other rate of change is positive. During each of the other two time periods the rates of change in each of the positions differs by at least 30 percentage points, suggesting continuation of negative correlation, and an inverse pattern of covariation. In general, then, these data on rates of change support the conclusion that over time rates of advocacy of professionalism and clientism have varied inversely.

A comparison of the rates of change in advocacy of treatmentism and reformism is possible from rows three and four of Table 6. It indicates negative changes in one position and positive changes in its opposite for four of the eight year intervals studied, providing support for the hypothesis that such changes vary inversely over time. Moreover, inverse covariation over time between ideological positions is indicated by the degree of change in the

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE MENTION CHANGE AND AVERAGE PERCENTAGE MENTION CHANGE OF SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGIES BY YEAR

Ideological Position	Percentage Change by Year								Average % Change
	1956-57 1958-59	1958-59 1960-61	1960-61 1962-63	1962-63 1964-65	1964-65 1966-67	1966-67 1968-69	1968-69 1970-71	1970-71 1972-73	
Professionalism	-20.3	-10.5	-9.7	-44.2	-39.0	45.5	-29.5	9.8	-69.3
Clientism	-3.5	-1.4	19.9	-10.9	2.5	12.5	1.1	-8.5	1.5
Treatmentism	11.2	0.1	-5.0	-16.7	-16.2	22.7	-11.2	-27.8	-5.4
Reformism	-71.9	123.4	-39.1	309.4	39.3	30.4	-18.1	13.9	48.4
Paternalism	-23.3	-9.8	-26.2	-52.4	-24.0	16.7	98.4	-100.0	-15.1
Self-determinism	-16.7	8.6	100.0	67.2	76.6	39.2	-4.9	-28.0	30.2

N=778
100%

rates at which authors advocated the treatmentism and reformism positions in three of the remaining four year periods. The largest differences in rate of change is in excess of 100 percent in 1959-61 and the period 1969-71 reveals little or no rate of change differences in these positions.

The entries for the average percentage change in treatmentism and reformism show an on the average rate of change of -5.4 percent for treatmentism and 48.4 percent for reformism. In general these data also provide support for the conclusion that changes in these opposing positions vary inversely over time.

The hypothesized temporal pattern of displacement between paternalism and self-determinism positions on the professional role of social workers may be tested by a comparison of the last two rows of Table 6. Change differences in the rates of advocacy between these two positions is found all but the first temporal interval. Even in periods when both positions changed in the same direction the rates at which they did so differ enough to suggest a distinctive inverse relationship between these polar positions. An examination of the average rate of changes in the advocacy of these positions clearly shows the tendency for paternalism to decline (-15.1) and the tendency for self-determinism to increase (30.2) in the eighteen years studied. These data, therefore, serve to also confirm the hypothesis that rates at which these opposing ideological positions on professional role were discussed do vary inversely over time.

Constellations of Ideology

The theoretical model of professional knowledge which was discussed in Chapter III indicated that social work knowledge could be viewed in terms of three major components of meaning, stance on the field, stance on practice and stance on the professional role. Within each knowledge component it was hypothesized that polar positions would be communicated and argued by social work authors as polemic issues. Findings regarding the conflict and displacement pattern of temporal covariation between the polar positions have supported the hypothesized temporal relationships between the discussion of ideological positions. In the following section of this chapter the relationship between these ideological positions will be explored further by testing for covariation between related combinations of ideological positions.

Hypothesis seven predicted that professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism would be positively related to each other over time. This cluster of positions will be labeled as a "conservative" social work ideology. The findings of this test for intercorrelation among related ideological positions is illustrated in Table 7. An examination of the association between professionalism and paternalism reveals a high positive correlation between these positions (.91), as shown in the upper left quadrant of Table 7. The positive association between treatmentism and paternalism (see the upper right quadrant of Table 7) is high (.80) and indicates a positive association of these

TABLE 7

CORRELATION MATRIX OF PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS FOR NINE TWO YEAR PERIODS

	Professionalism (Y)	Treatmentism (Y)
Paternalism (X)	r = .91 y = 14.4+1.75X	r = .80 Y = 44.04+.96X
Treatmentism (X)	r = .79 Y = -34.01+1.25X	

N=9

two positions. The final relationship shown in Table 7 indicates a high degree of positive association between treatmentism and professionalism (.79). From the data in this matrix of linear bivariate intercorrelations between professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism, it may be concluded that these ideological positions are in fact positively related as expected.

It is expected that clientism, reformism and self-determinism are all positively associated with one another, as was stated in hypothesis eight. The degree to which these ideological positions are associated with each other may be assessed by the findings reported in Table 8. The linear correlation between clientism and self-determinism, as shown by the regression coefficient (.73) in upper left quadrant of Table 8, indicates support for the expected relationship. Reformism and self-determinism are found to be highly associated (.93) with each other, as clear from the regression coefficient in the upper right quadrant of Table 8. The association between reformism and clientism is considerably less (.59) although still a positive coefficient (see the lower left quadrant of Table 8). In general, these positive correlation coefficients of between .59 and .93 indicate support for hypothesis eight. However, it should be observed that the relationship between reformism and clientism is less clear evidence for the positive relationship between these positions.

In general, the data presented in Tables 7 and 8 provide substantial evidence for the expected association between the components of the conservative and liberal constellations of ideological positions in

TABLE 8

CORRELATION MATRIX OF PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED LIBERAL IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS FOR NINE TWO YEAR PERIODS

	Clientism (Y)	Reformism (Y)
Self-determism (X)	r = .73 Y = 58.51+.40X	r = .93 Y = 4.15+1.67X
Reformism (X)	r = .59 Y = 58.6+.18X	

N = 9

social work. Given these findings, it is now possible to examine the temporal relationship between these two major constellations in social work ideology.

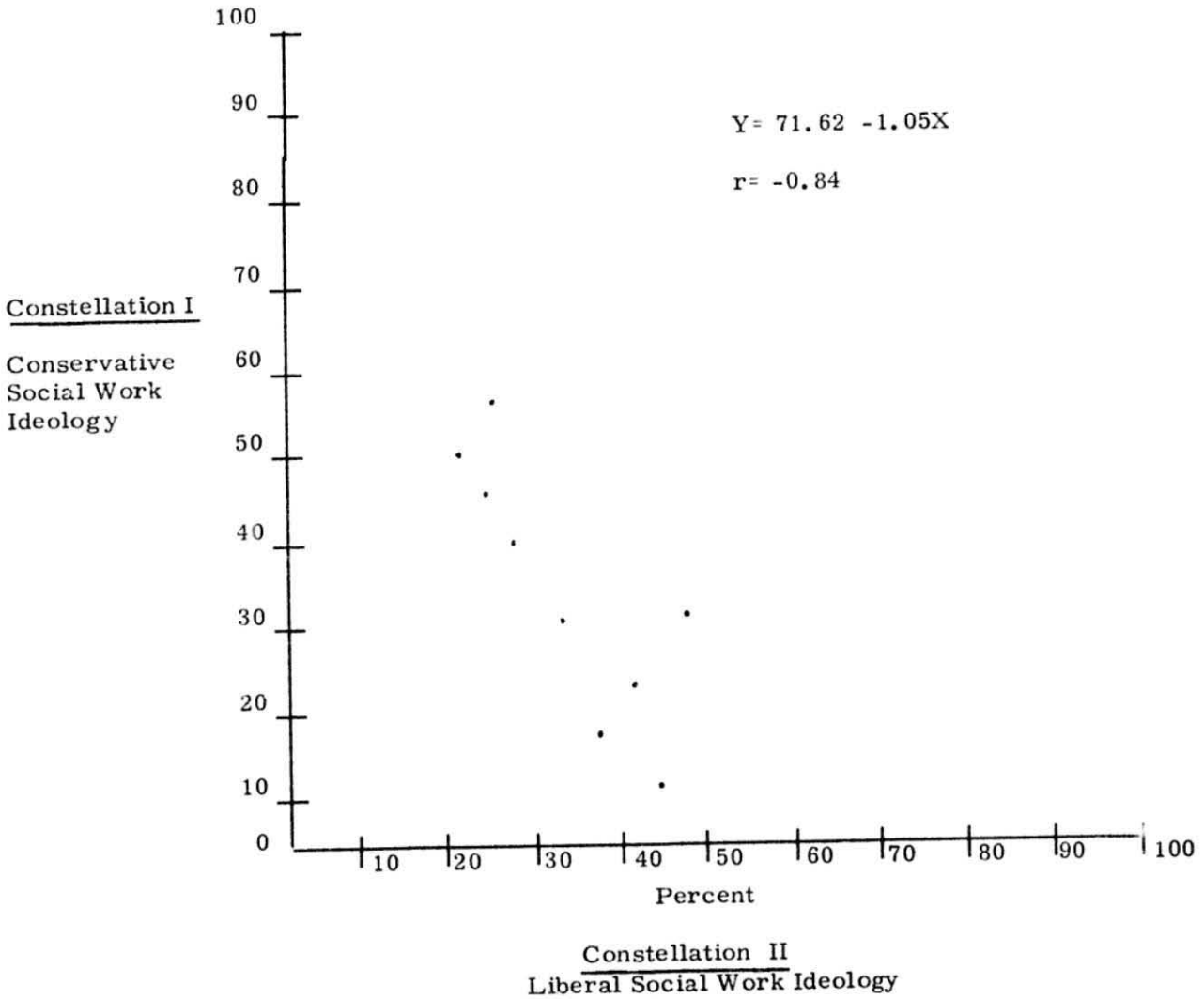
Hypothesis nine predicted that the conservative social work ideology would be negatively related to the liberal social work ideology. This hypothesis is tested by measuring the linear correlation between conservative and liberal ideologies (see Figure 3.2). The percentage of articles representing each of these two ideologies in a given two year period is an average of the proportion of articles in which the three component ideological elements were mentioned for that particular two year segment of the time interval studied.

An examination of Figure 3 clearly indicates the reasonably high negative association (-.84) between conservative and liberal issues. These data indicate relatively strong support for the predicted negative relationship between the rates at which these ideological constellations were discussed in various two year time periods. It must be noted, however, that the regression analysis presented in Figure 3 does not deal with covariation in the relationship between the conservative and liberal ideology over time.

Temporal patterns of covariation between conservative and liberal constellations of social work ideology were previously discussed as a conflict and displacement phenomenon. It will be recalled that hypothesis ten predicted that the conservative ideology would be inversely related to the liberal ideology over time.

FIGURE 3.1

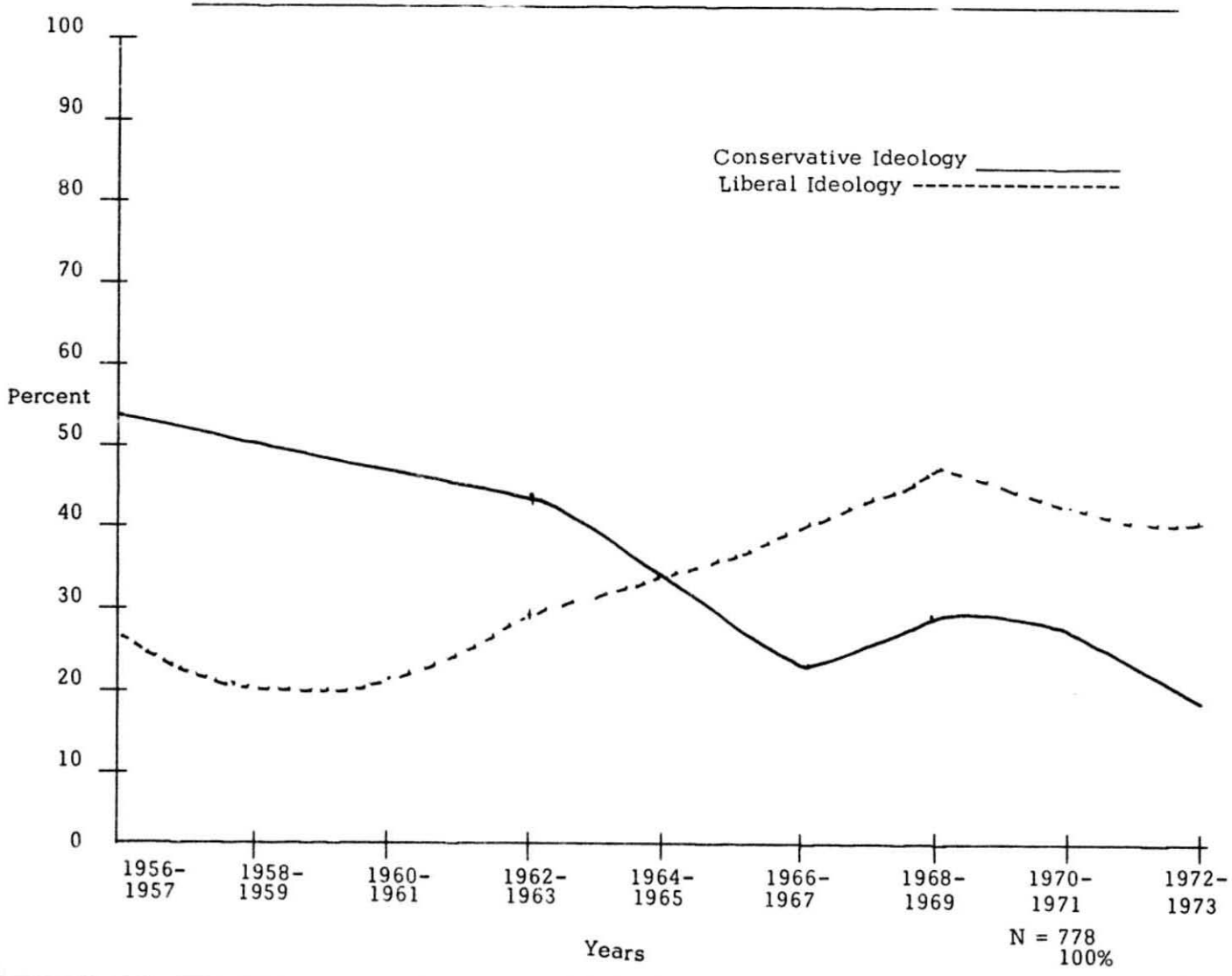
CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED THE CONSERVATIVE SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGY AND PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED THE LIBERAL SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGY



Temporal patterns of covariation between these ideologies will be viewed in two manners. The first way of analyzing the temporal association between these two ideological constellations is found in Figure 4, which reports the percentage of Social Work articles which mentioned the ideologies for each of the consecutive nine two year intervals. As was previously discussed these percentages are based upon average of the percentage of articles which mentioned the three ideological positions which make up each constellation. An over-view of Figure 4 appears to indicate a relatively distinctive temporal pattern of displacement. The conservative ideology declines from 53.3 percent in 1956-57 to 23.4 percent in 1966-67. The percentage of articles which mentioned the conservative ideology increases slightly to 30 percent in 1968-69 and thereafter it declines to 27.3 percent in 1970-71, and 19.1 percent in 1972-73. The percentage of authors that advocated the liberal ideology, in comparison, declines slightly from 26.3 percent in 1956-57 to 21.9 percent in 1958-59 and 23.5 percent in 1960-61. From being mentioned in 27 percent of the articles in 1962-63 the liberal ideology increases gradually to 47.9 percent over the next six years and thereafter deviates only slightly from this level to 44.9 percent in 1970-71 and 42.4 percent in 1972-73. The percentage of authors that advocate a conservative as opposed to a liberal position intersects at approximately 31 percent in 1964-65. In general, the data shown in Figure 4 indicate a tendency for the liberal ideological constellation to more or less increase while the

FIGURE 4

PERCENTAGE OF ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED THE CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY OR THE LIBERAL IDEOLOGY BY YEARS



conservative ideology decreased, with minor deviation, during the eighteen years in which Social Work has been published. This test of an inverse relationship between a conservative ideological position and a liberal ideological position, therefore, supports the displacement of the conservative social work ideology by the liberal social work ideology from 1964-65 onward.

An alternative view of the average percentage of authors that advocated the conservative as opposed to the liberal ideology is found in Table 9. The data are analyzed in terms of the difference in the percentage of articles which mentioned one or the other ideology by conservative two-year periods. An examination of Table 9 reveals that between 1956 and 1963 the conservative ideology was mentioned more frequently by a difference of 25.1 percent, 27.1 percent and 14.7 percent of the authors that published in Social Work. The declining percentage of difference between these ideologies is a consistent pattern into 1964-65, when the liberal ideology is mentioned more frequently as indicated by a difference in percentage of -1.6. Thereafter, the difference in the percentage of authors that advocated these ideologies gradually increased (with only one deviation, -15.8 percent in 1966-67) to 23.2 percent in 1972-73. From these data it may be concluded that the increase-decrease patterns of intercorrelation between the discussion of the ideologies studied here support a relatively strong inverse relationship in which the liberal ideology displaces the conservative ideology after 1964-65. Furthermore, both ways of analyzing these data

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ARTICLES WHICH MENTIONED CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY OR LIBERAL IDEOLOGY BY YEARS

	1956-1957	1958-1959	1960-1961	1962-1963	1964-1965	1966-1967	1968-1969	1970-1971	1972-1973	
	25.2	27.1	22.9	14.9	-1.6	-15.8	-14.9	-17.6	-23.2	
N=	72	85	95	94	85	74	80	72	122	778
%=	9.3	10.8	12.2	12.1	10.8	9.5	10.3	9.3	15.7	100 %

(see Figure 4 and Table 9) confirm the expected temporal pattern of displacement.

Summary

In this chapter a number of theoretical issues pertinent to professional knowledge and communication have been examined and tested through data which were collected by a content analysis of the major journal in the field of social work. The data presented in the first part of the chapter provided substantial evidence for the existence of the six ideological positions which were defined in Chapter III. From the data presented regarding the percentage of authors that advocated these ideological positions for the eighteen years of Social Work's existence, it is clear that the meaning and purpose of social work was the predominant issue, concern for social work practice was frequently discussed but of secondary importance, and the least mentioned issue communicated by social work authors concerned definition of the professional role.

Evidence for the hypothesized conflict between pairs of ideological positions supported the idea that these issues have, in fact, been argued as polemic interpretations of social work knowledge. Temporal patterns between the frequency at which opposing elements of ideology were advocated were explored by testing for inverse intercorrelation between them over the eighteen years studied in this thesis. These data on communication in this field were viewed

in three different manners and all of the evidence supported the expected displacement patterns from 1956 to 1974, even though three more or less distinctive temporal displacement interrelationship patterns were observed. The impressive consistency of the evidence for inverse temporal covariation and the unique quality of the three discernable patterns illustrate several heretofore empirically undeterminable interpretations of knowledge construction and communication in a professional arena. These issues are addressed in Chapter VI.

The temporal intercorrelation between sets of ideological positions, which were hypothesized to convary together, was verified. Findings also supported the characterization of one conservative constellation as opposed to another liberal constellation. When the conservative ideology and the liberal ideology were tested for a negative association the findings clearly indicated support for such a relationship.

Evidence for an inverse temporal correlation between conservative and liberal constellations of ideological positions provided conclusive support of the hypothesized interrelationship. The impressive evidence for an inverse temporal intercorrelation between the communication of the liberal ideology and the conservative ideology in social work has several important implications for the transcending model of professions. These and other issues, including the implications of the emergence of the liberal ideology as the predominant portion of social work communication will be interpreted in the last chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE: INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The purposes of this chapter are to interpret the general implications of the findings discussed in Chapter V and to address several specific implications of the present analysis for a theoretical model of professional knowledge and ideology. The consistent goal of this thesis has been to provide a grounded theoretical foundation for investigating the structure of knowledge and ideology appearing in professional communication. Therefore, the influence that numerous factors in the larger historical and socio-cultural environment have upon the construction of professional knowledge has received minimal attention. However, in assessing the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis to a sociological understanding of the professions, it seems appropriate in this chapter to treat some of these relationships between a profession and its environment.

The Transcending Model in Perspective

The proposed transcending model of professions discussed in Chapter III attempted to synthesize the viewpoints of the normative and the processual theorists by emphasizing the role of ideology

in the construction of professional knowledge. Both schools of thought seem to feel that ideology is important in professional knowledge construction although neither perspective attempts to treat this issue explicitly. Throughout the present thesis it has been argued that the process by which professional knowledge is justified in the form of ideology is an appropriate way to analyze professional reality. Furthermore, it has been stressed that the process by which professional ideology is developed and produced is visible in communication appearing in professional journals. Analysis of the professional communication appearing in a journal media has shown, first, that distinctive ideological positions were discernible in Social Work over the last eighteen years. Secondly, it has been shown that these ideological positions tended to conflict and covary inversely between 1956 and 1974. Third, it has been found that advocacy of six opposing ideological positions centered upon three major issues--stance on the meaning of the field, stance on the meaning of practice, and stance on the meaning of the professional role. Fourth, it has been observed that in terms of the frequency at which authors dealt with ideological issues the above order represents the respective importance of these aspects of knowledge.

The findings discussed in this thesis suggest several implications for previous theories of the professions. For example, to the extent that social work knowledge does not fit the normative model of professions, and recent changes in ideological position observed in this thesis suggest that it does not, it may be concluded that this

field is not yet a profession. Therefore, the present model of professions may apply more to the structure of knowledge in semi-professional fields.

From a different viewpoint, however, to the extent that social work does exemplify certain professional characteristics, a quite different interpretation is possible. All professional fields may to some extent be segmented into various factions which continually debate issues such as the fundamental purpose of a profession, the aim of its services and practice, and the most appropriate role relationships between professionals and clients. If the result of such conflict is change and redefinition of a field's knowledge, then the present evidence raises several important questions concerning the accuracy of the normative description of professions. First, the data presented here indicate that important aspects of professional knowledge and meaning may be redefined and changed in as little as eighteen years or less, thereby altering the nature of those principles which characterize the operation of a profession. Second, to the extent that the present study of social work may offer a basis for generalization, it is clear that a conservative ideological focus which appeared to closely approximate those attributes of status enhancement, individualized treatment of clients, and a custodial approach to various clientele has changed to an ideology which is characterized by a client orientation, reform activity and more equalitarian relationships with clientele. It should be stressed that these ideological positions appear

to reflect a new mode of professional operation. Thus, if similar changes have occurred in other professional fields, it is possible that the normative model of professions represents an historical account of qualities which may no longer characterize the professions. Certain changes in other fields which will be discussed shortly do, in fact, indicate that similar changes may have occurred in other professional fields and therefore it is possible that changes in social work ideology observed in this thesis may serve as a model for studying change in other public service occupations.

In previous studies the processualists' contention that professional knowledge is problematic has lacked adequate empirical testing and support. The present analysis has attempted to begin filling this vacuum by offering empirical support for the processual conception of the development of professional knowledge. In addition, the present thesis has illustrated a means by which the processes of knowledge construction and ideological debate may be studied. This grounded empirical understanding of the cognitive dimensions of professional competition, segmentation and change may enable future researchers to build an expanded theoretical basis for evaluating predictions concerning the behavioral dimensions of segmentation and its consequences.

The treatment of professional knowledge and ideology in this thesis was facilitated by the analytical techniques used to examine patterns of communication in a professional arena. Content analysis

of professional journals has rarely been used to examine professional knowledge or to assess professional segmentation. It must be stressed that content analysis is especially useful for assessing and analyzing the extent to which various authors vie for ideological influence in a field, the nature of ideological debate, and the various substantive issues which are defined as important to the development of a profession. A few researchers, however, have argued convincingly for the use of published materials to monitor the construction of knowledge and to determine what types of social organization characterize certain scientific fields (see Kuhn, 1962; Crane, 1967; 1969; Champion and Morris, 1973). These studies in particular seem to have stimulated renewed sociological interest in the empirical investigation of knowledge construction, the social context of ideological debate, and the various related attributes of actors involved in these processes. The results of the present study provide further evidence for the merit and utility of content analysis designs in the study of professional communication. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to gain information on the construction of knowledge and the uses of ideology over extended periods of time by conventional methodologies, such as surveys, interviews and field studies.

The focus upon the content of published journal material does, however, limit the research population to rather elite members of a professional field. This restriction is obviously too confining for some purposes and it illustrates the future need to investigate the empirical linkages between the ideological positions of such elites

and the rank and file membership in various organizational settings and professional specialities. Research of this nature might attempt to assess the extent to which the elites' formulations of knowledge are disseminated to others and vice-versa. Another question raised by research on the manner in which elites construct and profer ideologies is the extent to which this knowledge is actually used and reflected in social interaction professionals have with clients and others. Investigating both of the above questions will probably require the development of new research techniques or some combination of existing methods, such as pairing content analysis of professional ideologies and interviews with rank and file memberships and clients.

Communication Patterns and Segmentation

The results of the present analysis of social work communication provide a basis for detailed description of three distinctive empirical patterns in the advocacy and change of ideological positions and present findings suggest the logical possibility of two additional patterns.

In the case of professionalism and clientism--as opposing stances on the meaning of social work--the former was advocated at a slightly higher rate than the latter during the period 1956 to 1959. Professionalism then declined in advocacy while clientism remained relatively stable at approximately its former rate of emphasis. In the final twelve years the appeal of clientism was relatively unchanged but professionalism became the subordinate position on the issue of

what social work means. This patterned relationship indicates that a decline in the advocacy of one ideological position need not be accompanied by an increase in its opposite in order for the latter position to become the predominant definition of the ideological issue in question. Since acceptance of one position does not necessarily dictate the rejection of its opposite it would appear that at least some social workers considered certain aspects of both positions to have merit.

The large proportion of authors that argued over and discussed the meaning of social work over the last eighteen years suggests that this issue is an important source of segmented interests in this field. Assuming that the two ideological positions identified in this thesis do represent segmented groups within the field, it seems likely that emphasis upon professional self-interests has waned because of doubts concerning the receptivity of certain target groups and others to this professional image, rather than because of any increased support within the profession for the already popular altruistic definition of this field.

This interpretation of the present findings support Bucher and Strauss' (1961:326) contention that segments ". . .carve out for themselves and proclaim unique missions" and present distinctive public images (p. 334). Bucher and Strauss also suggest (p. 326) that major segments develop and exist primarily upon the basis of division of labor by task. However, the evidence concerning the pattern to disagree over the meaning of social work suggests that an even more

crucial axis of dispute is the meaning and purpose of tasks, and, furthermore, that such disputes over purpose of work may cross-cut various specialities (p. 326).

According to Bucher and Strauss (1961:332-334) segments within a profession may be analyzed in terms of a social movement model in the sense that such groups are continually changing and often one group emerges as the winner and the other as the loser of the conflict. The present evidence suggests several distinctive types of ideological conflict. On the issue of the meaning of social work, for example, both ideological positions continue to receive considerable attention from professional spokesmen for long periods of time with no clear winner or loser while on other issues a winner is more apparent. Therefore, at least one pattern of conflict between ideological segments is for dominant and subordinate segments to co-exist for extended periods of time. Thus, the degree to which segments vie and win would seem to vary depending upon the type of ideological issue which is being disputed.

The second pattern of temporal covariation between two ideological positions--treatmentism vs. reformism--was observed in the case of the meaning of social work practices. In the time period 1956 through 1963 treatmentism was advocated by a majority of authors while reformism was the subordinate or minority position. Between 1964 and 1971 treatmentism declined very gradually while reformism increased at a similar rate. In the final period, 1971

through 1973, treatmentism declined to a point of being the subordinate position and reformism increased, thereby indicating that a redefinition of the meaning of social work practice and service had taken place. The gradual displacement pattern reported in the case of these two positions suggests a second manner in which two conflicting positions on an issue may be debated over time. In this case, a gradual decline in the advocacy of one position appears to be closely related to a gradual increase in the advocacy of its opposite. Such a pattern suggests that the meaning of social work practice was intensely debated and that one position gradually emerged as the more popular, largely at the expense of its opposite.

Assuming that these positions do represent segmented interest groups, then the pattern in the advocacy of these positions appears to closely approximate winner-loser battles described by Bucher and Strauss (1961).

> Pockets of resistance and embattled minorities may turn out to be heirs of former generations, digging in along new battle lines. They may spear head new movements which sweep back into power. What looks like backwash, or just plain deviancy, may be the beginnings of a new segment which will acquire an institutional place and considerable prestige and power (p. 333).

The rapid increase in the advocacy of reformism appears to indicate the emergence of a segment as an ideological position begins to take shape on the issue of practice. This is especially interesting in view of the preeminence of reformist approaches to social work service during the early part of the 20th century and to the subsequent decline of reformism as social work began to emerge as a recognized

occupation (see Call, 1969:63-97; Toren, 1969:150-190). The decline in the advocacy of treatmentism, on the other hand, suggests that a treatment oriented segment may have lost this phase of the battle for the predominant definition of social work practice. The relatively small difference in the rates of advocacy of these polemical positions in recent years would suggest that the meaning of social work practice will be a continuing source of ideological conflict in the next few years. Several possible historical explanations for the rise of reformism and decline of treatmentism will be discussed shortly.

The third empirical pattern which describes the manner in which two ideological positions were observed to covary over time may be illustrated by a criss-crossing or Xing relationship. Such was the pattern found for the temporal relationship between paternalism and self-determinism as positions on the issue of the professional role. In the period 1956 through 1962 paternalism was dominant over self-determinism but the former declined as the latter increased. Between 1962 and 1965 both ideological positions on the intended meaning of the professional role were found to receive nearly equal attention. The final eight years studied represent a continuation of the general tendency for paternalism to decline and self-determinism to increase until the original dominant-subordinate pattern is reversed.

This third empirical pattern of ideological change suggests that advocacy of one side of the issue displaces the advocacy of the opposite side. The tendency for one of these positions to be argued to the

exclusion of its opposite suggests a battle between segmented interests which are so contradictory that only one definition of the social work role may be accepted. Following intense conflict the self-deterministic segment appears to clearly emerge as the winner, while the paternalistic segment seems to fade into non-existence. While no position in opposition to the self-deterministic definition of the professional role is evidenced in the journal at the present time, it seems likely that some social workers may still favor a paternalistic relationship toward clientele.

Assuming that these temporal patterns in the communication of ideology and attendent changes in definitions of knowledge issues do indicate distinctive patterns in the course of ideological debate within the field of social work, then at least two additional temporal patterns could logically exist. The first possible pattern is for one ideological position to be dominant over its opposite during an initial time period, followed by a decline in the first position and no change in the second, with the dominant position eventually declining to a subordinate position although the opposing ideological position never increased its appeal. Such a pattern might be visualized as the opposite or reverse of the first temporal pattern reported here (see Figure 2.1). An approximate example might be thought of in terms of the introduction of a new method or practice technique, such as shock therapy in psychiatric treatment. Given that the new technique was highly fashionable for some period of time only to be followed by the discovery of undesirable

side effects its usage could cause. Then its popularity might rapidly decline until an established but not widely used therapy, such as drug treatment, was accepted as the only reasonable treatment strategy even though it may not be a desirable alternative or one used extensively.

The second logical possibility not found in the present study might be visualized in terms of the opposite or inverse of the second pattern which was reported (see Figure 2.3). At the first stage the dominant position might decline while its opposite increased. In the second stage the originally dominant position might decline to a point at which it is subordinate to its opposite, which continued to increase. In the final stage the positions might continue this dominant-subordinate pattern in which the originally dominant position becomes less discussed than its opposite. Such a pattern would appear to suggest that advocacy of one position was closely related to advocacy of its opposite with one declining and the opposite increasing, and after an interchange of positions both stances stabilized in a dominant-subordinate relationship.

An example of this type of debate might be conceptualized in reference to psychiatric versus social scientific knowledge in social work. In the initial stage of hypothetical conflict both psychiatric and social scientific knowledge may have been intensively discussed, followed by the acceptance of one and the rejection of the other as the most appropriate conception of client needs. In subsequent periods both positions might continue to co-exist as a dominant-subordinate

pattern. The possibility of this pattern further expands Bucher and Strauss' (1961:332-334) speculations about segmentation and resulting patterns of conflict. Future research on professional segmentation and struggles for power in various professional fields might attempt to further catalog the frequency as well as variation in the observed patterns of conflict between segments.

The transcending model of professional knowledge developed in this thesis may be differentiated from several other impressionistic accounts of conflict within professions, on the basis of a discussion of the specific implications of ideological change in the arena of professional communication. E. Krause (1971:84-105) for example has argued that professional ideology may be viewed in terms of different types of interests, such as professional self-interests versus altruistic interests toward some clientele. He characterizes interest groups within professions as interacting dialectically and representing two polarized segments (pp. 91-98).

Present findings indicate that the rates at which the ideological positions of professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism were advocated are positively related to each other and that these rates are inversely related to the advocacy of clientism, reformism and self-determinism (see Figure 4). These results appear to represent the type of factionalism to which Krause refers. However, the variation in the time at which redefinition occurred on each of the three components of professional knowledge in social work suggests at least

two possible interpretations of these findings. First, it is possible that what has been called the conservative social work ideology (professionalism, treatmentism and paternalism) does represent a single segment in social work and that the liberal social work ideology (clientism, reformism and self-determinism) represents another segment which has interacted with it dialectically in the manner suggested by Krause (1971:84-105). Specifically, it is possible that these major segments moved from the resolution of the issue of the definition of social work, to the meaning of the professional role and finally in the most recent years to battling over the meaning of social work practice. One possible means of clarifying whether or not these apparent ideologies reflect the structure of two opposed interest groups in social work would be to determine if similar types of authors consistently advocated the liberal position, while others advanced the conservative ideological position, or whether similar types of authors switched sides, depending upon the issue being debated. Information concerning the social history and background of the journal authors--such as the school from which they obtained their degree, the type of work setting in which they are employed, and the specialities which they represent--would be useful, then, for determining the nature of the ideological positions certain types of authors advocated and the extent to which the advocacy of ideological positions accurately represent a definable segment of the professional community.

Another interpretation of these findings concerning liberal and

conservative social work ideology and the various ideological positions which comprise them is possible. The conservative and liberal ideologies in social work may reflect the existence of groups which are loosely organized on the basis of people with similar ideological beliefs. These groups may be inactive until a problematic situation arises which stimulates concerned group action on a specific issue. This interpretation of the activation of the liberal and conservative ideological groups in social work seems to support J. Marx's (1969:75-85) contention that ideologies in a professional arena have a multi-dimensional structure.

> More specifically, ideologies encompass several dimensions each of which represents and is defined by a range of specific orientations and commitments to a particular referent or substantive focus of ideology (p. 80).

Segments, in this sense then, may be some element of an ideological group that moves into action when a certain portion of professional reality becomes problematic. Present evidence suggests that the meaning of social work, for example, was defined as problematic and that professionalistic and clientistic groups were activated from larger ideological orientations resulting in conflict and debate between ideological segments. The meaning of practice in social work appears to have been another problematic issue upon which two segments--reformistic and treatmentistic--emerged and competed for definition of this particular referent point in the professional reality of social work.

It is more difficult to interpret the issue of the professional role as a problem on which activated ideological segments competed because of the relatively small proportion of authors that advocated paternalism and self-determinism. The data indicate that paternalism and professionalism are highly related (.91) while reformism and self-determinism are also highly associated (.93) ideological positions in social work communication. These data suggest that advocacy of these highly related pairs of ideological positions are very frequently combined and that a single segmented group may advocate both of the associated ideas. The possibility of two or more ideological claims being advocated by a segmented group again demonstrates a need for future inquiry into the social-psychological attributes of persons that advocate specialized interests. In addition, this last observation reaffirms the notion that segmentation may be an extremely complex phenomena which possibly involves a mosaic of specialized interest groups competing for rival definitions of certain portions of professional reality.

Professions, Environment and Change

From the perspective of the transcending model of professions developed in this thesis, it has been assumed that the various groups which are recipients of a profession's knowledge and ideologies may in turn affect the construction of professional reality and affect changes in the various components of professional knowledge and the various ideological positions taken by professions. Krause

(1971:88-98) contends that the federal government, clientele, and a profession's rank and file membership are among the most important target groups of professional ideology. Fisher (1969:423-433) argues that the acceptance or rejection of certain aspects of a profession's knowledge and its ideologies is dependent upon the degree of credibility of the ideological claims perceived by the profession's various target populations. Systematic frameworks for researching the interaction between a profession and its environment, including various target groups, have been discussed by other wirters (see Simpson and Gulley, 1962:344-351; Grimm and Kronus, 1973:68-87). Despite the recent development of theory and empirical evidence on the relationship between occupations and their environment, the interpretation of the present findings is limited by the nature and scope of this thesis to a brief explanation of the role of the federal government and clientele in the construction and redefinition of social work knowledge.

The findings of this study have indicated that social work knowledge changed from a relatively conservative focus upon professional self-interest, individualized treatment, and authoritarian-paternalistic relationships toward clients during the late 1950's, to an increasing emphasis upon professional altruism, reform activity and equalitarian relationships with clientele during the middle and late 1960's. A number of writers (Ginzberg and Solow, 1974; Lampman, 1974; Steiner, 1974) have characterized the role of the federal government in the era of 1960-1969 as reformist. The crux of their discussion is that the federal government moved from a "holding on to the status

quo and hoping for the best" policy (Steiner, 1974:47) during the 1950's to an emphasis upon changing the socio-cultural and economic situation of the welfare population in the early 1960's.

The coincidence of changes in governmental policy in the area of public welfare and the redefinition of social work knowledge and ideology during similar points in time which have been observed in this thesis suggests an interrelationship between these events. According to Steiner (1974:47) for example, the Kennedy administration "proposed an emphasis on psycho-social services to be offered with a gentle touch by skilled professionals." Preceding this period (1956-1960) social workers founded a relatively unified national association (NASW). The combination of professional unity and increased recognition from the federal government may explain, in part, the relatively rapid decline which was observed in the professionalism definition of social work from 1956 to 1967. Furthermore, Kennedy's emphasis upon "psycho-social" services, particularly casework and mental health services which were characteristically psychiatric and one-to-one treatment approaches, is consistent with the predominantly treatmentism definition of social work practice from 1956 to 1966.

Reformist federal policies, however, were not uniform and they again shifted with the Johnson administration (Steiner, 1974).

> After a full five year run, Congressional skeptics and Johnson's systematic thinkers evaluated that emphasis, found it wanting, and displaced soft social work therapy with a tougher posture

> that focused on economic incentives for working, on job training, and on child care (pp. 47-48).

The Johnsonian "War on Poverty" was clearly a reconstruct-the-welfare-system approach aimed at replacing social casework services with reconstructionalist programs such as those exemplified by OEO, housing, and civil rights legislation (see Ginzberg and Solow, 1974: 218-220). During the same period, 1964-1969, the findings of this thesis make clear that the reformism position on social work practice emerged from a relatively minor ideological position to nearly a majority position while treatmentism had begun to decline. This emergent emphasis upon reformist activity may have been stimulated by the tendency for the Johnson administration to deemphasize the need for conventional social work service. In addition, the displacement of conventional social work service with reform oriented programs which were clearly a rebuff of professionally defined social work services and action which along with the Great Society's focus upon political participation in the form of civil rights action and the community action programs (see Hamilton, 1974: 188-210) served to reinforce the altruistic client definition of social work. Thus, the remarkable consistency between temporal changes in social work ideology and shifts in governmental policy provides impressive support for the idea that governmental policy affected the social construction, production and definition of professional knowledge in social work.

Other authors (Betz, 1974: 345-355; Piven and Cloward, 1971: 285-330) have advanced the thesis that governmental action in the

social welfare field is influenced by interaction with welfare clientele. Betz (1974) analyzed increases in welfare expenditures as a function of riotous behavior during the latter 1960's. He found that welfare expenditures increased in riot cities in the year following the riot, while nonriot cities experienced little budgetary increases in welfare funds for those same years (pp. 345-355). Therefore, it seems likely that radical actions on the part of target groups may affect the formulation of governmental policy. If government action is affected by client action it seems likely that professional knowledge construction should also be influenced by these activities. Haug and Sussman (1969) have argued that in recent years client groups have become increasingly hostile toward professionals, especially in the field of public welfare (pp. 153-155).

> The thrust of the client revolt is against the delivery systems for knowledge application, as controlled by the professionals, and against the encroachment of professional authority into areas unrelated to their claimed expertise (p. 153).

Reeder (1972:406-412) has labeled this increased activism on the part of clientele "consumerism". He maintains that traditional authority and autonomy of professionals, which is epitomized by institutionalized medicine, has become problematic for many professions inasmuch as clients have demanded increased control of conventional professional decision making processes (p. 406). As a consequence, Reeder argues that the professional-client relationship is currently undergoing relatively radical change and redefinition (pp. 406-407).

The evidence presented in this thesis regarding the relationship between social work professionals and their clientele as advocated by social work authors supports this contention that the professional role is being redefined and is changing in meaning. It will be recalled, for instance, that the definition of the professional role of social workers changed from a predominately paternalistic or traditional conception of professional-client relationships from 1956 to 1964 to a more equalitarian or self-deterministric definition of those role relationships between 1964 and 1973. It therefore appears that such client groups as certain civil rights organizations, the National Welfare Rights Organization, Community Action Programs and certain consumer organizations in the style of Ralph Nader (see Reeder 1972:408) may be another major stimulis for changes in the meaning of professional knowledge and its application.

Changes in governmental policy, professional knowledge and the emergence of client consumerism, viewed together, seem to indicate an interrelatedness of processes which have various effects upon knowledge and action in the arena of interaction between a profession and its environment. The complex nature of these interrelations precludes any definitive interpretation of which events caused others. Nevertheless, given the defined time-frame, certain events appear to have influenced others. For example, the coincidence of the New Frontier with the foundation of the NASW may explain in part the declining emphasis upon conventional professionalism in social

work during the period of 1956 to 1963. The modification in public welfare imposed by the Great Society programs which aimed at welfare reform temporally accompanied a radical redefinition of social work practice and can be assumed to have further reinforced a clientistic definition of social work's meaning. In addition, client consumerism appears to have influenced governmental programs for the poor and both client activism and welfare reform temporarily coincide with a predominately altruistic formulation of social work knowledge, a redefinition of the professional role and a reformist approach to social work treatment and service. Indeed, a look at the historical concurrence of changes in governmental policy, client-professional and client-government relationships appears to be an historical explanation for the temporal differences and changes between the redefinition of social work meaning (1956-1963), the rise of social work reformism (1964-1969), and the redefinition of the professional role (about 1964 and later) identified in this thesis.

Implications for Social Service Fields

The results of this research have been discussed and interpreted as representing some relatively radical changes in the meaning of professionalism, the means of implementing public welfare policy and the role of professionals vis-a-vis clientele, and other publics. The new professionalism appears to be focused upon altruistic interests in clients rather than professional self-interests (prestige and economic reward), a reformist approach to the delivery of

social services instead of individualized treatment, and a humanistic, self-deterministic relationship with clientele in contrast to paternalistic relationships to clientele. These results suggest a number of implications for the structure of various social service fields.

First, the altruistic orientation toward service and the client focus suggests that professional interests have shifted from a predominant concern for economic reward and prestige to an almost religious zest for clientele and their problems. If this is the case then who will be fighting for the interests of professionals, or will they be willing to accept only those rewards which are extended by various publics? It is not reasonable to expect that many social service occupations, especially in the more highly organized and relatively powerful professions, such as social work, will be content to delegate their professional fate in the sense of self-interests--governmental support, professional authority in the public welfare field and professional recognition--to others. Rather it would seem likely that social workers view the welfare of clientele in terms of the ability of professionals to assist in social service. Indeed, the previous discussion of the conflict between professional self-interests and altruistic purposes and meanings indicated that stands on the meaning of social work may be compromised. Therefore, a definition of a social service field in terms of an altruistic interest in clientele appears to be an ideological tactic used to gain the support of critical target groups, such as the federal

government and clients. To the extent that this ideology has functioned to benefit the field of social work and given that certain other occupations may use this field as a model for their own development, it seems likely that client altruism will be a popular definition of other social service fields.

A second consideration in assessing the future of social service fields is raised by what has been interpreted as the changing client-practitioner relationship. Functionalists such as Goode (1969:275-282) and Wilensky (1964:146-158) have argued that a major normative cornerstone of professional license is autonomy and authority to control professional decision making. Haug and Sussman (1969:156-161) therefore, contend that changes toward more equalitarian professional-client relationships, in various service professions, indicates a move toward deprofessionalization. In their opinion concessions to clients in the sense of decision making power will result in restricted professional control of work settings, decisions, and lower status (p. 160). However, a growing body of evidence indicates that similar changes have occurred in other fields (see Thursz, 1970; Reeder, 1972). Does this mean that every group on the entire continuum of professionalism will be demoted? A much more plausible interpretation of these observed changes is that many professional groups have redefined what it means to be professional.

This new professionalism suggests that many professionals will use an altruistic definition of the field and self-deterministic ideologies to deal with clientele. In some cases clients may be

involved, in concert with professionals, to define problems and to seek solutions to those social conditions which are perceived to be problematic. One likely result is greater concensus on the part of professionals and clients on what the problems are and how they may be solved. Such a situation does not seem likely to decrease the need for or status of full-time professional personnel devoted to and knowledgeable in these problem areas. Instead, input from publics should increase the demand for professional help in a variety of social science fields from police to physicians. However, increased demand for professional help and the publicly sanctioned need for these people may dictate some redistribution of economic rewards among professionals in order to reduce current disparities between the economic rewards granted to professions such as between social workers and physicians, for example.

A final implication for social service professionals which is raised by the present study is pertinent to the emergence of social reformist ideologies. To the extent that social service professionals engage in reformist activity it would appear that they are a challenge to established cultural institutions and conventional modes of social interaction. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether those sectors of society that support and operate these major institutions, including the federal government, will tolerate publicly sanctioned and professional reformers and to what extent they will be tolerated. It may be recalled that the Democratic administrations of the 1960's seemed

to actively seek and support reform action but Republican administrations have been less enthusiastic in their support of radical social service strategies, especially in the case of public welfare and service. Inasmuch as the federal government seems to be a major factor influencing social service practice, it is questionable whether or not social service professionals will be able to or even willing to carry out reformist services during uncertain periods of time in the future.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to critically examine certain theoretical views of the professions. A review of literature revealed two antithetical approaches to professions; a normative and a processual model. Both models, however, do converge upon the importance of knowledge and ideology as central elements of professional reality but the proponents of these perspectives disagree upon whether the nature of professional knowledge is characteristically a shared perception or a source of continual conflict, change and segmentation of action. In order to integrate these views and refocus attention upon the need for empirical examination of professional knowledge a transcending model of professions was proposed.

In this transcending model knowledge and reality were represented in terms of three sectors of meaning. The meaning of the field, the meaning of practice and the meaning of the professional role were proposed as components of knowledge which are produced,

legitimized and proffered by elite members of the profession in the form of ideology. Professional reality was characterized as problematic for members of the groups and therefore subject to dispute and conflict resulting in changes of meaning. It was also suggested that ideological debate would be found in the major journal published in the field and that the result of conflict over rival definitions of professional reality would be segmentation and redefinition of this reality. Finally, the possible effect of profession's target groups upon its knowledge was noted, and certain implications were suggested for the future of social service fields.

These ideals from the transcending model of professions were used to derive a series of working hypotheses which predicted that certain ideological positions on issues that concern a profession's operating social reality would conflict and displace each other over time, whereas other ideological positions would be positively related to each other. A content analysis method was used on the journal Social Work because the focus of this thesis was trends in communication of ideological positions over time. It was decided that an intensive analysis of this major journal in the field of social work from 1956 to 1974 would provide more adequate data than the alternative of sampling several journals. The population studied was defined to include all articles written by social workers appearing in Social Work from 1956 through 1973.

Data collection was a two-stage inductive generation of research variables (using a sample of articles) and deductive collection of data from the entire population. It must be emphasized, again, that this inductive-deductive design is especially appropriate for developing grounded theoretical relationships among research categories in this relatively unexplored area of sociology and for testing and verifying the appropriate predictions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The results of the content analysis, in general, served to confirm and verify the predicted relationships thereby providing support for major portions of the proposed transcending model of professional knowledge. Content analysis has been demonstrated to be a useful technique for assessing the types of ideological positions, the extent to which these positions are debated, and the types of changes which occur in the construction and definition of knowledge in a social service field. Professional knowledge was seen to contain various sectors of reality and within these sectors of meaning six ideological definitions were observed. It may therefore be concluded that ideology is multi-dimensional in character and that professional reality encompasses a continuous process of definition and change.

Perhaps the severest limitation of this thesis was the tendency to raise questions which involve analytical problems which are beyond the limited scope of this thesis. It seems appropriate to conclude this project by making a few brief suggestions concerning future research.

The support for the proposed transcending model came from a single case study--social work. It would now be appropriate and

beneficial to conduct research designed to determine the extent to which other occupational fields and professional groups exemplify similar patterns of change in professional ideology. Do physicians and lawyers, for example, debate similar issues and how do they differ from police, firemen, or public school teachers? Comparative investigations might provide clues concerning how knowledge is distributed in various fields, the relative importance of certain elements of knowledge, and a greater understanding of how certain ideologies are used to seek support of various publics.

The relationship between ideological claims and social action remains open to future inquiry. To what extent are claims used to confuse and seduce target populations or are they accurate descriptions of occupational action? Do ideological claims vary with the intended target groups or are certain claims generally addressed to diversified publics?

A related question concerns the relationship between elites' production of knowledge and ideology and the responses of rank and file members of the group to the proposed definition of reality. Furthermore, how is a field structured or segmented on the basis of various conceptions of reality? Who are the important leaders and what do members of segmented groups hold in common besides similar ideological beliefs?

Finally, has the meaning of other occupational and professional fields changed in recent years? What are these changes? What are the implications of the changes in professional knowledge for the

operation of the occupations in question and for the larger social order?

Appendix A

CODING FORM

(author(s))

(title)

(pages)

Article number (card columns 1-3)

Card case number (card column 4)

Journal volume number (card columns 5-6)

Journal issue number (card column 7)

Ideological Positions

Professionalism (card column 13)*

Clientism (card column 14)

Treatmentism (card column 15)

Reformism (card column 16)

Paternalism (card column 17)

Self-determinism (card column 18)

For all ideological positions mention =1

and not mention =0

*Note: Additional data, which is not reported in this thesis, was collected and stored in columns 8 through 12 and seventy-nine and eighty. See notes 4 and 5 in Chapter IV for additional information on these omissions of data.

Appendix B

CODING REALIABILITY

Danny Jorgensen
Department of Sociology
Office: GH 136
Phone: 745-5191

Dear Friends:

As you may know I have been doing a content analysis of the journal Social Work (1956 to 1973) for my thesis. With your assistance I would like to examine the reliability of the coding discriminations used in collecting this data. This will involve reading (fairly briefly in most cases) twenty articles from Social Work and following, in detail, the procedures used to collect the data. You may expect to spend from fifteen to twenty minutes per article, depending on your ability to assimilate the instructions and read the articles.

Directions: This packet is designed to be self-explanatory and should enable you to analyze each article by simply refering to the instructions. Should you have any questions before or during the analysis please see me. Do anything that you like with this introductory material and the coding forms (it may help you to have the direction sheets on hand during the analysis). BUT, PLEASE DO NOT WRITE OR MARK ON THE ARTICLES.

The next few pages will outline how you are to analyze the articles (when you have done it once or twice it should become routine). The first part of the data collection form deals with the type of article and should be easy to complete. The second part deals with six ideologies and since the procedure for scoring (coding) these is extremely important the next few pages describe in detail the process you need to follow.

> "Ideologies are tests, theories, doctrines, phrases, or concepts which are proposed by an interest group (proponent) with a target group or groups in mind, for the intended purpose of directing, politically organizing and energizing the target group toward behaving in a manner which is stated in the specific text of the message. The behavior is explicitly or implicitly stated as valuable and desirable as an activity or goal for the target group. Whether it is in fact valuable for the target group is an open question for research." (Krause 1968:132).

The six ideologies to be analyzed are defined as follows:

1. Professionalism is concerned with maintaining, or increasing the prestige of the occupation, the status of members of the occupation or some aspect of occupational activity; such as a new standard for certification or practice. Professionalism is often reflected in issues of occupational standards, ethics, codes of conduct, education, relations to publics and role performance, among others. An example of professionalism is: ". . . we must utilize ournew-found strength to attain a greater role and a great acceptance for social work in the community. Studies by sociologists show that our status is not high."

2. Clientism is concerned, in an altruistic manner, with specific target groups such as physically, mentally, economically, or socially disabled, disadvantaged, or other groups defined by the occupation as recipients of group action. It is often expressed as concern for; a particular group which has been neglected; providing increased service to a particular group; or, with providing service to clients generally, in contrast to concern for occupational prestige. An example of clientism is: "The report presents four concepts: (1) services are not a substitute for adequate income; . . .(3) effective services should be available to all citizens; (4) services should enrich the quality of life, not merely correct or control problems."

3. Treatmentism concerns the provision of help to individuals or small groups in order to eliminate non-conforming or "abnormal" action thereby increasing the social functioning of that individual or group. Stated concisely, treatmentism proposes to fix people so that they will fit into the existing socio-cultural environment. An example is: "Social Workers need to provide therapeutic services directed at changing disruptive behavior. Through such means clients learn to conform to societal expectations, and thereby become productive members of society."

4. Reformism concerns altering or changing social structures, systems, institutions, or environments in order to eliminate undesirable or detrimental conditions. Very concisely, reformism aims at fixing society so that people will be able to function better. An example is: "What can be done? . . .(4) supporting political candidates who seek changes in national priorities, and (5) helping to initiate agency policy so that professionals employed in private and public agencies have the option of begin attached full time with pay to counterinstitutions like the free clinics.

It is the last recommendation that the writer holds the most hope for changing America's repressive institutions.

5. Paternalism concerns protecting, guarding, keeping, or

taking care of clients. Paternalism maintains that social workers are in a position to make better judgments than are clients regarding the definition, and solution of the client's needs and problems. An example is: "We believe in social worker's responsibility for the most deprived families, who are failing their central function of child care. These families are a basic and proper charge upon the community; therefore the citizens who support social work have a right to expect us to give them top priority in service."

6. Self-determinism concerns social worker's interest in self-defined client problems, needs and solutions. Self-determinism aims at cooperating and involving target groups in defining their needs, problems and solutions as well as involving these groups in the implementation of the appropriate self-defined solutions. An example is: "For social workers it means, at long last, that we work in behalf of clients (the advocacy role) (reformism) we visit them only when we are invited, we let them use us to get things that THEY want, whether money, housing, jobs, or treatment. Above all, it means that we interact as equals, different perhaps, but still equal."

The unit to be analyzed in each article is a theme which may be as much as the entire article or as little as two sentences. The first task is to determine if any of the six ideological themes are present in the article. All may be present, one may be present, or any combination of them may be present. In most instances, no more than three will be present, in anyone article. If the ideological theme is not present, then that ideology receives a zero (0) for that article.

Once you have determined that an ideological theme is present you need to decide; 1) how central the theme is, and 2) how intense it is.

The following definitions specify three categories of centrality from high to medium to low.

High Centrality. To be included in the high category the theme must be the major thesis or focus of the article. This may be indicated in the title, abstract (when present), introduction, conclusions, or a combination of these. This major thesis should also be continuous within the article; that is discussed throughout the article , or at least in two subsections. In any case it must be a dominant, specific, and central theme of the article.

Medium Centrality. To be included in the medium category the theme must be at least less than the dominant or central thesis of the article (as above). It may be a major or minor theme or perhaps one of several less than major theses of the article. It may

be expressed anywhere in the article but it must include at least three paragraphs.

Low Centrality. To be included in the low category the theme must be discussed in the article in at least two sentences but not more than three paragraphs. It may also appear anywhere in the article.

IF THE THEME DOES NOT APPEAR IN THE ARTICLE IT RECEIVED A SCORE OF ZERO (0).

The second judgment is how intense the theme is in the article. Intensity is defined by the following of three categories from high to medium to low.

High Intensity. To be included in the high category the theme must be strongly, forcefully, emphatically, or powerfully advocated. That is, it must be advanced as extremely valuable, desirable, or otherwise important. This decision is made on the basis of the author's wording and the contest in which the theme appears in the article. Some key words might be: strenous effect, Now!, of the utmost importance, critical and so on. An example of a highly intense statement might be; "The social work profession has, for a long time, neglected taking a firm stand on civil rights. The profession, and professional workers must stand up and be counted on the side of equality. It is time for action, now!".

Medium Intensity. To be included in the medium category the theme must be less than high (above) but ascerted or advocated as desirable and important. It may be advocated in a modest, controlled, restrained or peaceable manner, but more than low (defined below). This judgment is to be determined by the author's wording and the contest in which the theme appears in the article. An example of medium intensity might be: "The social work profession has maintained the equality of all human beings, although, some professionals have neglected to become aware of the issues. We have a professional responsibility to become well informed on these issues."

Low Intensity. To be included in the low category the theme must implicitly or explicitly state that the action is important. This may be simply by its mention in the article. It may be suggested as a possibility in a relaxed, mild or otherwise passive manner. It has to be less than either of the above, to be determined by the wording and contest in which the theme appears. An example of low intensity might be: "Social workers are concerned with the equality of all human beings and we should be aware of such considerations in the future."

The table below summarizes both thematic centrality and thematic intensity and specifies numerically how you are to indicate your final decision regarding the ideology. For example, if the theme is the major thesis of the article (high in centrality) and suggested as important and desirable (medium in intensity) then the value assigned to that ideology for this article would be a 4. Or, for instance, if the theme is mentioned in one paragraph (low in centrality) and stated to be essential for action (high in intensity) then the ideology would receive a value of 3 for that article.

CENTRALITY

INTENSITY	High	Medium	Low
High	high centrality high intensity (1)	medium centrality high intensity (2)	low centrality high intensity (3)
Medium	high centrality medium intensity (4)	medium centrality medium intensity (5)	low centrality medium intensity (6)
Low	high centrality low intensity (7)	medium centrality low intensity (8)	low centrality low intensity (9)

HELPFUL HINTS AND SUGGESTIONS

From my experience in doing this analysis I found that it was helpful to be systematic in coding articles. That is: 1) Write your name and article number at the top of the page; 2) briefly survey the article for the basic background information (questions 1 through 4); 3) read the introduction, skim the subsections (subheadings often provide a good deal of information about that section) and read the conclusions; 4) attempt to identify, a) the presence or absence of each of the ideological themes and b) the rank of the theme in centrality; 5) carefully reread the parts which pertain to each ideology you have identified and attempt to determine their intensity; 6) briefly review the entire article making sure you are satisfied with your judgments.

SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGY
CODE FORM

DIRECTIONS: You will need to fill out one of these forms for each article that you analyze. Write your name in the space provided below and fill in the article number at the top right hand of the page. You will find the article number on the top of the first page of the article. If you have any questions please see me. Indicate your responses by marking the space provided beside the appropriate answer.

NAME _____ ARTICLE NUMBER _____

1. Which of the following types of practice is discussed in the article?

1. social casework ____ 2. group work ___ 3. community organization ___

4. social policy ____ 5. general (or pertaining to more than one of the above) ____ 6. other (specify) _____ 9. unknown _____

2. Which of the following most accurately describes the theoretical frame of reference used in the article? Is it based on social scientific theory, psychiatric or medical type models (theory) or something else?

1. social scientific ____ 2. psychiatric or medical ____
3. other (specify) _____ 9. unknown ____

3. Which of the following most accurately described the type of research design used in the article?

1. empirical (a case study, survey, experiment, historical or any other type of data which has been systematically collected) ____

2. impressionistic (not grounded in any specific set of systematically collected data) ____

3. other (specify) _____ 9. unknown ____

4. Which of the following is the central topic or problem in the article?

1. occupational development (education, values, goals ethics and other matters which concern the occupation and not client groups) ____

2. occupational practice (same as number 1 above, or a more specific type of practice such as a new therapeutic method) ____

3. welfare services (housing, government aid i.e., AFDC, ADC or other government funded programs) ____

4. minority groups (ethnic or "radical") ____

5. mental or public health services ____

6. drugs or alcohol ____

7. medical services (hospital settings and so on) ____

8. family services ____

10. children's services ____

11. services to elderly ____

12. other (specify) ____

9. unknown ____

You now need to score each of the six ideologies according to the instructions that you have already read. It will probably be necessary for you to keep these instructions in front of you for at least the first few articles. The table below is provided for quick reference. Please indicate your responses by marking the appropriate number (see table) to the right of the ideology in the blank space provided.

5. Professionalism ____

6. Clientism ____

7. Treatmentism ____

8. Reformism ____

9. Paternalism ____

10. Self-determinism ____

CENTRALITY

INTENSITY				
	High	high centrality high intensity (1)	medium centrality high intensity (2)	low centrality high intensity (3)
	Medium	high centrality medium intensity (4)	medium centrality medium intensity (5)	low centrality medium intensity (6)
	Low	high centrality low intensity (7)	medium centrality low intensity (8)	low centrality low intensity (9)

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