

WITH GOOD INTENTIONS

Appalachian Service Providers in Human Services and Community
Mental Health

by

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Social Service Providers in Appalachia

by

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Center for Public Administration and Policy

(ABSTRACT)

This study is a self-assessment of a small group of Appalachian face-to-face service providers in human services and community mental health. It has evolved from their daily experiences. The purpose of the study has been to reflect back to these providers information about themselves. That reflection has been given in the form of an Adlerian life style analysis, a psychological assessment for individuals modified as assessment of a group.

The reflected impression provided its own image for change and an opportunity for the participants to assess what impact, if any, their jobs might be having on other aspects of their lives. In the process of informing the participants about themselves, there has been the intent to give that same information to the people who come for services, supervisors, administrators, policy makers, and ultimately the community of academics and scholars.

The author of this study functioned as a co-worker with the other participants, becoming a part of that system which she was observing. The job gave wide access for observation and work with the participants in a variety of settings. The primary interactions took place in the

homes of families referred for alleged child abuse and neglect, to include sexual abuse.

The methodology allowed the research effort to be one of exploration and evolution. Based on the notion expressed by Carol Ehrlich that people can do research for and about themselves rather than having others do it for them, it drew from several theorists, described in order of their use in the study: H.T.Wilson, Brian Fay, Alfred Adler, Stephen Fawcett, and George Gazda.

Presenting one subjective view of reality, conclusions of the study pointed to unconscious guilt on the part of participants with respect to system inadequacies, marked by a desire to feel superior in the helping relationship or in the relationship with those perceived to have authority over them. Unaware of these feelings, and in the simple performance of their jobs, the participants help to perpetuate the systems in which they work and often purport to deplore.

Dear Camerado! I confess that I have urged you onward with me,
and still urge you, without the least idea what
is our destination,
Or whether we shall be victorious, or utterly quell'd and de-
feated.

Walt Whitman
"As I Lay With My Head in Your Lap, Camerado"
Leaves of Grass

Listen, Jackie. I don't want to be in any vanguard.
People in vanguards get shot.

Participant,
Research Study

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Family, Friends and Colleagues
with love and gratitude

And unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required:
and to whom they have committed much, of him they will demand the
more.

Luke 12: 48

PREFACE

The writing of the study was difficult to begin until I realized, with a sense of recognizing the obvious, that the beginning of anything in West Virginia has to do with the hills. The study is bounded by the hills, as we all are, the service providers, the families and myself.

This study has been a very personal one, so personal that it seemed impossible for me to speak in that "first-person pronoun undisguised, declarative mood" favored by Jonathan Kozol, in emulation of Thoreau and Malcom X.¹ Instead, I have hidden behind the third person singular, using it as an intuitive distancing device. The act of research and writing required a discipline divorced from the strong feelings I was experiencing. Then, however, there seemed too little of the emotional, of feeling. To contribute balance, I have added the first three appendices. The first was written at the beginning of the study in almost light-hearted anticipation of the project. The second, written sometime during the middle of it all, reflected a despairing time. It gives indication of a certain naivete on my part, in proceeding without a clear awareness of the potential for despair and pain that the research effort might entail for all of us, the research participants and myself. The third appendix, added toward the end of the study, was taken from my logs.

¹ Jonathan Kozol, The Night is Dark and I Am Far From Home (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975; Bantam Books, 1977), p. 83.

It provides examples of the informal data which influenced the final subjective analysis and conclusions of the study.

The study is about service providers and so, with some difficulty, I have shied away from writing about the families with whom we were all involved. There are only touches of them in the fourth chapter, light brush strokes of pain. There is no full picture of them -- none of the joy and pleasure and fun and appreciation of knowing them. I see them, clear in my mind, as if they will never be gone from it. They, as well as the primary participants, were generous in giving me permission to be a part of their lives.

One man is remembered particularly. I had apologized to him for all the forms that had to be signed, explaining that I was not a regular social worker and that my boss had to know, for sure, that it was O.K. with him and his family for me to be there. He replied, "Hell, lady. If we didn't like you we wouldn't let you in the door."

I came to know the family very well. He and I had talked about how he could get an operation on his eyes, about why he did not want his son to have surgery on his legs, and about how he had tried to get the "welfare" to get them a place to live on the ground floor so "Junior" would not have to climb two steep flights of stairs to their rooms in the old building where they lived. I remember how proud he was that, partially blind, he and his crippled adolescent son once walked across the bridge out of town, along the main road, to the Dairy Queen for ice cream.

This study is a eulogy for him and for his son. They died when the building they lived in burned. The firemen had seen Junior on the fire

escape, but apparently were unable to reach him. He was found under his mattress.

The study is also a eulogy for my own son, who rather than face further "helping" from mental health professionals, took his own life.

Will I allow myself, when the study is over, to cry?

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THE BEGINNING OF THE STUDY

The study began in an unanticipated manner, over a cup of tea among friends. One, the author, away from the area and job situation for several years, was listening with interest to conversation between the other two friends, a community mental health psychologist and a Department of Human Services social worker in Child Protective Services. They had discovered that they were working with individuals who were members of the same family, realizing at the same time that they had not been coordinating their services for the family.

The friends were discussing what they were planning to do about a seven-year old boy who had been reported as sexually abused by his father. This alleged abuse had been reported repeatedly. The psychologist was working with the father in jail; the social worker with the child to get him through an upcoming court hearing. As the author listened, it seemed as if these two friends and professional colleagues seldom had, or made, opportunity to give each other personal or professional support. Additionally, the conversation they were engaged in seemed to be on a subject involving extreme forms of human suffering. Yet the women were discussing it calmly, without affect, as if they were talking about traveling or graduate work or house repairs.

The author asked in a quiet voice: How do you get through your day?

Turning blank faces to her they responded: "Oh! We have desensitization training,"² and, "Well. You do what you have to do."

The word "inured" came to the author's mind: to become accustomed to and to accept something undesirable. Another question came to her mind: what happens to people who are inured to the circumstances in which they work, if those circumstances are inordinately difficult, painful, and apparently immutable?

The friends were invited by the author to engage in a self-assessment to understand what was happening in their work life and what influence, if any, this had on their life away from work. Accepting this invitation, their efforts engaged them in seeking that "new sense of connection between knowledge, work and personal life" suggested by Jean Baker Miller in Towards a New Psychology of Women.³ Accepting the invitation meant that the two friends, and others who worked with them in a Professional Support Group which they and the author organized, were actively engaged with the author in all phases of the research, ultimately having opportunity to agree with or dissent from what was being written about them. Their contribution was significant.

² Further listening revealed that she was referring to training received in understanding the adult male sex offender. She thought that the intent of the training had been to give the participants a more empathetic understanding of rapists in order to work more effectively with them, a difficult task for even the most seasoned service provider. See A. Nicholas Groth, Men Who Rape (New York: Plenum Press, 1979).

³ Jean Baker Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976, p. 136.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Human service providers are much studied and much written about. More maligned than admired, they have been audited, evaluated, and monitored. They have been studied through the use of surveys, unobtrusive observation, content analysis of documents, and client evaluation. They are described variously as mediating agents, altruistic, responsible for acts of discrimination for or against people who come for services, as advocates or as maintaining the status quo, as accountable and as unaccountable, as responsive and as unresponsive. Sometimes descriptive information has been written with prescriptive intent.

This study is concerned with self-perceptions of its participants, Appalachian service providers in human services and community mental health in southern West Virginia. The purpose of the study has been to reflect back to these providers information about themselves.

That reflection has been given in the form of an Adlerian life style analysis, a psychological assessment for individuals modified for use with a group. The reflected information has provided its own image for change as well as an opportunity for the participants to assess what impact, if any, their jobs might be having on other aspects of their lives.

There has been an assumption in this study that people need to investigate and to know about themselves, and that any information discovered can then contribute to the larger body of scientific knowledge. It is the opinion of the author that some scientific knowledge has been

gained at the expense of research subjects. This knowledge, if not used to their detriment, has seldom been shared with them for their own use. Research undertaken for the primary benefit of informing the scientific community could, with some added effort, also contribute to the self-understanding of the research subjects. The concern of the author is that the results of this study be presented in such a way that the participants derive as much benefit from them as possible. It is through the process of informing the participants of the analysis and conclusions of the research that the community of interested scholars and academicians will be informed.¹

There was no original intent to be prescriptive. However the evolution of the study was toward prescription, and grew from the despair of the participants as they brought to conscious awareness their deeply held perceptions about themselves and the nature of the work in which they were engaged.²

¹ An example of such research is the land use study conducted by scholars of the Highlander Research and Education Center and community people in the Appalachian counties where the research took place. Results of the study have been used in reassessing "equitable tax administration" of absentee individuals and corporations who own 43% of the total land area of Appalachia. See "Absentee Holdings High in Appalachia," New York Times, Sunday, 3 April 1981.

² Professor Joseph Pitt reminded me, and I am in agreement, that this position is not a unique one. It may be held by many caring people who work with other people within the perceived constraints of organizations, institutions, or agencies. His examples had to do with priests and teachers, working within the church and the university, perceiving themselves to be as caught between "the letter of the law" and "the spirit of the law" as the service providers in this study perceive themselves to be caught. Other examples may include medical and military personnel, as well as developers in Third World countries or people working with the underprivileged in America.

It appears that Dr. Pitt believes such people are actually caught

There is an assumption that change will be initiated in the participants through the simple act of seeing themselves. This act at least interrupts existing patterns which include much that appears to be painful and distressing. To interrupt these patterns allows the potential for more satisfying behaviors to occur. There is a further assumption that people can alter their behavior and social situations leading to the satisfaction of their human needs and purposes.³

For the purposes of this study, change is defined in terms of the basic propositions of Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology:

There is one basic dynamic force behind all human activity, a striving from a felt minus situation toward a plus situation, from a feeling of inferiority towards superiority, perfection, totality.

The striving receives its specific direction from an individually unique goal or self-ideal, which though influenced by biological and environmental factors, is ultimately the creation

in the webs of organizations, depriving people in them of choices made with integrity. I view these people as perceiving themselves to be caught. This study concludes that people can initiate change of or within organizations, and that they do not have to be accepting of organization requirements nor act to circumvent them, but can change their own behaviors, thereby changing the organizations in which they work.

³ As a part of her own evolutionary process during the course of this research, the author would say at the end of the study that to interrupt existing patterns may be the most that can be done. She would base her position on the work of Richard B. Capel, who brings a new paradigm from chemistry into counseling, saying that counselors should move clients away from equilibrium and toward greater levels of nonequilibrium. Clients are described as being unable to go back where they were or as they should have been, but as being able to take control of their processes and evolve toward higher levels of self-organization. See Richard B. Capel, "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," Journal of Counseling and Development 64 (November 1985): 173-78.

of the individual. Because it is an ideal, the goal is a fiction.⁴

As individuals understand their private logic, that is, the subjective goal of all their behavior, they will no longer be able to make use of the goal as they once did. They will have a need to change their motivation, and to act instead, from the goal of social interest. To interpret the fictional goal frees them to the extent that it gives choice, and behaviors are no longer motivated by unconscious goals, once brought to consciousness.

The participants are termed "face-to-face service providers," for they work directly with people who receive the services mandated by their agency directives. Appalachian families are some of the most disadvantaged people in the United States today.⁵ By virtue of who they are and where they live, these families are considered by the author to be deprived of those basic human rights which include decent jobs, adequate health care, good education, decent housing, nutritious and affordable food, basic utilities, transportation, a clean environment, a secure community and democratic participation in political affairs.⁶ Also by virtue of who they are and where they live, some of these families engage in behaviors considered to be a part of normal life circumstances for themselves, yet considered abusive by others.

⁴ Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 1.

⁵ Michael Harrington, The New American Poverty (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 215.

⁶ Martin Carnoy, Derek Shearer, and Russell Rumberger, Achieving a New Social Contract (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 231.

Even as the participants are face-to-face with these disadvantaged families as they turn in one direction, so are they face-to-face with supervisors and administrators as they turn in the other direction. They are seldom face-to-face with themselves, their families, friends, co-workers or policy makers.⁷

The purpose of the study is to inform the face-to-face providers about themselves. There is also the intent to give information about the providers to people who come to their agencies for services,⁸ administrators, supervisors, policy makers and ultimately the community of scholars, particularly those interested in the public encounter.

Before elaborating on the description of the research project, the setting and the people deserve description, for to think about the study is first to think about the protecting and limiting hills of southern West Virginia: their myriad greens in spring and summer; fall colors which cannot be captured in photograph or painting; and the stark blacks and whites of winter. Silent coal tipples have grown ancient in a few years of disuse. Boarding houses, once the clean province of women who kept house for men without women of their own, are filled with poverty. These,

⁷ The descriptive phrase "face-to-face service providers" excludes supervisors and administrators as well as receptionists and clerical workers. It is used in a manner similar to Michael Lipsky's "street-level bureaucrat," a term rejected by the participants of this study as descriptive of themselves. See Michael Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980).

⁸ This longer description will be used throughout the paper rather than the word "client," which is considered by the author to set apart or to create a barrier between service providers and those who come for services.

and many others homes, are surrounded with broken toys, cars in various states of repair and disrepair, children, cats, dogs, chickens and trash.

Within the valleys of these hills are the people of southern West Virginia, there by birth or circumstance, by choice or by chance. Their lot has been described voluminously and variously. Any "truth" about the area may be found somewhere between the pages of Appalachia and those of Mountain Life and Work. Appalachia, published by the Appalachian Regional Commission, is a slick paper showcase for the alleged accomplishments of the Commission. Mountain Life and Work is published by the Council of the Southern Mountains. It is a pulp paper publication dedicated to the problems and prospects of ubiquitous Appalachian community organizations. The two publications, representing the extremes of the image of Appalachian people to the rest of the nation, give little heed or credence one to the other.⁹

DESCRIPTION OF PLACE AND PEOPLE

This study was conducted in southern West Virginia in McDowell and Wyoming Counties during a year of intensive work in 1984 and a year of

⁹ For comparison, see Appalachia (Washington, D.C.: Appalachian Regional Commission, March, 1985), a Special Issue on the 20th Anniversary of the Appalachian Regional Commission and Mountain Life and Work, (Clintwood, Virginia: Council of the Southern Mountains, 1985). For a view on Appalachia reflecting personal experience as well as documentary sources, see David E. Whisnant, Modernizing the Mountaineer (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1980), p. x. For a more critical case study approach, see John Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1980).

less intensive involvement in 1985. Individuals participating in the endeavor were employees of the West Virginia Department of Human Services and Southern Highlands Community Mental Health Centers. They worked in six offices of these agencies located in as many different towns in the two counties.

Both McDowell and Wyoming Counties are strongly influenced by the health of the coal industry. The majority of jobs for men are connected with mining. For women, marriage is the usual aspiration and teaching, civil service, "clerking," and waitressing have been the traditional sources of employment. There is a beginning of employment for women in the mines, and of course, some men have always taught school or worked in civil service, often becoming school principals or administrators.

Small towns have little to boast of in the way of shopping and medical facilities. People without private transportation make do with local facilities: grocery stores, "dollar" stores, mail-order catalogs, pharmacies, local doctors, dentists and optometrists. Major shopping and medical areas are one or two hours distance over curving mountainous roads, the time of arrival dependent on weather and traffic conditions. Each county seat has its accoutrement of lawyers, magistrates, police, accountants, insurance and real estate agents. Towns are seldom busy except on "check day" when people receive their government subsidies from social security, black lung, welfare and veteran's pensions.

Despite these apparent drawbacks, there are obvious benefits: there is the beauty of the protecting and limiting hills and the influence of

the changing seasons. The significant pleasures are the primary ones of relationship, births, weddings and funerals.¹⁰

The troubles are those of violence, in mine injuries and death, on the highways and between despairing and angry people. And there is, of course, little opportunity for privacy. Everything that happened last night seems to be known, as well as what happened eighty years ago. Excitement and entertainment are provided through school functions of ballgames, plays, band concerts, graduations and "proms." There is the simple act of living at a slower pace than in some other places. Sidewalk conversations can be significant. Anyone can talk to the county commissioners on the corner, the steps of the courthouse, in a little restaurant, at school or church.

There are complaints: "I don't know why I stay around here. My brother wants me to come to North Carolina." Or Ohio, or Florida or Texas. Yet it is most often the brother and his family who return to visit at least once a year.

There is some worry about tomorrow, but not much, for there is today. Religious fervor runs deep, and some people still "Praise the Lord!"

The primary participants in this study were knowledgeable about their world, and if they had conflicts about staying or leaving, they seem to have made their peace with them. They have chosen to live as they grew

¹⁰ Funerals are described as "pleasures" because families and friends come together, often from long distances. Even though there is grieving, there is the pleasure of continued relationship. Large gatherings of people are almost entirely the result of funerals, for the old-fashioned "family reunions" do not take place with the regularity of former times.

up, in a traditional society that shuns modernity, a society dedicated to direct primary relationships.

They, with their neighbors, "kin," and others in the valleys, belong to the hills. Dependent on how they are approached by strangers, even "one of their own" such as the author of this study, they can be hospitable or hostile, accepting or defensive.

I tell you stranger, hill folk know
What life is all about: they don't need pills
To tranquilize the sorrow and joy of living.
I am Appalachia: and, stranger,
Though you've studied me, you still don't know me.¹¹

Historical Antecedents

The author's description of place and people was designed not to "romanticize" them but to present them as seen by the participants themselves in everyday life, and as they talk among themselves. There is, of course, a very different way to look at Appalachia, one which takes into consideration the implications of the political and economic factors which are described by some as dictating the poverty in which many of the people live.¹²

James O'Connor, in The Fiscal Crisis of the State, details "the basic economic and political facts of late capitalist society," which are

¹¹ Muriel M. Dressler, "Appalachia," in Sharon Lord and Carolyn Patton-Crowder, Appalachian Women (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1979), p. 7.

¹² For the author, discovering these factors was similar to the experience of a middle-aged fish discovering its environment, the properties of water and the nature of its own breathing.

applicable to Appalachia in a general sense. Poverty and government relief programs are described as inherent features of capitalistic development.

Capitalism is in part the history of peasants and farmers, home-owners, petty craftsmen and tradesmen, and others forced into poverty by the advance of capitalist agriculture, factory production, mass retailing, and so on; in part the history of industries and entire regions becoming economically impoverished as a result of changes in technology and market forces; and in part the history of poverty generated by recessions and depressions and by particular industrial and occupational structures that confine some people to low-income, unstable employment.¹³

It is generally conceded that there are inherent structural deficiencies in the Appalachian socio-economic system which preordain a life of want for many residents. Traditional wisdom has held this to be a consequence of inadequate regional integration with the national economy. Michael Harrington, in The New American Poverty, disagrees with this conventional wisdom, finding the region's root cause of troubles, instead, to be its integration into the economy for a narrow set of purposes: the extraction of low-cost raw materials, power and labor and the provision of a profitable market for consumer goods and services. Describing the roads into Appalachia from Ohio, he speaks of a transition into another world. "The beauty of the landscape . . . the very otherness of the place, have tended to conceal the unromantic fact that it is very much integrated into the American corporate economy. Misery here is functional, not an accident."¹⁴

¹³ James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), pp.2, 3, and 158-65.

¹⁴ Harrington, The New American Poverty, pp. 215-18.

Harrington also cites as a cause of persistent poverty, not a lack of modernization, but the presence of a particular modernization that unfolded from 1880 to 1930. By 1930, most mountaineers had become socially integrated within a new industrial system and economically dependent on it as well. This dependency was not on their terms. It was not a product of mountain culture, but of the same political and economic interests that were shaping the rest of the nation and the western world.

The poverty rate in Appalachia was three times that of the nation in 1984, the time in which Harrington wrote. Today the state of West Virginia, the only state wholly in the Appalachian region, leads the nation in unemployment. The notion of welfare dependency, of long-term reliance on Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC), which is not the pattern for the country as a whole, is very real in Appalachia.

John F. Kennedy's Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA), established in the Department of Commerce in 1961, was supposed to stop the vicious cycle of economic and social disintegration so visible in Appalachia and detailed by Harrington. In this cycle economic decline cuts local tax revenues, which makes the place even less desirable for new investment. This, in turn, causes more young people to leave, which cuts the tax revenues even more, and so on in a downward and accelerating spiral.

After the ARA came the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). Harrington describes their mission and its degree of success: "These beautiful hills but impoverished valleys were to be a great test case of the ability of government to solve such problems. It failed." Efforts which aim at effective reorganization of the economy of Appalachian come

up against firmly entrenched interests. It is highly problematic that there will be "institutional change" within the existing political economy.

Couto, in Poverty, Politics, and Health Care, describes the circumstances which prevent such change. A federally funded program of health care in Floyd County, Kentucky was suspended, not because it could not pursue its stated aim but because "it could not pursue its stated aim and support existing economic, social and political arrangements in Floyd County, Kentucky." Couto's study illustrated that the one chance for survival of the program was to maintain or increase the position of the privileged in the county. "It was at once failure and success, and its inability to serve two masters incurred the wrath and sanctions of both."¹⁵

As John Gaventa, in Power and Powerlessness, describes the circumstances preventing change in Appalachia in terms of power, he addresses "theorists and practitioners of democracy."

And if, within or beyond Appalachia, power relationships do impede challenge to social and economic inequalities, then theorists and practitioners of democracy should turn their energies to considering how the power relationships of contemporary society are to be altered if the social and economic deprivations of the people within it are to be overcome.¹⁶

Within the institutions of power are people, neither theorists nor practitioners of democracy, who could act in the interest of social change in Appalachia. They seldom do, however. These are the people who work

¹⁵ Richard A. Couto, Poverty, Politics and Health Care (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁶ Gaventa, Power and Powerlessness, p.261.

in social service agencies, and are termed by the author "administrators of poverty."

Administrators of Poverty

One factor which legislates against the hope of institutional change in Appalachia is the nature of social service organizations, and the reciprocal exchange they have with their external environment, both in responding to it and influencing it. As Wamsley and Zald describe any institution in any political system, so is it with social service agencies in Appalachia: changes in the resource distribution of the general public affect basic human service agency goals and legitimacy and the ability of these agencies to accomplish their tasks, that is, their ability to accomplish tasks originates in the larger social economy.¹⁷

That larger social economy, the external environment of the social service agencies of Appalachia, is that of capitalism, described by James O'Connor as in part the history of state welfare policies and programs. Government relief dates back at least to the early sixteenth century, and in general the outline has not changed. Poverty is considered by O'Connor to be an integral feature of the capitalist system, and welfare expenditures and income maintenance are seen not as temporary expedients needed during times of recession and depression but as permanent features

¹⁷ Gary L. Wamsley and Mayer N. Zald, The Political Economy of Public Organizations (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973). pp. 4, 20, 23, 45, 47, 55-57; See also Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, pp. 180-91.

of the political economy.¹⁸ As O'Connor describes such organizations, they must be concerned with the economic and political struggles which center around the issues of the distribution of the tax burden, the volume of state expenditures and the impoverished population which cannot find employment in the capital-intensive branch plants and subsidiaries of the international corporations.

Under capitalism the organizations which administer poverty become of critical importance to government. As Wamsley and Zald describe any organization, these organizations are "nested" in a set of political and economic structures and relations that influence their internal economy. In turn, there is the opportunity for the organization to influence its external environment. Wamsley and Zald describe public organizations as operating under a different set of constraints and pressures than private ones. They must be concerned with both effectiveness and with legitimacy of the regime. As such, public service agencies are seen to be dependent for their financing upon the taxes collected by government, while at the same time they must be concerned with the "impoverished" people described by O'Connor as "an increasingly restless, potentially revolutionary population."

O'Connor says that it is increasingly difficult for the state to meet clients' needs. He finds this especially true in the context of inflation and relative economic stagnation and for the unorganized rural poor. He describes the present budget situation as "the fiscal crisis of the state, where the tendency for government expenditures is to outrace revenue

¹⁸ O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State, p. 165.

because the "growing needs which only the state can meet create ever greater claims on the state budget."

In a capitalist economy, agencies of social service are agencies for the administration of poverty, and as such are, as Lipsky describes them, "organizational embodiments of contradictory tendencies in American society as a whole," where "humanitarian impulses are coincident with the requirements of system maintenance."¹⁹ People who work in these agencies, such as the participants in this study, become "administrators of poverty." As such, they become an integral part of those organizations whose members could, but do not usually, legislate for change.

That the participants in this study are not entirely comfortable with the nature of their positions was clear early in the research. One member who attended two meetings and helped design the survey used in the study, said in a jesting manner to the author: "We're quite aware, you know, that we're really here for social control, not to help people." Yet another participant acknowledged early on in the research, with wry humor: "We're just white-collar welfare recipients."

Another participant described her anger as she had lunch in a local restaurant. In response to a person she had just met, she said that she worked for the Department of Human Services. He laughed and said, "Oh! You work for welfare!" She was angry because she wants to think of herself as a "professional," one who "helps" people, and she wants to be appreciated for that position by community members. Yet it is evident,

¹⁹ Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucrats, p.183.

listening to the depth of emotion in her voice, that it is difficult to be proud of her job in "welfare."

In Appalachia, there continues to be a question for the author, if not for the other service providers: Is the administration of poverty the middle ground between collaboration with or revolution against the power structures? Or is it simply collaboration? It seems to the author of this study that it tends toward collaboration.²⁰

Appalachian Attributes

Jack Weller, in his survey of Appalachian culture, Yesterday's People, describes the people of Appalachia as different in fundamental psychology from other settlers who moved west. The mountain settlers included land-hungry, self-sufficing farmers who were opposed to many of the policies of the British crown and American seaboard regions and who were determined to establish a life as free from contact with law and restraint as possible. They rebelled against a form of government that

²⁰ Jacqueline Cook, "Appalachian Amphibian: Is Public Administration the Middle Ground Between Collaboration and Revolution?" (Specialty Symposium, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University). This question has been a persistent one for the author. She has been intrigued with the historical figure of Vidkun Quisling, "whose name has become synonymous with perfidy and treason." Paul M. Hays describes Quisling as having been a man "passionately devoted to his country who committed high treason." Although he has been depicted as the archetypal traitor, Hays finds him "muddled rather than thoroughly corrupted," and as being in disagreement with the majority of his fellow countrymen of Norway on how to protect his native land from the dangers threatening it in the 1930s. See Paul M. Hays, Quisling (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 9 and 10.

imposed its rule from the top, and reverted to a system of private justice based on the personal relationships common to the clan. They developed a general ideology of leveling, a system that gave equal status to all and recognized no authority other than the force of an individual. No hierarchies or authorities were allowed to form in this society. Status was not given to "experts." No pressure from outside was allowed to gain entrance. Additionally, the culture included an orientation to the present rather than the future, with slow and "natural" rhythms, rather than regulation by the clock, calendar or technology. There was also an orientation to the concrete and the particular rather than to the abstract and general. Human relations were personal and kinship based. There was little recognition of non-kin criteria, or of strangers on the basis of roles. Most Appalachians have come out of the folk culture influenced by these attitudes.²¹

Of particular interest in the final analysis of this study is another study of Appalachian people which draws heavily on Weller's work. Robert Denhardt, concerned with bureaucratic socialization and organizational accommodation in an Appalachian Community Action agency, discovered the same attributes described by Weller and saw them in direct contrast to the central tenets of bureaucratic thinking, which emphasizes the impersonal character of offices in a hierarchical structure based on a nearly total acceptance of authority. Further, "deference to organizational authority," which does not exist in Appalachia, is

²¹ Jack Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 11.

considered to be a part of a basic socialization process necessary for working within bureaucratic structures.²²

Denhardt thought that the lack of deference to authority by Appalachian people "does not have to be worked out in the actions of the individuals but continues as a state of mind." In this present study, however, it is clearly evident that the participants do act on this "state of mind" and also hold it as a primary frame of reference. Their actions are generally benign, but always hold the potential to be otherwise. The evidence for this observation came from the experience of the author in working with the primary participants, as well as from private conversation and informal discussion with a Professional Support Group that was formed as a result of the research project. The telling of these actions taken against perceived authorities in their jobs was accompanied with quiet humor and sometimes with great glee.

Participants in the Study

Approximately eighty-six face-to-face service providers were invited to participate in the research project. Eight people accepted the invitation: two from the Department of Human Services and six from two satellite offices of Southern Highlands Community Mental Health Centers. Called "primary participants" in this study, these individuals came together in a Professional Support Group, meeting once a month. Their

²² Robert B. Denhardt, "Bureaucratic Socialization and Organizational Accommodation", Administrative Science Quarterly 13 (December 1968): 442, 444, 441-450.

interest was in self-analysis of their job situations and self-help, as well as in completion of the research. There was a desire on their part to compare their own perceptions with those of the people they worked with. They designed a survey to make this comparison. It was completed by approximately thirty-five co-workers in their agencies. These co-workers are the "general participants" of the study.

The major portion of research material was drawn from the experiences of the primary participants. All of them had at least a four-year college degree. Most of them had additional graduate degrees. Some were continuing their formal education. They varied in ages from 23 through 56 years of age. Their work experience ranged from 6 months to 25 years. They were both male and female, but predominately female, reflecting the make-up of the general participants. They were single, married, divorced, some with children, and some with aging parents.

The "primary participants" and "the general participants" were much alike. They complained, laughed, drank coffee; ate lunch or shopped together; attended staff meetings and in-service meetings. Some of them considered trips out of the county as "perks," in the same manner as their managers. Sometimes they wondered why they kept working; why they stayed in the area. They talked about retiring, about leaving; about their children, parents, relatives, lovers, friends, local scandals and tragedies; about money and lack of it; about cars, sickness, clothes, their bosses and each other. Somebody was always trying to figure out what was going on above or below or laterally. There was constant irritation at rules and regulations and some joking about reorganization and how the more things change the more they stay the same.

The present research effort is not aimed directly at developing generalizations about the lives of bureaucrats at the lower levels of organizations, but rather it is designed to examine this one segment in miniature, to attempt to make sense of what was seen and heard and experienced, and to offer this explanation back to the people from whom the information came. The explanation given the participants was usually verbal, in a give and take fashion. They read successive drafts of the study, giving back to the author their agreements and differences. These have been included in the study.

The Professional Support Group

The author had left her job as a social service provider in one of the counties where the research took place to enter graduate school. She had felt that she was not "tough enough" to continue working as an outpatient counselor in community mental health. She had retained her interest in social services, wondering how other service providers viewed themselves and their work. She invited several friends with whom she had worked to engage themselves with her in a sort of self-analysis of service providers.

Asking friends to continue their jobs even as they sought a broader perspective seemed a large request. The author felt it imperative to offer something back to them for their efforts and suggested that they might form a Professional Support Group. It seemed possible that such a group could be a sustaining force during the research and that it might

also be of benefit to other service providers in the community, even a continuing influence after the research project was finished.

At the beginning of the research project eight people gave their time and energies in choosing items to be used for the survey. These eight people comprised the initial membership of the Professional Support Group, which varied in number during the research period from three to eleven. They were well known to each other and already engaged in friendship, work and community relationships. New members joining the group contributed to the final analysis and conclusions.

At the end of the project, five of these eight remained as core members of the group. The five members included one person from the Department of Human Services, one from community mental health, two who had changed positions during the course of the project, and the author.²³

Sharon had grown up in McDowell County, going to the state university to earn degrees in secondary education and in guidance and counseling. She had lived out of the county for some time but had returned to "get a piece of land," build a house and to be close to her mother and father. During the course of the research project her job had changed from that of being a social worker in Child Protective Services to being a supervisor in that same division. She had been working there about five years, always wondering, "What next"?

²³ The core members gave permission for their names and descriptions to be used in this dissertation. The other participants will be described less fully and without names.

Mari, a licensed psychologist who had worked for the community mental health center for eleven years, had also been engaged in part-time private practice for three years. During the course of the research project she resigned her position, going into full-time private practice. This move allowed her more flexible time to spend with her family. She usually combined time for herself with continuing education ventures.

Darrell, a social worker who had worked for the mental health center about fifteen years, had spent several years in another agency and in other jobs. When asked, he usually admits to being a farmer, allowing as how he does come to work if there's no hay to be cut. He talks about retirement and building a larger house for his wife, up his "holler." This particular "holler" makes it easy to forget that the rest of the world exists, except when an occasional jet goes over the land, high and quiet.

Vicki had worked for community mental health for seven years in a variety of positions. During the time of the research project she actively sought other jobs, settling into one she was very happy with as the director of an emergency care shelter for young persons, under the auspices of the West Virginia Children's Home Society. The job required full use of her myriad skills, as well as the development of managerial skills.

The author of this study was "born and raised" in counties adjacent to those in which the study was conducted. Having spent some eighteen years as a military dependent, she returned with pleasure and a sigh of relief to those places she had said, as a young woman, she would never return again. Her experiences as mother, volunteer, teacher and counselor

had led her to ask: "Who makes the policies to which the rest of us react? And are these policies well intentioned?"

Of the additional persons who initially gave their help to the research project without staying to complete it, one worked for the Department of Human Services and two for community mental health. Working with children in a developmental counseling program, one woman loved her job. She also loved her home "on the mountain." She seemed always under stress, torn between loyalties toward the children with whom she worked and her own daughter. Another woman had recently received a new degree in social work and had returned to her home county and a new job with enthusiasm. After a few months, disappointed and discouraged, she found other work. A third person had returned to the county where he had grown up, and was considering the benefits and costs of graduate work.

Becoming members of the Professional Support Group during the time of analysis of the research results were three others: a woman from the Department of Human Services who was beginning to think about retirement, a policeman involved in many community activities, and a mental health counselor who completed her undergraduate work as the research project was beginning.

In addition to their full-time jobs, several of the participants gave generously of their time to a community organization, the Child Protection Team. The efforts of this team were directed toward identifying children at risk in the community and in giving support to the professionals who work with these children. Those with whom they worked closely included a pediatrician and a physicians' assistant in a nearby clinic, as well as other members of the community.

The first members of the Professional Support Group met informally, two or three at a time, using the local library. Some discussion of the project, and of items for the survey to be sent to general members, went on over coffee at work or at lunch or at community meetings. As interest increased, and as spring weather permitted, people began to attend on a regular basis, meeting in a private office. They came together for social as well as professional reasons, enjoying the company of their peers in discussion of their professional experiences.

There was an urgency on their part to discover and to understand what was happening in their work life and how, or if, it affected their life away from work. In addition to being an academic pursuit, the research effort was an attempt to maintain a hold on sanity. It was as if, in sharing with and listening to others, there was something reassuring.

Gradually they began to investigate feelings about their jobs and about themselves and their organizations: Is it just me . . . How do you see it?

Yet we do tell each other over and over again the particularities of the events we shared, and the repetition, the listening, is as if we are saying: "It was like that for you, too?" Then that confirms it. Yes, it was so, it must have been, I wasn't imagining things." We match or dispute like people who have seen remarkable creatures on a journey: Did you see that big blue fish? Oh, the one you saw was yellow!" But the sea we traveled over was the same, the protracted period of unease and tension...²⁴

²⁴ Doris Lessing, Memoirs of a Survivor (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), p. 3.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Permission for the study was granted through a Department of Human Services social service coordinator and two mental health clinic directors. It was understood that the research was not to interfere with the duties of the participants. The only work-release time would be the thirty minutes all participants would be allotted to fill out the survey if they chose to do so. As the only promise was to inform the participants, no costs were assessed the participating organizations. However, there was the hope that the final results would be of benefit to the social service coordinator and the clinic directors for use within their organizations.²⁵

The Purpose of the Research Project

This study is concerned with how the primary participants view themselves. Having a high stake in understanding their positions in the organizations where they work, they have the temerity to do research for and about themselves rather than expecting others to do it for them. This kind of research is considered to be less alienating for the participants than traditional research methods. People are thought to have a more

²⁵ See Appendix A for "Alternative Description of the Research Project."

accurate view of what they want to know and change about their lives than are others who do not share their same circumstances.²⁶

Traditional psychological theory is based on the assumption that others often understand us better than we understand ourselves because of an objective perspective. However, even traditional psychological practice is based on the presentation of material from the individual asking for help. The view of this dissertation is that the participants have a clearer and more accurate understanding of what they want to know about their jobs and about what they want to change about those jobs and their lives than others might.

To better view themselves, the primary participants have read Chapter Two, the literature review of this study. They were interested in investigating how others have perceived service providers in the literatures of sociology, management, public administration and psychology. This information was useful in the final analysis and conclusions of the research.

As the project came to a close they evaluated what effects, if any, the research may have had on them as workers, as family members and as community members. There was clear evidence that there was some strain in doing a job and in evaluating it at the same time. One participant in distress early in the project said with some strong feeling that she would have to quit either her job or the project!

²⁶ Carol Ehrlich, The Conditions of Feminist Research (Baltimore, Maryland: Vacant Lots Press, 1976), p. 17.

There was also clear evidence that the research project was appreciated, particularly as it gave participants from different agencies an opportunity to develop closer personal and professional relationships. Through the medium of the Professional Support Group they devised ways to be more useful to each other in working with people who came to their agencies for services. It was a boon for them to discover their common feelings.

They gained a sense of perspective on "the personal troubles of milieu" and "the public issues of social structure." They learned to distinguish between C. Wright Mills' "troubles," which occur within the character of the individual and are within the range of immediate relations with others, and "issues," which have to do with matters that transcend the local environments of the individual and the range of inner life.²⁷

The results and analysis of the study included both objective and subjective perspectives. Objectively, the results included the formation of the Professional Support Group, the development of an index of almost 200 issues taken from the words and feelings of the participants, the administration of a survey which included 31 of these items, and discussion and analysis of the compiled data from the surveys. These objective results of the survey were used in the subjective analysis to help determine the needs of the participants, as perceived by the author.

²⁷ C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination (Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 8.

Analysis of the results of the study was given to the participants in the form of an Adlerian "life style," a psychological assessment for individual analysis. In this study, it has been used as assessment of the group. The use of the phrase "life style" has particular relevance to the practitioners of Adler's Individual Psychology. People are thought to get ideas early in life as to how to best solve life's problems. They are thought to continue to use these same ideas throughout their lives. The life style can also indicate the way in which the individual strives for superiority. This striving is one which Adler thought all people engage in as they move from a felt sense of inferiority, from a "felt minus to a felt plus." The felt inferiority is described as occurring from the condition of humans at birth, perceiving themselves to be inferior in three ways: physically, socially and cosmically.

The life style, because it is chosen in childhood, is not always appropriate to the solution of the adult's life problems. The individual acts as if there is no other way to behave. This is a mistaken notion on the part of the individual. There are many ways to behave, and if the one way is persisted in, it can interfere with appropriate responses to life's problems.

In presenting the life style to the group of service providers, the author used the short term of "helpers" to best describe them. She saw them as perceiving themselves to be superior when they are taking care of others. These others are perceived to be inferior, simply because they accept help. The participants saw themselves in a different way, as superior in relation to those they perceived to be in authority over them. In either case, the perceptions are considered to be "mistaken notions."

As the life style pinpoints the mistaken notions of the helpers, so does it, in the final analysis, suggest alternative behaviors.

In making use of the model of Adlerian psychology, the author was able to suggest to the participants that their life style, as it is for all people, is both a solution to life problems and also a limiter. It can prevent the consideration and use of alternative solutions; in the case of the service provider, it can keep them from behaving in any way other than in the role of "helper."

There was some distress as the participants looked at themselves and their work and life situations. From this distress evolved a need for prescription that had not been anticipated in the beginnings of the study. The prescription included a reassessment of the life style of "helper" and a consideration of alternative behaviors.

In summary, the purpose of the study is to share information with the primary participants which is seldom known to students of psychology and social work. Additionally, the primary participants expected to benefit from any information determined in this study. Both kinds of information were to be used to assess what impact, if any, their jobs might be having on other aspects of their lives.

The Role of the Author

The author, in order to understand the participants better, had returned to a position of former employment with Southern Highlands Community Mental Health Centers in Wyoming and McDowell Counties. Her job as family therapist was funded for six months by the Department of

Human Services. She hoped to pose questions and seek answers with the participants of the research project who worked in these agencies. Her intent was to function in an equitable relationship with the research participants, not as an expert, but as a skilled co-worker in a common enterprise.²⁸

Taking a position of employment for the purpose of research is, of course, a form of participant observation and a technique of ethnography, but for the author this participation seemed to be of a special nature. It was a return to a job situation which she assumed would be painful, for it had been so difficult for her in the past. It was to put herself in the work situation of the other participants and to figure out with them if and how their job situations were influencing their lives. She became a part of that system which she was observing.²⁹

The author saw herself as a linking agent, a middle person, learning a new professional discipline. She viewed herself as moving between two worlds, the academic research world and the practitioner/user's world, developing skills in methods of research and in the art of utilization at the same time the users themselves developed these skills.

She was not seen by most of the service providers with whom she was working in the same light as she saw herself, however. The job of family

²⁸ Whisnant, Modernizing the Mountaineer, p. x. Whisnant gave credit to others, particularly Franz Fanon, who had learned, before him, what it was like to be educated by "colonial universities" and then to return to one's own country. See Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, with a Preface by Jean-Paul Sartre (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

²⁹ See Appendix B, "On Myself".

therapist evolved into a case management and client advocate position. This was an unexpected development and resulted from the severity and complexity of the nature of the problems of the referred families, as well as from the lack of trained personnel in the Department of Social Services and in community mental health to work with these families. She felt at odds with the social workers and mental health counselors whom the research was designed to study. The social workers who had been working with the visited families accompanied the author, as therapist, at least initially, and continued to work closely with her if they desired to do so. Sometimes, however, each seemed to be operating at cross purposes, without understanding or empathy for the position of the others.

The job the author was assigned to do was at odds with almost everything going on in the Department of Human Services. The social workers, at that time, in that agency, were required to work with the individual child, not the family. One family therapist, Cloe Madanes, writing on the process of family therapy, gives cautions and recommendations which the author used that were quite foreign to the general practice of the social workers, whose predisposition was toward removal of children from the homes of their parents or retaining legal custody even if the child remained in the home. Four generalized recommendations from Madanes give evidence of the differences between general social work practice and that of a family therapist: 1) Care must be taken so that the parents' position is not weakened and that any changes do not work against the goal of parents being in charge of their children. 2) It is possible to inflict harm on families with careless or untimely interventions. 3) Quick disengagement is recommended after the

presenting problem is solved, leaving family members the option to ask for help at their discretion. 4) Give credit to the family for any changes; neither expect or attempt to elicit appreciation for any good accomplished.³⁰

In general, all of these cautions and recommendations were unknown or unpracticed by the social workers with whom the author was working. Each "case" was seen as individual. There was little obvious evidence that individuals were encouraged to work out their troubles within family or community networks. The staff had little or no awareness of the family therapy orientation of the author as it differed from the general procedures expected of Department of Human Service workers. The author, in turn, had little appreciation and understanding of the official and legal constraints under which the service providers worked. The resulting strain was not perceived as inhibiting associations with the families or the research opportunity, but personal relationships within the Professional Support Group were sometimes less than comfortable. This strain was eased somewhat toward the end of the project as the author better understood the positions of the social workers and when three social service workers from the Department of Human Services enrolled in graduate courses in family therapy.

³⁰ Cloe Madanes, Strategic Family Therapy (San Francisco, Calif: Jossey-Bass, 1981), pp. 113, 117, and 121.

The "Disaster Syndrome"

As an employed face-to-face social services provider, the researcher was both a marginal person, and not a marginal person; she was "in" but not truly "of" that work world. She experienced feelings which she thought might be similar to those of the other participants, to include those of deep despair, seeing and participating in and being a part of circumstances which she felt she could not address in full measure or in committed fashion because of the nature of the job situation.

At the same time the author experienced feelings she thought were similar to those of the participants, differences were felt. She had an awareness that it was critical to never "get used to" the job and its circumstances. It was in this instance that she could be most useful to the other participants, serving as a referent for them if they desired it. She could express what they were too involved to see, what she herself had been too involved to see before as an employee. To "get used to it" would be to become victim to "the disaster syndrome," which de Hartog described in The Hospital from his experiences in working in the great floods of Holland in 1953 and in a Houston charity hospital in 1962. De Haartog described diagnosis of the disaster syndrome:

[It is] when normal reactions to protest and outrage in the face of intolerable conditions are absent and the overriding reaction is not to correct those conditions but to accept them as permanent and to circumvent them.³¹

³¹ Jan de Hartog, The Hospital (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 35.

De Hartog, commander of a hospital ship directed toward one of the villages worst hit by the floods in Holland, found the local doctor and his wife in the worst scene he had seen since the war. They lacked everything, even the most primitive nursing aids. When the well-equipped hospital ship suddenly emerged in the middle of their world of destruction and death, they seemed almost resentful. "We made the best of it," he heard the doctor say. "As a matter of fact, we did rather well." And they had acted with great courage; but only after relinquishing all usual standards for the practice of medicine. Their emergency approach, if continued, would have tended to prolong the conditions that provoked it. The heroic pioneers had to be removed from the scene.

In similar fashion, de Hartog described the Houston charity hospital. He and his wife had heard that a local charity hospital, Jefferson Davis, or "J.D.," was without enough staff to feed the newborn infants. Yet the offer of volunteers had been turned down, although many of those volunteers were former nurses, married to university doctors. The hospital was reported to be overcrowded, understaffed, and politics-ridden, subject to budget quarrels between the city and the county. It seemed inconceivable to the de Hartogs that such a backward hospital would be tolerated in the generous city of Houston. De Hartog's book, The Hospital, detailed that particular example of the disaster syndrome, the involvement of himself and his wife, the support of the Quaker community in sustaining the volunteers who finally were allowed to work in the hospital, and the personal and political battles required to attempt alterations of the hospital conditions.

And so for the author of this study, coming back to the scene of social service delivery in southern West Virginia, the first impression prodded memory of the "disaster syndrome." "To get used to it" would have required becoming inured to the intolerable conditions of social service delivery in southern West Virginia. It would mean accepting these conditions as permanent, only attempting to circumvent them. It would also have meant denial of any intimation that change of these conditions was possible.

There was continuing dialogue and disagreement between the participants and the author about the necessity of "getting used to it" as a means of continuing to be able to work with people who came for help. One participant continued to maintain that "dissociation," if not "inurement," was essential for her continued functioning in her job. Another participant, expressing a different point of view, said that when he could no longer feel empathy for people he took off for a day or two, because that was all he had to give them. This unresolved issue continued to have strong influence on the direction of the research, and will be addressed in Chapter Four of this study.

The job, however, in spite of the overwhelming sense of disaster, seemed to serve the purposes of the research admirably, giving maximum opportunity to work with and to understand the situation of the service providers and the families with whom they worked. As Goffman had learned,

to submit oneself to the company of others in their daily rounds of contingencies is a good learning and research device.³²

It was more than a "good learning and research device," however. It was to enter a scene where the author's friends and former colleagues were now engaged in conditions she had found intolerable in the past. It was to discover, from her new perspective as a researcher, that to participate again in the world of social service delivery was to become "a part of the play," as de Hartog had become a part of the play at the Jefferson Davis Hospital. There was the experience, unexpected in the beauty of the hills of West Virginia, which would equate with the experience of the journalist Michael Herr in Vietnam:

I went there behind the crude but serious belief that you had to be able to look at anything, serious because I acted on it and went, crude because I didn't know, it took the war to teach it; that you were as responsible for everything you saw as you were for anything you did.³³

³² Erving Goffman, Asylum (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. ix-x.

³³ Michael Herr, Dispatches (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968; reprint ed., Avon Books, 1978), p. 20. Amlin Gray's play, "How I Got That Story", taken from the experiences depicted in Herr's book, was presented with artistry and sensitivity by Theatre Arts-University Theater in Blacksburg and at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., 1985.

In seeking analogies for her own experience in West Virginia, the analogy of war seemed the most appropriate. Her personal response to the job experiences was to see them as atrocities. They flicked through her head like an illumined slide show, blocking out present experience: flick . . . flick . . . the faces of children, their mothers, hungry, abused, scared.

In private consultation with a therapist, it was suggested that the author suffered symptoms akin to those of Vietnam veterans with whom the therapist was working, symptoms labeled Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. The therapist suggested that the author was having as difficult a time adjusting to the "real world" as Vietnam veterans, on return from her own perceived battlefield. The author felt as

The experience was so painful that it hindered the completion of the research project. Nonetheless, it gave a sensitivity to the situation of the service providers as nothing else could have done. A large part of that pain had to do with the face-to-face relationships with families accused of child-abuse and neglect. The author saw them, as well as the service providers, as much victims as the people in the Holland flood and the Houston hospital, of circumstances over which they had no control.

The Assigned Families

The author, in her job as therapist, was assigned the "ten worst cases" of child abuse and neglect for which the Department of Human Services was responsible. Five additional families were assigned during the course of the research. The selection of the "cases" was made by social workers in Child Protective Services, and was determined by the length of time the department had been involved with the family and the degree of progress that had been made in that time.

The primary interactions of the job took place during a six-month period of the research, and occurred in the homes of the families referred by the Department of Human Services for substantiated evidence of alleged child abuse and neglect, including sexual abuse. Home visitation was designated in the initial design of the grant under which the author had been hired. It had been determined that getting families to come for

responsible for everything she saw as for everything she did, or did not do, as the case may have been. She still feels that way.

services was difficult for at least two reasons: they lacked transportation and seldom had interest, understanding or appreciation of the provided services. There were many opportunities for observation and for work with the participants in a variety of settings: the Department of Human Services offices, mental health clinics, jails, hospitals, lawyers' offices, courtrooms, medical clinics, public health departments and public schools.

The researcher had been told that the families might be hostile. She was reminded that violence was a community norm and that she might even be threatened with guns. It was suggested that people might refuse to let her into their homes. None of these admonitions turned out to be true. On the contrary: people were glad that someone was taking an interest in them. They seemed pleased to be given information about how to get the services they needed. They appeared to be grateful for someone who would accompany and transport them to schools, to law offices or to medical appointments. They responded appreciatively to the simple act of sitting down at their kitchen table to talk and to listen.

At the conclusion of the research only three of the fifteen families seen by the author were considered by her to be "abusing" or "neglectful." Instead, all of the families, including these three, were perceived by her to be caring, but under stress and suffering from lack of information and resources. It is quite in order to describe them as doing extraordinarily well under extreme conditions of privation.

If there is some truth in the assertion of Michael Lipsky that service providers are "organizational embodiments of contradictory

tendencies in American society as a whole,"³⁴ then it can be said that it is generally only the service provider who is confronted with these contradictory tendencies face-to-face. The author of this study would add to these assertions made by Lipsky: because of these inconsistencies, sometimes the face-to-face provider, with good intentions, is the perpetrator of additional abuse. This abuse is defined as "agency abuse," a term coined by the author early in the research. It is a term similar to one used in medicine. An iatrogenic "disease" is one introduced inadvertently by a physician or by treatment.

Overview of the Study

The study grew from the needs of the author, and the perceived needs of the participants, to understand what was happening in their work life and what influence, if any, this had on their life away from work. It began with description of the place and of the participants.

The literature review covers a brief history of social services, including descriptions of service providers in their roles as professionals, bureaucrats, employees and as victims of bureaucracy. It includes further description of the service provider as affected by the work place and as contributing essential services. The stage is set for the face-to-face service providers to give their perceptions of themselves.

³⁴ Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, p. 183.

Methodology is based on a notion expressed by Carol Ehrlich that people can do research for and about themselves. It is dependent on a synthesis and modification of the work of several theorists: H.T. Wilson, Brian Fay, Alfred Adler, Stephen Fawcett and George Gazda, presented in order of their use in the study.

A survey was conducted of possible strengths and possible problems as perceived by the participants. From this objective data, a subjective portrait has been drawn, revealing a "life style" for "helpers" along with an attendant "price." The life style, commonly used as an individual assessment, was modified for use with the group. Presenting one subjective view of reality, analysis of the life style pointed to unconscious guilt on the part of participants with respect to system inadequacies, marked by a desire to feel superior in the helping relationship or in the relationship with those perceived to have authority over them.

The conclusions of the study address alternatives to the life style including recognition and use of the real strengths of the participants when they give up their mistaken notions of superiority: their knowledge of the conditions within the service delivery system, and their potential to act as change agents. To aid in this position of change agent, if they had any interest in it, the author shared her own vision for the future, and a vision within that vision, as well as suggestions for new skills and tools and a recommendation that the participants might become familiar with significant neglected and emerging literatures and that they might practice the tenets of these literatures.

Conclusions were also addressed to the participants who have interest in the social service delivery systems of the United States. It was expected that in providing information to the participants about themselves, the community of supervisors, administrators, policy makers and scholars would be informed. The author also drew a separate conclusion for herself, apart from the group.

CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

SERVICE PROVIDERS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There was a nagging feeling throughout the research project that everything being "discovered" was already known. This turned out to be almost true, with some exception. However, where information was available is significant: in the literatures of public administration, political science, and sociology, literatures not generally accessible to the participants in their specialized studies of social work, psychology and counseling.

The review is intended to contribute to the self-reflection of the participants, as well as to provide partial foundation for analysis and conclusions of this study. The descriptions are designed to be representative rather than inclusive and have been selected for their relevance to the work and life situations of the participants. The face-to-face service provider will be described within a context of historical perspective as professional, bureaucrat, and employee; as a victim of bureaucracy, as scapegoat and as affected by the workplace. The literature review is largely concerned with the negative aspects of bureaucracy. In conclusion, the case for bureaucracy will be made as the vehicle of essential services provision in the United States.

The review was designed to give the participants a broad perspective, a view of where they have come from, in order to assist them in assessing where they are and in determining where they may want to be. The

participants have been encouraged to look at their lives from a point of view of history, of their generation and of the human condition rather than from the sole point of view of their personal life span.

The author considered the review as necessary information if the participants were to consider their personal responsibilities in human service provision as opposed to the responsibilities of their agencies and of society, a recommendation given in the analysis and conclusions of this study.

An historical perspective of social services in the United States provides a framework within which the service providers may be viewed in their myriad roles. This historic background often has been unknown to them, or if it was studied once, had been easily forgotten in the experience of the day-to-day job situation.

Changes in the last century have moved individual care from the aegis of the family, guild, church, and neighborhood to the province of government institutions; from the care dictated by kinship to that dictated by administrative impersonality; from intimate personal involvement, to involvement dictated by rules and regulations; from the intuitive personal sense and feeling of caring, to the rational and impersonal logic of care.

Lowi, in The End of Liberalism, describes the evolution of industry as usually "passing through" and destroying the preindustrial household and family systems of production. The decline of the family as a producing unit was then accompanied by the loss to the family of some functions, as well as a narrowing down of others.

The overwhelming proportion of government responsibility is administrative operation of facilities and service that a century ago were left primarily to family, neighborhood, local church, guild and individual initiative . . . We are faced here with two quite different methods of performing one of society's natural and inevitable duties. Obviously the contemporary form is administration.¹

It is possible to overlook the severe emotional implications of the loss to the family of the functions of caring for those who are loved and valued. Visual literary images give clarity to this phenomenon.

Robert Persig, in Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, talks with friends about his pre-adolescent son.

"What do the psychiatrists think?" John asks.

"Nothing. I stopped it."

"But why?"

"I don't know why . . . it's just that . . . I don't know...they're not kin . . . Not of kin . . . sounds like hillbilly talk . . . not of a kind . . . same root . . . kindness, too . . . they can't have real kindness toward him, they're not his kin."²

Doris Lessing, in the Diaries of Jane Somers, describes the plight of the aged in English society.

Something from War and Peace teases my memory, it is about the old Countess, who is in her second childhood. She needed to be allowed to cry a little, laugh a little, sleep a little, quarrel a little . . . an old woman, sitting in a corner in a chair, or propped in bed, would be assimilated.

I cannot think of any household I know where Maudie could be accommodated now, we all work too hard, have too much responsibility as it is; our lives are all pared down to what we can fit in, we can all just cope and no more.³

¹ Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1979), p. 24.

² Robert M. Pirsig, Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 59.

³ Doris Lessing, The Diaries of Jane Somers (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), p. 222.

The social service provider is an instrument of the administrative process which replaces the personalism of the last century with the impersonalism of this century. The public encounter, "where individual citizen and official directly meet,"⁴ is by definition an administrative rather than a personal one, an instrument of "care" rather than "caring." No adequate substitutes for this caring have been devised.

J. Robert Russo gives a brief history of American social and mental health services in his text Serving and Surviving as a Human Service Worker.⁵ This text allows service providers an opportunity to look at their work in a broader perspective, and to become aware that their concerns are not exclusively modern ones. Since the colonial period in America, the basic pattern of assistance for the "unfortunates" has resulted in debates which continue to this day. Conflicting values are evident in decisions which provide basis for social service provision, as for example, in the removal of neglected and abused children from their homes or the long-term institutionalization of increasing numbers of elderly.

Comparatively, the mental health movement is a relatively young concept. In early America the "insane" were housed with widows, orphans and the physically handicapped. State hospitals did not become

⁴ Charles T. Goodsell, The Public Encounter (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. ix.

⁵ J. Robert Russo, Serving and Surviving as a Human Service Worker (Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 26, 39, and 41, 17-43. For differing views see also Francis Piven and Richard Cloward, Regulating the Poor (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), and Blanch Bernstein, The Politics of Welfare (Cambridge: Abt, 1982).

commonplace until the 1930s. The model was challenged in the 1960s by the community mental health movement.

The beginning of the child welfare movement at the federal level can be traced to the early 1700s, culminating in the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912. In 1923, President Harding proposed the creation of a Department of Education and Welfare. It is, of course, what we now know as the Department of Health and Human Services.⁶ The Great Depression with its massive failure of the economic system provided the motivation and the basis for the majority of our current government operated help-giving organizations. After World War II, services to veterans, general social mobility, and changes which were occurring in families, contributed to an increased demand for a wide variety of services. Russo describes these new demands as creating a dramatic growth in professional training programs with most of them influenced by the cult of Fredrick Taylor's "scientific management" and the corresponding notion of "efficiency."⁷

In the late 1950s, the federal government's involvement in human services delivery was stimulated again, this time by the Civil Rights Movement. A downturn of the economy combined with a high rate of

⁶ Russo neglects to acknowledge that child welfare was then, and continues to be, largely the responsibility of state and local government.

⁷ The author agrees. In her experience, "quality of service" has been, and continues to be, at least secondary to "efficiency." Even though the word "efficiency" may not actually be used in everyday conversation between managers and face-to-face service providers, the author has found the monetary costs of human services to be the primary criterion by which administrative decisions are made in social welfare and mental health services as well as in education.

unemployment contributed to increased numbers of families receiving government services. Today in the mid-1980s, there are continuing concerns and a variety of views concerning the number of families "on welfare."

Russo describes decision making at legislative levels as reflecting disparate views, affecting the job environment of the face-to-face service provider in negative ways. Presently, the legislative and the appropriation processes are seen as abridging specific legislation to alleviate specific social programs. Even after authorization of funds, they can be impounded, withheld or "sequestered."

The effects of such governmental behavior creates instability and uncertainty at the local level. Last-minute funding results in waste and poor implementation; long-range local and state planning is made impossible and opportunistic programming and shifting of professional staff result. The basic problem is that the United States has no formal planning machinery for long-term strategies in health, welfare, education, mental health and criminal justice.

The author of this present study finds that Russo's above description fits the social service and mental health environment within which the face-to-face provider works today. Each social service organization has a long history with roots which go deep into the general social and cultural past as well as into the specific local context. An important part of this past is the tension which exists between professionals and the organizations in which they work.

DESCRIPTIONS OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

The Service Provider as Professional

Richard Hall, interested in the increasing professionalization of the labor force at the same time when work in general was increasingly becoming organizationally based, examined the "professionalization" process in the context of the organizational structures in which professional or professionalizing workers are found. He wished to determine how these phenomena affect and are affected by each other.⁸

The members of any professional group have attributes which are important in distinguishing its members from those in other occupations. There are, according to Hall, two basic types of attributes used to distinguish professionals from other occupations: structural and attitudinal. The structural aspects dictate that the professional will be engaged in a full-time occupation, will have been educated at a training school, and will be guided by a professional association with a formulated code of ethics. The attitudinal aspects include the use of a professional organization as a major source of ideas and judgments, a belief in service to the public, belief in self-regulation through judgment of peers, and a sense of calling to the field. A sense of autonomy in making decisions without external pressures from clients or

⁸ Richard Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," in Richard Hall, ed. The Formal Organization (New York: Basic Books, 1972), pp. 143-61.

the employing organization is considered to be both structural and attitudinal.

It is expected that the work setting will have an impact on the professional. Organizational bases are of three types, according to Hall. The first is autonomous, where the professional is subject to personal rather than administrative jurisdiction; an example is the doctor in a medical clinic or the lawyer in a law firm. A second is "heteronomous," in which the professional is subordinated to an externally derived system. This base is illustrated by public schools or social work agencies. These organizations are affected by external accrediting or auditing pressures, often legislative in origin. The third type is that of a professional department, part of a larger organization, for example, a department concerned with legal or research affairs.

In analyzing these three types of settings to determine the nature of the organizational structures found in the different organizational bases, Hall, echoing Weber, examined the degree of bureaucratization within each type, using a multidimensional approach to the concept of bureaucracy. The dimensions he utilized were as follow: the hierarchy of authority, the division of labor, the presence of rules, procedural specifications, impersonality, and technical competence. Although the findings did not indicate that there can be an assumption of inherent conflict between the professional and the employing organization, the recommendation was made that, if conflict is present, the bases of it should be made explicit and analysis of conflicts should be predicated upon specific issues such as resistance to non-professional supervision.

Even though an assumption of inherent conflict does not seem to be indicated, Hall found that strong negative relationships existed between the autonomy variable and the first five bureaucratic dimensions. This suggested to him that increased bureaucratization threatens professional autonomy and is a potential source of conflict between the professional and the organization. The strong drive for autonomy on the part of a professional may come into direct conflict with organizationally based job requirements and the organization might be threatened by strong professional desires on the part of at least some of its members.

George Miller, in Hall's The Formal Organization, includes a statement from Charles Orth:

Professional training in itself . . . appears to predispose those who go through it to unhappiness or rebellion when faced with the administrative process as it exists in most organizations. Scientists and engineers cannot or will not operate at the peak of their creative potential in an atmosphere that puts pressure on them to conform to organizational requirements which they do not understand or believe necessary.⁹

Professional social service providers are expected to be "inculcated with a service ethos -- an inner desire to serve the best interests of clients and promote their welfare."¹⁰ They are expected to serve people as persons, rather than catering exclusively to their material needs and wishes. Substitution of "humanitarian" values over purely economic and

⁹ George A. Miller, "Professionals in Bureaucracy: Alienation among Industrial Scientists and Engineers," in The Formal Organization, ed. Richard H. Hall, p. 214. Miller cites Charles D. Orth, "The Optimum Climate for Industrial Research," Science and Society, ed. Normal Kaplan (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 141.

¹⁰ Clarence N. Stone, "Attitudinal Tendencies among Officials," in Goodsell, The Public Encounter, p. 46.

administrative considerations will occur. Professionals will seek organizational responsiveness to an ethic of service rather than to one of efficiency. Overall, there will be evidence of a concern for the social and personal dilemmas of people.¹¹

Michael Lipsky describes service providers as internalizing a service ideal. Believing that the theory of the ideal applies to practice, he says they then enter their chosen profession in order to have a vocation consistent with those ideals of service.¹² If indeed they do this, it becomes evident that their picture of themselves as "helpers" may be sorely at odds with the expectations that may be put on them as they become members of a bureaucratic organization.¹³ It will be the more difficult if they are engaged in activities that involve a major and direct responsibility for exercising social control. They will not have anticipated that their job would entail the direct exercise of overt coercive power. Instead, their attitudes indicate strong sympathies for the poor and minorities. Their orientation seems to be toward the softer values of caring and helping.¹⁴

¹¹ Mark Lefton and William R. Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions," in The Formal Organization, Richard H. Hall, ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1972), pp. 111-12.

¹² Michael Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980), p. 202

¹³ Meryl Reis Louis, "Surprise and Sense Making: What Newcomers Experience in Entering Unfamiliar Organizational Settings," Administrative Science Quarterly 25 (June 1980): 226-51.

¹⁴ Stone, "Attitudinal Tendencies Among Officials," in Goodsell, The Public Encounter, p. 50.

It can be guessed that they would not have given consideration to the possibility that they would become "bureaucrats," expected to view human relationships as instrumental means to the prescribed goals of the organization. Nor would they have considered that bureaucracy has been described as lacking concern with being a source of personal goal achievement, or a source of joy, love, friendship, or pity---unless these attributes happen to foster the prescribed goals of the organization.¹⁵

The Service Provider as Bureaucrat

Service providers may be trained as professionals, but because they work within the traditional administrative structure, they may find themselves in the position of responding to bureaucratic procedures. Although Weber's description of the bureaucrat was written in the early 1900s, it is considered to be an "ideal type" and so serves well to describe the prototype of the bureaucrat today.¹⁶

The bureaucrat is defined as having fixed, official duties in a fixed, official area; as being governed by rules and regulations given by an authority and supervised from a higher office under a principle of hierarchical structure. There is a requirement for a continuous

¹⁵ Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 252.

¹⁶ H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, editors and translators, Max Weber Essays in Sociology (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 196-234.

fulfillment of duties, and the bureaucrat is expected to have full knowledge of the rules.

Office holding is considered a vocation, requiring training and examinations and a long preparatory experience. Entrance into the office is considered a promise of loyalty in return for a secure existence. Modern loyalty is devoted to impersonal and functional purposes, rather than personal ones. The modern bureaucrat enjoys a distinct social esteem as compared with the governed. The esteem is the higher for possession of an educational certificate.

The bureaucrat is appointed by a superior authority and the position is usually held for life. A fixed salary and pension are allocated according to status and length of service. The bureaucrat is set for a career within the hierarchical order, moving from lower, less important status and lower pay to higher positions, under fixed terms of seniority.

Weber describes individual assignments as given to functionaries with specialized training, who by constant practice are expected to learn more and more. The bureaucrat is expected to carry out administrative functions according to purely objective considerations. The "objective discharge of business" primarily means a discharge of business according to calculable rules and without regard to persons.

Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly it is "dehumanized." That is to say, the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation, the more efficient and equitable it is. This is the specific nature of bureaucracy and is appraised as its

special virtue. It demands the strictly "objective" expert, unmoved by "personal sympathy" and favor, by grace or gratitude.

Weber describes the bureaucrat as chained to his activity by his entire material and ideal existence. He is only a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism where he is entrusted with specialized tasks, a mechanism which cannot be put into motion or arrested by him, but only from the top. He is thus forged to the community of all the bureaucrats who are integrated into the mechanism. He shares a common interest in seeing that the mechanism continues its functions and that the authority exercised by society is maintained. The discipline of officialdom refers to the attitude set of the bureaucrat which demands precise obedience in all routinized activity. This discipline increasingly becomes the basis of order.

In addition to the personal benefits of the position, bureaucrats are expected to operate under this combination of characteristics because it is necessary for and furthers administrative efficiency. The decisive reason for the advancement of bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization; that is, its ability to "get the job done."¹⁷

The realization of the advantages of bureaucracy is not a modern phenomenon, but one known by the ancients as well:

¹⁷ There may be those who want to believe that bureaucracy contributes to effectiveness as well as to efficiency, but that concept is not included in Weber's description of bureaucracy as an "ideal type."

I began to see how tribes flourish, or do not, according to the vital strength of those who can receive the mystic messages of the leaders and carry them out. Or cannot.¹⁸

Yet, today, Frank Sherwood describes the bureaucrat as "fully as much a creature of the system as is any other member of society," and as increasingly having no power to share because the rules dominating all relationships assure alienation and disappointment.¹⁹ From her experience, the author finds this response of alienation and disappointment to be a common one from employees who perceive their position to be one of powerlessness and objectification.

The Service Provider as Employee

Robert Denhardt takes the position that there has been a general acceptance of efficiency as the ultimate criterion for evaluating public agencies.²⁰ A precise definition of efficiency can be found in the work of Herbert Simon: it demands that of two alternatives having the same cost, one be chosen which will lead to the greater attainment of an organization's objectives; and that of two alternatives leading to the same degree of attainment, one be chosen which entails the lesser cost. He describes the principle of efficiency as characteristic of any activity

¹⁸ June Rachuy Brindel, Phaedra (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 167.

¹⁹ Frank Sherwood, "The Public Official of the 1980s," in Goodsell, ed., The Public Encounter, pp. 191 and 198.

²⁰ Robert B. Denhardt, Theories of Public Organizations (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1984), p. 79.

that attempts rationally to maximize the attainment of certain ends with the use of scarce means and so finds it as much a characteristic of administrative theory as it is of economic theory. For Simon, "administrative man" takes his place alongside classical "economic man."²¹

Simon equates efficiency with rationality: to behave in a rational manner is to behave in such a way that the individual contributes to the accomplishment of the organization's objectives. For the manager whose job it is to make the organization more efficient, the task becomes the motivation of correct behaviors on the part of the employees. To make the organization more efficient is to make people more efficient.

Under this definition falls most of the management literature beginning with the Human Relations School, which had its start in the 1930s and continues today. Included in this literature is that of industrial relations, job satisfaction, human resources planning, job evaluation, job design, and burn-out as related to work situations. Rhetoric is used which indicates a concern for individuals but, on examination, the real emphasis can be seen to be on efficiency and the needs of the organization.

The following examples from the literature are considered neither unusual nor atypical.

If a company is to get the best out of the people who work for it, its managers had better understand what motivates people . . . what makes people tick. New developments, operations, tasks, increased work loads, cannot be effective or improve productivity, unless

²¹ Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1975), pp. 122, and 185, 182-185.

employee's needs, wants, aspirations, thoughts, fears and frustrations are taken into account.²²

Human resources planning is a systematic process of setting policies governing the acquisition, use, and disposition of personnel in order to achieve organizational objectives . . . to make the best use of organizational resources.²³

The criticism of efficiency as a guide for administration has been frequent and vociferous, particularly from those like Brian Fay who, in Social Theory and Political Practice, are concerned that efficiency is not a neutral term, but is value-laden, in and of itself. For Fay, until the question is asked, "efficient in terms of what -- monetary cost? human labor? suffering? the consumption of natural fuels? time? or what? -- there is literally no way of choosing between alternative courses in terms of efficiency."²⁴

The Service Provider as Victim of Bureaucracy

The case against bureaucracy is made by Ralph Hummel and Kathy Ferguson most recently and was argued by Robert Merton in an earlier time. Because bureaucracy is specifically designed to make decisions about means, not ends, Hummel believes that there is no longer the capacity to

²² Lynda King Taylor, Not for Bread Alone (London: Business Books Limited, 1972), p. 3.

²³ Guvenc G. Alpander, Human Resources Management Planning (New York: American Management Association, 1982), p. 2.

²⁴ Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), pp. 92 and 69.

make decisions about life-affirming ends; that judging by what it does to individuals, bureaucracy has a tendency to "wind down life, not to give and continue life." He describes the individual bureaucrat as caught between the power of organizations and the needs of human beings.

Bureaucracy gives birth to a new species of inhuman beings Psychologically, the new personality type is that of the rationalistic expert, incapable of emotion and devoid of will. Language, once the means for bringing people into communication, becomes the secretive tool of one-way commands. Politics, especially democratic politics, fades away as the method of publicly determining society-wide goals based on human needs; it is replaced by administration Newcomers to bureaucracy and oldtimers deserved to be told that they were not facing a question of minor adjustment but a challenge to alter all their orientations and behaviors²⁵

Although Hummel includes a commendable hope for "transcending bureaucracy," and although he finds potential in our present time for the ending of bureaucracy as well as for beginning the transcendence of bureaucracy, neither of these expectations mute the urgency and clarity of his concern.

Kathy Ferguson takes the position that those who exercise power in bureaucracy are caught as much as those over whom it is exercised. Bureaucracy is described as damaging people in different ways at different levels. The service provider, as well as those who receive services, is "embedded in a system that so automatizes, disindividualizes, and objectifies their activities and relationships that the power relations therein are synonymous with the activities themselves."²⁶

²⁵ Ralph Hummel, The Bureaucratic Experience (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 222 and 259-60.

²⁶ Kathy Ferguson, The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), pp. 37, and 88-89.

As the environment is penetrated with the mechanisms of administrative discipline, so are the individuals in bureaucracy bound into the techniques of observation, regulation and distribution. Professional attitudes have been robbed of their autonomy and subjected to increasing levels of external control. The range of possible choices is determined by the organizational environment of bureaucratic capitalism. Following this thought, the bureaucrat may be considered victim as well as victimizer, eliciting sympathy on the one hand and harsh judgment on the other.

In consideration of this dual position, Nurse Ratched, infamous in One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest, is never forgotten as the terrible victimizer of McMurphy. Yet, it is possible, under Ferguson's definition, to consider her along with McMurphy as victim of the same bureaucratic situation, caught in an organizational environment with severely limited choices.²⁷ If Nurse Ratched is not considered a victim, she can easily be perceived as the spirit of evil incarnate. Yet de Hartog has a nurse of The Hospital say:

Never make the mistake of thinking that the spirit of evil is incarnate in one particular individual. It shifts. It takes hold first of this person, then of that person, it's like a moving shadow, an evil spirit. All we can do is put on the armor of God.²⁸

The bureaucratic system of a Houston charity hospital is described by de Hartog as "eating people," the people who work there. He is clearly

²⁷ Ken Kesey, One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest (New York: New American Library, 1962).

²⁸ Jan de Hartog, The Hospital (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 331.

distressed that such people have to waste their life substance because a cynical society requires that they give more than they can reasonably be expected to give and more than any decent human being should ask another human being to give.

Concern for the effects of bureaucracy on individuals who work in it is not new. Robert Merton describes Weber as almost exclusively concerned with that which the bureaucratic structure attains: precision, reliability, and efficiency.²⁹ Merton suggested that this same structure be examined from the perspective of the limitations required to attain these goals since any action can be considered in terms of what it attains or what it fails to attain. He suggests that "a detailed examination for imbuing the bureaucratic codes with affect would be instructive."³⁰

Ferguson takes the position that it is usual to consider bureaucratic action in the positive terms of what it attains, that is, in terms of what it actively produces in the way of things: inducement of pleasure, forms of knowledge and production of discourse. When she says that there must also be a consideration of what bureaucracy fails to attain, it is as if she were responding to Merton's concern. She states that evaluation of bureaucracy has to do with its ability to repress as well as to

²⁹ Although Weber was largely concerned with these attributes of bureaucracy, defenders of his position may say that he was also concerned with the effects of institutional rationality on the individuals working within organizations.

³⁰ Robert Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in Organizations: Structure and Behavior (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963), pp. 375, and 380, 373-80.

produce. It also has to do with consideration of whether bureaucracy does the cognitive and affective damage sometimes attributed to it.³¹

The Service Provider as Scapegoat

Michael Lipsky notes that the United States has developed a relatively low level of social services and benefits compared to other advanced industrial countries. He foresees that government policy is not likely to fully respond to the needs of citizens for at least two reasons: 1) there is no agreement as to what those needs are and 2) there is a powerful imperative to hold individuals responsible for providing for their own needs. He concludes that it is difficult for the street-level bureaucrat to aid clients in ways that are consistent with their idealized conceptions of assistance within bureaucracies as they are currently constructed.³²

³¹ Ferguson, The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy, pp. 37, 82, and 88-89.

³² Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, pp. 117-118, 180, 183, 185, 190. In conversation, Charles Goodsell adds that other non-service values compete for attention within budget limitations, such as citizen desire for lower taxes.

The social service provider is described as caught in the central contradiction of social services:

The impulse to provide fully, openly and responsively for citizen service needs exists alongside the need to restrict, control, and rationalize service inadequacies or limitations. It is more than simply a tension between costs and benefits. It is critical to reassure mass publics that their elemental needs will be taken care of if they are not met privately and to rationalize such inadequacies by deflecting responsibility away from government.

This deflection occurs at the level of street-level bureaucrats. Through these individuals society organizes the control, restriction and maintenance of relatively powerless groups. Any antagonism is directed toward the agents of social services and control and away from the political forces that ultimately account for the distribution of social and material values.

These service providers, even if they attempt to fulfill their job responsibilities, find it is impossible to do so in ideal terms, with inadequate resources and controls, indeterminate objectives and discouraging circumstances. Therefore, they resort to attempts to limit demands, lower their objectives and modify their concepts of clients. While they are expected to exercise discretion in response to individuals and individual cases, in practice they must process people in terms of routines, stereotypes and other mechanisms which facilitate work tasks. For these practices they are held accountable and are constantly criticized by both managers and clients for their inability to provide responsive and appropriate services.

Yet it would be difficult to aid clients in ways consistent with an idealized conception of assistance without changing the structure of human service delivery. Any restructuring of social services is unlikely

to take place in the absence of a broad movement toward social and economic justice concerned with the priority of more humane service provision.

It is little wonder that the service provider asserts, as Lipsky reports, that they are doing the best they can do and that they see themselves as "fighting on the front line of local conflict with little support and less appreciation by a general public whose dirty work they do."

The Service Provider as Affected by the Workplace

Concern for the effects of organizations on the individuals working in them comes from disparate sources. Three will be considered here. One is concerned with personality theory, a second with organization theory, and a third with psychology.

Kohn and Schooler have been involved since 1963 in research which establishes "a prima facie case that job conditions play an important part in shaping personality." While admitting that job conditions are not the only experiential link between position in the larger society and individual personality, their work does establish strong empirical support for an interpretation of the interrelationship of social stratification, job conditions, and psychological functioning.

The structural imperatives of the job affect worker's values, their orientations to self and society, and their cognitive functioning primarily through a direct process of learning from the job and generalizing what has been learned to other realms of life.

Although other processes may be involved, learning-generalization does seem to be predominant.³³

Robert Denhardt describes organizations as structured to suppress irrationality, personality and emotionality. Whether labeled "bureaucrats," "functionaries," or "employees," people in organizations are used as a means to the ends of organizational efficiency and goals. In pursuit of rational efficiency Denhardt finds a strong tendency toward depersonalization and objectification of the individual.³⁴

Objectification can be described as ignoring the aspects of human life which have to do with feeling, emotion and intuition. These aspects are interpreted as interfering with rational planning and decision making and with reason and order. Objectification requires the curbing of all emotion except as it fosters the prescribed goals of the organization.

Jean Baker Miller is also concerned with the objectification of human beings. She perceives the mechanisms of bureaucracy as making the personal interactions of individuals trivial. When people are used as objects in the production process and as instruments to be manipulated for the sake of efficiency, they lose "that sense of self-reflection and self-understanding that is essential for creativity and personal growth."

To be considered an object can lead to a deep inner sense that there must be something wrong and bad about oneself. To be treated like an object is to be threatened with psychic annihilation. It is a truly dreadful experience. Objectification denies individual growth and development. It denies the creativeness of the self;

³³ Melvin L. Kohn and Carmi Schooler, Work and Personality (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1983), pp. viii-ix and 297.

³⁴ Denhardt, Theories of Public Organizations, pp. 64, 111, and 113.

denies that one is a person; denies that all people have a need for authenticity and creativity.³⁵

The diversity of people concerned with the effects of bureaucracy on the working individual demands the attention of the questioning service provider who has a very high personal stake in those concerns. For these service providers there must be the personal questioning, without waiting for academic arguments to be resolved, as to whether such objectification is an a priori condition of working in any bureaucracy, and whether learning to suppress feeling and emotion and intuition, is then, a condition of working in any bureaucracy. Interest in the effects of bureaucracy is heightened as increasing evidence points to the significance of groups and organizations on the personal and psychological development of the individual. The individual's relationship to the group is deemed critical to an understanding of the human condition and ultimately of society itself.³⁶

SYNTHESIS OF THE "NEGATIVE" LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review was designed to give evidence to the participants of something they already knew "in their bones."³⁷ Service providers are described as trained to be professionals, desiring to serve

³⁵ Jean Baker Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), p. 58.

³⁶ Denhardt, Theories of Public Organizations, p. 35.

³⁷ Ralph Hummel, "Bureaucracy, Democracy and Politics: Are They Compatible?" paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, 1985.

the best interests of people who come to their agencies for services and to respond to an ethic of service dedicated to humanitarian values. Most frequently, however, their work in bureaucratic settings requires the very opposite responses of efficiency, objectivity and impersonality. A rationale has been discovered for the expected dissonance that service providers may experience, in moving from training institutions to job situations, where they find themselves required to act in terms of efficiency directed toward serving the goals of the organization rather than serving the goals of the people who come for services, or their own personal goals.

The criterion of efficiency has come under extensive criticism in this literature review, as have the effects of bureaucracy. The author of this study finds herself in agreement with Brian Fay, who in Social Theory and Political Practice directs his attention to those influences of efficiency in bureaucracy that may affect human beings.³⁸

The historical perspective served to remind the research participants of the evolution of society's inevitable duties in caring for the young, the sick, and those deemed incapable of performance in today's society, as well as those who are productive. As such duties moved from the family to government, extended requests for professional services resulted in increased demands for the training of professionals in these services.

When service provision falls short of projected goals, it is usually the service provider who is "scapegoated" without consideration being

³⁸ Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, pp. 69 and 92.

given to the influence of the values of American society or to the political and economic forces that ultimately account for distribution of resources. Even as they are scapegoated, service providers are considered by some advocates of bureaucracy to be performing services essential to the well-being of citizens.

CASE FOR BUREAUCRACY

Even as bureaucracy is criticized, it is also defended as a vehicle for the provision of essential services in the United States. Charles Goodsell is representative of those in today's public administration who take the position that American administrative agencies of government function surprisingly well. In The Case for Bureaucracy, Goodsell does not claim perfection for bureaucracy, but he does characterize any deficiencies as "particularized rather than generalized" and as occurring "within tolerable ranges of proportionate incidence."³⁹

Goodsell does not stand alone as he makes his case for bureaucracy. In questioning whether the allegations against bureaucracy are inherently believable, he details views he finds persuasive in the works of James Q. Wilson, Christopher Hood, Alvin Gouldner, Victor Thompson and Charles Perrow.

Goodsell believes that empirical data, as well as comparison with bureaucracy in other countries, force a reconsideration of the

³⁹ Charles T. Goodsell, The Case for Bureaucracy (Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, 1983), pp. ix, and 1-15.

allegations of a repressive and inefficient public bureaucracy. There is a failure to appreciate bureaucracy's role in social change because of a misunderstanding of the function of administration and a misconception of the nature of change. Bureaucratic stereotypes are found to "evaporate" under empirical examination, and contentions that bureaucracy perpetuates socioeconomic inequities and contributes to policy drift are not as damning as they sound.

Goodsell differs significantly from Hummel and Ferguson in that their primary concern is for the individual working in bureaucracy and his primary concern is admittedly for citizens and their right to believe in their public institutions:

Citizens have a right to grant legitimacy to their public institutions to the extent that these institutions earn it through performance . . . unjustified delegitimacy of publicly owned institutions is, in a way, robbing the people of what is due them.

Like Weber, as described by Merton, Goodsell, too, is concerned almost exclusively with the precision, reliability and efficiency which bureaucracy attains. He seems convinced that "contrary to popular abstractions and academic deductions, the performance of bureaucracy is acceptable or satisfactory in the preponderant majority of actual encounters with citizens."

However, in an earlier work concerned with accountability and humaneness with respect to clients, Goodsell provides an empirical basis for his conclusion that bureaucracy is "under stress with unexpected pro-client consequences." The bureaucrat is described as operating in a state of "compression" under a combination of tight restrictions and high stress. The resultant behavior pattern is one in which the client is

subject to selective favors, or "positive discrimination," from service providers. Of the service provider, he reports that perhaps one-fifth of the social workers in his study exhibited symptoms associated with "burn-out": disillusionment, weariness, frustration and demoralization.⁴⁰

Clients were reported to be generally satisfied with the treatment experienced and grateful for the benefits received. However, in his concern for accountability and humaneness with respect to clients, Goodsell does not address the imperative issue of what the cost may be to those individuals who are face-to-face service providers, and who are also citizens, when bureaucracy does not work. Nor does he address the consequences for those workers to whom benefits do not accrue, as they do for the professional who has some successes from the interactions with people who come for services. However, Goodsell's study does contribute evidence that the "harassed bureaucrat" has good reason to question a service delivery system in which the service provider is subject to "unrewarded personal stress" while engaged in the performance of duties described as essential to the well-being of others.

CONCLUSIONS

The service providers in this study are considered to be suffering from the stress of their position face-to-face with some of the most

⁴⁰ Charles T. Goodsell, "Looking Once Again at the Human Service Bureaucracy," Journal of Politics 43 (August 1981): 763-78.

disadvantaged members of American society. This stress is seen to have both negative physiological and psychological effects, even as the providers are performing essential services.

The literature review is designed to encourage the participants in this study to make opportunity for self-reflection and to seek that understanding and quality of mind suggested by C. Wright Mill "that seems most dramatically to promise an understanding of the intimate realities of ourselves in connection with larger social realities."⁴¹

The methodology is also expected to contribute to this same self-reflection and understanding. It has been one of exploration and evolution, growing from the experiences of the participants. It is expected to aid in answering two questions of critical importance to the service providers themselves: 1) Can the benefits of human services as delivered through bureaucratic systems be touted without reference to the costs to the individuals working within those systems?, and 2) Are service providers subject to excessive and undue personal stress in the performance of those duties considered essential?

⁴¹ C. Wright Mill, The Sociological Imagination (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 15.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study accepts H.T. Wilson's view of social science research as a form of social interaction, rather than simply as a means of acquiring knowledge. It is based on the notion of Carol Ehrlich that people can do research on and about themselves. Presenting one subjective view of reality, it is a synthesis and modification of several theories: H. T. Wilson's "counterstructure," Brian Fay's "critical" social science, Alfred Adler's lifestyle analysis, Stephen Fawcett's Concerns Report, and the communication model of George Gazda and his associates. The theorists come from the disciplines of political science, and psychology as practiced in counseling and community development. The methodology entails a merging of theory and practice which requires empathy and involvement of the author as an instrument of research. It represents a position expressed by Alvin Gouldner, that "subjects" of research can be engaged as "fellow sociologists" in collaborative research. At the same time, the author finds that the methodology of the study allows practical application of her agreement with Hannah Arendt: "Truth can exist only where it is humanized by discourse."¹

¹ Alvin Gouldner, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 490; and Elizabeth Young-Bruehl, For Love of the World (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 94. The disciplines from which these theories arise are only apparently diverse ones. In fact, they sometimes come together in serendipitous fashion for the interested researcher. The particular audience addressed by the researcher may determine what specific combination

The methodology is based on a dialogic approach to research which assumes that the participants take as their own Wilson's position, that "subjects" as well as theorists have "substantive common sense capacities for thinking, speaking and reasoning." The author considers this approach as significant and as surprising as if the stones had decided to speak, the trees, or the grass under one's feet. It is as if the men on Tally's Corner or the inmates of Asylum were to initiate research on and about themselves, rather than Liebow or Goffman being the initiators.²

Each element of the methodology will be given a brief description, followed by a synthesis of these elements. The methodology is described as "evolutionary," and that position is given explanation. Lastly, the methodology was related to this specific study.³

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of words will be used: community organizing, community development, community psychology, citizen participation, or voter behavior. Stephen Fawcett and his associates at the University of Kansas exemplify an effective meshing of these disciplines, built on a strong foundation of theory and empirical study.

² Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967); and, Erving Goffman, Asylum (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961).

³ Those readers who would prefer to read only the material directly related to this study, may turn to a later section of this chapter, "Methodology as Related to This Study."

CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS

Ehrlich's Notion of Research

Ehrlich assumes that people can do research for and about themselves, rather than having others do it for them. Such research is seen as not only less alienating, but as very likely to produce a more accurate view of what they want to know and change about their lives than is the research done by others who do not share these same circumstances. It is designed specifically to benefit women, and because it is for and about themselves, it is most often accomplished with the time and money of the women who produce it.⁴

Ehrlich's notion of research does not differ in method from traditional research methods; that is, she advocates the necessity of asking the right questions, designing means of answering those questions, evaluating and expressing the results clearly and understandably, and sharing them with other researchers. The difference is that she seeks to break the dependency of women on traditional research techniques. She expects research to present information not generally known about women and to generate action toward social change. Such research efforts are expected to avoid the exploitation which occurs when the researcher regards people as objects of study to be manipulated, when there is a barrier between the researchers and the "subjects," or when it does not

⁴ Carol Ehrlich, The Conditions of Feminist Research (Baltimore: Vacant Lots Press, 1976), p. 17.

matter to the researcher whether or not the results are put to "good use or bad use." The research she advocates would be directed toward the structure, strategies and goals of the women's movement and would always lead in the direction of transformation of the existing order, not accommodation with it.

Wilson's "Anti-method"

Wilson proposes an alternative way of looking at social science research practices as well as an alternative mode of action. Rather than viewing these efforts as a neutral and objective means of acquiring knowledge about social structure and social interaction, he treats them as a form of social interaction, expressive of certain structural and normative properties endemic to advanced industrial societies.⁵

The practice of social science as Wilson defines it is unavoidably political in that it requires a dialogue between researcher and participants leading to understanding on the part of the participants as to what has been produced about them and concurrence with the results. If these findings are not acceptable, a continuation of the dialogue must take place. Participants may write counter-descriptions or explanations if they are not in agreement with the researcher. They also may waive the proffered symmetrical participation.

⁵ H. T. Wilson, "Anti-Method as a Counterstructure in Social Research Practice" in Beyond Method, ed. Gareth Morgan (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), pp. 171, and 254.

Wilson's interest is in response to what he sees as the reality of political apathy and collective frustration over austerity and diminished expectations. His hope is that his positive suggestions will merge nonviolent and incremental processes of interaction with the possibility of significant society-wide impact. His concern is for communicative equality and reciprocity through the interaction of researchers and participants. Acting on his proposal means according participants the same opportunities for thinking, speaking and reasoning usually reserved for members of society's dominant institutions.

Wilson clearly states that his research proposal is designed to be subversive in that it undercuts the idea that the function of social science research should be the accumulation of expert and "objective" knowledge. From his perspective, most social science research has served and reinforced the needs of those in power and hence of the existing order. He observes that the framework through which the social scientist engages the object of investigation influences the research.

Research will have a different effect depending on whether the framework is concerned with contributing to the general body of scientific knowledge, or whether it is intended to empower human beings to take responsibility and control over their lives, engaging them in action consistent with their own interest. The questions must always be asked: Whose experience of reality does the research express? Whose interest does it serve? If knowledge is considered useful, for what use? To whom? To address what problem? Whose problem?

This dissertation is concerned that the experience of the reality of the participants be expressed; that their interests be served; that

if the knowledge is considered useful, it be put to use by the participants to solve their own problems of working within bureaucratic structures as well as to better provide services to the people who come to their agencies for help.

Fay's "Critical" Social Theory

Fay, sharing common ground with Wilson, moves beyond positivist and interpretivist models of social science, finding them supportive of the status quo: positivism, with its connections to technical control and industrialism; interpretivism as it leads people to consider changing the way they think about what they or others are doing, without giving them a theory by means of which they could change these things.⁶

From criticism of these two models of social science Fay moves to the development of a third model which he calls "critical" because of its "attempt to integrate theory and practice in its account of the nature of social theory." The model is "critical" in that it sees theories as analyses of a social situation in terms of those features which can be altered in order to eliminate certain frustrations which members in it are experiencing; and because its method of testing the truth of a social scientific theory consists partially of ascertaining the theory's practical relevance in leading to the satisfaction of human needs and purposes.

⁶ Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), pp. 47, 69, 91-93, and 105.

Fay does not equate his critical model of social science with either the social theory of Marx or with the particular sociological perspective and political stance of the neo-Marxist Frankfurt School. He describes the term "critical theory" as beginning to have a wider currency in the social scientific literature, thus justifying the use of this term rather than coining another one.

A critical social science is characterized by three main features. First, it accepts the necessity of interpretive categories of social science. In order to have a subject matter at all, the scientist must attempt to understand the intentions and desires of the actors being observed. The theory must be rooted in the felt needs of a group of people. They must be understood from their own point of view, as a first step.

Secondly, a critical social science is one which recognizes that a great many of the actions people perform are caused by social conditions over which they have no control, and that a great deal of what people do to one another is not the result of conscious knowledge and choice. A critical social science seeks to uncover those systems of social relationships which determine the actions of individuals and the unanticipated, though not accidental, consequences of these actions.

The third characteristic is most important. There is explicit recognition that social theory is interconnected with social practice, such that what is to count as truth is partially determined by the specific ways in which scientific theory is supposed to relate to practical action. The critical model takes the connection between theory and practice as one of its starting points and ties its knowledge claims

to the satisfaction of human purposes and desires. The theories of such a science will necessarily be composed of an account of how such theories are translatable into action, and this means that the truth or falsity of these theories will be partially determined by whether they are in fact translated into action.

The goal of this theory is the enlightenment of the actors being studied. In this way it plays an educative role. People are encouraged to see themselves and their social situation in a new way. Alternative views of their needs and wants are offered in terms of the latent content of their self-conceptions. They are informed of aspects of their social life of which they have been unaware but which have been there all along. They come to have different pictures of themselves and to redefine their needs and desires, to learn the ways in which their social order has affected them, and to determine the kinds of action which they must take to change these social processes. They begin to see that there is an intimate connection between the ideas they have about themselves and their social order and the sort of life they live. They recognize that the social world need not operate as it does and that it is open to change.

Fay's critical social theory is not a static doctrine but is continually corrected and reformulated as it confronts the people it seeks to enlighten. They help to fashion it by their own choices and actions and by their responses to it. The claims of the theory can be partially determined in terms of the responses of the social actors to it. Fay uses the phrase "partially determined," because other requirements must be met as to, at least, minimal normative practice and scientific criteria.

Normative practice is influenced by the assumption articulated by Fay that alteration of certain behaviors and social situations leads to the satisfaction of human needs and purposes. The author of this study would add that there is an additional influence implied by Fay: the stance of the theorist must demonstrate commitment to an "ideal" of responsible reciprocal communication.

The scientific requirements which Fay outlines include internal consistency of the theory, formulation of rules which permit intersubjective evidence and testing of claims, as well as agreement with the evidence. Additionally, the theory must be compatible with other claims acknowledged to be true.

The critical model does not simply offer a picture of the way that a social order works; instead, it is itself a catalytic agent of change within the complex of social life which it analyzes. It seeks to aid people who perceive themselves as objects to transform themselves into active self-determining subjects. The critical social theorist is concerned that people change not just their ideas but their life conditions and forms of behavior on the basis of their new understandings of themselves.

There is an assumption in this study that the research project itself has the potential to act as a "catalytic" agent of change, and that the participants may change their ideas about the conditions under which they live and work. That is to say, participation in this study, in and of itself, may contribute to greater satisfaction for them.

Adler's Social Interest and Life Style Analysis

The leading idea of the Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler is found in his recognition of the importance of human society, not only for the development of the individual character, but also for the orientation of every single action and emotion in the life of a human being. This capacity is termed social interest, Geneinschaftgefuehl, and may be said to create an attitude toward life, a desire to cooperate with others in some way and to master the situations of life. It is the expression of our capacity for give and take and is considered to be innate in every human being.⁷

Social interest is expressed subjectively as having a sense of something in common with other people and of being one with them. People can develop their capacity for cooperation only if they are not fundamentally different from other people. Social interest has no fixed objective. "Much more truly may it be said to create an attitude to life."

Adler contended that scientific knowledge must not remain in the hands of a fortunate few and that its value is relative to its usefulness to all people. His intent was to contribute to the ways people might make their lives more meaningful, understanding themselves and others better. His concern was for the development of more complete human beings. Toward that end he and those interested in the theory and practice of Individual

⁷ Rudolph Dreikurs, Fundamentals of Adlerian Psychology (Chicago: Alfred Adler Institute, 1953), pp. 1-9.

Psychology designed practical applications of the principles of social interest as they relate to everyday relationships worked out in community with others.⁸

According to Adlerian theory, there is one basic dynamic force behind all human activity, a striving from a felt minus situation towards a plus situation, from a feeling of inferiority towards superiority. The individual, in this striving, cannot be considered apart from the social situation. All important life problems become social problems. All important values become social values.⁹

The socialization of the individual is afforded through an innate human ability, a social interest or social feeling, which needs to be developed. Because the individual is always embedded in a social situation, social interest becomes crucial for adjustment. Maladjustment is characterized by increased feelings of inferiority, underdeveloped social interest, and an exaggerated uncooperative goal of personal superiority. Problems are solved in a self-centered "private sense" rather than a task-centered "common sense" fashion.

⁸ Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), Chapter 7 and pp. 7, 9, 126, 131, 175, 161, 184 and 363.

⁹ For the purposes of this study the author accepts this basic premise of Adlerian psychology, that of a striving toward superiority, as a basic dynamic force behind all human striving. However, Professor Robert Dyck has raised a question as to whether the concept of "superiority" as a "basic dynamic" is a masculine rather than a feminine dynamic. He also wonders if it may be a Western industrial dynamic and if it can be considered an accurate description of Western culture as a whole. The author has these same questions and will address them at another time, but not within the confines of the methodology chosen for this study.

Adler's was the first psychological system that was developed in what would be called today, a social science direction. Next to striving for overcoming and perfection, the social aspect is the most important factor in Adler's Individual Psychology. He saw that the individual must be understood within the larger whole, which is formed by the groups to which he belongs, ranging from face-to-face groups to the whole of humankind, ultimately.

Adler's concern was with the realization of human interrelatedness and its theoretical implications. The individual must be seen and must see himself as embedded in a larger whole, the social situation. He dealt with the individual's means for responding to the social situation, his social coping aptitude, which he termed social interest. Social interaction will be successful or unsuccessful from the point of view of the individual as well as the group, depending upon the amount of social interest in the process.

He pointed out that all the main problems in life are problems of human cooperation. In present society the satisfaction of almost all conceivable needs depends on the solution of these problems of cooperation. They represent the ties of the individual to social life and are somewhat loosely classified into problems of occupation, social relations in general, and love and marriage. There is an absence of self-centeredness and a presence of participation, of cooperative other-directed behaviors. "It is the individual who is not interested in his fellow men who has the greatest difficulties in life and provides the greatest injury to others. It is from among such individuals that all human failures spring."

Adler took objective factors into account but limited them to the role of providing probabilities, of "soft determiners." The ultimate determination was seen to come from the inner nature of the self. Although Adler did not use the term phenomenology, he consistently used the method in that he emphasized the unprejudiced approach in studying people, and based his understanding on empathy. This he defined simply in the demand: "We must be able to see with his eyes and listen with his ears." He was the original proponent of a depth psychology which is "subjectivistic," in contrast to Freud who founded depth psychology from an "objective" position. "Objective" corresponds to the psyche as seen from without, by the observer, and "subjective" corresponds to the psyche seen from within, by the subject himself.

Adler's particular subjectivity refers to dynamics: he was not a reductionist attempting to trace dynamic forces to a physiological origin. Rather, he regarded ideas, which in the last analysis are creations of the individual, as the ultimate determiners.

One of the concepts of Individual Psychology is that of "the style of life" rooted in an appreciation of individual experience. Human beings, as they face difficulties, are seen to be urged to movement and action. This movement results in a plan of life, a "life style," a self-consistent unity commanding all forms of expression.

A life style is described as an organization of all life rules into a pattern which dominates all coping behaviors. It becomes a "rule of thumb" and is elevated to the status of law, a unique law of movement. It is constantly reinforced by experience because it is the rule by which the experience is perceived. The pattern becomes a dominant directive

in the life of the individual. It permits better coping adaptations as it becomes a private religion or personal myth. It is a private logic not influenced by common sense, should that common sense conflict with the private logic.¹⁰

The life style, in addition to being essential for coping, can also be a limiter in the sense that any law limits. It can be a governor in the sense that it directs an overall line of movement but also in the sense that it is a feedback mechanism which reinforces or inhibits the movement.

The chief difficulty of this unity is that the particular life style is built on a subjective view of the facts of life, not upon objective reality. The world is seen through a stable schema of apperception and, even if an approach brings the individual into continued misfortune, it is never easily abandoned. This schema is believed to be formed during the first years of life, at which time each child creatively forms a subjective view of the world and of the self.

The task of the practitioner of Individual Psychology is to point out the particular ways in which the troubled individual arrives at a particular subjective view. This task is accomplished through the process of dialogue and is one of discovery. The individual begins to examine the basis for dearly held values. The practitioner is then able to encourage that person to acknowledge that this is a subjectively held position. Further, it is pointed out in what ways the position taken

¹⁰ Bernard H. Schulman, Contributions to Individual Psychology (Chicago, Illinois: Alfred Adler Institute, 1980), p. 17.

contributes to present sufferings. The individual is encouraged to believe that a new position can be taken. In short, the practitioner, if successful, convinces the individual of the Golden Rule of Individual Psychology: everything can be different.

This task of life style analysis is set within a framework of concern for social consciousness. Although some practitioners of Adlerian psychology can be faulted for using the theories and techniques of Individual Psychology to encourage adjustment to the status quo, there is the potential for active intervention and change in the social processes which are seen as contributing to individual dissatisfactions.

Stephen Fawcett's Concerns Report

Fawcett has developed what he calls a "Concerns Report." It is a device used to point out social processes which may contribute to the individual dissatisfactions of the participants in this study. It is a systematic, data-based method for assessing the strengths and problems of communities and human service institutions from the perspective of consumers.¹¹

Unlike traditional survey research approaches, the participants are involved in selecting the issues to be studied and also in interpreting the results. The Concerns Report provides information about problems and strengths to decision makers, and offers concrete proposals to solve the

¹¹ Stephen B. Fawcett, et al., "Involving Consumers in Decision-Making," Social Policy 13 (Fall 1982): 36.

problems and preserve the strengths that may be at risk from the perspective of organizational members.

The items are prepared in a standard format with two types of questions for each issue. One type inquires about the importance or salience of the issue. The other type inquires about the satisfaction with adherence to that issue. For example:

	How important is it to you that...					How satisfied are you that...				
	Not		Very			Not		Very		
	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
You receive recognition and credit for the work you do.										

The results of the survey allow for computation of several kinds of data, the most basic being the mean percentage of importance and the mean percentage of satisfaction for each item. The data are presented in a format which designates the five top-rated strengths and concerns. Any combination of these may be chosen for discussion of more specific dimensions. Strengths which are seen to be at risk may be addressed, or concerns may be addressed as to specific alternatives for improvement. A complete Concerns Report, consisting of data and information on strengths and problems along with specific suggestions for improvement, is then prepared and presented to decision makers at the level of program, institution, or system.

As a management tool, the Concerns Report may be used to set agendas for action, guide subsequent decisions, provide feedback on program

quality, document needs, and avoid pain by reducing ignorance of local or widespread concerns of clients or staff. These uses can contribute to at least two general purposes of the method: 1) to improve the quality of care in specific institutions, and 2) to facilitate planning for cutbacks in human services at the local and state levels.¹²

The Report is designed to relay concerns from the lowest level at which important decisions are made. Such an approach has the potential to identify basic values and human rights which may be at risk. The method presents an opportunity for the active involvement of disadvantaged persons in improvement agendas. It provides a basis on which the legitimacy of important human services, and their priorities, can be established.

Gazda's Human Relations Model of Communication

The communication model of George Gazda and his associates is used broadly for skill development in personal and interpersonal relationships. By skill development is meant developing expertise in listening, perceiving, responding and communicating in order to make problem identification and solving easier for those seeking assistance. Such expertise has proven to be a potent means of preventing misunderstanding. The emphasis of this model is on presenting a complete

¹² Stephen B. Fawcett and Tom Seekins, "The Consumer's Concerns Report: A Systematic Method for Facilitating Institutional Improvement and Cutback Management." Paper presented to the Executive Development Seminar for Cabinet Level Officials of Kansas State Government, Topeka, Kansas, 1981.

rationale for, and a system of training in, the human relations needs of communicating and problem solving.¹³

A basic proposition of this comprehensive helping model is that all effective interpersonal processes share a common core of conditions conducive to facilitating human experiences. These conditions, or dimensions, are empathy, warmth, respect, concreteness, genuineness, self-disclosure, confrontation and immediacy of the relationship. They are arranged into three phases: facilitative, transitional and problem solving.

It is a common occurrence for people who are well-meaning to look at another person, another situation, from their personal point of view, assuming that they know exactly what is going on and exactly what needs to be done to change the existing situation. There is often an immediate jump to recommended solutions before the problem has even been defined. Yet, problem definition strongly influences problem solution, and the Human Relations Development model gives opportunity for such definition.

This model is designed first to give recognition of acceptance. The conditions of empathy, warmth and respect create the climate for that acceptance. Only then does the dialogue move toward the dimension of concreteness, toward details of the problem. It can also be appropriate to share one's own perspective within the dimensions of genuineness and self-disclosure. Only within the last dimension, that of confrontation, is there an attempt at problem solution. "Confrontation" is defined as

¹³ George M. Gazda, et al., Human Relations Development (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1977), pp. vi, and 102-103.

a pointing out of discrepancies voiced by the person with the problem, and can contain suggestions for alternative behaviors.

The Human Relations Development model often used to facilitate communication between individuals or within small groups. In this study it was used to facilitate data collection as well as to be of personal benefit to the research participants.

SYNTHESIS OF CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS

Ehrlich moves a step ahead of Wilson and Fay who advocate similar research methods but do not advocate that "subjects" conduct their own research. They all share common ground in expressing the desire that the research benefit the participants and that they be treated respectfully. They are all concerned that the research be put to good use, and that it be communicated to the participants and others in a clear and understandable manner. Ehrlich seeks, as do Fay and Wilson, a transformation of the existing social order, not an accommodation with it.

Wilson's use of social science research as a form of social interaction puts stress on dialogue between researchers and participants and is comparable to Fay's educative role of social theory designed for use with individuals. Both are models of theory and practice concerned with the education of people so that they come to see themselves and their situations in a new way and can decide to alter the conditions which they find unsatisfying. Both models also seek to increase the autonomy of

people by making it possible for them to determine collectively the conditions under which they will live.

Fay's critical social science theorist and the practitioner of Adler's Individual Psychology share common goals: to demonstrate that people have ideas about their individual selves and social life based on a subjective view of reality concerning the facts of individual and social life which may not be congruent with what is actually happening. Even though these ideas may be inappropriate, they contain truths which can be developed in addressing the individual life situation and the social situation of the group.

All three theories offer the potential for active intervention and change in the social processes which are seen as contributing to dissatisfactions. It will be remembered that, as to anticipated change, there is an assumption that forms of behavior and social situations can be altered, leading to the satisfaction of human needs and purposes.

Neither Fay's social theory nor Adler's life style analysis offer fully completed sets of laws or principles to impose on concrete situations, even though they intimately connect theory and practice. The subjects of the theory help to fashion it by their own choices and actions and by their response to it. The claims of both theories can only be validated in terms of the responses of the subjects to it. Whether the theories are true is partially determined by whether those about whom it is articulated recognize it as true and act on the knowledge gained.

Both critical social theory and life style analysis do more than offer a picture of the way that a social order works. In each case, the

theory itself is a catalytic agent of change within the complex of social life which it analyzes.

An individual coming for life style analysis usually offers a "presented problem" to the practitioner of Individual Psychology. In like manner, critical social science requires, as a first step, that the theorist come to understand the actors from their own point of view. It is in providing for this first step, this "presented problem," that the Concerns Report has been used as a device to identify concerns and satisfactions of participants. It also offers a structured method to fulfill Wilson's requirement for dialogue between the participants and the researcher.

The usual purpose of the Concerns Report is to index behaviors that can be observed, measured and changed. The use of the Report for this study is quite different. As the Adlerian practitioner's task is to point out that the presented problem is not the real problem but is the subjective interpretation that defines the problem, so the Concerns Report allows that opportunity for the social scientist.

People are viewed as accepting unsatisfying social conditions because they have a mistaken understanding of who and what they are. Accepting the truth of the theory involves coming to define themselves and what they think they need and want in a way quite different from what they have done before. Only when they understand themselves in specific ways will they be able to initiate action to change their social positions.

The Human Relations Development model was used as a communication technique which enhanced the gathering of background information and of

information for the face-to face service provider's index and the survey. It also contributed to the well-being of the participants by helping them better understand themselves and each other.

METHODOLOGY AS EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The development of the methodology was an evolutionary one. The interest of the author had been piqued in reading Brian Fay. She wondered how Fay expected to put his critical theory of social science into operation. Further exploration brought surprise, for there seemed to be elements in Fay's theory that were similar to those of the life style analysis of Alfred Adler. Having training and experience as an Adlerian practitioner, the author wondered if the individual assessment tool of the life style could be used as a group assessment tool. Pursuing this line of thought, and having studied with Stephen Fawcett, she selected his Concerns Report as a way of arriving at a group "identified problem," similar to the problem that an individual usually brings to the Adlerian practitioner. Trained also in the Human Relations Development model of communication, the author found it was a natural step to use this model to facilitate the research effort, and to use it in a deliberate and conscious manner.

During the course of the research, it was pointed out to the author that Wilson's "counterstructure" was compatible with what she was doing, and she took advantage of that part of his model which insisted upon the involvement of the participants in what was being written about them.

As a foundation for the study, she took the position of Ehrlich that people can do research for and about themselves.

Richard B. Capel, in "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," describes scientists as they behave when their community is in fluctuation. The participants in this study can be seen as acting in similar fashion. They have used the methodology to help them "become more aware of their existence, conceptualize their worlds differently, and view themselves and their ways of being in the world more constructively." It has been a way to "ask basic questions" and to "challenge the legitimacy of each other's methods."¹⁴

The methodology follows the definitions of Georges Allo who distinguishes between scientific and philosophic knowledge, finding that what distinguishes them one from the other is the specificity of their points of view. This methodology, then, is an approach, not toward scientific knowledge, which seeks to analyze all components and laws, discipline by discipline, but toward philosophic knowledge which is essentially an "interrogation made to understand one's own life and to situate oneself in existence. What is at stake here is to find meaning for one's existence -- a significance and an orientation for oneself and one's own group."¹⁵

¹⁴ Richard B. Caple, "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," Journal of Counseling and Development 64 (November, 1985): 173-178.

¹⁵ Georges Allo, "Allo on the Roles of Philosophy and Social Science in Values Research," in The Cruel Choice Denis Goulet (New York: Atheneum, 1978), pp. 349-51.

The methodology has required commitment to a process, as does counseling, as defined by Capel. That process has been one of evolution, one Allo describes as a "journey along a common path," taking what materials were at hand for understanding, continually assessing the benefits of those materials, and making use of them in ways intended, and unintended, by those who had "discovered" them. It was only in retrospect, at the end of the research study, that the author came to fully appreciate the usefulness of the combination of Ehrlich, Wilson, Fay, Adler, Fawcett's Concerns Report and The Human Relations Development model.

Criticism of the materials chosen by the participants as appropriate for their research may be directed toward the "subjectivist" nature of the study, as Karl Popper criticized Adler's "so-called Individual Psychology," finding it without "explanatory power" or "confirmation." Popper, who once worked with Adler in Vienna, came to believe that the Adlerian theory, along with the theories of Freud and Marx, had more in common with primitive myth than with science, with astrology than with astronomy. Popper found no "confirmation" in Adlerian theory as did those who experienced "intellectual conversion or revelation," whose eyes were opened to "a new truth hidden from those not yet initiated."

The author considers herself to be one of those so "initiated," finding thereafter little interest or commitment to "objectivist" approaches to psychology. The objectivist approaches to psychology do not lend themselves to the needs of this study as they correspond to the "psyche as seen from without by the observer," whereas this study is

concerned with a subjective approach, "corresponding to the psyche seen from within."¹⁶

By Popper's definition, the author of this study would fit into that group of persons impressed by the "explanatory power" of Adlerian theory, drawing "proof" from and finding "confirming instances everywhere." Although in actuality the author offers no proof or wholly confirming evidence, she does offer a process of group self-discovery and a body of coherent interpretations.

Brian Fay's theoretical foundation seems to the author to bear the "taint" of subjectivity, but that is not a criticism which has been directed toward his work. Instead, Russell Keat, in The Politics of Social Theory, criticizes Fay for attempting "to show the distinctive way in which a critical social theory is related to the outcome of political practice." The author of this study was not concerned to make full use of Fay's theory leading to political practice. She was only interested in the use of his first two steps: to understand people in their own terms and, through the use of Adler, to discover particular social patterns of behavior within particular social contexts. There was no intent nor

¹⁶ Heinz and Rowena Ansbacher, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler, pp. 3-18. Rowena and Heinz Ansbacher, in a sympathetic treatment of Adler, describe him as "the original proponent of a depth psychology" which is "subjectivistic," in contrast to Freud who founded depth psychology from an "objectivist" position. The Ansbacher's compared Adler's view with that of William James' "tough-minded" and "tender-minded" temperaments, the former tending toward the empirical and appreciation of facts, and the latter tending toward the rationalist and generation of principles. The one was termed "hard-headed" by James, the other "feeling."

promise to relate the outcome of the research project to Fay's "political practice." In this way, criticism such as Keat's has been avoided.

In like manner, criticism that might be leveled at Wilson's theory has also been avoided. The author has eschewed the "radical" political implications that Wilson imputes to his "anti-method," choosing instead to make use only of that part of his theory which makes it imperative to include the participants in all phases of the research.¹⁷

Use of the Concerns Report also gives opening for criticism directed toward the potential for "radical" political action. Again, as in the use of the theories of Fay and Wilson, the author did not make use of the Concerns Report process to initiate changes in the systems in which the participants were living and working. The instrument was used only as a means toward the development of a "presented problem," in the manner in which an individual might come to an Adlerian practitioner with a

¹⁷ The author is indebted to _____, of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University's Political Science Department, for discussion with her concerning criticism of Fay. He suggested that criticism of Fay might be similar to that given John Gaventa, of the Highlander Research and Education Center, Newmarket, Tennessee, concerning the methods he employed for Power and Powerlessness. There is the notion that their methods could be termed "manipulative" by those of pluralist persuasion, or as "interference" from an "outside" agitator by conservatives. In defense of the theories of Fay and Gaventa, White says that the pluralist position does not address the issue of power, that people often are not in a position to express their "real" interests. Additionally, he suggests that those researchers who do not check out their results with participants, as recommended by Wilson, often come to ridiculous conclusions. At the very least, White says, these theorists are offering alternative information in a democratic society.

It is the author's position that, rather than being manipulative or interfering in an unethical manner, she is offering information to the participants. To have information and not offer it would seem the unethical position.

"problem." Because of this use of the Concerns Report, it also avoids any criticism that might have to do with reliability, validity and generalizability.¹⁸

Like the Concerns Report, the Human Relations Model of Development has had no published criticism. Any criticism of the model has been verbal, in conversation with the authors of that model. A general criticism of the model could apply to its use in this research project. Specifically, criticism has often resulted from a misunderstanding of the facilitative mode of the model: people may be pushed deeper into conversation than they wish to go. A second general criticism of the model, that it is manipulative through the choice of responses of the "facilitator," could be directed at its use in this study for research facilitation. There is some criticism that there is a "quicker" way to "help" people but there has been no criticism that the model is harmful in any way.¹⁹

¹⁸ , of the Center for Public Affairs at the University of Kansas, in telephone conversation with the author, says that his work is too new to have had published criticism. He does say that those who have criticized him verbally have done so from a misunderstanding of his method. In particular, he does not want to be associated with those who would generalize to a larger population from random samples. Instead, he consciously and deliberately makes use of biased sampling, choosing to work with small populations who will come together and discuss the results of the Concerns Report and use it to work for change. He suggested that criticism of reliability, validity and generalizability are not relevant to this particular study since it is used only as a way to get at a "presented problem."

¹⁹ The author was given this information in telephone conversation with , Center for Continuing Education, University of Georgia. She has her own reservations about the use of the model. It is a very powerful technique and anyone using it would do well to realize that along with its good, may come a potential for evil as

The author's use of the Human Relations Model has been one she developed to facilitate the research. Responsible use of the model enabled her to give the participants something back for their participation in the research project: a caring and a warmth which expressed appreciation for the participants, their values and their life situations, rather than just a "taking" from them for the purposes of gathering research material.

The primary defense of the whole methodology, and of its separate elements is the same: they are dependent on dialogue and conversation and commitment to a process which benefits those involved in it. In that sense, there is less potential for harm than that which may be perpetrated by traditional research methodologies.

well. Put to use by a skilled person, the model can get people to reveal more than they intend to reveal. It is so seldom that someone listens, giving evidence of understanding and caring, that it is quite easy to continue a discussion, revealing more than is intended or realized.

The author began to consider the possibility of misuse when she discovered a text on the Human Relations Development model designed for criminal justice personnel. Certainly the intended use seems benign, the "molding of the police officer as a human helper." However, it occurred to the author that the model could be used as a subtle tool for interrogation. See, P. Joe Sisson, Gary L. Arthur, and George M. Gazda, Human Relations for Criminal Justice Personnel (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1981), p. vii.

Initially, the author felt there were implications for use by police personnel different from those of the "helping" professions such as teaching, social work and counseling. Further thought brought her to the conclusion that misuse could occur within any profession. The risk lies in the ability of the model to "disarm." Designed to enhance communication between those of the "helping professions" and those with whom they work -- student, "client," patient, or "suspect," -- the model could also be used as an extremely subtle tool to gain inappropriate information. As to the recommendations of this author that the model be used for research facilitation, there is that same potential for misuse.

The author was most interested to discover, at the end of the project, a position advanced by Richard B. Capel as to counseling research. The position is one he has moved from the world of chemistry into the world of counseling. He describes a new ordering principle called "order through fluctuation," the result of the theory of "dissipative structures," worked out by I. Prigogine, who won the Nobel Prize in chemistry, and others. The theory explains irreversible processes in nature, and the movement toward higher orders of life. It offers a scientific model of change and explains the critical role of stress in change.

Capel finds that the constructs of the new paradigm rising from the theory of dissipative structures have direct implications for counseling, supplying a framework within which to better explain life and human behavior and the processes of change. He describes it as expanding ways of knowing to explain facts and knowledge that are constantly appearing. This theory will be addressed in more depth in Chapter Five.

After discussion of the implications of the new paradigm for counseling, Capel states that there is a strong need to redirect research in counseling psychology. Classical group designs are seen to have limited value for understanding human beings.

The research methods and tools appropriate for the old Newtonian, mechanistic view of the world assume there is one reality and that it is fully determined by initial conditions and processes . . . These assumptions no longer seem to hold . . . different research methods and tools are needed to reveal the different realities of the world, and a new perspective on analyzing data is necessary. Methods used to study any facet of nature should be appropriate to both its structure and process, and this is particularly true for the study of human beings. There is a need to experiment with new methods. A return to the individual case study, or one group, in a manner that can be replicated, is a strong possibility. Another

possibility may be to enlist the aid of active participants in studying their efforts to influence the environment.²⁰

Inadvertently, the participants have stumbled into the research design suggested by Capel. It is an individual case study of one group, performed in such a way that it can be replicated, that is, the research participants can do research on and for themselves, using the skills that are natural to them. It also enlists the active aid of the participants.

The author's summation of her methodology is a simple one. She simply took what was at hand, making use of that in which she had training and experience. The commendable thing about such a model is that anyone, in the sense that Ehrlich recommends, can make use of their personal resources in "doing" research for and about themselves. If there is anything that can be "generalized" from the evolutionary methodology of this study, it is that.²¹

²⁰ Capel, "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," p. 178.

²¹ As a final check of the methodology, the author talked with _____, Division of Behavioral Studies, West Virginia College of Graduate Studies, who had been instrumental in encouraging her at the beginning of the research to consider the individual life style analysis for use as a group assessment. Having read an early draft of the study, and in summary of what he perceived the author to have done, he suggested that the broad view she had taken in the study could pay off with "scraps of insight" which might have been missed with more narrow vision. He further suggested that, in giving up the potential for certainty and validity, there was gained the opportunity to explore, to raise more questions than were answered, and to bring together disciplines that usually "don't talk to each other." He suggested that the method was akin to that of naturalistic inquiry, where the intent is to intervene as little as possible, with controlled observation, as in ecological research.

METHODOLOGY AS RELATED TO THIS STUDY

People Doing Research On and For Themselves

It is to be remembered that the author of this study had returned to a job situation in the capacity of a family therapist in order to gain access to research materials which would be used to inform herself and the participants. She and the primary participants in this study acted in accordance with the theory that people can do research on and about themselves.²² They sought to understand themselves and what was going on in their world of work and their world away from work. If they considered themselves "subjects" at all, it was in the same sense as one seeks self-knowledge and understanding in a counseling relationship.

Ehrlich's notion of people doing research on and for themselves has provided a suitable framework for this study. Emphasis has been clearly put, first and foremost, on providing information to the participants, most of whom were women or who worked in institutions staffed largely by women. The design was one to benefit the service provider, who is most often a woman, and who works in face-to-face positions with people who come for agency services. The research is not designed to benefit those in the power positions of administrators, supervisors and policy makers, although they were invited to learn from the presented materials. As such research requires, the participants in the study were not regarded as

²² Ehrlich, The Conditions of Feminist Research, p. 17.

subjects of manipulation, nor as powerless, but were seen as active participants.

The Study as "Counterstructure"

The research does not take the form of detached and neutral study of the way subjects think, feel, believe and behave. Rather, the research situation is used as "counterstructure" to investigate and inform the participants. It is not a means of getting to some other end. This is not to imply that there is no structure. Counterstructure is a structure in and of itself.

The foundation of Wilson's counterstructure and the contribution that it makes to this study is that the researcher is responsible for making the claims of this study "comprehensible to the subjects who are the empirical basis for what is claimed." This responsibility is the primary one. Any responsibility to contribute to the community of scholars is secondary. As the participants came to understand what was being produced about them and as they agreed or disagreed, their dialogue influenced the results and analysis of the study.²³

There is the hope that this project, in making use of Wilson's counterstructure, will contribute to the body of accumulated literature of approaches which use dialogue and which "might thereafter become an important fact of life in society's dominant institutions," and a part of that accumulated body of scholarship known as acceptable and useful.

²³ Wilson, "Anti-Method as Counterstructure," pp. 249 and 251, 247-259.

"Subjects" may discover, as the participants in this research have discovered, that they can initiate research on and about themselves and about the institutions which influence them in so many ways. They may begin to accumulate knowledge for their own purposes. For example, had the men on Tally's Corner or the inmates of Asylum been a part of the research effort in a planned dialogic approach, it can be imagined that the research data would have been at least richer, and that the results and conclusions might have been quite different. Although these examples of research by Liebow and Goffman are quite respectful as far as treatment of the research subjects is concerned, the participants did not have opportunity to express agreement or disagreement with what was written about them.²⁴

The Study as "Ideology-critique"

The participants in this study were initially concerned with Fay's first step in political practice: to understand themselves from their own point of view and to assess their situation in a critical fashion. They were interested in gaining an interpretive account of their own actions and practices.²⁵ They were not yet ready to consider whether they wanted to furnish themselves with a political "action-plan."²⁶

²⁴ Eliot Liebow, Tally's Corner; and Goffman, Asylum

²⁵ Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, p. 94. See also Jean Beth Elshstain, Public Man, Private Woman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), pp. 302-03.

²⁶ Brian Fay, "How People Change Themselves," in Edward T. Tale,

The research effort was designed as a consciousness-raising effort. It was a beginning point for the participants to think about themselves and what others had said and were saying about them, for these views were seen to have influence on what happened, or might happen, in their agencies, and thus on what happened, or might happen to themselves.

There was a notion that the use of this method would contribute to personal insight, and that their lives might thereby become more meaningful. It was hoped that by following the Delphic dictum, know thyself, they might become more complete human beings.

Knowing themselves might, in and of itself, be a beginning of political action. However, the research design did not promise political action. It only promised that in understanding themselves there might be change for the participants. The assumption of the author was that change would occur, simply in the act of looking at themselves. A further assumption is that any change which occurs will contribute to the abilities of the participants to address their human needs and purposes.

The author and participants were in agreement, at the beginning of the research, that they were working under considerable stress. It will be remembered that this stress was the initial impetus for study. Proceeding from a premise of family therapy, any interruption of the existing patterns contributing to undue stress would be viewed as positive; any continuation of these patterns would be viewed as negative. The author did not anticipate that there would be any negative

Political Theory and Praxis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 200-69.

results.²⁷ It was assumed that the participants were knowledgeable about the value of self-understanding and that they were acutely aware of the difficulties of personal change, as well as the benefits. They were already deeply engaged in their own efforts to help people gain awareness of how they might be contributing to their own troubles. Fay's critical social science theory and Wilson's requirement for dialogue were already familiar to them under a different rubric: as psychological tools which they used daily to lend encouragement to people who want to change the situations they find distressing. In the event that the research effort might contribute additional stress to the lives of the participants, specific opportunities were designed to allow them to withdraw from the research effort if they desired to do so.²⁸

This study has given the participants an opportunity to investigate themselves and their beliefs and assumptions. They have questioned their life and work situations. They have also considered whether they have been trying to avoid that questioning in order to avoid expected pain.

²⁷ The author was not familiar with Capels' position at beginning of the study. It has been a strong reinforcement for faith in her model, since it was chosen in an intuitive manner, and then accepted in an intellectual manner, after the fact. The model supports the idea that "clients" should be pushed, and that a better way to view mental health than it is now viewed is that "movement toward nonequilibrium" is considered "good mental health" and that "movement toward equilibrium" is considered "poor mental health." Capel, "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," p. 178.

²⁸ Wilson, Fay and Elshtain are all in agreement that opportunity to withdraw from research efforts be designed. See Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, p. 99; Wilson, "Anti-Method as Counterstructure," p. 255; and Jean Bethke Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman, p. 317.

They have wondered, too, if in attempting to avoid pain, they have paradoxically courted it.

The Study as Life Style Analysis

To contribute to the self-understanding of the participants, this study has used the individual assessment tool of life style analysis as assessment of a group. It is believed that although a life style is usually thought of as uniquely personal and individual, it might be shared by members of a particular professional group. This shift from the customary Adlerian unit of analysis of the individual, to the group, is self-conscious, and in the creative sense, is experimental.

Alfred Adler suggested such a possibility of a group life style for a group when he described the "redeemer complex."

One of the most interesting complexes is the redeemer complex. It characterizes people who conspicuously but unknowingly take the attitude that they must save or redeem someone. There are thousands of degrees and variations, but it is always clearly the attitude of a person who finds his superiority in solving the complications of others.²⁹

It is to be remembered that the striving for superiority is one of the basic propositions of Individual Psychology. There is one basic dynamic force behind all human activity, a striving from a felt minus situation toward a plus situation, from a feeling of inferiority towards superiority, perfection, totality. This striving is a unique goal, largely unconscious, around which is constructed a style of life. The

²⁹ Ansbacher and Ansbacher, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler, p. 185.

goal is always seen as a social goal and is always phrased in reference to others.

The life style of "helpers" will be described through a rubric, an unsophisticated way of expressing subjectively perceived truths. These truths are convictions, reduced to platitudes, and have to do with feelings about the self, the world, and ideals.³⁰ Convictions about the self have to do with deep subjective feelings. Convictions about the world have to do with all items outside the subjective self and include an image of the world and the way people are. Ideals are the aspects of life which answer the questions about what is important and offer moral judgment about life and how things "should be." The rubric expresses these convictions in conclusions about behavior:

I am...

Life is...

Therefore...

The conclusions are the "therefores." They are Adler's "final fictive goal" which dominates the psychic strivings of the individual and therefore the individual's life. The individual behaves as if there is no other way to behave. It is the essential rule of all coping behaviors, necessary to bring order into the individual's relationships with a challenging and confronting world. It is as if the life style, once chosen in early childhood, becomes increasingly harder to change since it is constantly reinforced by the individual's perception of life

³⁰ Schulman, Contributions to Individual Psychology, pp. 19-44.

experiences. The child simply seeks new and better ways to strive toward the chosen goal, toward superiority.

In order to construct a rubric for the "helpers" in this study, it was necessary, in the manner of the Adlerian practitioner, to make some guesses. It was guessed, for instance, that the participants share some perceptions in common, with individual variations, growing out of similar influences in their early lives. The guesses are educated ones, not random, and were derived from the conversations of the participants over the length of the research project. They are based on expressed feelings and descriptions the participants gave of themselves. These "guesses" will be presented in the life style analysis in Chapter Four, and are used in developing the rubric of the "helper."

It is a technique of the Adlerian practitioner, while talking with individuals about their life styles, to use phrases such as "Could it be that...?" or "We can guess that..." rather than making confrontive statements which might arouse some defensiveness on the part of the individual. This technique will be used in the life style analysis presented in Chapter Four. For example, the life style analysis in that chapter begins with the statement, "The helper was probably an oldest child..." although the author already knew that, of the nine members in the group on the evening of the presentation of the life style, seven were oldest children, or were in agreement that they had learned in some fashion to feel responsible for others within their families of origin. This same technique was continued during the entire process of the analysis with the participants, and will be so used in the written presentation in Chapter Four.

It is well to remember that when this analysis was presented to the participants in give-and-take fashion, they indicated their agreements and disagreements verbally. In addition, body movements and facial expression gave clear messages through the medium of what is known to the Adlerian practitioner as a "recognition reflex."

The Adlerian practitioner may make use of "early recollections," that is, early memories, of the individual in "checking out" the life style analysis. The theory is that of all the events in a children's life, as adults, they will remember events that support the existing life style. The early recollection provides a picture of how adults currently perceive the world, their place in it and their behavior.

Adler's reason for going back to childhood is to obtain a simpler, more easily discernible picture of the style of life. Whether true or not, whether earlier or later memories, the given early recollections express a basic attitude which remains relatively constant throughout the years.

A second "check" on the life style is for the practitioner to ask the individual who has been presented with the life style analysis to give considerable attention during the coming days to whether or not the analysis seems to "fit." Perhaps they will experience a feeling of "Oh! I did it again!" Or, there may be a feeling of "No. I don't see it that way at all." If the individual perceives extreme differences with the practitioner, then the help of a second practitioner may be indicated.

In summary, this study raises the possibility that there may be a life style for "helpers," acknowledging some individual variations. There may be shared approaches to basic issues as to the meaning of life,

sentiments about human relationships, evaluation of the self and of what life requires.³¹

Revelation of the life style for the individual is expected to enhance the ability of the individual to change that life style and to transcend self-imposed limits through the educative experience of psychotherapy. So, too, might it be possible for the members of a "helping" profession to change their life style and transcend their self-imposed limits through the educative role of critical social theory.

The Concerns Report as "Presented Problem"

The Concerns Report is used in this study to devise a group "presented problem" comparable to the presented problem the individual brings to the Adlerian practitioner. It contributes to the identification of those social processes which may be seen as influencing the individual dissatisfactions of the participants.

All face-to-face service providers in the Department of Human Services and Southern Highlands Community Mental Health satellite clinics were given written and verbal information about the research project. They were invited to contribute to the design and analysis of the index and survey, as well as to participate in the Professional Support Group.

Two members of the Department of Human Services and six members of the community mental health centers accepted the invitation. They worked

³¹ Schulman, Contributions to Individual Psychology, pp. 19-44.

together to create an index of almost 200 items relating to their satisfactions and concerns regarding their work life and their life away from work. The items were taken from situations and conversations with a variety of service providers and were recorded by the author over a period of eight months.³² With the help of the Professional Support Group, these statements were then phrased in survey format. The statements fell into the general categories of issues concerned with the personal aspects of the lives of the participants, their work, people who come to their agencies for services, their communities and co-workers.³³

The primary participants then selected items from this index and other sources.³⁴ Copies of the index were given to the primary participants with the request that they select the 28 items most representative of their concerns and their satisfactions. These selections were charted and the 28 items with the most selections were placed on the survey instrument. The author did not help make these selections. She did add two items of her own, however, items 19 and 24; and one item, item 12, was chosen by the social services coordinator in the Department of Human Services who had given permission for the study.³⁵

³² See Appendix C for Log Entry Examples.

³³ See Appendix D for Issues Identified by Providers.

³⁴ Tom Seekins, "An Analysis of the Concerns Report Method of Basic Needs and Vital Services: Using Data on Citizen Concerns to Establish a Local Human Services Agenda" (University of Kansas, 1981). See also, Yolanda Suarez de Balcazar, et. al., "Family and Community Concerns of Linn County Residents" (University of Kansas, 1983).

³⁵ See Appendix E for Staff Survey and Appendix F for Demographics.

The selected items were based on issues and dimensions of service provision which the providers perceived as important. These 31 items were arranged in survey format and distributed by the social services coordinator in the Department of Human Services and the acting directors of the community mental health centers.³⁶ Printed instructions asked the respondents to complete the surveys on a voluntary basis and to rate each item as to the importance they attributed to it and the degree of satisfaction they felt with regard to it. The surveys were returned to supervisors in sealed envelopes or mailed to the primary researcher. Eighty-six surveys were distributed. Thirty-nine were completed and returned, four from the primary participants.³⁷ Five were considered invalid.

The results of the survey included average importance and satisfaction scores computed for each survey item.³⁸ These scores provided an empirical basis for identifying the five top-ranked strengths and problems from the perspective of both the primary and the general participants. These rankings are presented in the fourth chapter. After extended discussion in the Professional Support Group as to what seemed

³⁶ During the course of the research project the directors who have given permission for the study resigned to take positions in other localities.

³⁷ Two members changed jobs before the surveys were distributed. One of them continued to participate in the Professional Support Group. The other was working in another county and distance prohibited continued participation.

³⁸ See Appendix G for Results of the Survey.

most significant about the results of the survey, major similarities between the two groups were chosen for analysis and conclusions.

The data were returned to the primary participants in the Professional Support Group, and separate meetings were planned for the purpose of giving the general participants the same data and to invite them, again, to participate in the Professional Support Group in further analyzing the identified strengths and weaknesses. Two meetings were held, one in each county, without attendance by the general participants.³⁹

The use of the Concerns Report to this point followed the intentions of the designer: to yield systematic information on strengths and problems of the service system as perceived by some of the members of that system. It is here that another use, unique to this study, was made of the information yielded by the report. The identified strengths and problems were accepted as a practitioner of Adlerian psychology would accept a "presented problem" from a troubled individual. This "presented problem" met Fay's requirement that the researcher begin to see the

³⁹ Toward the end of the study, the primary participants considered the implications of this lack of attendance and the continuing lack of interest in the results of the study by the general participants. It seemed possible that there was a certain wisdom in their lack of interest. It might be expected that to look at the results would have been to force change, just in the looking. To ignore the results is a vote for the maintenance of the status quo. It is possible to make a generalization from this unconscious "vote": little harm may result from such a research project if the people who do not want to know the results or to be involved in organization change, wisely refrain from participation.

It is also possible to attribute the lack of attendance to simple disinterest or to a sense of apathy.

participants from their own point of view. It also provided a structured opportunity to meet Wilson's requirement for dialogue.

With a "presented problem," the assumption is that it is never the real problem. It is further assumed that the real problem can be deduced from the presented problem. Theoretical assumptions of the life style are seen to be similar to the assumptions of Fay's critical social theory.

The educative role of the critical social theorist is similar to the educative role of the practitioner of Adlerian psychology. The intent is to point out to people that they have mistaken ideas about their present situations. Further, these mistaken ideas are described as contributing to the presented problems. Both the Adlerian practitioner and the social theorist suggest that, based on new understandings of themselves, people can change the ideas that contribute to their unhappiness as well as the conditions and forms of their behavior.

For the purpose of this study and for the purpose of pointing out to the participants that they did in fact hold mistaken notions about themselves and what was happening to them, it was first necessary to gain evidence of what they perceived their problems to be. Only then could their mistaken ideas be reformulated, using their own words. Use of the Concerns Report allowed such a formulation of the Adlerian "presented problems," from which could then be drawn Fay's "implicit truths."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, p. 109.

The Human Relations Model Demonstrated

In this study the Human Relations, Development model of communication facilitated the aim of the researcher to understand the participants from their own point of view, as required in Fay's first step of critical social theory. It will be remembered that the model is designed to enhance personal and interpersonal relationships. At the same time as the model was used to gather materials for the research project, it was also used as an instrument to indicate appreciation of the values, traditions, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and skills of the participants. Use of this model in all phases of the research has made it possible for the research to be socially integrative, and for the author to offer choices to the participants and encourage them to express their feelings and opinions.

An example will be given of how the model was used by the author as she talked with people. A composite conversation, drawn from conversations with several participants, will be reported. It will be followed by three responses from the researcher. The first, in Human Relations' terminology, is labeled a harmful response, the second ineffective, and the last, facilitative. The Human Relations' facilitative response includes the elements of empathy, warmth, and respect. It is basically a non-judgmental listening style, intended to reflect the participant's surface feelings and to communicate acceptance of the individual as a person of worth.

It was from such conversations that all issues for the index and survey were developed. To demonstrate how this development took place,

one such issue will be used as an example of all the issues for the index and the survey: You receive recognition and credit for the work you do.

SITUATION:

The participants in these conversations are a social worker (made up from a composite of participants) and the author in her role as family therapist. Social workers are required by state law to investigate all reports of child abuse within 24 hours. The family therapist has come for an appointment with the social worker who is finishing a telephone call as the family therapist approaches. They have not met before.

SOCIAL WORKER:

Oh! You're the new family therapist! Well! Let me tell you who needs therapy. Me. That's who!

The first response of the author is one labeled harmful or hurtful in the communication model.

AUTHOR:

Oh, you don't need therapy! You're just kidding me. You're not like those people you work with. It must be awful to keep working with them. Maybe while I'm here I can give you some good ideas that you haven't thought of before.

Oh! Can I use your phone? I have to check with my office to see if I'm supposed to be doing anything else today.

SOCIAL WORKER:

No response.

The second response to the same remark by the social worker demonstrates a response labeled ineffective in the communication model:

AUTHOR:

Well, you've been doing this a long time. You'll just have to keep at it. I can remember I felt that way when I was a high school counselor. The principal could have cared less how I felt. He was always talking about the kids this, and the kids that.

SOCIAL WORKER:

Yeah.

In the third response to the same statement by the social worker, the author uses the Human Relations' preferred facilitative mode:

AUTHOR, with a small laugh:

Sounds like you'd appreciate somebody thinking about you for a change, rather than always talking about the client!

SOCIAL WORKER (laughing):

Even if you were hired to work with the staff we'd have no time for it. Listen, I'm sorry. I can't talk with you today. I've got to go to the other end of the county, and then I have to pick up my mother and I have class tonight...Oh! You don't have time to listen to my complaints!

AUTHOR:

You sound pretty discouraged about all you have to do and on top of that, you think I'm not supposed to take time to listen to you!

SOCIAL WORKER:

Yeah.... There really is no way to do it all. You'll find out. We just do the best we can and go home and see if we can forget the rest of it. Unless we're on call, of course.

AUTHOR:

It must be pretty exhausting for you, and it must seem like it will never let up. Listen. Is it okay if I go with you on the trip to visit this family? Maybe we could talk on the way...

From these three responses to the same statement it can be noted that the hurtful and ineffective responses ended any further conversation, depriving the social worker of a feeling of acceptance and of having someone care about how she felt. At the same time it is possible that the author could have been deprived of gaining any further information from the social worker. Too many hurtful or ineffective responses could deny any possibility of a positive relationship in the future. The facilitative response to the social worker demonstrated a willingness to listen and so encouraged further discussion.

The Human Relations Development model of communication allowed the author to start where the participants were psychologically. It allowed for a "humanizing" effect, reinforcing the value and worth of the participants and their feelings about what was going on in their lives. Its use brought the ideas and feelings of the participants and researcher into communication with each other, serving to break down the barriers that contribute to isolation.

Traditional research methods have been deliberately neutral and objective, making little attempt to contribute to the well-being of the participants. They have been "head-oriented," with emphasis on the rational and intellectual processes of the research, and less "heart-oriented" toward the feelings of the participants.

In contrast, the design of this study has made a contribution to the well-being of the participants, at the same time materials have been gathered for the research. The author considers the Human Relations Development communication model to be a significant tool with unrealized potential for research facilitation. Adherents of "qualitative analysis" often describe their methods without actually making clear how the method can be taught and learned. The model is deemed admirably suited for such purposes. It will be considered along with the other elements of the methodology as to its appropriate use and replication in other research efforts.

CONCLUSIONS

The survey data reveal possible strengths and possible problems from two perspectives, that of the primary participants and that of the general participants. It will be remembered that the primary participants are the members of the Professional Support Group and that the general participants are the members of their agencies who answered the survey. The results have been analyzed within the context of Fay's critical theory of social science and Adler's life style analysis.

It is from the expressed perceptions of the participants and from the analysis and conclusions of the study that supervisors, administrators, policy makers and the larger community of scholars may find useful information, even though the study has been directed primarily toward the participants of the Professional Support Group. It can also be useful to the general participants as well as to other face-to-face

service providers who may have a sense of identification with the expressed perceptions.

The methodology of this study allowed the research effort to be one of exploration and evolution. The study grew from the experiences of face-to-face service providers in the Department of Human Services and community mental health. It has been concerned with their work life and their life away from work.

As the beginning questions of this study came from dialogue between the author and the participants, so did attempts at solutions. People are considered to be the "experts" on themselves. For the author to have come into this group of people as an "expert" would have been to risk the members' resistance to any authority she might have assumed. The dialogic approach was as essential for the author as it is for the Adlerian practitioner and the critical social theorist. She did not present herself as an expert, nor as having special knowledge about the participants. Instead, she offered to share a process to seek information in conjunction with the participants.

Using the methodology of this study, there can be no "expert" knowledge without the dialogic approach. The methodology contributed to equalization of the relationship between the author and the participants, since the dialogue was between people who were peers, rather than between "researcher" and "subjects."

As the methodology contributed to the beginning questions of the study, so in the final analysis and conclusions it allowed the answers to those questions to be drawn from the participants. As does critical theory and life style analysis, the methodology has grown "out of the

problems of everyday life, and is constructed with an eye towards solving them."⁴¹

CHAPTER 3 - THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the research questions that guided the study. The research questions are derived from the research objectives and the research hypotheses. The research objectives are derived from the research questions and the research hypotheses. The research hypotheses are derived from the research objectives and the research questions. The research objectives are derived from the research questions and the research hypotheses. The research hypotheses are derived from the research objectives and the research questions.

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⁴¹ Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, p. 109.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

ANSWERS TO THE BEGINNING QUESTIONS OF THIS STUDY

In giving attention to the results and analysis of the research, it is possible to discover the answer to the beginning questions of this study. It will be remembered that the researcher asked two friends this question: How do you get through your day? The second question she asked of herself: What happens to people who are inured to the circumstances in which they work if those circumstances are inordinately difficult, painful, or apparently immutable? The answers are found in life style analysis and in the subjective assessment of the results of the study and will be detailed in this chapter.

The participants get through their day in three ways: 1) by denying their feelings and the feelings of others; 2) by denying the failures of the systems in which they work; and 3) by using resistance to authority as a coping mechanism. They deny their feelings and the feelings of others in the face of the overwhelming need of people who come for help and within the perceived limits of what they think they have to offer. They deny the failures of the systems in which they work because, at an unconscious level, they blame themselves for these failures. This blame cannot be tolerated for long periods of time, and so the participants become inured to the circumstances in which they work, denying facts and feelings. The amount of energy required to maintain such denial leaves

the participants fatigued, ill at ease and alienated from themselves and others.

Their resistance to authority, also requires considerable energy expended in useless ways. It does not mitigate their feelings of anger, sadness and frustration. It does not change the systems they are in. It does not contribute to lessening the potential for these same feelings in the future.

To confront the participants with the mistaken notions of a life style chosen in childhood is not to leave them bereft as adults. As the lifestyle shows what is mistaken, so does it indicate what needs to be changed. The child chose "helping" and resistance to authority as ways to overcome felt inferiorities and to maintain superiority over others. The child's solution has become the adult's problem.

SURVEY RESULTS AND OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

The results of the survey were returned to the Professional Support Group for discussion and analysis. These results included designation of possible strengths and possible problems as perceived first by the primary participants, and secondly by the general participants. Use of these identified strengths and problems satisfies Wilson's requirement for dialogue between the author and the participants, Fay's requirement for understanding the participants from their own point of view, and the Adlerian practitioner's usual anticipation of a "presented problem" from an individual seeking help.

It will be remembered that the survey items were based on issues and dimensions of job and life situations which the service providers perceived as important. Average importance and satisfaction scores were computed for each survey item and presented in rank order from first to fifth. Strengths of job and life situations consist of those items identified as being of higher importance and higher satisfaction. Problems of job and life situations consist of those items identified as being of higher importance and lower satisfaction. Strengths suggest possible areas for enhancement and preservation; problems, possible areas for improvement.

It will also be remembered that it is common, in making use of the Concerns Report, to give primary attention to the five top-ranked identified strengths and problems. These are given below for both the primary and general participants, from first to fifth ranking. The information in parentheses represents the percentage scores of higher importance and higher satisfaction as to strengths and higher importance and lower satisfaction as to problems. "S" represents satisfaction and "I" represents importance.

TABLE I

RESULTS OF SURVEY OF PRIMARY PARTICIPANTS

(January 1985)

TOP FIVE
STRENGTHS

If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over agency requirements.
(S/93%--I/100%)

You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help.
(S/81%--I/100%)

You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor.
(S/87%--I/87%)

You accept constructive criticism from your supervisors and administrators.
(S/87%--I/87%)

You can help people with problems about their children.
(S/75%--I/81%)

TOP FIVE
PROBLEMS

Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.
(S/10%--I/93%)

This agency works with other agencies to bring about social and economic changes that benefit poor members of this community.
(S/25%--I/100%)

Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.
(S/25%--I/100%)

There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.
(S/67%--I/93%)

People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.
(S/67%--I/93%)

TABLE II

RESULTS OF SURVEY OF GENERAL PARTICIPANTS

(January, 1985)

TOP FIVE
STRENGTHS

TOP FIVE
PROBLEMS

Your efforts to help
people result in more
good than harm.
(S/82%--I/95%)

There are enough staff to
meet the needs of the people
who come here for services.
(S/35%--I/88%)

Overall, you like the
people you work with.
(S/83%--I/93%)

Sufficient opportunity for
meaningful work exists for
people in your community.
(S/28%--I/81%)

You demonstrate caring
toward the people who
come to your agency for
help.
(S/80%--I/94%)

Overall, the management of
this agency is responsive to
the concerns and interests of
the people who work here.
(S/45%--I/90%)

You work effectively with
staff in other agencies
when serving the same
individuals.
(S/80%--I/94%)

Your agency provides adequate
support services for you to
carry out your job.
(S/50%--I/90%)

You are free to make some
decisions on your own
without having to check
with your supervisor.
(S/79%--I/94%)

Your job provides opportunity
for career development and
changes.
(S/54%--I/91%)

As the members of the Professional Support Group investigated these results, it was evident that their main interest was in the similarities and differences between themselves and the general participants. It will be remembered that, from the beginning of the research project, there had been a desire on their part to compare their own perceptions with those of the people they worked with.

They noted that both groups had designated two of the same strengths in the five top-ranked items: 1) You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help, and 2) You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor.

It was also noted that two of the same weaknesses were designated in the five top-ranked items: 1) There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services, and 2) Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively. Although the rest of the specific items varied with each group, there were two general similarities: 1) The perceived strengths of both groups were personal ones, and 2) The perceived weaknesses were deficiencies of agencies or communities.

For further analysis, the Professional Support Group members chose to work with a combination of the perceived strengths and concerns of the two groups together rather than to consider them separately. This strategy allowed them to make a composite picture of all participants rather than a divided one of primary and general participants.

As to strengths, they described themselves as acting in moral and caring ways, with some discretion, able to accept constructive criticism, and as being of help to others. Their perceived problems had to do with

deficiencies of their agencies and communities in providing sufficient staff, support services and quality care, as well as in failure to bring about significant social and economic changes for the poor.

In summary, a portrait is drawn of people who see themselves as acting in moral and caring ways, with some discretion, to help others. Their agencies and the communities in which they live and work are perceived to be unsupportive of their efforts.

CHANGED ROLE OF THE AUTHOR

It is important to note that the role of the author becomes more dominant during the subjective assessment. The basic mistakes that people make are usually outside of their awareness and often are more appropriate to the childhood situation of the individual than to the current one. Therefore, definition usually remains largely a matter of selection by the practitioner.⁴² In Fay's model, also, the role of the critical theorist becomes more dominant as the real needs of the participants are drawn from their expressed felt needs.

The author based her assessment of the survey results on a strong foundation of intuitive awareness, combined with close observation of, and work with, the participants over a period of two years. Her assessment is also drawn from her personal experience and introspection

⁴² Bernard H. Schulman, Contributions to Individual Psychology (Chicago, Illinois: Alfred Adler Institute, 1973), p. 107.

while involved in the research project and in her job as a family therapist.

It is important to note that this subjective assessment is just that: a subjective assessment. Examination of the issues index, the survey instrument, and the author's log, reveals the basis for subjective assessment which proved to be at odds with the objective assessment of the Concerns Report.⁴³

The subjective assessment was based on an awareness of the nature of the participants and an awareness of the organizations in which they worked. This awareness can be illustrated in three ways: 1) calling attention to some of the items in the issues index which were not chosen for the survey; 2) noting some items on the survey which did not receive top priority; and 3) use of some of the log entries the author made over the two-year time period of the research.

PARTIAL BASIS FOR SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT

Index items were drawn entirely from conversations with the primary participants, the general participants or with other people in the organizations where the author worked. They were categorized as they related to personal issues, to work, to people who come for services, to co-workers and to the community.

Many conversations among the participants centered around personal issues. A majority of these conversations reflected a lack of time to

⁴³ See Appendices D, E and F.

do work adequately on the job or at home; a lack of energy; a lack of self-understanding; and a lack of integration of work and life away from work. There were also feelings of underlying anger and frustration.

Personal issues do not lend themselves easily to inclusion in a survey instrument. The author thinks that people perceive, at an unconscious level, that these issues are best left undisturbed. To look at them is to be impelled to change them. Yet, there is little faith that change is possible. In a "disaster," there is just the getting on with it. There is no energy or time or inclination to entertain any doubts about what is happening or why one is involved in the situation. There is just the sense remembered from de Hartog's book: "We made the best of it. As a matter of fact, we did rather well."

It is the author's perception that personal issues were not selected for inclusion in the survey because people do not want to disturb the things within themselves which seem to be immutable. It is distressing for the service provider to consider the implications to the answers of these questions: You are a model for the people who come to you for help? You are in charge of your life? Your work life enhances your family life? Your job does not interfere with your sleep? You receive the support and nurturance that you give others in your work and personal life? You are consistently able to find ways to replenish the energy required to do your work well? Your work leaves you with interest and energy for other things in your life?

Thus, these items do not lend themselves well to the Concerns Report format. It can be guessed, given the frequency and intensity of personal conversations among the participants, that these items would have been

rated 4 as to importance and 0 as to satisfaction. It would also be expected that there would be no desire to rate and discuss that which appears to be immutable, as do all things at a "disaster" scene.

Included on the issues index were 58 work-related issues; 33 items related to the people who come for services; and 17 items related to co-workers. Although the 62 personal issues which were listed numbered the largest in the index, they were not represented in any significant number among the items actually selected for the survey. Yet, comments concerning personal issues were heard most frequently and were expressed with the strongest feelings.

Of the 31 items selected for the survey, almost all dealt with the work situation. Only two were personal and not work-related. Three others were personal and work-related. Fifteen issues were directly work-related. Six addressed the people who come for services, four, the community, and one, the co-workers of those who answered the survey. It is apparent that those who designed and answered the survey chose not to address the issues which related to personal concerns and satisfactions, as the author felt were reflected in the conversations around her and sometimes detailed in her logs.

In taking note of the material in the log, there are many things which compete for attention. Some items indicate a high level of awareness on the part of the participants as to consciousness of their positions as face-to-face service providers in Appalachia. For example, there is some commonality with things found in the literature about service providers, such as dependency for their own jobs on the people who come for services: "What we are is white-collar welfare recipients."

And there is evidence of very strong feelings: She was so angry: "I wanted to write the best report I've every written. But then, I only had time to do the usual report." Also recorded in the log is a view of the world of social services from one of the people who sought help: "They made me feel like a very low class person. They gave me 17 different pills...after I had tried to commit suicide"! There is much evidence in the log about what was going on with people in their positions as service providers. A mental health provider, prohibited from driving "clients" anywhere because of insurance rates for the clinic, said with heat: "They had a three-week old baby and were hitch-hiking back home with a wash-tub of coal that someone had given them. They lived up a creek bed. And I'm not supposed to transport them in my car? Now you tell me how I could pass them by and sleep tonight?"

There was more, of course. About violence; the beauty of the hills; about power and authority; about the absence of joy; about recordkeeping, and "What is poverty"? Anger, and anger, and anger again. And discouragement. "Today was an awful day at the office; a normal awful day."

The log entries have to do with strong feelings: love, hate, anger, sorrow, despair and frustration. These emotions do not lend themselves to quantification and percentages. They do not create a desire for identification or a desire for discussion. There is little need to address one's strong feelings while involved in a "disaster." There is only a living with them, as long as one is able.

There was, then, for the author, a gross discontinuity between the expressed priority satisfactions and concerns of the participants and

what she determined to be their real needs and wants. It was from the indicated, "felt" strengths and problems that a picture was drawn of three underlying and real needs and wants of the participants. A fourth need, determined through dialogue over several months, was deemed essential to support the other three needs.

Three Underlying Needs

The subjective portrait drawn by the researcher is considered to be representative of concerns and needs which were difficult for the participants to express, partly because they are held at a level below consciousness. This subjective assessment satisfies Fay's requirement that the real needs and wants of the participants be expressed in terms of their felt needs. It also satisfies the Adlerian practitioner's usual practice of using the mistaken notions of the life style as a means of understanding the motivation of an individual.

The needs are drawn by the author from the sources of satisfactions and concern expressed in the survey. It is in this subjective assessment that confrontation, the last dimension of the Human Relations model of communication, confrontation, takes on significance. After some months of using the facilitative and the transitional dimensions of the model, the author felt that she had earned a position where confrontation would be considered acceptable. Using reason and argument, she could begin to point out discrepancies in the expressed perceptions of the participants and she could interject her own perceptions of their situations. Using Fay's words, she had earned a position where she could try to persuade

the participants to "adopt a new picture of themselves, to interpret their experiences differently."⁴⁴ Using the words of the Adlerian practitioner, she had earned a position where she could point out "basic mistakes." The "new picture of themselves," the "basic mistake," that the author wanted the participants to consider, was developed from their perceived strengths and weaknesses.

From the perceived strengths of the participants, the first real need was seen to be the need to believe that they exercise discretion in moral and caring ways, and that their efforts to help people result in more good than harm. Building from the perceived problems of the participants, the second real need was seen to be the need to believe that, if there were sufficient agency and community support, they could actually perform their jobs in an effective manner and might even be able to bring about social and economic changes that would ultimately benefit the poor. By extension of these expressed strengths and problems a third real need was seen: to believe that if they just keep on trying, and a little harder, everything will work out: next week I'll catch up, get the paper work done, see the families I'm supposed to see, talk with my supervisor, take my comp time.

This presented picture of the participants, that they exercise discretion in moral and caring ways, that they can accept criticism and are able to help others was questioned by the author. Because of her observations and experiences with them, as "one" of them, she considered

⁴⁴ Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), p. 107.

their perceived attitudes about themselves to be "basic mistakes." She had only to point to specific shared experiences to refute their "strengths."

As to their presented "problems," the implied accusations against their agencies and communities, she was able to suggest that it was most unlikely that these desired supports would ever be sufficient. It seemed highly unlikely that sufficient resources would be provided within the existing social service system, to bring about any significant degree of social and economic change that would benefit the people who come for services, or themselves as service providers.

It was possible to say to them, in a somewhat confrontive manner, that they had to believe that, if they kept trying, it would all work out, or they could not continue to go to work every day. The participants recognized that this illusion has been an essential one for them to maintain. In fact, the subjective assessment in general was not denied by the participants. The "case" against their mistaken notions and their old picture of themselves were both recognized and acknowledged in continuing interactions with the author.

The author's task in this interactive process continued to be a reevaluation of her own interpretations as the participants reacted to and reflected on the new self-understanding she was attempting to get them to adopt. She also continued to point out the inherently contradictory conditions of social services in America today which had engendered the specific needs of human services, even while making it impossible to satisfy those needs. She cautiously began to suggest that, at the

face-to-face level, the service providers felt a strong sense of personal guilt when the needs of people who came to their agencies were not met.

A Fourth Underlying Need

By continuing the dialogue of confrontation with the participants, it was possible to suggest to them, that underlying the three needs already presented, there was yet a fourth need, made up of two parts, which was essential to support the other three: the need to deny all facts and feelings which give evidence that sometimes, in fact, their actions result in harm to the very people who come to their agencies for help; and the need to affirm that this is the result of the nature of the systems in which they work, rather than the results of the nature of the systems in which they work combined with their reactions to these systems..

SUCH DENIAL IS REQUIRED BECAUSE, AT AN UNCONSCIOUS LEVEL, THEY BLAME THEMSELVES FOR THE FAILURES OF THE HUMAN SERVICE SYSTEMS IN WHICH THEY WORK WHEN PEOPLE WHO COME FOR SERVICES SOMETIMES DO NOT RECEIVE THAT HELP AND SOMETIMES ARE EVEN HARMED RATHER THAN HELPED. THIS BLAMING OF THEMSELVES FOR AGENCY AND SOCIETY DEFICIENCIES CANNOT BE TOLERATED FOR LONG PERIODS OF TIME, EVERY DAY, FACE-TO-FACE WITH SOME OF THE MOST DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE IN AMERICA TODAY. THEREFORE, THEY THEN DENY THE FAILURES OF THE SYSTEM, AT A CONSCIOUS LEVEL, IN ORDER TO DENY THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THESE FAILURES. THEY ALSO DENY THE FAILURES OF THE SYSTEM BECAUSE THEY DO NOT PERCEIVE THAT THEY CAN CHANGE THEM IN ANY WAY.

This view is in contrast to the ideas of three other theorists, Denhardt, Lipsky and Weatherley., Denhardt suggests that a critical view recognizes that actions of individual bureaucrats do not necessarily occur with malicious intent but occur rather as a consequence of structural deficiencies. Michael Lipsky, like Denhardt, locates the problem of street-level bureaucracy in the structure of their work, and also takes the position that street-level bureaucrats are shielded from confrontation with their own failures or the failures of the agencies for which they work. Richard Weatherly, too, maintains that the way public services are organized keeps workers from confronting the unjust and harmful effects of their interventions.⁴⁵

The author maintains that to believe this is to deny responsibility to the participants for a part of what happens in their agencies. It is to deny them any opportunity to initiate change, for it would place them in the position of waiting for structural change rather than understanding that their reactions to structural deficiencies contribute to the conditions under which they work and under which the client receives services.

To recognize one's participation in, and responsibility for, some conditions is to allow change to occur at the individual level without systemic change. On the other hand, to continue to consider conditions

⁴⁵ Robert B. Denhardt, Theories of Public Organizations (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1984), p. 173; Michael Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980), p. xv and 154; and Richard Weatherley, "Implementing Social Programs: The View from the Front Line." Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1980, p.192.

as a consequence of structural deficiencies is to disallow change on the part of the individual bureaucrat. The intent of the researcher is to encourage the participants to accept responsibility for their actions with people, as well as for their reactions to the system, but to define limits as to what that responsibility is so that they are not overwhelmed, and thus immobilized, by the extent of the perceived problems.

The reactions of the participants to the subjective assessment of the study indicated that, on an unconscious level, they were aware that they participated in unjust and harmful interventions. Brought to consciousness, the feelings engendered by this participation were sometimes very close to despair. These feelings were given attention in the Professional Support Group as well as in individual interactions.

Early Prescription

Early in the course of the interactive process, it became necessary for the author to include some prescriptions for the participants, in response to their incipient feelings of despair: If things are this bad, what are we going to do? Quit our jobs? Continue to work and be harmful to people who come for services?

They were encouraged by the author to look at their lives from the point of view of their personal geographic and cultural conditions as Appalachian service providers in the United States in the mid-1980s. They were reminded of the movement of society's inevitable duties from the responsibility of the family and community to government responsibility. They were asked to remember the extent of the conflict between their

professional roles and their positions as employees in bureaucratic organizations, which sometimes require that they behave in ways designed primarily for efficiency rather than for meeting the needs of people who come to their agencies for services. They were reminded, too, that this research project was designed to give them an opportunity for self-reflection and for self-understanding, an opportunity to consider their lives and their jobs from the point of view of history and of the human condition. Finally, they were reminded that the hope of the author at the beginning of the project was that the simple expediency of looking at themselves, at recognizing themselves, would in itself presage change.

The author shared with the participants her agreement with Esther Harding's view of many young women who start out in life with a real desire to serve their generation, beginning with a "fund of sympathy." Harding described such women as beginning their work with high ideals and as having a desire to serve others and to alleviate suffering through the giving of themselves and their feelings. However, she says that such suffering is endless and the women are "soon in danger of being overwhelmed by the crushing weight of misery" met day after day. She felt that their great need was for an adaptation to life and to work which could guide them in determining their share of responsibility in the misery of the world, yet also encourage them to give up the notion of trying to carry it all.

It is absolutely essential that they learn to take things impersonally while not losing touch with their feelings. Otherwise they are hopelessly caught in the network of the personal and have to suffer, as though they were a personal fate or even a personal

fault, the things which really belong to the fate of a generation and are rightfully the burden of society.⁴⁶

Although fuller prescriptions were required, search for them was delayed, as it was first necessary to understand the participants from their personal point of view. How did they, these service providers, get into the position described here, of desiring to be "helpers" but sometimes finding that they were being harmful? To accomplish this, the device of the Adlerian life style was modified for a group rather than for use with an individual and was used to develop a life style for "helpers." It is to be noted that this life style has been developed from the individual experiences and perceptions of individual members of the Professional Support Group, but that it is considered to be a life style of the group.

LIFE STYLE OF THE "HELPER"

It will be recalled that, according to Adlerian principles, the striving for superiority is considered to be the basic force behind all human activity, and that the manner of this striving is revealed in the life style, a unique, self-consistent pattern which each individual chooses in childhood. This life style is expressed through convictions

⁴⁶ Esther Harding, The Way of All Women. With an introduction by C.G.Jung. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 90. Michael Lipsky addresses this issue of "self-sacrificing people" without addressing Harding's alternative of getting in touch with feelings. He saw their only choices as leaving public employment for other work or resigning themselves to routine processing of clients. Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, p. 186.

which can be reduced to platitudes that have to do with deep subjective feelings about the self, about the world, and about ideals. These convictions can be expressed as a rubric:

I am...

Life is...

Therefore...

The rubric for the Appalachian "helper" in this study has been determined over the period of the research project from group dialogue as well as from individual conversations at work, at home and in the Professional Support Group. The members of the group were in agreement that they held similar views of the world: Life is difficult in the hills. People have to take care of themselves and of others who are unfortunates. Either you take care of yourself or you become one of the unfortunates. There is no middle ground between taking care of yourself and being one of the unfortunates. You cannot depend on others to help you. You have to help yourself. No one owns you when you take care of yourself. You are your own person.

It will be remembered that the Adlerian practitioner, in giving a verbal analysis of the life style, uses phrases such as "Could it be...?" or "We can guess that..." or "Perhaps..." as a respectful technique of confrontation. That technique will be used in the following written analysis.

The helper was probably an oldest child or learned in some other fashion to feel responsible for others in the family. Perhaps there was an expectation of helping with younger children or sick adults or those they perceived as being less able to fend for themselves. It is possible that some children may have been abused and learned early that helping behaviors were one way to avoid abuse and also to make themselves superior over those who had abused them. There may have been a learning to avoid any position of dependency where abuse might be inflicted. Helping behaviors may have been used in an effort to gain favors from adults, to placate their powers, or to defeat them in some manner.

It can be guessed that, as the children assumed responsibility in taking care of others, there was an accompanying sense of pride. There could have been a beginning sense of superiority, of being better than others who had to be taken care of. There could have been a sense of pride in taking care of one's self, in not having to depend on anyone else. Along with this perception, there may have been the added perception that to be taken care of meant that one was inferior.

It is possible that the children never knew the delights of being given to. Perhaps there was no remembrance of ever having been treated in a loving manner, or having the faith to ask for help. It can also be guessed that it was in this manner that the children developed the mistaken notion that they were special and unique only when they took care of others or helped them. There could have been the accompanying notion that unless they took care of others they would lose their superior position.

The children's helping behaviors may well have been reinforced until they began to provide solutions to most life situations and problems. Growing older, they sought those situations where helping behaviors could be continued and avoided those situations where there was no helping required. There was a learning, as if by intuition, to seek people who needed help, and to avoid people who did not.

When it came time for a career, it can be expected that such people would gravitate to the helping professions. Even given other options, because of what was going on in the community and the world, it could be guessed that they would carefully avoid any profession they perceived to be "non-helping," such as engineering, business or government, where they might risk deprivation of their superior position. In later years they would be able to say that the helping professions were the only ones open to them in their communities or in the culture of their time, because of their personal interests or because they saw those jobs as the only way to make money.

From these pictures a rubric developed:

I am capable and can take care of myself as well as of others.

Life is difficult and only superior people "make it." Only inferior people accept help from others.

Therefore, I must take care of myself and others. I can never ask for help nor accept offered help. Even if I long for help, even if I am angry at others for not helping me, even if I am exhausted and worn out, even if there are those who love me and care for me and want to give to me, I cannot accept help for I will lose my superior position.

It can be seen from these simplistic rubrics that the helper, although determined to be superior and independent of others, paradoxically becomes dependent on those perceived as inferiors. Helpers must have someone to feel superior to; someone considered inferior must always be available in order for them to maintain their sense of superiority. The life style, superiority over others through "helping," chosen as a child, brings the very opposite desired result for the adult: inferiority, because of dependence on someone to "help."

Moreover, it then becomes imperative that the helper deny any evidence contrary to the convictions of the life style. To acknowledge any such evidence could be to give up the present way of life, the superiority over those being "helped," and there would be the requirement to acknowledge inferiority.

Evidence that others might see is simply not perceived. Such denied evidence may include the fact that the one being helped does not appreciate it and may even resent it. The recipient may be angry or humiliated or even resistant to the proffered help. The helper may be unappreciated, even despised or hated. The recipients may very well have a sense that they are perceived by the helper as being inferior. They, too, grew up in the same hills where one is expected to be independent, or at least to depend only on family for help. To have to go out of the family for help may be considered a hateful thing to have to do.

To give an example of an early fictitious experience of a potential "helper": a little girl helps her brother put on his shoes because the family is in a hurry to leave for church. She runs to her mother and exclaims, "Mommy! Mommy! We can go now! He has his shoes on." The

little boy then pulls off his shoes and throws them away. He is punished and the little girl is considered "Mommy's good girl." It would be difficult to tell the little girl that she was being *neither cooperative nor helpful*, but was acting in a fashion to put herself in a superior position. In similar manner, it is difficult to tell "helping" service providers that they may be acting in a manner to keep themselves in a superior position.

As it is possible that a pattern of such behavior could be harmful to the little boy and his own growing sense of self-esteem, so is it possible that people who come for services can be harmed through the apparent good intentions of the service provider. It is reasonable to say that the little girl, as well as the service providers may, at times, act in an unconscious manner. Additionally, it is possible that service providers may at times completely misunderstand what is happening or may have only poor alternatives to offer, or may simply make a mistake. They may lack sufficient experience or training or they may have insufficient information on which to base their interpretations or actions.

A Variation on the Life Style of the "Helper"

The participants in this study, after evaluating the previous general description of the "helper," did not agree that their sense of superiority was gained in relation to the people who came to them for help. Instead, they felt a sense of superiority over those who saw themselves in positions of authority in the systems in which they work, that is, their "bosses." They felt superior to administrators and

supervisors, believing that they had a greater ability to act in caring, moral and knowledgeable ways. They saw themselves as aligned with the people they were to help, acting against the systems in which they were both involved. It was evident that they felt they had the knowledge to help the people who came to their agencies and that they often had to circumvent rules and regulations of their agencies to be "good helpers."

The author acknowledged the reactions of the primary participants and included their perception as a variation on the life style of the "helper." She also accepted the response of the participants that they felt themselves in alignment, against "the system," with the people who come to their agencies for services. She further suggested the possibility that their professional training may actually predispose them to unhappiness and rebellion, as it does those imbued with an ethos of individualism, when they are operating under an administrative process they do not understand or believe necessary.⁴⁷ Their professional training may even require rebellion when an administrative process demands subordination of the needs of people, either those who come for services or their own.

She suggested that their resistance might come from that influence on Appalachian people described by Weller as resistance to authority. Early in the research project one participant had remarked, "Contrariness is a survival technique." Early recollections of some of the participants

⁴⁷ Carl J. Sindermann, Winning the Games Scientists Play (New York: Plenum Press, 1982.) The stance of individualism was one exemplified by engineers and scientists at one time. They are described by Sindermann as now behaving in very different fashion, more concerned with "making it" in their scientific communities.

added credence to their position that any superiority they felt was in reference to those who saw themselves in positions of authority, rather than over those who came for services.

Early Recollections

It will be remembered from Chapter Three that "early recollections" are used by the Adlerian practitioner to "check" the life style. They also provide a revealing picture of how the adult currently perceives the world. Both of these purposes are served by the presentation of early recollections of some of the participants.

A little boy, about four years old, hears his mother often fussing at his fifteen-year old step-brother. One day he takes up for the older boy, telling his mother to leave his brother alone! In Adlerian psychology, the child is considered a good observer, but a poor interpreter. It was imagined by the author of this study that the little boy felt that the older brother could not fend for himself and that the child felt good about protecting his brother and standing up to his mother. It was thought that the child would have felt himself superior to the older brother: a four-year old, taking care of his big brother! In discussion with the participant who gave this early recollection, however, it was clear that the sense of superiority came from acting against the authority of the mother. He saw himself "in partnership" with the older brother, and against the mother whose favorite child in the family was perceived to be a younger brother. He felt great satisfaction in acting against the mother. It can be guessed that he also felt

superior in knowing and understanding his own needs and the needs of his older brother for affection and attention, and that he felt he was more knowledgeable and caring than his mother.

A second recollection has to do with a young "helper" in elementary school who decided to teach another child her ABCs, a child called "retard" by the other children. From the point of view of the young helper, the teacher had neglected the child. The young helper felt superior to the other children and to the teacher in knowledge, caring, and understanding.

A third recollection is one of the author's, from a time when she was about eight years old. Returning to her aunt's home after school, she came to the "rescue" of a smaller girl who was being bullied by an older elementary girl. She remembers grabbing the older girl "by the hair and throwing her off a little foot-bridge into the creek!" There was an apparent assumption that the smaller child could not take care of herself, and that the larger child was completely without compassion. As a young child then, it can be guessed that she felt superior to both the other children: the one perceived as requiring help and the other perceived as being without compassion.

These three examples show young helpers who felt superior to those in authority; the first in the system of the home, the second in the system of school and the third in the system of the community. It will be remembered that early recollections serve to show how the individual sees the world at this time. All of the participants, as young persons, were engaged in systems which they felt they could not change: the home, the school, and the community. Each of them, from the vantage point of

the child's perception of the situation, chose to exist within the given systems, not to change them.

The rubric of the helper acting in resistance to authority is a variation from the base rubric of helpers:

I am knowledgeable but I live under the influence of others and sometimes feel helpless and powerless to change even those things that are not good for me and for others.

Life is arranged so that others think they have authority and power over me and that they have the right to tell me what to do, even though often they know less than I do and even though sometimes they are so ignorant that I, as well as others, am hurt by their actions.

Therefore, I do what is correct as often as I can. I do as little as I can that they tell me to do and I get back at them whenever I can, in any way that I can, and I have no loyalty to them or to their organizations.

In summary, this study has determined that the participants have sought superiority over others in at least two ways: through being "helpers" to those whom they consider inferior to themselves simply because they ask for help, or in resistance to those in authority whom they consider inferior to themselves in morality, caring and knowledge. Both positions are used for the sake of a sense of superiority.

The price of such a life style can be a very heavy one. For the child, the need to take care of others or to resist authority, can be expected to interfere with play, with learning, and with doing that which is good for the self. It is possible that trying to satisfy these needs will contribute to exhaustion and fatigue. As they grow older, helpers continue with their same interpretations of the behavior of others, acting in responsible ways toward those they see as helpless or ineffective and

acting in resistance to those they see in authority. They continue to pay a heavy price because they must constantly seek those who need help or someone to whom they may act in resistance. There can be no rest. It is to be remembered that the individual acts as if there is no other way to behave. One participant gave a very poignant example of the compulsive and unvarying behavior of the "helper." She said, in a very simple and quiet way: I am so tired of being "needed."

THE PRICE OF THE LIFE STYLE

For the Individual

It will be remembered that the life style, at the same time as it provides a guide to solving life's problems, also limits, governs and inhibits movement. Miller, without labeling it as such, expresses the way of the life style in this manner: people construct an inner scheme of things by which they believe they will gain satisfaction and safety. The scheme can become very complex and quite rigid, too. People often are convinced that they need to relate to the world and people in it in a certain fixed manner, and they may react forcefully if they cannot otherwise bring about the desired situation or relationship. One way of describing all psychological problems might be to say that people believe they can be safe and satisfied only if they complete, and can force others to complete, a certain picture of what they need. If they cannot accomplish this, they feel weak and vulnerable. These feelings are so

dreadful that people push even harder to make their particular schemes come about.⁴⁸

The chief difficulty of the unity of the life style is that it is built on a subjective view of the facts of life as perceived by a child, not upon the objective reality of the situation faced by the adult. Only if the individual is convinced that the position taken as a child is not working in their life as an adult, will alternative ways of behaving be considered.

The author, in talking with individuals as well as in the Professional Support Group, described the participants as she saw them, as paying the price of the lifestyle of "helper" with overwork. Given the opportunity to discuss this issue, they did so with alacrity. They discussed their poor health, their illnesses, and their personal relationships. They remembered that one of the participants, a clinical psychologist, a few months prior to her resignation from the community mental health clinic, had given a psychological test to all members of the clinic. They all rated on the scales as more anxious or psychologically depressed than the "normal" person.⁴⁹

In discussions with female participants, it became clear that their time was over-scheduled: ballgames and dancing and medical and dental appointments for children; medical appointments and recreational outings with elderly parents, community agency meetings, and housekeeping for

⁴⁸ Jean Baker Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976), p. 37.

⁴⁹ The Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory.

their families. There was agreement among the participants that they were exhausted to the point where they have little energy for maintaining personal health and well-being, for intimate relationships, for political activity or religious experiences. There seems to be little joy or pleasure in their lives, and as individuals, they are left vulnerable to sickness of the body and of the spirit. It is as if these particular service providers must work to exhaustion to prove to themselves, continually, that they are helpers at work, at home and in their communities. They virtually never allow themselves to be placed in any position other than that of helper with the people who come to their agencies, with their spouses, children, aging parents and neighbors. To do so would be to lose their sense of superiority.

Even if they take a vacation, they do not allow themselves to be at ease. They clean house. They work in the garden or on the farm. They catch up. Even if they go away, as to the beach, they continue to take care of others while they are there, rarely scheduling time for themselves.⁵⁰ The author, in continued confrontation with the participants, said to them, using an affected voice: "If I only work hard, I will be able to help all these people and then! Ah! Then! I will be superior to everyone else." They responded with varied degrees of the "recognition reflex," laughing or hiding their faces in mock horror.

⁵⁰ In an uncanny experience during the concluding days of the project, some months after these words had been written and forgotten, the author found herself reading them at the beach, and doing just what has been described.

There is a difference between the state of these specific participants and the condition of general "burnout" among women in today's society.⁵¹ That difference is the degree and the nature of denial in their situation. For the participants in this study, it was as if there can be no positive treatment of the self. To treat the self well, to relax, to play, to be intimate would be to allow reality to enter into the existing life style, which must be avoided at all costs to the existing life style.

It is possible to suspect that the service providers will welcome those problems which were identified in the survey. Without adequate staff and adequate resources and without community and agency support, they can feel even more superior that they, and only they, care about "the poor." The increasing work load can assist them in the continuing to deny that they must sometimes act in immoral and uncaring ways. To continue belief in their superiority and denial of their hurtful ways will require increasing amounts of energy spent in work and increasing physical fatigue and psychic stress. It can be expected that some may even die in service to others, complacent in their superiority and so viewed by others. De Hartog gives an example of one such a woman overcome in service to others. She had simply collapsed, with the sickness identified by those who worked there as "J.D. sick," the initials of the Jefferson Davis Hospital.

Mrs. Kowalski . . . that magnificent creature that all of us had hated with such relish . . . had carried the whole work [of the

⁵¹ Herbert J. Freudenberger, Women's Burnout, with Gail North (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday and Co.), 1985.

Emergency Room] on her back, crawling on hands and knees in a superhuman feat of indomitable will . . . paying for a city's heartlessness, by giving more than any other human being should ask another human being to give.⁵²

To continue acting in this manner will likely mean that the service providers will resist asking others to help them with the responsibilities of their jobs. They will believe that no one is capable of helping them. At home, no one else can be depended on to do anything well enough. At work, "clients" are "do-less"; administrators and supervisors are only "out for themselves." In the community, legislators are only "dirty politicians." Academics "live in an ivory tower and don't know what the real world is about." Only they know what's going on and care about the poor. Thus they will deny themselves any help or involvement with other people who could work with them to address changes in the present delivery of human services.

The author also finds the participants paying a high price for resistance to authority. While resistance to authority has been useful in solving life's problems, it is possible that it may also contribute to present troubles, that in the resistance there is a keeping of the

⁵² Jan de Hartog, The Hospital (New York: Atheneum, 1964), pp. 314 and 317. It is to be noted that de Hartog was concerned to describe the "helper" in a way far different from the description of this study. It can be hoped that, at least sometimes, his description is the more accurate: "How to describe the rapture of mercy? Like love, it is a state of ecstasy, universal and uncommunicable, presenting itself to each individual in an utterly exclusive way. Compassion in action is as deeply emotional and all-transforming as love; it takes over your life, pervades your thoughts; makes your other activities and preoccupations seem secondary to that one overpowering urge: to help the helpless, to dispel darkness"

existing order of things; that by letting authority have its way, by giving into it, and then resisting it, there is a contribution to their own anger and frustration, rather than a confrontation with that authority. Such resistance is a reaction which does not challenge the situation nor the systems in which they work. It may not occur to the adults, as it would not have occurred to the children, that they could act with authority in order to change the situations in which they find themselves. Instead, they continue to behave as in the given early recollections, acting in resistance to the teacher or the mother, leaving the systems of the home and the school intact. It can be expected that the adults in this study who do not challenge the systems in which they live and work will continue to need large amounts of energy for the suppression of anger and sadness and frustration.

The author shared an observation with the participants that, as they express concerns about being overwhelmed with the problems of their jobs, so do they express these same feelings of being overwhelmed at home. Taking into consideration their job requirements, makes sense of these feelings of inadequacy. In addition to the actual hours required "on the job," there are many job-related, time and energy consuming, functions. For instance, travel to and from the job, training, and advanced schooling require large blocks of time. There are also the daily tasks of getting ready for the job. It is not surprising that there is never enough time and energy, as they complain, to accomplish even the necessary chores that are required in service to family members. Much less can it be expected that there will be time and energy for pleasant extended time with families or by themselves.

Jean Baker Miller insightfully suggests that it is possible that women, as a whole, truly cannot tolerate or allow themselves to feel that their life activities are for themselves. Such an insight allows the participants to question a culture based on a primary inequality of sex differences. It allows a whole society to question the very nature of this dichotomization.⁵³

It has already been suggested that being a "helper" at work also extends to being a helper in the home and in the community. In like manner, resistance to authority can be expected to extend into the home. Energy may be expended in acting against an authority that is only perceived as authority, but is not such in reality. Suggestions made by family or friends can be wrongly interpreted as directions to be resisted. It is not impossible that an individual may even resist the authority of the self. There is little likelihood that such a person will consider engaging in cooperative behaviors with others, unless the inclination toward resistance to authority is pointed out and acknowledged.

The solution to the child's problem of moving from a felt minus to a felt plus was to develop a sense of superiority over others through helping and resistance to authority. To accept the life style is to begin to change it. In like manner, to accept the failures of the human service delivery system is to be already engaged in change. To accept the failures is to release the energies required for denial to serve as energies available for attention. To deny the failures is to deny

⁵³ Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women, p. 74.

opportunities for alternatives. To deny the existing failures of the human service delivery system is to deny change.

As the service providers determine what is and what is not personal responsibility, they can begin to see and accept the failures of the systems in which they work. They have been encouraged to look at themselves and their participation in the human service delivery system from the point of view of history, as well as from their personal point of view. Perhaps they can rid themselves of some unhappiness if they give up their old ideas and gain some new ones about how things can be different.

It is possible that this reflected view of themselves, as gaining superiority through helping and through resistance to authority, may, in and of itself, precipitate a change in their life and work situations. It is possible that they can learn to accept where their real superiority lies: in the knowledge of the systems in which they work. They may be able to seek different goals and to adopt new courses of action if they believe that their social world is open to change by them and if they can act on that belief.

For the Organization

Joining with the people who come for help, and resisting the system but not attacking its administration and its regulations, leaves the system intact. Acting as "helpers" and resisting authority, in addition to leaving the system intact, deprives that system of the benefit of the full knowledge of the face-to-face service provider. That knowledge is

not available for making changes within the system. Neither the providers nor management acknowledge that the provider is in a unique position to look at and consider what could be changed and what must be accepted.

It is paradoxical, again, that the life style brings for the adult the direct opposite of what is desired. In this case, the service providers are superior in knowledge about the systems in which they work, just as they were superior in knowledge about the systems of the home, school, and community in their early recollections. But they do not know how to express the knowledge that they have and so they feel powerless to change their situations. They only know how to make alliances with those whom they perceive to be like themselves, victims of the system.

An example of another early recollection of a future "helper" can make this position more clear. An elementary school child, living in a rural area, traveled into the city school by bus. She wanted to do nice things for the city kids as well as make money for herself in the process. She brought in natural things to sell, such as salamanders and frog eggs. On one occasion, a city child left some purchased salamanders outside and they froze to death. The city child who had purchased them insisted that the rural child give the money back. The rural child had a vague feeling that this was not the correct solution, that she had been wrongly reprimanded for the demise of the salamanders. Yet she was unable to articulate this knowledge to the accusing child and went to the teacher, the authority in the school, asking for help in stating her position.

In this early recollection it is possible to see how the service provider has knowledge without awareness of that knowledge, and that she is without the experience or the perceived ability to articulate that

knowledge in a useful way. Instead, there is dependency on an authority to articulate grievances or ideas for change and improvement of the situations in which the service providers find themselves.

Conversations of the participants gave evidence that they sometimes act in similar ways in their job, home and community situations. During the course of the research, the participant who had given the above recollection expressed disgust and disappointment because she was sure that one of the administrators in her office had not passed on, to the new state commissioner of her agency, suggestions that had been requested of all members of the organization. It had apparently not occurred to the provider that she could have seen that such suggestions were made available to the commissioner in another way.

The four early recollections presented serve to show how the participants view the world at this time. All of them as young persons were engaged in systems they felt they could not change: the home, school and the community. Each of them chose ways to exist within the given systems, not to change them.

They can now be seen as continuing to act in similar ways. In the recollections given earlier in this chapter, one man, as a young person, had chosen partnership with his brother to act against the authority in the family, the mother. He continues to act with co-workers as well as with people who come for service, if possible, to get back at authority. Another child had chosen to act alone against the authority of the teacher in helping a classmate to read, and she continues to work alone in her professional work to help those she feels have been harmed by lack of attention from appropriate authorities. A third, the author, chose

aggressive behavior against the perceived strength of an older child in order to align herself with a perceived "victim." She continues to find it difficult to think in terms of cooperative behaviors within a community setting between those she perceives as "powerful" and those she perceives as "victims." A fourth participant chose to depend on the authority of the teacher to articulate her own position, and when she acts in that manner today, she feels dissatisfied when her position is not represented to her satisfaction. Each of them, at a very young age, was sensitive to the injustice of the situation for themselves and for others. Each of them had superior knowledge about the systems in which they were engaged. Yet they saw no way to act on that knowledge which was given no legitimacy by themselves or others within the systems in which they were engaged. Each had a strong sense of frustration, at least at an unconscious level, in possessing knowledge which they felt unable to use.

The life style of the helper, coupled with the life style of resistance to authority, results in a similar sense of powerlessness to change the systems within which they work. In these early recollections, they did not interact with the existing authorities to confront the situations in which they lived. In similar fashion, neither do they confront their present work situations to change them. As a result they continue to be engaged in systems which they perceive to be harmful to themselves and to others. They deny their feelings of anger and frustration, gaining some relief from their pain through that denial and through the pleasure of resistance to the authorities who are seen as

contributing to that pain, and as uncaring, immoral and without helpful knowledge. Thus denial and resistance become a way of life.

THE WAY OF DENIAL

The face-to-face service providers are confronted, every day, with the overwhelming sights and sounds and smells of poverty and with the pain and suffering of people who come to their agencies for help. They say when asked that they cannot tolerate and respond to the pain of each individual. They believe that to do so would be to become dysfunctional. They feel they are required to dissociate from the pain of others and from their own pain.

Sometimes they do this by conscious choice, and sometimes at an unconscious level. Either way, it is in the face of the overwhelming needs of those people who come for help and within the perceived limits of what they think they have to offer, that they believe there is nothing to do but shut down their feelings and dissociate from the pain of others. They even deny their perceptions and feelings in order to deny their own feelings of pain.

When confronted with this theory, several of the participants, including the psychologist, strongly disagreed, being engaged at that time in learning techniques designed for dissociation. The author did not give up the confrontation, however, and reminded the psychologist of a recent occurrence. The psychologist had told the author of a distressing event wherein a three-year girl had been removed from her mother for a six-month period, on unclear evidence given to a magistrate

by the natural father. Because of some legal entanglements, the child was to be kept away from her mother for another six months. The mother and the step-father were attending counseling sessions to improve their parenting skills. The author, responding to the distress in this story, found herself crying. The psychologist looked at her saying, "I wish I could do that; I am just angry." Yet, her voice showed no effect, was only quiet and composed.

The author gave the participants an analogy of their behavior, as she saw it, taken from a work by M.L. Von Franz:

It is typical for schizophrenic people that they will tell horrible dreams without any emotion; they speak of them as though they were rolls at breakfast and cups of coffee. That is a serious problem. (Emphasis added.)⁵⁴

Marilyn Ferguson, in The Aquarian Conspiracy, describes how denial can become a way of life, a way of diminishing life, of making it more manageable. There is personal denial, mutual denial and collective denial. There is denial of facts and of feeling. There is the deliberate forgetting of what one has seen and heard. There is the blocking of one's own experience and intuition.

Over a life time, more and more stress accumulates. There is no release, and our consciousness narrows. The floodlight shrinks into the slender beam of a flashlight. We lose the vividness of colors, sensitivity to sounds, peripheral vision, sensitivity to others, emotional intensity. The spectrum of awareness becomes ever narrower.

The real alienation in our time is not from society but from self.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ M. L. von Franz, The Feminine in Fairy Tales (Irving, Texas: Spring Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 112.

⁵⁵ Marilyn Ferguson, The Aquarian Conspiracy (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1980), pp. 74-75.

However, denial of pain, she continues, ultimately does not work. The denied experiences and emotions are always there, requiring "awesome energy" to keep the awareness of them out of the range of ordinary consciousness. Denial exacts a terrible price. A part of the self, the right brain or "heart-brain," the more emotionally responsive and pain sensitive hemisphere of the brain, keenly feels all the denied pain, and is cut off from integration with its organizing partner and keeps recycling its emotional charge. To deny that pain is to perform "split brain surgery" on the self, without benefit of scalpel. The left brain, the verbal and analytic brain, the "mind-brain," is left sterile. Feelings which are dammed result in fatigue, illness, neurosis, disease and a pervasive sense of something wrong, something missing. The price of this fragmentation can be health or a capacity for intimacy.

The participants were asked to give attention to the life style analysis, to "check" whether they were in agreement with the author. Did they gain a sense of superiority over those who come for services or through resistance to those "bosses" whom they consider inferior to themselves? They were also asked to give their responses to the author concerning the suppression of feeling and the way of denial as coping mechanisms and to consider, instead, the way of attention.

ATTENTION TO THE LIFE STYLE

The participants have been described as people who need to believe that they act in moral and caring ways to help others, and to believe that they can accomplish what they are expected to do if they just work harder

and if they have receive sufficient help from their agencies and communities. Further, they are described as blaming themselves for the failure of the systems in which they work and as denying these system failures in order to deny their participation in them.

A life style for helpers has been developed by the author in dialogue with the participants. The helper is perceived to find a sense of superiority in helping those whom whom they they consider inferior or in resisting those in authority. They are also perceived as unaware of their real superiority: knowledge of the systems in which they work.

The life style has been described as accompanied by an attendant price, denial of the facts and feelings of their lives. The denial has been described as a way of life, beginning as a denial of pain and growing into denial of all senses, hope, joy and anticipation of new ways.

It will be remembered that the practitioner of Adlerian psychology usually suggests that the life style analysis be given considered attention through the routines of the days which follow. The purpose of this "attention" is to "check" the analysis, to see if there is any sense of identification with it. A modification of that practice to verify the life style has been designed for this study. The participants were asked to check the life style in three ways: 1) to "catch" themselves being helpers in their interactions with other people in their lives; 2) to recognize any action that may be motivated by resistance to authority rather than by the needs of the situation; and 3) to evaluate their feelings concerning selected remembered events.

The First "Check"

The participants were asked to be aware of their interactions at work as well as at home and in their community relationships. They were to ask themselves: Am I being a "helper" again? Is this the only way to behave in this situation? Do I feel superior because of my ability to solve the complications of others? Is it possible that this position of always being a helper is one which is exhausting me? Does it contribute to overwork? Is it a position that I must always take? Is it possible that this position contributes to alienation from others because they feel "put down" by my helping? Is there another way to be involved in these interactions in my life?

The participants responded to the author's request that they check the life style analysis by considering the first question she had suggested. As they discovered themselves being "helpers" at inappropriate or unnecessary times, they reported, with some amusement and chagrin, a sense of accomplishment.

I let my son go buy his own football shoes alone!

I didn't offer to get my boyfriend out of his money jam, even though I had the money, and he took care of it himself!

I hired a housekeeper!

I'm doing less decision making for others at work and encouraging people to make their own decisions!

You know, I've been watching my dad more closely. Maybe he's just really mad because we all "take care" of him all the time. But he seems scared

when we don't. It must be a very difficult thing for him, as it is for us.

These reports have all been from female participants. One of the male participants sat and nodded his head and smiled at his wife during the conversations about "helpers" who won't, or can't, quit "helping." One of the other male participants reported that it was different for him. He is over forty and his parents still do too much for him. It is not surprising then, to learn that his mother is a variation of the "helper," a former teacher.⁵⁶

The Second "Check"

The participants were also asked to take note of times when their behavior might be motivated by resistance to authority, or perhaps by a desire to "get even." They were asked to consider whether it might be possible for them to engage in cooperative actions in situations where they might usually engage in resistant behaviors.

They discussed some of their past exploits, still with quiet humor or great glee, but with a beginning appreciation of how these behaviors keep "the system" going. One participant became a member of the board of directors of the mental health clinic where she had worked for eleven

⁵⁶ Although it is not relevant to the life style of the group, it is of interest that within the group there were individual differences that had to do with male and female experience outside of work life. The male experience was that they were not so involved in the "helper" role, in taking care of children and elderly parents as were the women.

years and from which she has recently resigned. She had found herself wondering what it might be like to practice cooperative behavior instead of engaging in her usual adversarial behaviors.

A second participant described positive reactions when she found herself being straightforward at a staff meeting. She spoke to her supervisor with clarity, instead of behaving in her usual manner of seething inside or of cutting him to pieces, talking about him to other people as she left the meeting. A third participant, the author, had to consider what it might mean to work within existing systems, in yet undevised cooperative fashion, rather than following her bent toward resistance.

Certainly this is not to say that all the participants began to engage in cooperative behaviors exclusive of their usual behaviors. An amusing example is that of one participant who asked the others to help him find some disappearing ink. He wanted to sign a required form and have the signature disappear in a few days. Of the study participants helping him with this venture, one was a member of the board of directors who would be hearing his "case" if he refused to sign this particular form. Another was the author of this study.

The Third "Check"

During one of the Professional Support Group meetings, the author asked the participants to consider the following events in light of the analysis which suggests that what they are doing is denying their feelings and the fact of the failures of the systems in which they work. In

particular, they were asked to consider how they FELT when these remembered events took place. These events were all observed by the author in her job as family therapist, in conjunction with one or more of the participants, within the six-month period between April and October 1984. She had seen them wince with pain, their bodies tense with compassion, the flare of anger. And --- she had seen it all disappear, as if absorbed, somewhere into themselves. They were reminded: THESE EVENTS DID OCCUR. HOW DID YOU FEEL ABOUT THEM THEN?

An infant, 10 hours old, laboring for her life, was discovered unattended, by a mental health counselor. She was suffering from symptoms of withdrawal from a drug her mother had been taking before she was born. It seemed to the counselor that she had been left to die. He left work early that day in deep depression, deciding to quit his job. That same afternoon a Vietnam era veteran had been angry and hurt because the counselor was not there to keep their appointment, and had slammed out of the clinic.

School authorities attempted to get a girl, thirteen, back into school. They were concerned about her truancy. She had been in mental hospitals three times since she was ten, on the basis of a mis-diagnosis of schizophrenia. She was terrified that she would be taken from her mother again. She was pregnant, and also afraid that her baby would be taken from her if it should live. Her mother had told her that it would probably die.

A young man with a serious heart condition, died after climbing two steep flights of stairs to a mental health clinic. Mouth-to-mouth resuscitation by the clinic psychologist was to no avail. The psychologist faulted herself for not having attended a recent course to keep her skills current.

An adolescent girl, removed from her home for alleged sexual abuse of her siblings, was discovered to be abused by her step-father and there was no appropriate living situation available for her. It was also discovered that she was abused by an uncle in a home where she had previously lived.

Two children were removed from their mother illegally and placed with a former foster mother of their mother. The former foster mother was aided by a Department of Human Services worker and a local lawyer. Three counselors in the mental health clinic had clear evidence that the former foster mother abused retarded adults who lived in her home.

A teen-age boy who had spent months in a detention center was discovered to have been wrongfully accused of stealing by his mother's sister, who was jealous of her.

A bright adolescent girl, in custody of the Department of Human Services off and on over the course of four years, had lived in every alternative living arrangement in the state and continued to run away until she was placed in a detention home. The social worker who had been her most recent "case worker" said with great and real sincerity: It really works when you take them out of the house. They really behave when they get back, they're so glad to be home.

A gifted elementary school boy was beaten by his father, a veteran, whenever his grades were less than an "A." The family refused counseling until the father became abusive to the entire family and was jailed. The boy's classmates had seen the welts on his back and begged the teacher to give him an "A" on every paper so that his father would not beat him.

A seven year old boy was alleged to be repeatedly sexually abused by his father. The worker, who was convinced that this allegation was true, was required to take the child back to the home after the judge ruled there was insufficient evidence to remove him. The service provider said, near tears: "I would quit this job today if my husband were working."

A woman participated in the sexual abuse of her eleven-year old daughter by a boyfriend. The child, along with two other children in the family, was removed to a foster home where she was made to feel that the abuse was her own fault. The father wanted the children to live with him, but he did not have money nor a place for them that the Department of Human Services considered suitable.

The Department of Human Services removed a girl from her home after the sexual abuse of her sister, by the father. The mother and daughter were further pained by the enforced, undesired

separation. The social worker was a member of the Professional Support Group and there was continued argument between her and two other members of that group who thought she had made a poor and unfounded decision about the removal of the girl from her home.

A child, crippled and with speech defects, lived at the top of two flights of steep stairs in a slum apartment building in a small town. The father wanted the school to help the child to talk. The social worker wanted the child to have his legs operated on. The father was considered a drunk and the mother was described as "running the roads." The author only wanted the social worker to find them a place to live on the ground floor. Some months after leaving the area, she heard on a news report that the "low-income" apartment building had burned, that the father and the child both died. The boy was found under his mattress.

A black father and a white mother lived on top of a coal and trash dump. Accused of child abuse, the mother was very angry. She said that her step-mother, who already had the welfare department help her to "get" one child from them, had called the welfare again. "She is always telling the welfare people lies. They believe her because she goes to church." It is expected that in ten years or less the child who lives with the grandmother will become a juvenile delinquent because of alienation from his family of origin and because he is pampered by the grandmother. There is little public attention given to the fact that pampered children are as apt to be irresponsible as neglected and abused children.

"Mother," a son said, returning from a mental hospital, "those people are just there because no one wants them." His own mother, a "helper," was always involved in the complexities of others. After his death by suicide she thought that he might have been talking about himself, feeling that he was wanted by no one.

The "Unanesthetized Life"

As to the first two "checks", on recognition of acting as a "helper" and on recognition of acting in resistance to authority, the participants acknowledged the "rightness" of the analysis. With regard to the third

"check," however, there was a different reaction from all the participants.

It could be expected that the participants would have remembered some FEELING about the given events. It would seem that an appropriate response would have been of some depth and would have included some expressed variation of grief, despair, frustration, disbelief, horror, indignation, or pity. At the very least, anger would have seemed an authentic response.

NO FEELINGS WERE REPORTED.

The participants, without apparent conscious awareness or intention, ignored the author, turning to each other as if she were not in the room. They seemed to dismiss the past events as irrelevant, having happened so long ago. They began to discuss more recent events of which she had no knowledge. These events seemed as hopeless to the author as the remembered events she had just recounted to the group. Yet, again, concerning these more recent events, the discussion was without affect. There was only the sense from them that anything that happens is no surprise.

It was as if they must build a facade of composure, doing the best they can, under the circumstances. There was no indication of anger or grief about the plight of the people with whom they worked, or of their own plight. As de Hartog wrote of the "disaster symptom": they seemed to accept their plight as an immutable fact of life, like the climate. It is as if they know that if they should start to feel, if they should allow themselves to be angry or to cry, they would be unable to stop. And so they do not consider whether conditions are normal or abnormal,

acceptable or not acceptable. They simply attempt to do their job, circumventing any obstacles they can, making do when they cannot. De Hartog wrote of himself: "I felt relaxed, yet oddly empty of emotion, a state of tranquility that would have been pleasant had there not been, underneath it all, a boiling caldron of nightmarish images" ⁵⁷ The author would add, as de Hartog did not, that it is as if they know that to see conditions as they are will be to blame themselves more, and will thus contribute to being overwhelmed further.

On that evening when there was discussion of the families remembered by the author, the participants did not immediately accept the analysis of the author that they are living a life of denial of feelings. Nor was there any attempt by the author to insist on such acceptance from them. As with a life style analysis for an individual when there is resistance to it, there was no "push" from the author for acceptance of the group analysis. The analysis may be of value in the future as they consider it, and it may not. "Some illusions may be necessary, for some people, at some time, just to keep on living." ⁵⁸

The participants can continue to get through their day by denying their feelings, denying the failures of the systems in which they work, and using resistance to authority as a coping mechanism. Or they can give up the solution to life's problems which they chose as children: superiority over others through helping, and resistance to those

⁵⁷ Hartog, The Hospital, p. 65.

⁵⁸ Jean Bethke Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 317.

perceived to be in authority. It is possible that the reflected view of themselves provided by this study, may, in and of itself, precipitate a change in their life and work situations. It is possible, that if they can learn to accept where their real superiority lies -- in the knowledge of the systems in which they work -- they will no longer have to gain their sense of superiority from being "helpers" and from resisting authority. If that occurs, they may at the same time, be able to acknowledge that they are paying a very high price for their perceived need to deny the feelings of others and of themselves.

It is hoped that this study has at least encouraged the participants toward that state envisioned by Marilyn Ferguson in The Aquarian Conspiracy: the integration of the emotional and the intellectual, the heart and the mind; an acceptance of one's own pain as well as the pain of others, and the giving of attention to that pain, rather than the continued denial of it.

If the participants give attention to the life style as it has been presented here and to the pain of themselves and of others, there may begin a transformation process in their lives and the lives of those around them. Ferguson is convinced that the rewards, once experienced, are worth the costs of living the "unanesthetized life."⁵⁹ It is in the acceptance of Ferguson's conviction that the author continues to refute the argument by the participants that they must separate themselves from the pain of the people who come to them for help and their from own pain.

⁵⁹ Marilyn Ferguson, The Aquarian Conspiracy, p. 76.

It will be remembered that the author and the primary participants were in continued disagreement during the course of the study concerning the value or the dysfunction of "inurement." The author considers inurement the antithesis of living the unanesthetized life. That argument, begun early in the study, continues.

CHAPTER FIVE - CONCLUSIONS

The intent of this study has been to give the service providers a reflected view of themselves. There was no original intent to be prescriptive. In discouraged discussion of the reflected view, however, there was the question from the participants: If these things are so, how can we continue our jobs? What are our alternatives? This concluding chapter addresses those questions, taking into account that, just as the life style pinpoints mistaken notions, so does it at the same time suggest alternatives. So, too, does the critical theory of Brian Fay find truth in the false ideas people have about themselves and their circumstances.

It will be remembered that the author was aware that any attempt to offer prescriptions not determined in conjunction with the participants would be to fall into the mistake of thinking like an "expert" and attempting to tell them what to do. It will also be remembered that this would be to risk their resistance to any authority that the author might assume. Therefore, it has been essential that prescriptions in this study evolve from discussions among the author and the primary participants. The inclusion of ideas from some neglected literatures was a part of those discussions and it contributed positive influences in consideration and practice of alternatives as the research project came to a close.

The participants in this study have been described as getting through their days by denying their own feelings of pain and the pain of others. This denial has resulted in a narrow awareness of their life and an alienation from themselves. Their narrow vision has been sustained by a

mistaken notion that to be a "helper" means that they are superior to others who ask for help and that to accept help implies inferiority. In some instances, their narrow vision has encouraged them to be resistant to the authority of supervisors and administrators. It also prevents them from taking advantage of their real superiority, knowledge of the systems in which they work.

They have felt solely responsible for their assigned job responsibilities, and have blamed themselves, at an unconscious level, for the failures of the systems in which they work. Because they sometimes act in immoral and uncaring ways at the face-to-face level with people who come for services, and because their actions may result in harm to others, they have an urgent need to deny these possibilities and to believe that they always act in moral and caring ways. Not believing in their own shortcomings, they have developed a need to blame their organizations and communities for being unsupportive of their efforts, and by extension, to consider others to be immoral and uncaring. They have believed that there was no use in asking for help.

Before addressing conclusions of the study, the service providers will be described in ways very different from those in the literatures of Chapter Two. They will be described as moral and caring, as well as uniquely knowledgeable about the systems in which they work. They will be viewed as being in an effective position to initiate change by engaging, with honesty and integrity, in all face-to-face relationships: with themselves, with people who come for services, within intimate relations, with co-workers, supervisors and administrators, and policy makers. If they wish to initiate change, and to become change agents,

it will be suggested that they may have a need for a vision of the future and for learning new ways, to include collecting new tools for implementation of the vision and the new ways.

THE SERVICE PROVIDER AS MORAL, CARING AND RESPONSIBLE

The participants in this study are moral and caring. They have only to act so in order to believe it.

If they can admit that they have sometimes engaged in immoral and uncaring behaviors because of the nature of the systems in which they work, and as a result of their reaction to those systems, they can then more readily accept the fact that they are indeed moral and caring people who have been reacting negatively to structural deficiencies of their agencies.¹ They can learn to distinguish those events which are part of a shared condition and those injustices which they can work to remedy. If the service providers can believe that they are moral and caring, they can then acknowledge the failures of the human service delivery systems. They have been and are still confronted with these failures as is no one else in the delivery system. Lipsky describes street-level bureaucrats as constantly interacting with the people who come to their agencies for

¹ This is not to say that all service providers are moral and caring. They are not. As there are those soldiers who revel in the experience of the battlefield and suffer not at all, so are there the service providers who suffer not at all. The author, having been intimately involved with both soldiers and service providers, finds it within her experience to comment that just as the soldier who is moral and caring suffers the more for that, so does the service provider who is moral and caring suffer the more.

services, and because of that interaction, they have a residual awareness, as does no other organizational worker, of the notion of need in relation to what is being provided.²

The author believes that, because of this "residual awareness," the service provider, alone of all the people involved in the human services delivery system has both knowledge of current conditions and the strongest motivation to work for change. At the face-to-face level, they suffer the pain of others, as well as their own pain, either through denial of it or attention to it. Because of this "residual awareness" they are also in the most effective position to advocate change.

To add the function of change-agent to the already over-burdened service provider may make it seem as if the author of this study is insensitive and even unreasonable. It may appear that she is urging the service providers to improve their work situation so that they can continue to work simply because their services are "essential" to the country and to the well-being of other citizens.

Something very different is being said, however. These changes are to be made for themselves. To continue to act in unconscionable ways, even for a portion of the time and to deny that action when one is a moral and caring person, is to suffer considerable pain and stress. To then deny that pain and stress is to compound the problem. To continue to work in the human service delivery system and to continue behaviors that are

² Michael Lipsky, Street Level Bureaucracy (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1980), p. 190.

sometimes hurtful to others can ultimately lead to physical and moral illness.

An example from literature gives vivid portrayal of this assertion. Alice Walker tells the story of how her mother was turned away crying, humiliated, with three small children, as she presented a government voucher for flour during the 1930s. A white woman giving out the flour, angry and envious because the mother was wearing a nice dress (which she had just taken from a box of clothes from "up North"), exclaimed: "The nerve of that nigger coming in here dressed better than me!"³ In telling the story later to her children, the mother said about the white woman: "That old woman that turned me off so short got down so bad in the end she was walking on two sticks!" Asked how she got through the winter without the flour, she explained how she had a "ready stand of corn" that she was able to trade with "Aunt Mandy," who had some extra flour. Alice Walker found less importance in the white woman's vindictiveness than in her mother's ready stand of corn and the generosity of Aunt Mandy. My concern, however, is with the white woman. Without intending to diminish the pain experienced by Alice Walker's mother, this study would emphasize concern for the white woman, who was giving out the government's flour. From an historical point of view, she can be seen adrift on the "disaster syndrome" of the Great Depression, suffering the aftermath of slavery, doing the best she could, as was the case in the Holland floods and in the Houston hospital described by de Hartog. We can also guess that she

³ Alice Walker, In Search of Our Mother's Gardens (San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, Javonovich, 1983), pp. 15-17.

was subject to the vanities of most human beings. And, if there are similarities between her and the participants of this study, then she surely saw herself as a "helper" and as a moral and caring person. It is possible that, like the participants described in this study, she felt bad, even guilty, at an unconscious level, about the plight of the poor around her; she may have felt responsible for the sins of a nation. It is possible, too, that the situation was such that she had to deny her feelings, to deny her own pain and the pain of others, in order to "get the job done."

Even if the service providers leave the job, the memories of their actions and the actions of others will remain as clear as the scenes of the battlefield to the soldier who has returned home. As removal from the war scene does not release the soldiers from responsibility for what they have done, neither does removal from the social service delivery scene release the service providers from responsibility for what they have done and seen.⁴

Whether staying in the position or leaving it, service providers retain a strong sense of responsibility toward others. It will be remembered that in their jobs they have been expected to carry out

⁴ Evidence for this statement is based on conversations with three former social service providers. Two of them completed the survey designed for the study. They had both been out of social services for several years. Completing the survey triggered old feelings of sadness and anger and guilt that, even at this time, so much later, were close to intolerable. The third person disclosed very painful experiences of hearing children screaming in her dreams, soon after she had resigned her position. None of the three are working in social services and all of them, in the author's perception, are engaged in activities designed to bring about social change.

contradictory loyalties: to serve the best interests of clients and provide for their welfare; to be "objective" and carry out the requirements of their positions as bureaucrats and as employees; to be good citizens providing essential services for other citizens. They have never been encouraged to act in their own best interests.

The moral and caring service providers in this study have a way out of their nightmare. They can appreciate their superior knowledge of the systems in which they work and they can assume responsibility for their own behavior by acting with honesty and integrity in each face-to-face encounter with themselves, with those who come for services, with family and friends, with co-workers, with supervisors and administrators, with policy makers and with the general public.

Thinking about a "way out" began as the author considered Lipsky's speculation that street-level bureaucrats are able to recognize the disparity between the needs of people who come for help and what is actually being provided. Lipsky's work contributed another thought to the formulation of a solution with his statement that:

Thinking about significant changes in street-level practice implies a commitment to altering or improving relations between individual workers and clients. Yet we are profoundly shy and inexperienced in talking about relations between and among people. We know much more about deploying resources than about affecting working relations.⁵

The author believes that people can learn, however, to behave in ways which alter and improve relationships between people.

⁵ Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, pp. 187 and 190.

The participants in this study, more than most, have opportunities to use their skills toward such ends. The author does not mean to imply, however, that the service providers in this study must engage themselves in any predetermined way in their face-to-face encounters. As to their possible future directions, there seems no better thought to share than Don Juan's advice to Castaneda which focused on the question of which path to follow and how to make the choice:

Anything is one of a million paths. Therefore you must always keep in mind that a path is only a path: If you feel you should not follow it, you must not stay with it under any conditions. To have such clarity you must lead a disciplined life. Only then will you know that any path is only a path, and there is no affront, to oneself or to others, in dropping it if that is what your heart tells you to do. But your decision to keep on the path or leave it must be free of fear or ambition...look at every path closely and deliberately. Try it as many times as you think necessary.⁶

One directive for the service providers in this study, who may choose to continue their same path or may consider changing the nature of their face-to-face relationships, comes from Mary Howell, a medical doctor. In Helping Ourselves she cautions all professionals, as those in medicine have been cautioned: first of all, do no harm. She would make this a governing principle in societal affairs as in professional services, believing that it will come into being only when it becomes a governing principle in the process of our intimate relations within our families, neighborhoods and communities.⁷

⁶ Castaneda, Carlos, The Teachings of Don Juan (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), p. 107.

⁷ Mary Howell, Helping Ourselves (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), pp. 201-05.

Face-to-Face With the Self

The position of facing one's self is such an ancient one, extolled in the poetry and prose of religion and philosophy, that it must inevitably have a taint of the trite about it. Yet this position remains the foundation of change.

The recommendation of honesty and integrity in the face-to-face encounter with the self came as no surprise to the participants in this study. It is a position they are familiar with, whether from Christianity's concern with faith versus works or from the Tao of Confucianism: an ideal of balance between the development of one's inner wisdom and the evidence of it in ethical outer activity.

There are always the questions: which way to go, what to listen to, what signs to follow. The only way to answer these questions requires "time from the relentless treadmill schedule of activities that so often fill up our lives and leave us inwardly empty."⁸

One participant came close to taking this face-to-face position. Her question bordered on the existential: "So I hate my job...am exhausted...drink, smoke too much...But the BIG question is: If I quit my job, who am I?" She moved jerkily, stubbed out her cigarette, shrugged, and was off again on her own private treadmill schedule.

Neither she, nor any of the other participants had any quarrel with the author's prescription for the absolute necessity of the face-to-face

⁸ Jean Bolin, The Tao of Psychology (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 88, and 92.

encounter with themselves. They admitted that they rarely take this essential time for themselves and, realized that, without this time, they have little opportunity for success in making life's choices. Yet, they continue to give work their primary thought, energy, and time. They continue to live lives which are imbalanced, giving greater preference to work than to time for themselves, for intimate relationships and for social activities, to include politics.

Marilyn French concludes her work Beyond Power with the thought that if there is to be a future at all, it must start with the self and an investigation of our own needs and desires, a reevaluation of what gives us pleasure, what makes living seem desirable, and of our pursuit of power or control. She defines "integration of the self" as meaning the use of all one's capacities, talents and abilities valued in the public and the private domains. Integration of the self and the world means involving oneself in a community of some sort, and participating in the public world."⁹ Paradoxically, then, to come face-to face with ourselves means involving ourselves in the larger world.

Face-to-Face with Those Who Come For Services

The service provider is largely in charge of the face-to-face encounter with those who come for services, where significant change can occur without any help or hindrance from other agency personnel, community

⁹ Marilyn French, Beyond Power (New York: Summit Books, 1985), pp. 543-544.

members, or policy makers. It is here that service providers can measure and evaluate the quality of relationships in which they are involved, deciding personally on the adequacy or need for improvement.

Thinking about change in face-to-face relationships implies a commitment to at least think about altering or improving relations between individual workers and those who come for services. Such alteration can be as risky as informing people that they are not receiving those services that are due them and telling them where this lack can be reported. It can be as easy as using simple language with people who do not understand agency regulations. Mrs. Judd explained this to de Hartog in The Hospital, as she taught him how to work with an old and frightened patient:

Now, you notice Mr. Hartog, the first rule: before you start, tell the patient what you are about to do. He is in a strange and frightening world. The first thing is to relieve his anxiety about simple things that may seem harmless and natural to you, but that frighten him for the simple reason that, in his condition, everything frightens him.¹⁰

Social service and mental health agencies can be as frightening a world as a hospital, and even more humiliating. The psychologist was who a participant in this study, departed from her her routine schedule for the purpose of reassuring a young person, and her family, that the young person was not "crazy." Visiting the home, the psychologist stood in the doorway of the young girl's bedroom, where she was huddled, terrified that she was going to be hospitalized for the fourth time. She asked quietly if she could come in, even as the girl was screaming that she wouldn't

¹⁰ Jan de Hartog, The Hospital (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 62.

talk to another social worker. An hour of quiet, soothing dialogue resulted in the accomplishment of her mission.

If there is a genuine desire to enhance relationships with those who come for services, the participants can continue to inform themselves. They may choose to concentrate on learning things that are relevant to specific areas of interest or need, or they may choose to consider how their present attitudes contribute to the circumstances in which they and the people who come for services find themselves.

An example of attitudinal change is adoption of the notion that families can be encouraged to make real choices for themselves and to abandon their current patterns of looking to authorities for instructions as to "right" choices. Mary Howell, in Helping Ourselves, encourages such attitudinal change on the part of professionals, as well as those who seek services from professionals. She states that authorities rarely know us as more than average statistics. People themselves have the best chance of understanding their own tolerances and preferences. She suggests that people learn to inform themselves in the knowledge and skills they need, choosing services available from kin and friends as well as gaining knowledge and skills from experts and professionals.¹¹

An example of a smaller change, more specific than attitudinal change, is learning and practicing the Human Relations Development model of communication which was used to facilitate this research. Some of the participants have already had training in this model, and could decide that it is possible to actually make use of it, despite the pressures of

¹¹ Mary Howell, Helping Ourselves, pp. 201-05.

their jobs. Those without such training could arrange for local educational institutions to design such a course in their geographical area, or to have an in-service course taught in their agencies. A community workshop could be planned. There are any number of ways to become informed if there is acknowledgement of need.

What is said here about the communication model is, of course, true of any other skills and knowledge that might be useful. For example, several members of the Professional Support Group arranged a workshop in family therapy during the course of the research project. These particular participants have been engaged for some years in other educational efforts of their own volition.

Face-to-Face in Intimate Relationships

Rudolf Dreikurs, in a work with an introduction by Alfred Adler, speaks of the life task of work as having claimed most of the energies of the human community.¹² This condition has resulted in our neglecting the other life tasks of love, friendship and political responsibility. Most people fulfill the occupational task as its non-fulfillment usually imperils existence. Yet excessive zeal at the work task has been used as an excuse to evade the love task or the development of friendships. Sometimes, when people find that work no longer provides a satisfying

¹² Rudolf R. Dreikurs, Fundamentals of Adlerian Psychology, Introduction by Alfred Adler (Chicago: Alfred Adler Institute, 1953), pp. 103, 91-108.

outlet, failures in love and friendship become all the more conspicuous.¹³

Dreikurs describes the love task as rarely being fulfilled at the present time since to fulfill the task of love, it is first necessary to accept the self and then it is necessary to want and accept another. He says that in becoming one with the self, it is then possible to consummate ties with others.

The love task is made all the more difficult because of our struggle for prestige and our problems with sexuality, which intensify the rivalry between men and women that is increasingly evident in modern society. It is also negatively influenced by resistance to submit to a union with another person. These difficulties all involve a lack of willingness to cooperate. Problems of cooperation are not limited to the task of intimacy, however, but also occur in the tasks of work, friendship and politics.

To illustrate Dreikurs' point, of evasion of the love task, the author acted out a short skit for the participants, imitating how one of them came home, wearing her office clothes, figuratively, as well as literally. Barely bending, she lightly touched her children, glanced at her husband watching television, went into her bedroom and got into bed, still with her office clothes on. She lay down, straight, stiff and composed. In the second scene she was asleep, still with her clothes on.

¹³ The author of this study expects this phenomenon to increase as the task of sustaining ourselves becomes easier to accomplish, in the future. This phenomenon may also become more evident as people live longer and prolonged retirement precludes work as a satisfying outlet.

Her husband is also asleep, on the couch in front of the television. The third scene is set in the office of a marriage counselor where the woman is saying that she certainly is not going to stay married to a guy who watches television all the time!

The participants agreed that the time and energies they put into work leave little for intimate relationships. They continually expressed concern about the quality of their relationships with children and parents, as well their intimate love relationships and friendships. They gave considerable thought, if not yet actual energy, to these relationships during the course of the research project. It is to be hoped, that by acting in accordance with the work of Miller, it may be possible for the participants and others to become engaged in affiliations yet unknown to modern people, as we move away from the dominant-subordinant relationships of a patriarchal society.¹⁴

Face-to-Face with Co-Workers

To deny one's own reality, one's own pain, is a harmful thing, but it is something which harms only one's self, awful as that is. To deny one's own reality in living and working with others is yet another matter: it is to contribute to the pain of another, for each person seeks validation of his or her life choices in encounters with others. It was like that for you, too? I wasn't imagining things? Each person with whom

¹⁴ Jean Baker Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976).

one has an encounter may wonder: Is there something wrong with me? I must be crazy. Am I just imagining things? Everyone else seems to accept the way things are here. Thus to deny one's own reality in encounters with others is to do them a grave injustice.

Moreover, it contributes to further injustice against the self. Another person, from whom one could learn, who hears something which seems incongruous with their own uncertain perceptions, will not be encouraged to reveal those doubting perceptions. Thus, one may be denied the opportunity to learn from others' true perceptions.

The participants are in agreement that there is considerable risk in attempting to engage in relationships with co-workers at anything more than a superficial level. One who attempts to address things as they are, other than unanswerable complaints, or to look at how things might be changed in relation to the complainer's responsibilities, is to be considered a "trouble-maker": "Have you been talking with that union organizer again?" Yet, if there is a willingness to take risks, the rewards are there.

Face-to-Face with Supervisors and Administrators

It is at this level that the service providers may want to question themselves carefully as to where duty, loyalty and responsibility must lie. To follow regulations blindly is to risk personal responsibility and integrity, a thing long known in the military and exemplified in a famous passage by Shakespeare. King Henry V, dressed in an ordinary cloak, walked among his men, seeking to learn what they thought of him

as their king and commander. Two common soldiers, talking with the disguised king, were attempting to place responsibility for their own actions on to the king. Henry refused to allow that.

BATES . . . for we know enough if we are the King's subjects. If his cause be wrong, our obedience to the King wipes the crime of it out of us.

KING HENRY . . . Every subject's duty is the King's, but every subject's soul is his own.¹⁵

Blind obedience to the rules and regulations of a modern agency does not "wipe the crime of it out of us." At each face-to-face encounter with administrators and supervisors, service providers can take on the uneasy task of deciding which of their functions are legitimate, which are "standard operating procedure" but benign, and which are malignant. Those functions determined to be malignant may involve, for example, excessive or misleading activity commonly labeled C.Y.A. (Cover Your A--); inappropriate responses to another agency's demands on personnel; or unquestioning acceptance of the diagnoses made by medical or mental health personnel. Malignant functions can be brought to the attention of supervisors and administrators in such a way as to be heard by them and acted on in positive fashion.

Certainly there is a risk for the service provider in confronting supervisors and administrators with the nature of functions they consider malignant. Such risk requires the demonstration of courage, honesty, and integrity. Yet, if taken, that same risk can allow the enormous amounts of energy which now prop up old ways to be directed toward

¹⁵ Henry V, Act IV, Scene I.

change. Such risk can bring attention to that which is known only to the face-to-face service provider: that there is not only a critical lack of social services available to the poor in Appalachia, but there is also a lack of basic life resources. To make this clear can mean to begin changing the circumstances of life for the individual service provider as well as for those who come for services.

That the participants in this research project want to continue working within existing agencies is evident. Exit interviews by the author indicated that the service providers want to consider how best to do this. One participant said, "I've about given up on organizations. Then how come I'm on the board of the agency I resigned from as an employee a year ago?" A second participant suggested, somewhat wistfully, that the members of the Professional Support Group might have tried to learn more about the "good" side of bureaucracy. "But then, it would probably have been an exercise in futility, wouldn't it?" A third participant is learning the required skills she needs to be director of an adolescent emergency care shelter. A fourth is considering a different job within her agency.

Should they care to do so, the participants are in excellent positions to inform their administrators and supervisors of the conditions they may want to change at the face-to-face level of service provision, should they care to do so. Such action can best be addressed in company with supervisors and administrators who have some discretionary powers with which to work that are not usually available to the face-to-face service provider. They can also design opportunities

for working with policy makers in ways which service providers usually cannot.

Face-to-Face with Policy Makers

Service providers may well say that they do not generally come face-to-face with policy makers, and that may be true in a factual sense. Yet information about human services, which originates with service providers, confronts or sustains the policy maker's view of the effectiveness of policy. This information, or misinformation, continues things as they are, or contributes to change.

To be engaged with policy makers can mean to be engaged politically. There is some evidence that political involvement is part of what it means to be human, that "acting in common with others to agreed upon ends is a worthy form of life."¹⁶ There is that position in Aristotelian thought which "continues to inspire those committed to creating and sustaining a participatory, normative ideal of political life and continues to give a vision of politics which remains alive today."¹⁷

According to the theorist Brian Fay, "politics" refers to deliberate efforts of people to direct, order and control their collective affairs and activities, to establish ends for their society, and to implement and evaluate those ends. From this perspective, what is fundamental about

¹⁶ Jean Bethke Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 299, 336, 341.

¹⁷ Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), pp. 52 and 54.

politics is the interaction and participation of people according to mutually defined and accepted rules as they engage in the process of creating and administering the laws of their community. That is to say that what is most significant is the involvement of citizens in the process of determining their own collective identity.

To deny the political process contributes to one's own sense of powerlessness. To be community minded, to be political, is to gain that power which comes from engagement with others to solve community problems.

The participants in the research study, in an attempt to make known to policy makers the world of the service provider, applied for a Ford Foundation grant to write and produce a play in which other actors in the political processes of human service delivery would be invited to play themselves on the stage, in company with the service providers. That the grant was not funded has not ended the possibility for the production of such a play. The participants still believe that it would be a unique and creative way to bring themselves face-to-face with policy makers.¹⁸

In summary, the face-to-face service providers are uniquely placed to have both the knowledge and motivation to interact with others in

¹⁸ Peter Brook, The Empty Space (New York: Atheneum, 1981). p. 99. "No tribute to the latent power of the theatre is as telling as that paid to it by censorship. In most regimes, even when the written word is free, the image free, it is still the stage that is liberated last. Instinctively, governments know that the living event could create a dangerous electricity -- even if we see this happen all too seldom. But this ancient fear is a recognition of an ancient potential. The theatre is the arena where a living confrontation can take place. The focus of a large group of people creates a unique intensity -- owing to this, forces that operate at all times and rule each person's daily life can be isolated and perceived more clearly.

making changes in the human service delivery system. They are therefore uniquely qualified to address changes in this system at political and policy making levels. It is incumbent upon them to share their knowledge in the political arena if they wish to change their own work and life situations and improve service delivery for those who come for help. If they do want change, and if they do want to become politically active, they may recognize a need to discover new ways, in order to become "learning agents" and change agents.

De Hartog, in community with others, was faced with the reality of needing to become a political person if he was to effect change at the Jefferson Davis Hospital in Houston. As a part of that political process, he met with the primary member of the Board of Advisors for the hospital, Mr. Taub. Taub asked de Hartog: "Why do you tell people lies about my hospital?" De Hartog replied, astounded, that he was not reporting lies. Taub answered: "The conditions you described do not exist, for I have never seen them."¹⁹

And, in truth, he had never seen them. The hospital he saw, and the hospital the workers in the hospital wanted him to see, did not include the halls, where a young woman sat, blood dripping on the floor, in the throes of a miscarriage; the crowded rooms, where an old man behind a curtain had been left for many hours on a full bedpan, too weak to call for help; the back wards at night, where roaches fed under bandages.

In like fashion, policy makers do not see the reality of social services in southern West Virginia nor are they shown those realities.

¹⁹ Hartog, Hospital, p. 217.

They can say with the equanimity of Mr. Taub: "The conditions you described do not exist, for I have never seen them."

THE SERVICE PROVIDER AS LEARNING AGENT

Because there is no longer a calm, stable state to be reached after a time of troubles, because there can be no bulwark against uncertainty no matter how much it is desired, and because no established institution in our society now perceives itself as adequate to meet the challenges which face it, Donald A. Schon, in Beyond the Stable State, describes the need for learning agents and the need for the development of learning systems. Constructive responses, he says, must confront the loss of the stable state at the both institutional and individual levels, for we are in a continuing transformation which must be understood and managed. We must become adept at learning about learning.²⁰

The service providers in this study may want to entertain the notion of becoming both learning agents and educative agents, learning for themselves first and then sharing their newfound knowledge with those whom they encounter face-to-face. It is possible that a vision of a new world may entice them away from their life style of superiority over others. It may be a welcome vision for those, like the service providers in this study, who have little grieving to do over "the loss of the stable state." There was not that much for Appalachians in that "stable state."

²⁰ Donald A. Schon, Beyond the Stable State (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 9, 29, and 234. See also Marilyn Ferguson, The Aquarian Conspiracy, (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, 1980), pp. pp. 279-21.

A Vision

The author would share her vision of another world as her contribution to the other participants as they continue to work within existing organizations. Such a vision expressed by her will be of no surprise to them. They have been most tolerant of her.

She offers a vision gleaned from the worlds of physics and chemistry. In making that offering, she would not mislead the participants as to her intentions. For her there is no vision within existing organizations. What entices her about the vision she would offer them, is that it takes seriously the notion of a new paradigm. And if there is any merit in it, it would be suitable for the world as it is now, as well for as the world that might be envisioned. On the basis of 18th century mechanics and 19th century scientists, Christopher Lucas, in "Out at the Edge," outlines an emergent transformation in thinking which imagines a universe of synergistic interrelationships. He uses this new way of thinking to explore some philosophical implications for psychology and counseling.²¹

Lucas traces Thomas Kuhn's idea of a paradigm shift, which was first advanced as an explanatory account of basic changes in scientific understanding. According to Lucas, Kuhn's analysis has been invoked to underscore the alleged novelty of shifts in much broader areas of thought, and as it has been given wider application, "its exploitation threatens to make trivial an otherwise generative idea." In recent decades "the

²¹ Christopher Lucas, "Out at the Edge: Notes on a Paradigm Shift," Journal of Counseling and Development 64 (November 1975): 165-71.

philosophical implications of quantum physics have begun to reverberate through other knowledge domains. Overall, the new image of reality unfolded by modern science portends a radical revision of how the world and human consciousness itself is to be comprehended."

Lucas puts forth the Heisenberg principle of uncertainty and Bohr's principle of complementarity to "highlight an incorrigible ambiguity in the human act of observation itself and to bring into question the validity of thinking of nature as an independent reality a priori to consciousness and as something objectively observable without reference either to the observer or the means of observation employed."²² For Lucas, the classical scientific picture of the scientist or detached spectator is overthrown. In its place is the image of a participant-observer whose activities ultimately give meaning and definition to the prospects of phenomena under scrutiny. This new view of the world is a departure from the tenets of classical science. Scientific observation is seen as necessarily an interaction or transaction, a reciprocity of influence between objective and subjective reality.

Lucas makes the point that, as the old Newtonian view of the world influenced many other disciplines, so does the new physics.

Against this background of the abandonment of Newtonian mechanics as a paradigm for understanding reality, and the advancement of a new view of the universe as synergistic interrelationship, has come the growth of a new psychology sufficiently gradual to escape much

²² "In a radical oversimplification, the former asserts the inseparability of any act of scientific observation from that which in nature is the object of investigation. The latter, deriving from the mutually exclusive character of measurements of the position and velocity of particles, similarly blurs the distinction between the knower and the known." Lucas, "Out at the Edge," p. 166.

official attention so that revolutionary implications for the future do not seem to have been acknowledged and appreciated. The themes involved resist succinct characterization but include client-therapist, reciprocity, the dynamic interdependence of affect and cognition, and the need for empathetic awareness and understanding from within the client's reality system.

Richard B. Caple, in "Counseling and the Self-Organization Paradigm," brings the chemistry metaphor over into counseling. His discussion centers on the discovery of a principle called "order through fluctuation," which leads to the development of the self-organization paradigm in counseling. He describes the principle in terms of "ebb and flow" and as "shifting back and forth uncertainly." He finds the paradigm as valid for psychology as for chemistry, biology, or physics. According to Caple, there is emerging a "broader, richer, and infinitely more humane" approach to psychological inquiry. This approach is one whose "overarching aim or guiding purpose is one of intersubjective understanding, not simply dispassionate observation." The paradigm and its background are explained and its implications for counseling are discussed. Beyond a mechanistic view of the universe, there is a proven theory and a confirmation in chemistry which appears to Caple to be a visionary one, drawn from the theory of "dissipative structures" in chemical systems.

The theory is the work of I. Prigogine, who won the Nobel Prize for his efforts, in conjunction with the work of others. These structures are called "dissipative" because they break up and disorder the system so that it may reorder itself. The theory of dissipative structures explains irreversible processes in nature which result in movement toward higher orders of life. It offers a scientific model of change and

explains the critical role of stress in change. Caple describes this world of dissipative structures as successive levels of transformation. Each new level is more integrated and interconnected than the preceding one, thus requiring a larger flow of energy. Consequently, each level is more unstable than the one before, so that each transformation makes the next one more likely.

Capel moves this idea from the physical realm to the world of counseling and finds that it supports the existential attitude that the human being is always becoming. What this implies, however, is that the human being is always potentially in crisis. What has been given, then, to counseling and human relationships through this new view of chemistry is an irreversible world, where the future is not contained in the present. The key concepts in this paradigm are disorder, instability, diversity, disequilibrium, and nonlinear relationships.

And there is no end in sight!

For Capel goes on to say that, on the human level, irreversibility is a fundamental concept which is inseparable from the meaning of existence. Irreversibility is not a subjective construct that should cause feelings of alienation from the world, rather, it should clarify how human beings participate in a world dominated by an evolutionary paradigm, where change is regarded as free and undetermined.

In this new world, people are to move away from equilibrium and toward greater levels of "nonequilibrium." They cannot go back to being as they were or as they should have been. They can take control of the process of their lives and evolve towards higher levels of self-organization. In so doing, human relationships are to be disturbed,

and in that process, people will be transformed. Nonequilibrium is the source of order. Each change will create greater complexity, requiring more energy to sustain the new order. All of this gives human beings a capacity far greater than ever realized before; it provides the potential not only to shape evolution in general but, consequently, to shape their own development.

Capel sees this model from the world of science as providing a new vision for counseling and a better way to view mental health. Movement toward nonequilibrium is to be considered good mental health, while movement toward equilibrium as poor mental health.

This process illuminates and creates new possibilities for the development of relationships as well. Relationships can be viewed as systems which can be disrupted, and in the process, people in them will be transformed. However one defines reality, it can become known only through the active process in which one participates.

A Vision Within a Vision

Within this vision taken from physics and chemistry, the author would hope for some known elements to be present. Cooperation would replace the struggle for power. There would be a general acceptance that voluntary cooperation is just as strong a tendency in human life as are aggression and the urge to dominate. Ordinary men, women and children imbued with the qualities of self-reliance, autonomy, and self-respect, seeking social responsibility, would decide their own fate. Language would be different. Organizations would be voluntary, functional,

temporary and small, based on the metaphor of network and web rather than pyramid and hierarchy. There would be an assertion of human dignity and responsibility in all life circumstances to include the provision of social services. The bodily and psychological well-being of all would be taken into political account as an incontestable factor.

In such a vision, communication would be open and face-to-face. The democratic way of life would become reality. Power would be used to foster development, removing the inevitable disparity between the young and the adult, between teacher and student. Conflict would be overt, and waged in such a way that it does not escalate into open warfare. Human relationships would be founded in equality rather than in perverted modes of domination and submission, so there would come a restructuring of the public and the private lives of men and women. An ethic of justice, as well as a premise of non-violence would be emphasized. There would be working together within communities at the face-to-face level; an engagement of "experts" and "professionals" in such a way that they would not be perceived as different from ordinary folk; a giving up of luxuries by the few until all have acquired basic necessities.

Emphasis would focus on human development rather than organizational development. Generation of new energies would result in cooperative and affiliative ventures, and discovery of resources yet unknown or untapped. Living would be pro-active, not re-active. There would be the giving up of the denial of our own pain and of the pain of others and in that giving up there would come of new ways to be. Service providers would begin to find ways to say: "Yes. I am a helper. No, I cannot do it alone. I would like to work with others to improve the system in which I work, so

that it is good for me as well as for others. I can design new ways to invite others to work with me in the creation of yet other new ways."

Most importantly, there would be the courage to stand and say: I WILL NO LONGER TOLERATE THIS CRUELTY INFLICTED ON THE VULNERABLE OF THE WORLD. I WILL NO LONGER SUFFER IT SILENTLY AND WITH COMPLICITY. I WILL SPEAK OUT AND ACT AGAINST IT.

In the dreaming, the dream would come about.

And in the vision, in the dreaming, there would be a picking and choosing of tools and skills to enhance the dream and the vision. Such a dream, such a vision, takes the author of this study beyond the existing order of things, to the unknown, the untried and the untested. The vision is beyond what Christopher Lucas would call "the abandonment of Newtonian mechanics." It is beyond what the author envisions as the abandonment of structures as outworn as the coal tipples of Appalachia, grown ancient in a few years of disuse.

New Tools and Skills

What new tools and skills might be necessary and useful in such an envisioned world, a world of caring, of dissipating structures and self organization? In a world where the new concepts are disorder, instability, diversity, disequilibrium and nonlinear relationships? In a world where it is impossible to determine in advance the next state of the system? In a world where change directs the system down a new path of development and, once the new path is created from among many possibilities, determinism and predictability take over again until the

next change point occurs? Certainly it might be said that there is no way to know what tools and skills might be required and useful in such an imagined world. On the other hand, perhaps there is.²³

The author does have three suggestions for the development of tools and skills for the service provider who would continue to live in the world of organizations as they presently exist, or who would live in a visionary world. The suggestions are the same for both worlds. They have to do with 1) Giving up the Old Ways; 2) Rules for Dissensus; and 3) Neglected and Emerging Literatures.

The first suggestion, giving up old ways, is quite simple. There is no Whole Earth Catalog where new service delivery tools can be ordered for an envisioned world. But there are exhilarating ideas to entertain when one's back is turned on the mechanistic view of Newtonian physics, when one faces the new world of dissipating structures in human relationships, borrowed from the world of physics. It is hard to imagine how existing tools and skills would fit into this new world. It is easier to imagine beginning anew with no tools and skills, and then going on from there.

One example of giving up old ways would be to let go of the perceived need for "experts," people who are supposed to know what is best for other people, who do things to other people "for their own good." There could be an appreciation of people being "experts" with regard to themselves and their community, responsible for themselves and their neighbors.

²³ The author of this study thinks that we are already in that envisioned world. We have only to open our eyes to see it.

There could be a standing up to "experts" and, after careful scrutiny, taking from them only what is deemed useful.

The second suggestion, the practice of dissensus within consensus, is a tool the author considers essential in decision making and problem solving. It is a strategy for creative conflict which gives courage to an individual or a group, enabling them to stand up and say about what is happening: I DISSENT. The rules are simple enough that a child or any other vulnerable person can understand and practice them. They are also simple enough that persons in positions of power can hear and respond to them.²⁴

The strategy labeled "Rules for Dissensus" is comprised of the following steps:

Step 1. An event occurs. For example, a child in elementary school is to be punished. That child, another child, a teacher in the school, a community member or a service provider can say: I DISSENT!

Step 2. All action stops.

Step 3. All interested participants come together with all the information they can find, within an agreed upon time, and discuss how a similar situation may have been worked out favorably in other places.

Step 4. They come to agreement. Or, they disagree.

Step 5. The action begins again, or it starts over at Step 1.

²⁴ The formulation of the simplicity of these rules has long been in the making. The author's daughter, in third grade, attempted to intervene in the unjust and severe physical punishment inflicted on another child by a teacher in the school she attended. She was unsuccessful, coming home in tears and anguish and anger over her powerlessness. This strategy is a gift to her, in exchange for the presents she gives to the author: her caring, and her capacity to feel pain while continuing to live with joy.

One criticism of this model is that things would happen very slowly. The author agrees, but would prefer a slowing down of things that continue to harm the vulnerable ones of this world. A second criticism of this tool, a very practical one, has to do with the price that the persons who dissent might have to pay for interrupting the system in which they are living or working. Any individual using this tool will need courage, even armor, and knowledge of the system in which they dissent, in order to mitigate potential punishment. For example, if the Rules for Dissensus are to be taught to school children, they should be made aware of an adult who would be willing to come to their assistance in this process. If the Rules are to be used by a teacher or a social service provider, it would be useful if they had a second job to which they could turn their hand.

However, it is possible that the potential for punishment is really not as great as one might think and that the Rules can be exercised more easily than first imagined. The critical question comes from a song of labor organizing, and it will always be the question in dissensus: Whose side are you on? Whose side are you on?

The third suggestion is for the participants to seek new tools and skills in neglected and emerging literatures. The neglected literatures have been there all along, but interest in them has been preempted by other literatures, particularly those of competition. The emerging literatures are concerned with areas of interest not usually found in traditional literatures, and are uniform in their search for new ways of living and growing. The participants might seek, in these literatures, a foundation for a theory and practice which would contribute to the development of other tools and skills in the envisioned world.

NEGLECTED AND EMERGING LITERATURES

The neglected literatures include the older works of Alfred Adler on social interest, of Petr Kropotkin and other anarchists on mutual aid and voluntary association, and of Mary Parker Follett on cooperation and face-to-face communication. Also included are the recent emerging literature concerned with issues of the psychological, political, moral implications of organizations. These include Jean Baker Miller, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Carol Gilligan, Charles Handy, and Kathy Ferguson. Also significant are some literatures of community psychology, and one theory of world development. Both neglected and emerging literatures offer a view of the world which includes a strong belief in the fulfillment of self-interest through the development of community interest; of social responsibility exercised through cooperative and respectful face-to-face relations; and of concern for the well-being of all people in their daily lives.

Social Interest

So far in this study Adlerian psychology has been defined largely in the context of human interrelatedness, at the level of the individual. As Adler based the psychology of the individual on striving for superiority, social interest, and the subject's interpretation of the situation, so did he seek to explain the phenomena of groups. Combined with that interest, he was also concerned that children should have an opportunity to grow up as a part of a community and to feel at home in

the world. He felt that the psychologist must work against obstacles which interfere with the spread of social interest in the family, the school and society at large.

His convictions were such as to place mutual aid above the struggle for power, which he saw as always stimulating opposition, even when the welfare of the subjugated is obviously intended. His belief was that the influence of society, as an ideal community, would create institutions "to act continuously as a goal to strengthen the weak, to support the falling, and to heal the erring."²⁵

Adler was interested in the theory and practice of Individual Psychology as it provided practical application to everyday relationships worked out in community with others. He considered the development of a sense of social interest, or social feeling, to be critical for an individual's adjustment to society. Social interest can provide a basis for cooperative attitudes and behaviors, in direct opposition to the philosophical and psychological foundations of individualism so pervasive in American thought today.

Voluntary Association and Mutual Aid

Petr Kropotkin sought to give a scientific foundation to anarchist ideas by demonstrating that mutual aid -- voluntary co-operation -- is

²⁵ Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher, The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), pp. 446, 454, and 457. The author must admit to some concern for the way in which "erring" might be defined.

just as strong a tendency in human life as aggression and the urge to dominate. The word "anarchy" itself comes from the Greek, meaning "without authority." It is the name given to the idea that it is possible and desirable for society to organize itself without government. Colin Ward describes anarchism as a mode of human organization rooted in the experience of everyday life and as one which organizes itself without authority. He presents the argument that an anarchistic society is always in existence, "like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and its bureaucracy, capitalism and its waste, privilege and its injustices, nationalism and its suicidal loyalties, religious differences and their superstitious separatism."²⁶

Ward describes anarchists as people who make a social and political philosophy out of the natural and spontaneous tendency of human beings to associate together, for their mutual benefit. Anarchy is the kind of politics in which ordinary men, women and children decide their own fate and make their own future. It is about the need for social and political decentralization, workers' control of industry, political power in school, and community control of social services. "Anarchism, instead of being a romantic historical by-way, becomes an attitude to human organization which is more relevant today than it ever seemed in the past." The qualities anarchists seek to foster are those of self-reliance, autonomy, self-respect and consequently, social responsibility, respect and mutual aid.

²⁶ Colin Ward, Anarchy in Action (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1973), pp. 11, 123, 137, and 143.

In anarchistic movements, Ward continues, people do not speak the same language as do people in political parties. They talk the language of anarchism and insist on anarchistic principles of organization, learned not from political theory but from their own organization. They organize in loosely associated groups which are voluntary, functional, temporary, and small. Their dependence is on groups which ebb and flow, group and regroup, according to the task at hand.²⁷

Anarchism is concerned with those social changes, whether revolutionary or reformist, through which people enlarge their autonomy and reduce their subjugation to external authority. It is not a program for political change but an act of social determination. In all its guises, it is an assertion of human dignity and responsibility.

Cooperation and Face-to-Face Communication

, political philosopher and leader of the Boston community center movement, devoted a lifetime to searching for, and trying to convince others of, what she considered to be the true principles of organization. She was convinced that these principles would secure a stable foundation for the steady ordered progress of human well-being. She sought practical application of the social sciences in government and industry. Her interest focused on the problems of establishing and

²⁷ It is of interest to the author that anarchism is described by Ward with the words "ebb and flow" just as Capel used them to describe the "fluctuation of order."

maintaining human cooperation in the conduct of an enterprise.²⁸ She sought to convince others of "the realization of the fact that the democratic way of life, implemented by intelligent organization and administration of government and industry, is to work toward an honest integration of all points of view, to the end that every individual may be mobilized and made to count both as a person, and as an effective part of his group and of society as a whole."

In The New State, she described the need for political science to discover a method of self-government, which she defined as a psychological process. It was with this psychological process that she was particularly concerned. She strongly urged that the face-to-face group, which she believed held the secret of collective life, must be the basis of a social psychology. She considered the group to be the key to democracy, the primary lesson for every individual to learn, and the chief hope for the political, social and international life of the future. Education should be largely training in making choices based on group interest, for it is only from the group that social understanding and true sympathy arise.²⁹

Follett saw social legislation, direct government, and concentration of administrative authority as indicators of a growth of democracy only if they were accompanied by the development of those methods which would make every man and his daily needs the basis and the substance of

²⁸ Mary Parker Follett, Dynamic Administration, eds. M.C. Metcalf and L. Urwick (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), pp. 7 and 9.

²⁹ Mary Parker Follett, The New State (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1918), pp. 11, 13, 48, 54, 141, 173, 185, 203, 242, 257, and 342.

politics. Neighborhood organization was to be the method which would revolutionize politics, so that democracy of a united responsible people could develop as a substitute for the fictitious democracy of equal rights and "consent of the governed." It was to take the place of party politics, for only in this small primary group could there be an understanding of the meaning of democracy. The state was to have a higher function than simply restraining or protecting individuals. It was to play a role in vision making, having a great forward policy which would follow the collective will of the people.

Her new psychology, on which her notions of government were based, was something in the making, a discovery of associations in law, economics, ethics, politics, and every department of thought. It was to be a seeing of things in relation, not as separate entities.

The success of democracy she saw as dependent on two things: 1) the degree of responsibility it is possible to arouse in every man and woman; and 2) the opportunity they are given to exercise that responsibility. All such opportunity was seen by her to rest on the importance of face-to-face communication, in politics as well as in industry. All discussion was to occur at the face-to-face level, and no one person was to give orders to another; both were to agree to take orders from the needs of the situation. Her interest was in "power with," rather than "power over." She saw that the latter was reduced when orders were taken from the needs of the situation.

Face-to-face relationships demand the use of conflict to bring differences out into the open. She described conflict as allowing the potential for integration of formerly conflicting desires through

conference and cooperation, without the demands made by domination and compromise. Devotees of Follett are offered a dramatic alternative to existing organizational practices which have been based on hierarchy, authority, "power over" others and conflict avoidance.³⁰

Toward a Psychology of Women

Jean Baker Miller, in Towards A New Psychology of Women, distinguishes between relationships of temporary inequality and permanent inequality, the former representing the context of human development and the latter, the conditions of oppression. In relationships of temporary inequality (such as parent and child or teacher and student), power ideally is used to foster the development of the individual, thereby eliminating the initial disparity. In relationships of permanent inequality, power cements dominance and subordination, and oppression is rationalized by theories which "explain" the need for its continuation. The overall focus of Miller's work is directed toward two things: 1) making clear the differences between these disparate relationships, and 2) gaining a more accurate understanding of women's psychology as it arises out of their life experiences, rather than as it has been perceived by those who have not had that experience.

³⁰ The author thinks that the categories of conflict described by Theodore Lowi, to include his readjustment of Robert Dahl's proposition about the political system, are instead categories of conflict avoidance: deadlock, coercion, negotiation and administration. Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969).

This understanding is expected to confront society with change in the very basis of individual existence and in the way all persons define themselves. Such change will create the stimulus for a thoroughgoing overhaul of the entire society, but this cannot be accomplished without conflict.³¹ Miller, like Follett, is concerned with the beneficial use of conflict. Her interest is in new ways of engaging in conflict which are open rather than closed, and overt rather than covert. Conflict, so practiced, does not escalate into open warfare. Both parties approach their interaction together with different intents and goals. The differences define the conflict. Ideally, the result of this interaction, of this conflict, will be goals which are larger and richer each time, rather than more restricted and cramped. That is, each party should perceive more, and want more, as a result of each engagement and they should have more resources with which to act. Miller asserts that all too often the opposite is true, and conflicts result in lowered goals and diminution of resources. The example she gives of the new form of conflict relates to that difference between mother and child, where their goals are in conflict, but where the resolution is one which enriches them both. The author would add that the resolution of the example that she gives is quite different from the resolutions generally thought of in examples of adult male and female relationships, or among labor and management. The two latter examples generally involve some form of conflict avoidance.

³¹ Jean Baker Miller, Toward a New Psychology of Women pp. 49, 74 and 81).

Miller sees ordinary human experience as having been divided on a basis of primary inequity, on sex differences, and she would encourage questioning the very nature of this dichotomization. Her goal is to have the values of the experiences of women appreciated and available to all members of society. For this to happen, a reevaluation of what she considers essential human needs will be required. These needs have to do with affiliation, authenticity, creativity, self-determination, and power, as well as engagement in conflict at the same time as there is engagement in cooperation.

For the general reader, Miller's new psychology offers foundation and opportunity for the development of human relationships based in equality rather than in present modes of dominance and subordination. For the participants in this study, her new psychology offers opportunity to question the routine acceptance of present modes of dominance and subordination in the social service organizations where they work. It offers the opportunity to consider whether acceptance of these modes just might contribute to their continuing existence; whether refusal to accept them, to be in conflict with these modes of dominance and subordination, might be a worthy activity. Her work also has the potential to push the participants into conflict with their old images of themselves, which is a requirement for any engagement in conflict with others.

Public and Private Spheres of Influence

Elshtain, in Public Man, Private Woman, finds distinctions which have been made between public and private spheres of life to be

fundamental, not incidental or tangential ordering principles in all known human societies. She evaluates the claims of the past on the present, examining the texts of great or representative thinkers, both for what they find worthy, and for what they seek to push aside, particularly with regard to the demarcation of the public and the private domains. In her final analysis, she seeks to make a contribution to the restructuring of the public and the private, to bringing political imagination to life, and to awakening moral sentiments as a public imperative and responsibility. Building on the political thoughts of the past, she makes clear her agreement with Lincoln from a different time, that "we cannot remain forever in the house of the fathers."³²

Her assumptions begin with the axiom that human beings have a need to live with and among others in relationships of concrete particularity, in space and extending over and through time. If we are deprived of such relations, we are damaged and become distorted in body and spirit. Her second presumption is that human beings experience an imperative to discover, to understand, and to create meaning. Those desires can be damaged and deflected to the extent that we become less fully human. She accepts the irrevocability of conflict, given the diversity of moral claims and competing human values as to what an ideal way of life ought to be. Conflicts involving moral claims are seen by her as part of what it means to be human.

In her consideration of a restructuring of the private and the public, she begins with a reaffirmation: familial ties and modes of child

³² Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman, pp. 6, 299, 336, 341, and 351-52.

rearing are essential to establish the minimal foundation of human, social existence. She takes exception with Aristotle, and other political theorists down through the centuries, who have asserted the primacy of politics, while downgrading and taking for granted the private sphere. She finds them guilty of serious distortion. She states that, on the contrary, it is the family which "pervades all our perceptions of social reality," which constitutes our "common humanity," and is the universal basis of human culture.

She would have women affirm "the protection of fragile and vulnerable human existence" as the basis for a mode of political discourse and to create the terms for its flourishing as a worthy political activity. Such activity she believes would signal a force of great reconstructive potential. She calls for "a redemption of everyday life" to include a "public sphere" in and of the world, not "cut asunder from it in a presumption of its own uniqueness, not parasitic on spheres it despises as those of necessity even as it drains them of dignity and meaning."

Those who would have, with Elshtain, a restructuring of public and private spheres of influence, will find alternatives in her work for what she describes as "the deadly and life-denying politics of the present." She offers firm philosophical ground for those who seek to distinguish relations between people which are destructive and those which include "the inescapability of necessary relations between men and women if social life in any form is to survive."

For the participants in this study, Elshtain provides a foundation for considering a different kind of social services, based the establishment of minimal foundations of human, social existence, and

essential family ties. The author of this study thinks that, for this to happen would require, as a given, that resource allocation decisions for children not rest on the status of the mother. For example, that a mother may have three children "out of wedlock" and may be criticized by her community, is no basis for allowing children to starve or freeze to death, or to be poorly educated.

Service providers may consider whether they want to take action based on the moral foundations of Elshtain. Such action has the potential for very different results from those based in existing political discourse.

Two Modes of Moral Thought

Carol Gilligan is concerned with the need to describe women in terms of their own life experiences. In her text, In a Different Voice, she suggests that the failure to see the different reality of women's lives, and to hear the differences in their voices from those of men, stems in part from the erroneous assumption that there is a single mode of social experience and interpretation. Instead, she posits two different modes of experience, arriving at a more complex rendition of human experience which sees the truth of separation and attachment in the lives of women and men, and recognizes how these truths are carried by different modes of language and thought.³³

³³ Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 19, 23, 62, 100, 156, 167, 174.

One difference is seen in the conception of male and female development:

The conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conceptions of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules . . . the morality of rights differs from the morality of responsibility in its emphasis on separation rather than connection, in its consideration of the individual, rather than the relationship, as primary.

Women have a distinct moral language which emphasizes concern for others, responsibility, care and obligation, and hence a moral language profoundly at odds with formal, abstract models of morality defined by men in terms of absolute principles. She finds women's inner lives quite complex and learns that women have a greater ability to identify with others, to sustain a variety of personal relationships, and to attain genuine reciprocity in those relationships. She locates these qualities and capacities in women's involvement with families and the protection of human life.

Awareness of women's development lies in the recognition of the continuing importance of attachment in the human life cycle. This recognition is denied in the development of men, which celebrates separation, autonomy, individuation and natural rights. Men tend to rely on conventions of logic to deduce solutions, women on a process of communication. The one reflects the logic of justice, the other an ethic of care, a difference which leads to very different modes of moral understanding and very different ways of thinking about conflict and choice.

Different ways of structuring relationships are associated with different views of morality and the self. For women there is the hope that in morality lies a way of solving conflicts so that no one will be hurt. For men, the moral imperative appears rather as an injunction to respect the rights of others, and thus to protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment.

Gilligan's work illustrates how the tension between responsibilities and rights sustains the dialectic of human development, and how the integrity of the two disparate modes of experience are in the end, connected.

While an ethic of justice proceeds from the premise of equality -- that everyone should be treated the same -- an ethic of care rests on the premise of nonviolence -- that no one should be hurt. In the representation of maturity, both perspectives converge in the realization that just as inequality adversely affects both parties in an unequal relationship, so too violence is destructive for everyone involved.

If one starts from different ideologies of justice and care, acknowledging their dual contexts, it is clear that judgment depends on the way in which the problem is framed. Dialogue around fairness and care not only provides a better understanding of relations between the sexes, but also gives rise to more comprehensive portrayals of adult work and family relationships. Development for both sexes would seem to entail an integration of rights and responsibilities through discovery of the complementarity of these disparate views.

The participants in this study may recognize in Gilligan's work a description of their own work and life experiences as they seek to solve conflicts in nonviolent ways, so that no one gets hurt. It is possible, if there is some truth in Gilligan's ideas, that women more than men, at

the face-to-face level, are aware of the pain that results for people who come for help when the criteria for services rest on an abstract notion of justice and falter on discussion of who is responsible for the "welfare" child and mother.

Community Psychology

Andrew Selig, in Making Things Happen in Communities, defines community psychology in a general way:

Community psychology as considered here is a process in which the values and attitudes of persons in the community become shared, to some extent, and the persons in the community feel an increased sense of belonging, participation and power over the course and conduct of their daily lives, and in addition, become more effective in problem-solving.³⁴

He directs his comments to those members of the community interested in mental health. He presents techniques for community organization and for the development of self-help groups and reminds readers that social work, in the early nineteen hundreds, was a strong proponent of community organization and self-help. Only after psychoanalytic thinking and writing spread and gained stature in the United States did the individual case work approach come to be preferred. In the mid-nineteen sixties, social work again began to concern itself with the potential benefits to be gained from community organization and systems thinking.

³⁴ Andrew L. Selig, Making Things Happen in Communities: Alternatives to Traditional Mental Health Services (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1972), p. 2.

Ben Gottlieb incorporates the importance of understanding informal support systems in coping behaviors of citizens, within the structure of community psychology. He emphasizes caution in accepting the existing "gatekeeper" support systems when such consultation involves the practice of professional modes of helping and the imposition of clinical diagnostic frameworks. He suggests that benign non-intervention may be appropriate in some instances, and that the timing and the target of interventions should be determined judiciously.

He further suggests that a problem-solving pedagogy, delivered through helping networks based on the primary group, serves the broad social purpose of restoring people's faith in the fact that difficulties in living can be solved without resorting to "experts" or to the transfer of responsibility. His work emphasizes moving beyond the individual member's well-being, to include the development of a sense of collective esteem and aggregate power. The aim of community psychology, in this instance, is to search for a natural unit which will enhance the well-being of the collectivity through community-building activities.³⁵

Jack Rothman and his associates address the growing frustration over the failures and limitations of human service programs and projects geared to social change. They offer practical suggestions for the human service provider who wants to take a hand in local politics, recommending a synthesis of theory and practice analogous to the research-development-diffusion model employed in the physical sciences.

³⁵ Ben Gottlieb, "The Primary Group as Supportive Milieu: Application to Community Psychology," American Journal of Psychology 7 (Summer, 1979): 469-80.

This synthesis is directed toward incremental interventions oriented toward influencing social services and institutions and solving community welfare problems.³⁶

Those professionals who would engage themselves in the practice of community psychology, and who would like the support of the organizations in which they work in order to do so, may find literatures on organizations to inform themselves about the resources and constraints of organization structure. Anthony Giddens devotes considerable attention to the dimensions of the rules and resources which go to make up structures. As he describes it, structure must be seen as both enabling and constraining, and actors can have a "measure of freedom" in making and remaking their social world.³⁷

Others who want to consider establishing alternative community organizations may benefit from examining an organization culture favored by the author, the "person culture."³⁸ The person culture described by Charles Handy, is designed first and foremost to contribute to the growth and development of the people within the organization. It is one in which the individual is described as the central point, and "if there is a structure, it exists only to serve and assist the individuals in it

³⁶ Jack Rothman, John L. Erlich, and Joseph Teresa, Changing Organizations and Community Programs, (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1981), pp. 7-10 and 151.

³⁷ H. F. Dickie-Clark, "Anthony Giddens' Theory of Structuration," in Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory 8 (Hiver/Printemps, 1984). pp. 92-110.

³⁸ Charles B. Handy, Understanding Organizations (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 184.

without any superordinate objective." Handy sees this kind of organizational culture as becoming one of the sociological features of our society, finding impetus in the changing culture of the modern family as it moves away from a power or role culture more common to Victorian times. The person culture is one of shared influence, rather than one with clearly delineated structures and apportionments of tasks and responsibilities established through a hierarchical and authoritarian structure.

Those people who are drawn to the theories of cooperation, mutual aid, and equality in human relations, will most likely be attracted to the practice of community psychology as well. There is a heightened sense of belonging on the part of community people, and an increased participation in the conduct of their daily lives. It can be imagined that, if the participants in this study were to follow the model of community psychology, their activities would take on a very different dimension. Instead of following the tenets of the "case work" approach to social services, addressing each person in an individual manner, which sometimes inadvertently becomes "blaming the victim," they would be engaged in community approaches to those same problems. Such approaches would engage all community resources to address the issues expressed by Miller, Elshtain, and Gilligan.

A Theory of Third World Development

Denis Goulet describes development processes as both cruel and necessary. Necessary, "because all societies must come to terms with new

aspirations and irresistible social forces"; cruel, "because development's benefits are obtainable only at a great price and because, on balance, it is far from certain that achieving development's benefits makes men happier or freer."³⁹

Goulet recommends normative principles to neutralize the tendency of planners to reach decisions in an elitist manner and outlines strategies for non-elitist planning, worldwide technical cooperation, and induced value change. The crucial point, he says, is to distinguish creative incremental steps from palliatives "which delude people into thinking problems have been met when, in fact, they have only been disguised." These normative strategies open new possibilities to allow the kind of structures required for authentic development.⁴⁰

His use of the term "ethics" in the context of development refers to the degree of freedom and responsibility people can achieve in the face of worldwide ecological, symbolic, and social forces which exercise strong deterministic pressures. Two basic ethical questions are raised: what kind of development is human? And how must such development be attained? The major ethical issue is "how to achieve development's authentic benefits without destroying, in the process, men's capacity to act freely."

³⁹ Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice (New York: Atheneum, 1971), pp. 327-330.

⁴⁰ See also John Forester, "Questioning and Organizing Attention," Administration and Society 13 (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, August 1981): pp. 161-05. Forester argues that "the planning analysts' organizing of attention can and ought ethically to work to foster true political discourse, dialogue, and the possibilities of genuinely democratic politics."

Sound development cannot be fashioned unless people first engage in disciplined normative reflection and transform ethics into a "means of the mean, transforming other instrumentalities -- planning, technical transfers, and efficiency systems -- into liberating agencies." Otherwise, we are engaged in "process without goals, power and abundance without freedom."

For the participants in this study, interest in world development lifts ordinary consciousness out of the provincialism of Appalachia. It gives emphasis to the commonalities of the life experiences of all people as they seek to determine ethical means to effect the authentic benefits for that development.

Commonalities in the Neglected Literatures

In addition to the specific benefits of each of the neglected literatures, they all share a vision of the future more varied than the present. Such a vision brings into full view different realities, all nonviolent. Political life would include all people, and political discourse would be concerned with everyday life and essential human needs.

Appreciation of these literatures would give recognition to mutual aid and cooperation as having just as strong a tendency in human life as aggressiveness and the urge to dominate. Face-to-face communication would be recognized as having great effectiveness, replacing hierarchical and authoritarian relationships. New words and new ways in psychology, philosophy, and politics would support a changing understanding of human development and a more generative view of human life.

These neglected literatures, both in theory and practice, share an emphasis on a democratic way of life not currently in existence. They stress a shared political life, as opposed to the current celebration of separation, autonomy, individualism and natural right. Concern for the daily needs of human beings would be a primary objective and a matter for political discourse. People would be concerned with the opportunity to decide their own fates.

There would be the acceptance of the necessity and inevitability of conflict acted out in new and nonviolent ways. For people to seek self-determination and power over themselves presages great change, necessitating conflict with the dominant values of this culture. Conflict could be waged as a productive effort, as defined by Jean Baker Miller: both the parties involved approach the interaction with different intents and goals, and each will be forced to change intents and goals as a result of the interaction, of the conflict.⁴¹ Real conflict will no longer be forced underground as a destructive force, but will be a creative force, engaging all human resources to address what may be the central problem of the dominant culture: the lack of human connection in all our institutions.

These neglected literatures can be translated directly for use in Appalachia. Some of the words and phrases Goulet uses to describe Third World development can also be used to describe Appalachian development: harsh, labor violence, economic depression, social alienation, and

⁴¹ Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women, p. 129.

humiliating dependence. Goulet's recommendations for developers everywhere are applicable to Appalachia:

The major task is to fashion institutions which will allow men to transform their drive for economic and social development into a liberating enterprise. This implies, of course, that the benefits of development are often obtained in a manner which is alienating rather than liberating . . . priority must go to the satisfaction of life-sustenance needs for all, the second to providing goods which enhance human expression and creativity, and the third to luxury goods . . . [Another goal is] the assertion of human freedom in the face of multiple determinism generated by economic and technological processes . . . broad common goals [to include] increased life sustenance, esteem and freedom for all.

Were the ideas expressed by the authors of these neglected literatures to flourish, it is likely that new organizations would emerge in Appalachia as well as elsewhere; organizations which would grow to enjoy the stature now reserved for those which follow the dictates of competition, hierarchy, and authority. It is possible that such emerging organizations would have as their goal the enhancement of the lives of human beings and the development of new organizational structures. It is to be hoped that such organizations would include Miller's concern for "more mutuality, cooperation, and affiliation on both a personal and a larger social scale," as well as for expunging that "ethic of rationality which is blocking our language for affiliation." People in such institutions might be encouraged to learn to address the requirement for affiliation, which is seen as essential for the existence of human beings.⁴²

⁴² Miller, Toward a New Psychology of Women, pp. 109 and 110. Miller finds that this neglected requirement for affiliation produces more problems than anything delineated in psycholanalysis. For evidence that this problem is gaining attention since Miller's work was

For those skeptics who are concerned that emphasis on affiliation in organizations would interfere with the much vaunted organizational variable of efficiency, there is no literature that says explicitly: emphasis on human development will INHIBIT organizational efficiency. Those who would question whether or not efficiency would be negated in such an organizational culture may, in turn, be asked: efficiency in terms of what? The answer to that question carries with it "moral notions as to what is permissible, just, or right in human affairs."⁴³

Introduction of the theories and practices of the neglected literatures could change ways of being. These changes, in turn, could bring about the discovery of resources and energies now latent.

NEW ENERGIES AND THEIR USE

One might wonder what would happen if these recommended tools and skills were put to use in the world of social services, that is, if service providers were to give up old ways, use the Rules for Dissensus and make use of the neglected and emerging literatures to design and to make additional tools. It could be said that there would be chaos, that the services received by the disadvantaged would no longer be provided in systematic fashion, that the poor would be worse off than they are at present. The author of this study suggests that there might indeed be a

published, see Douglas LaBier, "Emotional Disturbance in the Federal Government," Administration and Society 14 February 1983: 50.

⁴³ Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, p. 50.

time of perceived chaos, a time of alteration of normal expectations, and a time of apparent loss of continuity.

Or, it could be said, based on the foundation of the theory of dissipating structures, irreversibility, and fluctuation through order, that out of perceived chaos would come order; a transformation to higher level of human caring akin to that envisioned in the world of the neglected and emerging literatures; a world which allows and encourages the development of voluntary, temporary and small organizations, and that stresses face-to-face communication and a concern for mutuality and cooperation. Such "organization" is frequently apparent in the midst of crisis, such as when people come together in times of emergency to be of use to each other. Kropotkin has documented this tendency in his book Mutual Aid, but it is something that we do not have to document. It is something always there.⁴⁴

Who is to say that there may not, or can not, be an "order through fluctuation" quite similar to that which occurs naturally during times of crisis? A breaking up and disorder in the social service system that would then reorder itself toward a higher order, one more integrated and connected?

Using the concept of dissipative structures, the greatest gain would be to encourage organizations, just as Capel has suggested counselors should encourage "clients," toward nonequilibrium. The use of the recommended tools, including the neglected and emerging literatures, could enhance that movement toward nonequilibrium.

⁴⁴ Petr Kropotkin, Mutual Aid (London: Heinemann, 1902).

Cooperative and voluntary efforts can allow people to behave as individuals and as collective human beings, and to dispense with the perceived sense of powerlessness and objectification evident in so many lives. These feelings are "perceived" because, if the conclusions of this study find any acceptance from the participants, then their present views of their world of work and away from work are simply perceptions, and in changing their perceptions, so may they change their worlds. Such change allows a sense of pro-action to direct life rather than a sense of re-action.

The service providers have been driven by a life style which dictated that they had to gain superiority in helping those perceived as inferior or in acting in resistance to those perceived to be in authority. Operating under these dictates, it seemed to them that they were alone in caring about the poor, and that for them to ask for help from others would imply their own inferiority. Giving up these mistaken notions can allow them to ask for help in addressing the problems of the human service delivery system, as they see them. In addition to finding help through familiarization with neglected literatures, they can also seek help from people as well. Such help can be sought at each face-to-face encounter with each sincere request. With the sharing of the self and the acceptance of the help of others, there can be the generation of new energies.

The primary participants have reacted to the notion of "new energies" with a jaundiced eye, and they have responded to the suggestion of being a change agent with some dismay. It seems to them that they are already extended past endurance, with limited energies already spread too

thin. However, the author of this study continues to suggest to them that to look at how present social arrangements contribute to sufferings is to allow the release of new energies; that is, to uncover unknown resources.

A source of such unknown resources could be the arrangement of human relationships in different ways. A comparison can be made between old and new human relationships and between old and earlier technologies: We are primitive in our relationships. Having directed our primary energies as a civilization to fulfilling the life task of working for survival, we can now put our energies into cooperative relationships. We have the technology to take care of the people of Earth. We need only the politics in order to do so. New energies will allow the evolution of such a politics of cooperation and caring.

Even as science provided a model for a shift from substance to relation and communication, so may it provide a model for a transition in human relationships. Esther Harding foresaw a change in the emotional lives of people that would have great significance for the individual and for civilization, a development of those values which have to do with feeling and relationship. She saw the beginning of a new consciousness, "comparable perhaps to the evolution of thinking which men have brought to pass through their concentrated attention to the facts and truth."⁴⁵

It is possible that the energies arising from this new consciousness can be used to develop a new politics of cooperation and caring, whether

⁴⁵ Mary Esther Harding, The Way of All Women Foreward by C.G. Jung. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 99 and 95.

the service provider chooses to work in existing organizations or prefers to create new institutions. In either instance, it is suggested that they will be aided in significant ways if they simply act with honesty and integrity in each face-to-face encounter. Some may believe that they can work within existing organizations to give priority to the developmental needs of all parties, including bureaucrats and people who come for services.⁴⁶ Some may chose to work politically with people who come for services.⁴⁷ Still others may choose to involve themselves in creating new social institutions,⁴⁸ "finding new words and new methods."⁴⁹ Some of the new words and new methods may be old ones, learned and seemingly forgotten, but remaining at an unconscious level. They may derive from the earliest known religions wherein worship was of the mother goddess and was manifested in reverence for the earth and for the renewal of all life -- vegetable, animal, and human. It is worth keeping the dream that women have dreamed since the attacks on that early goddess worship and the elevation of the worship of militant male gods: that we may again live "to see how life could be lived if there were no fear and no need for subterfuge."⁵⁰ Disruption of the existing order in social services

⁴⁶ Robert B. Denhardt, Theories of Public Organizations (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1984), p. 187.

⁴⁷ James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p.253.

⁴⁸ Miller, Towards a New Psychology of Women, p. 113,

⁴⁹ Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1938), p. 143.

⁵⁰ June Rachuy Brindel, Phaedra (New Work: St. Martin's Press. 1985), Author's Note and p. 151.

and the resultant creation of new energies could increase the potential for that dream to come true.

It can be envisioned that, as the existing system of social services falls into chaos and disorder, so would the other systems with which it interacts: the political, economic and social world as we know it now. Hazel Henderson says it well: "We can see that it is to be expected that all the planet's subsystems would reach crisis stages simultaneously. . . . If we can recognize that change and uncertainty are basic principles, we can greet the future and the transformation we are undergoing with the understanding that we do not know enough to be pessimistic."⁵¹

CONCLUSIONS

Concerning the Study Participants

A large part of the potential for the primary participants to act as change agents lies in their strength that, as Appalachians, they are already experienced in face-to-face relationships. It will be remembered that almost everything is known in small communities, what happened last night as well as eighty years ago. There is very little to hide.

Their lack of deference to authority also stands them in good stead. They have little difficulty telling the "authorities" how they see things. They have been doing that all their lives, on the street corners of their

⁵¹ Hazel Henderson, The Politics of the Solar Age: Alternatives to Economics (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981), pp. 408 and 411.

towns. They do not even accept the term "bureaucrat" as a description of themselves, having eschewed that term since the beginning of the study. This is not surprising since they do seem to be strongly influenced by those attitudes described by Jack Weller earlier in this study: a firmly entrenched lack of deference to authority; person-oriented life patterns; inclination for feelings and whims over group goals; tendencies toward a leveling in society, and preference for, as well as ability to, function in a group largely on a personal basis.

It is well for the participants to consider, however, that these same attributes of independence and preference of individual goals over group goals, can represent weakness as well as strength. They can be, and often are, dialectically opposed to cooperation and community responsibility. Maryat Lee, of Eco Theater, makes poetic this concern for independence in Hinton, West Virginia, once a significant, busy railroad and river town.

See, we're set in our ways
All of us in these southern mountain towns.
It's not so easy to change around.
Why, that's the hardest thing to do to a town.
Why, sometimes you'd rather sink
Than paddle together with
Someone from the opposite side.
You'd even rather sink than learn to swim.

Individualist -- to the last croak.

So there's got to be another way we could find
To pull together to get us out of a financial bind
And maybe -- maybe it takes another way of seeing
Not to give up our individualism, but --
Maybe become even truer to it.⁵²

⁵² Maryat Lee, "A Double Threaded Life: The Hinton Story." Performed at Pipestem State Park, Pipestem, West Virginia, in the summer of 1985.

If the participants could become truer to their own individualism, they might be more amenable to the idea of working with service recipients. They may recognize that, in many ways, they are similar to the people who come to their agencies for services.: caring, under stress, suffering from lack of information and resources, and doing extraordinarily well under extreme conditions of privation. They could recognize their own discouragement when their best efforts often seem to result in "agency abuse," defined earlier as harm without deliberate intention. They are beginning to recognize that they, as well as the service recipient, exist in a human service delivery system in the United States where there is considerable rhetoric about the essential functions of the family. However, that rhetoric is unsupported with adequate resources for families, or for service providers working in agencies designated to serve those families.

The Appalachian service providers in this study most often live in the same community as the service recipients. They are in a strong position to make evident their knowledge of the systems in which they work as well as the conditions in which they and others live. They can acknowledge that those families who have been accused of child neglect and abuse are themselves neglected and abused. The members of these families may not have been abused and neglected in the sense of actual abuse and neglect by their parents (although this is also sometimes true), but in the sense of what they should have, living in America today. To expect families to treat their children in positive affective ways, when they themselves have not been so treated in American society, is to court sure disappointment.

In order to provide trust and security for their children, parents, in turn, must experience trust and security themselves in their relations with one another and with the "outside world." Parents who are frustrated and demeaned, rendered dependent and helpless in work-life and citizenship, will have difficulty instilling such bedrock beliefs and ways of being inside their families.⁵³

Concerning the Larger Community of Service Providers

Michael Harrington describes Appalachia as a classic case of what he calls "old poverty," as well as a prototype of a new American poverty which began to expand in the nineteen-seventies. The mechanism of that downward cycle, which everyone thought in the early nineteen-sixties was unique to the mountains, began to appear throughout the Northeast and the Middle West. The rotting industrial base and declining tax base were now found in Michigan and Northern Ohio as well as in West Virginia and Kentucky. The Appalachian poor had often fled to the automobile and steel factories when their home counties could no longer provide them with the means of life. But now the mountain patterns appeared in the plains. Appalachia, which everyone had thought was a backwater, turned out to be the prototype of the future in Detroit and Pittsburg and Cleveland and St. Louis.⁵⁴ It was assumed that Appalachia had problems because it was not integrated into the larger economy. In fact, the root cause of the region's troubles was precisely because of "its integration in the economy for a narrow set of purposes: the extraction of low-cost raw materials

⁵³ Elshtain, Public Man, Private Woman, p. 337.

⁵⁴ Michael Harrington, The New American Poverty (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 214.

and power and labor and the provision of a profitable market for consumer goods and services."

If there is some truth in what Harrington says, there is the possibility that the Appalachian service provider may be the prototype of American service providers, struggling to get through their days, inured to the circumstances in which they work. They, as the Appalachian service providers, are face-to-face with disadvantaged families if they turn in one direction, with supervisors and administrators if they turn in another direction, and seldom face-to-face with themselves, families, friends, co-workers, or policy makers.

In that case, the participants in this study may be a model for other service providers, as they raise questions and seek answers in an attempt to understand their positions in American society today; and as they seek to discover how the nature of their jobs influences them, both at work and away from work. Other service providers may want to emulate the research effort of the participants in this study who discovered they could initiate, design and implement research at the provider level and for their own benefit. They may also find the idea of beginning a professional support group an attractive one.

Concerning Research Efforts

Several elements of the methodology of this study may be of interest to other researchers. It is hoped that there will be more research such as that advocated by Fay and Wilson, based on dialogue and participation. If this happens, then it can be expected that such research will add new

dimensions to the larger body of knowledge, as well as make a contribution to the self-understanding of the research participants.

If other researchers have an interest in working with service providers and in using counseling tools with which they are already familiar, then any individual counseling theory relevant to that group of people can be experimented with as a group assessment tool. Because of her background in Adlerian theory, the author used that counseling theory as a basis for analysis. It is possible to use other counseling theories with which research participants may be familiar. For example, Herschhorn and Gilmore report on the application of the principles of "structural family therapy," a particular family therapy framework, to a case of a planned intervention in a social agency.⁵⁵

The author recommends that the Human Relations Development model of communication used in this study be given more attention as a research method to facilitate qualitative research. At the same time the method facilitates data collection, it also provides opportunity for the participants to understand better and to reflect on themselves and their given situations.

This study may also be of interest to those people who would like to initiate research on and about themselves.⁵⁶ Structured, formal research can add dimensions of self-reflection which are not usually

⁵⁵ Larry Hirschhorn and Tom Gilmore, "The Application of Family Therapy Concepts to Influencing Organizational Behavior," Administrative Science Quarterly 25 (March 1980): 18-37.

⁵⁶ Carol Ehrlich, The Conditions of Feminist Research (Baltimore, Maryland: The Vacant Lots Press, 1976).

within the reach of the single individual. It remains to be seen whether the research that people do about themselves, including this work, will then rise to a level which will inform the community of scholars.

Concerning Teaching Institutions

Of particular relevance to people teaching in institutions of training for workers in human services is the fact that information presented to the participants of this study about the nature of organizations and the varied roles of the service provider in those organizations could have been made available to them in formal education. That there is growing disillusionment among new members of organizations, which can be traced to inadequacies in approaches to organizational entry, is the subject of research conducted by Meryl Reis Louis. He thinks that "sense-making" information is needed by incoming members into organization so they can approach new settings with realistic expectations and without surprise.⁵⁷ The author of this present study would add that every person in an organization, regardless of length of time as members, can benefit from consideration of the nature of the organization in which they work and how it may impinge on their work life, as well as their life away from work.

The participants in this study were in strong agreement that the teaching institutions where they studied had done them a grave disservice.

⁵⁷ Meryl Reis Louis, "Surprise and Sense Making -- What Newcomers Experience in Entering Unfamiliar Organizational Settings," Administrative Science Quarterly 25 (June 1980): 247, 226-51.

They had received little or no information about the nature of the organizations in which they would be working. Nor did they have training in how to actually talk with people in their homes or in agency offices. They was little or no opportunity to discover for themselves the reality of social service provision before they were expected to assume job responsibilities. Nor were they given opportunity to learn from practitioners in the field "how things really are." Often, materials used for study were presented as "gospel," rather than as young experiments in social welfare provision.

One recent graduate of a social work program even felt that she had been set up to fail. She had been told that to be a "professional" meant that she must be dispassionate and objective about the "clients" she would see. Then, since she had been unable to do that, to her credit, she had the notion that she had failed to perform as she had been trained to do. Her training had not prepared her to come face-to-face with the many situations presented to a beginning mental health counselor, as exemplified by the following experience. A married couple, presented to her by the clinic receptionist as having "alcohol related problems," instead revealed information concerning the man's sexual abuse of two six-year old girls in their neighborhood. The concern of the couple had to do with his legal position, and whether or not his involvement in counseling, when the parents filed a petition of abuse against him, would help to keep him out of jail. The counselor had the good sense to excuse herself from the interview and to ask for a more experienced counselor to come and work with her.

This job, her first work experience, was such that after six months, she suffered extreme depression and anxiety concerning her choice of life work. During the course of the research project she had an opportunity to change jobs and was encouraged by the other participants in the project to do so, even though it meant leaving the area, something she had not wanted to do.

Similar stories were recounted from young counselors recently graduated from undergraduate training institutions, as well as by more experienced counselors in graduate school. That this type of experience is not confined to local teaching institutions in West Virginia is given credence by a story related to the author by a new social work graduate in a southern state. One of the graduates' instructors had told her class that since this was her last semester of teaching before she retired, she could now tell them "how things really are," something she had feared to risk in the past.

Louis, in "Surprise and Sense-making," makes certain recommendation to newcomers in organizations, as well as to those who teach in training institutions. He says there is need to know why newcomers may experience surprises during early job experiences, and why they are relatively ill-equipped to make accurate sense of these surprises. He would encourage newcomers, proactively, to supplement their own internal interpretative schemes. Toward that end, he suggests that curricula and placement activities could, as a matter of course, provide students with a preview of typical entry experiences, along with ways to manage them.

Concerning Managers

If the managers of social service organizations accept the position of this paper, that the service provider is in a unique position to understand the needs of the people who come for services in relation to what is actually being provided, then recognition and legitimization of that position can be given. The service provider can be invited into the responsible position of problem identification and solution, working with administrators and policy makers. Managers can establish organizational structures which allow for such participation. The Concerns Report, included as a part of the methodology of this paper, is one such means. However, before this or any other method can be used successfully, appreciation for the knowledge which the worker possesses is required.

The manager can consider being appreciative of what is described by Ralph Hummel as "hands-on knowledge," defined as democratic knowledge, the kind of knowledge in which human contact with reality depends first and foremost on a getting in touch with things.⁵⁸ For people in public service, this touch tends to be with people, rather than with objects. As with the craftsperson whose hands-on knowledge has been devalued since the onset of Taylor's scientific management, so has the hands-on knowledge of the public servant been devalued. Yet, Hummel reflects, every worker knows "how things really work" and "how they really get done."

⁵⁸ Ralph P. Hummel, "Bureaucracy, Democracy, and Politics: Are They Compatible?" Paper presented for the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1985, pp. 10, 12 and 13, 7-13.

Hummel takes the position that any work actually accomplished in an organization can only be explained by the supposition that workers use their "hands-on" knowledge despite the fact that this knowledge is delegitimized by managers. He remains hopeful about this "knowledge democracy."

What new individuals we will find when the clouds have lifted. . .no one can say. But, to observe the rise of an old form of knowledge, to take note of people newly taking hold of it, and, with it, seizing hold of themselves, this also is a gift -- though not freely given but struggled for.

Concerning Appalachian Administrators

Surely managers everywhere must recognize that there is at least some resistance in every human being.⁵⁹ Those administrators working with Appalachian service providers who are concerned with efficiency, in addition to learning from Hummel, may also want to give attention to the conclusion Denhardt draws in his study of an Appalachian Community Action agency: there needs to be a recognition of the necessity of a non-bureaucratic orientation in organized activity as essential to the analysis and practice of administration. He suggests a "transactional" form of administration, dependent upon bargaining between relative equals

⁵⁹ Rudolf R. Dreikurs, Fundamentals of Adlerian Psychology (Chicago, Illinois: Alfred Adler Institute, 1953), p 97. Dreikurs, in discussion of the subordination of one sex to the other, suggests that repression always evokes resistance. Miller, Toward A New Psychology of Women, gives detailed information concerning resistance in dominate-subordinate relationships.

through a series of transactions.⁶⁰ Such administrative forms are proliferating in America today under the general terms of participatory democracy or workplace democracy. If there is any truth in Weller's description of the influences on Appalachian people, it can be expected that Appalachian people, more than most, would be responsive to such management theories and techniques. It is also expected that, more than most, they would be resistant to "top-down" management theories and techniques.

One example of resistance to authoritarian ways occurred during the course of this research project when an administrator placed time clocks in the community mental health clinics, requiring all workers, including professional workers, to "punch in." Punitive measures were instituted if regulations concerning the time clocks were not followed. In retrospect, this incident seemed to be the beginning point of a general resistance on the part of the service providers toward that particular director. For example, instead of following the usual procedures of informing the director of any dissatisfactions, they informed board members. In this and other ways, they became pro-active, rather than merely re-active.

⁶⁰ Robert B. Denhardt, "Bureaucratic Socialization and Organizational Accomodation," Administrative Science Quarterly 13 (December 1968): 441-50.

Concerning Policy Makers

If policy makers agree with the finding of the study that the service provider is in a unique position to evaluate the services received by clients, they could consider responding in four ways. First, the service provider could be useful in the capacity of a legislative monitor, as the "surrogate eyes and ears" of decision makers, who have little time for on-site visits and who generally lack the observing and listening skills of the service provider.⁶¹

Such an evaluation by the service providers could be qualitative and could describe what is actually being done in program implementation. Program descriptions could provide sufficient data to enable legislators to decide whether or not their own interpretations of legislative intent are being met. Where there is deviation from legislative intent, descriptions could include information about the constraints under which programs operate. Qualitative methods could provide a documentation of common patterns across programs, and could show unique developments within specific programs.

Secondly, it is possible to imagine a scenario in which service providers are invited into that "invisible university of consultants, institutes, and foundations" described by Daniel Yankelovich. This institution is a powerful, informal one which mobilizes energies among

⁶¹ Michael Quinn Patton, Qualitative Evaluation Methods (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1980), pp. 77-78, 171, 225-27. This description of the legislative monitor was intended by Patton to refer to a formal evaluator, not the service provider as I have used it here.

intellectual elites to focus on specific problems. There is no inclusion of the general public in these discussions, nor is there anything resembling such an institution available for the general public.⁶²

To consider such a scenario is to admit that it is not enough that there be an effective mechanism to translate what goes on in such meetings for the general public as Yankelovich would desire, nor is it enough to have such people take months to "work through" the situations as he implies is necessary. Attending one such "grim" conference on the future of the welfare state, Yankelovich was told that the gloom had to do with "grieving."

These were people who had spent their lives fighting for public housing, health care, and the like and they were now facing the reality that they might have been on the wrong course. Before they could begin to face alternatives, they had to go through this period of grieving.

There could be extraordinary advantage in involving service providers in such deliberations: their survival, and the survival of the people they work with, depends on practical results. They do not have time for grieving. They must simply get on with the practicalities of living and working.

Specifically, service providers could be invited into discussion of that important domestic problem of changing the systems of human service provision in America today. To leave them out is to continue to deprive those systems of the legitimacy of their firsthand knowledge. An excellent example of the delegitimation of the knowledge of service providers, and of their exclusion from deliberations involving welfare

⁶² Daniel Yankelovich, "How the Public Learns the Public's Business," in Kettering Review Winter 1985: 15, 8-18.

policy, is that of a recent Ford Foundation "major initiative to reexamine social welfare policy in the United States." An executive panel has been charged with making recommendations on new social policies. Working with the panel will be two advisory committees made up of "scholars and social policy experts . . . [and] People who have had direct experience administering social insurance, health and welfare programs." It is clear that there is no provision to include the service provider who has firsthand knowledge of the needs of the service recipients compared to what they actually receive.⁶³ Such political bodies designed to inform public policy could contribute to their own effectiveness while contributing to the legitimacy of the knowledge of service providers, by inviting them into their deliberations.

Third, for those policy makers who may want to generalize from this study, there are some things which could be significant, beyond the individual concerns of the participants. These broader concerns have to do with the political economy of Appalachia, and in turn, with the political economy of the country at large. It will be remembered that Michael Harrington describes Appalachia as the prototype of a new American poverty, a poverty that is the result of capitalism in general, and of the technological society in particular. IF THIS IS TRUE, then those persons concerned with social service policy making and the

⁶³ "Ford Foundation Evaluates Social Welfare," Policy Science (Spring 1985): 315. It is also interesting to note that there is no inclusion of "clients," unless they are to be included as a part of that "broad cross section of the public invited to participate in discussions of social welfare issues and to add new ideas to the range of alternatives under consideration."

administration of social services may want to address the issue that service providers across the country may be in circumstances similar to the Appalachian service providers in this study: face-to-face with the disadvantaged of America at a time of unprecedented riches for some, and continuing and extreme poverty for others while paying a high personal price for being "helpers."

A fourth and last consideration for policy makers is that they may want to consider looking at themselves, to see if they find any sense of identification with Mr. Taub, that most important board member of Houston's Jefferson Davis Hospital who could say with truth: "The conditions you describe do not exist. For I have never seen them."⁶⁴ Policy makers can ask themselves: Is it conceivable that just as the generous city of Houston tolerated the inhumanity of the Jefferson Davis Hospital, so too can America tolerate a backward social services delivery system? Is there willingness to continue a system which allows children to go hungry, to be cold, and to have insufficient schooling? And, in addition to being abused physically, emotionally and sexually in the home and school, to then again be abused by persons in the "helping" professions? Will there continue to be an acceptance that these persons who may sincerely want to help, too frequently only make matters worse, given the social, political and economic constraints under which they operate?

Policy makers can make use of the opportunities afforded them to change welfare policies through the mechanisms of large-scale

⁶⁴ Jan de Hartog, Hospital (New York: Atheneum, 1964). p. 217.

organizations and their internal processes, which play such a crucial role at all levels of the welfare process. If they continue to ignore these opportunities, it is obvious that any changes that might be possible at the face-to-face level of service provision will continue to "stumble against the realities of wealth and power."⁶⁵ Policy makers may want to examine whether or not they, and the citizens they represent, have infinite capacity to accept the poverty and pain of others, as long as they and their own are untouched by it.

Concerning the Author

The author, caught in the design of her own methodology, looked at herself, among her peers, and at her position as a member of the "helping" professions. The picture was more difficult to acknowledge than she could ever have imagined. She has been forced to coin a new term for herself, in her capacity as a "helper." Not only has she NOT been a "helper," not only HAS she been an "administrator of poverty," an arm of American society in her capacity as mental health counselor, she has ALSO been an INSTRUMENT OF HARM.

She must wonder, along with William Scott, as he questions theorists concerned with administrative reform. Is there no sense of anger? Is it immoral for organizations to spoil individual lives? Are there

⁶⁵ Mayer N. Zald, Organizing for Community Welfare (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 18.

injustices to be passionately angry about, that reason alone will do nothing to correct?⁶⁶

If there is cause for anger, is it to be expressed in the manner of Scott, an academic warming his "cool reflection" with the passion of just indignation? Or is the anger to be used the manner Scott says was commended by Aristotle, to so command it on right occasions, with the right people, at the right moment, for the right length of time?

If the author is to behave in the Aristotelian manner, then the occasion for anger is when people come to agencies which purport to help them, but suffer more harm instead, as a direct result of the services of "helpers." The anger is at service providers who keep the welfare and mental health systems going, through their participation in the injustices perpetrated by these agencies. "We did the best we could. Actually, we did rather well."⁶⁷

To be angry, for a woman, can be to fear that anger, accumulated over so many years. It is as if to let go of it, to take the top off, would be to allow it to spill over, to never quit. It would be, as one participant said, as if a grey fog would fill the room, seeping out into the world, never ending, swirling ominously.

There is the hope that confrontation with her anger can encourage the author toward effective use of it. To be angry is to experience a

⁶⁶ William Scott, "Administrative Reform: The Revolutionary Renewal of America," Public Administration Review 43 (March/April 1983): 182-190.

⁶⁷ Jan de Hartog, Hospital, p. 35.

motivation beside which cooperation and mutuality are but a pale substitute.

EPILOGUE

The goal of this study has been to offer the participants a way to understand why they have the images of themselves that they have, and a way to see themselves differently. They have been offered opportunity to adopt a different picture of themselves, to redefine their needs and wants so that they can learn the ways in which their social order contributes to their troubles. They have been given a suggestion as to the kinds of action they must undertake in order to free themselves from this social order.

It is the perception of the author that the participants accept unsatisfying social conditions because they have a mistaken understanding of who they are and what they can do. They are viewed as wanting to believe that they are "helpers," that they do no harm, that they act in caring ways toward people who come for help. They want to believe that, if they had adequate support from their agencies and their communities, they would accomplish their task.

If the participants of the study accept the truth of the assessment of this study, they may come to define themselves and what they think they need and want in quite different ways than they have done in the past. It is believed that only when they come to understand themselves in specific ways will they be able to initiate action, or to respond to action initiated by others for the purpose of changing their social

positions and addressing possibilities for change within their organizations.

The study has been one of interchange between the author and the participants, proceeding from the world of the participants and back to it. The participants have helped to fashion the study by their own choices and actions. Whether the study offers a way out of an untenable position, remains to be seen.

At the beginning of this study, with its intention to inform the participants and to inform a larger audience as well, it was suggested that there was another beginning point, the description of the place and the people of this study. So, in conclusion, is there another ending point. The participants remain, in most ways, as they were discovered at the beginning of the study. Appalachian people are apt to be little impressed with alleged "new ideas." Things are expected to stay much the same tomorrow and the next day as they were yesterday and the day before. There are still the protecting and limiting hills and a living of life at a slower pace than in most places.

If any primary by-product has been agreed upon in this study, it has been the continued development of relationships among the participants in their professional and personal lives, and the pleasure and benefit they derive from coming together as friends and colleagues in the Professional Support Group. It will be remembered that at the beginning of this study two friends discovered that they were working with individual members of the same family, but without the skills and tools that the other might have supplied. During the course of the research it was discovered that, not only was there an absence of cooperation

between these two friends, there was actual animosity between members of their agencies, the Department of Human Services and the community mental health center. People in one agency had no trust in people in the other agency. There was always a blaming of others for failures with the people who came for services.

As the study ended the Professional Support Group was beginning to provide an environment where people from different agencies could consider ways of working cooperatively to benefit the people who come for help. But more than that, the group became a place where the "helpers" could consider their own needs, as well as the needs of their friends and co-workers. The personal lives of the participants were enhanced because they re-learned something they had known before but forgotten: it is important to keep a proper perspective on one's own life strengthened by discussion with others in similar circumstances, in order to better understand and consider ways to change those circumstances which may be causing pain.

As the research effort drew to a close, both the composition and the purpose of the group were undergoing changes. Five initial members continued to make up the core of the group, which had included as many as eleven members. It is possible that future activities may be directed toward community problems, rather than limited to the benefits which accrue to the individuals in the group. That is, the Professional Support Group has been valuable to the group members during the research project, yet it is certainly possible that other activities may be more valuable in the future. What may be needed is more direct support for women in their primary tasks as family members. A second possible direction may

be active involvement of members in the economic and social development of their communities.

There is also a strong possibility that the group will cease to function for one of two reasons. First, for precisely for the same reason that it has been successful: because it became a place where "helpers" could consider their own needs. It can be expected that this may not be easily tolerated by them and that their interest may flag; they may well continue to direct their energies toward their usual interests of "solving the complications of others," that activity Adler described as being preferred by "redeemers." If they do this, perhaps they will catch themselves in the future, thinking: "Ah! Here I am again, being a helper, doing little or nothing for myself!"

Secondly, the group may have met, without intention, the anarchistic principles of organization: loose association, volunteer, functional, temporary, and small. It will be remembered that such organization ebbs and flows, groups and regroupings, according to the task at hand. The task of the research has been completed. There may be no further use for the Professional Support Group. Anne Morrow Lindberg spoke of that which must be inevitably and happily outgrown.

Because it is not lasting, let us not fall into the cynic's trap and call it an illusion. Duration is not a test of true or false. The day of the dragon-fly or the night of the Saturnian moth is not invalid simply because that phase of its life cycle is brief. Validity need have no relation to time, to duration, to continuity. It is on another phase, judged by other standards. It relates to the actual moment in time and place.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Anne Morrow Lindberg, Gift From the Sea (New York: Pantheon, 1955). p. 76.

Although there is no clear future direction for the group, there was a general shared feeling, not fully articulated, that what had happened among the members was personally satisfying as well as professionally useful. It seems probable that the effects of the research project will continue to influence the participants in positive ways. It is hoped that the group has given the participants a nurturing space, and that it will continue to do so as they persist in their efforts to be learning and educative agents in their private lives, their communities and their work situations.

APPENDIX A. ALTERNATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

--An Applied Humanities Entertainment--

Chapter One

Please imagine that the cover of this book is a large mirror, turned a little to the side, so that you can see large groups of people looking into it and being reflected back from it.

See the human service and mental health service providers work every day in face-to-face relationships. We work hard. We care. We feel guilty when we take vacations. If we take vacations.

We accept our own circumstances as we accept those of the people we service: as immutable. It has always been this way. It will always be this way. Nothing can change it. We are proud, however, that we do the very best we can under these impossible circumstances.

When things get so bad, and so overwhelming, why, then we'll blame somebody, anybody: our administrators, politicians, policy makers, each other, other agency personnel or the people who come to us for "help." We'll blow up at the people we live with or with whom we work. We'll yell at idiots who drive crazy on the roads. Finally, as a last resort, we'll blame our mothers!

This mirror, by the way, is no ordinary run-of-the-mill mirror. It shows everyone's actions and behaviors, but it also shows more:

intentions, thoughts and motivations and it even contributes a sort of analysis, eventually.

These service providers gaze into the mirror at themselves and their positions in their workplace. The mirror blurs, shifts, changes, and they see all that came before them. The Industrial Revolution took all the men out of the house, and the children went to school. Women were left to care for the young and the old and the sick and the crazy and the productive and the unproductive, as they all dipped into and out of the home. Soon, the workplace drew the women, too.

Somehow, there were economic downturns: the numbers of people in jails and hospitals and mental institutions increased. There were old people who needed places to stay and people said that daycare was needed so that women could work outside the home. Adolescents made trouble on the streets. Everyone wanted the government to decide how to take care of these problems and they wanted the government to pay for the programs that were designed. Of course, they also wanted lower taxes. There really were problems, it seemed.

All this was reflected to the service providers, as they watched.

The mirror shifts again, focuses downward it seems, until we are back into our own hills again, back into southern West Virginia. We see how things had been done. There were the "poor farms" of the past, where some made money out of "caring" for the indigent, the homeless. There were the church people who came to save Appalachian souls so their own souls would be saved come the millennium (Appalachia was closer than Africa and

India). Then there were the 1930s when social service programs began with a vengeance (to save the country from the Spectre of Socialism). And here it is, folks! We have moved through the escalation of programs in the 1960s and it's 1986 and we have Ronald Reagan, the the Republicans and the business community to save us.

All the weight of the circumstances, at least since the Industrial Revolution, is on the shoulders of the good - intentioned - knock - em - awake - at - nine A.M. - jerk - the - kid - out - of - the - family - send - the - adolescent - to - a - group - home - send - daddy - to - jail - and - don't - let - mommy - screw - around - while - daddy's - gone - ole - time - new - time - social- worker - and - mental - health - "professional."

The mirror image grows smaller and smaller until we see the human service providers again, with weights on their shoulders, and chains around their backs, and arms and hands and legs and feet, holding them down, bent, unable to stand up and look around so they can see where it is they are headed, or where it is they have been or may want to go. Chains. Policy chains: regulations and guidelines proceeding from the premise that all be treated equally.

Even as we watch, they move to the side of the mirror, and others appear, looking at them: administrators and policy formulators and analysts and academics and clients and the general public. They all look in the mirror, and in the looking, and the allowing others to look, there is a changing. The providers see themselves: Oh! Is that the way it is?

Chapter Two

The literature reveals much about social work and mental health professions, in all their many-faceted aspects of practice and theory, field-work and academic work, policy formulation and evaluation and analysis. Some of the research involves the provider in some ways, usually with questions generated for the purpose of doing something about efficiency, or sometimes, but not often, about effectiveness, about costs and accountability and control and money and time.

The present study is planned to include the provider in the design of the survey. This is a fairly new idea. Some of the men in the mirror query: "Let them make up their own questions? Good grief. Why? To understand themselves? What do they want to do that for? Epistemic instinct? What the hell is that? But. O.K. So they understand themselves. Then what?"

Well . . . then . . . they tell others what they like and what they don't like about their work situation and then that can be used by administrators and policy makers to make plans and procedures for implementation.

You mean . . . they kinda help us make the rules?

Well . . . Not exactly. Uh . . . some of us even want to be involved in the decision-making about goals and objectives as well as making the rules for implementation.

You mean . . . face-to-face, with us the power and control guys?

Well . . . ummm . . . yes.

Hell! You can't even get'em all around a board table.

Yes! You're absolutely correct! You really hit the target! The bulls' eye! We have been working on that very problem. How do you fit all these service providers around the board table? May we share it with you? What we have come up with?

Umm . . . well harumph . . . well . . . Okay. Tho' . . . I'm not sure why.

Chapter Three

See, there's this guy in Kansas. He's got this thing he calls a Concerns Report. We bring together representatives of our group and figure out items for a satisfaction and concerns survey and then we winnow all our ideas until we agree on about thirty items.

We, the representatives, then print up the survey and give it to all the people in our agencies and get the results back and put it all into the computer and then we move the information around a bit and begin to look at it and see what it is we've come up with.

Okay. Who are you talking about doing this with right now?

This time, we're working with face-to-face service providers in two southern West Virginia counties. We choose that place because unemployment is so high and federal resources for services are cut back and the needs of the people seem to be on the backs of the service providers. Remember those chains around them in the mirror.

Yeah.

Well, starting in July, some of us are going to form a Professional Support Group and make up such a survey and then give it to all the people who work in our agencies as face-to-face service providers. When we get back the results we'll see what we perceive our collective satisfactions and concerns are. And maybe... just maybe...when we look into the mirror again, we'll see things somewhat differently. Maybe some of the ones who started the project will drop out and maybe some new ones will drop in. Maybe the loads will have shifted, or will be lighter. Maybe the chains will have moved some. Maybe we can even take off the chains that are around us and maybe we can use them differently. Maybe we'll wonder...what can we do with these heavy strong chains rather than wear them around ourselves? Maybe we'll believe we can exercise some authority and some discretion in carrying out policy guidelines.

We are people who are service providers in Human Services and community mental health. Many of us grew up in the area where we are working. Many of us are of the same class of people that we serve. Many of us are "kin" or friends and neighbors of the people to whom we provide services. We are of the people we serve. If we are in doubt that we are doing a worthwhile job, we might be unhappy enough to quit. But to do so, to quit, is to join the "client," the people we allegedly serve.

It is very easy, in adversity, to go from one side of the desk to the other.

Chapter Four

So the results come back...

Perhaps there will be some indications that we are in the job because we really want to help other people and believe that we are actually doing that. Perhaps there will be some indications that we question, deep down, whether we are really helping people, or whether we may be doing harm. The results may be sobering. Perhaps there are some satisfactions and some good feelings when we can see that we're doing something worthwhile. Nearly every one of us has at least one success story...that we tell over and over.

But perhaps we will see evidence of some concern, too. Evidence that we are angry. Disturbed. Distressed. What will we do to maintain our satisfactions and address our concerns? Anything? Will we do anything? Some of us will plod along until we retire. Some of us will go away to other places and other jobs. Some of us will just drop out. Some of us will go crazy. (We do not really want to believe that is an option and so we ignore it to our peril). And some of us? Might we change the way we look at things? Like those chains. What are we going to do with those chains? Keep them on? Or...something else?

We won't know right away, I guess. Perhaps we'll come back later, and look in the mirror again, and see if anything is happening.

Chapter Five

So. There you are, sirs. See the human service provider as we see and interpret ourselves, not the way we are seen and are interpreted by others. See us through the process of the Concerns Report. See what we will do with the results. See what you can learn as supervisors and administrators and policy formulators and policy analysts from this reflected view of the human service providers in their chains.

Yes. Of course. There are limits to the study. Well, for one thing, we didn't include you. Maybe you'd like a study of your concerns and satisfactions? And we didn't include "clients." There are others who are doing that, other places. And our time frame is short. We may not be able to follow these people through the translation of their new views into action, as has happened where this report has been used before.

That's the fun of research, of course. There is always more to do. It used to make us money, to have more to do. But some of us, now interested in ourselves, have to pay for it ourselves. However, it's worthwhile to us. We hope it will be worthwhile to you.

We close the book. The mirror is opaque, still, silent, until we say the magic words again. Whatever they are.

APPENDIX B. ON MYSELF

I

I am walking out of the morning mist, the sun a pale disk for it is yet early, the hills behind and around me.

I stand on a rise, looking down on the place from which I escaped some years ago.

It is a mile or so away. In physical appearance it resembles the chemical plants in the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia. However, it is not on an island in the middle of a river, but in a wide valley, brown and leafless, heavily fenced and guarded.

I walk unperturbed to the entrance where orderly lines of people wait to have their identity cards examined so they may enter. The people are mostly women, for it is early and the male managers will arrive later, in more leisurely fashion, not required to queue. Or else they come earlier, displaying their dedication to their job of people-processing.

(In retrospect I am amazed. I had forgotten the dangers. I had thought, if I thought at all, that I was immune. I had learned about such places where people are processed. I had even been a part of it before. And I had studied the administration of such places for years. It simply had

not occurred to me that I would have to become a part of the people processing again; that this was the cost of getting in to rescue my friends; the cost of the opportunity to spread a little dissent in subtle manner; the cost of encouraging those who were already preparing to leave, I thought; the cost to make those who were to stay uncomfortable with their choices which they thought were self-serving, their perks, but were instead life-stealing, life-denying, life-sucking.)

I thought I looked okay. I thought I was just another one of the workers, showing my identity card to get in. Only later did I realize that I was different, thinking I was the same, thinking I could "pass."

The guard shuffled and huffed over my identify card. He sensed that something was not quite right, but he had long ago given up paying attention to such sensings. The card was in order. By his own rules and regs he had to let me in.

I found a niche. Only later did I know there was everywhere the sensing that I was different. I got right into it: processing people. I only cried at night, for about two weeks. Then I realized that I had a job to do: rescue. The price was the processing of people which would go on whether I was there or not, I convinced myself. So I might as well get on with it. And I did.

It is possible, just possible, that I was of value to a few of those processed persons. But perhaps I just want to believe that to sustain

myself in the face of the larger failures; to sustain myself in the face of my present illness; to make myself believe that the venture was of some worth.

When I started out in the early morning walking in the mist, I had thought I would walk back into the hills at sunset with a few people; perhaps a dozen women, a handful of children holding adult hands or being carried, several adolescents, and perhaps three men; that we would walk easily, lightly, facing the hills, our backs to the enormity of the people processing plants; that as we walked away, unheeding, the entire structure would crumble and we would not turn our heads, we would not be as the wife of Lot, looking back.

But -- it wasn't that way. There was the disease, the dis-ease, of the plant. I had known it was there. I had chosen to forget in the egocentric notion that I, I could return, be untouched for the good of others. I had caught the disease, the dis-ease I had studied so carefully in the five years I had been away from the plant.

No one walked out at sunset. No one wanted to cross the wide, flat, brown exposed plain to an unknown destination, without promises of food, or shelter or paychecks, car, insurance plans, retirement funds.

Some of them, in their dis-ease, did move from one building to another, thinking another job less harmful to themselves and the people they worked with. Some of them even flew by helicopter to another plant compound,

in another valley, thinking they had made a great change. One person moved into a select building, away from the other buildings, with no windows or doors on the side facing the rest of the compound. The door and windows faced instead onto a porch, with rocking chairs, a garden, stream, trees...artfully walled so as to seem unwalled.

No one came out.

Not even me.

II

I have caught the disease. The dis-ease of the people processors. I am lying, like the rabbit Hazel in Watership Down, in a tunnel, a ditch, wounded unto death. Like Hazel, attempting to release tamed caged rabbits to join the new warren on the downs, I am rescued by my friends. There are strong people around me. I am favored. They understand and comfort me and cajole me. Look! Get up! Join us! We're alive and well and happy! We really have to make do, you know. We have our support systems in this dreadful place. We make it as much better for the processed people as we can. What you have to understand dear, is that there is nothing else. There is nowhere else to go. THIS IS IT. Join us! We'll make it!

Oh . . . Oh? . . . "Make it"? What does that mean?

And I am left alone with a vision in my head.

I'll get out. It seems, however, that it will have to be alone.

But I need another card.

I had one to get in, but I have just discovered that the rules and regs changed since I got here. I cannot use the card that I came in with to go out. I have to stay here and earn a new card.

Years ago, on a different world, in a different life, there was a loving man, a husband, who had walked away from a similar people-processing plant on that world, in that life. I was making application to a great university (which served the people-processing plants, but I did not know that then; really know it, I mean.) He was laughing gently at me, "Don't you know it is much harder to get in than it is to get out?"

I trusted him. Loved him. Believed him. Depended on him to do my thinking. So that I did not have to think, perceive, sense, determine, intuit, be responsible for myself.

Well. I have paid for that. He was wrong. At least for me. That may well have been true for him, what he had said, for that time in his world, in the people processing university he passed through.

For me. It was wrong.

I'm still here.

Working for my card to get out.

I think...I am better...

Perhaps I will be able to add to this another time, when I am in another place.

Perhaps there is another place.

Sometimes when I am able, I sit on the porch of my friend's place, behind the artful wall, enjoying the garden and the stream and the trees and

I hear

whispers on the wind

names

of women

who may have gone on

before

there were stories I read once

in that other world...

III

Really. What egotism. To think that I could escape that burden of modern generations, bureaucracy. What naivete.

APPENDIX C. LOG ENTRY EXAMPLES

April

Darrell: What we are is white-collar welfare recipients.

Mari took a day of her leave to appear in court for a retarded woman to keep her child. She said that she just wanted to sit and sob. The woman had said, "They said I was violent. Sometimes I talk loud. Retarded people do that sometimes." Mari was so angry: I wanted to write the best report I've ever written. But then I only had time to do the usual report.

About myself: What am I doing? Everything I am seeing, feeling, discovering, about public policy, is already known, documented. What people are doing is showing me their worst situation, to let me know how tough their jobs are? To bring themselves into a plus position in some way?

About a person who asked for services: They made me feel like a very low class person. They gave me 17 different pills...after I had tried to commit suicide!

This job is too serious to be taken seriously!

From a mental health provider: They had a three-week old baby and were hitch-hiking back home with a wash-tub full of coal that someone had given them. They lived up a creek bed. And I'm not supposed to transport clients in my car? Now you tell me how I could pass them by and sleep tonight?

Mari: The reason women are better therapists with Viet Nam veterans than men who have been to war is because we know about anger and being a minority. We've been in a war all our lives.

Myself: To take pictures would seem an exploitation, but then so does the research.

Item: I have sufficient time to work with families in depth and to feel a sense of accomplishment with them.

Item: I feel like my intervention into families is usually a good and positive one.

Crying on the phone to Philip. A high price to pay for the dissertation. A long time to be away from Lee Margaret.

A man from Chicago found dead in McDowell County, they say. A nail through his right temple.

Violence is a community norm.

The sheriff and a deputy are both in jail for extortion. The defense aid, "It is tradition." And, it is.

May

de Chardin: Some day, after we have mastered the wind, the waves, the tides and gravity, we will harness for God the energies of love; and then for the second time in the history of the world, man will have discovered fire.

When the school psychologist said to me, "I wish you well," and "I'll help in any way I can," and "Just tell me what you think I ought to do," she was really saying, "I've done everything and nothing works and here YOU are, thinking you have all the answers. You'll find out soon enough!"

Today the water is a thing of wonder. Cascading down and over the cliffs, down to the road, a sharp flashing spray across the windshield from a passing coal truck. The roads are like creeks. Schools closed. Clinic closed. People moving into their second floors. Currents of trash rushing down the dark brown river. Where will it come to a halt? The Baileysville Dam?

Fatalism or realism?

Small green umbrellas of the May apple.

My purpose in this job: TO TALK BACK TO THOSE WHO THINK THEY HAVE POWER AND AUTHORITY OVER ME AND OTHERS. TO TAKE POWER OVER MYSELF AND HELP OTHERS TAKE POWER OVER THEMSELVES.

THERE IS NO WAY FOR COUNSELORS AND SOCIAL WELFARE WORKERS TO TEACH PEOPLE TO TAKE POWER FOR THEMSELVES BECAUSE THEY DO NOT EVEN HAVE POWER OVER THEIR OWN LIVES.

The inter-connections between agency people and community need defy description. Perhaps there is the equal potential for good as there is for the harm that I see.

June

Item: Administrators in my agency support and appreciate my efforts.

I awakened this morning thinking that there is little evidence of joy in my life. Joy: The emotion of great delight or happiness caused by something good or satisfying. 2. A source of keen pleasure or delight.

A note to remind myself not to stay around when Mari and Sharon are both gone. It is REALLY not worth it. And then not going home, too.

I am already sick of this job and I have only been here six weeks. Oh, well. Getting through June will be my next task and Philip reminds me that I will be on the downhill side.

HOW could I have forgotten about the Kimball cops? I was doing 36 miles and hour in a 25 mile zone. And does it take him this long to write up the ticket or is this a part of a humiliation process, sitting here alongside the road? \$38.00 dollars. Good grief.

August

Sharon, in anger, to me: Jackie. It takes a certain callousness and a certain ignorance to work on the front line and you do not have either! If you really care and you want to make changes it will grind you up and spit you out. Your anger will eat you up from the inside out.

Mari: Playing with half a deck makes the game go faster.

Everything becomes an economic decision. What time and energy is spent with one family cannot be spent with another family. It is impossible to accomplish the agency mandate. There is nothing to do but 1) blame others, 2) blame the clients, 3) blame the self which one can't bear for too long, 4) feel good about what little good one does accomplish and 5) let the rest go and rationalize it.

Good day with Mari: "Good" defined as fun, relaxed, opportunity for learning, opportunity for partial resolution of old relationships.

Item: I provide quality care for the people who come to me for help.

Item: Administrative mechanism to provide feedback regarding quality clinical care is in place and effective.

Counselor: When my records are perfect, the people don't come back. When my records are . . . (s----y) . . . I do good therapy.

As regular as the seasons, but more of an indulgent joke: road work two months before elections.

War, WV. Lunch in my car, on the main street, the road through town. Wondering as I watch the people, what is poverty? Crippled people.

Houses on the other side of the tracks, usually black families.

Big cars, broken down.

Animals never seen by a vet.

Thin people with no teeth.

Fat people with no teeth.

Sickness with resulting dependency on doctors and

medicines and resulting increasing sickness, a

increasing sickness, a terrible cycle.

Living is just not dying.

Deeply rounded thin shoulders.

Every teacher and every welfare worker

can tell you who is poor and by what standards.

Worrying that "the welfare" will take away your kids.

Believing that you have no power to change your circumstances.

Sharon: Today was an awful day at the office. A normal awful day. Stable, secure job and the futility of bureaucracy, versus learning and growing.

SOME REAL SENSE OF DISCOURAGEMENT TO LOOK AT WELL-INTENTIONED PUBLIC POLICY. IS IT INDEED WELL-INTENTIONED?

Best laid plans: Windshield wiper doesn't work. Tired. And it is only Monday. Now that is scary. Best go back to the office and take it easy for today.

Anger. Again. Tension across entire chest area under breasts, over ribs, to the waist. There is not enough air in this room. I am suffocating. I am too angry to "counsel" anyone today. At least for today. Perhaps forever. I don't like it. I dread it. I do not enjoy it. In retrospect I am not even effective at it. That is the priority criticism. If I could learn about anger then perhaps I would be able to help people with it, how to use it effectively.

How do people subordinate their own perceptions and actions to those dictated by the organization?. How do they deny that they have discretion?. I simply do not understand how they can continue to do this. AND I AM NO DIFFERENT.

Doris Lessing: The beginnings of immersion in evil must always start with something easy, paltry, seemingly unimportant.

Tired.

The job is the main effort of my life.

WHAT IF HE KILLS HIMSELF?

Mari: the more regulated things get, the more thinking becomes linear.

Non-linear thinking is creative.

Item: Influence of old staff on new people is helpful.

After the redbud and purple of lilacs come daisies, Queen Anne's Lace, sweet peas, corn flowers, tiger lilies, black-eyed Susans, green of summer and no sign of the now invisible trash, only glimpses of it if one is searching for it, low on the limbs of trees over-hanging the water.

PRESCRIPTION:

Each community to have a social service center within walking distance of all people? Is that true in Sweden?

Time to get on with my research project or the time will be up.

I have become attached to Ambien II, Doris Lessing's inner-space fiction, century- and space-spanning female bureaucrat:

Have you not observed for yourself that if one disengages oneself from a process arbitrarily, then all kinds of connections and links and growths are broken---that you yourself suffer for it?

APPENDIX D. ISSUES IDENTIFIED BY PROVIDERS

Personal Issues

1. You have enough time to do your work adequately both on the job and at home.
2. You have enough energy to do your work adequately both on the job and at home.
3. You take as good care of yourself as you advise others to do.
4. You make structured opportunity for self-understanding in your personal life.
5. You make structured opportunity to integrate and understand what is happening with your job.
6. You have structured opportunity during working hours to integrate and understand what is happening with your job.
7. You make informal opportunity during working hours to integrate and understand what is happening with your job.
8. You make time with others to integrate and understand what is happening with your job.
9. Your deep personal anger does not interfere with the effective way you do your job.
10. Your deep personal anger does not interfere with your intimate relationships.

11. Your deep personal anger does not interfere with your family relationships.
12. Your deep personal anger does not interfere with your relations with supervisors and administrators.
13. Your deep personal anger does not interfere with your relations with people who come to you for help.
14. You have sufficient support for change periods in your life.
15. You accept any frustrations of your job as "normal".
16. You are a good model for the people who come to you for help.
17. You are in charge of your life.
18. You can "leave your work" when you leave the work place.
19. Your family life enhances your work life.
20. Your work life enhances your family life.
21. Your attitude towards the people who come to you for help is respectful.
22. Your job does not interfere with your sleep.
23. Your work is of professional quality.
24. You view the behavior of the people who come to you for help as "normal."
25. You work well with angry people because you know about anger.
26. You are good at working with minorities because you know how they feel.

27. Your primary job is to be true to yourself.
28. You are able to use your "contrariness" as a survival technique on your job.
29. You can laugh at yourself.
30. You make opportunity to enjoy music.
31. You make opportunity for artistic creation.
32. You make opportunity for serious reading.
33. You make opportunity for light reading.
34. You use television wisely.
35. Your work results in more good than harm.
36. You have someone who loves you and listens to you and cares about you when you talk about your work.
37. Your basic motivation is to help people.
38. You focus on "wellness" rather than sickness for yourself.
39. You focus on "wellness" rather than sickness for people who come to you for help.
40. You make structured opportunity to gain self-knowledge and knowledge about others through respectful conflict.
41. You make structured opportunity for self-knowledge as you work through conflicts within yourself.
42. You receive the support and nurturance that you give others in your

work situation.

43. You receive the support and nurturance that you give others in your personal life.
44. You can assert: Nobody owns me.
45. You are able to express your needs to your friends.
46. You are able to express your needs to supervisors and administrators.
47. You are able to express your needs to family members.
48. Your personal affairs do not interfere with the effective way you do your job.
49. You can make sense out of your job in relation to the rest of the world.
50. You feel that your life situation and problems are similar to those of the people who come to you for help.
51. You would keep the job you have even if you did not need the money.
52. You exercise some discretion in implementing the policy under which you work.
53. You exercise considerable discretion in carrying out the rules and regulations of your agency.
54. You have determined a satisfying work cycle for yourself so that you do not risk "burn-out."
55. You know when you have done enough and can

- "kick out of gear" for awhile so that you don't have to kick out by being sick or crazy.
56. If there is conflict between them, your moral values take precedence over agency requirements.
 57. You are consistently able to find ways to replenish the energy required to do your job well.
 58. If there is conflict between them, you consistently place higher value on your own perceptions than on those dictated by the organization.
 59. Your work leaves you with interest and energy for other things in your life.
 60. Your attitude toward the people who come to you for help is consistently caring.
 61. You treat everyone who comes to you for help equally.
 62. You have devised ways to "buffer" yourself between home and work, and work and home.

Work Issues

63. You can give constructive criticism to decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.
64. You have structured opportunity at work to make daily resolution of what is happening before going home.
65. You have structured opportunity to learn from

- your supervisors.
66. You have time to learn from your supervisors.
 67. You have structured opportunity for self-understanding on your job.
 68. You have sufficient opportunity for self-renewal in your job.
 69. You have structured opportunity for self-renewal in your job.
 70. You make opportunities for self-renewal in your job.
 71. You have enough support from your organization to do your job well.
 72. You consistently figure out ways to improve your job situation.
 73. You have consistent support from supervisors and administrators in improving your job situation.
 74. Supervisors and administrators give evidence that they care what you think about your job situation.
 75. You consistently figure out ways to change parts of your job that you do not like.
 76. You are working toward improvement and change in the job that you do.
 77. You are moving forward in the agency where you work.
 78. You are consistently sure that what you do in your job is morally right.
 79. You consistently help people figure out ways to change the parts of their life that they do not

- like if they want to, when they come to you for help.
80. You consistently encourage the people who come to you for help to work toward change and improvement of their situations if they are not satisfied with them.
 81. In-service training gives you opportunity to learn techniques of respectful behavior towards the people who come to you for help.
 82. Supervisors and administrators encourage you in respectful behaviors toward the people who come to this agency for help.
 83. You respect people's privacy when they come to you for help. You do not have to be a "private eye."
 84. The relationship you have with your supervisor is good.
 85. You get along with your supervisor.
 86. Your primary job is to do what your supervisor says.
 87. Your agency provides adequate treatment and service resources for you to carry out your job effectively.
 88. Your job is secure as a service provider in this county.
 89. The work you are assigned to do is essential.
 90. The work you are assigned to do is necessary.
 91. You have sufficient time to work with people

in depth and to have a sense of accomplishment
in working with them.

92. You have a satisfactory "case load."
93. As a group, your agency personnel have made a
commitment to inform yourselves on things you
need to know to do your job well.
94. You are treated with consideration and respect
by administrators and supervisors.
95. You treat the people who come to this agency
with consideration and respect.
96. You have adequate coping skills for most of
the things that happen in your job.
97. Supervisors and administrators demonstrate that
they appreciate you and the work you do.
98. The people who come to you for help demonstrate
that they appreciate you and your job.
99. Community members demonstrate that they appreciate
you and your job.
100. Your job is held in esteem by administrators and
supervisors.
101. Your job is held in esteem by the people who
come to you for help.
102. You can work effectively with the "case load"
you have.
103. Your agency helps you in getting your job done.
104. You learn a lot in your job.

105. You have adequate administrative services to support your job.
106. You have job security.
107. You are paid enough for what you do.
108. You have adequate community referral services.
109. You are knowledgeable about the medical aspects of the problems of the people who come to you for help.
110. You are knowledgeable about the legal aspects of the problems of the people who come to you for help.
111. You know enough about parent training to help people who come to you with problems about their children.
112. Your family holds your job in high esteem.
113. Your neighbors hold your job in high esteem.
114. The administration of your agency accomplishes its goals of organizing, financing and facilitating the service delivery system of which you are a part.
115. You have opportunity to learn about research that is relevant to the work that you do.
116. Coordination among agencies in your community is effective.
117. The policy under which you work is well designed to meet the needs of the people who come here

for services.

118. In-service training gives you useful information that you can acquire in no better way.
119. You are given structured opportunity to work with your peers in other community agencies.
120. You work toward community change so that individuals and families will have better lives.
121. You work to change community attitudes so that individuals and families will have better lives.
121. Community education is an important part of your job.

Issues About People Who Come For Help

122. You treat the people who come to this agency for help as responsible competent adults.
123. You treat the people who come to this agency as if they are people in charge of their lives.
124. You encourage people who come to this agency for help to consider how they can change their communities to improve their own situations.
125. You encourage people to be responsible for what happens to them in their families.
126. You encourage people to accept responsibility for their own families.
127. You help people gain authority within

their own families

128. You encourage children to be responsible for what happens to them in their own families.
129. You are emotionally detached from the people who come to you for help.
130. You are emotionally involved with the people who come to you for help.
131. There is structured design to help you be detached from the people you work with.
132. Children are adequately protected who reveal abuse in their families or schools
133. Your primary job is to facilitate the decisions people make who come to you for help.
134. Your primary job is to help people.
135. Your primary job is to carry out the mandate of your agency.
136. Communication among personnel of different agencies is satisfactory when you are working with the same individual or family.
137. You help people build on their strengths.
138. You are accepting of the way people live even if it is different from your own.
139. The design of your agency is such that you are encouraged to help people build on their strengths.
140. You have clear goals when you work with people.
141. Your intervention with people who come for help

- is usually a good and positive one.
142. You help people figure out what is best for themselves.
 143. Your job is to tell people what to do.
 144. Your work helps to bring about positive behavioral change in dysfunctional family situations.
 145. You help people see their personal troubles within the larger framework of community environment and social structure.
 146. You are able to carry out the mandate of your job: ". . . to serve the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical welfare of the child . . . and to preserve and strengthen the child's family ties . . . and assist the family in providing necessary education and training."
 147. You encourage people to believe that they are the best judge of what they need.
 148. You help people change their attitudes so that their lives will be better.
 149. You help people change their living conditions so that their lives will be better.
 150. You encourage people to believe that they can make better decisions about their problems than you can.
 151. You are consistently able to devise creative ways

- to help people change their life situations.
152. You are sometimes able to devise creative ways to help people change their life situations.
153. You are sometimes able to help people help themselves.
154. You are consistently able to help people help themselves.

Community Issues

155. You have structured opportunity to work with and learn from community people who are competent and skilled in your job area.
156. You have enough time to work with and learn from community people who are skilled in your job area.
157. You have enough time to work with and learn from your peers in the community.
158. You let people in other agencies know that you understand their frustrations in attempting to help people.
159. Overall, agencies in your community encourage people to make decisions about their own lives.
160. Overall, agencies in your community encourage people to be in charge of their own lives.
161. You get along with people in other agencies.
162. You have opportunity to get to know people in other agencies.
163. Young people have sufficient healthy outlets

- for their interests in this community.
164. Overall, the legal system protects children who are abused in this community.
165. You have good professional relationships within the legal community.
166. You have good professional relationships within the police community.
167. You have good professional relationships within the judicial community.
168. Overall, the police help people in your community.
169. Overall, the judicial system helps people in your community.
170. Overall, the school system helps people in your community.
171. You have good relationships with people in the school system.
172. Your community has a long-range social development plan for the benefit of all the people in your community.
173. Overall, your community is a pleasant place to live.

Co-Worker Issues

174. You have structured opportunity to learn from your co-workers.
175. You have enough time to learn from your co-workers.

176. Your agency gives support to your need to learn from your co-workers.
177. You are able to accept anger when it is evident in the behavior of your co-workers.
178. You feel supported by the rest of the staff.
179. You get along with case aides.
180. You get along with social workers.
181. You get along with economic service workers.
182. Overall, you like the people you work with.
183. Overall, you are loyal to the people you work with.
184. You accept different moral standards than your own.
185. You are "touching" in appropriate ways with the people with whom you work.
186. You are intimate with people at work when it is appropriate.
187. You distance yourself from people at work when it is appropriate.
188. You coordinate your services with other providers in the community services network.
189. You have help from the rest of the staff with your "case load."
190. Overall, the attitude of your fellow workers toward the people who come here for help is respectful.
191. Overall, the attitude of your fellow workers toward the people who come here for help is caring.

APPENDIX E. STAFF SURVEY

STAFF SURVEY FOR DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SERVICES AND COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH IN MCDOWELL AND WYOMING COUNTIES

Instructions: The items on this survey were developed by staff members of DHS and Mental Health in Wyoming and McDowell counties. Please complete the survey by rating the importance and your satisfaction with each item. You will be invited to participate in analysis and discussion of the compiled data at a later date.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. TO ASSURE ANONYMITY, please place your completed survey in the envelope provided and seal it before returning it to your supervisor. Thank you for your participation.

	How important is to you that...					How satisfied are you that...				
	not		very			not		very		
1. You do your work well.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
2. You are not diverted from providing adequate services by unnecessary paper-work, meetings or other administrative tasks.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
3. There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
4. You have a sense of accomplishment in working with people who come to your agency for help.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
5. Sufficient opportunities for meaningful work exist for people in your community.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
6. You pace yourself so that you do not miss work because you are										

exhausted or sick.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

7. You work effectively with staff in other agencies when serving the same individual or families.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

8. Overall, you like the people you work with.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

9. You can get the education and training you need within a reasonable distance and at a reasonable cost.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

10. People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

11. Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

12. You accept constructive criticism from supervisors and administrators.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

13. You receive recognition and credit for the work you do.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

14. The regulations and requirements of your job make sense to you.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

15. People in your community have adequate counseling and information available to them about their medication.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

16. You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for										

help.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

17. Your job contributes to your personal growth and development.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

18. Your job provides opportunities for career development and changes.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

19. You take as good care of your self (fun, relaxation, nutrition, exercise, as you advise others to do.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

20. You can help people with problems about their children.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

21. Your efforts to help people result in more good than harm.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

22. Your work does not interfere with friendship or intimate relationships.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

23. You are free to give constructive criticism to decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

24. You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

25. Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4

26. If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over										

- agency requirements. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-
27. This agency works with other agencies in bringing about social and economic changes that benefit the poor members of this community. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-
28. Overall, the management of this agency is responsive to the concerns and interests of the people who work here. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-
29. The services of this agency clearly help people meet goals which are important to them. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-
30. Your job contributes meaning and purpose to your life. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-
31. People who come here for help control the direction of social action taken on their behalf. 0 1 2 3 4 0 1 2 3 4
-

How satisfied are you that your concerns are represented in this survey?

Not 0 1 2 3 4 Very

APPENDIX F. DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

AGENCY PERSONNEL: TOTAL 34

8 Community Mental Health from a possible 17
22 Department of Human Services from a possible 70
4 Professional Support Group from a possible 7

SEX

6 males
28 females

RACE

3 blacks
20 whites
11 not identified

NATIVE TO AREA

26 born in area
7 not born in area
1 not identified

RESIDENCE

22 work and live in same county
3 work and live in different county
5 work in both counties and live in one of them
3 live in a third county
1 not identified

TRAVEL

9 drive less than five miles
7 drive 6-10 miles
8 drive 11-20 miles
7 drive over 20 miles
3 not identified

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

11 not heads of household
20 heads of household
3 not identified

SAME AGENCY WORK EXPERIENCE

18 have worked in same agency for total

work experience
15 have worked in different agencies during
their total work experience
1 not identified

TOTAL WORK EXPERIENCE

13 total years experience 1-5 years
10 total years experience 6-10 years
9 total years experience 11-20 years
2 not identified

EDUCATION

5 graduate degrees
13 college degrees
14 high school diplomas
2 not identified

APPENDIX G. SURVEY RESULTS

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a list of survey results or a table with multiple columns. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.]

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT GROUP: CONCERNS REPORT IN ORDER OF MEAN PROBLEMS

Item	Mean Satisfaction Rating	Mean Importance Rating
10. People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.	6%	93%
3. There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.	6%	93%
11. Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.	25%	100%
27 This agency works with other agencies in bringing about social and economic changes that benefit poor members of this community.	25%	100%
25 Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.	18%	93%
31 People who come here for help control the direction of social action taken on their behalf.	18%	93%
28 Overall, the management of this agency is responsive to the concerns and interests of the people who work there.	25%	93%
19 You take as good care of yourself (fun, relaxation, nutrition, exercise) as you advise others to do.	31%	93%
5 Sufficient opportunities for meaningful work exist for people in your community.	25%	87%
2 You are not diverted from providing adequate services by unnecessary paperwork, meetings, or other administrative tasks.	16%	81%
17 Your job contributes to your personal growth and development.	50%	100%
21 Your efforts to help people result in more good than harm.	50%	100%
29 The services of this agency clearly help people meet goals which are important to them.	31%	87%
9 You can get the education and training you need within a reasonable distance and at a reasonable cost.	37%	87%
22 Your work does not interfere with friendship or intimate relationships.	37%	87%
15 People in your community have adequate counseling and information available to them about their medication.	37%	87%
14 The regulations and requirements of your job make sense to you.	43%	87%
18 Your job provides opportunities for career development and changes.	43%	87%
30 Your job contributes meaning and purpose to your life.	56%	93%
4 You have a sense of accomplishment in working with people who come to your agency for help.	50%	87%
1 You do your work well.	62%	93%
6 You pace yourself so that you do not miss work because you are exhausted or sick.	56%	87%
16 You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help.	81%	100%
7 You work effectively with staff in other agencies when serving the same individuals or families.	68%	87%
23 You are free to give constructive criticism to the decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.	62%	81%
13 You receive recognition and credit for the work that you do.	62%	75%
26 If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over agency regulations.	93%	100%
20 You can help people with problems about their children.	75%	81%
24 You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor.	87%	87%
12 You accept constructive criticism from supervisors and administrators.	87%	87%
8 Overall, you like the people you work with.	75%	68%

PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT GROUP: CONCERNS REPORT IN ORDER OF MEAN STRENGTHS

	Item	Mean Satisfaction Rating	Mean Importance Rating
26	If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over agency regulations.	93%	100%
16	You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help.	81%	100%
24	You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor.	87%	87%
12	You accept constructive criticism from supervisors and administrators.	87%	87%
20	You can help people with problems about their children.	75%	81%
7	You work effectively with staff in other agencies when serving the same individuals or families.	68%	87%
1	You do your work well.	62%	93%
30	Your job contributes meaning and purpose to your life.	56%	93%
8	Overall, you like the people you work with.	75%	68%
17	Your job contributes to your personal growth and development.	50%	100%
21	Your efforts to help people result in more good than harm.	50%	100%
23	You are free to give constructive criticism to the decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.	62%	81%
6	You pace yourself so that you do not miss work because you are exhausted or sick.	56%	87%
13	You receive recognition and credit for the work that you do.	62%	75%
4	You have a sense of accomplishment in working with people who come to your agency for help.	50%	87%
14	The regulations and requirements of your job make sense to you.	43%	86%
18	Your job provides opportunities for career development and changes.	43%	87%
15	People in your community have adequate counseling and information available to them about their medication.	37%	76%
22	Your work does not interfere with friendship or intimate relationships.	37%	87%
9	You can get the education and training you need within a reasonable distance and at a reasonable cost.	37%	87%
19	You take as good care of yourself (fun, relaxation, nutrition, exercise) as you advise others to do.	31%	93%
29	The services of this agency clearly help people meet goals which are important to them.	31%	87%
11	Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.	25%	100%
27	This agency works with other agencies in bringing about social and economic changes that benefit poor members of this community.	25%	100%
28	Overall, the management of this agency is responsive to the concerns and interests of the people who work there.	25%	93%
5	Sufficient opportunities for meaningful work exist for people in your community.	25%	87%
25	Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.	18%	93%
31	People who come here for help control the direction of social action taken on their behalf.	18%	93%
2	You are not diverted from providing adequate services by unnecessary paperwork, meetings, or other administrative tasks.	81%	16%
10	People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.	6%	93%
3	There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.	6%	93%

GENERAL PARTICIPANTS: CONCERNS REPORT IN ORDER OF MEAN STRENGTHS

Item	Mean Satisfaction Rating	Mean Importance Rating
21 Your efforts to help people result in more good than harm.	82%	95%
8 Overall, you like the people you work with.	83%	93%
16 You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help.	80%	94%
7 You work effectively with staff in other agencies when serving the same individuals or families.	80%	94%
24 You are free to make some decision on your own without having to check with your supervisor.	79%	94%
1 You do your work well.	75%	97%
12 You accept criticism from supervisors and administrators.	81%	88%
4 You have a sense of accomplishment in working with people who come to your agency for help.	72%	92%
20 You can help people with problems about their children.	71%	88%
25 Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.	63%	93%
22 Your work does not interfere with friendship or intimate relationships.	63%	92%
6 You pace yourself so that you do not miss work because you are exhausted or sick.	68%	83%
17 Your job contributes to your personal growth and development.	61%	91%
14 The regulations and requirements of your job make sense to you.	60%	91%
30 Your job contributes meaning and purpose to your life.	60%	90%
31 People who come here for help control the direction or social action taken on their behalf.	60%	86%
2 You are not diverted from providing adequate services by unnecessary paperwork, meetings, or other administrative tasks.	55%	89%
27 This agency works with other agencies in bringing about social and economic changes that benefit poor members of this community.	56%	87%
18 Your job provides opportunities for career development and changes.	54%	91%
29 The services of this agency clearly help people meet goals which are important to them.	56%	88%
26 If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over agency regulations.	63%	76%
11 Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.	50%	90%
23 You are free to give constructive criticism to the decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.	53%	84%
13 You receive recognition and credit for the work that you do.	51%	86%
19 You take as good care of yourself (fun, relaxation, nutrition, exercise) as you advise others to do.	51%	83%
28 Overall, the management of this agency is responsive to the concerns and interests of the people who work there.	45%	90%
15 People in your community have adequate counseling and information available to them about their medication.	46%	86%
9 You can get the education and training you need within a reasonable distance and at a reasonable cost.	45%	84%
3 There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.	35%	88%
10 People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.	39%	80%
5 Sufficient opportunities for meaningful work exist for people in your community.	28%	81%

GENERAL PARTICIPANTS: CONCERNS REPORT IN ORDER OF MEAN PROBLEMS

Items	Mean Satisfaction Ratings	Mean Importance Ratings
3 There are enough staff to meet the needs of the people who come here for services.	35%	88%
5 Sufficient opportunities for meaningful work exist for people in your community.	28%	81%
28 Overall, the management of this agency is responsive to the concerns and interests of the people who work there.	45%	90%
11 Your agency provides adequate support services for you to carry out your job effectively.	50%	90%
18 Your job provides opportunities for career development and changes.	54%	91%
15 People in your community have adequate counseling and information available to them about their medication.	46%	86%
10 People in this community have sufficient services available to meet their social and economic needs.	39%	80%
9 You can get the education and training you need within a reasonable distance and at a reasonable cost.	47%	84%
2 You are not diverted from providing adequate services by unnecessary paperwork, meetings, or other administrative tasks	55%	89%
13 You receive recognition and credit for the work that you do.	86%	51%
29 The services of this agency clearly help people meet goals which are important to them.	56%	88%
25 Overall, the quality of care that people receive at this agency is routinely high.	63%	93%
14 The regulations and requirement of your job make sense to you.	60%	91%
30 Your job contributes meaning and purpose to your life.	60%	90%
27 This agency works with other agencies in bringing about social and economic changes that benefit poor members of this community.	56%	87%
17 Your job contributes to your personal growth and development.	61%	91%
19 You take as good care of yourself (fun, relaxation, nutrition, exercise) as you advise others to do.	51%	83%
22 Your work does not interfere with friendship or intimate relationships.	63%	92%
23 You are free to give constructive criticism to the decision makers in your agency without fear of reprisal.	53%	84%
31 People who come here for help control the direction of social action taken on their behalf.	60%	86%
1 You do your work well.	75%	97%
4 You have a sense of accomplishment in working with people who come to your agency for help.	72%	92%
20 You can help people with problems about their children.	71%	88%
24 You are free to make some decisions on your own without having to check with your supervisor	79%	94%
7 You work effectively with staff in other agencies when serving the same individuals or families	80%	94%
16 You demonstrate caring toward the people who come to your agency for help.	80%	94%
21 Your efforts to help people result in more good than har.	82%	95%
6 You pace yourself so that you do not miss work because you are exhausted or sick.	68%	83%
26 If there is conflict between them, your moral obligations take precedence over agency regulations.	63%	76%
8 Overall, you like the people you work with.	83%	93%
12 You accept constructive criticism from supervisors and administrators.	81%	88%

Accommodation "A" ...
 241-50
 Dankhardt, Robert B. ...
 California: Brooks/Cole ...

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