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SOCIAL VALUES IN SOCIAL WORK:

A DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL

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ABSTRACT

The article suggests a five stage model which describes the development of social values in the socialization to social work and other human service professions. The five stages of development include the following: antecedent factors, anticipatory socialization, professional training period, performance in a professional organization and the crystalization of a professional worldview. The main thrust of the paper is the idea that the professional person develops himself for a very long time before reaching professional maturity. This development represents a constant dialogue between the persons background factors needs and motives and the institutional and organizational contexts he encounters in his career. Along this developmental sequence, conflicts and incongruencies many times arise between the developing professional and his system of values and the organization and its demands. These conflicts will force the developing professional to come out with coping solutions that may involve leaving the field or the profession. Some practical as well as theoretical implications for further research and application are discussed at the end of the article.

In social work as in other professions, academic studies have the aim of equipping students with knowledge and skills in their area of study. In addition to knowledge and skills, academic studies seek to develop in the student a system of values that reflects the world view of the profession. This system of values is generally expressed in an abstract way and justified on ethical or philosophical grounds. Change in the student's world view and value system is intended to equip him or her with certain moral and cognitive attitudes with which to examine the phenomena around him or her according to scientific principles and democratic values. This is true of social work education as well as in other professions.

In study for social work and for other "personal service professions" (as Halmos (1970) defines them), a great deal of emphasis is placed on the moral development of the student, because of the importance of moral issues for the professional who has to interact with clients individually, in groups, or in organizations.

Studies of social work education concerned with the acquisition of social values can be divided into two kinds: descriptions of changes in social values following professional socialization and surveys of attitudes and values of different groups of social workers (Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968; McLeod and Meyer, 1967, Sharwell, 1974). Generally, these studies suffer from both theoretical and methodological deficiencies. Few make use of theory and data on general socialization processes or on adult socialization. Thus, they seldom "control" for factors such as individual background of subjects or for variables reflecting maturation and anticipatory socialization. They also suffer from methodological deficiencies. Chief among these are failures to use comparison groups of subjects and to do longitudinal studies showing the development of values or ideological commitment over time.

In this article, in order to describe stages in the development of a professional value system and a "social work world view" in social workers, a developmental model is constructed which may also be used to study professional socialization in other personal service professions. Each developmental stage is explained using both theoretical and empirical evidence. Finally, some implications for the selection and training of social workers are discussed.

In this model the process of an individual's socialization to social work's value system consists of five major stages which are further divided into sub-stages (see Figure 1). It is important to emphasize the complete cycle of professional development in which each developmental stage is linked to the one preceding and following it. With this developmental process in mind, one can understand how an individual's professional values develop and how his or her professional world view crystalizes.

Leading theoretical explanations of professional socialization are represented by such studies as Becker (1961), Becker and Geer (1958), Merton (1957) and Olesen and Whittaker (1968, 1970). A general assumption of these studies is that socialization to a profession is initially a process of accommodation and adjustment by the student to the perspectives, orientations, and student subculture that prevails in the socializing institution. Thus, a person preparing for a profession enters a system of institutional forces which exert pressures to conform. The candidate for professional

studies is assumed to be almost a blank, ·tabula rasa, and the
function of the professional socialization process is seen as
molding him or her into an acceptable professional by utilizing
reference and primary groups within the educational institution.
Becker (1961, 1967, 1968) states that there is no socialization
except that which is done in groups utilizing the commitment a
person makes to group norms.

Levinson (1967), in an article critical of Becker's theory,
presents another view of professional socialization. "Socialization
research deals with the interplay of environmental contexts and
relatively enduring, yet changeable, personality structures" (p. 258).
The organizational structure only molds and influences the persons
who enter it. Their background and personality cannot be ignored.
Future theoretical and empirical work might ask: What is the maximal
change that can be achieved through socialization to a profession?
How does personality and cognitive or cultural background influence
the professional socialization process? Can personality characteristics
be influenced? In the following sections these issues will be examined
as the model of socialization to social values and professional world
view in social work presented in Figure 1 is explored.

The Model (Figure 1).

A. Antecedent Factors

1. Socio-economic background factors. In postulating a
"discontinuity hypothesis," Feldmand and Newcomb (1969) point out the
possible negative contribution that certain socio-economic background
factors may make to a person's professional development preventing
him or her from bridging the gap between his or her value system and
that of his or her new professional environment. McLeod and Meyer
(1967) found correlations between American social work students'
economic and ethnic background and values held. Bargal (1975) found
variance in social values held among Israeli students could be
accounted for by students' socio-economic background, especially by
students' fathers' birthplaces and their degrees of religiosity.

2. Cognitive emotional climate of early life experiences. There
is considerable evidence demonstrating the influence of an
individual's early life experiences on the kinds of values he or she
holds later in life. Haan, Block & Smith (1968) examined biographical
variables for a group of students in relation to their responses to a
test of moral judgment. It was found that students who held conformist
and conventional attitudes regarding law and order came mainly from
conservative families. They demanded educational and normative
conformity which frequently was supported by the idea of keeping
harmony in the family "at any price." "Activist" students were

FIGURE 1   The stages in socialization to social values and professional
world view in social work and other personal service professions.

A. Antecedent factors
    1. Socio-economic background factors.
    2. Cognitive-emotional climate of home:
        tolerance for conflict, encouragement
        of independent thinking, etc.
    3. Personality Factors: intelligence,
        modes of perception, dognatism.
                                              - occupational choice
B. Anticipatory socialization
    1. Anticipatory socialization of the
        person to the norms and values that
        exist in the profession.
    2. Psychological anticipation: mental
        images of the profession and its
        components as a result of projections,
        needs and coping mechanisms.

C. Influences of the professional training period
    1. Maturational Factors.
    2. Impact of the educational institution   students leaving or
        and its organizational and interpersonal being rejected because
        arrangements.   -of major incongruency
        I.   accentuation of values brought   with cognitive moral
             by the student.   demands of the institute.
        II. acquisition of structures and
             new combinations of values and
             world views.

D. Work in a bureaucratic professional organization
    1. Reinforcement, widening and deepening
        of values acquired during professional
        training period.
    2. Withdrawal to the system of values
        brought to professional studies.
    3. Identification with and acting according
        to bureaucratic values.
    4. Conflict between organizational and   - leaving the organization.
        personal-professional values.

E. Crystalization of a professional world view.
    1. Crystalization of a substantiated
        professional world view autonomic and
        integrative to the personality.
    2. Adoption of an opportunistic value system.
    3. Inner conflict and incongruence between   - resignation and leaving
        bureaucratic pressures and personal and   the field (profession)
        professional values.

characterized by autonomy. In their families there was a great
deal of encouragement and tolerance for cognitive conflict.
Autonomous thinking, and "constructive rebelliousness" among
siblings was encouraged (Bennis, 1964). The works of Kohlberg
(1963, 1969) and Maccoby (1968) show relationships between early
socialization and the development of moral judgment and ideology.
With respect to the social work profession, which is mainly a
woman's profession, Haan, et al. (1968) noted that it was rare
to find female students who reached high levels of autonomous
behavior. A possible explanation for this phenomenon was that
child-parent relationships, especially between mothers and daughters,
may influence women to be independent and less autonomous than males.
One also has to consider the traditionally passive, altruistic
image of women in Western culture, an image which suggested women's
main social contributions were expressed in nurturing functions
(Hoffman, 1972).

    3. Personality Factors. Personality factors are also important
determinants of professional career development. Studies by Harvey,
Hunt and Schroder (1961), Bieri, et al. (1966) and Witkin (1962),
which explore personality types, suggest intelligence, modes of
perception and relative dogmatism are important personality variables
which influence the impact of professional socialization on student's
values.

B. _Anticipatory Socialization_

    Even though anticipatory socialization is mentioned by nearly
all socialization theorists as an integral part of the process of
professional socialization it has seldom been studied empirically
(Brim and Wheeler, 1966). Feldman and Newcomb (1969) call this
phenomenon "differential attraction" (p. 327) meaning that when people
choose to prepare for a profession, they "self-select" according to
their emotional and intellectual inclinations.

    In the following section two aspects of anticipatory
socialization: socialization to professional norms and values and
psychological anticipation will be explored.

    1. Anticipatory socialization to professional norms and values.
Merton (1957) and Merton & Kitt (1950) describe this mechanism as
"the assumption a person has concerning the values of the group which
he wants to join" (p. 265). Rosenberg (1957) discusses this
phenomenon in a similar way: "the image a person holds about his
future professional occupation will exert an influence on the present
attitudes and behavior of the student" (p.24). Anticipatory
socialization as a psychological mechanism can be either constructive

or destructive to professional socialization. It is constructive
when a person entering a socializing institution prepares in such
a way as to contribute to the successful outcome of socialization.
If we recognize that it is impossible to change an adult's values
to any great extent, it becomes understandable that a previously
appropriate state of mind can have considerable influence on the
success of professional socialization outcomes (Brim and Wheeler,
1966).

2. Psychological Anticipation. Potential negative or
destructive kinds of anticipatory socialization to the professional
socialization process occur whenever a potential professional person
develops unrealistic images and stereotypes of the profession, its
operation, and his or her role in it. Such images and stereotypes
often reflect personal wishes and fantasies which are the expression
of psychological and personal needs. They may have nothing to do
with the "real" profession and may therefore cause serious problems
of adjustment and adaptation during the professional socialization
process. Awareness of the dual role that the anticipatory socialization
mechanism can play in the successful socialization of the potential
student can be useful for purposes of devising admission procedures
and for planning individualized educational experiences in order to
create an appropriate "fit" between professional education programs
and their students.

Rosenberg (1957) illustrates the relationship between the value
system a person holds and the occupation he or she has chosen. His
research found that social work students are characterized by
altruistic motivations (e.g. helping those in need). One can
speculate that those who choose social work mainly because of
altruism may face considerable personal conflict when they are asked
to perform in certain social work professional positions such as
protective services or other "authoritarian" settings. Problems
associated with compromise between an individual professional's needs
and ideals and those of employing organizations are especially
important in a woman's profession. Davies & Olesen (1963) found
this problem when studying the nursing profession. "For girls in our
society," they wrote, "the identity equation of adulthood is more
complex and less monochromatic in its constituent psychosocial
elements than it is for boys. The (girls) must seek to balance out
and effect viable combinations among such roles as companion, worker,
sexual partner, and mother." (p. 348). Hoffman (1972) and Horner
(1972) examined the need for achievement and its relationship to the
childhood experiences of women. Hoffman wrote:

"It is suggested that females have high needs for affiliation
which influence their achievement motives and behavior,
sometimes enhancing them and sometimes blocking them. Since
girls compared to boys have less encouragement for indepen-
dence, more parental protectiveness, less pressure for
establishing an identity separate from the mother, and less
mother-child conflict which highlights this separation, they
engage in less independent exploration of their environment.
As a result they develop neither adequate skills nor confidence,
but contrive to be dependent on others. Thus while boys learn
effectiveness through mastery, the effectiveness of girls is
contingent on eliciting the help of others. Affective
relationships are paramount in females, and much of their
achievement behavior is motivated by a desire to please. If
achievement threatens affiliation, performance may be
sacrificed or anxiety may result". (p. 129).

Hoffman's conclusions become relevant for understanding the
process of socialization of women for professional leadership
positions, for social action functions, and for filling
administrative and organizational roles. Her findings may clarify
the processes by which women select particular areas of social
work practice.

C. Influence of the professional training period.

1. Maturational Factors. The impact of maturational factors
on student values has been investigated extensively by personality
psychologists (Sanford, 1962, 1966); and (Feldman and Newcomb,
1969). These factors are seldom mentioned in studies of
socialization to professions (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968); Becker
on medicine (1961) or on social work (Varley, 1963, 1966);
Fuller 1962). The reasons why investigators do not consider these
factors may be both theoretical and methodological. Sociological
theories of socialization generally consider influences. The
methodological reason relates to research design. Most studies in
this field are conducted using one population sample without any
comparison groups. Investigators frequently assume that change
in values between "before" and "after" measures is a result of
being in a socialization setting; they rarely consider the
possibility that some change may be due to maturation.

2. Impact of Organizational and Interpersonal Arrangements.
The socialization institution and its structural arrangements
serve as context for the main variables in research studies of
socialization to professions. In one study (Bargal 1975),

important changes in the values held by social work students in Israel following professional training were found. Such changes did not occur among psychology students. The structure of the curriculum and interpersonal interaction in a specific educational setting combined with the impact of social work's value system probably led to changes in values held by social work students. One of the main theoretical problems in interpreting any data on attitude and value change following professional education is that even if one discovers some changes in the values of students following professional education what may be concluded about the nature of those changes. How "deep" are they? How consistent or not are they with the system of values students held when they entered the professional school?

The key to the process of professional value inculcation seems to lie in what is termed "accentuation" of previous values brought by the student to the educational setting (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). Using a cognitive developmental approach such as Kohlberg's (1969), one may conclude that changes in values will probably not occur as a consequence of academic and professional studies. Only accentuation and stabilization of those values students held before beginning professional studies seems likely to occur. According to the work of Keasey (1973) and Langer (1969), little progress in terms of what Kohlberg calls "moral development" can be expected as a result of professional education.

Accentuation of students' previously formed values may sometimes strengthen attitudes and beliefs which may be inappropriate in a decidedly liberal profession such as social work. Value acquisition must be more than acquisition of mere professional jargon. It should not be a result of what Kelman (1961) calls "compliance" or what Bennis (1964) terms "defensive identification." Ideally, value acquisition should be the result of non-coercive interaction between student attitudes and beliefs and those of the profession as presented in the educational setting. We do know it is very difficult to achieve deep changes in the student's personality at the age when professional education takes place. Furthermore, to create significant value changes, entirely new types of professional socialization institutions seem required. In order to achieve profound value change a socializing environment must be created which will constantly challenge the "cognitive balance" of its students (Langer, 1969). Relationships between teachers and students must be based on

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challenge the "cognitive balance" of its students (Langer, 1969).
Relationships between teachers and students must be based on
what Bennis (1964) terms "positive identification." The type of
teaching that is crucial in this type of system demands close
interaction between the students themselves as well as between
students and teachers in small groups. Very few of these
mechanisms exist today in educational institutions serving adults
and they are uncommon in professional social work education.

At this developmental stage in the process of socialization
to a profession, some students leave the school or university.
They are usually persons who feel major incongruences with the
school's cognitive and "value" or moral demands. This "self-
selection" process is a very important and necessary stage in
professional development which is often misunderstood and even
feared by educators since it may threaten their sense of
confidence in the appropriateness of their function.

D. **Work in a Bureaucratic Professional Organization.**

Entrance into professional roles at the end of academic
study sends the graduate from the relatively protected conditions
of the "Ivory Tower" into the bureaucracy of the professional
agency. There, controlling behavioral norms are influenced
jointly by professionals and by administrators. The first few
years of work in a professional social service organization are,
in the author's opinion, the most crucial for the crystallization
of a system of values and a professional identity. Becker (1961)
asserts that the main contribution of the bureaucratic professional
organization after formal academic studies is the creation of a
highly professional sub-culture in which appropriate norms and
values continue to mold the novice professional. Some graduates
are successfully absorbed into organizational systems and some
suffer conflicts because of incongruencies between personal and
organizational values (Merton, 1957; Gouldner, 1957; and
Billingsley, 1964). At this stage of professional development
some graduates will find solutions to conflicts generated between

the values held by them and those esteemed in bureaucratic, professional organizations. Some will surrender to the pressures of the bureaucracy while others will attack the system. There will also be those who will leave the organization in search of employment that will be congruent with their system of professional values. One may find workers who withdraw totally from their profession because they cannot balance their values with those of the social service bureaucracies.

E. *Crystallization of a Professional World-View.*

The crystallization or development of a professional world-view based on values among human-service professional is a subject seldom explored in social work literature. This concept is similar to but not as broad as the concept of ideology as defined by Shils (1968) as: "those comprehensive patterns of cognitive and moral beliefs about man, society, and the universe in relation to man and society...." (p.66). Levy (1973) identifies three components of social work professional values "which are or ought to be shared by all social workers and related by them to all elements of their professional practice: (1) values as preferred conceptions of people, (2) values as preferred outcomes for people, (3) values as preferred instrumentalities for dealing with people." (p.38). The main purpose of professional education may be to facilitate the acquisition and integration of these three components into a professional value system and world-view which controls professional behavior toward clients. The crystallization of a professional world-view is closely tied to the professional person's identity formation. Erickson (1968) has termed this stage in the life cycle as "ideological commitment vs. role diffusion." Perry (1970) has described it as the development of "commitment." Kohlberg (1969) has defined it as "autonomy." These terms convey nearly the same meaning, namely, that the individual has been able to synthesize his or her personal needs and experiences with the intellectual and moral heritage of the relevant culture into an amalgam which serves the purpose of guiding and orienting his or her professional attitudes and behavior. The crystallization of a comprehensive professional world view is often a long process in the life of the developing professional person. Additional research is necessary to trace this developmental process among professionals in the human services.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The developmental professional model which has been described suggests educational efforts in social work and other personal service professions might re-examine assumptions about their goals and objectives. Socialization to professions has been seen as a process

consisting of several stages, resulting in a "career" during
the person's years of working in his or her profession. While
it is common to view socialization to a profession as taking place
primarily in formal socializing institutions such as a professional
school, this model recognizes the cumulative importance of the
interaction between the developing person and the environments
in his or her personal and professional lives. It is noteworthy
in this context to emphasize again the significant contribution of
early life experiences to the crystallization of a professional
world view.

Attempts were made to distinguish between the acquisition of
values and their accentuation and the crystallization of a
professional world view. The description of socialization to a
profession as a dynamic ongoing "dialogue" between the developing
personality and its surrounding educational and organizational
environments enhances understanding of the reasons why persons
leave a profession or its practice settings. The process of
leaving an organization or the profession itself may be caused by
conflicts between the professional's values and those values of
efficiency often esteemed in professional-organizational settings.

From a research perspective longitudinal studies are necessary
to trace the development of professional careers in various fields.
Such studies might analyze crucial points in careers, such as
entering professional school; graduation; the first year in a
professional, bureaucratic organization, and so on in order to
elucidate what processes a person engages in to survive and remain
a committed professional. Research of this sort has been conducted
on careers in business and administration but little exists on the
human-service professions. Some relevant information might be
obtained through retrospective in-depth interviewing of outstanding
professional leaders. One might be able to identify key points
in their careers when they ascertain ways which proved to have
significant bearing on later career development. This information
might be used to illustrate career development processes for
students in the social service professions.

From an "applied" perspective the model of professional
development presented here offers social workers and other human-
service professionals suggestions for education and training.
Considering the importance of a person's "background" in influencing
development of professional values and perspectives, professional
schools ought to pay much more attention to their recruiting and
selection procedures. Alternatively, if students lacking adequate
anticipatory socialization are admitted into a professional school,
it may be the school's responsibility to provide suitable compensatory
socialization. Since Feldman and Newcomb's (1969) comprehensive
research in the area of value changes in the college years, it is
known that a socializing institution can attempt, at most, to

accentuate the existing values of its students. In order to achieve
any considerable change in students who do not hold values
relatively compatible with the profession, extraordinarily
intensive educational programs are necessary if professions want
to protect themselves and their clients from practitioners who
do not uphold professional standards and values.

Taking into account the difficulties that exist in initiating
value change in adulthood through institutional socialization
(Brim and Wheeler, 1966), professional schools should be realistic
in their expectations of their students. In order to cause even
modest changes in students' values, new patterns of teacher and
student interaction may be developed. Such patterns could include
intensive contacts between students and teachers in challenging
environments which constantly stimulate students to examine their
beliefs.

Understanding of the function of anticipatory socialization
can give educators in professional schools a leverage point for
dealing with students' values and stereotypes. These values and
stereotypes often reflect students' unrealistic wishes and fantasies
and they could be examined as one factor in selecting students
for a given profession. It may be necessary to advise applicants
to a school of social work to pursue another career if their values
and career objectives seems totally incongruent with social work
demands. In the future, careful analyses of the processes of
professional socialization may yield more precise information for
use by those concerned with developing social work values in
students and professionals.

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