INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Professional Socialization of Undergraduate Social Work Students: An Exploratory Case Study

by

Marietta Anne Barretti

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare, the City University of New York

2003

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3083641

Copyright 2003 by
Barretti, Marietta Anne

All rights reserved.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3083641
Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

COPYRIGHT

2003

Marietta Anne Barretti

All rights reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor in Social Welfare.

Date — Chair of Examining Committee

Date — Executive Officer

Dr. Michael Fabricant

Dr. Harold Weissman

Dr. Florence Vigilante
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Abstract

The Professional Socialization of Undergraduate Social Work Students: An Exploratory Case Study

by

Marietta Anne Barretti

Advisor: Dr. Michael Fabricant

Most empirical research related to the preparation of social work students for professional practice is limited to acquisition or adherence to professional values or attitudes. Utilizing a symbolic interactionist framework, this dissertation reports the findings of an exploratory case study conducted in a modestly sized undergraduate social work program in New York. The purposes of this study were to uncover 1) how undergraduate social work students become professionals and 2) the influence that role models and 3) student and role model gender have on the professional socialization process. Methods included interviews with graduating students, observations of Practice and Field Seminar classes and dissemination of a survey [adapted from Nursing] that ranks the most desirable characteristics of field instructors.

The qualitative data revealed that students continually journey through three sets of nonlinear phases or cycles throughout their education. Phase I, Expectation-Revelation includes program entry expectations, previous encounters with social workers and social problems and perceived proclivities to the profession--all of which influence initial experiences and the construction and selection of role models. Phase II, Refutation-Negotiation includes the discovery of contradictions and ambiguities in the educational process including tensions between class and field, "negative" role models and the low

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

status of the profession, all which prompt the development of coping strategies. Phase III, Adaptation-Affirmation, includes the gratifying internal adjustments and self-awareness that result from compromises between ideal and real. Gender, age, minority status and engagement in role model relationships construct vastly different socialization experiences and affect the degrees to which students feel identified with the profession.

Survey findings reveal that the most desirable field instructor characteristic overall concerned "availability" to the student. Most highly rated characteristics on the survey emerged from the *social worker* category, suggesting that students were most likely to value those behaviors demonstrating competent professional practice, over both instructional effectiveness *[teacher scale]* and interpersonal qualities *[person scale]* respectively. Demographic trends revealed that younger and single students scored lower on the person scale and higher on the social worker scale than the older, married and cohabiting students. Implications for further research and professional education are noted.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude first and foremost to my husband, Mitchell and my two daughters, Christina and Victoria who never wavered in their patience and support. To Mitchell who can fix anything [even my dissertation] and who served as "my anchor in stormy seas" (Wedding Vows, Rhine, 1989, p. 1), my deepest appreciation. I hope that I can one day be as much a helpmate to you as you are to me. To Christina and Victoria, who did most of their growing up without me and who I was convinced would not recognize me these past 7 years unless I was seated in front of a computer, thank you for being so good, strong, independent, resourceful and uncomplaining.

To Dr. Michael Fabricant who taught me that the closer you are to something, the less likely you will see it clearly for what it is. Thank you for teaching me to step back, let go and look at my work from a distance. For all your guidance, knowledge, expertise, editing and for inspiring the love of qualitative research, my heartiest thanks.

To Dr. Harold Weissman [aka Deep Thinker] who taught me that critical thinking starts at home and is different than criticising. Thank you for never ceasing to validate the experiences of your doctoral students, never setting yourself above and apart from them, and for always being available, generous and wise. You will be sorely missed.

To Dr. Florence Vigilante, who taught me what it means to be a Master Teacher by example. Thank you for piquing my interest in the educational/socialization process and putting back into perspective the population doctoral graduates should be most concerned about serving.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To Dr. Thomas Webster, thank you for your always patient and willing assistance to demystify statistical theory, provide a refresher in SPSS, review my findings and otherwise consistently come to my aid in times of crisis.

To Dr. Ilene Nathanson, thank you for your faith in me, for pushing me into a doctoral program, and for teaching me the value of loyalty and perseverance all these years.

To Dr. Elissa Giffords, thank you for reassuring me that if you could survive doctoral diss-stress, I could too. Thanks especially for the benefit of your technical expertise and support on the not-so-little document preparation details that without your help would have truly driven me over the edge.

To Susan Berg and Susanna Jones, my doctoral comrades, you were the highest points of the doctoral program for me. Though not always with me in body, you are always with me in spirit. Thank you for inspiring me through your fortitude and for reassurance that I could call upon you at any time for help, psychological or otherwise.

Lastly, thanks to the students, faculty and administrators of Bishop College. Without their cooperation and participation, this study would not have been possible.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1
Intellectual Orientation: Symbolic interactionism 7
Social learning theory 8
Toward An Active Process Of Social Learning 10
Choosing significant others as role models 12
Symbolic Interactionism 17

CHAPTER I 20

HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION 20
What is Socialization? 20
Adult socialization and occupational socialization 21
Defining professional socialization according to functionalist and symbolic interactionist perspectives 27
Landmark Professional Socialization Studies 29
Studies following the Merton-Becker orientations 34
Characterizing a Process 37
The "stages" of professional socialization: Support for the functionalist argument 38
Cross-pressures and conflicted socialization: Support for the symbolic interactionist view 42
Studies deviating from the Merton-Becker orientations 47
Gender and professional socialization 52

History Of Social Work Research In Professional Socialization 58
How does the social work literature use the term "professional socialization: A rose by any other name? 60
Category I: The educative process and professional socialization 63
Category II: Professional values and professional socialization 69
Why the emphasis on values in professional socialization? 77
Gender and professional socialization/ education in social work 79

CHAPTER II 82

THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATORS ON STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS AS ROLE MODELS 82
The Influence of Educators on Students' Attitudes and Values 82
The influence of informal interaction and collegiality in faculty-student interaction 87
Faculty's influence over students' conformity 91
The influence of social work educators on their students 92

Educators As Role Models 95
The functions of role models 95

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Role modeling in social work education 99
Empirical studies on modeling 102
Gender and role modeling in social work 104

CHAPTER III 105

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY 105
Justification for the study 105
Rationale for using qualitative methods 109
Rationale for studying undergraduate students 112
Rationale for studying the influence of gender 115
Theoretical orientation 124
The components of the research design 128
Case study design: Limitations and delimitations 129
Criteria for judging the quality of the research design 132
Construct validity 132
Internal validity 134
External validity 136
Reliability 138
Description of the data collection site 140
Qualitative methods of data collection 143
1. The guide and interview format 143
Limitations of the interview approach 147
The dimensions of inquiry included in the guide 149
2. Observation 150
Dimensions for observation 152
Sampling 153
Data Collection Strategies for the Interview and Observation Format 155
Description of the Student Interviewees 157
Description of the classes observed 159
Recording and storing data 160
Data analysis for qualitative methods 161
Coding: A system of organizing and managing data 162
A start list of codable dimensions 166
Later phases of coding 170
Memoing 172
Further refinement of the data: Domain analysis 172
Taxonomic analysis 173
Componential analysis 174
Quantitative method of data collection 175
Applying sociological research in nursing to social work 175
Purpose 178
Instrumentation 178
Validity and reliability 179
Sample 180
Data Collection 180
Data Analysis 181

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER IV **182**

EXPECTATION-REVELATION **182**
Factors influencing student career choice and decision-making 182
The younger students' journey to social work 185
The older students' journey to social work 187
Proximity to social problems and social workers 188
Personal compatibility with social work 190
Early educational revelations 191
The coursework 192
The classes 193
The field 198
The profession 200
Disparagement of social work and social workers 202
Expectations and the ideal social worker 205
Personal qualities 205
Professional qualities 206
Social qualities 208
The process of role model selection 210
Role models as students' social workers 216

CHAPTER V **222**

REFUTATION-NEGOTIATION **222**
Struggles with the curriculum 222
Sharing grades 223
The "core" requirements 224
The demand to excel and indicators of proficiency 225
Faculty favoritism and boundary violations 229
Struggles in the field 233
Political tensions and constraints 234
Conflict over the nature and intensity of field work roles 236
Struggles with clients 237
Powerlessness over social problems and client situations 239
Unprofessional social workers 242
Expectations and disappointments of field supervisors 243
Negotiation of internship stress 250
The struggle of integrating classwork and fieldwork 251
Negotiating practice and conceptual dilemmas as part of professional identity 256
Do I really want to do social work? Coping with the fallout of practice demands 259
Wanting to quit 263
Low status of the profession 266

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VI **269**

ADAPTATION-AFFIRMATION **269**
Self-awareness and personal change 269
Confronting imperfections and personal prejudices 271
Adapting pre-existing beliefs 273
Adapting perspectives on social problems 274
Acceptance of diverse populations 276
Adapting personal relationships 277
Adapting professional relationships and gaining professional expertise 278
Positive changes from social work education 282
Incomplete or dissociated adaptations 282
Therapy as a remedy for incomplete personal transformation 284
Affirmations 285
Faculty and field instructor affirmations 285
Educational achievements 289
Graduation and professional identity 290
Practice and professional identity 291
Incomplete affirmations: Not feeling like a social worker 292
Lack of preparedness 293
Remedies for incomplete or inadequate professional identity 294
Time, experience and graduate education 294
Modified career destinations 296
In retrospect: Was it all worth it? 297

CHAPTER VII **299**

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS **299**
Description of the sample 301
Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS with demographic characteristics of Bishop social work students 305
Agreement and disagreement between quantitative and qualitative findings 322

CHAPTER VIII **330**

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION **330**
Methodological considerations 330

Summary **331**
Summary of the qualitative data 331
Summary of the quantitative data 338

The Socialization Process **338**
Phases as renewable cycles 338
The official versus the unofficial curriculum 341
Controlling the process 343
Proving competence 344

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Negotiating performance expectations 347

Personal Change **349**
Stress as a stimulant to growth 349
Tempered idealism 351
Self-awareness 353

Influences on Professional Identity **355**
Role model characteristics and relationships 355
The peer group 360
Negative role models and the low status of the profession 361
Gender and minority status 364

Implications for research and education **370**

APPENDIX **381**

REFERENCES **412**

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

List Of Tables And Figures

Table 1: Mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students.....302

Figure 1a: Mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students.....302

Table 2: Differences in mean scores on the person, teacher and social work scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students.....303

Table 3: Pearson coefficient for person, teacher and social work scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students.....304

Table 4: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale by age.....306

Table 4a: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale by marital status.....307

Table 4b: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale for respondents who have children and those who do not have children.....308

Table 5: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the person scale.....309

Figure 5a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the person scale.....310

Figure 5b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the person scale.....311

Table 6: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the teacher scale.....312

Figure 6a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the teacher scale.....313

Figure 6b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the teacher scale.....314

Table 7: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the social worker scale..315

Figure 7a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the social worker scale.....316

Figure 7b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the social worker scale...317

Table 8: Mean values of the highest rated items on the CICRS in descending order....319

Figure 8a: Bar chart of individual items on the CICRS by mean score.....319

Table 9: Most highly ranked role characteristic of three 6's by frequency.....321

Figure 9a: Histogram of most highly ranked role characteristic of three 6's by frequency.....321

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

List Of Appendices

Appendix A 381
Letter from Bishop College IRB granting permission to collect data

Appendix B 383
Script and interview guide

Appendix C 393
Consent form

Appendix D 395
The original CICRS instrument

Appendix E 397
The nursing behavior categorization key for the CICRS instrument

Appendix F 399
The modified CICRS instrument with social work indicators

Appendix G 401
Correspondence with Karen Rauen re: permission to use and modify instrument and permission granted

Appendix H 404
Cover letter to CICRS survey

Appendix I 406
Demographic sheet for CICRS survey

Appendix J 408
CICRS administered survey with social work indicators

Appendix K 410
Demographic characteristics of the CICRS respondents

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Introduction

The preparation of social work students for professional practice has always been of concern to social work educators, field instructors and human service providers. Schools of Social Work have a mandate to "prepare competent and effective professionals," and must follow prescribed guidelines for infusing the requisite knowledge, values and skills of the profession into the curriculum (Council on Social Work Education, 2001, p. 5). In turn, the human service providers that employ social work graduates need assurance that the graduates they hire are adequately prepared to deliver effective, ethical, and responsible service to clients.

The importance of the socialization process in social work was articulated by Boehm (1958)...

> ...the internalization of professional knowledge and values is a vital characteristic of the professional social worker since he is himself [sic] the instrument of his profession (p. 12).

In spite of the social work profession's charge to prepare students for professional practice, there are relatively few conceptual discussions and even fewer empirical studies about the process of professional socialization in the social work literature.

> Professional socialization in...social work education is an area of investigation and study that has not captured the interest of most social work educators and practitioners...What accounts for this state of affairs is not fully clear since the literature does not reflect such levels of inquiry (Schreiber, 1989, p. 33).

Schreiber (1989) also comments

> A look at the issues of the *Journal of Social Work Education*, and conferences and institutes sponsored by the Council on Social Work Education during the past fifteen years does come up with a few articles but no discussion of professionals coming together to consider either the nature of professional socialization, or its implications for social work education (p. 41, f.n. 2).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A recent review of the related literature in social work supports Schreiber's (1989) contention that professional socialization is a neglected area of research in the social work literature. The 19th edition of the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (Edwards, 1995) contains no entries concerning professional socialization in any form. In addition, there are no articles in the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (Edwards, 1995) specifically concerning the education of social work students, nor any references to this subject area in the index. The same holds true for the *Encyclopedia of Social Work Supplement* (Edwards, 1997), though there is one entry concerning the use of electronic technology in social work education (Raymond III & Pike, 1997).

A search conducted of the entire *Social Work Abstracts Database [SWAB]* during the early part of 2002 yielded only 14 abstracts classified by the key words "professional socialization." On the other hand, a comparable search in the *Sociological Abstracts Database [SA]* yielded 394 abstracts classified by these same key words. The articles in *SWAB* spanned the period only from 1977 to 2002, while the articles in *SA* spanned the period from 1963-2001. This disparity immediately suggests earlier and more intensive exploration into the topic of professional socialization by sociology than by social work.

Only one of the articles indexed in *SWAB* explored an aspect of the professional socialization process as it was experienced by social work students (Schreiber, 1989). One dissertation focused on the changes in students' moral development as a result of professional socialization (Howard, 1981). One book contained a longitudinal study on the professional socialization process of professional students in various disciplines, but this study did not include social work students (Bucher & Stelling, 1978). Four articles concerned social work values, ethics and ethical judgment (Hancock & Wilk, 1988;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Joseph, 1991; Judah, 1979; Landau, 1999); while one article compared social work students in one and two year graduate social work programs (O'Neil, 1980). The remaining six articles included two that were practice-related (Homonoff, 1988; King & Hahn, 1981); one that concerned the educational orientations of graduate social work faculty (Pearson, 1998); one special issue of a journal that discussed the professional recruitment of students for a discipline other than social work (Haiman, 1990); and two that concerned the design or quality of social work programs (Dane, 1981; Leuenberger, Gullerud, Patchner, & Hartman, 1984).

One possible reason why the professional socialization of social work students has received such scant attention in the literature may be due to the low status of social work on the professional hierarchy. That is, there is more of a concern as to how members of a high-status profession such as medicine socializes its members, and relatively little concern with how a low status profession socializes its members. Studying the historical patterns related to the establishment of professional elites, Sarfatti-Larson (1977) contrasted the medical profession with its considerable autonomy in relation to the users of its services, to professions such as social work and education in which professionals are less able to influence the market. Coming from lower status colleges and having lower grade point averages than law and medicine which have traditionally been professions reserved for white men, social work students have been considered marginal to the American occupational system (Chatterjee, Hamlyn, & Gutierrez, 1978; Enoch, 1989). Another contributor to social work's low status and prestige is its association with public welfare and a socially undesirable clientele (Richan

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

& Mendelsohn, 1973), as well as low pay and poor working conditions (Condie, Hanson, Lang, Moss, & Kane, (1978).

Another reason why the socialization of social work students may not be of much interest to sociologists studying professional socialization may be that the profession is predominantly populated by women and like nursing, is known as a "feminine" profession (Daly, 1990; Leighninger, 1995; Toren, 1969). However, the professional socialization of nurses has been the subject of numerous empirical studies and discussions. [This will be discussed in a subsequent section]. Also like nursing, it may be that social work is known as a profession that attracts minorities (Golden, Pins, & Jones, 1972); and as a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969). Perhaps one explanation for why professional socialization in social work is underresearched can be traced to the critique that social work lacks unique professional tools, and a well-articulated theoretical base (Toren, 1969, p. 147). Gilbert, Miller and Specht (1980) point out that social work, as a "developing profession," commands a relatively low degree of professional authority and community sanction. However, as Schreiber (1989) noted, the social work literature neither explores the topic of professional socialization, nor investigates possible explanations for why it remains unexplored. Since the literature fails to account for possible contributors to this deficiency in its knowledge base, educational pedagogy in social work is based on putative dimensions of student learning without validation from empirical study.

Schreiber (1989, p.33) also comments that "...most studies in professional socialization, including social work, have not considered the students' worlds and/ or their perspectives," yet numerous studies exist in the field of medicine, dentistry, law,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pharmacy, nursing and education as to *how* students are socialized into their respective professions. The disparity between the nature and extent of professional socialization studies in these other disciplines as contrasted with social work will be presented in a comparative review of the literature later in this dissertation.

According to Anselm Strauss (1987) of grounded theory literature, "No proposal should be written without preliminary data collection and analysis" (p. 286). Strauss suggests that a more concrete discussion of the data might be rendered after spending some time in the field, when the researcher is in a better position to discuss her plans, and the probable data. The questions driving this proposed inquiry were derived from a previous qualitative study conducted by the researcher in January 1998. Six undergraduate social work students nearing the end of their professional education were interviewed to specifically determine the educational program's effects on their learning of professional social work values. It was found that faculty/ field instructors' (modeling) behavior(s) emerged as the single most influential theme in students' value learning and in the students' overall educational socialization. Students reported the most profound personal effects on their value understanding when faculty and field instructors acted in ways that the students deemed inconsistent or counter to their expectations of "professional behavior." The inconsistency created a reported sense of dissonance for the student that set into a motion a process through which the student struggled to resolve the disparity between the ideal and the real behaviors. At the time of the study, these inconsistent or sometimes "negative modeling" episodes had a surprisingly positive effect on reinforcing student value learning, and overall commitment to the profession of social work. Perhaps more significantly, the data consistently revealed that the students could

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not readily disentangle or separate value learning or faculty/field instructor behaviors from the larger context of their professional socialization experience.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the professional socialization of undergraduate social work students, and specifically the influence that professional social work role models have on this process. In addition, this exploration will include an investigation into how the process of professional socialization differs for male and female undergraduate social work students, and how the gender of the role model may affect students' respective socialization experiences. In short, the questions driving this inquiry are:

- What does the process of professional socialization look like to undergraduate social work students?
- How does professional role modeling influence the professional socialization of undergraduate social work students?
- How do women's and men's undergraduate professional socialization in social work differ?
- How does having male/ female role models differentially influence men and women's professional socialization to social work?

The outline for this dissertation is as follows:

- A literature review comparing and contrasting the breadth and depth of inquiry into the professional socialization of students in other professions with that of social work, including the influence of role modeling and gender on the process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- An explication of the research design, a description of and justification for the qualitative and quantitative methods and instruments employed in this study, a description of the site and the sampling and data analysis procedures.
- A presentation of qualitative data configured into three chapters for each phase of professional socialization, and a presentation of quantitative findings based on a survey instrument that measured the most desirable characteristics of a field instructor/role model.
- A summary and discussion of findings including areas of agreement and disagreement between the quantitative and qualitative data, the strengths and limitations of the research, the relevance of findings to the established literature, the implications of the findings for educational policy and practice and recommendations for further research.

Intellectual Orientation: Symbolic interactionism

For the purposes of this inquiry, professional socialization and the influence of models within it will be placed within the broader intellectual framework of *social learning* and *modeling theory* (Bandura, 1977), within which micro *symbolic interactionist* (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934) processes operate and can be examined. Social learning and symbolic interactionism frameworks overlap and are highly complementary. Together they form the framework for the proposed research.

Modeling theory and symbolic interactionism both rely heavily on the use of symbols in interaction. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) emphasizes the powerful role of symbols as an integral part of social learning. Symbols are abstract, arbitrary and ambiguous ways of representing phenomena, providing humans with both a powerful

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

means to communicate and for dealing with the environment. Through verbal and imagined symbols, people process and preserve experiences in representational forms that serve as guides for future behavior. Through the medium of symbols, people can solve problems without having to enact all the various alternative solutions; and they can foresee the probable consequences of different actions and alter their behavior accordingly (Bandura, 1977).

Because human communication is symbolic, it requires mediation, or thought to be enacted and interpreted. Rather than reacting in automatic or instinctive ways when communicating, people usually reflect on what was said and what it means before responding. Thought is required to process the two levels or dimensions of meaning inherent in communication; the *content* and *relationship level of meaning* (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). The content level of a message is its literal meaning, while the relationship level of a message is not so obvious. However, it is the relationship level of meaning that is the primary one that reflects and influences how people feel about each other. It underlies and serves as a context for the content level of meaning, because it tells us how to interpret the literal message (Wood, 1994).

Social learning theory

Considerable research has shown and supported the notion that a major source of social learning occurs through observing the behavior of others, called modeling (Bandura, 1969). According to Bandura (1977, 1986) most human behavior as well as much social, vocational, and recreational learning occurs through modeling. Modeling has also been defined as a process through which a person takes on the values and behavior of another through identification (Bidwell & Brasler, 1989). Bandura (1977)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

explains that learning would be exceedingly laborious and hazardous if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. In addition, some complex behaviors can be produced only through the aid of modeling. For example, children could never learn language without hearing speech modeled. Even when it is possible to establish new behaviors through other means, the process of acquisition can be considerably shortened through modeling. From observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action. Because people can learn from example what to do, at least approximately before performing any behavior, they are spared needless errors.

Like symbolic interactionism, modeling produces learning principally through its informative function. During exposure, observers rely on mainly symbolic representations of the modeled activities that serve as guides for appropriate performances. Bandura (1977) posits that much of professional learning occurs on the basis of both casual and directed observation of behavior as performed by others in either the educational school or field. This means that modeling is, probably more often than not, an unconscious or unintentional process on the part of the person who is doing the modeling.

Bandura (1977, 1986) identified four key processes that are crucial for observational learning. The first two—*attention and retention*—highlight the importance of cognition and reflection in this type of learning:

Attention: To learn through observation, the learner must pay attention to another person's behavior and its consequences.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Retention: Because the learner may not have occasion to use the modeled response for weeks, months, or even years, she also must store in her memory a mental representation of what was witnessed.

Reproduction: The enactment of a modeled response depends on the learner's ability to reproduce the response by converting her stored mental images into overt behavior, what is called symbolic coding. For some responses, this may not be easy. Bandura (1977, 1986) points out that there is often a gap between what people learn and what they do. People have many acquired responses that they may or may not perform, depending on the situation. Thus, Bandura distinguishes between the *acquisition* of a learned response and the *performance* of that response. Because of humans' cognitive abilities, they can store away many learned responses and select from them as needed.

Motivation: Finally, the learner is unlikely to reproduce an observed response unless she is motivated to do so. Her motivation depends on whether she encounters a situation in which she believes the response is likely to pay off for her.

Bandura maintains that reward or reinforcement affects which responses the learner performs more than the number of responses that are acquired. Thus, the learner emits those responses that she thinks are likely to be reinforced. Bandura does not view reinforcement as a passive or mechanical process. He assumes that people are active agents who pursue reinforcements because of their expectations.

Toward An Active Process Of Social Learning

Social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) approaches the explanation of human behavior in terms of a continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants. When social learning theory is analyzed fully as a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

process of reciprocal determinism, behavior, other personal factors and environmental factors operate as interlocking determinants of each other. Within this process of reciprocal determinism lies the opportunity for people to influence their destiny as well as the limits of self-direction. This conception of human functioning neither casts people into the role of powerless objects controlled by environmental forces nor free agents who can become whatever they choose. People are neither driven by inner forces nor buffeted by environmental stimuli. Both people and their environments are reciprocal determinants of each other. Within this framework, professional socialization is seen as an interactive process, a reciprocal process between socializing agent and socializee, a mutual interaction, not an indoctrination process. The relationship between socializing agent and the person being socialized is reciprocal and not unidirectional.

> Students may influence the behavior of professors in a number of ways: for example, through claims based on affectional ties...by attaching themselves to some member of the faculty who acts as an ally and intercessor...or by performing so well that their serves are attractive to the agent (Rosen & Bates, 1967, p. 80).

The distinguishing feature of social learning theory is the prominent role it assigns to self-regulatory capacities. By arranging environmental inducements, generating cognitive supports, and producing consequences for their own actions, people are able to exercise some measure of control over their own behavior. The individual's self-regulatory functions are created and occasionally supported by external influences. From a social learning perspective, human nature is characterized as a vast potentiality that can be fashioned by direct and vicarious experience into a variety of forms within biological limits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Choosing significant others as role models

Within this paradigm of social learning, learners are viewed not just as active selectors of the behaviors they wish to learn, but also as active selectors of the models they wish to learn from as well. Bragg (1976) took Bandura's (1969) theory one step further by integrating it with several parallel studies in the field (Anderson, 1974; Aronfreed, 1969; Fife, 1971; Parsons, 1951), conceptualizing modeling in professional socialization as occurring in 5 steps. Though the socializer's modeling behaviors were considered critical to the learner's internalization of professional values and behaviors, Bragg's (1976) amalgamation emphasized the learner's active involvement in trying on, evaluating and internalizing the model's behavior:

1) imitation—the "trying on" of the role model's behavior

2) feedback—the evaluation of the "trying on" behavior

3) modification—the alteration or refinement of behavior as a result of evaluation

4) internalization—the incorporation of the role model's values and behavior patterns into the individual's self-image.

In the first step, the individual identifies a "significant other" whom he or she wishes to be like. This significant other may be a real person, or it may be a composite ideal such as the 'ideal teacher' composed of selected characteristics of all the teachers the individual has known. This significant other embodies the goal of the person being socialized and functions as both model and goal clarifier. In the lifelong process of socialization, a person has several significant others, "persons directly involved in socialization who have great influence because of the frequency of contact, their primacy, and their control over rewards and punishment" (Brim & Wheeler, 1966, p. 8). Through

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

extrinsic rewards, the significant other may provide initial motivation that sets the internal learning process in motion.

Through what Bandura (1969) refers to as "symbolic coding;" the individual observes a behavior that she wishes to duplicate and stores the image of this behavior in her mind. This image can then be called forth by verbal or visual cues and copied by the individual. The retention of the image is dependent upon rehearsal. Rehearsal may be either covert [daydreaming or solo role-playing] or overt. Overt rehearsal is the second step in the socialization process—the individual imitates the behavior of the significant other as she perceives it. In the third step, further retention of the image is dependent upon positive reinforcement of the behavior by a significant other. If the behavior is reinforced, the individual begins to see herself in the role she has "tried on." If it is not reinforced or if it is assessed negatively, the behavior is discarded, and the entire process begins again.

In the final step, the individual adopts the behavior, attitude or value as her own. It becomes intrinsically rewarding to her, a habit incorporated into her identity. The internal aspect of socialization illustrates the observational character of the socialization process. It depends both on the individual's powers of observation and on her cognitive and physical capabilities to imitate the behavior observed. In sum, the person being socialized observes a behavior that she likes, copies it, and if she is positively reinforced, she internalizes it. Socialization is not complete until this internalization occurs.

Shuval and Adler's (1980) typology of role models in professional socialization supports Bragg's (1976) thesis that students actively and selectively pick and choose their models. Contending that the process of role modeling in professional socialization is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

multi-dimensional and differentiated, and cannot be defined in terms of a single process, Shuval and Adler examined the modeling process during professional socialization (in two separate medical schools). These researchers set out to determine the empirical patterns and dynamics that characterize medical students' orientation to models at three phases with respect to a set of eleven professional norms and values. They assessed students' similarity to or difference from models before entry to medical school, during medical school, and lastly, at the end point of formal socialization. They derived a theoretical typology of modeling in terms of the logical combinations derived from these three time phases. In general, the first two types represent contrasting patterns, and there are several subtypes contained within each type:

1. *Active Identification:* This type of modeling is characterized by a mode of approach in which students' attitudes come to resemble models over time.
2. *Active Rejection:* This type is characterized by withdrawal in which students' attitudes become less similar to models over time.
3. *Inactive Orientation:* This type is characterized by a pattern of relative passivity, as compared with the other two types, as students display no change in their attitudes.

All three basic patterns of modeling appeared with no evidence of one dominant type of modeling. Most of the patterns observed were replicated fully in both schools. The clear presence of the *Rejection* and *Inactive* patterns emphasized the tendency of students to pick and choose selectively, to consider alternative models, and to consider some of the teachers as anti models, whose attitudes and style are sometimes rejected.

At the end of formal socialization, students and teaching models differed on a substantial number of the norms and values observed. Among these are certain central

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

norms such as the *importance of People and Science components* of the professional role and *intrinsic rewards* to be gained from the profession. Shuval and Adler concluded that professional socialization does not necessarily result in subjects accepting socializers' viewpoints in all areas, or that teachers reproduce themselves. About a third of the norms observed were already adhered to before the starting point of formal socialization; indicating considerable anticipatory socialization. Of these, some were actually abandoned over time in a process of rejection.

Classic modeling, in which students come to identify with models over time occurred with respect to both the most idealistic and the most cynical of the norms observed. Thus, students were just as prone to accept models' more cynical goals as their idealistic ones. Students and models differed initially on these norms, but students came to accept the models' view. The researchers further concluded that the lack of dominance of classic modeling questions the thinking of educators who place their hopes on students' emulation of professional models. Furthermore, students are no less prone to reject models' values than to accept them.

In the same vein, Bucher and Stelling (1977) also concluded that "deviant" faculty serves an important function in providing "option models" or portraits of alternative career patterns or lifestyles to students. Thus it may be necessary for significant others to include both students and faculty who are similar to the students if their socialization is not to be difficult or even unsuccessful (Barnartt, 1980). Though it may be the importance of similar "significant others" as role models that facilitates socialization, there is no empirical evidence to support this contention.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ginsburg's (1980) qualitative study of 53 teacher preparation program graduates investigated whether people involved in occupational socialization could best be conceived as active or passive agents. This research problem was refined to include three dimensions; *sources of standards for evaluative judgments, types of modeling/ influence experienced,* and *responses to problems or conflict encountered.* Results provided limited support for the passive model of occupational socialization associated with the functional perspective and greater support for the active model linked to symbolic interactionist/ phenomenological perspectives. Ginsburg notes that most trainees exhibited some mixture of passive and active images, but that for at least some trainees, the modeling/ influence process is not only selective but is also bi-directional.

Bucher and Stellings (1977) similarly deduced in their study of graduate students in psychiatry, biochemistry and internal medicine training programs that trainees

> were not passive recipients of messages from their accorded agents of socialization...These young professionals were constantly making judgments about their agents of socialization (p. 134).

In addition, Bucher and Stellings note that trainees soon became the ultimate judge of their own competence and effectiveness, concluding that self-evaluation increases during students' involvement in the program.

It is important to note that although the social learning and symbolic interactionist view of socialization posits an active, creative actor who is undergoing and co-creating socialization experiences, it does not discard completely the notion of actors accommodating to the influence of what Bucher and Stellings (1977) call a "programming effect." These researchers suggest that even though trainees may be shaped and molded by their educational experiences, they are not entirely independent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

agents in the process. However, far from internalizing every behavior or value modeled, trainees construct their identities partially by using their own screening devices to selectively model the ideas and behavior from the limited range of models/ instructors provided by the program (Bucher & Stellings, 1977, p. 270). That is, trainees constructed a model for themselves based on their observations of positive and negative aspects from a variety of people that trained them. Ginsburg (1980) also found that notwithstanding the potentially profound influence of either positive or negative models, most of his respondents were selective in terms of enacting behaviors or ideas to which they were exposed. Many trainees picked and chose behaviors and ideas from a variety of people with whom they came into contact. Some ideas and behaviors were purposely discarded; others were selected and put into practice because of their quality or value (as perceived by the trainee); and still others were selected but only on a trial basis (see also Lortie, 1975).

Symbolic Interactionism

Modeling is an indispensable aspect of learning when novel forms of behavior, such as the professional identity formation that occurs during professional socialization, can only be conveyed effectively by social cues. Since the development of identity is a social construction (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Gergen, 1985), people largely learn how to define themselves, other people and various aspects of life through social interaction. One theoretical perspective that looks at the social construction of meaning, and especially the social construction of personal identity, is *symbolic interaction*. Symbolic interaction views the development of *self* as occurring only through interaction with others. Social interaction is based on mutually agreed upon definitions of gestures,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

significant symbols and language. The interactive process, according to symbolic interaction, is interpretive rather than reactive. The symbols communicated to one another do not necessarily produce predetermined reactions in a stimulus-response sense, but meanings are assigned to such symbols and actions are taken by the interactants based on these meanings.

In an interaction between two people, the individuals reply to themselves covertly as they imagine and anticipate how the other will reply. Putting oneself in another's place is referred to by Mead (1934) as "taking the role of the other." This process enables a person to develop a self by becoming an object to herself, and then interacting with herself as she has experienced others interacting with her. In taking the role of the other, the individual incorporates the attitudes others have toward her and then defines a self based on these attitudes. Encountering new and different people in one's life facilitates new and different attitudes toward the self. The individual's self-definition then is always subject to change (Jones, Greene, & Ruhala, 1993).

People constantly create and recreate roles from one situation to the next (Blumer, 1969). Blumer's version of symbolic interactionism places a premium on spontaneity and indeterminateness. Utilizing Blumer's framework, education only exists because people come together in situations. Faculty and students act together because they construct actions together. Definitions of situations emerge from a continuous negotiation of their perspectives. Reality then, is socially constructed. If the educative process takes on the same form over and over again, it is only because the parties to the negotiation [teachers and students] have worked out the same resolution and because there is no guarantee that they cannot do it differently next time (Collins, 1994).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Taking the role of the other is a reciprocal process involving "recursive feedback" (Knott, 1973; Segalman, 1979). Feedback occurs when output, a person's behavior, becomes input (Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). The input (feedback) is the response from people in the environment to the individual's behavior.

Feedback from professors is necessary for social work students to know how well they are acquiring and using the knowledge, values and skills of the social work profession. This feedback allows them to take self-correcting steps toward the goal of becoming a professional social worker. Learning new skills and receiving feedback on one's performance is necessary for increasing one's professional competence and thus developing professional identity. [Previous research has found a positive relationship between skill development and the development of a positive self-concept (Fitts, 1970; Greene & Kelley, 1985; Hamachek, 1987; Wells & Marwell, 1976)].

The theoretical and attending methodological considerations of a symbolic interactionist framework for this study will be discussed in more detail in the *Design and Methodology* section of this paper. We will now examine the vast history of sociological research in professional socialization.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER I
HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION

What is Socialization?

The social sciences, notably sociology and psychology, have long been interested in the process of socialization. Socialization has been defined as "the process by which individuals acquire knowledge, skills, and dispositions" that enable them to function effectively as group members, and then as members of society (Brim, 1966, p 3). Socialization also has been referred to as the process by which culture is acquired and the individual is fitted into an organized way of life (Child, 1954). Many of the early theories of socialization were based on the notion that whenever the individual takes on group values, the development of the person's "self" is affected (Cooley, 1956, 1964; Freud, 1949; Mead, 1934; Piaget, 1932). The self is defined as "the notion that each of us possess a unique and distinct identity that sets us apart from other things and people" (Light, Keller, and Calhoun, 1989, p. 113). During childhood socialization, according to Piaget (1932) and Mead (1934), the acquisition of cultural content and self-identification with roles occurs as a sequence of orchestrated phases or stages, each phase building on the phase prior. When the sequence is completed, the product is a socialized person, with both the ability and desire needed for acceptable role performance.

Asserting that socialization is a life-long process, Mead (1934), and Cooley (1956) viewed socialization as a gradual, complementary merger of individual and society. Contending that socialization is essentially complete by puberty, Freud (1949) viewed socialization as a perennial battle between society and the individual,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

emphasizing the frustrating and repressive aspects of group life. Erikson (1963) proposed a sweeping revision of Freud's theory, positing that the self continues to develop and evolve into adulthood and old age. Erikson pointed to the importance of occupational choice as a key aspect of identity formation during the developmental period, noting that the inability to settle on an occupational identity is an experience that many young people find to be most disturbing.

Many investigators studying the adult life cycle (e.g. Hanson, 1983; Levinson, 1978; Lowenthal, Thurnber, & Chiriboga, 1975; Rosenfeld & Stark, 1987; Vaillant, 1977) supported the argument (Cooley, 1956, 1954; Mead, 1934) that socialization continues to occur during adulthood and beyond. This evolving shift in acceptance of socialization as a life-long process from that of a childhood process transferred emphasis from the study of personality or "self" development to one of learning adult roles and statuses (Carpenter, 1986).

Adult socialization and occupational socialization

Social scientists' attention to socialization as a continual process throughout the life cycle spawned theoretical and empirical studies of adult socialization (Bush & Simmons, 1981; Gecas, 1981; Mortimer & Simmons, 1978). This evolving interest in adult socialization among researchers in various fields arose out of attempts to generalize changes that seemed to take place in people as they moved through institutional settings (Becker, 1968). Furthermore, many sociologists and social psychologists sought to counter the assumptions of childhood socialization; that the important influences on a person's behavior occur in childhood, and that observable changes are mere re-arrangements of already existing personality elements (Carpenter, 1986).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many studies of adult socialization were primarily concerned with the structural characteristics of formal organizations as they affected the nature of the adult socialization process (Thompson, 1978). Basic to the conception of adult socialization is the view that individuals acquire the attributes required for membership in society through a learning process. This process is conceived as linking the social structure as the agent, and the individual as the person to be socialized (Inkeles, 1969). Writers on the topic began to stress that many people spent considerable time in organizations designed to change them in some way; such as institutions of higher education which transformed people from lay persons to professionals (Brim & Wheeler, 1966). In such organizations, it was argued, a kind of socialization occurred where people acquired the habits, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and skills to fit them to perform certain tasks in society, including in some cases, tasks specific to certain occupational groups (Brim, 1966). This position stresses that if an individual decides to join an occupational group, he or she must simply accept the norms and values of that group.

This "structural functionalist" position of socialization which held sway during the period of social conformity which followed World War II, envisioned professional students as virtual *tabulae rasae* to be filled with professional identities in an unconscious, uniform process of socialization (Atkinson, 1983). This traditional model is probably best illustrated by Brim and Wheeler's (1966) statement about socialization after childhood, "the function of socialization is to transform the human raw material of society into good working members" (p. 5). A central aspect of the functionalist model is the "assumption that the individual seeks social approval and that persons move in the direction of resolving the demands upon them by conformity to the greatest pressure"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Brim & Wheeler, 1966, p. 16). Implicit in this assumption is the idea that individuals accept others' standards for performance relatively passively (Ginsburg, 1980).

From the functionalist point of view, the process of socialization involves induction of new recruits into a common core of relatively homogeneous values, norms and role definitions (Goode, 1957). From this viewpoint, the process is seen as relatively smooth and orderly with students accepted by teachers in the role of junior colleagues who are gradually initiated into the intricacies of professional life. Violations of this orderly process are perceived as deviations from what is structurally defined as the normative process of socialization. Little attention is given by structural functionalists to conflicts which are anchored in the competing interests of agents and subjects or in the lack of consensus that may characterize the numerous socializing agents to which subjects are exposed (Shuval & Adler, 1980).

According to the functionalist view, the professional community is viewed as a 'community within a community' (Goode, 1957). Talcott Parsons (1951), the champion of structural functionalism, maintained that studies of socialization demonstrated a uniform 'character structure' in those who were socialized in the same cultural and institutional system. However, Elkin (1962) and Simpson (1967) contended that before joining an occupational group, the adult already has "an established character structure," that is, a number of roles and values that provide a perspective for evaluating their world. Nevertheless, the functionalist view regarding the nonprofessional orientation of beginning students was shared by many sociologists and social psychologists at the time:

> It is to be expected that students in a professional school will become more alike as they assimilate the same common background of knowledge and technique. They are also brought closer together by their exposure to the school's characteristic disciplinary approach and to its particular system of attitudes and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> values...Thus in many ways the graduates of professional schools are more alike than the entrants. Most of the leveling influences...begin to operate in the freshman year...and gradually reduce the initial differences among all members of the same class (Stern & Scanlon, 1958, p. 12).

However, not all sociologists accepted this view:

> Functionalism tends to project an image of professions as operating on universalistic rather than particularistic criteria. Functionalism thus stresses homogeneity and socialization of recruits to a common core of universal values (Ladinsky, 1963, p. 52).

Focusing on the power of institutions, structural functionalism explained hegemony within professions, but not diversity, conflict, social change, or most basically human agency.

Reacting against structural functionalism, and focusing on the theme of human agency, symbolic interactionism arose as the second dominant tradition in sociological research on occupational socialization in the 1950's and 1960's (Atkinson & Delamont, 1985). Where structural functionalism assumed a community of intentions between professional students and socializing agents, symbolic interactionism posited a much more problematic view of socialization characterized by discontinuity, conflict and resistance. Where the functionalists saw a unitary professional identity, symbolic interactionists saw multiple identities. Where the functionalist view implied that the staff and students in the professional school had perspectives in common and subscribed to common values, the interactionists emphasized the possibility of conflicts of interest (Atkinson & Delamont, 1985). Moreover, while structural functionalists saw roles as being internalized almost unconsciously into identity, symbolic interactionists conceived the socializee as a conscious role-playing agent in the process (Collins, 1994). Status and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

social position were conceived not as a material things, but as things that had to be enacted and realized (Goffman, 1959). The interactionist influence was one contributory factor in shaping what came to be called the 'new sociology of education.'

> Central to the 'new approach' was a focus on teacher and pupil experience as revealed in teachers' and pupils' own accounts, their interpretations and feelings emerging, changing, developing, converging, blurring, clarifying and so on in the course of everyday life in schools (Woods & Hammersley, 1977, p. 14).

Interactionism paved the way to an examination of the unofficial student view of educational life, and to a concern with educational process. That does not mean that symbolic interactionism was not without its own limitations. Atkinson & Delamont (1985) criticized symbolic interactionism for limiting itself to a concern with 'situational learning' and 'daily coping' with the educational experience at the expense of discussing how novices become incorporated into the larger culture of the occupational group outside the training site. The authors argue that symbolic interactionism's view of socialization is "as a recurrent process of adjustment to the demands and exigencies of local contexts of work and training" (Atkinson & Delamont, 1985, p. 312).

The structural functionalist position also received criticism from conflict theorists who agreed with symbolic interactionists that socialization is not a straight-forward process. Conflict theorists also raised the notion that conventional theories disregarded the possibility that the aspirant to the profession or occupation may be an active, controlling partner in the process (Dreitzel, 1973), or that socialization depends upon the social statuses of those involved in the process (Lacey, 1977). Another alternative to the functionalist perspective, derived from phenomenological traditions also espoused the notion that trainees are active negotiators in shaping their own training experiences

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Ginsberg and LeCompte, 1980). One recent study attempted to integrate both perspectives, but distinguished these perspectives along gender lines. According to Costello (1998), for some individuals professional socialization is a smooth, unconscious process—and for others it is characterized by conscious struggle, role-play and resistance.

Many researchers held conflicting views on the nature of the adult socialization process. Levinson (1967) critically examined the theory of adult socialization particularly as it had been used by sociologists. He noted that the basic character of such socialization was in fact psychological, but this was not always made clear. He retranslated the perception of adult socialization as an acculturation process into an adaptive attitude internalization process that occurs as a result of students' being presented with certain structured experiences. Bloom (1979) noted that Levinson's psychological view of adult socialization was inherently flawed. In his view, processes of child socialization concentrate on processes *within* the person while adult socialization focuses on processes *outside* the person or *between* persons particularly as they seek to acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions which will enable them to join a particular occupational or professional group.

A great number of studies in the field of sociology of the professions have been dedicated to the study of attitude changes as a result of professional socialization, the creation of professional socialization models, the description of socialization processes, or the evaluation of the impact of those processes on the student. These studies will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Defining professional socialization according to functionalist and symbolic interactionist perspectives

How people choose occupations, how occupations recruit trainees, and how people are trained once they are recruited are all topics that concern the student of adult socialization. Since the occupational class that has attracted the greatest attention over time has been the professions, the term professional socialization evolved as a referent to the socialization of this restricted class (Western, 1963). The term "professionalization" has often been used interchangeably with professional socialization (Platt & Branch, 1972); implying one of two meanings in the literature. In addition to having been used to refer to the process by which an occupation evolves into a profession (Caplow, 1954; Wilensky, 1964), it has also been used to concern the occupational socialization process of a neophyte (Gottlieb, 1961; Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957; Quarantelli & Helfrich, 1967; Rosinski, 1963).

Professional socialization has been viewed as a special form of adult socialization (Shuval, 1975). Merton's (1957a) definition of adult socialization, often cited throughout the professional socialization literature, assumes that professional learning is an integral part of adult (male) socialization:

> Socialization...refers to the learning of social roles. In its application to the medical student, socialization refers to the processes through which he develops his professional self, with its characteristic values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills, fusing these into a more or less consistent set of dispositions which govern his behavior in a wide variety of professional (and extra-professional) situations. Socialization takes place primarily through social interaction with people who are significant for the individual—in the medical school, probably with the faculty members above most others...(Merton, 1957a, p. 287).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like Merton, many studies advanced the structural functionalist notion that professional socialization is a process or series of processes through which knowledge, skills, values, norms, and requisite behaviors are gained in order to fully participate as a member of a particular profession (Lum, 1988; Ronkowski & Iannaccone, 1989; Saarman, Freitas, Rapps, & Riegel, 1992).

On the other hand, Becker (1964) distinguished two processes in adult socialization; *situational adjustment,* which changes as a direct function of changing situational requirements, and *commitment,* which involves a personal attachment to certain activities and goals, and which thus provides a basis for consistency and stability in individual behavior in different situations (Becker, 1964).

Lacey (1977) expanded on the concept of *situational adjustment* and noted that there are two different forms. One form is termed "internalized adjustment" in which the individual complies with the constraints and believes that the constraints of the situation are for the best. The second form is termed "strategic compliance" in which the individual complies with the authority figure's definition of the situation and the constraints of the situation, but retains private reservations about them. Lacey (1977) pointed out the important difference between 'strategic compliance' to training on the one hand, and 'internalized adjustment' on the other. Within professional groups, it appears that an individual's socialization may follow either pattern. Olesen and Whittaker (1968) comment

> It is a fascinating paradox in nursing that some students are more easily understood with the analogy of the nunnery, while others seem comprehensible in the military analogy. While some students appear to learn the role by inner conviction and motivation, as in the nunnery, others, like the military recruit, attempt outer conformity in socialization while retaining inner unassailability (p. 66).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In sum, the conflicting functionalist and symbolic interactionist interpretations of professional socialization were embodied in two landmark studies that remain the major research in the study of professional socialization. These studies will be discussed in the following section.

Landmark Professional Socialization Studies

The professional school has long been viewed as a major source of professional recruits and as a center for the advancement of the knowledge and technology that form the basis of professional service (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933). Sarfatti-Larson (1977) found the educational system to be of major importance in fostering professionals' shared ideology and in helping to maintain a social climate in which their special knowledge and position are rewarded.

Serious study of socialization in professional training institutes began almost 50 years ago. In the early 1950's, sociologists increasingly directed themselves toward a view of professional education that involved subtle, complex and even ambiguous perceptions of the professional role (Hughes, 1956). In addition, there were a number of evaluations of medical education in the United States commissioned for official policy reviews. Many of these reviews were designed to construct tests to select students for medical school according to notions of those qualities that would distinguish successful medical students from others (Bloom, 1979).

Two early and extremely influential studies of professional socialization concerning medical students became landmark studies that to this day remain the major research in the area. These two studies embody the conflicting interpretations of the occupational socialization process dominating the literature (Thompson, 1978).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The first study began in 1952 by a group of researchers under the direction of Robert Merton at the Bureau of Applied Research at Columbia University in New York. This series of studies at three university medical schools culminated five years later in the publication of *The Student-Physician* (Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957); a structural functionalist perspective on young men's professional socialization to medical school. A few years later an alternative analysis of professional socialization emerged utilizing the symbolic interactionist perspective, again involving medical students, and was titled *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School.* This study, under the direction of Howard Becker from the University of Chicago began in 1956 and involved medical students at the University of Kansas (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961).

Merton's study occurred in a climate of escalating interest in the study of complex organizations and their effects upon the people within them. The study was also affected by a recognition of the growing complexity of medical knowledge medical students must master in a short time, and by the growing realization of the relationship between social environment and disease (Carpenter, 1986). Medical school was examined as the social environment that functioned to change student behaviors into those appropriate to the role of the physician (Merton, 1957a). Merton's research team projected a picture of professional socialization in which the student progresses incrementally from junior colleague to professional, gradually acquiring the skills, values and attitudes that enable him to fill the physician role (Thompson, 1978). According to Merton's conceptualization, adult socialization was seen as a process whereby the individual modifies his self-concept through the acquisition of personality characteristics through contacts with significant others. Merton (1957a) saw the professional

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

socialization of medical students as occurring both by intent and by the unplanned circumstances of their school environment, arguing that the student's socialization to the professional role occur both formally and informally. It was the latter, the informal contacts students had with faculty and peers, that were of primary interest to Merton. This study (Merton, et al., 1957) portrayed a faculty approach in which students were regarded as colleagues. The student culture maintained communication networks, clarified standards, and controlled behavior on the basis of norms and values shared by faculty and students. Merton introduced the notion of "anticipatory socialization," which involves learning a role that is to be assumed in the future. Merton posited that as long as roles consist of definite and known patterns of behavior for which individuals can prepare, these roles provide blueprints for anticipatory socialization. In this way, learning professional skills involves anticipatory socialization (Merton, 1957a).

Collecting data through participant observation and interviews, Becker, et al's study (1961) described the characteristics of medical school culture, students' adaptation to this culture, and variations in student responses toward medical culture and the medical profession. Becker and his associates assumed the school to be a stage of medical education posing specific and immediate problems that were not necessarily related to the realities of medical practice. The demands of the school required that the students learn the role of "student" and not "doctor;" which turned their attention to the central problem of how to get through medical school. Idealistic, first-year medical students were found to expect to acquire every bit of medical knowledge and then to serve humanity selflessly. Later, these expectations became more tempered and realistic by the end of their medical schooling as students strove to learn just enough to pass exams and look

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

forward to a lucrative practice as a reward for their years of hard work. Becker typified these stages along a continuum of "wanting to learn it all," to "can't learn it all," to "learn what the faculty wants you to learn." Becker concluded that students are socialized to the student role rather than the professional one (Merton, et al., 1957) largely because denial of responsibility makes it clear to them that they are not doctors. Lines between faculty and student are sharply drawn, and student development occurs primarily in contest with authority (Thompson, 1978). Unlike Merton, Becker does not place the medical school as a step in a direct, orderly, developmental process of socialization. Rather, he sees it as a separate and distinct institution in its own right in which students must learn to adjust to the demands and exigencies that local contexts of work and training make upon them. Also unlike Merton, Becker does not agree that students are socialized as colleagues by the medical faculty, but rather as students.

Atkinson and Delamont (1985) make the point that Becker, et al's (1961) study argues that training sites are *not* where occupational learning occurs. Becker (1972) produced the most unequivocal statement of this position in a paper called *School is a Lousy Place to Learn Anything,* concluding:

> Students do not learn what the school proposed to teach them. Colleges do not make students more liberal and humane...nor do they have any great effect on students' intellectual development and learning...Medical school training has little effect on the quality of medicine a doctor practices...Actors considered expert have seldom gone to drama school...The spectacle of elementary and secondary education gives credence to Herndon's...wry hypothesis that nobody learns anything in school, but middle-class children learn enough elsewhere to make it appear that schooling is effective...(Becker, 1972; as cited in Atkinson & Delamont, 1985, p.312).

Merton, et al.'s (1957) and Becker, et al.'s (1961) studies were challenged by several researchers. Quarantelli, Helfrich and Yutsey (1964) did not find any support for Merton

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

et al's (1957) theory that recruits are progressively socialized to a common core of values. Levinson (1967) sharply criticized the Becker, et al. (1961) study for concluding that personality factors have little influence in the socialization process; a limitation that he argues stems from analyzing the findings within a symbolic interactionist framework:

> ...for both methodological and theoretical reasons, the investigators were unable to reach any other conclusion concerning the relevance of the psychodynamic factors in socialization (p. 254-255).

Levinson contends that a general model of socialization must take into account the outcome of socialization; the kinds of psychosocial change induced in the members as a result of their participation in the process. This includes broad ideological orientations, character traits, ways of handling problematic feelings, and syndromes of motivation-fantasy-defense (Levinson, 1967).

Miller (1966) criticized both the Merton, et al., (1957) and Becker, et al., (1961) studies, contending that both studies neglected the exchange element (Homans, 1964) in organizations. Merton assumed an unchanging character of medical schools, and Becker postulated that the behavior of medical students, interns and residents would be the product of their interaction with each other as well as with the normative patterns of the school or medical service. According to Miller (1966), the behavior of the fledgling physician during the various stages of professional socialization are influenced as much by immediate contingencies of the work setting as well as by the general prescriptions of the professional world. Many subsequent researchers agreed that the organizational milieu had to be included in any theory of professional socialization (e.g., Friedson, 1970).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Simpson (1979) argued that although Merton, et al., (1957) and Becker, et al., (1961) used the same global term "socialization" in their studies, they did not deal with the same phenomena and in fact focused upon different dependent variables. However, according to Simpson (1979) and Bloom (1963), these views need not compete. They both may reflect reality, representing divergent structural arrangements and diverse consequences. The key differences between these two approaches as Simpson (1979) has stressed, concerns their foci upon the social control of behavior, where this is located, and its effects upon the orientations and behaviors of aspirants to the professions and the professionals themselves. Becker and his associates (1961), for example, see control of behavior as the exercise of power by some persons over others. The power that students might have to control their own options for behavior is reduced by the constraints upon them which arise from demands made upon them in their social situation. Thus students are limited in their ability to behave in accord with their long-range objective of becoming a doctor and must learn to behave as successful students in order to graduate. Only then will they be able to behave in their new status with its changed behavioral options and need for new perspectives. The Merton view of all this is quite different, stressing that social control in a profession arises from the shared outlooks and interests of the members. The professional school is the agency used by the profession to ensure students are inducted into these outlooks and interests as guides for their future professional life (Carpenter, 1986).

Studies following the Merton-Becker orientations

Not surprisingly, both of these investigations spawned studies that followed one or other of their orientations. Several studies (e.g., Carpenter, Foster & Byde, 1981;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Coombs, 1978; Kadushin, 1969) at least partially followed the Columbia project tradition in viewing the professions as cultural entities within the society defined in terms of a body of knowledge, certain skills and a series of over-arching normative constraints.

Quite a different approach marked studies which followed Becker's orientation (e.g., Hill, Fensham, and Howden, 1975; Lacey, 1977; Lortie, 1975). In general, these studies argued that the experiences of recruits to the professions during training have little to do with role-learning. Rather these studies stressed how aspirants to the professions develop perspectives to cope with the demands of their training, thereby developing not professional values, but a student culture. This culture functions as a resistance movement against the demands of faculty and the lack of time to learn what must be learned to graduate. As Atkinson (1983) demonstrates, Becker and his associates view aspirants to the profession as similar to other higher education students; in fact, reporting similar findings to the above in their study of liberal arts students conducted several years later (Becker, Geer, & Hughes, 1968).

The Merton, et al., (1957) and Becker, et al., (1961) studies were succeeded by still other investigations of professional preparation which focused upon the ways in which considerations of power were important in understanding professional medical training, including internship and graduate professional education (Bloom, 1973; Bucher & Stelling, 1977; Heiss, 1969; Miller, 1970). Some studies attempted to document the personal value changes that recruits undergo during the process of professional socialization along dimensions such as idealism, sensitivity, cynicism and dogmatism (Eron, 1955; Gordon & Mensh, 1962; Juan, Paiva, Haley & O'Keefe, 1974; Olesen & Whittaker, 1968; Sherlock & Morris, 1972). At about the time of Becker et al's (1961)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

study, much of the literature focused on attempting to distinguish professions from other occupations, and developing typologies of role-taking within professions (Zald, 1997). However, many studies, notably that of Strauss and Bucher (1961), posited that professions are not quite static phenomena. They asserted that professional segments are often in a process of differentiation, rebellion and change in relationship to the dominant professional norms and methods. In fact, they viewed professional segments as mini-social movements, separating and self-organizing in relationship to the dominant profession and the societal/ state constraints surrounding the profession.

Two currents seemed to have intersected to produce this change of emphasis in the professional socialization studies (Carpenter, 1986). The first, noted by Bloom (1979), had to do with the dramatic increase in the number of physicians in the United States from the late 1960's, and the opening of new medical schools. Part of this current were also subsequent efforts to plan and regulate the distribution of medical graduates to ensure an adequate supply of family physicians in urban ghetto and rural areas. Sociologists became interested in the kinds of views about medical practice students were exposed to in medical school and the possible ways these were related to the flight of medical graduates into medical specialties, the rural and urban poor could not afford, or into suburban medical practices.

The second current relates to the change in focus upon the professions themselves which occurred in the early 1970's stimulated by the wholesale re-examination of the nature and purposes of authority which occurred in the late 1960's in capitalist societies. Those who questioned the functionalist position argued that a more fruitful approach to the study of professional behavior was to focus on the structure of professional work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

settings (Reid, 1979). Though earlier writing on the professions had been critical of them, works like Friedson's (1970) and Johnson's (1972) cast the fifty year old debate about professions in an entirely new light. In Friedson's (1970) view, "socialization does not explain some important elements of professional performance half so well as does the organization of the immediate work environment" (p. 89). According to Johnson (1972), the school-based socialization of professional recruits acts as a form of social control. The process by which the school carries out this function was criticized as being based on a set of functionalist assumptions (Reid, 1979) that presumes that students will internalize the attitudes and orientations of the socializing faculty who act as important role models for students. These orientations were considered functional in that they acted as "guides to conscience" (Barber, 1963) after the student graduated and became a mature practicing professional.

These studies (Friedson, 1970; Johnson, 1972) marked the end to discussions of the nature of professional service orientations. The debate now centered around the professions' exercise of power in their own interests, their role in preserving the social status quo and the role played by professionals in serving the interests of capital (Carpenter, 1986).

Characterizing a Process

Since the major studies of medical education in the 1950's and 1960's, the subsequent research in professional socialization consisted primarily of small-scale empirical studies, and little comparative work was attempted (Levinson, 1967; Thompson, 1978). Disagreement continued to exist in the literature on the relative importance of faculty-student interaction, student culture, pre-existent student

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

characteristics, and program structure on the process of professional socialization, with some sociologists questioning whether socialization occurred at all in the educational setting. Since the 1970's, there has been relatively little research about professional socialization in any discipline.

However, a substantial portion of the literature on professional socialization attempts to characterize it and describe it as a process. This literature appears to fall into three major categories. One category typifies professional socialization as a process that takes place through a series of stages or phases. These articles may or may not be self-identifiably functionalist, but seem to lend support to the functionalist argument. The second category refutes the notion of professional socialization as an orderly sequential process and instead stresses the conflicting and contradictory demands that neophytes experience in the process. These articles may or may not be self-identifiably symbolic interactionist, but seem to support this theory of professional socialization. The third category of articles deviate from both the functionalist and symbolic interactionist frameworks, and instead emphasize the nuanced process of role-learning amid a number of interactional experiences with role models.

The "stages" of professional socialization: Support for the functionalist argument

Many researchers sought to characterize and describe the professional socialization process through numerous studies and reviews of studies concerning socialization in various professional fields including education, business, health, and administration. These studies examined the socialization experiences of individuals in graduate studies, nursing, law enforcement, and educational administration. Together

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

they provided empirical support for the structural functionalist assertion that socialization takes place through a series of processes or in stages (Darby, 1996).

Hughes (1955, 1958) contributed to the development of the sociological assumption that professional education generally involves the replacement of gross and stereotyped images by more subtle, complex and sophisticated perceptions of the student role (Quarantelli, Helfrich, & Yutsey, 1964). The professional aspirant has, at first, what Hughes (1955) calls lay conceptions of the occupation based on generalized societal values. The first task of socialization into a profession is therefore to transform the person's lay conceptions about the occupation into the technical orientations of the insider. In this way, the focus of the professional socialization process is on how professional aspirants exchange their lay views and imagery of a profession for those the profession ascribes to itself (Davis, 1968). In this layperson-to-professional exchange, students acquire a self-image within the context of their professional role and at the same time, begin to adjust to professional demands and uncertainties (Becker, 1956). The professional school accomplishes this transformation by emphasizing the mastery of technical skills and knowledge as a prerequisite for professional status. As (s)he concentrates on acquiring skills, the student's self-identification becomes more congruent with the newly discovered cultural content of the role. Simpson (1967) illustrated this general hypothesis of sequential patterns of socialization into a profession with data on collegiate student nurses gathered through participant observation and questionnaires. She hypothesized that socialization into a profession takes place in three analytically distinct phases, each involving some learning of the cultural content of the role and some self-identification with it. The first phase involved the *transformation* of the novice's lay

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conceptions of the occupation into the technical orientation of the insider, a process promoted by the emphasis professional schools place on technical mastery. During the first phase, the person shifts attention from the broad, societally derived goals that lead her to choose the profession to the goal of proficiency in specific work tasks. The second phase occurred in on-the-job training *relationships* with senior colleagues, who became significant others, the student's main reference group. The final phase involved the *internalization* of the values of the occupational group. The profession becomes the dominant reference group, the student adopts the behaviors it prescribes, and the opinions of outsiders become unimportant. These three phases may overlap, but in general constitute a sequence. Less than a majority in any profession move completely from the second to the third phase, according to Simpson (1967).

Cohen & Barnartt (1978) also viewed professional socialization as a sequential process which includes learning technical skills, but one which also includes those self-presentations whose end product includes substantial fit between self and role (Goffman, 1961b). These authors contend that professional socialization occurs in four stages; ***dependency, resistance, compromise,*** and ***internalization.*** Each stage takes place in the *cognitive* sphere, the *interactional* sphere, and the *personality* sphere. In the *cognitive* sphere, neophytes learn technical skills. In the *interactional* sphere, neophytes begin to acquire the norms, values and self-presentations of the profession. In the *personality* sphere, the new professional identity integrates with old identities and roles.

Many other writers described professional socialization as occurring in stages (Brief, Sell, Aldag, & Melone's, 1979; Cohen, 1981; Darby, 1996; Davis, 1968; Gennep, 1960; Kelman, 1961; Kramer & Schmalenberg, 1978; Tiederman, 1952; Whitehead,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1929). For example, Whitehead (1929) conceived of a five stage process basic for effective education that was oriented to the organic growth process: *imaginative consideration, analysis, synthesis, generalization,* and *imaginative reconsideration.* Davis (1968) referred to professional socialization as a "subjective experience" or a process of "doctrinal conversion" divided into six stages; *initial innocence, labeled recognition and incongruity, psyching out, role simulation, provisional internalization* and *stable internalization.* Discussed in Schein (1969), Kurt Lewin, the famous German psychologist developed a general conception of the learning process in socialization. He saw the individual as moving from a period of "unfreezing" through one of "refreezing into new habit patterns."

Areas of overlap are evident in many of these stage theories. Darby (1996) found that beginners experience the socialization process in phases, expressing change in focus and in the nature of their concerns. Over time, behaviors that were initially externally-focused gave way to more internally-focused behaviors and attitudes. The phases evidenced in Darby's study were congruent with the socialization models of Cohen's (1981) first three phases; *unilateral dependence, negative independence* and *dependence/ mutuality* and the third of Brief, Sell, Aldag, & Melone's (1979) three phases, *role management.*

Other studies distinguish between levels of socialization as well as dimensions (Blau, 1988; Hart, 1991; Stein & Weidman, 1989). Stein and Weidman (1989), for example, addressed institutional versus individual socialization as well as the cognitive and affective dimensions. Some socialization models are linear, while others are cyclical.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hart concluded that all the frameworks had three common stages: *uncertainty and learning, adjustment, and gaining balance.*

However, as mentioned previously, the notion of professional socialization as a linear, sequential process was disputed in the literature. Contained within the body of sociological literature that sought to characterize or describe the professional socialization process were many studies emphasizing the inconsistencies and conflicts inherent within the professional socialization process. These conflicts concerned competing messages from agents of socialization or role strains between the student's personal and professional life.

Cross-pressures and conflicted socialization: Support for the symbolic interactionist view

Because, the adult student is subject to a wide assortment of complementary or contradictory messages from inside and outside the socializing institution, the theme of cross-pressures during professional training became the subject of a number of studies over time. Cross-pressures may be referred to as the conflict students experience between competing faculty orientations or between peer and faculty judgments, or between their roles as students and other lateral roles in their lives (Carpenter, 1986).

Many researchers associated professional socialization with considerable conflict and ambiguity in terms of the messages socializers delivered and socializees picked up. Olesen and Whitaker (1970) argued the erroneous overemphasis on the smoothness of socialization. Shuval (1975) likened professional socialization to earlier periods of (childhood) socialization that are characterized by intermittent conflict and reconciliation between socializers and socializees. Shuval (1975) posited that professional socialization is not a smooth, single-directional process, but is instead comprised of constant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

movement forward into the new role, with simultaneous regression into more familiar old roles (Gessell & Ilg, 1943). According to Shuval (1975), orderly socialization naturally requires that the balance of these two-directional movements favor the forward thrust. This notion is based on Bloom's (1965) earlier description of professional socialization as a process characterized by one pattern that emphasizes the "boy" role while the other pushes toward "colleague" status. The "colleague" role represents the forward direction of the process of professional socialization, while the "boy" or student role may be viewed as stable or regressive during the clinical period of training. Rather than emphasizing the tensions in this process, Shuval (1975) viewed these two patterns as functionally synchronized in the socialization process. Rather than either one of these roles having dominance at any one time, he posited that they both occurred in close temporal and situational proximity of each other.

The notion of professional socialization was at times, conceptualized as "resocialization" in the literature (Brim & Wheeler, 1966; Egan, 1989; Khlief, 1975), but however extreme that may sound, Ginsberg & LeCompte (1980) point out that this conceptualization simply reinforced functionalist notions of the socialization process. Some researchers asserted that the process had much in common with resocialization to a "total" institution (Goffman, 1961a). Rather than a gradual, benign, well-intentioned developmental process, graduate schools were accused of creating negative effects such as "self-concept disturbance" (Egan, 1989, p.200).

Manasse, Stewart and Hall (1975) proposed a definition for what they referred to as "inconsistent socialization." They attributed the cause of inconsistent socialization to conflicting forces emanating from the major sources of socialization.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...the process by which the individual develops or acquires incompatible or conflicting behaviors, beliefs and values from formal or informal sources due to the absence of uniformity or agreement within the idealized model of the group into which he is being socialized (p. 616).

Manasse, Stewart and Hall (1975) contend that each of the students' agents of socialization crystallize his own idealized model, that is usually not consistent with other groups, and works to adhere the student to his own model. The result is not the production of an individual possessing homogenous values and attitudes about his intended career, but rather, an individual who is confused, realistically cynical and strained in his assessment of his chosen career (Manasse, Kabat, & Wertheimer, 1976).

Wolensky (1981) referred to this problematic, conflicted dimension of professional socialization as the "double bind" situation; a theory derived from communication theory by Bateson (1972). In a double bind situation "an individual receives two messages from the same source, one message contradicting or denying the other" (Bateson, 1972, p. 208). Wolensky (1981) implicates the double bind situation as a contributor to the failure to develop a confident professional self among graduate sociology students. In this case, the double bind consists of two contradictory communications: the communication of *shapeless complexity* and *finality and comprehensiveness*. Shapeless complexity describes an infinitely complex and shapeless knowledge pool, and finality and comprehensiveness, the notion of closure. According to Wolensky (1981), the discipline of Sociology is notably characterized by such shapeless complexity, or an infinite and yet amorphous knowledge base. Students struggle to negotiate this information about the discipline with the notion of closure, or the expectation that all subject matter be mastered. These two together create tensions in professional socialization.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As mentioned previously, in professional socialization, there is the added problem for the neophyte in learning the norms of the profession; a process that is not without its pitfalls.

> For each norm there tends to be at least one coordinate norm, which is if not inconsistent with the other, at least sufficiently different as to make it difficult for the student and the professional to live up to them both (Merton, 1957, p. 72).

To make the judgment which norm to follow, the neophyte professional must learn not only the norms of the profession to which she aspires, but also a sense of priorities for applying the norms in conflicting or changing situations. (Bragg, 1976). One illustration of conflicting norms and values emerged from Adler and Shuval's (1978) study.

Adler and Shuval (1978) in their study of cross-pressures during training, surveyed students in two medical schools, at five points during their training, on three normative role components defining key qualities needed for competent medical practice. One of these dimensions concerned the student's interactions with one's colleagues and clients. The researchers analyzed the overall change process and found that students did not receive clear messages concerning their interactions with colleagues and clients at any time during their medical training. According to the investigators, students are exposed to a broad array of values and norms that may be transmitted ambiguously due to a lack of consensus among different faculty and others to whom students are exposed.

Reid (1981) stressed that the reason there has been a lack of consensus among researchers examining the possible impact of professional training upon students' attitudes to professional practice is probably because the role of students undergoing such training is characterized by duplicity. In a sense, students are junior colleagues of faculty,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

he argues, yet in another sense, they are definitely subordinate members of large organizations. Of interest to Reid, were the conditions in which student actions during professional training are more consistent with the subordinate aspects of their roles compared to their roles as junior colleagues. He hypothesized that the key to the impact of the professional school on recruits to a profession lies in the extent to which faculty are seen as supportive of students, treating them as colleagues of junior status. Where this happens, he suggests, faculty will have maximum impact on student professional orientations. After testing these ideas using data collected from students from all nine Canadian dental schools, he found only partial support for his hypothesis. What he did establish was that within the dental schools, students were subject to strong cross pressures from faculty, which in sum meant an overall lessening of faculty impact upon students. This was due to the organization of dental school curricula into two stages; a pre-clinical stage and a clinical stage. These two stages were marked by different training and supervisory methods, and faculty types. In the pre-clinical stage, theoreticians and scientists with academic orientations taught the students the theoretical aspects of their profession. In the latter clinical phase, clinicians that treated students as junior colleagues often sought to help students learn to deal with the practical problems they would face as professionals.

Kleinman's (1981) case study considers the "ambivalent identity" problems posed by ministry students as a result of conflicting 'humanistic' role and 'traditional' role expectations of ministers held by the public. She reported student discomfort with the "over reverence" which members of the public displayed toward them as individuals joining the ministry. Kleinman attributes some of this tension to the professional's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

attitude of affective neutrality that is considered essential for effective treatment in the helping professions. This impersonal role has served to perpetuate the mystification of the professional's personal identity; keeping professionals from demonstrating that they are like ordinary people.

Broadhead (1983) considered the effect of professional socialization during medical school upon the private and family lives of medical students. What Broadhead (1983) found in this five year study was that intense involvement in medical school brought sometimes extreme pressures upon students in the relationships they shared with persons outside the institution. In addition to the negative effects of training on interpersonal obligations and commitments, Broadhead (1983) also found that socialization during medical school affected the students' personal visions of the future as well as their professional plans. Students in this study began to steel themselves against the realization that medical practice realities could always inundate their private lives, and began to form career plans regarding medical specialization and location of practice on the basis of the goals they held for their private lives.

Studies deviating from the Merton-Becker orientations

While the influence of the Merton (1957) and Becker et al (1961) studies can be seen in many subsequent professional socialization studies, there are a number of studies deserving mention because they went beyond these original formulations. These studies suggested that there was more to be learned about the process of professional socialization than what had been encapsulated in the Merton-Becker differences about whether students learn to be professionals or not during professional training. These studies also suggested that perhaps the professional socialization process is not the same

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for all professional cohorts. Some of these studies, notably those that utilized samples of student nurses, suggest experiences which parallel social work.

The study of the socialization of nursing students by Olesen and Whittaker (1968) was based on seven years of data collection and study, and was informed by both interactionist and existential phenomenological perspectives. Utilizing participant observation, Olesen and Whittaker viewed the student as an active, choice-making factor in her own socialization. The investigators emphasized the shrewdness, humor and ironies of "studentmanship" and also considered the parallel processes of adult socialization with which nursing students must deal (Thompson, 1978). In the view of Olesen and Whittaker (1968), professional socialization involves a number of factors. These include 1) the students whose choices and behaviors are actively involved in acquiring a professional role; 2) the lateral life roles of the students and; 3) their progress through the institution as they confront the demands of faculty, peers and patients. Of parallel significance to social work, are research questions concerning self-awareness, that is, how students became aware of themselves in their professional roles as well as in their roles as adult women. Olesen and Whittaker (1968) found that in nursing school both its formal and informal arrangements stressed a definition of the nursing role which incorporated an awareness of self and a capacity to indicate such awareness to others. These dual emphases were implemented by means of faculty-student conferences and instructor evaluation. Nursing students had to make public their private thoughts and inculcate into their private thoughts what was publicly discussed in the nursing school.

One of the crucial findings of this study of student nurses was that the development of student self-awareness could not be disentangled from the theme of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

faculty-student interactions on a daily basis. Faculty either sustained or refuted student indications of awareness in carrying out their duties. Students were found to use such awareness in judging their peers and in manipulating situations where they were exposed to faculty judgments. While acquiring the institution's emphasis on self-awareness, these student nurses integrated definitions of the nursing role for themselves based on how they judged others and behaved toward others. The students were found to question themselves in relation to their former selves, to how they perceived they would develop as professionals and to their nursing peers. They were found legitimating themselves in order to accord themselves the role of nurses.

In terms of inconsistent socializing influences, these students reported that they found a difficult ambiguous institutional setting marked by faculty disagreement over nursing definitions and nursing role behaviors more "jolting" than they'd ever imagined. They found their own ideas about themselves and about nursing inadequate in the face of both faculty and patient demands. Through sharing success strategies, rumors and recipes for handling faculty-student interactions, the students developed guidelines for their own socialization. These guidelines were found to encompass a set of role definitions and norms whose functions were to help students deal with faculty demands (a theme of Becker, 1968; Becker, et al., 1961). They also served to sharpen student awareness to the two audiences they faced; faculty who could pass or fail them, and peers who could grant them esteem or derogation, the latter if they were too competitive. The major finding of Olesen's and Whittaker's (1968) study revealed the manner in which the students came to integrate self-conceptions of themselves as nurses into the broader conceptions of themselves as adult women. Students who sought to find a role acceptable to both faculty

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and peers had to develop enough self-awareness to enable them to choose which aspects of themselves to present in a given situation. Role rehearsals served as the vehicle for approximating which aspects of the nurse's role would be acceptable to faculty and peers. Once this was known, a stable professional self-concept could develop. However, faculty and competitive peers ensured only a tenuous stability for such a professional self-concept until the end of training (Carpenter, 1986).

Simpson's (1967) investigation of the socialization of student nurses into the nursing profession noted that nursing students' entering orientations which she characterized as "humanitarian" quickly shifted to concerns about mastering the technical skills associated with basic nursing tasks. This finding appeared to support Becker, et al's (1961) findings. However, Becker, et al. (1961) found that the students' initial idealism was put aside to a more propitious time, whereas in Simpson's (1967) study, students' initial idealism was radically transformed, not displaced, by technical interests. In the second year of training, the students came to regard not patients as significant others but doctors and the nursing faculty, because this latter group evaluated their work. This process was intensified in the final year of training as work relationships came to be increasingly prominent in students' lives. Simpson (1979) later concluded that the socialization of these student nurses had not occurred via the transmission of occupational culture, but instead via role learning. Student had not learned the ropes of the profession as much as they had learned the appropriate knowledge, skills and behavioral norms that would ease their transition from being students to full-time nurses. However, the occupational involvement of these students had to compete with their other roles and interests rather than, what Simpson earlier termed "occupational motivation."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Indeed, Simpson found occupational motivation declined after graduation due to the shifting of the foci of students' lives to other roles upon which the practice of their profession became contingent.

In the light of Simpson's findings, the small study of Melia's (1984) in which she examined the ways student nurses constructed their own socialization is particularly interesting. Leaders in the nursing profession who Melia interviewed identified two major segments of nursing training. The first was an *education segment;* incorporating a professional view of nursing promoted by the college and the second, a *service segment;* which emphasized getting nursing work done. In Melia's interviews with students, she found that students learned to recognize when one segment or the other was appropriate and adjusted their behavior accordingly. They learned to move between these two segments in response to the pressing expectations of nursing faculty who pressed them to become efficient workers as quickly as possible. Like Simpson, Melia found that student nurses did not absorb a type of professional culture in a cumulative or sequential fashion. The student nurses' training supported a "transient" approach to nursing work that Melia suggests demonstrated a lack of commitment.

The comparative and longitudinal study by Bucher and Stelling (1977) of students in four professional level programs; two cohorts of residents in psychiatry, one cohort of advanced students in biochemistry, and one in internal medicine provided data for a theory of professional socialization. This study was informed by the perspective that the characteristics of the organization and the staff of such programs are important determinants of their structure and of the settings in which the socialization presumed to occur takes place. Bucher and Stelling found that in each program, both *structural*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

variables (e.g., the planned organization of training as well as the unplanned experiences which occur within it), and *situational* variables (peer group relations, supervision by faculty, role modeling), helped to mold professional identity and commitment among the students and also delimit career options. Students who were not as affected by structure or situation were those who entered with well-developed career plans and professional orientations and maintained them during training by minimizing contact with others in the same program.

Bucher and Stelling (1977) identified students' role-playing activities as the key process responsible for the development of professional identity during training. Role-playing activities enabled students to develop a sense of mastery of the appropriate skills and knowledge they needed to accept responsibility and act autonomously. Role-playing occurred as students picked and chose among the characteristics of the many role models to which they were exposed and then assembled them into a composite identity. More importantly, as sense of their own mastery developed, students began to rely more and more on their self-evaluations to establish their own progress towards their goal of becoming autonomous professionals.

Gender and professional socialization

With the exception of Simpson's (1967, 1979), and Olesen and Whittaker's (1966, 1969, 1970) studies of student nurses, most of the early exploratory studies that laid the groundwork in the field of professional socialization investigated the experience of men. Because the theoretical perspectives put forth by Merton, et al., (1957) and Becker, et al., (1961) are universalizing, they are not helpful to a researcher seeking to explain diverse or varied professional and student experiences. There was no

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consideration or admission in these early classic studies and follow-up studies of a differential process for women.

Some writers, particularly those concerned with "deviant" entrants into professions (females or minority students of both sexes) have been concerned with the quantity and quality of interaction experienced by these deviant students (Barnartt, 1980). Campbell's (1973) interviews with female medical students indicated that the women often felt left out of many interactions with male peers and faculty; (e.g., the lack of comparable facilities, such as surgical changing rooms, which structured their seclusion). Additionally, the quality of some interactions did not seem to contribute positively to women's socialization, for example, incidents in which male faculty did not take female students seriously or blatantly "put down" their goals.

Hitchman's (1976) doctoral dissertation analyzed the effects of gender in graduate education and reported that women do not experience the socialization process in the same manner as men. Her findings indicate that women encounter status contradictions, experience discriminatory treatment and suffer more stress than men. Sells (1975) demonstrated very large differences in the effectiveness of professional socialization by sex. One of the major themes that emerged (from the group explorations and the study's survey which sought to define and articulate problems faced by women in graduate school) was "lack of women as role-models on the faculty" (p. 15).

Though some important research has been undertaken dealing with women and the professions (e.g., Epstein, 1983; Epstein and Coser, 1981; Rossi & Gilderwood, 1973; Silverstone & Ward, 1980; Walsh, 1977), far less attention has been paid to the inter-relationships between gender and professional socialization and the fact that relatively

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

little is known about the determinants of women's career aspirations. This remains true especially as it concerns women in professional education, despite the attention paid to disentangling the influences upon young women's educational and occupational aspirations (Carpenter & Western, 1982; Poole, 1983; Punch & Sheridan, 1978; Punch & Waugh, 1980).

Perhaps the most well-known study examining the relationship between gender and professional socialization was performed on female medical students by Leserman (1981). This study examined the impact of medical school upon men and women's attitudes to medical practice in a longitudinal study of medical students at three separate medical schools. Leserman found that at entry to medical school, women were more oriented than men to patient care, to working to effect political and economic change in medicine, to problems facing women patients in their dealings with physicians and to the challenges of inner city ghetto practices. This greater orientation to these aspects of professional practice among women was partially due to women's greater liberalism in general and lesser interest in money and prestige than men. By graduation, women were more interested in equalizing doctor/ patient relations and their initial differences with men concerning women's issues in medical practice had widened. Though women were more likely to begin and end medical school more patient-oriented than men, there was a definite diminution among women of their interest in effecting political and economic changes in medical practice. According to Leserman (1981), four years of exposure to the values of the faculty had weakened the orientation of even those women who had entered medical school with distinctly liberal orientations to medical practice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In a similar vein, gender differences and time variations in the value orientations of medical students were investigated using a sample of students in a mid-western University (Grant, Genero, Nurius, Moore, & Brown, 1986). Self-administered questionnaires were used to collect data on personal values, professional orientation, career issues and life priorities at three points during medical school. Cluster analysis was used to develop scales of humanitarian and extrinsic reward orientations. Findings indicated that females displayed stronger humanitarian orientations than males both when entering and leaving school, and stronger interest in work conditions at all times than did men. Interest in material reward increased over time for both genders but not at the expense of humanitarian concerns.

In a study of the professional socialization of primary and secondary teachers trained in a college of advanced education, Carpenter, Foster, and Byde (1981) found a definite link between gender and career plans of similarly motivated teachers. Women, motivated by what these researchers term a 'professional orientation' (a factor composed of items referring to *contact with youth, service to the community,* and *working with people*) planned to be classroom teachers. Similarly motivated men planned to spend as brief a time as possible actually teaching children or adolescents and intended to move into areas of educational administration, guidance or research. What these researchers suggest is that such a finding among both primary and secondary teachers points to a gender-related difference in understanding what a professional orientation in teaching means. For women teachers it clearly meant a client orientation, rather similar to what Leserman (1981) found among female medical students. For male teachers, it did not.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

They were instead driven to areas of greater prestige and power in the profession and away from face-to-face teaching.

Kleinman (1984) examined the dilemmas women face during their training to enter religious ministries in the United States. She argued that women during professional training or even in their work as professionals often find they are questioned by male peers or faculty about how they will juggle family and career responsibilities, a matter also examined by Bourne and Wikler (1978) and Hammond (1980). Kleinman found that although a theological seminary might be committed to a 'personal, egalitarian, non-authoritative style of ministering' because its faculty felt this would give women ministers a firm foundation in the profession, such an official ideology in fact contributed to weakening women's positions as church ministers. This occurred because both client expectations and the structure of the occupation assumed the presence of a full-time minister who did not have competing family obligations. In other words, only men were assumed to occupy this particular professional role which had the effect of transforming the meaning and effects of the official seminary ideology for female students. This ideology was found not to be helpful to women students in legitimating themselves to clients or to demonstrate commitment to their employers. In short, Kleinman found that irrespective of the ideology of the seminary, women's position in the ministry would not change until the structure of its work was changed, which might then lead to some change in the expectations among clients of a men-only ministry.

Utilizing ethnographic methods, Costello (1998) contended that gender plays a significant role in determining whether a student will incorporate a professional identity smoothly and unconsciously or laboriously and with resistance. Borrowing from the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

social-psychological concept of cognitive dissonance, Costello hypothesized that people whose personal identities are consonant with their new professional role will integrate their new identities smoothly, while the process will be a traumatic one for those whose personal identities are dissonant with the proposed professional role. She found significant differences in the patterns of identity consonance and dissonance between male and female law students as well as the coping mechanisms both employed in order to manage their dissonance. Rates of dissonance in men decreased as socialization progressed, while rates of dissonance in women increased as socialization progressed.

The studies in this section suggest that women experience and are influenced by the process of professional socialization differently than are men, but there are relatively few comparative studies designed to measure or contrast men and women's professional socialization experiences to validate this assumption. We will now turn our attention to the professional socialization literature in social work to investigate its conceptualization of professional socialization for its own recruits.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

History Of Social Work Research In Professional Socialization

> Is there anything in the process of learning and practicing social case work that corresponds to the growth that transforms a careless boy entering medical school into the kind of a person who is a physician in every nerve and fiber of his being? Is social case work a profession in the sense that it makes those who devote themselves to it different, although perhaps in ways hard to define, from other walks of life (Reynolds, 1937, pp. 61-63)?

Though this question was eloquently posed by one of the front-runners in social work education some time before the advent of the professional socialization studies in medicine, the social work profession did not seek to answer this question in the same way the sociological studies did. The early social work literature indicates less concern with empirically studying the process by which students become professionals, than in how to facilitate this process as educators. As a whole, the social work literature does not contain the same type, breadth or depth of study or analysis as the professional socialization literature in medicine or nursing.

A few scholars in social work sought to develop the notion that students become professionals through a series of developmental tasks characterized by crisis and stress, that also yields the development of self-awareness and interpersonal skill (e.g., Knowles, 1972; Perlman, 1967; Reynolds, 1942; Towle, 1954). Indeed, many social work educators argued that the primary goal of social work education should be the "fostering of personal growth" (e.g., Lubove, 1965) or the development of a particular type of character. However, many educators (e.g., Reynolds, 1942; Towle, 1954) never used the term "professional socialization" to describe this developmental process in their writing. For example, Towle (1954) emphasized the role of the ego in the student's educational experience, and analyzed the teaching function as a series of influential relationships that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

served to strengthen the student's inherent capacities and motivation. "Learning is a process whereby the organism continually adapts to the changing self and to the changing environment and strives for mastery of both" (Towle, 1954, p. 28). On the other hand, Reynolds (1942) stressed the powerful role of the superego (albeit a different one than is used in psychoanalytic theory) in the development of professional self-determination and self-awareness; essential components, she posits, of the "professional self." A common theme in a number of writings was the role of the social work educator as one who could powerfully yet humanely and democratically facilitate this developmental process for students (Perlman, 1967; Reynolds, 1942; Timberlake, 1974; Towle, 1954).

> As teachers of social work who are more interested in developing the *kind of person* who can learn in that vital way how to deal with people, we are not so greatly concerned with how much he can repeat from books the preserved experience of others who lived in less dynamic days...There is need of flexible and richly associating minds capable of both analysis and synthesis; of sensitivity to people, ability to feel with them and yet to see them in perspective; of ability to express feeling and yet to keep in balance with all the forces in the situation. When we think of such an educational goal, we are perhaps worried because we feel as if we had to *make* a professional personality. We have only to let it grow (Reynolds, 1942, pp. 264-265).

Documentation cannot be found as to how the social work profession responded to sociologists' interest in the process of adult/ professional socialization during the 1950's and 1960's. The conceptual usage of "professional socialization" in the social work literature in the last 30-40 years suggest that attempts were made to borrow or incorporate some of the sociological theory derived from these studies, in some cases, reflecting theories or fragments of adult socialization theories (e.g., Knowles, 1972). It identified ways students entering professional training begin to acquire the knowledge and skills, values, attitudes, and interests that comprise the culture of the profession (Western,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1963). In his discussion of *Social Work and Professional Socialization,* Western (1963) contended that the studies that have been made of the educative process in the professions are of two distinct types. Those concerned with the social sciences have commonly emphasized the acquisition of technical and substantive aspects of the *professional culture*, whereas those that focused on other professional fields, such as medicine, law and the military, have been more likely to concentrate on *value acquisition.* A review of the social work literature including the term "profcssional socialization" suggests that the literature falls almost exclusively into the second category, concentration on value acquisition.

How does the social work literature use the term "professional socialization: A rose by any other name?

As noted in the previous section, though there are few conceptual discussions or empirical studies on the process of professional socialization of social work students, the literature has in recent decades utilized the term when referring to the preparation of social work students for professional practice. The following quote suggests that the author had knowledge of sociological theory on the subject when she noted:

> Becoming a social worker involves the integration of professional and personal identity via the various *formal and informal socialization* [italics added] experiences that comprise social work education (Webb, 1988, p. 40).

When remarking on the importance of the supervisory role in the formal education process, Kadushin (1992) comments:

> The objective of professional training is not only to teach the knowledge, skills and attitudes that would enable the recruit to do a competent job, but also to socialize the student to the ways of the profession, to develop a professional conscience. It is the elaborate process of *professional socialization* [italics added], during a prolonged period of intensive training, which permits workers

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> in all professions to operate autonomously, free of external direction and control on the basis of competence and values incorporated during training (p.37).

Perhaps most obviously, though implicitly, the social work field literature operationalizes many of the tenets of professional socialization while preparing its students for practicum. Many of the recent textbooks for the Field highlight activities and exercises that encourage students to validate, synthesize, and integrate their overall training and practicum experiences with their personal reflections about becoming a social worker (e.g., Cochrane & Hanley, 1999; Thomlison, Rogers, Collins, & Grinnell, 1996). One textbook offers an entire chapter to students titled *Socialization into the Social Work Profession* (Berg-Weger & Birkenmaier, 2000, pp. 24-49) offering students information about the phases and changes they can expect during their training and strategies for handling the concomitant stress. Yet, relatively little is known empirically about the how internship affects social work students' professional socialization. In a longitudinal study of 18 social work students, Gould (1993) studied the cognitive changes in social work students as they occurred during field placement to better understand how the students learned from practice. He found that pre-entry experience and age significantly influenced the pattern of formation of professional identity, and also the content of thinking about practice. His findings also suggested that transfer of learning might be more problematic than conventionally recognized.

Although "professional socialization" is often referred to, and sometimes treated practically as a holistic process in the educational literature, it is often conceptualized narrowly in social work research. Unlike the largely qualitative professional socialization studies that originated in medicine and nursing on the topic, the few collateral studies

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

existing in social work are largely quantitative; studies that usually only identified one dimension of professional socialization to characterize an entire process. In general, the journal literature in social work that incorporates the term "professional socialization" fall into two broad yet overlapping categories of articles.

In the first category, professional socialization is treated as an equivalent to *professional education/ training* and these terms [professional education and professional socialization] are sometimes used interchangeably. Professional values may or may not be a dimension of the discussion (e.g., O'Neill, 1980; Shey, 1969; Shriver, 1978; Valentine, Gandy, & Weinbach, 1986). O'Connor & Dalgeish (1986) are notably critical of the assumption that education and socialization are synonymous:

> Social work educators...do assume that during social work education, students are engaged in a process of *professional socialization* [italics added] whereby they acquire or develop the knowledge, values, and skills of social work (e.g., Boehm, 1959; Gross, Rosa, & Steiner, 1980; Pavlin, 1970; Smith, 1982). Yet despite educators' assumptions...research has generally failed to document the impact of social work education (pp. 6-7).

The second and larger class of articles is concerned with students' socialization to professional values or attitudes (e.g., Cryns, 1977; Hayes & Varley, 1965; Manzo & Ross-Gordon, 1990; Merdinger, 1982, 1985; Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1975). Within this literature, the impact of professional socialization/ education on professional values is exclusively examined. "Values are regarded as essential aspects of the *professional socialization* [italics added] of social workers" (Pike, 1996, p. 337). "Much of the literature devoted to *professional socialization* [italics added] at any level, has been directed toward values in the profession" (Merdinger, 1982, p. 12).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is important to note that these two broadly defined categories of professional socialization articles are not mutually exclusive. That is, most studies on students' acquisition or adherence to professional values imply or assume that socialization to professional values occurs during professional education or training (e.g., Cryns, 1977; Hayes & Varley, 1965;Manzo & Ross-Gordon, 1990; Merdinger, 1982, 1985; Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968, 1975). However, studies equating professional education with professional socialization, may or may not take up the dimension of values.

Category I: The educative process and professional socialization

While the introduction of the earliest studies of professional socialization in medicine (e.g., Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957) focused on the process by which a student becomes a professional, the social work profession instead turned its attention to investigating whether or not professional schools of social work successfully socialized their students (Enoch, 1988; Western, 1963). There was no agreement across discussions or studies as to which variables should be utilized to measure successful socialization. As a result, researchers defined socialization in different ways and utilized divergent indicators. These predominantly quantitative studies were not guided by observation or grounded in exploratory research methods that sought to understand the socialization process from the students', or the educator's standpoint.

One study that yielded discouraging findings and did not find its way into the mainstream literature was Shey's (1969) doctoral dissertation, "*The professional socialization of social work students: How length of schooling, prior work experience and other variables affect some aspects of the professional socialization of graduate*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

social work students." Shey (1969) examined the way in which graduate students in social work viewed their schools, training programs and the social work profession. Social work students scored consistently lower than other graduate students on most questions relating to *professional identification.* Shey found that the average student-trainee is socialized to the profession by previous work history as formal education. Shey (1969) concluded that social work is generally less successful than other programs in imparting a sense of professional pride and identification with the field and its professional norms.

A number of studies exploring the length of time it takes for a social work student to change in a desired direction produced inconclusive findings. O'Neill's (1980) study, for example, compared the socialization of social work students in one and two-year programs to determine the effect of *graduate program timing, vocational self-actualization, self-concept, total work opportunities,* and *age, experience* and *average undergraduate grade* on the practice scores of graduates. Self-assessed practice scores of graduates were correlated with supervisor-assessed practice scores of the students. O'Neill (1980) concluded, based on her findings from several statistical analyses, that longer time is needed for effective professional socialization.

However, a study comparing part-time and full-time programs (Valentine, Gandy, & Weinbach, 1986) found that little difference exists (on the socialization variables of *professional identity, socializing agents* and *professional values)* between full-time and part-time students. Wodarski, Pippin, and Daniels (1988) studied the effects of graduate social work education on *personality, values* and *interpersonal skills,* yielding mixed findings. These researchers compared changes in traditional MSW students who take six

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instructional quarters to complete their degree with changes in extended MSW degree students who take eight instructional quarters (a combination of part-time/ full-time work/ study arrangement) to complete their degrees. For the *personality* variables, significant positive changes were noted only for the extended students. On *social values*, there were no positive changes in either group. In the area of *interpersonal skill development*, both regular and extended curriculum students appeared to increase in empathy. Helping skills, however, decreased for both groups.

The impact of "more" professional education on students' *judgment of human nature* and *attitudes toward poverty* fared poorly in Cryns'(1977) study. Cryns (1977) explored the differences in *professional attitudes toward human nature* and *etiological explanations of poverty* and *affluence in human lives* between graduate and undergraduate social work students. Surprisingly, graduates scored significantly more negatively and conservatively on the *human nature* scales than the undergraduates. Moreover, the most significant differences on the *poverty* scale were between male and female students. Cryns found a significant interaction effect between the sex of students and their academic status on the *explanation of poverty* and on the *explanation of economic success* measures. The data revealed that a notable shift occurred among students in the *ascription of responsibility to poverty* and *explanation of economic success* measures as they progressed from undergraduate to graduate status. However, it was only male graduates that attributed both more individual responsibility to the indigent and affluent individual for their condition, and less to fatalistic interpretations of both. Males also ascribed less responsibility to structural interpretations of economic success. Cryns concluded that with increased social work education, fatalistic and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

structural interpretations of both poverty and economic success decrease and individualistic interpretations increase, but only significantly for male social work students.

Thus, Cryns' (1977) research may imply that professional education does not have the same desirable effect on male students as on female students across certain dimensions. Whether male students have pre-existing attitudes which are resistant to change by educational means, or that the educational process in social work differentially socializes males and females has not been empirically investigated.

Shriver (1978) studied the student bodies of two graduate schools of social work for a year and a half to provide empirical data on the socializing impact of professional education on students, yet this research neither supported nor refuted the theory that a profession socializes its members. Three measures, conceptualized as reflecting different aspects of socialization were used: *ascription of responsibility, professional role orientation,* and *professional identity.* Repeated observations of the same individuals over time were used. Contrary to the theoretical literature, the empirical evidence showed no significant changes over time in graduate school in *ascription of responsibility* or *professional role orientation. Professional identity* was found to increase in a fairly steady manner throughout the two graduate years. Student attributes such as age and sex were found to have minimal impact on the three measures. A positive relationship was found between the student's perception of how significant others viewed the student in relation to professional identity and student's reported feelings of professional identity.

In the first of two studies with undergraduate social work students, Merdinger (1982) showed a significant positive relationship between the number of social work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

courses completed and *attitudes towards persons on public assistance.* In the second study, Merdinger (1985) found that BSW students obtained progressively higher scores on a scale of *humanistic values* and on scales measuring *orientations to the profession and client*, and *away from agency*, over the course of two years. She concluded that social work education has a positive effect on students' humanistic attitudes and commitment to the profession and to clients.

In a similar study, also focusing entirely on undergraduate social work students, Moran (1989) examined the influence of social work education (also measured by the number of social work courses completed) on students' *humanistic attitudes.* After controlling for the effects of age, gender and race, Moran found that social work education had a positive association with attitudes concerning *human nature,* but no relationship to attitudes about *social justice.*

More recently, two studies found that social work education had little effect on students' attitudes, and personal growth and development. Manzo and Ross-Gordon (1990) compared professional socialization outcomes in two groups of adult students in part-time Masters of Social Work programs across three measures including *social values, responsibility for another's welfare*; and *social responsibility.* One group of students held an undergraduate degree in social work and had at least one year of relevant work experience, and the other group held undergraduate degrees and work experience in other fields. Students' attitudes and values were assessed at the beginning of the program, about halfway through the program, and during the practicum. No significant differences were found between the groups.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Utilizing three clinical measures in a quasi-experimental design, *(college self-expression scale, general contentment scale* and the *self-esteem scale),* Pardeck and McCallister (1991) found that undergraduate social work education had little impact on the personal growth and development of students. Though undergraduate social work education was not found to stifle personal growth and development, it did not appear to promote them either. In addition, no statistically significant relationships were found between age, gender and ethnicity and the three scales in either of the two social work programs studied.

One study that was characterized as a professional socialization study did not study the effects of education on professional socialization, but rather the assumed byproducts of it. Though characterizing her research as a professional socialization study, Howard (1981) examined the relationship between *moral thought* and *humanistic attitudes* in graduate social work students, finding partial support for a relationship between the two.

The studies discussed in this section yield conflicting results about the impact of professional education on students' socialization to the profession, and the length of time it takes to achieve desirable changes across certain selected dimensions. It would be difficult for the profession to draw any conclusions or derive any pedagogical guidance from these studies due to the fact that each study utilized different indicators to measure professional socialization, and that none of these studies were ever replicated. These researchers assumed they "knew" which factors comprised successful socialization and measured variables across an assortment of different scales without the benefit of consensus within the profession or between researchers, and perhaps most significantly,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

without the benefit of preliminary observation or exploration. As a result, unlike the professional socialization studies in other disciplines, none of these studies render any insight as to what the process of professional socialization/ education looks like to social work students.

Category II: Professional values and professional socialization

As mentioned previously, the largest category of studies concerning professional socialization in social work focus on one aspect of socialization, professional values.

> Social work is concerned with the values that give direction to our efforts and social work educators view the transmission of professional values and ethics as singularly important (Noble & King, 1981, p. 579).

In spite of the many currents of dissention within social work, there seems to be general agreement that a shared value base has held the social work profession together in times of adversity (Hartman, 1994). A research study on the content of the introductory course on social welfare showed that one area on which social work educators consistently agree was on the importance of students developing an "appropriate" value system (Popple, 1991). The conceptualization of values as an all-encompassing indicator of professional socialization is also illustrated in Abbott's (1988) operational definition of the term in her construction of the *Professional Opinion Scale.* She defined professional socialization as "that process by which individuals are influenced or molded to assimilate and reflect the *value dimensions* [italics added] of a given profession" (p. 31). In this study (Abbott, 1988), as in many others (Enoch, 1989; Hayes & Varley, 1965; Judah, 1976, 1979; McLeod & Meyer, 1967; Pike, 1994; Rice, 1995; Sharwell, 1974; Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968; Wodarski, Pippin, & Daniels, 1988), professional attitude or value assimilation is operationalized as the primary and often sole dimension of professional socialization.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Like the previous category of articles, many studies assessing the impact of professional training of social work students on values and attitudes yielded conflicting results. Whereas some have reported significant positive attitude or value changes in subjects who underwent professional training (Feldman, 1971; McLeod & Meyer, 1967; Merdinger, 1982; Sharwell, 1974; Web, Linn, Hirsh, Stein & Furdon, 1976), others found only minor changes (O'Connor & Dalgeish, 1986; Rubin, Johnson, & DeWeaver, 1986), changes in negative directions (Cryns, 1977; Varley, 1968), mixed changes (Moran, 1989; Wodarski, Pippin, & Daniels, 1988) or no changes at all (Brown, 1970; Dyer, 1977; Hayes & Varley, 1965; Judah, 1979; Lusk & Miller, 1985; Varley, 1963; Yamatani, Page, Koeske, Diaz, & Maguire, 1986). In some studies, when changes were found, they often represented an accentuation of the differences that already existed, between beginning social work students and their peers in other subject areas (Bar-Gal, 1978). The same limitations that hold for the previous category of professional socialization studies in social work also hold true for this category as well:

> It is important to note several concerns about the usefulness of the findings from these studies of professional socialization. First, none of the studies have been replicated. Second, each study differed with regard to the research design used. Third, a few studies (Merdinger, 1982; Moran, 1989) were correlational rather than using designs that incorporated repeated measures. Fourth, the studies differed in the number and types of values examined. Fifth, the studies were generally limited to students in a single school of social work (Pike, 1994, p. 6).

One of the earliest and best known studies on students' professional values socialization was based on Barbara Varley's (1963) study of *Socialization in Social Work Education.* Varley's (1963) *Social Work Questionnaire [SWQ]* was based on the assumption that social work students should develop a series of professional attitudes during professional socialization. The SWQ was designed to measure four social work values of *Equal*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rights, Service, Psychodynamic Mindedness, and *Universalism* on agreement-disagreement Likert-type scales. Numerous graduate studies using Varley's (1963) scales reported mixed results on the change in social work students' values over the course of professional training. Summarizing the findings of all known research using the SWQ (Brown, 1970; Hayes & Varley, 1965; Varley, 1963, 1966, 1968), Varley reported her findings (Varley, 1975, p. 8).

> A review of all studies clearly indicates that during the two-year graduate educational process, students make significant changes in their commitments to concepts of equal rights, service, psychodynamic-mindedness, and universalism. With the exception of equal rights, there is a decreasing emphasis expressed by the time of graduation as compared to the emphasis expressed at entrance.

Perhaps more significantly, in all studies using the SWQ, Varley (1975) also reported that value socialization is more effective among younger, undergraduate students than among older students who appeared to react negatively.

> In all studies using the SWQ, youth is positively related to value change and BSW's show value profiles much like those of the well-socialized professional model (Judah, 1979, p. 81).

In addition to age, Varley also reported that strongly-held personal beliefs contain greater importance and influence than socialization to professional values. In short, Varley's series of studies showed that graduate education did not foster value consensus among students. The personal dimensions of *social class, age,* and *amount of work experience* before admission had a greater impact on value assimilation. As with other studies, Varley's findings proved counterintuitive to the assumptions that students completing educational programs should exhibit greater professional socialization across a selected series of measures than those beginning them, and recent social work graduates should

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exhibit greater concurrence with professional values than beginning students. The finding that "social work education seemed to impede or negate internalization of some values" (Varley, 1968, p. 75), was interpreted in several ways. Among these interpretations was one that posited that the need for professional socialization is reduced in older students with more work experience (Abbott, 1988) and that [younger and more inexperienced] students who enter social work probably hold values compatible to the profession to begin with (Koerin, 1977; Pilsecker, 1978).

Judah (1976) presented similar findings to Varley's (1975) using the SWQ, but her data supported a more positive role for education in value assimilation. She reported that approximately three-fourths of the baccalaureate students in her study showed major levels of value acculturation. Much of that was attributed to classroom and agency experiences and the influence of methodology teachers and agency field instructors. In a later study, however, Judah's (1979) findings on change with MSW students were also congruent with previous studies on graduate students using the SWQ. Though the MSW population as a whole changed very little, younger students changed significantly more than older ones. Judah also hypothesized that at the end of professional socialization, students' value orientations would resemble their socializers. The MSW's value profile was reported as similar to field instructors, while the BSW's value profile was reported as similar to campus faculty's, even though on three of the four values, the two groups of socializers; field instructors and campus faculty, had contrasting value profiles. It appeared to Judah, that the class and field faculty present different models of socialization. Though the MSW's were more like the field instructors than the BSW's to begin with, they did not move clearly toward the value orientation of either field or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

campus faculty. The BSW's whose field instructors were not included in the research, were at graduation, very much like the campus faculty. The author interpreted these findings on social work values as signifying that professional socialization is more effective for younger students than older ones, while also indicating that different types of professional socializers have differential impact on lower and upper classpersons. In addition, the findings also suggested that professional socialization is not uniform or consistent, and does not produce a homogenous class of social work practitioners ascribing to the same professional values.

Sharwell (1974) reported that values did change in the desired direction in MSW students from admission to graduation on a single value; *orientation to public dependency.* He also found that entering MSW students scored higher than college students, and faculty higher than MSW students. His data was interpreted as supporting the assumption that socialization can and does take place in schools of social work (Judah, 1979).

In their research on student attitudes toward the poor, Grimm and Orten (1973) found that *age, marital status, socioeconomic status, undergraduate major, type of educational institution attended, amount of experience before admission,* and *area of professional specialization* were more important than *education* in determining student attitudes. Gender was not significant in this study, but *socioeconomic status (SES)* was. The lower the SES, the more negative were the attitudes toward the poor. Also, an undergraduate degree in social work (or sociology) was associated with positive attitudes toward the poor. Thus, in this study, demographic variables had more of an effect on student attitudes toward the poor than professional education, and also suggested that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students' attitudes may not be modified by the relatively short period of professional socialization offered by educational programs.

Bargal (1978) compared the principles of moral judgment and social values of female social work and psychology students, and found no significant differences between students at the entry point of their professional socialization and those social work students at graduation. The result of more recent studies substantiate concerns that the values of new entrants into the social work profession do not significantly differ from those of students selecting professions with different value bases, such as business (Segal, 1992).

However, Neikrug (1978) concluded that professional education may affect the value *orientation* of social work practice. Neikrug's data from a survey (Kluckhohn & Strodbeck, 1961) of 16 vignettes which included dimensions that corresponded to a value orientation underlying three identified approaches to social work practice; *analytic-therapeutic, bureaucratic* and *environmental-active,* showed that there were differences in value orientations between beginning and advanced students and between social work faculty and field advisors. Beginning students and faculty were more oriented toward the *environmental-active* approach, and field advisors and advanced students more oriented toward the *analytic-therapeutic* and *bureaucratic* approaches.

Also utilizing vignettes and a standard measure of ethical judgment, Landau (1999) sought to identify the relationship between (stages of) social workers' professional socialization and a) their *ethical judgment* and b) changes in their *ethical decision-making orientation.* She found no support for the hypothesis that professional education and socialization significantly affect the ethical judgment of social work students, and that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

further professional socialization does not significantly affect the ethical judgment of social workers either. She also found that the only demographic variable affecting ethical judgment was *religiosity.* However, she did find that social work education played an important role in conveying central social work values indicated by students' *greater client orientation,* and to a lesser extent, *nonintervention orientation* among third year over first year students and social workers in the field. Landau's (1999) findings "suggest that for the most part, the ethical judgment of social work students is already formed by the time they start their professional socialization, and no significant change is to be expected" (p. 71).

The mixed research findings on acculturation or assimilation to professional values have been interpreted in many ways. As in Landau's (1999) study, scholars theorize that students come to social work education with some predisposition towards social work values in general (e.g., Abbott, 1988; Hayes & Varley, 1965; Hockenstad, 1976; Perlman, 1976), a tenet of Merton's (1957a) theory of anticipatory socialization. Others concede that the impact of social work education on socialization into the profession or on professional values is unclear (e.g., Abbott, 1988; Avriam & Katan, 1991; Bargal, 1978; Judah, 1975, 1979; Pike, 1994; Varley, 1963, 1968). As a footnote to this section, it is interesting to note that some social work educators believe that admissions procedures to schools of social work should include choosing students holding values consistent with those of the profession (e.g., Judah, 1979, p. 85).

> If prospective social workers were selected on the basis of their personal qualities, then the claim that social work qualifies as a profession could be based on a "rhetoric of election" rather than a "rhetoric of training," and, as was the case in the not so distant past, there would be little use for social work education (Loseke & Cahill, 1986, p. 257, f.n. 6).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

If the admission criterion for entry to the social work profession is based on students holding the "right" values, then the question bears repeating on what the profession expects education to do for those social work students who are admitted? Even more profoundly, is the profession implying by this practice that social workers are born and not made?

Nevertheless, social work values continue to be taught in schools of social work. According to Haynes (1999), "approaches to teaching social work values have been traditionally based on socialization theory" (p. 40), however, the literature offers little supporting evidence that social work either recognizes or systematically utilizes socialization theory theoretically or pedagogically. One social work researcher failed to recognize and credit a pivotal sociological contribution to the professional socialization literature. Abbott (1988) credited and cited Hayes and Varley (1965) for "coining the term" 'anticipatory socialization' (p. 48); without acknowledgement to Merton (1957a).

In conclusion, some important trends are noted in the literature on values. First, in most instances, education does appear to have some impact on values, whether in a positive or negative direction. In addition, age and academic status facilitates value change. However, all studies utilized measurement instruments based on limited tests of reliability and validity (Abbott, 1988; Pike, 1994). In addition, as in the previous set of socialization studies, rather than focusing on the broad spectrum of professional socialization processes, most studies focused on the students' acculturation to specific attitudes or values at the exclusion of all else.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Why the emphasis on values in professional socialization?

Much of the early socialization literature was built on the assumption that students do not know the values and norms of the profession at the time they enter professional school, and that they learn them during the course of the socialization process as a result of exposure to teaching models (Clausen, 1968). One of the earliest and most comprehensive efforts to define social work's philosophic base was Muriel Pumphrey's (1959) *The Teaching of Values and Ethics in Social Work Education* which later became part of CSWE's curriculum study. Pumphrey believed that students should be taught how to use personal values positively and consciously and that values and ethics learned in the acculturation process transform the student from a layperson to a professional. Perhaps this is why the social work profession has focused so heavily on values.

Caplowitz (1961) offered one possible explanation as to why a profession may heavily emphasize acculturation to professional values, sometimes at the expense of other dimensions of professional socialization. Caplowitz suggests that there are three major factors, one theoretical, one technical and one empirical responsible for a profession's emphasis on values. The *theoretical* stemmed largely from Talcott Parsons' (1951, 1954) well-known structural functionalist analyses of the medical profession, [discussed in a previous section]. The *technical* stemmed from the ready availability of techniques for studying values, and the sociologist's acknowledged lack of competence in the field of medical knowledge and skills. Lastly, the only *empirical* material available at the time some of the earliest studies were conceived (Newcomb, 1952; Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams Jr., 1949) indicated that recruits who internalize the implicit values and norms associated with their professional reference group attain the desired

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

status more frequently than their counterparts. As mentioned previously, Merton (1957a) referred to this process as *anticipatory socialization.* Therefore, these may be the grounds, according to Western (1963) for a profession's priority regarding how professional values are acquired relative to how professional skills and knowledge are acquired.

Moore (1969) offers a different explanation

> Internalization of norms...[reduces] the necessity of surveillance...Occupations of professional status are granted varying degrees of autonomy in their performance. Unless balanced by self-imposed responsibility, the exercise of professional power would be intolerable and unstable (Moore, 1969, p. 869).

The internalization of professional norms and ethics has often been associated with the profession's concern with the regulation of its members. This internalization allows professionals to regulate themselves effectively, assuring that they do not abuse their autonomy (Friedson, 1994). It stands to reason that the success of the socialization process in professional education, and the viability of the profession, rests on the internalization of professional norms and values by the neophyte.

Building on Caplowitz's analysis, Western (1963) suggests that the professional socialization process is continuous and is capable of being broken down into at least three broad phases. The first two phases involve a transformation of general values into professional values:

1) *Pre-training phase:* the individual acquires two related sets of values; the first, certain general societal values, and second, some of the more visible professional values. [The 'visible' values may represent lay ideas about the profession, rather than actual professional values].
2) *Professional training:* technical skills and substantive knowledge form the basis of what is learned, which in turn color the values the individual brings to the process, which in turn give rise to the development of new and more specific values. The individual comes to see the world in a particular light,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and is likely to interpret situations and occurrences in terms of technical knowledge gained. In short, the individual has acquired a professional self that not only governs the individual's activities in professional situations but will also affect the way the individual interprets the more general social reality. This is the phase in which the professional culture is acquired, and like all cultures in general, this culture is acquired differentially, due to social or motivational variables.

3) *Completion of training:* This phase lasts the remainder of the individual's professional life. New specialized technical skills may be learned and new values acquired. A large part of the individual's professional life consists of trying to reconcile what she would like to do, with what she is permitted to do; and in the process both values and interests may change. Each profession recognizes this potential source of conflict and regulation is one of the major functions of professional socialization.

Western's (1963) analysis characterizes professional socialization as largely a process of value acquisition and internalization. This conceptualization implicitly pervades the social work literature.

Gender and professional socialization/ education in social work

The social work profession has only recently begun to address gender issues in education. The literature has experimented with new developmental models that include the meaning of the work role in women's self-concept (e.g., Brennan & Rosenzweig, 1990); and has proposed alternative formulations for incorporating gender ideology and gender stereotypes into the social work knowledge base (e.g., Abramovitz, 1987). The literature also has documented the need for gender-sensitive social work practice models in education (e.g., Norman & Wheeler, 1996); and has debated whether women's content should be integrated or separated from the general curricula (e.g., Vinton, 1992). However, many deficiencies remain. For example, the social science textbooks which are considered an integral part of the foundation of social work's knowledge base (Haynes &

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Holmes, 1994) and a required part of the social work curriculum make little use of work by or about women (American Association of University Women, 1992).

Though the literature has not taken up the issue of how either sex is professionally and/or differentially socialized, it has reviewed theories of women's development as constructed by women scholars, researchers and clinicians (e.g., Hartman, 1989). The social work literature has explored teaching techniques that respond to women's different ways of knowing (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) and learning (e.g., Merdinger, 1991). In particular, Merdinger (1991) conducted brief, in-class surveys with MSW and BSW students in order to examine classroom dynamics and gender issues. BSW students were quite consistent in reporting that when classes were all or mostly women, they felt more comfortable and less judged when disclosing personal issues. Such classes were reported to have a "better" atmosphere, and many BSW students reported feeling less competition and more cooperation. When asked about differences between male and female professors, large differences appeared between the BSW and MSW respondents. BSW students felt that women professors encouraged discussion in classes while men tended to discourage discussion, and "stick to business." Even if male professors encouraged students to ask questions, the students reported feeling more intimidated by male rather than female professors. At the MSW level, students seemed less affected by the gender of their professor.

Investigating gender inequalities in the classroom may provide some information on the professional socialization of women, but larger contextual academic issues and inequalities also comprise part of the female social work student's socializing environment. In spite of the fact that social work is predominantly female-populated

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Daly, 1990; Merdinger, 1991), social work educators have not shared equal rank with their male counterparts. Petchers' (1996) study of trends in the employment of women social work educators from 1972 to 1993 revealed that academic women continue to be clustered in nontenure and non-tenure track positions despite the growing number of women with doctorates in social work. How this impacts on male and female social work's students' perceptions of the professional role, faculty-interactions, and overall socialization experiences is currently unknown.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER II
THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATORS ON STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS AS ROLE MODELS

The Influence of Educators on Students' Attitudes and Values

Learning a new role is assumed to occur primarily through social interaction between a socializing agent and the socializee (Clausen, 1968). For this reason, interactions with faculty have been considered an important part of the professional socialization process (Baird, 1990; Bragg, 1976; Girves & Wemmerus, 1988; Pascarella, 1980; Weiss, 1981). Faculty have been described in the literature as socializing agents who clarify goals, establish career plans, provide explanations for experiences, offer rewards and sanctions to encourage progress, evaluate performance, provide feedback and encouragement, and establish collegiality among faculty and students (Baird, 1990; Bragg, 1976; Weiss, 1981). Faculty may create positive environments for students by showing interest in students' work and welfare and engaging students in discussions about developmental issues (Bargar & Mayo-Chamberlain, 1983).

Although there has been considerable research aimed at describing the nature of the changes that students undergo during their professional training, only a few studies attempted to isolate the role of faculty in this process. When taken together, the results of these investigations are ambiguous. On the one hand, results reported by Becker and Carper (1956), Fox (1972), Kendall and Selvin (1957), Merton, et al (1957), Mumford (1970), and Seeman and Evans (1962), for medical students and interns, suggest that, as role models, faculty exert considerable influence on professional students. On the other hand, evidence provided by Becker, et al., (1961), Caplovitz (1961), and Coker, Back,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Donnelly and Miller (1960), on medical students; Silberman (1976) on dental students; and Olesen and Whittaker (1968) on nursing students indicates that students may view faculty as "negative" role models and, if anything, reject the attitudes and values that they exhibit.

Su's (1992) national investigation into different sources of influence on the educational beliefs and values of teacher candidates in their initial professional socialization experiences in 29 teacher training institutions in the USA, found education faculty on the college campus exerted only mild influence, and supervising (field) faculty's influence was even weaker, over teacher candidates' professional socialization. Interestingly, however, the faculty members surveyed in the study perceived themselves and the supervising faculty as having greater influence than the students did. However, differences were noted between public and private institutions with regard to faculty-student interactions and relationships. In Su's (1992) study, the faculty in the sample believed that they influenced students by personal examples to a great extent, by informal discussions to a lesser but still considerable extent, and through formal lectures only to a mild degree. These findings supported data from student interviews that indicated that students learned more from their faculty through informal interaction and role modeling than through formal encounters in the lecture room.

Becker, et al's (1961) and Merton, et al's (1957) studies revealed that medical students redefine their educational goals in terms of what they think faculty want. This change of attitudes has been attributed to medical students developing cynical attitudes toward learning medicine (Becker, et al., 1961). Furthermore, these cynical attitudes are not just a situational adjustment to professional socialization, but as Merton, et al.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1957) suggested, they may carry over to professional practice. Subsequent studies found similar patterns of attitude change in medical students resulting from their learning experiences (e.g., Broadhead, 1983; Conrad, 1988; Combs & St. John, 1978; Haas & Shaffir, 1987; Lesserman, 1981; Shapiro, 1978).

However, there is some research evidence which demonstrates that (dental) students already approximated teachers' values and norms at the starting point of professional socialization, thus suggesting a process of fairly accurate anticipatory socialization (Quarantelli, Helfrich, & Yutsy, 1964). These students did not demonstrate a pattern of moving closer to teachers' values during the course of socialization and with respect to some values, they even moved away. A general test of value orientations (Allport, Vernon & Lindzey, 1968; Springer, 1970), Manasse, Kabat, & Wertheimen (1977) showed that there was neither movement toward nor away from teachers during socialization for pharmacy. Finding a distinct likeness between the objects and agents of socialization in the population studied, they concluded that the pharmacy occupation attracts a selective personality type. Caplowitz (1961) also showed that teachers seem to have little effect in directly influencing the non-technical values and beliefs of medical students, [and also found that the faculty identified the best students solely on their technical abilities and not on their acquisition of professional norms and values.] Rosen and Bates (1967) noted that the inadequacies of many faculty members as teachers indicate that their value to graduate students lied more in their ability to teach technical material than in their ability to be behavioral role models. The minimal influence of faculty on students values and beliefs have also been noted with respect to socialization in law (Lortie, 1959) and engineering (Schwartz, 1962). On the other hand, Shuval and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gilbert (1978) have shown that students of pharmacy resemble their teachers more at the end of socialization than at its start, in terms of the priorities attributed to professional rewards.

Many studies highlighted how the influence of faculty could not be separated from the overall social structure of the socializing organization. Quarantelli, Helfrich and Yutsey's (1964) study demonstrated that faculty had no influence on any changes in students' non-technical values and beliefs. Though reporting mixed findings regarding the influence of faculty on students, Platt and Branch (1972) indicated that dental students' professional orientations were not phenomena predominately shaped by faculty influence alone, and could not be isolated and separated from other elements within the milieu of the socialization experience. Like Quarantelli and Helfrich (1967), Platt and Branch (1972) found that the process through which students' professional attitudes are formed is one that operates within a highly interdependent social matrix of many variables, which affect the nature and quality of student behavior and attitudes.

Rosen and Bates (1967) identified the structural features of socialization in graduate education, focusing on the central role of the teacher as a socializing agent and the student as a neophyte. They found that important determinants of the effectiveness of the socialization process are the degree of consensus on socialization goals and the means for achieving them among those who operate the school or department, as well as the degree of compatibility between goals of teachers and students. Along the same lines, Wright (1967) found that students who enter graduate school with a preconception of sociology that does not fit the model of the discipline portrayed by that school were most likely to lose interest in the field as a career.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Assuming faculty as a major source of influence in professional school, Reid (1974) postulated that students' adoption of faculty attitudes would vary directly with the degree of faculty consensus, the proportion of students who view faculty as supportive, and inversely with the size of the school. His study found limited support for the first hypothesis, substantial support for the second, considerable support for the third. In a later study, Reid's (1979) findings did not support the argument that faculty as role models transmit the attitudes and values of the profession during the process of professional socialization. Nor did Reid find support for the argument that these attitudes and values play an important role in determining the subsequent performance of professional graduates.

Shuval's (1975) study also emphasized the influence of the faculty within the environment or organization. Systematic observation of four agents of socialization during early medical clinical training; physician teachers, other hospital personnel, patients and peers—presented evidence of pressure on medical students both forward into professional roles and backward into their familiar student roles. The strength of the relative push toward colleague or student roles by physician socializers, in this study, was shown to depend on the visibility and rigidity of the status hierarchy in the hospital as well as on the frequency of informal relations.

Ondrack's (1975) study demonstrated that the consistency of faculty interaction affected the intensity of students' professional socialization. This study compared entering and graduating students from three similar schools of nursing having varying degrees of consistency in profession-relevant attitudes among teachers, staff nurses, and head nurses. The study revealed that an environment of relatively consistent attitude and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

role model cues from faculty appeared to encourage more pronounced socialization among students than in an environment of low consistency. In Snyder's (1967) investigation of some of the socialization experiences believed to influence the medical student's conception of professional responsibility, he found that exposure to socialization agents was found to have the most influence on the development of concepts of professional responsibility.

Some later researchers (Weiss, 1981; Girves & Wemmerus, 1988) also demonstrated the positive effects of student-faculty interactions. Among a nationally representative sample of students attending graduate and professional schools in 1969-1970, Weiss (1981) found that "productivity" (a factor representing; *attend a professional meeting, pursue research with expectations to publish, present a paper at a meeting, and publish an article*) and "self-concept" (a factor representing; *intrinsic interest in the field, self-image as a scholar or scientist rather than as a student, hope of making a significant contribution to the field, and regard for self as an intellectual*) were strongly related to both the frequency of informal meetings with faculty and the perception of being treated as a "colleague" regardless of the student's year in graduate school, undergraduate grade point average, and academic discipline, and prestige of the graduate school. The influences of informal faculty-student interaction and collegiality are taken up in the next section.

The influence of informal interaction and collegiality in faculty-student interaction

Some studies offer support that many socialization experiences occur outside the traditional college classroom, via a number of out-of-class experiences (McKinney, Saxe,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

& Cobb, 1998) sometimes referred to as the *informal curriculum* (Granfield & Koenig, 1992, p. 504). Part of this informal curriculum includes informal interaction with faculty.

The importance of informal faculty-student interaction in professional socialization was emphasized by Merton (1957b). Drawing on Merton's study, Pease's (1967) study demonstrated that student participation in professional activities during doctoral training was associated with the amount of informal contact with faculty and the amount of encouragement received from faculty. Pease (1967) however, noted that student *conformity* with faculty influences does not necessarily guarantee socialization to the desired profession. Mix's (1971) dissertation revealed that students tend to view conformity to faculty expectations as a survival mechanism.

Mix (1971) extensively examined the informal interaction of faculty and students in the graduate school. She delineated a typology of four kinds of interaction by setting and purpose. The first setting involved *departmental space.* Students allotted part of the program's space had more of an opportunity to observe and assess faculty behavior, attitudes and values on a daily basis. In addition, they "came around to our way of life" more often and quicker than those who were not allotted such space (Mix 1971, pp. 72-73). This suggested that an atmosphere conducive to the identification of appropriate role models, and to role-taking or practice, fostered students' feelings of acceptance or belonging; what Bragg (1976) identifies as an "essential ingredient to successful socialization" (p. 25). Second, Mix (1971) found that *student participation in faculty meetings* and on *faculty committees* provided students the opportunity to practice another aspect of their future professional role. Here the student was exposed to the "authorities" in his/her area of study, authorities (s)he may observe as another potential role model of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

success in his/her profession. Finally, *joint student-faculty social events* provided students an opportunity to observe more intimately the faculty's life style. There are two kinds of social events; one arranged by the faculty to introduce students, or selected students, to visiting professionals and the other arranged by students, faculty or both. The introduction of students to visiting professionals had four purposes: 1) it may be used to reward high achievers or to indicate acceptance; 2) it may present to students a new model of excellence to emulate; 3) it may serve to teach students appropriate behavior through demonstration; 4) it may serve to revive sagging motivation by exposure to success.

Research also indicates that the more frequently trainees discuss their role performances in informal situations (e.g., private conferences and social gatherings), the more influential the others with whom the discussions are held become (Pease, 1967). For example, Khleif (1975) found that although dinners, conferences and cocktail parties were unrelated to formal instruction, they were extremely important to the success of a school administration program.

Based on a review of several studies of the influence of faculty-student relationships on student outcomes, Pascarella (1980) suggests there are positive associations between informal faculty-student contact and 1) students' satisfaction with the college experience, 2) greater educational aspirations, 3) intellectual development, 4) academic achievement, and 5) persistence in college—especially for first-year students. Platt and Branch (1972) found that students tended to advance more toward a view of themselves as professionals when they were able to establish relationships with the faculty which were more informal than formal in nature and which were oriented more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

toward a professional-to-junior colleague character than strictly a professional-to-student one.

In addition, greater student-faculty interaction, out-of-class interaction with faculty members, or working with faculty members on research outside of class are positively related to the following; students' satisfaction with the institution (Astin 1993), persistence (Grosset, 1991), educational aspirations (Pascarella, 1985; Hearn, 1987), academic growth (Terenzini & Wright, 1987), knowledge acquisition (Kuh, 1993; Springer, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Nora, 1995), and career interest and selection (Zamora & Stegall,1980; Astin, 1993).

The faculty's communication of student acceptance and collegiality also seem to affect the context of the professional socialization experience. According to surveys and interviews with graduate students in the early 1970's, the degree to which students were accepted by faculty and received guidance and feedback from faculty was the most important aspect of the graduate department climate (Harnett, 1976; Hartnett & Katz, 1976). Nonetheless, Harnett and Katz (1976) also found that one of the "root problems" associated with graduate school was that students often had limited access to faculty and perceived faculty treatment as demeaning. Graduate students were dissatisfied when faculty expected the students to approach them with "a sort of reverence" rather than to interact in a more informal and relaxed manner and when faculty did not treat the students as adults (Hartnett, 1976).

Perna's (1996) study supports Worthen and Gardner's (1988) assertion that faculty's treatment of students as colleagues enhances students' self-confidence and self-respect and encourages students to persevere. Perceived collegiality accounts for more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

than one third of the variance in graduate school satisfaction (Gregg, 1972). In addition, Bragg (1976) found that faculty treatment of students as colleagues in the department facilitates students' socialization to the professional identity by promoting students' sense of belonging and their identification with role models. Collegiality appears to be related to the amount and kinds of informal or out-of-class interaction between faculty and students (Bragg, 1976).

Using a sample of doctoral students who matriculated into one graduate school in the Fall of 1977 and controlling for department characteristics, student characteristics, financial support, and faculty relationships, Girves & Wemmerus (1988) found that the variables with the largest direct effects on degree progress were being treated as a colleague by faculty and "involvement" in the program. "Involvement" was a composite representing participation in research projects, seminars, professional meetings, discussions with faculty outside the classroom, student study groups, and social activities.

Faculty's influence over students' conformity

Some studies have emphasized the element of influence or power socializers have over making socializees ideologically conform during professional socialization. Many studies focused on the resistance of those being socialized (e.g., Becker, et al, 1961; Goffman, 1961a; Sykes, 1958). Some writers contend that the role model who commands authority is more influential in shaping the behavior of the individual through sanctions or the threat of sanctions than is the role model without such authority (Elkin & Handel, 1972, p. 56). Garnier's (1973) study of cadets supported the hypothesis that conformity to staff expectations is achieved when the socializers hold specific kinds and degrees of power over socializees. The staff's power to manipulate the sociometry of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

socializees, the presentation of certain role models, and the power to reward (particularly to control access to professional goals) were shown to lead to ideological conformity. Interestingly, when students are ideologically conforming, from the staff's point of view, successful socialization occurs (Garnier, 1973).

Faculty exerts other influences over students' conformity to professional norms and behaviors through implicit nonverbal communication. In an early study of student nurses, Olesen and Whittaker (1966) analyzed faculty–student interaction in small groups and noted how such interaction fostered student awareness of their new role. Observation of faculty-student conferences in baccalaureate nursing education revealed the function of laughter in saving the person and sustaining the structure while affording modes of criticism and consensus. Thus, the use of laughter and silence became teaching techniques used to adjudicate "identity errors." Laughter allowed the "offender" to conform to both student and faculty norms, provided criticism and acceptance simultaneously, allowed interaction to continue, and yet communicated that an error had been made. Silence, on the other hand, did not allow for the continuation of interaction, making realignment difficult.

In addition to "socializing agent," researchers have used various labels to describe faculty members' relationships with graduate students, including role model, sponsor and mentor.

The influence of social work educators on their students

Though the writer can find little evidence of empirical research that directly set out to examine the effects or influence of social work educators on their students, there

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are some noteworthy studies that have correlated some measures [notably values] between students and their educators and posited a relationship.

In Abbott's (1988) test of the *Professional Opinion Scale*, comparisons of group value scores between beginning students, recent graduates, and seasoned professionals revealed a substantial increase in the scores of recent graduates over the beginning students, and then a drop in the scores of seasoned professionals (p. 81). Graduate scores on the whole resembled seasoned practitioners more than beginning students. In a similar vein, Pike (1994) reported significantly lower mean scores from samples of NASW members and still lower mean scores from field instructors than students on the *Self-determination* and *Social Justice* scales of her instrument, the *Social Work Values Inventory*. Thus, Pike (1996) speculated that the likelihood exists that the value orientations of students become more like their professors or the professional group to which they aspire over time. Thus student value scores may decrease across certain value orientations as students move through a program, while they align with those of their socializers. Though this may be interpreted as a diminution of adherence to professional values with greater professional socialization, Pike (1996) advises that the drop in scores may signify a more realistic and refined application of professional values to practice.

Abbott's (1988) and Pike's (1994) findings pose the possibility that professional socializers may have a negative effect on students' value socialization over time. However, the influence of professional socializers (role models) on students' professional socialization needs to be further explored to more fully gain insight into the nature of this process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Setting out to demonstrate that social work students' attitude changes during professional socialization can be explained in terms of the degree of the [in this case, marginal] professionalism of the future occupation, Enoch (1989) refuted the assumption that teachers would influence students' attitudes during professional training. A number of instruments were administered which included *areas of occupational choice, attitudes toward higher education* and *the functions of a university, social issues, general occupational values,* and *social work values.* Differences in attitudes between students and staff that were insignificant at the beginning of professional training became significant toward its completion. The data indicated that core social work values were not acquired by students in the course of professional training, and professional socializers and staff in social work contributed little to students' value development. Enoch found that in each stage of their professional socialization, the (marginal) social work socializees adopted the values of the dominant academic subculture. Enoch concluded that professional socialization is dependent on the degree of professionalism of the future occupation rather than the professional education process.

David Wagner's (1990) qualitative study provided data on the influence professional socializers have on values considered deviant to the professional curriculum, in his study of radical social workers associated with the collective which published a leftist journal. He found that for this sample of radicals, professional education, at least at the graduate level, had an almost universally politicizing effect. Rather than becoming mere products of internalized professional values and norms, subjects defined their political ideologies in opposition to the prevailing school culture; aided in this process by a limited number of radical role models, including professors. Wagner found that radical

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professors and fellow students were the most important influences on those who came to define themselves as leftist in professional schools.

Surely there is a great deal to be learned about the influence that social work educators and professionals have on their students, including how students resolve the discrepancy between the "real" professional values their educators and field instructors implicitly model and those "ideal" values that they explicitly teach. There are suggestions in the literature that this area needs to be further explored:

> Although students often expect muddled values from college professors (who, they assume, live in a muddled worked of abstractions and theory), they are generally surprised at the value confusion and lack of direction existing in agencies. Although faculty maintain the sanctity of autonomy and academic freedom, they *socialize* [italics added] students into a profession that has very little in the way of practitioner autonomy and freedom in comparison with other professions (Noble & King, 1981, p. 581).

EDUCATORS AS ROLE MODELS

The functions of role models

The notion that faculty are necessary for the teaching of professional knowledge and skills, and also for modeling professional norms and values through their example (Barnartt, 1980) as the most readily available role models for students (Almquist & Angrist, 1971) is implicit in the structure of professional schools. Merton (1957) posited that faculty members are important role models for students, who, in consequence, are likely to internalize the attitudes and orientations of the faculty.

According to Kemper (1968), a role model is a technician, demonstrating skills to be learned and adopted by the student.

> The role model demonstrates for the individual how something is done in the technical sense...The role model possesses skills and displays techniques which the actor lacks (or thinks he/she lacks) and from whom, by observation and comparison with his/her own performance, the actor can learn (p. 33).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

According to Baird (1990), role models "exemplify the knowledge, skills, duties, attitudes and values of the profession" (p. 368). Ideally, the faculty role model trains the student, establishes goals, and monitors the student's progress, sets challenges and provides feedback (Baird, 1990). From his review of prior research, Baird (1990) noted that not all faculty members serve as role models, primarily due to inadequate or unsatisfactory contact between the faculty and the student or to the absence of a "trusting" relationship. Symbolic interactionists embrace this notion that socialization cannot take place without interaction with significant others (Goslin, 1969).

Allport (1968) supported the concept of modeling, saying that "education for values occurs only when teachers teach what they themselves stand for, no matter what their subject is" (pp. 164-165). Bucher (1965) documented the importance of faculty role models for the development of psychiatric residents' professional self images, and Almquist and Angrist (1971) expanded the role model profile by adding the "emulation" element. According to these investigators, role models not only provide technical demonstrations, but also enact lifestyle aspirations by encouraging a student to evaluate his/her own abilities and potential.

Bell (1970) added the notion of "negative impact" to the role model concept. This addition allows for a role model to shape a student's behavior in opposite patterns from their own due to undesirable qualities. A role model is then

> ...any person to whom a subject feels himself to be similar (or dissimilar) or whom a subject wishes to be like (or unlike) or whose values the subject claims to have adopted (or refuses to adopt) (Bell, 1970, p. 281).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In a study of the presence of role models among young adults, Bell (1970) found that subjects who were able to name role models functioned more effectively on several dimensions of career success than those subjects citing no role models.

Bucher and Stelling (1977) described the variety of role models faculty may present to students in several types of professional programs, also observing that faculty members may provide partial and negative role models for their students. Simon (1972) stressed the importance of experiential learning, particularly the student's learning experiences with "role models." According to Simon, values are learned and changed through *teaching or moralizing; letting students construct their own values,* and through *modeling of desired behavior.* Knafl and Burkett (1975) describe ways in which interactions with senior residents facilitate the junior residents' learning to make difficult judgments in ambiguous situations.

The effectiveness of role modeling has also been documented in the occupational socialization literature. Researchers have discovered that the more frequently trainees observe their trainers actually performing the occupational role and are observed performing approximations of the role by the trainers, the more influential these trainers become (Bucher, 1977; Dornbusch & Scott, 1975; Simpson, 1967). Thus, one reason why work settings serve such important functions in the training process is that they are the only settings in which the above kinds of interaction can occur. According to Bucher (1965), such interaction defines the nature of the work the trainees are to engage in, provides models of appropriate behavior, allows the trainees to play the role under supervision, and provides coaching and criticism, all of which lead the trainees to adopt the professional identity characteristic of the group (Corbett III, 1980).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Though studies in nursing have consistently supported modeling as a positive strategy (cited in Bidwell & Brasler, 1989), some authors have identified negative features of the process. Unlike Bragg's (1976) description of modeling as an active process, [see Introduction], criticism tends to emphasize modeling as a passive, imitative process, seen as less desirable than active learning (Hamilton, 1981).

Some critics (e.g., Hamilton, 1981; Smoyak, 1978) believed that while modeling may allow the student to attain the instructor's level of competence, it does not allow for growth beyond this level. A final argument against faculty-modeled behavior as a strategy for professional socialization is based on the results of those studies that indicate that in some instances, the clinical instructor models ideal rather than real behaviors (Bellinger, Reid, & Posey, 1985; Kramer, 1986). Kramer found that this discrepancy contributes to difficulties that new graduates may experience in adjusting to the work setting. It is important to note that this criticism still supports the finding that students do model those behaviors and attitudes that they observe in their instructors.

Role modeling and mentoring are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, but the definitions of the two terms are not interchangeable. Mentoring is distinguished from role modeling as being a long-term active process that involves an experienced person and a neophyte (Bidwell & Brasler, 1989). Unlike modeling whose goal is behavior or value change, the goal of the mentoring relationship is the advancement of the neophyte's career (Hamilton, 1981). Some researchers contend that modeling may be most effective with beginning students (Smoyak, 1978) since they have not yet acquired the skills or the experience that builds professional self-worth, whereas

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mentoring may be more appropriate for graduate students (Bidwell & Brasler, 1989) who already have acquired the professional role.

Role modeling in social work education

Since the study of the professional socialization of social work students has received limited and narrow attention by researchers, it is not surprising that the empirical connection between professional role modeling and professional socialization in the literature also has not been made. However, the social work literature does acknowledge the utility and importance of faculty/ field instructor modeling in the instruction of professional skills, values and behaviors. Webb (1988), for example, discusses the role of field instructor as agent of socialization and role model in helping the student learn, among other things, the conscious use of self; "the field instructor has a pivotal role in *modeling* [italics added] this aspect of professional identity" (Webb, 1988, p. 40).

Shulman (1992) instructs academics "how to *model* [italics added] the helping skills through effective teaching" (p. 128-164) in his teaching guide to accompany *The Skills of Helping Individuals, Families, and Groups* (Third Edition). Acknowledging the role of field supervisor as role model, Rooney and Reitmeir (1991) include a category in their *Student Feedback* instrument for rating field supervisors as satisfactory or unsatisfactory on the dimension of "modeling job skills."

Some writers question the assumption that good preparation for social work practice equals good preparation for teaching (e.g., Noble, Matthew, Chalfant, & King, 1980; Webb, 1984; Wood & Middleman, 1991). Others argue that there is no duality between the identities of social worker and educator (e.g., Lewis, 1987). Nonetheless, a number of articles cite the parallels between social work practice and (practicum)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

education, and the parallel dynamics between workers and clients and supervisors and supervisees (Bogo and Vayda, 1998; Doehrman, 1982; Kahn, 1979; Noble & King, 1981; Webb, 1984). Social work educators are challenged to have their teaching processes more closely mirror the helping processes they teach their students. Dore (1993) maintains that social work education, like social work practice, should start where the client (student) is, move at the student's pace, involve the student in a mutual process of goal setting and contracting, and facilitate student growth and change. This analogy suggests that the teaching role parallel the practitioner role, whereas the practitioner-teacher models for the client-student appropriate working skills and behaviors.

> Social work educators often serve as models for their students, just as social workers may become models for their clients. The instructor who uses this role responsibly can bridge class and field by inspiring an identification which is grounded in social work values (Webb, 1984, p. 54).

Writers in social work education frequently point to the need for effective and ethical professional role modeling to enhance professional learning. "Professors are *role models* [italics added] whether or not they choose to be" (Wood & Middleman, 1991). "Teachers should realize they are always on stage for their students" (Lewis, 1987, p. 14). "What is caught" as being more important than "what is taught" is a common euphemism in the literature (e.g., Lewis, 1987; Wood & Middleman, 1991), and collegial teaching/ learning is often seen as one method of enacting this ethos. On the other hand, Kurland (1991) urges teachers to model authority, however differentially, so that students become more comfortable with themselves as authorities in the professional role.

> They *(social work educators)* are in positions of power because of their ability to reward and punish, because of the positions they occupy within the university structure and because students identify with them as persons of prestige and see them as experts. Thus, they hold five kinds of power—reward, coercive,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> legitimate, referent and expert—identified by French and Raven (1968) as the bases of social influence (Kurland, 1991, p. 82).

Maas (1980) warns social work educators to be mindful that what they represent is as important as what they present since "what we as teachers are seen or known to do professionally communicates as much as—if not more than—what we verbally teach and preach" (p. 11). Falck (1980) identifies the conscious use of self as one of seven essential qualities of a good teacher stating that

> The teacher role demands the same ethics and the same conscious use of self as professional social work practice. The clients are the students, the worker is the teacher. The inference is that all the teacher puts into the professional relationship must meet the standards of self-reflection, discipline and self-motivation that teachers expect students to demonstrate in their work with all clients and in all settings (p. 4).

Kadushin (1992) believes that especially in the development of professional attitudes, the most effective learning comes through identification with a supervisor who models the attitudes of a good social worker, rather than through didactic teaching. "The supervisor is, in effect, internalized during the transformation of the lay person into a professional, and supervision does not then need to be externally imposed" (p. 37).

In a similar vein, Lewis (1987) argued that "teachers who identify themselves with particular causes that are consistent with the profession's values and goals are important *role models* [italics added] for initiates into the profession" (p. 12).

A considerable amount of discussion about modeling focuses around professional role modeling and ethics (Lewis, 1987; Reamer & Abramson, 1982). Simon (1972) stressed that values are learned and changed in predominantly three ways, one of these through modeling of desired behavior. Lewis (1987) suggests that in order to model

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ethical behavior through ethical teaching, social work educators should substitute the word "teacher" for "worker" and "students" for "clients" in the NASW Code of Ethics, and uphold the Code accordingly while educating students. Conrad (1988) studied the role of field instructors in the transmission of social justice values. Joseph (1991) asserts that traditional teaching methods are generally ineffective for teaching values and ethical behavior.

> Values and ethical standards are more likely to be modified and internalized through opportunity for reflection and analysis and *modeling* [italics added] in faculty who are committed to the values of the profession...(pp. 99-101).

Similarly, faculty and field instructors' "negative" modeling (Shuval & Adler, 1980) manifested through the abuse of authority or unethical behaviors are of emerging concern (Congress, 1996; Jacobs, 1991). Congress (1996) warns educators that engaging in dual roles with students might lead to ethical violations and dilemmas that may influence students more than their didactic education. In her discussion of the supervisory relationship, Jacobs (1991) warns that students may replicate aspects of harmful interactions (modeling behaviors) with their supervisors in their own work with clients.

Empirical studies on modeling

Though there are no known studies in social work that explore the effect of modeling as it naturally occurs within the context of students' professional socialization, there are a few empirical studies that measure the effects of modeling as a teaching intervention on social work students' learning of practice skills. Similar studies in other fields also espouse an intentional and dynamic use of modeling for teaching professional skills (Lopez (1983). Lopez suggests encouraging students to discuss what they have seen and experienced by observing their instructor. Teevan and Gabel (1978) investigated the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

efficacy of experiential modeling (role-playing and lecture) discussion training techniques for 45 college student mental health paraprofessionals. The data revealed significantly better counseling skills for the students trained with the modeling—role-playing program than untrained controls. Their findings support the use of modeling and role-playing training techniques for enhancing paraprofessionals counseling skills.

Mayadas and Duehn (1977) utilized modeling as a conscious deliberate intervention to teach social work students clinical skills. They found that the vicarious social learning that occurs through observing the behavior of others (Bandura, 1969), when framed in an educational context, became an effective, reliable and rapid technique for developing new interpersonal responses and strengthening or weakening previously acquired social skills. They concluded from their research that modeling provides students with more relevant cues than verbal description and facilitates the imitation by students of an array of complex clinical skills, while eliminating much of the inefficiency of trial-and-error learning.

In another study, Schinke, Blythe, Gilchrist, and Smith (1980), found that a teaching method consisting of didactic presentations, supervisor modeling, student role playing, and concurrent feedback and coaching resulted in an increased proficiency using basic interviewing skills.

Through random assignment to one of two training methods, Larsen and Hepworth (1980) compared two teaching methods in the field practicum. The first method consisted of modeling, taping interviews, and receiving feedback about students' interviewing behaviors. The second method, called a traditional field approach, consisted of discussion of process recordings and was more focused on case dynamics than

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students' skill levels. They found that students taught in the former method performed at a higher overall level of competency and had more confidence in their skills than those taught in the traditional approach.

As an intentional strategy, the studies in this section suggest that modeling is an effective means for helping students acquire skills. However, the effects of unintentional modeling behaviors on students'professional socialization remains unexplored.

Gender and role modeling in social work

Few studies can be found on the effects of role models on social work students with attention to gender. One study (York, Henley, & Gamble) explored whether there was evidence to support the use of *consciousness raising, mentoring, informal support, training* and *role modeling* as strategies to develop interest in female graduate social work students in social work administration. The strongest evidence was found in support of mentors and consciousness-raising activities; modest support for strategies associated with peer support and training on women in administration; and no evidence was found the support the use of female role models as an effective strategy. The authors concluded that perhaps it is not enough "to simply have females in administrative roles. It perhaps is critical that they serve in mentor relationships" (p. 249).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Justification for the study

> Professional socialization involves somewhat more than the acquisition of specialized knowledge and the internalization of professional values (Loseke & Cahill, 1986, p. 245).

Unlike the exploratory studies in medicine, dentistry, nursing and pharmacy that focus on how students become professionals, relatively little is known about *how* social work students become professionals. Pike (1996) contends that "inadequate measurement tools have prevented the identification of professional socialization processes in social work" (p. 348). However, none of the instruments cited in the previous chapters that were designed to measure [assumed] dimensions of social work students' professional socialization derived from exploratory research, or made empirical use of the foundational research conducted on the professional socialization of recruits in other professions. If it had conducted such levels of inquiry, social work research in professional socialization would probably contain more consistent and valid indicators of professional socialization to further guide survey development, and comparisons across studies would yield more conclusive findings to guide educators. The proposed study may serve to generate a more holistic understanding about the professional socialization of social work students to guide theory development and better inform educators how to more effectively facilitate this process.

To date, the author can locate the results of only three exploratory studies published in social work journals and one exploratory study published in a university

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

monograph that concerns the professional socialization of social work students. These qualitative studies were seldom cited in the mainstream journal literature on professional socialization and do not seem to be a part of the ongoing dialogue in this area.

Emphasizing the situational rather than the personality determinants of behavior while conceptualizing the relationship between student and field instructor as a primitive, transactional social system, Wijnberg's (1977) monograph utilzed a study group of ten first-year graduate students entering the field. Wijnberg posited that when three components of the field relationship are in agreement, then no strain exists and the system is in balance or a stable equilibrium. These components include 1) the student's attraction to the field instructor and the student's assessment of the field instructor's attraction to her; 2) the student's perception of the field and; 3) the student's perception of the field instructor's conception of the field.

The students recorded their feelings and observations at the end of each day of internship and also participated in bi-weekly open-ended interviews for seven months. Wijnberg found that the students entered their program believing that social workers were highly "skilled, knowledgeable, compassionate, altruistic and effective professional people" (p. 19) and the students hoped to emulate their assumed skills and knowledge. However, most of the students in the first six weeks experienced disillusionment as their expectations and doubts about social workers' status, autonomy, behavior, knowledge and service orientation were all disconfirmed. The disillusionment with which they contended was viewed as evidence of strain, defined as a "disturbance in the expectation system" (Parsons, 1949, p. 491) in the role system. Disillusionment lead to feelings of cognitive dissonance that for some students resulted in an adaptation of original

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

expectations while other students experienced troubling or "uncertainty-producing communications," for example, having trouble interpreting the field instructor's intent. The students' issues fell into three categories: *structural* (pertaining to space, supervisory time, number of clients assigned, etc); *process* (supervisor's planfulness, seriousness of work orientation, openness of communication and conflict resolution style); *content* (nature of learning opportunities, quality of supervisor's relationship to own and agency clients, willingness to evaluate student while engaging in discussion, supervisor's "updatedness" regarding interventions, etc.) They devised strategies for coping with their dissonance by 1) organizing their perceptions to either fit or change the environment; 2) changing their perceptions or expanding their definition of their environment beyond their supervisory relationship; or 3) seeking confirmation of their prior expectations from other school or agency sources. When the students were able to bring their prior expectations and current realities into meaningful balance they could reduce the dissonance and strain. More importantly, as time progressed, the students gradually assumed a decidely more active role in making assessments, sorting out what they wanted from their experience and subsequently adapting their notions about field instruction and expectations about social work.

Investigating "the meaning that assuming a professional persona has for the private world of the individual," Barbour's (1985, p. 496) qualitative study explored the transsituational demands of professional socialization for social work students. Barbour presented how recruits negotiate their transition from lay member of society to social worker while remaining in the lay world. Three dimensions were explored; *the social worker as citizen, the citizen as social worker,* and *the student as social worker.* In the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first area, for the majority of students, social work training had a pervasive reorganizing influence on social worker students' self-concept. In the second area, students struggled with separating and oftentimes concealing (the stigma of) their occupational role from others. In the third area, students were found to embrace private desires for personal change but in order to protect themselves from the public consequences of exposure in their educational programs, exerted control in those areas (i.e. the degree of sharing) officially accepted as indicators of personal change. Students made transsituational demands of fellow students and staff and recognized the transferability of social work training to situations outside the worker-client interaction. Barbour's study resembles the literature on "cross-pressures and conflicted socialization," presented in a previous section. It is especially curious that despite documenting concern over the stress and conflict that its recruits undergo (e.g., Mayer & Rosenblatt, 1974), social work scholars have not developed extensive inquiry into this area.

Loseke and Cahill's (1986) case study analyzed student social workers' conceptualizations of the occupational identity of "social worker" within a dramaturgical framework and compared their overall "impression management" to that of medical students (Haas & Shaffir, 1982). Unlike the medical students, the authors found that the student social workers have no standard uniform or unique props to aid them in being professionally recognized; they must deal with often negative audience reactions to their low status; and they must negotiate the somewhat ambiguous script of "helping." In addition, they had to cope with the uncomfortable realization that their professional training might be ineffective or superfluous in creating the anticipated characteristics of a social worker. In short, they had to "attempt to realize an identity that is neither clearly

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

defined nor generally respected" (Loseke & Cahill, 1986, p. 247). Another significant finding was that neophyte social workers, unlike medical students, did not believe they could realize their professional identity through impression management or "surface acting," but only through the needed personal changes that would lead to correct professional behaviors; a corollary to "depth acting" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 558). The students in this study largely identified themselves as students (Becker, et al's, 1961) and not as social workers, and frequently distinguished themselves from social workers through the use of specific job titles, such as community organizer, or drug therapist.

Schreiber's (1989) qualitative study of student peer groups in the first year of graduate social work school sought to identify salient characteristics of students' self-identified experiences of professional socialization. Shreiber found that the formation of a peer group reduced student stress and supported students in coping with developmental and adaptive difficulties and tasks of the educational experience, while also assisting students in those personal and social issues that impact upon the student's successful transition from layperson to professional. The student subculture, according to Schreiber, is a systematic, albeit situational response to the rigors of educational life. Perhaps the most significant implication for professional socialization research, was Schreiber's finding that "the informal aspects of learning generated in the peer group support the academic objectives which are the manifest functions of the graduate professional school" (p. 40).

Rationale for using qualitative methods

In spite of the existence of quantitative studies in social work that measure assumed dimensions of professional socialization, the notion of *how* students are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professionally socialized and *how* role models influence the process have not been a focus of the research. With the exception of the three qualitative studies cited in the previous section, social work research has largely failed to conceptualize students' professional socialization in terms of *process*. Understanding how students are professionally socialized requires exploration into the complex depth and breadth of their social worlds and social interactions as they are expressed in the students' educational life. It also involves investigation into the meanings students attribute to these worlds and interactions; their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values and assumptions. The students' actions, and their developing and internalized norms, roles and values are crucial aspects and byproducts of the process they undergo and are significantly influenced by their interaction with the social and physical setting of the program. This interaction includes both formal and structured, as well as informal and unstructured relationships and linkages. Because the nature of these social processes is complex and interdependent, they are seldom easily represented along a set of uni-dimensional quantitative scales.

In order to understand the unique dynamics of the professional socialization process, it is helpful to approach that process without predetermined hypotheses about the many interrelated dimensions of professional socialization. The existing quantitative social work values instrumentation presumes prior knowledge of all the key forces that shape student trainees and all the key dimensions on which they change. Worse, they do not allow one to measure or discover anything else. And worse still, one often does not know that the variable measures were the wrong ones. Coding the social world of students into operational variables destroys valuable data by imposing the researcher's world onto the subjects (Marshall & Rossman, 1999) and would continue to isolate the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

assumed elements of professional socialization into discrete fragments of surface behavior (Light Jr., 1983). The rationale for this proposed inquiry argues that professional socialization cannot be understood in terms of assumed and discrete variables, but rather as a holistic interaction of *process* and *environment.* An inductive, naturalistic approach would be particularly appropriate in this case. Investigations that target people's understanding are well-served by qualitative approaches (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Qualitative research is designed to inductively build rather than to test concepts, hypotheses and theories (Merriam, 1998). That is the purpose of this inquiry.

> Qualitative inquiry is highly appropriate in studying *process* [italics added] because depicting process requires detailed description; the experience of process typically varies for different people; process is fluid and dynamic; and participants' perceptions are a key process consideration (Patton, 1990, p. 95).

An open-ended approach permits the dimensions of professional socialization to emerge from the observations and interviews rather than from the theories and expectations of the researcher (Patton, 1990). Direct examination and immersion in the students' world via methods of observation and face-to-face interaction, enables the researcher to unearth nuanced relations between categories of data, to formulate propositions with regard to such relations, and to test them against the emerging data in that empirical world (Blumer, 1969). The natural setting is pragmatically conducive to the use of multiple, exploratory methods that are interactive and humanistic. Since the data is emergent rather than prefigured, and the findings interpretive, the proposed inquiry would require a design that can remain sufficiently open and flexible to permit exploration of whatever the phenomenon under study offers (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). In qualitative inquiry,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

design in the naturalistic sense "means planning for certain broad contingencies without, however, indicating exactly what will be done in relation to each" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 226).

Rationale for studying undergraduate students

Little research exists on the professional socialization of undergraduates, except those in pre-professional programs (McKinney, Saxe, & Cobb, 1998). Koerin, Harrigan, & Reeves (1990) lend insight into factors that affect the status changes of younger BSW and MSW social work student in transition to professional. Their exploration includes both the student's developmental needs and the external environment. Koerin, et al., (1990) note that the transition from student to professional social worker coincides with the maturational-stage changes of late adolescence to young adulthood for the younger student. The authors note that BSW students are young, reflecting the typical college-age population.

Schacter (1988) concurs that younger students may be "less tested in the world of work and life experience" than was the case for previous generations which benefited from part-time and pre-MSW job opportunities in the social programs of the postwar and 'great society' eras (p. 145). Studies utilizing undergraduate students (e.g., Merdinger, 1982, 1985, 1991; Varley, 1963) suggest that BSW students are probably a relatively more homogenous population in terms of age, variety, length and intensity of life experience, and length and degree of exposure to professional role modeling, contact with social workers and knowledge of the social work profession when compared to graduate students. Other researchers have indicated that practitioners holding BSW degrees are typically younger and less occupationally experienced than those with either BA or MSW

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

degrees (Biggerstaff & Kolevzon, 1980; Kolevzon & Biggerstaff, 1983). As a result, it may be easier to control for intervening and maturational influences in the socialization experiences of this population than in graduates'. In addition, the effect of professional socialization processes appears to be experienced more acutely by undergraduate students; thus rendering changes in their development more recognizable and distinctive. The following paragraph summarizes previously discussed studies of undergraduate social work students' professional socialization that together create a cumulative justification for an exploratory study utilizing undergraduates.

Varley (1963) found the greatest change in values occurred among students who were young, dependent, away from home, and had little exposure to social work. Varley also found work experience to be related to value change. Students who had no professional social work experience exhibited the greatest change, and those who held social work positions or who had previous exposure to social workers showed the least change. One explanation for these findings (Koerin, 1977) is that the younger students have had fewer role models, which might eliminate possible conflicts produced by exposure to the field and numerous role models.

Judah's (1981) study also found that youth is positively related to value change and BSW's value profiles resembled those of the well-socialized professional. Further research indicates that in contrast to the younger student, older students are more fixed in specific goals and values, allowing for less change (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969, p. 298). Theories of value change, especially cognitive dissonance theory, suggest that there is a tendency to accept that which is congruent with previously held values and reject what is not (Festinger, 1958; Rokeach, 1968). Merdinger (1982) indicated that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

initial courses in a BSW major may have the greatest impact on values stressed in the curriculum, while later courses seem to reinforce choice of a major and the earlier value changes. Merdinger (1985) found that BSW students became more humanistic over the course of two-year period.

In a later study, as cited previously, Merdinger (1991) also found that BSW students were more sensitive to gender differences in their teachers than graduate students. Moran (1989) found that social work education had a strong influence on BSW student attitudes toward human nature. Grimm and Orten (1973) found that an undergraduate degree in social work (or sociology) was associated with positive attitudes toward the poor; suggesting socialization's favorable impact on this attitude.

As mentioned previously, with regard to the influence of professional modeling on undergraduate students, some critics (Hamilton, 1981; Smoyak, 1978) posit that while modeling may allow the student to attain the instructor's level of competence, it does not allow for growth beyond this level. However, Bidwell and Brasler (1989) comment that while this may be an issue in graduate education, it does not present a major problem in undergraduate education, particularly in introductory courses where the expected level of student performance is certainly less than that of the instructor.

In addition to professional socialization's differential impact on undergraduates as compared to graduates, a number of sociological studies [previously cited] suggest that professional socialization has differential effects on men and women (Barnartt, 1980; Bourne & Wikler, 1978; Campbell, 1973; Grant, Genero, Nurius, Moore, & Brown, 1986; Hammond, 1980; Hitchman, 1976; Kleinman, 1984; Leserman, 1981; Sells, 1975), as do a few social work studies (Cryns, 1977; Merdinger, 1991). These studies, along

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with the studies cited in the subsequent section suggest compelling grounds for undertaking an examination of the influence gender exerts on the socialization process including its influence on the interaction between student and role model.

Rationale for studying the influence of gender

One of the most important and growing areas of research pertaining to women has been in the area of learning theory and pedagogy. Some of the first studies by Frazier and Sadker (1973) focused on women in the elementary classroom, and efforts have continued over the last twenty six years to document and analyze the learning environment for females from the elementary level through graduate study and their professional development. Studies show that for all women, regardless of major, the college classroom remains a "chilly climate." Kramerae and Treichler (1985) note that there are at least four identifiable factors responsible for this:

1. Most college and graduate curricula still either exclude the experiences and contributions of women, or marginalize these to special areas of study.
2. There are a disproportionately small number of female role models at the upper levels of faculty, staff and administration.
3. Academic and professional advising of females is restrictive.
4. In coeducational classrooms, males dominate discussion and receive more attention from instructors.

Studies show that the responses of female students in the classroom are often interrupted both by teachers and by the male students, arguably mimicking gender relations and power relations in the world outside the classroom (Kanwar, 1995). In classes where male students were in the majority and the teacher was male, female college students were found to initiate interactions less often and end interactions sooner than male students (Sternglanz & Lyberger-Ficek, 1977). In fact, male students tended to dominate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

all interactions with female or male teachers, whether the male students were in the majority or minority (Sternglanz, 1979; Sternglanz & Lyberger-Ficek, 1977).

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule (1986) and Maher (1985) have argued that learning styles are gender-based. They maintain that females have a collaborative and interactive learning style that draws more from an experiential and intuitive base, emphasizes the collective experience, and seeks to connect the abstract to the personal and practical. This style fosters more group learning and diminished hierarchy in the learning environment. Males appear to be more individual in their learning styles, emphasizing the abstract and hierarchical while seeking discussion with clear "winners" and command of the subject. This learning style seems to translate into a male's clear preference for male role models.

Ekrut and Mokras (1984) found that male students overwhelmingly avoided female professors as role models, opting for powerful, high-status, male professors who could promote their goals both educationally and professionally. Female subjects selected female role models when they were available among faculty. Ekrut and Mokras (1984) discovered that females select role models for different purposes than males. In this study, females who selected female professors as role models looked to these models as examples of persons who could successfully integrate professional and family lives. Males selected male role models for reasons associated with professional gain, not for personal or familial exemplification.

Still other studies supported the notion that women's role model choices are not necessarily dependent on gender. McNeer, Hayes, and Paludi (1983) found that women predominantly named cross sex relatives, instructors and professionals as their role

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

models. Personality characteristics used to describe role models were "masculine" in nature, centering around traits of competence, intelligence, and ambition. Though women in this study reported that gender was not an important characteristic of role models, and they could live without a same-sex role model, many women reported that they would like a female role model, especially to help them in their personal versus professional career decisions.

McQuillen and Ivy's (1985) investigation of the impact of role models on students' perceived competence, stress, and satisfaction with graduate school [with specific emphasis to the effects of gender on the evaluation process] also revealed a tendency for subjects, regardless of gender, to prefer male role models. Though the percentage of women selecting female faculty role models was high in proportion to the [under]representation of women on the faculty, females who selected female role models reported higher levels of stress than did women with male role models. The males reported the lowest stress level, reinforcing previous studies finding that male students experience lower levels of anxiety than do female students (Fyan, 1979; Harleston, 1962; Sinick, 1956). The higher stress among women was interpreted to mean that those females selecting other-sex models may have held more traditional role expectations for men and women, and felt more secure looking to the advice and example of a male rather than a female (Brown, 1983). Another possible explanation is that the status of a female faculty member may also affect her desirability and usefulness as a role model. Block (1980) points out that in most colleges, the male professors are most likely to be judged successful. Thus, a female student might be forced to choose between identifying with a same-sex role model or with a successful opposite-sex role model.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In a similar vein, Hackett, Esposito, and O'Halloran (1989) examined the relationships of the perceived influence of female and male role models, gender role and performance self-esteem to college women's career salience and career-related aspirations and choices among 107 senior women surveyed in an all-women's college. Though in isolation, perceived role model influences were significantly related to career salience, level of educational aspirations and nontraditionality of occupational choices. Role model influences were also significantly, though not very strongly predictive of college major choices, while gender-role variables were largely nonpredictive.

Still other studies focusing specifically on the sex-related patterns in the modeling-mentoring quality of the teacher-student relationship revealed the positive influence of same sex role models on women students. Goldstein (1979) studied the productivity of Ph.D. psychology graduates from three universities and nine areas of specialization four years after graduation, and found that graduates whose advisors were of the same sex published significantly more research than did graduates who had opposite-sex advisors.

Although the special importance that male professors have as role models for male students is widely recognized (e.g., Cole, 1979; Zuckerman, 1977), only recently has the importance of female professors as role models for female students been acknowledged. Some studies point to significant effects of female faculty role models on the behavior, decisions and learning experiences of female students. Female teachers were found to be important for female college students in their career decisions (Basow & Howe, 1980). In addition, within the professional school, female students in the first two years of medical school reported that they *needed* more role models, while those in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the second two years reported that they no longer needed role models (Roeske & Lake, 1977). Thus, in addition to the influence of a predominantly male environment influencing women's need for role models, this study also lends support to the greater importance of role modeling in the early phases of a neophyte's professional training (Smoyak, 1978).

All-female colleges have provided another window into the effect of female educators on female students. Tidball (1973) examined a group of women achievers who appeared in *Who's Who in American Women, 1966-1971* to determine what effect could be ascribed to the type of undergraduate college they attended. She found that women who graduated from women's colleges appeared in far greater numbers than women who graduated from co-ed institutions. Graduates of selective and less selective women's colleges were at least twice as likely to become achievers as women from co-ed institutions, matched for selectivity. Tidball compared the number of women faculty to the number of women students and found that as the ratio of women faculty to women students increased so did the number of women achievers. She postulated that women faculty members serve as role models for women students and are thus a critical ingredient in a college environment that seeks to produce talented women.

Another approach used to determine the effects of female role models on students was to survey the behavior of women students as it was related to the availability of female faculty models. The availability of female role models has been identified is a critical factor affecting the selection of role models in many studies. While it is true that women have made progress in the teaching ranks, there are still disproportionately few females at the full professor level, in academic administration and staff, as well as in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

certain disciplines (Schrimsher, 1996; Shavlik, Touchton, & Pearson, 1987). Betz and Fitzgerald (1987, pp. 70-71) argued that there is evidence that the relative lack of female faculty is a deterrent to women's educational and career pursuits, especially in science. Thus, there are fewer women available for role models and for the female student, some shared basis of experience. Evidence of this is found in some studies that show that female students were not only more likely to major in departments where there are female faculty members (Angrist & Almquist, 1975), but that students appeared more likely to choose their courses on the sex of the teacher, and to respond differentially depending on the sex of that teacher (Sternglanz & Lyberger-Ficek, 1977). In a qualitative study exploring student's self-identified role model and the effect of that model on them, Tangri (1972) found that female faculty in the student's major field, [as well as female college friends], provided some role support for college women who chose nontraditional occupations. Seater and Ridgeway (1976) found that undergraduate women students who could identify a female faculty role model (44%) had significantly higher expectations and were significantly more likely to have plans to enroll in graduate school than the women students (56%) who could not identify role models. Though Canes and Rosen (1995) found no evidence that an increase in the share of women on a department's faculty leads to an increase in its share of majors, Robst, Russo, and Keil (1996) found a significant positive relationship between retention and the percentage of science, mathematics and computer science courses taken by female students that were taught by women.

Using still other indicators, Gilbert, Gallesich, and Evans (1983) investigated the effect that same-sex versus other-sex role models had on students' self-evaluation of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stress, competence and satisfaction with regard to their student and intended professional roles. Based on a sample of 157 graduate students (80 females/ 77 males) Gilbert, et al. (1983) found that: 1) females identifying same-sex role models ranked higher on measures of self-esteem, instrumentality, work commitment, career aspirations, and satisfaction with student roles than those females identifying other-sex role models; 2) Males identifying same-sex role models demonstrate no significant differences on measures of work commitment, career aspirations, self-esteem and masculinity when compared to females with same-sex role models; 3) female same-sex role models reported higher satisfaction with their student role than all other groups.

Although a great deal of the research suggests the positive impact of male faculty role models on women's career development (e.g., Kutner & Brogan, 1980; Lunneborg, 1982), some investigators have obtained results indicating that inhibitory factors are sometimes associated with cross-sex model relationships, at least for female students. Goldstein (1979) identified such factors as the fear of sexual tension developing within the male sponsor/female protégé relationship and stereotypical attitudes on the part of the male faculty member regarding women's competence in carrying on the sponsor's work as possible disincentives for such relationships. Gilbert, Gallessich, and Evans (1983) results also support the claim that the male model/female protégé relationship may be less comfortable, challenging and supportive for students, and may possibly negatively affect the female student's perceptions of her own competence.

Male faculty members reported that they identify with students of their own sex to a greater degree than with students of the opposite sex (Hochschild, 1975). The male faculty members in Tidball's (1976) study were relatively insensitive to issues that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

affected their women students and were important as well to their female colleagues. These male faculty members also reported that they saw female students as sexual beings that were less serious and capable than the male students. In a survey of women students at the University of California at Berkeley, Heyman (1977) corroborated Tidball's (1976) findings. Among the frequent complaints of the female students were: the absence of collegial relationships with faculty members; fewer opportunities than those given male students for collaborative work with faculty; and a sense that their academic aspirations were less positively reinforced than those of male students.

A Michigan study that compared men and women's satisfaction with law school (Chambers, 1987) reported similar findings when women and men were asked about their gender differences in their law school experiences as it pertained to student-faculty relationships. It was revealed that the most frequent observation made by many women and men was that some male faculty members seemed uncomfortable, wary, or self-conscious in dealing with women. Because of this, the women in this study believed they were denied opportunities for "causal out-of-class contacts" which could have greatly helped them adjust to the pressures of law school. They also felt they were denied from establishing the "special mentor relationship" which can be so important in career development (Chambers, 1987, p. 40-41).

Female students' perceptions of their relationships with role models seem to color their socialization experiences in a number of studies. Barnartt's (1980) study of medical students found that interactions with faculty are differentially important, dependent on both the sex of the student and sex of the faculty member. Overall, Barnartt's data indicated that for the women, interaction with other people was a more important

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

component of professional socialization than it was for men. However, interactions with male faculty were the strongest correlates of attachment [to the professional role as a measure of professional socialization] for the women, while interactions with male peers were the strongest correlates for the men. Barnartt attributed this finding to the "deviance" and competency concerns of female medical students. Women's attachment to the professional role, according to Barnartt, is related to interaction with powerful significant others most able to evaluate or enhance women's competence.

Gilbert's (1985) study investigated dimensions male and female graduate students consider important to the establishment of role-model relationships with professors. Four dimensions consistent with past research on role-model functioning were investigated; *the model's professional achievement, personality characteristics, power and influence, and life-style [including values].* Seventy-five percent of the students initially responding to the survey selected a same-gender role model, and females did so in circumstances where female role models were much less available than male models, both in the department as a whole and in contact with faculty in classes. One finding was that, as predicted, female students rated the role-model relationship as more important to their professional development than did male students and rated the model's personal attributes and the model's life-style and values as more important in selecting a role model.

Gender appears to play yet another role in how satisfied and prepared students think they are with their professional education. Schrimsher (1996) revealed a correlation between gender and satisfaction level of graduates with the career training and intellectual aspects of law school, with men having higher levels of satisfaction with their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

career training than women. In this study, women were less likely to report that professional training provided adequate preparation for their careers and "real world' professional experiences, and revealed that their law school experiences lacked intellectual challenges and intellectual stimulation. Overall, the women expected more training and intellectual challenge from law school than their male counterparts.

These studies, like other professional socialization studies cited in this paper, are limited by conflicting definitions of role models, the nature and size of the sample, other intervening variables, the dimensions included in the study, and the fact that most were not replicated (Speizer, 1981). However, taken together, even the conflicting findings of the studies cited in this section suggest that the gendered interaction between students and their role models do influence, either positively or negatively, professional and personal aspects of the learning experiences of students. An exploratory study of role modeling within and including a broader professional socialization context may address some of these deficiencies by providing more insight into those criteria students use to select role models, what functions role models perform in the student's professional socialization, and what influence gender exerts on these processes.

Theoretical orientation

One of the beginning steps in a qualitative inquiry is to name a theoretical tradition(s) to frame the investigation. This framework generates the problem of the study, specific research questions, data collection and analysis techniques, and how the findings are interpreted (Merriam, 1998). The named theory-method linkage implies that the way in which the researcher studies the world of students determines what one learns about the world of students (Patton, 1990). The proposed study's emphasis on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

experience, and the creation of shared meaning through interaction places the study of professional socialization within the theoretical domains of **phenomenology** and **symbolic interactionism.**

Since this study is concerned with understanding the construction of *meaning* that professional socialization holds for students, there is a ***phenomenological*** emphasis to this inquiry. Patton (1990) points out that one can employ a general phenomenological perspective to elucidate the importance of using methods that capture people's experience of the world, without conducting a phenomenological study that focuses on the essences of shared experience.

This study cannot begin with the assumption that the researcher knows the meaning or importance of professional socialization to social work students. There are multiple ways for students to interpret the experience of professional socialization, and it is the meaning of their experience that constitutes reality (Greene, 1978). Their reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckman, 1967) and can be understood only in the form in which it was received. There is an inherent assumption in phenomenological inquiry that there is an essence or essences to shared experience. Phenomenological inquiry focuses on the question, "What is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people" (Patton, 1990)?

A phenomenological perspective focuses on descriptions of what people experience and how it is that they experience what they experience. Husserl (1962) defines phenomenology as the study of how people describe things and experience them through their senses. According to Husserl, we can only know what we experience by attending to perceptions and meanings that awaken our conscious awareness (Patton,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1990). Initially, all our understanding comes from sensory experience of phenomena, but that experience must be described, explicated and interpreted. Yet, descriptions of experience and interpretations are so intertwined that they often become one. Thus, interpretation is essential to an understanding of experience and the experience includes the interpretation. Phenomenologists focus on how we put together the phenomena we experience in such a way as to make sense of the world (Patton, 1990), and in this case, make sense of their socialization experiences. This emphasis on understanding, interpreting, and creating meaning is the foundation of both the phenomenological perspective, as well as the symbolic interactionist perspective.

As discussed in the *Introduction,* this study incorporates the social psychological tenets of symbolic interactionism and social learning theory. Both of these approaches acknowledge the crucial role of symbols in interaction, and both posit that the creation and interpretation of meaning are active processes on the part of the actor.

Blumer (1969, p. 2) explicates three major premises underlying the nature of symbolic interactionism:

1. People act toward things on the basis of the meanings that those things have for them.
2. The meaning of things arises out of the social interaction one has with one's fellows.
3. The meaning of things are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things she encounters.

Symbolic interactionism differs from other forms of sociological inquiry that view social interaction as a product or context for broader social issues. Instead, according to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

symbolic interactionists, social interaction is a formative, "moving" process in its own right that constructs meanings for its participants, and those meanings in turn, create the actions and realities of the participants (Blumer, 1969). Quantitative methods are thus viewed as inadequate in understanding the meanings that individuals construct and interpret in their social worlds.

> Reality exists in the empirical world and not in the methods used to study that world; it is to be discovered in the examination of that world and not in the analysis or elaboration of the methods used to study that world (Blumer, 1969, p. 27).

For this reason, Blumer identified guiding methodological principles to drive empirical research driven by the symbolic interactionist perspective, advocating a down-to-earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and conduct, and the use of exploratory inquiry. These principles underscore the aim of exploratory research as the development of as comprehensive and accurate picture of the area under study as possible, that should help the researcher move toward a clearer understanding of the research question, the appropriate data, the significant relationships, and the appropriate conceptual tools. Exploration and inspection are necessary for direct examination of the social world, and direct examination can only take place in the natural world. "The merit of naturalistic study is that it respects and stays close to the empirical domain" (Blumer, 1969, p. 46). These domains are always remote or unknown to the researcher, but this is a major reason for studying it.

Blumer offers that mere descriptive information may provide the answer to theoretical questions the researcher is studying. Data collection techniques and the protocol for utilizing them need not be limited or structured, but rather adapted to its

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

circumstances. These may include direct observation, interviewing, listening to conversation, securing life-history accounts, using letters and diaries, consulting public records, group discussions, and counting items or interactions. The use of observers who are well-informed, and group discussions that collectively probe into its members' construction and understanding of experiences are recommended in symbolic interactionist studies. The researcher needs to maintain flexibility by continually testing emerging assumptions about the social world under study by verifying them through direct observation and interviews.

The components of the research design

The study's questions

The questions driving this proposed inquiry are:

- What does the process of professional socialization look like to undergraduate social work students?
- How does professional role modeling influence the professional socialization of undergraduate social work students?
- How do women's and men's undergraduate professional socialization in social work differ?
- How does having male/ female role models differentially influence men and women's professional socialization to social work?

The study's propositions

- The professional socialization of social work students largely occurs via formal and informal processes within the social work educational program.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Students are influenced by their interaction with social work professors, field instructors and other social workers they encounter during their professional education.
- Male and female social work students experience the process of professional socialization differently.
- Male and female social work professionals differentially influence male and female social work students.

The unit of analysis

The units of analysis for this inquiry are the

- Formal and informal *process(es)* by which students are professionally socialized.
- The *program* within which students' professional socialization presumably occurs.

Case study design: Limitations and delimitations

The nature of this inquiry is *exploratory* and interpretive in that it seeks to investigate little understood phenomena, and to identify and discover important themes, patterns and categories of meaning for students that have been neglected in previous studies of professional socialization. To some degree, this study is also *explanatory* in that it seeks to investigate how modeling and gender interact to shape and influence students' socialization experiences. And lastly, this research is also *descriptive* in nature since it seeks to document and describe those actions, beliefs, attitudes, social structures and processes that occur in professional socialization (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

The chosen research design for this inquiry, case study design is a comprehensive research strategy, well suited to exploratory, descriptive and explanatory studies (Yin, 1994). Case study is particularly suitable for the study of *process* (Merriam, 1997),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

especially as it concerns the exploration or confirmation of a process affected by a setting (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, p. 21). The case study is the preferred strategy for investigating "phenomena within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Case study design is thus particularly useful for the study of [socialization] processes that cannot be disentangled from the [educational] setting in which they occur. Because the case study is anchored in a real-life situation, it results in a rich and holistic account of the phenomenon under study. It has the ability to offer insight and illumination of the process of professional socialization, and can lay the foundation for tentative hypotheses to help structure future research in this area (Merriam, 1998).

Case study is suited to such contexts when the behaviors and interactions of the subjects cannot and should not be manipulated. Referring to case studies as field studies, Collins and Noblit (1978) note the strengths of this type of research

> ...field studies reveal not static attributes but understanding of humans as they engage in action and interaction within the contexts of situations and settings. Thus, inferences concerning human behavior are less abstract than in quantitative studies, and one can better understand how an intervention may affect behavior in a situation...(Collins & Noblit, 1978, p. 26).

Case study design's strength lies in its ability to study many more variables of interest than data points while relying on multiple sources of evidence derived through multiple methods of data collection. Among these methods are direct observation and systematic interviewing. Case studies may be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence and need not always include direct, detailed observation as a data source (Yin, 1994).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Insofar as this study is concerned with providing insights into a phenomenon not often explored holistically [building theory], and the students play a secondary yet supportive role in facilitating understanding of the socialization process, this study may be referred to as an *instrumental case study*. It differs from *intrinsic* and *collective* case studies that are undertaken because the individual case is of special interest (Stake, 1994).

However, case study design does present certain limitations. Although it has the ability to render rich, thick description and analysis of professional socialization processes, it can be very costly and time-consuming. Assuming that time is available, the amount of data generated from a case study can be enormous and overwhelming. The final product may be thus too detailed, involved and lengthy to be easily utilized. In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1981) note an additional limitation of case study design, "case studies can oversimplify or exaggerate a situation, leading the reader to erroneous conclusions about the actual state of affairs" (p. 377). In addition, they warn that readers may be misled to believe that case studies are accounts of the whole, "That is, they tend to masquerade as a whole when in fact they are but a part—a slice of life" (p. 377).

Case studies are limited by the sensitivity and integrity of the investigator (Merriam, 1998). The researcher as the primary instrument of data collection has advantages and disadvantages. Training in observation and interviewing is required. Standardized guidelines do not exist in guiding the researcher in constructing the final report, and only recently have there been discussions about how to analyze the data collected. The investigator is left to rely on her own instincts and abilities throughout most of this research process (Merriam, 1998).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There is also an ethical consideration in case study research. Guba and Lincoln (1981) note that "an unethical case writer could so select from among available data that virtually anything he wished could be illustrated" (p. 378). Thus, the writers and readers of case studies need to be aware of biases that can affect the data selection process in the final product. Further limitations involve the issues of reliability, validity and generalizability. As Hamel (1993) observes,

> ...the case study has basically been faulted for its lack of representativeness...and its lack of rigor in the collection, construction and analysis of the empirical materials that give rise to this study. This lack of rigor is linked to the problem of bias...introduced by the subjectivity of the researcher (p. 23).

Merriam (1998) points out that these issues are part of the discussion of qualitative research in general. These issues will be taken up in the next section.

Criteria for judging the quality of the research design

Many writers on the topic of reliability and validity argue that qualitative research is based on different assumptions about reality and a different worldview, and as such should consider validity and reliability from a perspective congruent with the philosophical assumptions underlying the paradigm (Merriam, 1998).

Construct validity

Cited as problematic in case study research, criticism abounds of case study researchers whose investigators fail to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures; using "subjective" judgments to collect data. To meet the test of construct validity, Yin (1994) suggests that the case study researcher execute two steps:

- Select the specific types of changes that are to be studied (in relation to the original objectives of the study) and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Demonstrate that the selected measures of these changes do indeed reflect the specific types of change that have been selected (p. 34).

In relation to these two recommendations, the methods employed in this study investigate how students negotiate the demands and expectations of their professional training, with specific emphasis on the development of a new professional role, and concomitant personal changes triggered by new knowledge, skills, professional culture and identity.

According to Yin (1994, pp. 34-35), there are three strategies the researcher can use to develop an operational set of measures that will increase the construct validity of this case study:

1. *Multiple sources of evidence [during data collection].* This tactic encourages convergent lines of inquiry. *This proposed study incorporates multiple sources of evidence.*
2. *Establish a chain of evidence[also during data collection].* The chain of evidence is the sequence from observation to conclusions. If the chain of evidence is strong, an outside evaluator ought to be able to follow the researcher from observation, to raw or unreduced data, through all the steps of the data aggregation and analysis and conclude that the researcher's findings were justified by the evidence and fairly represented it. This requires careful organization of the files of original observations, complete documentation of the conditions of data collection, and elucidating the manner in which the researcher moved from phase to phase of the analysis (Government Accounting Office [GAO], 1991). *This proposal aims to rigorously document such a chain of evidence that an outside evaluator could retrace.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. *Have the draft case study report reviewed by key informants [during data composition]* To the extent possible, the researcher plans to have a draft of the study reviewed by the director of the BSW program.

Internal validity

Internal validity deals with the question of whether investigators are observing or measuring what they think they are observing and measuring. In all research, internal validity hinges on the meaning of reality and how research findings match and are congruent with reality (Merriam, 1998). Ratcliffe (1983) notes that 1) "data do not speak for themselves; there is always an interpreter, or a translator" (p. 149); 2) "one cannot observe or measure a phenomenon/ event without changing it" and 3) numbers, symbols and words "are all abstract, symbolic representations of reality, but not reality itself" (p. 150). Therefore, validity must be assessed in terms of something other than reality, since reality can never be grasped.

Yin (1994) notes that the concern with internal validity in experimental and quasi-experimental research is tied to the investigator's concern with making causal statements. He contends that this logic is inapplicable to descriptive or exploratory studies that are not concerned with making causal statements; i.e., that *x* leads to *y*.

One of the assumptions underlying qualitative research is that reality is holistic, multidimensional and ever-changing; it is not a single, fixed, objective phenomenon waiting to be discovered, observed and measured as in quantitative research (Merriam, 1998). What the qualitative researcher in this study *is* observing are students' constructions of reality, how they understand their professional socialization experiences. Because human subjects are the primary instruments of data collection, interpretations of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reality must be accessed directly through their observations and interviews. Thus, the researcher in this study is closer to reality than if a data collection instrument was placed between the researcher and the participants. Internal validity is then a strength of this methodological design.

This study will utilize several basic strategies to enhance the internal validity of this research design as cited in the literature on qualitative research (Merriam, 1998).

1. *Triangulation:* The use of multiple sources of data and multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings.
2. *Member checks:* Taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the interpretations are plausible. This can be done continuously throughout the study.
3. *Repeated observations of the same phenomenon*—(in this case, faculty-student interaction in the classroom). Gathering data over a period of time will also increase the validity of the findings.
4. *Peer examination:* Asking colleagues to comment on the findings as they emerge, through the use of memoing.
5. *Participatory or collaborative modes of research:* Involving participants in as many phases of the research as possible, from conceptualizing the study to writing up the findings.
6. *Researcher's biases:* Clarifying the researcher's assumptions [see *Propositions of the research questions*], worldview and theoretical orientation [see *Theoretical framework*] at the outset of the study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

External validity

External validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations; that is, how generalizable are the results of a research study? Generalizability in quantitative research is ensured through certain first-hand conditions such as the assumptions of equivalency between the sample size, probability sampling, etc. Even in these circumstances, generalizations are made within specified levels of confidence and even then, it is arguable whether the findings from large random samples are generalizable to the individual. Part of the difficulty of applying the criterion of generalizability to qualitative research is that a small nonrandom sample is selected precisely because the researcher wants to understand the individual case in depth, not to find out what is true for the many (Merriam, 1998). Cronbach (1975) argues for a replacement of generalizations with *working hypotheses* in social science research; "When we give proper weight to local conditions, any generalization is a working hypothesis, not a conclusion" (pp. 124-125). This practical view of generalization is shared by Patton (1990) who proposes that qualitative research should "provide perspective rather than truth, ...and context-bound extrapolations rather than generalizations" (p. 491).

Erickson (1986) notes that the production of generalizable knowledge is an inappropriate goal for interpretive research.

> The search is not for *abstract universals* arrived at by statistical generalizations from a sample to a population, but for *concrete universals* arrived at by studying a specific case in great detail and then comparing it with other cases studied equally in great detail (p. 130).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The general then lies in the particular; and a universal can be extracted from it. Similar to concrete universals is what Stake (1978, 1994, 1995) calls *naturalistic generalization.* Drawing on tacit knowledge, intuition, and personal experience, people look for patterns that explain their own experience as well as events in the world around them. "Full and thorough knowledge of the particular" allows one to see similarities "in new and foreign contexts" (1978, p. 6). This process of naturalistic generalization occurs through "recognizing similarities of objects and issues in and out of context, and by sensing the natural covariations of happenings" (1978, p. 6). These generalizations develop from experience and can guide, though not predict experience.

Another way to look at external validity is to think in terms of *reader or user generalizability.* This involves leaving the extent to which a study's findings apply to other situations up to the users of the study (Merriam, 1998). Called *case-to-case* transfer by Firestone (1993), the matter of external validity is left up to the reader to decide what there is in a study that she can and cannot apply to her own situation. This is a common practice in law or medicine where the applicability of one case to another is determined by the practitioner. Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that the researcher is less concerned with generalizing than the reader or user. This leaves the researcher with the obligation to provide enough detailed description of the study's context to enable readers to compare the fit with their situation.

To enhance the possibility of the results of a qualitative study generalizing in any of these senses (working hypotheses, concrete universals, naturalistic generalization, user generalization), the following strategies can be utilized in this study:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. *Rich, thick description:* Provide enough description so that readers will be able to determine how closely their situations match the research situation, and hence whether findings can be transferred.
2. *Typicality of modal category:* Describe how typical the program and the students interviewed are with others in the same class, so that users can make comparisons with their own situation (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).
3. *Multisite designs:* The researcher can later add additional sites, situations, or cases especially those that maximize diversity in the phenomenon of interest; possibly sampling at another more racially diverse university (?). This will allow the results to be applied by readers to a greater range of other situations can be achieved through purposeful or random sampling.

Reliability

Reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated; that is, if the study is repeated, will it yield the same results? Reliability is problematic in the social sciences [and in the hard sciences as it concerns the constancy of phenomena] because human behavior is never static. Reliability in a research design is based on the assumption that there is a single reality and that studying it repeatedly will yield the same results. However, qualitative research is not conducted so that the laws of human behavior can be isolated as in quantitative research. Rather, qualitative research seeks to explain and describe the world as those in the world experience it. Since there may be many interpretations of what is happening, there is no benchmark by which to take repeated measures and establish reliability in the traditional sense.

> The connection between reliability and internal validity from a traditional perspective rests for some on the assumption that a study is more valid if

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> repeated observations are made of the same study or replications of the entire study have produced the same results. This logic relies on repetition for the establishment of truth; but as everyone knows, measurements, observation, and people can be repeatedly wrong... Because what is being studied in education is assumed to be in flux, multifaceted and highly contextual, because information gathered is a function of who gives it and how skilled the researcher is at getting it, and because the emergent design of a qualitative case study precludes a priori controls, achieving reliability in the traditional sense is not only fanciful, but impossible (Merriam, 1998, p. 205-6).

Furthermore, for the reasons mentioned, replication of a qualitative study will not yield the same results. This fact does not discredit the results of the original study. Just as in quantitative research, several interpretations of the same data can be made, and all stand until directly contradicted by new evidence.

Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 288) suggest thinking about the "dependability" or "consistency" of results obtained by the data. That is, rather than demanding that outsiders get the same results, the researcher's objective is for outsider concurrence; that given the data collected, the results make sense in that they are consistent and dependable. Therefore, reliability is termed not in whether findings will be found again but "*whether the results are consistent with the data collected*" (Merriam, 1998, p. 206). On this basis, this research can employ several techniques to ensure the dependability of results (Merriam, 1998):

1. *The investigator's position:* The investigator explains the assumptions and theories behind the study, her position vis-à-vis the group being studied, the basis for selecting informants and a description of them, and the social context from which data are collected (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). *These are explicated in this proposal.*
2. *Triangulation:* In terms of using multiple methods of data collection and analysis, triangulation strengthens reliability as well as internal validity.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. *Audit trail*: Independent judges can authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). In order for an audit to take place, the investigator describes how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry. *[See the section on "Establish a chain of evidence" under Construct validity in this section.]*

Description of the data collection site

(The following information about the site was obtained from the Internet website of this university, as well as course catalogues. These sources are not cited in this section or the reference list to maintain the anonymity of the university).

Bishop University is almost 50 years old and located on a modestly sized campus straddling both a middle class and working class, multicultural, suburban community, located approximately 40 minutes from New York City. Originally an all-female institution, Bishop has recently been decreed co-ed over the last 20 years or so. The college is rooted in a heritage of an old Christian order founded about 800 years ago and rooted in the study and propagation of truth. Followers were noted for their concern for the poor, refugees, prisoners, captives, outcasts and African slaves of the Americas.

Bishop currently heralds a teaching staff of approximately 140 full time and 140 part time faculty, over 2,000 undergraduate and almost 300 graduate students, and about 25 student organizations and 18 honor societies. Bishop only recently added their first Master's program approximately 8 years ago. Bishop credits their strong liberal arts curriculum as solid preparation for other professions, including Allied Health, Language Pathology and Audiology, Music Therapy, Criminal Justice, Environmental Studies, Education, Business, Nursing and Social Work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Social Work program at Bishop began a little over 20 years ago and received initial accreditation from CSWE a few years later. Though originating in the Sociology/Anthropology department of the college, it remains an independent program today. The program grants the Bachelor of Arts degree in Social Work and though it does not offer a graduate degree in Social Work, it offers its graduating students advanced standing at another cooperating Christian university. The Social Work Program at Bishop builds on the college mission by providing a value-centered experience that prepares graduates for generalist practice in entry-level positions, and for graduate work. The typical undergraduate student body is comprised of young adults who entered Bishop as freshmen, transfer students from community colleges, and a growing number of returning adult students.

The BA in Social Work requires completion of 128 credits, including 36 credits in required social work courses. Applicants to the program must obtain and maintain an overall cumulative grade point average of 2.7, and must pass an entrance interview including the submission of a personal essay and two letters of reference. Also included among entrance criteria are a commitment to the profession of social work, the motivation and ability to work effectively with people, an ability to communicate verbally and in writing, and personal characteristics, behaviors and values congruent with the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Work. After admission to the program, students must complete required coursework in Core courses, Generalist Practice, Human Behavior in the Social Environment, Social Welfare Policy, Research Methods, Statistics, and Field Seminar courses. From September to May in the Senior year, students must also complete 420 hours of field work in an approved agency setting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

under the supervision of a social worker, a requirement amounting to approximately 14 hours per week. These requirements are fairly typical of other social work programs, as all social work programs must meet standardized criteria of the Council on Social Work Education.

The researcher chose Bishop because it was perceived as a "realistic" site (Marshall & Rossman, 1999) and a typical case, where entry would be possible due to the researcher's own program director having a positive relationship with Bishop's social work program director. It was therefore perceived that the researcher would be able to build trusting relationships with the gatekeepers of the site. Bishop was also perceived as possessing a rich mix of the processes, people, interactions and dimensions of interest to this inquiry. In addition, since the program has a history of reputability, it is assumed that the data quality and credibility of the study would be reasonably assured.

The researcher used her indirect personal connection to the director to establish contact and rapport with the program in an initial phone call and subsequent interview. This interview included her introduction to the director as both an educator in the field and a doctoral student conducting dissertation research [with added time restraints.] The interview included an in-depth discussion of the lack of professional socialization studies in social work and the researcher's previous research that drove her to this current inquiry. Since the researcher works for another [newly formed and accredited] suburban BSSW program in the same general geographical area, the researcher emphasized that her capacity would be only that of "researcher" at Bishop's site, and all data collected would only be used for the purposes of her dissertation research.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The program director initially approved the study for her program, pending approval by Bishop's Human Subjects Review committee. She granted approval for the researcher to conduct the interviews, administer the survey and conduct classroom observations. She granted approval for observation of her own class, and shortly thereafter granted approval for observation of two other faculty members' classes. The IRB committee of Bishop granted permission to collect data [See Appendix A].

Qualitative methods of data collection

1. The guide and interview format

> We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions...We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of the observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective (Patton, 1990, p. 196).

Interviewing is necessary when the researcher cannot observe behavior, feeling or how people interpret the world around them. It is also necessary to interview when the researcher's interest lies in past events that are impossible to replicate (Merriam, 1998).

The advantages of interviewing as a qualitative data collection method are primarily related to naturalness and spontaneity, flexibility and control of the environment. Interviews usually create a natural situation for respondents to present information. Furthermore, it is easier and more natural for many people to respond to questions orally than in writing, and a casual, relaxed setting leads to more spontaneous answers. Combined with a high response rate, these advantages provide a good argument for the use of interviews, as opposed to survey questionnaires. In case study research, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

strength of interviews is that they are targeted directly on the case study topic and that they are insightful, in that they provide perceived causal inferences (Yin, 1994).

Unlike a survey questionnaire where answers may be omitted, in an interview, the interviewer can more reasonably assure that each item is answered, and questions can be reworded or reformed if necessary without distorting the content. An interview allows for a richer, more detailed and complex set of questions than is possible in single statement survey questionnaires.

Interviews permit far more flexibility than survey questionnaires. Interviewers can use probes to enrich responses and explore in greater depth. The sequencing and timing of questions, the way items are phrased, and the elimination of irrelevant questions can all be adapted according to the characteristics of the individual respondent. In addition, by their very presence, interviewers can make use of any unanticipated data interviewees offer. Spontaneous content that is generated can provide useful data for the study, and perhaps subsequent inquiries. The nonverbal responses and behaviors of respondents also provide meaningful data in interviews. Tone of voice, eye contact, facial expressions as it accompanies verbal responses may reflect areas where the interviewer can further probe for explanation (Gochros, 1988).

The *standardized open-ended interview*, also referred to as the *semi-structured interview* (Gochros, 1988; Fontana & Frey, 1994) was chosen as the primary data collection strategy for the proposed study. Since it was only possible to interview participants for a limited period of time only, and interviewed only once, it was necessary to have the same information from each student interviewed. Though the most efficient and cost-effective of the interview types, this format does require, however, that the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interviewer develop discipline necessary to construct questions that are clear, unambiguous and neutral. The standardized open-ended interview format left no dimension of inquiry to chance. The same standardized questions were asked of each respondent in roughly the same order so that consistent and systematic data could be gathered on every respondent.

The introductory set of "grand tour" questions served as the jumping-off points for entry into the other 6 dimensions of the guide. In order to serve the phenomenological orientation of the study, the introductory questions included none of the putative dimensions of professional socialization as defined in the literature but left the students to name the salient dimensions of their experience. Several questions asked the respondents to act as 'experts' and to describe what it's like to be a social work student to an unknowing researcher with regard to specific educational experiences within the context of the program. Questions included the best and worst things about being a student, high points and low points, accomplishments and disappointments, most significant educational activities and experiences, and perceived personal changes and interpretations of changes. Other grand tour questions included most difficult areas of adjustment, dilemmas between class and the field, intersections between expectations and realities and between experiences and commitment to continue. These questions elicited responses that corresponded to one or more of the other dimensions of the interview guide that were designed to more thoroughly probe the identified themes. These six dimensions consisted of questions relating to the 1) the technology and language of the profession 2) the professional culture 3) finding a personally and professionally acceptable version of the role and 4) integration of the professional role into other life

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

roles (Cohen, 1981). Finally, the last two sections concerned 5) student interactions/relationships with faculty/field instructors and 6) selection of/relationships with role models.

Though a number of basic questions were worded precisely in a predetermined fashion, this format still permitted the interviewer flexibility in probing. It also permitted decision-making flexibility in determining when it was appropriate to explore certain subjects in greater depth, or even to undertake whole new areas of inquiry that were not originally included in the researcher's questions. Therefore, there was still opportunity in this format for conversational rapport, flexibility and space to spontaneously generate questions. This format allowed the researcher to leap out of sequence when associations were made by respondents that moved them into other parts of the guide. Data collection and analysis were also made easier in this format, because it was possible to locate each respondent's answer to the same question rather quickly and to organize questions and answers that were similar.

There are two perceived advantages to the standardization of questions for these open-ended interviews: the instrument or guide is available for inspection by the program in which the research is being performed, and the interview is focused so that interviewee (and interviewer) time is carefully used (Patton, 1990). Since this interview type's format is highly focused, and the scope of inquiry is significantly narrowed, it may present itself as the least politically objectionable of the qualitative methods to a program whose processes are under scrutiny. When using qualitative data collection processes that include examination of program processes, it can be helpful to minimize issues of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

legitimacy and credibility by collecting the same information from everyone who is interviewed.

Limitations of the interview approach

However, there are problems and limitations in any research method that depend on respondents' self-reports; whether the data comes from a survey questionnaire or an interview. According to Bailey (1982), there are four major sources of respondent errors and biases in self-reported data. Respondents may: 1) deliberately lie because they don't know an answer; 2) make mistakes without realizing it (often because they are not able to admit socially undesirable feelings, attitudes or traits, even to themselves); 3) give inaccurate answers by accident simply because they misunderstand or misinterpret the question; or 4) be unable to remember, despite their best interests. Respondents may even blend truth with fiction to cover up their memory gaps (Gochros, 1988). In addition, people tend to reconstruct past events within their current paradigms of viewing the world, so events recalled by the student may be refashioned to fit a new sense of self, or a newly emerging professional identity. However, it is anticipated that the complementarity of the various data collection strategies utilized in this study will help to corroborate the interview data, thus reducing the validity dilemmas cited here.

Perhaps the most obvious limitation of interview research is its high cost and the considerable amount of time involved. Transcribing data from interview notes adds an extra time-intensive and expensive step in the research process that would not be necessary with mailed surveys. The number of interviews an interviewer can cover in any one day is quite limited as a result of these physical and emotional strains. Time constraints become further intensified when respondents are hard to reach, fail to keep

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

appointments, or do not complete interviews because of outside distractions. For this and other reasons, additional methods of data collection are built-in to the study.

Another potential drawback of interviewing is that the interviewer adds a link in the chain from respondents' responses to the data, which does not exist with self-administered questionnaires. Though interviewing provides the opportunity of facilitating and gathering more meaningful data, there are always the risks of interviewer distortion or error at several points in the process. Gochros (1988) cites some of these common interviewer distortions based on various types of errors: *asking errors*, [changing the wording or failing to ask a particular item]; *probing errors*, [negatively affecting responses by using probes which are unnecessarily challenging, hostile, biased or irrelevant]; *recording errors,* [recapitulating exactly what was said]; and *cheating*, [an interviewer may fill in the gaps by recording responses that were never given]. In addition, interviewers can also influence respondents through phrasing, the emphasis that may be placed on certain words or phrases, tone of voice, and their own comfort or discomfort. Other characteristics of the interviewer also have an effect on the reliability of the data gathered from the interview (Gochros, 1988).

Again, cross-utilizing the data from the interviews with the survey instrument and the observation of classroom interaction can all serve to minimize the negative effects of some of these interviewer distortions. The survey format does not entail positioning the researcher between the student and the data collection instrument, thus serving to offset the limitations posed by this strategy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The dimensions of inquiry included in the guide

The proposed study conceptualizes professional socialization as a broad and multi-faceted process (Platt & Branch, 1962). Since one purpose of this inquiry is finding out what the process of professional socialization looks like to students, it needs to focus on how students acquire the various dimensions of a professional role. These dimensions have been noted to include, though certainly not limited to, the *knowledge, skills, behaviors, attitudes, intellectual and emotional comfort, and internalization of the values that support an individual's transition into the professional role* (Brief, Sell, Aldag, & Melone, 1979; Cohen, 1981). The proposed interview guide has been designed to most effectively investigate these dimensions as well as how faculty/ field instructors [and their gender] influence these dimensions.[See Appendix **B**].

In addition, professional students must undertake and master a number of tasks during their professional training (Cohen, 1981). According to Cohen, neophytes must 1) learn the technology and language of the profession: 2) internalize the professional culture: 3) find a personally and professionally acceptable version of the role: and 4) integrate the professional role into their other life roles. These four dimensions created the core framework for the interview guide. These four dimensions were further augmented by probes that were designed to be sensitive to [expected] differential experiences and processes for men and women in the negotiation of these tasks. The guide also provides the opportunity for students to voice how they define their role transitions as both a continuous and cumulative process. It also includes questions exploring whether or not, and then how, students actively select and co-create their student and professional roles and select, interact, influence and become influenced by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their chosen role models. One of the purposes of the interview format is to explore not just what role modeling behaviors and characteristics are considered important in undergraduate social work students' professional socialization, but also how students are affected by them. [See section on *Choosing significant others as role models.*]

2. Observation

This study is especially concerned with the interaction between students and their significant others, especially what influence these interactions have on students' professional socialization and on the negotiation of students' professional identities. In addition, this study is concerned with the processes through which significant others are chosen to become role models for students; a process that presumably takes place through interaction and social learning [see earlier sections]. Also, this study assumes that the gender of the student and the gender of the role model interact in such a way as to shape certain aspects of students' socialization in identifiable ways. The social work instructors in the professional program are a consistent part of students' formal and informal interactions throughout their professional education. Though students may be able to describe the nature of these interactions in the interview format, only the method of direct observation can actually reveal the explicit and implicit dynamics inherent in those interactions as they are created and negotiated. For this reason, observation of student-instructor interaction in the classroom setting provides a window into one arena where students interact with, and possibly choose their prospective role models based on what transpires in this format. Though the classroom is a formal setting, informal and unofficial aspects of interaction including gendered communication patterns can be revealed through observation. Tone of voice, manifest and latent content of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

communications, the use of silences, kinesics [facial expressions and body language], proxemics [use of space], appearance, audience reaction, engagement and feedback, etc (Marshall & Rossman, 1999) can all provide glimpses into the dimensions of faculty-student interactions. An eye will also be kept for opportunities to observe informal communications between players such as when they may "break character" from their formal roles or "wear additional hats," during breaks, and before and after class when students or instructors may engage in alternative types of exchanges.

In these cases, observation is a useful methodology for discovering the interrelationships between elements of the whole. This includes not just the interaction between instructors and students, but also the impact of educational experience and organizational culture on students as it occurs, and the implicit messages the organization gives about itself during the educational process (Light Jr., 1983). Another advantage of observation over interviews is that people are not good at recalling past events, especially if they are involved in a confusing or intense experience (Cannell and Fowler, 1963; Yarrow, 1963). For the purposes of this inquiry, direct, current observation can not only document attitudes more accurately, but it can also record what student trainees actually *do* and what the student-instructor interaction looks like in the classroom. This subsequently allows the researcher to compare attitudes with actions, and even recollection with actual behavior. Finally, observation allows the researcher the vital flexibility to *discover.*

In addition, observation is naturalistic. When performed by a trained observer, the categories emerge from what is actually happening rather than from artificial, preconceived notions. When these notions reflect the goals of the program, they are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important to measure, but more relevant is how students behave in relation to them. Observation allows one to develop hypotheses, test them, alter them, and retest them while the study is going on (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Observations can be quantified, so the central issue is not whether to use quantitative or qualitative data. The point is that since this proposed study designates the program to be one unit of analysis, organizational behaviors within the program require holistic analysis and direct observation is a vital part of that analysis (Light Jr., 1983). In sum, the strength of observation in case study research is its *reality* or ability to cover events in real time, and that it is *contextual* in that it covers the context of events (Yin, 1994).

However, direct observation is also time and cost consuming; only provides coverage of selective events or contexts, and is prone to the problems of reflexivity, in that the event may proceed differently because it is being observed (Yin, 1994). However, whatever limitations may exist in this method may be corroborated or augmented through evidence from other sources integrated in this design.

Dimensions for observation

The categories for this section were partly derived from Merriam (1998) and Marshall and Rossman (1999).

1. *The physical setting*: Description of classroom, context, spatial arrangement of chairs, teacher to students; what kinds of behavior/ interaction is setting designed for, what objects, resources, technologies are in the setting.

2. *The participants:* Who is in the scene, how many people, what is their gender, age, and roles. What are their relevant characteristics? Are they interested, disinterested, engaged, alienated?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. *Activities and interactions:* What's going on? What is the topic under discussion? What is the sequence of activities/discussion? How do people interact with the activity/discussion, the faculty member and one another? How are people and activities or discussion connected or interrelated—from participants or researcher's perspective? What perceived meaning/value does the activity or discussion have to participants? When did the activity begin? How long does it last? Is it typical or unusual?

4. *Conversation*: What is the topic for discussion? Who is speaking to whom? Who listens? Who doesn't? Who asks questions? Who interrupts? Who criticizes? (Includes quotes, paraphrases, and summaries of discussions. Note silences and nonverbal behavior that add meaning to the exchange. Humor? Four-letter words?) What implicit and explicit norms or rules structure the interactions? What is the perceived impact of interactants on each other? Power language: hierarchical commands, aggressive, put-downs, patronizing, etc. Political and value statements. Use of lay and professional language? Conflict? Contradiction of instructor? Of peers? Support?

5. *Subtle factors: Less obvious but more important in the observation are:*

- Informal and unplanned activities
- Symbolic and connotative meanings of words
- Nonverbal communication such as dress, physical space
- Tone of voice, facial expressions, eye contact, hand gestures, head nodding, smiling, body language/posturing, touching
- What does "not" happen as it ought to have (Patton, 1990, p. 235).

Researcher's behavior: *[Observer comments]. How does the researcher's presence or role affect the scene observed? What did she say or do? What are her thoughts and impressions about what's going on?*

A coding sheet was devised corresponding to the aforementioned dimensions of the observation. Through content analysis, recurrent themes and categories were defined and supported by frequency counts and consensus.

Sampling

Qualitative inquiry typically utilizes relatively small samples, selected purposefully; thus the term, *purposeful sampling.* The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting **information-rich cases.** The prime determinant in making sampling decisions, according to Patton (1990), should be the *criterion of usefulness.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

That is, what data collected during what time period, describing what activities, would make the most difference? According to McCracken (1988), unlike the quantitative case, the determining factor in purposeful sampling is not one of generalizability, but rather one of access.

Decisions regarding both sample size and sampling strategies depend on prior decisions about the appropriate unit of analysis to study (Patton, 1990). Since this inquiry is concerned with both student meanings and understandings, including students' perceptions of program processes, students need to be selected that have 1) experienced as much of the program as possible at this point in its development, and 2) is most likely to be able to articulate those processes as well. For this reason, selective sampling is a practical necessity, and theoretically mandatory.

On this basis, the Senior class of Bishop's BSSW program was chosen because they could presumably articulate the subject area best, and had the highest assumed level of professional socialization in the program. This choice is a form of **criterion sampling**, because other students or classes in the program are not included in this sample. The predetermined criterion of importance for inclusion in this proposed study is the respondent's membership in the Senior class of social work students in Bishop's BA in Social Work program.

There are some inherent limitations with this sampling strategy. Since only students nearing the conclusion of their professional education will be interviewed, this study addresses only *their* experiences in the program, as it is perceived by them through the retrospective reconstruction of their experiences over the last 2-2½ years. As mentioned in the next section on *data collection*, there are inherent limitations in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interviewing respondents who must recall past experiences and feelings. In addition, by not including students who are at other points or phases of the program, the program excludes the perspective of students who are presently undergoing professional socialization, and could offer in-process feedback on how they are actively engaged in negotiating their experiences.

Another limitation of this sample is that it is presumed to be relatively homogeneous. All students in the study make up one complete class of Seniors that, if representative of most undergraduate students in Social Work programs, have probably journeyed in "lockstep" together from the beginning of the program to the end. To some degree, they have been processing their professional socialization experiences collectively.

In addition, the presumption of students' active role in the role model selection process is limited by the finite number of models/ instructors/ field supervisors provided by their educational program (Bucher & Stellings, 1977, p. 270). Therefore, although various other socializing agents may be available to the students in other areas of their lives, only those social work teachers and field instructors that students interact with within the boundaries of their enrolled educational program in social work will be included for analysis in this study.

Data Collection Strategies for the Interview and Observation Format

In order to collect the interview data, the researcher contacted a faculty member of the Social Work program at Bishop who was considered knowledgeable of the program and the students within it. This key informant who was the researcher's official gate into the program, was in the best position to describe the general characteristics of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the population under study, as well as offering her own observations about her direct experience with the phenomenon (Cournoyer & Klein, 2000).

After gaining permission from the faculty members teaching the two classes containing Senior students, the researcher verbally introduced her study to the students and answered questions. Those students agreeing to be interviewed were requested to sign their name and phone number on a sheet to be passed around. For those students who did not sign up, a recruitment flier with the researcher's name and address was left with the students so that they could be afforded time to consider the matter before volunteering. Those students were then free to contact the researcher at their own discretion by calling the number on the flier.

Volunteers were then contacted for an interview date. Students agreeing to be interviewed were paid $10.00 each as compensation for one hour of their time, with an additional $2.50 for each additional fifteen minute increment. Interviewing took place in a vacant classroom in all cases except one, where the interview transpired outdoors.

Gaining permission for observation of faculty-student interaction in the classroom was similar to the previous section. The key informant provided the names and phone numbers of those social work professors agreeing to let the researcher observe their classes, and the researcher directly contacted them to make arrangements for observation.

The researcher requested observation of at least two different *Practice* classes under different professors and two different *Field Seminar* classes under two different professors of differing genders, if possible. The reasoning for this sample of classes is that from the researcher's experience as a social work educator, faculty-student

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

interaction is likely to be both more intensive and more frequent in these classes, more focused on the development of the professional role, and more likely to render opportunities for the manifestation of role modeling behaviors on the part of faculty.

Description of the Student Interviewees

A total of twenty-one senior level social work students graduating in May 2000 initially volunteered to be interviewed for this study out of a total class of twenty-eight students. Students were recruited from the two Field Seminar classes [described below] through a sign-up sheet distributed at the beginning of the class. Two of the student volunteers however, rescinded their agreement to be interviewed when later contacted for an interview date. An additional student, who was not in either of the two classes that were used to recruit interviewees, approached the interviewer at the site and requested to be interviewed. She said she was also a senior and would be graduating with the other students though she was not in lockstep with them. She explained that she had worked closely in the social work program office with the social work faculty for three years and felt she could offer valuable information from both the faculty and student perspective.

Thus, a total of twenty students were ultimately interviewed. The respondents consisted of eighteen females and two males. Fifteen students were aged 21-28, and five were aged 35-60 years of age. Fourteen respondents were white, three were Latino(a), two were West Indian and one was African American. Seventeen respondents were single [four of whom were single mothers] and only three were married. One student was self-identifiably gay.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The following includes a brief description of the twenty student-respondents, presented in the order in which they were interviewed, starting on 4/11/00 and ending on 6/5/00. All names are pseudonyms.

Thomas: White male, married, adult children, approximately 60 years old. Thomas was a minister for 20 years, working as a jail chaplain. He calls all women, "dear."

Dee Dee: White female, single, 23 years old. Committed to the profession, Dee Dee reported that social work really "clicked" for her after having floundered around at other colleges for awhile.

Rachel: White female, single, 21 years old. Rachel is ambivalently leaving the social work profession to pursue a degree in law.

Annie: White female, married, 45 years old. Annie was returning to school after a hiatus of 25 years. She had been in the business world, and actively volunteered for a number of years.

Isabel: Latina female, single, 22 years old. Isabel reports that no one influenced her decision to become a social worker. Isabel was very depressed during the interview, as she reported a number of traumatizing experiences.

Jackie: White female, single, 22 years old. In addition to her internship, Jackie works part-time in a nursing home and part-time in a day care center.

Lynn: White female, single, 23 years old. Though her mother graduated from the same social work program, Lynn insists this had no influence on Lynn's decision to major in social work, which she describes as "a last minute thing."

Patty: White female, single, 23 years old. Patty is not "a hundred percent sure" that social work is what she wants to do.

Nicole: White female, single, 28 years old. Nicole was a day student, and became a night student. Nicole was once a client in the program she is interning at that serves teens with substance abuse problems.

Catherine: White female, single, 24 years old. Catherine is self-supporting, and was once homeless. She reports that while growing up, she and her mother underwent therapy.

Eric: White/Latino male, single, 28 years old and self-identifiably gay. Eric's mother is a social worker. Of all the interviewees, Eric was the most direct and unforgiving of the program, the faculty/field instructors and his peers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Colleen: White female, single, 23 years old. Colleen approached the researcher and requested to be interviewed. She has worked in the social work program office with the social work faculty for three years and was very sad to be leaving.

Brenda: West Indian female, engaged [to another aspiring social worker], 21 years old. Brenda reported that her "calling" to become a social worker was "part of God's plan" in her life.

Lydia: African American, single mother, 35 years old. Lydia was once in the military and currently works for a municipality as a clerk-typist. Though she feels unfulfilled at her job, she weighed her options and chose the career of social work rationally.

Janet: White female, married, 2 adult children, 52 years old. Janet has dyslexia and had a great deal of difficulty in her internship because her supervisor did not accommodate her disability. Janet has always wanted to be a social worker.

Nancy: White female, single, 21 years old. Nancy feels she was born to be a social worker, despite her police officer father's chiding about her career choice.

Kim: West Indian female, single mother, 23 years old. Kim also chose the social work profession rationally, and not wanting to directly service clients, sees social work as a stepping stone to politics. Kim reported feeling the most racially marginalized of all the students in the program.

Elena: Latina female, single, 21 years old. Elena once wanted to be a veterinarian and felt it wasn't a big jump to being a social worker. Elena had a great deal of exposure to social workers growing up and was influenced by her mother's volunteer work in the church.

Angela: White Italian female, single, 42 years old. Angela received her degree in Education sometime ago and then worked for 18 years as a paralegal. When she turned 40, she decided something was missing in her life and turned to social work school.

Fran: White female, single mother, 26 years old. Fran reported struggling with her material desires versus the low status of social work. She is dubious that she will be able to support herself and her daughter on a social worker's salary.

Description of the classes observed

Four class sessions in four different course sections taught by four different professors were observed. All professors and guest presenters in the classes observed were white. All names are pseudonyms.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- An evening Practice I class taught by Dr. Sidney on 3/22/00 from 6:45 –9:35 PM. There were sixteen students in the class, 13 females and 3 males. Class was predominantly white, except for two females of color. Most students were older, working full-time by day. Students were Junior level and had not yet begun field work. Course content for the evening consisted of a presentation by two female alumnae re: preparation for fieldwork, and a role play and subsequent discussion on the skills involved in psychosocial assessment conducted by the instructor.

- An evening Field Seminar class taught by Dr. Frank on 3/30/00 from 5-6:30 PM. There were fifteen students in the class, 13 females and 2 males. Class was predominantly white, except for two females of color. Students comprised a mix of older and younger students. Students in this class were completing their field requirements and ready to graduate in May. Course content for the evening consisted of a discussion on termination and a student's agency presentation.

- An evening Practice III class taught by Dr. Barbara on 3/30/00 from 6:45-9:30 PM. Roughly the same class membership as Dr. Frank's with one or two less members. Course content for the evening consisted predominantly of a guest speaker's presentation about her experiences in the Peace Corps, with some interjection on the part of the instructor. This presentation was intended to illustrate the concepts of Community Organization.

- A daytime Field Seminar class taught by Professor Hannah on 4/11/00 from 12:15-1:30 PM. There were twelve students in the class, all female. Class seemed more racially balanced than the other classes, containing 5 women of color. Most students were younger, only one white woman appeared older. Students in this class were completing their field requirements and ready to graduate in May. Course content for the afternoon consisted of a discussion on termination and a student's individual case presentation.

Recording and storing data

To insure efficient data collection and storage at the site, the researcher used a portable expanding file for the organization and safe-keeping of documents and notes. Documents were collected and expeditiously filed according to their method and significance for the study. Legal pads were used for the recording of written data that were held on the lap or stored in the portable expanding file. A small portable tape-recorder, tape cassettes, microphones and spare batteries—all used with the respondent's permission only—were easily be stored in the expanding file as well.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

With relation to interviews: With the respondents' permission, data collected during the semi-structured interviews were recorded on audiocassettes, and through hand-written notes. While collecting these data, a pseudonym was assigned to the respondent and all corresponding transcriptions containing identifying data. A corresponding face sheet including the date, time and place of the interview, the sex, age, and racial/ethnic identity of the respondent was devised and completed previous to each interview. A coding sheet was also devised for the classroom observations.

Audio-tapes were erased after transcription. All data from interviews, surveys, and field notes from classroom or informal observations were transcribed verbatim by the researcher using voice-activated transcription software and Microsoft Word. Disks and hard copies were kept in a locked file in the researcher's home. The researcher transcribed most of the interviews and field notes soon after each interaction or observation to increase the efficiency of transcription and data analysis and to further inform the researcher's further inquiry. Thus, data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection. At the researcher's disposal is Microsoft Word which offers a number of features helpful to the researcher in data storage and analysis, including line numbering, word searching, search and replace, and the ability to check spelling and create macros [keyboard shortcuts].

Data analysis for qualitative methods

The data collection methods in this study were chosen to illuminate specific aspects of students' professional socialization experiences, while complementing and supplementing each other. The intention was that this preconfigured complementarity would ultimately yield a richer and more nuanced picture of the phenomenon under

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

study. The strength of using multiple methods is that themes need not be constructed from any one data collection method, but can be constructed from a composite of all methods, while also deepening or further explicating the quantitative findings from the survey data [see section on "Quantitative Method"]. Data that are corroborated across methods also strengthen the validity and reliability of the findings as different sources of information can be used to cross-validate findings, patterns, and conclusions (Patton, 1990).

The qualitative methods employed in this investigation were designed to capture precise data of a codable nature so that dimensions of the professional socialization process could be fractured into categories that could later be reconstructed to create a holistic analysis. Though this analysis remains open to discovery and though it will be framed within a symbolic interactionist lens, it still remains open to competing structural functionalist conceptualizations of professional socialization that laid the groundwork of the earliest exploratory investigations.

Coding: A system of organizing and managing data

Data analysis in qualitative research involves creating order, organizing, structuring, giving meaning to the information that has been collected (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The analysis was determined to a great degree by the research questions driving the inquiry. Four research questions served to focus the framework for the design of this study.

1. The first question inquires into *what the process of professional socialization looks like to students.* This question is addressed in all qualitative data collection methods.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. The second question pertains to *whether that process differs for males and females.* This was ascertained by asking specific questions about differential expereiences based on gender and by dividing the interview data along dimensions of gender and making comparisons, as well as observing for gendered communication patterns in the classroom between faculty and students.
3. The third question pertains to *what influence role models have on the process.* This question was also explored in all formats. In the interview format, students were encouraged to explain how they chose their role models without assuming that the qualities the role models emulate were positive.
4. The final question pertains to *how the gender of the role model and the student interact to influence professional socialization.* This is also explored in some degree in both qualitative formats. The most significant findings are likely to emerge from comparison between male and female student responses in the interview and survey formats.

The first step in the process of identifying, coding and categorizing the primary patterns in the data is a rudimentary content analysis (Patton, 1990). This means analyzing the content of interviews, and classroom observations. Using content analysis, the researcher read through all the field notes and interviews, and made comments in the margin containing notions about what could be done to link different parts of the data. This was the beginning of organizing the data into topics and files, or labeling. Labeling the various kinds of data and establishing a data index was the first step in content analysis; the content of the data classified into a classification scheme. The purpose of classifying

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

qualitative data for content analysis was to facilitate the search for patterns and themes within a particular setting.

Coding was a major part of content analysis. According to Miles & Huberman (1994), the stuff of analysis consists of reviewing a set of field notes, whether transcribed or synthesized, and dissecting them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between the parts intact. The analysis consisted of how the retrieved data were differentiated and combined and the reflections made about the information (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Coding entailed assigning short-hand designations to various aspects of the data so that the researcher could easily retrieve specific pieces of it, and these designations took the form of abbreviations for an identified category (Merriam, 1998).

> Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes usually are attached to "chunks" of varying size—words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs, connected or unconnected to a specific setting (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56).

Coding entailed two simultaneous activities; mechanical data reduction and analytic categorization of data into themes. The researcher imposed order on the data by, making a large mass of data manageable, also allowing the researcher to quickly retrieve parts of it. The second activity allowed the researcher to devise interpretive constructs related to the analysis.

To code data into themes, the researcher needed to learn how to see or recognize themes in the data. Three kinds of qualitative data coding required the researcher to review and code the data on at least three occasions.

The first phase of *open coding* was the first pass through the data. The researcher located themes and assigned initial codes or labels in a first attempt to condense the mass of data into categories. This required a slow reading of the data, looking for critical terms,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

key events or themes, which were then noted. Next, she wrote a preliminary concept or label at the edge of a note card and highlighted it with brightly colored pencils. The researcher remained open to creating new themes and changed these initial codes in subsequent analysis. Open coding brought themes to the surface from deep inside the data. However, at this phase, themes were at a low level of abstraction, and came from the researcher's initial research questions, concepts in the literature, terms used by members in the social setting, or new thoughts stimulated by immersion in the data (Neuman, 2000). Thus codes generated in this phase were mainly *descriptive* in nature, entailing little interpretation and staying close to the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The researcher also availed herself of copious analytic notes or memos about the analysis while collecting data during this phase.

Miles & Huberman (1994) and Strauss (1987) recommend utilizing a "start list of codes" which come from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, problem areas or dimensions of the study. Since the basis of this study is largely exploratory and discovery-driven, and utilizes a grounded approach (Glaser & Straus, 1967), the researcher inductively analyzed the data, generated coding themes after the data were collected and while reading data notes. This means that the patterns, themes and categories of analysis came from the data; they emerged out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis (Patton, 1990). Two ways of presenting the patterns emerging from inductive data analysis were possible. The first was to use the categories generated by the respondents for particular themes, "indigenous typologies," and the second was for the researcher to assign a name or category to those

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

patterns for which people have not yet developed terms to label them, "analyst-constructed typologies" (Patton, 1990). The researcher chose the latter option.

After initial data were collected, written up, and reviewed line by line, [typically within each paragraph], beside the paragraph, categories or labels were generated and a list grew. The labels were reviewed and typically, a more abstract category was attributed to several incidents or observations. The incident was then be put onto a qualitative data category card or coding sheet. Data retrieval software allowed the researcher to create such a card along with the links, very quickly when she had the right key words for moving down from the inferential code to gather in the more descriptive incidents.

A start list of codable dimensions

The questions driving this inquiry required the discovery of emergent themes in the professional socialization process and how they functioned in relation to the context, and further determined their many varieties. Putative dimensions of the socialization process were derived from the existing literature on the topic and served as reference points for guide construction. These preliminary dimensions then served as the basis for the recommended "start list of codes." With regard to the unit of analysis of *process,* some of the categories for coding included:

A. The dimension of process includes students' conceptualizations of their training and their experiences within that process [with sensitivity to how that process and those experiences differ for males and females.]

- Identified best and worst things about being a social work student; outstanding experiences
- Preferred conceptualizations/ analogies/ metaphors of the educational process with other life experiences
- Perceived personal changes and preferred interpretations of changes
- Perceived degree of control over the process
- Biggest accomplishments and disappointments
- High points and low points
- Most difficult areas of adjustment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Dilemmas between the classroom and the field
- Intersections between expectations and reality
- Intersections between experiences and commitment to continue

Another dimension of process includes the subdimension of learning the skills or technology and language of the profession

- Identified tasks and skills considered essential for the professional role; expectations of professionalism
- Assignments, activities, courses, etc considered necessary for professional learning
- Role of field work in developing professionalism
- Types of interactions considered necessary for learning the professional role
- Areas of difficulty in the curriculum and strategies for dealing with it
- Jargon associated with social work
- Perceptions of personal changes required to become a social worker

Another dimension of process includes the subdimension of internalizing the professional culture

- Expected behaviors/ personal qualities of a social worker
- Perceived distinctions between student social workers and other student professionals
- Perceived distinctions between social work and other professions
- Identified beliefs and values of the profession
- Identified conflicts between personal belief system and philosophy of social work
- Nature of resonance/ conflict between social work values and personal values
- Identified clashes between the student culture [expected behaviors, norms and values] and professional culture
- Effects of involvement/membership in professional organizations, committees, etc related to social work

Another dimension of the process includes the subdimension of professional role development; both finding a personally and professionally acceptable version of the role and integrating the professional role with other life roles

- Features that attracted student to social work
- Role played by family and friends in this attraction
- Perceived personal qualities considered compatible with social work
- Professional roles/ identities student assigns self [or doesn't]
- Perceptions of social work's status as a profession/ other people's perceptions
- Priorities in looking for/ accepting a job
- Personal factors influencing learning experience/ satisfaction
- Identification of biggest educational-personal stressor interactions
- Perceptions of role of stress in training
- Weight assigned to tradeoffs and compromises
- Strategies used to cope with stress

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Intersections between stressors and faculty, field instructors
- Intersections between gender, stress and survival strategizing

Perhaps the most significant intersecting dimension in this study concerns how [interactions with] faculty/ role models affect the process of professional socialization and how the gender of the interactants influences the process

- Identification of roles of persons having key influences on the student
- Perceived level of helpfulness of formally designated social work supports
- Intersection between ideal social worker and qualities of those social workers encountered in the program
- Descriptions or categorizations of relationships between students and social work professionals/ role models in program; including degree of collegiality/deference on a number of specific indicators [see guide]
- Descriptions or categorizations of interactions between students and social work professionals/ role models in the program including verbal/nonverbal components; formal/informal aspects.
- Intersection between interactions with professionals and commitment to social work
- Perceptions of faculty expectations of students in program
- Qualities of social work professional influencing students, and type of influence exerted
- Expectations of role models/ intersections with reality
- Characterization of relationship with role models
- Types of personal changes role models incur
- Criteria students use for selecting role models
- Obstacles or barriers to obtaining role models
- Preferred qualities of male and female role models
- Similarities/ differences between students' previous and present role models
- Intersections between role models and field of practice

B. Some of the data may speak to context or the unit of analysis of program

- Identified aspects of the program that worked well/ did not work well
- Identified barriers or obstacles that kept program from working well
- Identification of mechanisms for student input/ evaluation
- Perception of participation and impact on program evaluation process
- Recommendations for program improvement
- Perceived areas of deficit/ recommendations for additions/ deletions/ modifications
- Perceived level of preparedness for social work
- Intersection between initial expectations of the program and future plans in the field
- Perceived areas of difference between males and females social work training

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The *observation of faculty-student interaction* in the classroom sought to uncover another aspect of the process of professional socialization that could not be derived through interviewing. Observations shed light on how meanings were constructed and professional identity and role developed through interactions with significant others, and selected role models. This included how the meaning of social work was derived and developed, how knowledge was communicated, and how values and professional culture was transmitted. Many of the categories highlighted above overlap with many of the categories that were generated from observation. However, as mentioned previously, there were many micro-interactionist dimensions of professional socialization that couldn't be accessed through the format of interviewing and thus this format couldn't generate codable categories of analysis. However, these dimensions of professional socialization were available for retrieval and analysis through observation of classroom interaction. Observation of classroom interaction generated categories and analysis through one of the traditional contexts within which symbolic interactionist processes occur, as these interactions occur:

A. The context of interaction:

The physical context of interaction:

- Description of classroom context, spatial arrangements between teacher and students
- Identification and description of objects, resources, technologies used in the setting.

Activities and interactions:

- Topics/activities used in the curriculum; length or duration, level of typicality
- Informal and unplanned activities emerging from teaching format
- Relationship between activity/discussion
- Patterns of interaction between people and the activity/discussion, the faculty member and one another
- Perceived meanings/value the activity or discussion has to participants

Group process:

- Identification of primary interactants; direction of interaction; who speaks to whom

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

- Identification of group roles; expert, comedian, monopolizer, etc.
- Level of formal/ informal interaction
- Verbal/nonverbal communications that play a part in the interaction
- Symbolic and connotative meanings of words
- Implicit and explicit norms or rules structuring the interactions
- Perceived impact of interactants on each other
- Identification or typology of language used in interaction; including use of lay and professional language

Later phases of coding

The researcher's "second pass" through the data was *axial coding.* During open coding, the researcher's focus was on assigning code labels and themes for the actual data, with no concern about making connections among themes or elaborating the concepts the themes represent. In axial coding, the researcher began with an organized set of initial codes or preliminary concepts. In this second pass, she focused on the initial coded themes more than on the data. Additional codes and new ideas emerged during this process, and the researcher noted them; but her primary task was to review and examine initial codes. She moved toward organizing ideas or themes and identified the axis of key concepts in analysis (Neuman, 2000) since Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 62) advise that the codes "should be part of a governing structure" with "some conceptual and structural order."

During axial coding, the researcher asked about causes and consequences, conditions and interactions, strategies and processes, and looked for categories or concepts that clustered together. She looked for divisions of existing concepts into subdimensions or subcategories, the combination of several closely related concepts into one or more general ones, and the organization of categories into a sequence, or according to their physical location, or their relationship to a major topic of interest. Axial coding not only stimulated thinking about linkages between concepts or themes,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

but it also raised new questions, triggered the dropping of some themes or examining others in more depth. It also reinforced the connections between evidence and concepts. During this phase of coding, the researcher consolidated codes and located evidence for core themes, and built a dense web of support in the data for them. This is analogous to the idea of multiple indicators described with regard to reliability for measuring variables. The connection between a theme and data was strengthened by multiple instances of empirical evidence. As the researcher became more knowledgeable about local dynamics and processes, the codes generated in this phase became more *interpretive.*

The researcher's final pass through the data was *selective coding.* By the time this stage was reached, the researcher had identified the major themes of the research, and had significantly condensed and collapsed categories. Selective coding involved scanning data and previous codes and looking selectively for instances that illustrated themes and made comparisons and contrasts after most or all the data collection was complete. Selective coding began after all concepts were well developed and the overall analysis began to organize around several core generalizations or ideas. During selective coding, major themes or concepts ultimately guided the researcher's search. Specific themes identified in earlier coding were reorganized and reexamined for more than one major theme (Neuman, 2000), generating *pattern* codes. These codes were explanatory and inferential, and identified emergent themes, configurations or explanations. "They pull together a lot of material into more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 69).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Memoing

The researcher also kept track of her thoughts, musings, speculations, and hunches as she engaged in analysis. These were interwoven in the field notes [as in observer comments] or took the form of separate files or memos. This information became rudimentary analysis, the foundation for more complex data analysis.

The analytic memo was a discussion of thoughts and ideas about the coding process that the researcher wrote to herself. The analytic memo forged a link between concrete data or raw evidence and more abstract, theoretical thinking. It contained the researcher's reflections on and thinking about the data and coding. The researcher added to the memo and used it as she passed through the data with each type of coding. The memos formed the basis for analyzing data in the research report (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Further refinement of the data: Domain analysis

As mentioned previously, the emergent data were sorted through that which were immediately related, to that which were more subtly related. Through the analytic processes of coding and memoing, categories were then reinvented on the basis of their relationship to other categories. The identification of these primary themes subsequently evolved into more nuanced taxonomic structuring.

Domain analysis consisted of examining narrative for words that shared a semantic relationship. A *domain* is a cluster of *folk terms*, bound to a *cover term* by a common *semantic relationship.* Folk terms are the ordinary words that people use to describe objects and experiences. Cover terms are labels for categories containing potentially many folk terms. Cover terms were an explicit part of the language of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

speaker or sometimes served as labels in the language of the observer. A semantic relationship is the attribute that binds the cover terms together. Spradley (1980) lists many examples of semantic relationships. Spradley suggests that the domains related to social behavior can be grouped into nine major classes: *spaces, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, times, goals,* and *feelings*. In this analysis, the researcher identified the major domains in all but the "objects" area.

The next step in a domain analysis is to inquire what semantic relationships connecting the terms may be implied in the text. Spradley lists several common relationships that may describe how terms are related. These include "is a kind of" (strict inclusion), "is a place in/part of" (spatial), "is a result of" (cause/effect), "is a way to do" (means/end), is a "step/stage in" (sequence), and "is a characteristic of" (attributes). Many others are possible. "Is a value of" might be useful for connecting terms regarding value domains. "Is a place for doing/learning" might also be helpful for developing a domain connecting places and acts in this study that create context. The point is that domain analysis seeks instances within the data for language that gives clues to how the speaker organizes her or his experiences of the world in some matter of interest to the researcher.

Taxonomic analysis

Since domains do not exist in linguistic vacuums, and they are semantically related to other domains, *taxonomic analysis* specifies the relationships between domains. Just as folk terms can be linked to cover terms through semantic relationships, so domains can be linked by semantic relationships. The purpose of taxonomic analysis is to help organize and reduce a large volume of data into a symbol system that conveys the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meaning system of the informants/ respondents. The relationships described are embedded in the words of the text, and are abstractions of the text, comprising an approximation of the implicit knowledge of the respondents. To the extent that the domains and taxonomies arose from the actual text data, they were meaningful and grounded, though they were interpretations nonetheless.

Componential analysis

Organizing data into domains and taxonomies was only the beginning of nonnumerical data analysis. Whereas the domains and taxonomies informed the researcher what went together, other forms of analysis, such as componential analysis, helped her to understand the values and basic concerns that lead to the taxonomies and a deeper understanding of the meaning systems of the respondents. *Componential analysis* involved the search for attributes on which domains were based, usually through the examination of contrasts. Componential analysis started with domain and taxonomic analyses described before. Taxonomies revealed meaning categories and the clustering of terms within the category but did not provide explanation or confirmation of the distinctiveness of the many domains. In componential analysis, the domains were reexamined for clues concerning the attributes that were used to sort experiences into separate domains in the taxonomy. These attributes provided the comparison sets through which people absorbed information into existing categories or create new ones. The attributes that were detected were believed to reflect the values and concerns of the individual or group under study, what Spradley (1980) called cultural themes.

Since this study is, in part, concerned with the process through which professional culture is acquired, componential analysis offered a powerful technique for looking

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

broadly and holistically at all the domains to reveal a few simple but potentially powerful ideas through which the cultural scene is organized. Componential analysis was conducted starting with as many domains and taxonomies available and looking for the ways in which the domains differ. This form of analysis provided both data reduction and allowed for new insights concerning pattern identification (Cournoyer & Klein, 2000).

Quantitative method of data collection

Applying sociological research in nursing to social work

As stated previously, the disciplines of medicine and nursing have studied the professional socialization of its students in far greater breadth and depth than has the social work profession. However, the similarities between these professions and social work might underscore possible intersections and overlap between students' respective socialization processes across disciplines. Medicine, nursing, and social work are all "practical" disciplines that deal with both practical wisdom and knowledge. Each of these disciplines is guided by a type of reasoning described as *praxis,* a form of action where a wise and knowledgeable individual acts in the best interests of the group, the situation or the self. Praxis is guided by *phronesis* or the moral disposition to act truly and justly. Thus, the action and the moral disposition mutually influence and are influenced by each other (Benson, 1995).

> ...In praxis, thought and action (or theory and practice) are dialectically related. They are to be understood as mutually constitutive, as in a process of interaction which is a continual reconstruction of thought and action in the living historical process which evidences itself in every real social situation. Neither thought nor action is preeminent (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, pp. 33-34).

In any of the professions considered practical sciences, there are three dynamics; the *craft,* the *intellectual,* and the *moral/ ethical* (Benson & de Leeuw, 1993). The *craft*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dynamic includes the skills an individual uses to engage in the profession; the *intellectual* dynamic includes the knowledge of the theoretical and practical components of the discipline; and the *moral/ ethical* dynamic contains the foundational assumptions or beliefs that form the individuals' world-view about the profession and how she engages in it. When an individual engages in the practice of any of these practical sciences, there is an underlying set of foundational beliefs guiding the person's actions. Because the form of reasoning in the practical sciences is praxis, the person's set of beliefs must also be consistent with such reasoning or else incongruities develop between the stated position of the person and her actions (Benson, 1995). This may be one explanation for the emphasis on assimilation to professional values in practical disciplines.

In addition to praxis, there are some specifically documented similarities between nursing and social work that may also guide further professional socialization research in social work. Kidneigh and Lundberg (1958) compared students in education, engineering, law, library science, nursing and psychology; finding those in social work more similar to those in education, nursing and psychology. These researchers found that like nursing students, social work students tend to come from lower socioeconomic groups and make their career choices later in life. As stated previously, like social work, nursing is primarily a female-populated profession (Daly, 1990; Leighninger, 1995). Unlike the early exploratory studies in medicine, professional socialization studies in nursing offer some insight into socialization processes as experienced by women.

Lastly, the professionalization of both social workers and nurses involves two components. Initial socialization occurs during formal education, followed by further socialization to a work environment in field work (Leddy & Pepper, 1989; Lum, 1988;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lurie, 1981; Lynn, McCain & Boss, 1989; Oermann, 1991). In nursing, these components are known as *pre-clinical* and *clinical* socialization components, similar to Social Work's *academic* and *field* components respectively. For both disciplines, the internship experience is a part of the formal structure of the socialization process. Internships offer nursing and social work students a chance to practice applying knowledge and skills, and to try on new identities. Upon entering the field setting, both social work and nursing novices must integrate professional beliefs acquired during education into a primarily bureaucratic setting. In sum, both professions are seen as having a professional culture that are comprised by a body of knowledge, a set of skills, and an interrelated series of values, attitudes and interests. Also, the educative process for both includes the acquisition of a professional culture resulting from both planned and unplanned circumstances.

The principle that one learns by example through role modeling has been substantiated in the previous sections. The nursing literature also emphasizes the desirability for student nurses to have access to persons who could, through example, help them assume the future professional role. As a result of this intended desirability, an instrument has been developed from within the field of nursing to measure the characteristics of effective nurse role models. The indicators in this survey were easily modified to parallel characteristics of effective social work role models. Since there is no quantitative instrument available in social work that measures the effects of role modeling on student social workers, this survey was a useful component for this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Purpose

The purpose of using the instrument is to measure social work students' expectations of their field instructors. The behaviors the student ranks as most important provide insight into those characteristics students deem most desirable in a social work role model.

Instrumentation

There is significant literature suggesting that nurse faculty do serve as role models for nursing students (Cooper, 1982). Several multi-relational studies have been conducted in nursing including one by Jacobsen (1966) which utilized the *critical incident technique* to identify effective and ineffective behaviors of nurse faculty as described by their students. Jacobsen's (1966) sample consisted of 961 undergraduate nursing students in five universities in the southern region. After collecting data, 1,182 usable critical incidents were grouped into the following six categories. These were:

1) availability to the student.
2) apparent general knowledge and professional competence.
3) interpersonal relations with students and others
4) teaching practices in classroom and clinical areas.
5) personal characteristics, and
6) evaluation practices.

Using Jacobsen's research findings on effective and ineffective nurse faculty behavior, Rauen (1970) devised the *Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale [CICRS]* to determine whether nursing students expected nurse faculty to be role models and if they did, what behaviors they expected. The instrument consists of eighteen behaviors on a six

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

point ranking scale. The eighteen behaviors are divided into three groups or dimensions; *person, nurse* and *teacher* roles. [See Appendix **D**]. Though the survey contains three sections of indicators, the indicators for person, nurse and teacher are mixed throughout the three sections [see Appendix **E** for the behavior categorization key]. The indicators for *nurse* characteristics were slightly modified to reflect the distinction in social work skills [Appendix **F**]. Permission was granted from Karen Rauen to use the instrument and modify the nurse indicators into social work indicators using reflective language. [See Appendix **G**].

Characteristics categorized as the *person* role were those behaviors that reflected interpersonal relationship skills such as empathy, kindness, and honesty. *Nurse* characteristics, which were changed for the purposes of this study into *social work* characteristics, included behaviors which pertained to knowledge of client intervention and the ability to perform the skills necessary to intervening directly with or on behalf of clients. Behaviors listed in the *teacher* category were those associated with providing purposeful learning assignments, feedback and rewards to students.

Validity and reliability

To test for content validity, Rauen (1970) developed a consultation instrument. Twenty-five graduate students were asked to categorize each characteristic as to *person role, nurse role, or teacher role.* Any item identically categorized by the group of experts and Rauen was retained if it met with 80% agreement or greater. Characteristics not meeting this criterion were discarded or revised.

To establish reliability, Rauen used the test-retest method. Subtest reliability was determined using the Spearman Rank-Order Correlation Coefficient. The test-retest

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coefficients obtained were as follows: Person Role Rho=0.53; Nurse Role Rho=0.75; and Teacher Role Rho=0.47. Reliability of the CICRS as a whole was tested using the Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula and was found to be 0.75 (Rauen, 1970).

Rauen attributes the instrument design to the less than desirable reliability levels often associated with this kind of scale. Both the rank ordering method and the small number of item responses contribute to the low reliability coefficients.

Sample

The *criterion* sampling method was used for this study. The sample consisted of the entire Senior graduating class of 2000 (n=27) enrolled in the baccalaureate social work program at Bishop University. Participation in this survey, as with all other aspects of the case study design, was completely voluntary. Faculty teaching Field Seminar classes in Social Work granted permission for the dissemination and completion of the survey in their classes. [A demographic description of the students responding to the survey is contained in Appendix **K.**]

Data Collection

Prior to the distribution of the CICRS instrument, research subjects were assured of anonymity, advised that participation in the study was voluntary and were informed that completion and return of the questionnaire implied consent for use of the data [See Appendix **H].** The investigator informed research participants that upon completion of the study, an abstract of the findings would be made available to them through the Director of their program.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The research subjects were provided with verbal and written instructions on how to complete the demographic sheet and the survey instrument. The survey packet was then distributed in each Field Seminar class consisting of:

1) an explanatory cover letter [Appendix **H**]

2) a one-page request for demographic data of gender, age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, previous and current field experience, and previous work experience [Appendix **I**].

3) the one page CICRS instrument [Appendix **J**].

Data Analysis

The data from the CICRS were analyzed using SPSS and included the use of descriptive and inferential statistics. Numbers and percentages were calculated for all demographic data. For individual item responses on each scale, measures of central tendencies; mean, median, mode and standard deviations were computed. Since the data are ordinal and may be treated as interval data, parametric tests were conducted. The paired samples t-test for independent means on the person, teacher and social worker scale was conducted and tested for the strength of linear association [Pearson coefficient]. T-tests [for independent samples] were also conducted to compare the means on the three scales for all demographic characteristics. The level of significance for the t-test analyses was set at ≤ 0.05. Frequencies for the three most highly ranked role characteristics (rating of 6) from Groups A, B, and C on each survey were also tabulated. Survey data were compared for resonance and/or dissonance with the qualitative data.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER IV
EXPECTATION-REVELATION

Factors influencing student career choice and decision-making

The students entering Bishop's social work program did so with high expectations, high ideals and optimistic ambitions to positively impact others as professionals in the future. During our interview, the majority of the students expressed being drawn to social work by a desire to help others.

> I expected to go out there and help the world. I was going to save everybody...I was going to be so perfect. The first hour that I was there, ya know, I was just gonna take off (Jackie).

> When I first started out, I wanted to conquer the world. And work in all the poor areas and take all these people out and just be like the Pied Piper...(Janet).

These sparks of altruism were not short-lived, whimsical fantasies. The students' initial sense of invincibility was not spawned in ignorance, naivete, or delusion, nor was it the result of inadequate exposure to social problems or social workers. Instead, the students' quest to serve those in need was the result of a culmination of influential forces and experiences in their lives. Some of those forces include previous exposure to social work through volunteer or paid positions that incorporated helping roles, childhood experiences with social workers, or personal or familial experiences with social problems. Most students experienced a perceived affinity or compatibility with social work, strongly identifying with the values of social work before entry. Suffice to say, most students in this study were not "new" to social work when they entered the program. The level of exposure these students had to the profession strongly suggests that the process of professional socialization to social work begins before students enter the social work classroom.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This section discusses those early influences driving the students at Bishop's social work program toward the profession of social work. These forces elevated students' expectations of social work education, social work professionals, the social work profession, and most importantly, their visions for themselves as future professionals. Many students in this study suggested that they were born to be social workers.

> I think I was born as a social worker. Because that's all I wanted to help people...(Janet).

> Everybody's case might be different...I think, in my case, I was almost born into it (Nancy).

Students that insisted they were born to be social workers also report having "felt like a social worker" or always having "done" social work. Most often it was the older students [over 40] who entered the program with a pre-formed social work identity, and as a result, they were less likely than the younger students to be radically transformed by their educational experiences in the program.

> I don't know, I just feel like a social worker...(Lydia)

> I've always wanted to be a social worker, and everything I've done, in the past, has always, been around social work...yes I do feel, that I am a social worker...(Janet).

Students of all ages formed an identification with social work through the helping aspects of paid or volunteer work.

> Well, I have always done volunteer work, always...It was usually with seniors, and then I worked with a group of people who were HIV positive and some of them, full-blown AIDS (Annie).

> I'm a chaplain slash counselor at an adult rehabilitation center for alcoholics and people with drug problems ...I've been doing social work of one kind or another the entire time we were ministers my wife and I, we're Salvation Army officers, and so being in that discipline, in that field of Christian ministry, you're in social work (Thomas).

> ...I worked for a year in a group home, where I really liked doing that. I worked with adults who were developmentally disabled and I liked that work a lot (Lynn).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Other students insisted they were "called" to be social workers. This calling is viewed as tantamount to a God-given duty that one has to fulfill. The religious/spiritual significance of fulfilling a destiny is evident in these passages.

> I think it's a God given calling. Somebody has to protect those who cannot protect themselves. I think God just sets up a few people to do that. Because I don't know who else would want to deal with some of the things that social workers are forced to deal with, like poverty, the seriousness of the human condition. I think that there's a certain heart that you're given by God to be aware of that and to make it be an important social criteria for yourself (Angela).

> I think that just me being in social work now was all, it was meant to be. That that was a part of God's plan in my life...It never dawned on me until recently. That, you know, what this was, what the Lord had for me, for me to into social work...it had to be a calling (Brenda).

"The calling" however, is not a purely spiritual or emotional experience as the above anecdotes reflect, but is often intertwined with elements of rational decision-making and the cognition of having made a free choice. A student may consider any of a number of helping professions to fulfill the calling, however settling on social work school still entails some pragmatic concerns. Students must investigate the requirements of professional education and evaluate them relative to their aptitudes, and then decide whether or not they can meet the criteria. The passages below indicate the role of rational and practical considerations in the career decision-making process.

> I didn't want to be a nurse because you have to know Biology, a lot of Science, a lot of Math. I'm kind of weak in those areas. And I looked at teacher, maybe if I was a little bit younger...So I'm looking at it, I'm looking at this because I want fulfillment but I'm also looking at economics, but I'm also looking at there's also the helping side. So, I'm weighing all my options (Lydia).

> I mean, I had like times when I thought, well why didn't I do computers? But you know what? That wasn't for me (Brenda).

> ...So, I got a book that has all the careers in it. And I was reading and I made up to the S's and I saw social work. It was like, you could work in various of fields, hospitals, schools, the government. I was like, "Oh, this seems good. At least my options are open. I can get a job when I finish..." So, I just picked it...I knew I couldn't be a lawyer, I couldn't be a doctor, I couldn't be a nurse, I couldn't be a teacher...it was like going down the list of things that I knew I couldn't do and maybe I could do. And, social work was one of the things that I thought I could do. So, I did it (Kim).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The younger students' journey to social work

The younger students' journey to professional social work education is reflected in a number of remarkably similar paths, characterized by a blend of common influences. First, most of the younger students reported not knowing *what* they wanted to do after they graduated high school. The younger students especially bemoaned the fact that social work was never adequately stressed as a legitimate professional choice in high school. This lack of proper counseling was attributed to guidance counselors not really knowing what social workers do. This frustrated the student and provided incentive for them to seek out someone else in the field who could properly guide them, typically professors in allied disciplines. Frequently, the students "figure out" what social work is by contrasting it to other more sharply defined professions. Early career counseling does little to promote, explain or enhance the profession. Critically however, the counselors' educational ignorance and ambivalence about social work functions as a [negative] socializing agent for students, as it is the first indication students receive of society's broader ignorance and antipathy toward the profession. Students subsequently encounter this condescension far less ambiguously throughout their training.

> Social work wasn't a very publicized um, field to go into, when you're in high school. You know, it's like you could become a teacher, you could become a nurse, you could go into business, you could do this. But it's never like, you could become a social worker. You don't hear too many people say that to kids. Um, it wasn't really until I came here, to Bishop, to the open house. That I thought of it, as a career. Because, like I said, I knew I wanted to... help people, but I was caught up in, well, a teacher helps but they teach. It's not really helping. And a doctor heals, but it's not really helping. And a psychologist says, "Lay on my couch", but doesn't really, you know, get into depths about the problem (Nancy).

> I wished that I would have gotten more career counseling because I went from being a Psychology major for a year and a half...now if I would have gotten more career counseling, I think that they would have said, "Well if you want more to help people on that level, then you shouldn't be in Psychology, you should be in social work" (Catherine).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many of the students reported meeting a significant Sociology or Psychology professor [role model] that motivated them to pursue a career in social work. The motivational function of role models will be discussed in a subsequent section.

> ... and then, a professor...said, "So what do you want to do with your life?" ...And I was like "I want to help people." And she's just like "So what the hell are you doing in Psychology? You should be in social work." I'm like "Social work, eh" (Catherine)?

> And, I was motivated by one of my *[Sociology]* professors at Nassau... He told me to come to here, to come to Bishop. So I came.
> *So, he was a role model for you?*
> Yeah...If I haven't met him, I'd probably be undecided to this day. Not knowing what I really wanted to do. Because I had an idea that I wanted to go into social work. But, I really needed somebody to say, it was okay for me to do it. That, you know, it was a good idea...He really motivated me...(Kim).

> Getting into the program, there was a role model...one of the professors who I developed a relationship with while I was in Sociology, and that really got me interested in the program...the professor who got me into the program...since I was kind of floundering from major to major that social work was...she said she was gonna keep on popping me all the time and she did, and that was really, really a turning point, really a great influence (Dee-Dee).

Several younger students were steered to social work through their mothers or their mother's social worker. Two students' mothers were professional social workers, and one was influenced by her mother's [unpaid] missionary work. In other cases, the mothers served as brokers through which students could link to social workers and gain exposure to the profession. These social workers often provided an inspirational connection to social work.

> ...then she *[student's mother]* went back...got her BSW...
> *But did she influence your decision to go into social work, because she is a social worker herself?*
> She influenced me, I gather seeing what she did like made me choose it. I like seeing what she does. She works for Parole, as a Revocation Officer (Eric).

> I mean my mother is not a social worker, but just the way she helps people out in the church and she tries to get close with this person and you know we help other countries and I just...But I guess, when I see my mom doing this, I'm like...I would like to be like my mother I guess. I think she has had an impact on my life, like to help people and do what's right (Elena).

> My mother's social worker...I was able to talk to her about what I wanted to do, I was able to get positive feedback from her, honest feedback from her. So she definitely was a major influence, and also seeing the work that she's done reflected in my mother is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> also—well I could do that, ya know, giving me like a sense of fire under the burners, I guess (Catherine).

In summary, the elements of the younger students' decision making include 1) not knowing what they wanted, 2) not being properly guided into social work in high school, 3) finding social work through Psychology/Sociology and/or through their professor or mother.

The older students' journey to social work

Unlike the younger students, the older students were more likely to distinguish themselves as apart from the younger students. "We" is used to reflect the voice of the older student group.

> ...we have a common goal, we want to finish and get our degree and move on in life because we have to (Lydia).

The older students' final decision-making was determined by a different motivation—looking for meaning in life. By and large, these older students were more focused and determined to attain their goal, yet expressed more self-doubt, and were more sensitive to judgment from outsiders about undertaking a journey to a second career. Many of their responses reflect their desire for meaningful work combined with the urgency of a decision that was "now or never."

> I used to always say, "Oh God, I'll be thirty five and still..." That's another thing...people look at you, tell you, "You're going for your Masters?" It's like, "No, I'm going for my Bachelor's." ...I think because...I know I'm at the age that I am, it's either now or never, so that's what keeps me going...in a sense, I'm more wiser, I'm more focused on what I want to be, and that's a social worker...I work for a municipality as a clerk-typist. But I don't feel fulfillment at this job anymore...(Lydia).

> I had been in the business world a very long time and it was really not my niche...Yea, I did it for 18 years *[worked as a paralegal]* and then when I turned 40, what actually happened was, I thought to myself, you know what? I don't want to be seventy and say I at least never tried...(Angela).

> Right now, I'm a chaplain counselor there, there being the one in Hempstead, but at some point, I want to retire from the Salvation Army. I've been a minister and a pastor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> there for almost twenty years, and eventually I'd like to retire as a social worker at the Salvation Army...(Thomas).

For the single mothers in the program, motivations were far more heavily influenced by practical needs. Here the voices of older and younger single mothers harmonized to express their singular aspiration for a better quality of life for their children. Though Kim and Fran are both in their twenties, their life circumstances placed them in the position of thinking beyond their own immediate needs and toward the [financial] needs of their children.

> And then my son, and then just looking at him being a single mother, what's the best thing I can do for him to make our lives somewhat better?...I want a better life for myself and my son, financially, shall I say (Lydia).

> I'm a single parent and I really need more money. I need to make better money. I want to just be financially secure cause I'm not right now. I'm like struggling (Fran).

> My baby is two. Yeah, it was real hard...So, it wasn't like I'm gonna stop at my Associate's. So I always knew that education was the key for me. I went back to school and I did it....Because I want to have a better life. I'm doing this for me and my daughter. I'm not doing this for nobody else, you know... So, I, I know, I need to make money (Kim).

Proximity to social problems and social workers

Whether practical or altruistic, students' choice of social work is also influenced by comfort, familiarity or proximity to social problems that are often already a part of their lives. Their first hand personal experience with social problems and social work sensitizes students to the experience of feeling vulnerable and needing help, and may later influence students' desire to want to help others or make a difference on a professional level. Though their relationship with social problems may be direct, their encounters with the social work profession may be indirect.

> I mean, we always had um- growing up we always had a lot of issues that came up in the family. Like you know, we've had certain problem...I have two brothers that are incarcerated so when they were young, we would always have social workers at the home, probation officers trying to help us...I guess I just grew up wanting to help people not go through what I went through (Elena).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I'm the only one that doesn't have real problems—I have a sister who does drugs, a brother that's an alcoholic...I think environmental factors, losing my child. That definitely encouraged me to go to school, because I was going through severe depression...I feel like another reason *[for choosing social work]* too is because I had a child, and my child died...So therefore I just, when you hear about child abuse cases, you hear about things that happen to children...(Lydia).

The data also suggest that students may be seeking to resolve their personal issues or family problems through their professional education.

> ...I very much enjoy working with the Seniors and the elderly and my mom is, she's a widow and she's 73 and she has chronic osteoarthritis, and I see the struggle that she's been having for a number of years now—life on her own, and the physical disabilities and the limitations that she has on her life...(Annie).

> When I was one I had an uncle that committed suicide and it affected the whole family. And even though I was young, he had children, he had a wife and it affected everyone. And today, it still affects...and three months later my cousin committed suicide...And no one could understand why she did it...(Elena).

> My wife has a very serious psychiatric disorder that we only discovered in the sense of a diagnosis perhaps nine years ago (Thomas).

Sometimes students' experience with social work is more direct and participatory, for example, when they are clients or are part of a family client system. When students come into direct contact with social workers, they develop mental constructions of professional helpers that contribute to the expectations they form for social work even if they are unclear about the connection between the helping professional and the social work profession. Some students had very early encounters with social workers, and though they had not yet linked them to the profession, these helpers profoundly affected their career destination nonetheless.

> Growing up, I had therapy and my mother's also had therapy... (Catherine)

> I think we just have to go back to where I come from and the field I want to go into...working with the adolescents and substance abuse...I was in the program myself ten years ago. So they didn't have an adolescent program then, so I was glad to see that was there. I've had friends who had drug overdoses, and suicide while on drugs...(Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I had always had a social worker growing up. Well, not me, but I had grown up with a younger, handicapped brother...I was young when she would come. And, I never knew she was a social worker...I just thought she was like a lady who came to the house...So, I knew a little bit about it (Nancy).

Personal compatibility with social work

In addition to proximity, the students are also influenced by their perceived compatibility with social work. Most students expressed that they have the "right stuff," or an aptitude for social work. In part, what students are suggesting is that they enjoy interacting with people, or feel at ease talking or listening to others.

> I mean I was always, you know, the child that would always feel bad and, you know, play with the kids that nobody played with. And, I would always, as I got older and, you know, into high school, I'd always be the one that everybody would come to with their problems. You, know, I was the nice one (Nancy).

> I always had those qualities when I was younger, like I said, Ya know, people would always talk to me, I would go out, people I don't even know would start to open up to me...So I think I had those qualities...(Eric).

> You know I always considered myself to be a thoughtful and compassionate person (Angela).

> ...I have a helping nature (Lydia).

Surprisingly, however, even a personal incompatibility for social work may be a source of attraction. Some students reluctantly recognize that they may not possess the social skills necessary for social work. Thomas expects the program to correct his personal deficiencies and thus make him more compatible for social work. When Rachel realized she didn't have the social skills necessary for direct practice, she left the profession for law. Alternatively, Kim remained in the program, but she felt uncomfortable with her individual practice skills right up until graduation.

> I've never had too much difficulty academically, but it's mixing as I said earlier, that's what Shakespeare said, "ah, there's the rub" (Thomas).

> I think...I guess I just started to realize, see, I'm much more like task-oriented. I like to have a task and I like to complete it, and then when I see it's completed and it's right, then I feel good (Rachel).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...Sometimes I drift away. When they're *[clients]* talking to me, I'm like, "Oh my God, I'd rather be somewhere else". I know, see that's bad...But that's why I can't do that one-on-one...But this like having a client and seeing them on a repeatedly basis. And, I don't want to do that. I don't like that at all (Kim).

Early educational revelations

Though the social work students at Bishop may have entered the program with a sense of personal mission and a relative familiarity with social work, they seem somewhat taken aback by their initial encounters with the program. Most say their education was not what they expected. Some students reported that they didn't think they'd have to take certain courses and others indicated that because of the lack of attention to social work as a possible career choice in high school, they weren't adequately prepared for what to expect from social work education.

> I, I didn't have any...expectations. Like I didn't know what I was getting myself into, you know. Until I went to the first class and sat down (Kim).

> I think I first came into the program, I was very confused about what I was going to learn...It's not said, you know, "Go to college and be a social worker."...I didn't know what to expect out of social work education (Nancy).

Having no frame of reference except their earlier academic experience, students anticipated that their social work classroom education would be formal and academic and similar to their previous didactic and information based education. Alternatively, because it is "professional" education, they expected the curriculum to be mentally challenging. Rachel, [who is leaving the profession], complained that social work education was not academically rigorous.

> I expected it to be, I think a little bit more demanding. I definitely expected to be writing more papers and taking more tests. I really expected it to be...it was definitely much easier than I expected...(Rachel).

> I heard a lot of nursing majors complain that the work is like, killer. Um, I think it's easy. I didn't really have a problem with it. Um, the tests itself, like the in-class tests are pretty easy, because they come straight from the class notes and from the book. There's nothing they're going to throw at you...It wasn't like stressful in the sense that the exams would kill you or the papers were like something you couldn't do.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Everything you could've done and I did it...So, it wasn't like, the curriculum was not hard at all, to be honest with you. It's like, high school stuff...(Kim).

The coursework

Though mastering *most* course content was not reported as especially challenging, most students complained about the quantity of required reading and written papers required in their course load. Critically, however, the students find that social work education differs from more mainstream academic education in unexpected ways. The students report that *it's not concrete, it's more personable, doesn't involve formulas, it's not textbook knowledge, it's experiential* and *more enduring.*

> It's not concrete stuff, it's more abstract, I guess, It's not memorization...I guess it's more personable...I don't know if that's because it's social work itself, or that's the nature of the way the professors are trained (Lynn).

> These classes make you think more.
> *How so?*
> Because the other classes are just... you sit there, you take notes, and the only time you have to study is for a test. In social work, it's just stuff that you have to think about. I think it's just more involved than just like a regular lecture class.
> *So, are you trying to say that you have more of an active role in your learning in your social work classes?*
> Compared to the other classes, yeah (Patty).

The intersection between the coursework and direct practice application is cited by respondents as unique because they are required to experience and internalize the information for further use, not just regurgitate it for the short term, thus rendering their social work education more enduring. Internalizing the information is just one part of what students refer to as an unexpected "inner" learning process.

> In my other courses, I just needed a grade to pass, and it was information I didn't need, probably will never use again. In social work, I'm gonna need to know it and apply it in my profession (Nicole).

> ...But in social work, you keep it, it's something you do learn (Janet).

> Social work has to become experiential. The Political History course I took was nothing more than the structure of the Supreme Court. It's not gonna have a whole lot to do with it. The Art History course; you could almost take the textbook to the bathroom with you, and I don't mean to read. I see very little if any correlation there. Where the SW courses

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> demand that you integrate it into your work...So for me, the SW courses demand that the student make it part of, incorporate it, integrate it, into his or her work (Thomas).

> I expected it to be a book learning, like a Psychology course kind of thing. I did not expect, I did not expect at all, it to be such an internal process...I think when I first came into social work, I expected it to be very similar to other courses that I had taken, where it was just book knowledge and learning things, which did happen. But there was also a lot of self-awareness and self-growth that happened within me that I wasn't really expecting (Angela).

Thus, social work involves not just academic learning but developmental or internal learning as well. This "internal process" includes emotional demands and personal and professional development that can only occur as a result of some oftentimes uncomfortable yet rewarding processes.

> I'd say it's a tremendous growth experience...(Catherine).

> And also, you discover things about yourself that you may not like but you have to work through—idiosyncrasies. Just generally it's a growth experience that's both pleasant and at times unpleasant (Thomas).

> It's like during the semester, you're becoming aware of things that you didn't really think about. It's kind of like I'm out here and I'm looking in at me growing and learning...So, I guess it's like when you watch yourself, but you're outside looking in (Elena).

The classes

The students struggled with selecting adjectives adequate enough to typify the emotional demands of the program that often played out in the classroom. In general, they settle upon *demanding, exhausting, takes a lot out emotionally, struggle, emotional roller coaster.*

> ...it is difficult and it's very demanding and it's certainly not for anybody that's is not willing to confront themselves and their skeletons and the unpleasant aspects of ourselves that we'd just as soon not confront...(Thomas).

> And, you're going to touch a lot of nerves during your classes. So, be prepared to be on an emotional roller coaster during your classes. You learn a lot about feelings and emotions...a lot of the topics that are discussed in class can draw upon emotions that yourself and other students have...(Nancy).

> We did a class one time on suicide and three people I guess in the class wound up in tears because they had had experiences where either family members or friends had either committed suicide or attempted suicide. There was one girl in particular who literally had an anxiety attack in class and we had to end the class and call the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> professor for her...And that prompted her to go into her own counseling. So, for many weeks, she was disturbed about it (Angela).

The students were challenged to undertake a number of emotional risks in the classroom. They emphasized that they did not anticipate the *informal*, *expressive* and *intimate* aspects of social work class that encourage self-disclosure. These conditions are contrasted with mainstream classes.

> Like when you have other classes...it' so formal and social work classes it's so informal. The teachers...he talks or she talks, it's just very formal...I have an Ethics class, and from the Ethics class into the Social work class is so different, and that's nice. It's refreshing to walk in and call your teachers on a first name basis and everyone's like calling out what they did. And everybody knows **everything** about everyone's life... (Dee-Dee).

> I expected it to be more formal. *[How so?]* Well, like in a lot of my classes, we're like very informal. Like crying, students cry, they tell their life stories. I never thought that would happen. They tell their problems. I just expected it to be more formal where we would just be like teaching and then leave. I didn't expect it to be like so in-depth (Fran).

> Maybe I didn't expect that it would get so much into your own feelings and stuff...any other class I've had you never felt yourself getting emotional or identifying with things. So maybe I didn't expect...anticipate that, where we'd be talking about things that could hit home and you'd feel yourself getting upset in class or you'd see other people getting upset. I don't think you'd get that in many other classes (Lynn).

Some female students implied that they were challenged to take more emotional risks in class than the male students. According to some of these accounts, men are permitted to maintain their "masculine façade," explaining why they may veer toward Policy or private practice.

> So, I think that the males in the class probably have a different learning experience because they, they're not viewed as the females are. They might be more threatening (Nancy).

> I guess they teach us *[women]* to be more compassionate, more open-minded, more caring. And for the men, there's been a couple of males in our classes but, I figure it would be like more aggressive, learn more about policy issues. I see that most men in the profession are in policy or private practice (Isabel).

> ...I would say that they were allowed to maintain the masculine facade where we were more encouraged to break down the walls.
> *And what gave you this idea...?*
> Because they could hide. One of them for instance, would call us "hon" and "dear"- which I thought was inappropriate, but...I think I really did sense that they were allowed to hide behind their veneer...And they were less challenged...to be brought out, definitely. I really see, I know I was challenged many times to be brought out. I saw

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> other people many times being challenged to be brought out. I saw them less challenged... I think it felt as though, I could be delusional, but it really felt as though they asked us to just go a little deeper, and they asked us questions...
> *When you say "us, " you mean the women?*
> The women. Right. They asked us questions that were more.... would provoke our emotions more...I think we were responded to, not in a different way, we were responded to all in the same way, but I think as far as the level which we were asked to go personally, was different (Angela).

Though most students reported appreciating the cohesion and intimacy of class, many also reported ambivalence about what they perceive as pressure to disclose intimate details of their lives in class. They attribute this pressure to the small size of the program, and consequently being in classes with many of the same students.

> Our department whether it's because we're in a small school but I think it has to do with because we're social work, everybody's very close, and in class, people really disclose a lot of things...that has good points and bad points. Cause I think everyone feels compelled to really disclose and then sometimes you may just discuss that (Dee-Dee).

In addition, some students of color felt disconnected and alienated from the program and student body. These comments contradicted the depiction of the classroom environment and peer group as intimate.

> I came to school, sat down, took notes. Like I didn't have a bond with anybody. I didn't have any friends or anything like that. I would just do my work and when the bell, like when class dismissed, I would just walk out and leave, you know...I went home, went to the library... I didn't really have like, like people was in cliques in class. Like you had this clique, this clique and this clique...So, I didn't really have like a friend to talk like on a daily basis. You know. It was just me and my thoughts alone...(Kim).

> ...I would always notice that it was always my friend and me and we're both Hispanic and then I would think about that...I was always you know- talking to them and every thing. Once in awhile I did feel like you know- not pushed to the side, but I couldn't be a part of...like a part of them...Well, like they would always go out, because I mean they would speak about them going out...you know, they wouldn't like invite us...
> *So there was a group of white kids that wouldn't invite you and your Latina friends?*
> Well, there was a group of white kids, well, yeah, white kids- it wasn't like all the time. It was just like I knew they would go out and stuff like that and you know, and never stop to ask us (Elena).

Most students agreed that class "is like group," but were divided as to whether this was of benefit. Those students in favor of a group-work-like atmosphere mentioned the specific benefit of having acquired a *support system.* This support system is viewed as serving the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

purposes of *facilitating learning*, and *providing validation and comfort for one's feelings and experiences.*

> You really get a nice support system, the class almost becomes like a group, a group session at times...You talk about a lot of stuff that will bring up feelings, your own feelings, and bring up your own stories and your own life experiences that social work touches on that gets brought into class...And it was validating for me because once I started taking these classes, and realized there were other people who thought the same way I did, and felt the same way I did, that it was nice to know that there were people with similar feelings as me and interests...comfortable...(Lynn).

> ...and like people started to open up their bag—had people that had committed suicide that they know...It was a really tear-jerking class and the whole class bonded together...We all took care of one another, comforted...(Eric).

In addition, those students in favor of an intimate classroom atmosphere also specified that in social work class they felt *accepted*, and had *an opportunity to express* without censure. These were deemed as some of the most rewarding facets of class.

> Some of the best things I think are...being able to share, feeling accepted in the classroom...We were able to...if we disliked something, we were able to say it and not be, you know have someone go against us. We were able to always express what we felt and the professors were always open to that (Elena).

> ...we were able to express ourselves openly and not feel like one was looking down on you. Everybody had issues...we had an individual who was gay. You know, it was diversity of problems and that's what I like about this program. You were able to express yourself (Lydia).

However, at least one student indicated that she did not feel able to express herself openly and be heard. She suggested that the other students were not always perceived as receptive to a "diversity of problems."

> ...I would always voice my opinion. And they would look at me funny. And the majority of the class is white and they would look at me funny. And it was like, "I wish she would just shut up already..."
> *So, what do you think it was that you were saying that they didn't want to hear?*
> They didn't want to hear my experience of being a Black person...Like, maybe I would say um, "It's not easy being a Black person, being a single mom with a daughter, going to school." ...And um, I guess they didn't want to hear that...(Kim).

Some students questioned the groupwork atmosphere indicating that open expression in class went a bit too far. They contended that too much expression without regulation fosters a freedom to complain about the workload, and can induce a disrespect toward the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

teachers. These students insisted that perhaps the atmosphere is "a little too accommodating."

> ...we're maybe given a little too much freedom to...Like almost it was a little too accommodating where I found...people complaining a lot. About work, ya know, having to do work, having to do papers, and if they didn't like a teacher, sometimes that got on my nerves (Lynn).

> I think the students to a certain degree had a little too much to say...a little too much control over, "it's not fair, that paper's gonna be too long, or it's gonna too hard, or we have to do this for this other class" so...I would rather see the teachers be a little bit more...a little bit more to the academic side, than sometimes it was a little too much of *feelings and stuff...(Rachel).*

> It's nice how everyone speaks so freely, but then it almost gets to that dangerous level where it gets...Ya know, people just answer and talk however they want...you have to realize that even though...they are the teacher, you are the student...(Dee-Dee).

Those students that questioned the groupwork atmosphere were particularly upset about the "therapeutic" aspects of the class. According to many of these respondents, one of the worst things about being a social work student was "having to listen to all your classmates' problems."

> I think the worst thing about being a social work student is having to listen to all your classmates' problems... Sometimes, classes will start to feel like group instead of class...it was very personalized, and I think it was too personalized for me...(Rachel).

> I couldn't take coming to class, because I couldn't take the crying any more. From the students. It was just like all right, enough with the crying. The whole entire class. It was like a chain reaction... (Nicole).

> It's therapy...I don't think you have to go through all this **drama.** *[Mimics hysterical crying].* Come **on**...I don't think there's such a need for the drama, ya know, you're not up here for an Academy...(Eric).

The younger students surprisingly joined with the older students in criticizing their young peers' need to personally relate to everything they learned. The older students [who mostly attended the night program] described the students in the day program as younger, living at home, single and generally less experienced and mature than themselves. As a result, the day and night program were perceived [and observed by this researcher] as culturally disparate. Different teaching styles and interactive norms governed the day

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students' classes where the younger students were permitted and encouraged to process the learning through their personal experiences. The evening classes did not evidence any opportunity to personalize the content taught.

> I think the adults had more awareness of what was going on, where the morning students needed...things need to be more clarified where they would argue instead of listening to...like you would tell them this theory is this, and they would argue because of their personal views. The night students don't do that. They listen to it, can accept it, and then say well maybe I have to look at that.
> *So you're saying there's more personal...*
> There's more personal involvement in the day students where they won't agree with a theory because it's not happening in their lives (Nicole).

> I think that I find in social work class that a lot of people are talking, everything is related to how they feel. Everything kind of like somehow related to you. If you're in another class, you're not going to be taking History all so personal or whatever...so many things for them are like an issue or whatever...(Rachel).

> I was a night student in the Spring '99. I went in the morning. I felt that the students in the morning, even though I liked some of them, I think they were more like in la-la world. And I think a lot of people at nighttime were more real...these are people that are working full-time, got kids, married, whatever it may be, and they're more serious (Eric).

The field

The students approach their internship with anxious anticipation that their internship will be the perfect testing ground for their fledgling social work skills. Few students were disappointed. Fieldwork was cited as the most favored, essential and worthwhile component of students' professional socialization. The fieldwork experience offered the students significant personal satisfaction and instilled confidence in their ability to "do" social work.

> I think my internship was excellent. My supervisor wasn't excellent, but my internship was excellent. It gave me a lot of experience, a lot of confidence in my ability as a social worker with diverse populations (Catherine).

> ...and being in an internship...I happened to be in a really wonderful internship, so being there with really loving people...(Angela).

> The highest point? I think my internship, being out and doing...learning hands on and getting over my fears and feeling again like maybe this is what I want to do, and seeing my skills progress and meeting other interns and other students that feel the same way I do...(Lynn).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lynn's quote illustrates many of the primary themes that emerged in relation to fieldwork. The first theme speaks to the *essentialness* of fieldwork. Responses in this category included language such as, "you gotta have it" and "it's a must" and "It's not something that I think should ever be eliminated." The second identifies fieldwork as practical or *"hands on"* and therefore preferable to classroom learning.

> I think that your field work is one of the best learning tools. It's hands-on. For me, I have to learn hands-on. I have to be in front of my face, visually following a lead from my supervisor, whoever it was at the time. And I think as much as you read, as much as you do role plays in classes, as many movies as you watch, it's not the same. Because every situation is different, and every client is different, and the way you handle every situation is different (Jackie).

> It's better than sitting in a classroom reading theories and textbooks...You're gonna be presented with different situations, and you just gotta have to learn how to deal with them on your own, in your own way. That's something that professors can't teach you (Isabel).

In a similar vein, students assert that fieldwork is a vehicle for getting students *"out there,"* or *"in there,"* meaning 'into an agency and working with clients.' For this reason, fieldwork is seen as "real" work. One quality that qualifies it as "real" and distinguishes field work from volunteer and paid work is the level of professionalism and responsibility required.

> ...but now it's not one of those jobs where you're working at the beach or the deli. You have a supervisor and you have cases...so there's a lot more responsibility (Dee-Dee).

> You're working like you had said before, you know, talking to other professionals in the field and calling other people and trying to get different services for your client. And making those phone calls and leaving your name and number. And, you know, even having like your own extension and voice mail. It's like, all of a sudden. Wow. I'm important (Nancy).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of fieldwork is the highly influential role it plays in helping students try on and eventually attain a professional identity. Of all educational experiences, students report that fieldwork makes them feel most like a social worker and least like a student. In this context, they encounter significant practitioners in an agency

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

setting that is viewed as a powerful socializing agent in its own right.

> *Do you see yourself as having become a social worker?*
> *(Emphatically)* Oh yes...I think the biggest thing is because I was exposed to internship. That gave me an idea what a social worker will be doing...It gives you a chance to role play as a social worker...I was able to do counseling, I was able to do assessment, so I got a touch of social work...(Lydia).

> *[fieldwork]*...puts you in the shoes of a social worker (Patty).

> I think also through the internship—has definitely coaxed me to think of myself more as a social worker than a student because you're doing it. You're doing what a professional does, and you can't see yourself as a student, or else you'll drop the ball (Catherine).

> But, I would say that probably the moment where I said, "Wow, I'm a social worker" would probably be this year when I did my intern. Because that was when the skills that I had learned were actually put into effect, put into use...(Nancy).

Fieldwork also serves a pragmatic function; it allows the students to compare their professional aspirations with specific practice realities. Internship is the place where students can decide whether the client population, field of practice or even social work as a whole is right for them through trying on various parts of the professional identity and practice experience.

> ...it made me know what I didn't want to do and what I want to do. You know. Like it made me, it made it clearer to me what I want and what I don't want (Kim).

The profession

Many of the students entered the program with generalized conceptions of the social work profession. In contrast, they quickly learned about the depth and breadth of the profession, the multifarious roles of social workers, and the diverse fields of practice and client populations. Students also discover that the knowledge base that guides social work practice and determines a social worker's skills and roles, is also broad and eclectic.

> Well I knew what they *[social workers]* did, but I wasn't aware that it was so...it varied so much. I always thought social workers were like, I'm gonna save the homeless and free the poor and hospitals and nursing homes and that type of setting but... maybe that I wasn't aware of the different roles a social worker has, and the different places that a social worker can work, and populations they can work with (Jackie).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I thought it was like, CPS and that was it...But I never knew that it was so broad. So, I think that, in comparison to what I expected, um, I have to say social work turns out to be more extensive, more expansive, if I'm using the correct words, than I thought it would be because I thought it was such a narrow path...(Nancy).
>
> Yeah, I didn't know that there was so much diverse knowledge out there or information, or so much research. So many different methods and concrete information that was out there, I think I didn't realize all of that. I didn't realize there was so many different ways to ask a question, where you would elicit a conversation with someone and get a lot of information... (Annie).

The students' respect and admiration for social work extended to its practitioners. Social work is seen as important work, a work that not everyone is capable of doing.

> I think it's just as important...I mean, I think it's like a doctor that takes care of your body, I think that social workers are there to take care of the mind and the spirit...to be in a position to work, where you're really touching people's lives and helping them to become the best that they can become. I think that's a really special job. I don't think that just anybody can do it (Rachel).
>
> ...And you can make a difference in someone's life, help them to be more productive, happier. I think it's a marvelous profession and there's room for lots of creativity...(Annie).
>
> You're in essence a defense attorney, you're a defense person, you're defending these people, even though they're wrong, you're defending them because everybody deserves a defense, and everybody deserves somebody who cares about them, and that's what we're here for (Janet).

The students' expectations of their education and profession are also influenced by the value they place on social work practice. In class, the message about social work is a positive one, but outside of class, representation of the field is largely negative. Thus, social work's assumed stature is often rudely challenged throughout the students' education.

> Before I came to Bishop, I knew nothing about social work. Just vaguely from my one professor. And, the more information I learned, it actually highlighted the profession. And when I go outside, anything I heard about social work was actually negative, you know, like DSS or whatever. You know, for my job they all talk down on social workers actually. But when I'm at school and what I'm hearing, what it's about professionally, it's a different aspect. I can't say that there are any things, any negative things right now, because all the lessons we were taught were positive (Brenda).

The larger society's valuation of the profession contributes to students' perception of the status of the profession. The influence of the low status of the profession is frequently

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

intangible, indirect, and unintentional. Nonetheless, it emerges as an unexpectedly powerful socializing agent for all the students in this study. Students without exception cited the low status of social work as the worst thing about being a social work student.

Disparagement of social work and social workers

Some common messages students receive from the media and indirect contacts with others is that social workers are at best, bleeding hearts, and at worst, bad and stupid people who indiscriminately remove children from their families or fail to take them away when necessary. Another perception is that social workers are lazy and treat clients like a number. The following anecdotes reflect some of the prevailing negative perceptions about social workers as filtered through the students.

> ...sometimes the liberal and bleeding heart, and all of that (Colleen).

> A social worker is always looked at as...if a child is taken away out of a home that was loving and fine and perceived as something which was great, the social worker is looked at as this horrible person who doesn't know what they're doing, and heartless and stupid and uneducated. But then if a social worker doesn't take a child out of the home, and something horrible happens to that child because the home actually was extremely abusive or was extremely neglectful, social workers are again looked at as horrible, uneducated and stupid (Catherine).

> ...everybody has this typical idea of what a social worker is. They're bad people that come and take your kids away or something like that (Isabel).

> I've heard that social workers are lazy, definitely underpaid. That they um, they never have time to talk to their clients. That the clients are like a number. They don't really feel like there's a personal relationship with the social worker...(Brenda).

The mixed, often judgmental and condescending reactions students receive from their friends and acquaintances to their announcement of a career choice range in intent from endorsement to critique. The exasperated 'why' in "Why would you want to be a social worker?" frequently does not beg an answer but is rather rhetorical and exclamatory in meaning. Students are also told that working with society's neediest populations is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

essentially hopeless and thankless work, the jobs are demeaning, they're wasting their talents, or they're crazy to want to be a social worker.

> Again, I've gotten strange feedback as in somebody going, "Wow, that's really commendable that you do that." And I've gotten other things that were just like, "Why would you want to do something like that?" So I guess an outside view would be along those lines of either at least one person probably thinks that oh well someone has to do it, and the other view is why would you want to do something like that? I'm not particularly sure (Catherine).

> And people, for the most part, people really don't have a lot of nice things to say about social workers..."you're so capable and you're so smart, *why* would you waste all of that on social work?"... ...the jobs aren't good, and you're not gonna be working with a great population...I think the nicest thing is like somebody would say, "oh, that's such a nice thing for you to do," as if it's charity work... (Rachel).

> If you say you're going to school for say Criminology like, "Oh, that's great." But if you say, "I'm going for social work," they're like, "oh, that's nice." Their tone is different so they look at us like we're at the bottom of the barrel (Lydia).

> ...so first I'm out of my mind, nobody chooses to go there, there's no money involved and why would you want to save the population that can't help themselves (Nicole).

To add insult to injury, the students are also consistently reminded that social work is not a "real" profession and that a job in social work is woefully under-compensated.

> And that they're...it's not a real profession. I've heard that (Brenda).

> ...It's like it's not a profession, you know. Like I haven't spent four years in school with the training and taking all of the tests and all of the papers, you know, I don't get like, credit for it...Like the stigma is negative (Kim).

> Like if I bump into people from school, high school and stuff, "Oh, what are you going to school for? Social work? That's a tough field, you're not gonna make any money. ...Immediate response is, "You're not gonna make any money..."(Dee-Dee).

> I remember going home and saying, "Oh, guess what. I think I want to go to school for social work". And my father said, "Oh, Jesus Christ. You're not going to make any money. You're gonna be living under my roof forever." (Nancy).

Some women also contended that social work is a low status profession because it is a "feminine" profession that continues and reinforces society's broader socialization of women as nurturing. Since nurturing is not highly valued in our society, and men are not attracted to this aspect of the profession, then social work will remain under-compensated and of lower status.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Oh, it's because women are almost expected to have that social work nature about them. To have that caring and understanding and listening. And, men aren't expected to have that. And that, it's almost like maybe that's the reason why there aren't so many men in this profession, is because...they think that that's a woman's field. You know, it might be on the men's part, saying that that's a woman's job...It's almost like nursing. Like it's viewed as for women to do. Not for the men. Men aren't the ones to take care of people and to solve problems and to listen. They're not, on a social basis, so (Nancy).

> Because society, I believe, emphasizes the woman to be more of a caring individual, someone who is more of a nurturer and that this way you need to be a social worker...I just think that we need more of...a recognition for what we do, and less on the whole nurturer, Mother Earth kind of deal. I think we should be seen as just as strong as men...but that's also a gender issue (Catherine).

Disapproval of the profession is manifested not just in the attitudes of people outside the profession, but in the attitudes of people inside as well. Social workers and even student peers profoundly affect students' notions about the value of the profession. The discouragement of present and future colleagues heavily contributes to students' beliefs about the status and worth of the profession oftentimes affecting motivation and commitment. Sometimes they influence students for the worse, by their psychological or physical detachment from the profession, as in *flight.*

> They're burned out. They're burned out and they don't want to do it, and they're underpaid and they're tired of it. I think that's what played a big role in how I feel now in my internship, the workers there, definitely. Definitely (Isabel).

> And, a lot of people that I was working, that were working at the agency that I was interning at, were quitting because, they said they weren't getting paid enough. You know, two of the workers that I had grown to be friendly with, were leaving to go be waitresses at Shea Stadium because they were going to be making more money (Nancy).

> ...and even in my agency, there's so many young people who are working there who are getting their Masters in something else, and it may sound judgmental, it bothers me, I feel like it's quitting almost...(Dee-Dee).

Social workers' waning commitment to the profession seems to infect the students, as both groups look for a way out of the profession. The students in class internalize the disillusionment at times retorting that they'll "do something else instead."

> ...And then I find there's a lot of, even in our classes now, people who are saying that once they graduate, this isn't what they're gonna do. And that really frustrates me...(Dee-Dee).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> They've gotten offers from different professions. They're not even getting into the social work profession after the school year is over. So I see that I'm not the only student that's feeling like that. There's a couple of students that don't even want to get into social work any more...(Isabel).

Expectations and the ideal social worker

Though negativity from social workers discouraged the students, positive attitudes from social workers tended to excite students about the profession. This "excitement" may be generated by social workers acting professionally, being enthusiastic about the work they do, or by treating interns like colleagues.

> I think one of the best things is people who seem to be really excited about what they do. I noticed a lot of people in the agency, people who want, mainly community organizing, but people who get really excited...so people who are rallying, and really trying to change—it's infectious (Dee-Dee).

Overall, the most stringent and detailed expectations students hold are those for social workers. In spite of some subjectivity, the students shared a remarkably similar vision of the ideal social worker/role model. The preferred qualities they identified fell into three categories; *personal, professional* and *social.* The following anecdote contains a typical profile that combines these three categories.

> I think the ideal social worker is caring, intelligent, communicates well, understands people, understands themselves, is very hard-working and is willing to go the extra mile for their client (Rachel).

Personal qualities

The students contend that the ideal social worker should possess certain *personal* qualities. Social workers should be above all *caring, friendly, attentive,* and *compassionate.* Students related a list of preferred personal qualities to their professors and field instructors. Some of their most commonly cited were honesty, humor and humility.

> And she's very open and she's very very honest with me especially...She's very caring (Jackie).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Yeah, the two of them were the same. One had a sense of humor, the other one, the sense of humor wouldn't come out until later...They were just very open for... anything was up for debate (Nicole).

> He was very patient, as well. He was really relaxed. And I liked that. He wasn't like all over the place...he's very calm and collected at the same time (Brenda).

Students contend that the *personal* qualities of an ideal social worker should also include what they refer to as *human* qualities. That is, ideal social workers should not be afraid to show that they're not always perfect, can make mistakes, acknowledge the limitations of their knowledge, and can feel emotions. Some of the ideal characteristics the students identified in their professors and field instructors were counterbalanced with these more human and less idealized qualities.

> ...they're willing to admit when they're wrong, when something did not work and all hell broke loose because of it, and they came out with egg on their face but they're willing to stand and say, "Well I learned from it. I made a mistake, sure wouldn't do that again" (Thomas).

> ...I mean because she also would talk about her mistakes in the field, so when she would talk about mistakes, I'd be like, oh see I can make mistakes too (Elena).

> ...so you're able to hear a one on one with a professor how they've messed up, how they've been great, how they've had problems with supervisors, that they're not infallible that everything, everything goes wrong...and it's okay for it to be wrong (Janet).

Professional qualities

The students also expect their ideal social workers to possess *professional* qualities; they need to be both *self-aware* and *knowledgeable. Self-awareness* was by far the most frequently cited of all the essential professional criteria of an ideal social worker, and students were largely in agreement regarding its definition.

> *[defining self-awareness]* I think a good understanding of themselves, what their issues are and how to put them aside and to keep focus with the client (Rachel).

Students found this quality reinforced by the faculty.

> And he really took the education to more of a holistic process...He taught the facts, he taught theory, but he also taught self-awareness and self-understanding, and the fact that you need to be OK in all aspects, you need to be able to cope with all aspects of life, not necessarily of work to be a social worker (Catherine).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second professional quality, *being knowledgeable,* included possessing practical skills, knowing about a specific practice area or client population, as well as knowing about resources and power.

> Someone with a lot of resources who knows people in high places, someone with I guess a lot of funding too. That would be perfect (Dee-Dee).

> ...somebody who's probably been in it for a long time, who has many experiences in many different types of settings, who can advocate well, who can act professionally, work on different levels, work with individuals, groups, communities... (Lynn).

The students primarily identified their field supervisors as being the most adept at modeling practice skills, lending insight, and otherwise equipping students with the tools needed to perform their roles in the agency.

> .... She was helpful in teaching me things about other agencies, and when I needed assistance...(Nicole).

> ...she's professional, she has very good skills...she knows how to advocate, she handles herself well in many situations...I think she definitely role modeled for me how to talk to other people...how to handle situations professionally...(Lynne).

> ...I had a question about one assignment I had, and he was able to refer me to some material that was very helpful in that respect, but also in his insights...(Thomas).

On the other hand, faculty members who conduct private practices in addition to their teaching were ranked as more *knowledgeable,* more effective and more grounded to professional practice than those who do not have a private practice. Though inadvertently modeling their clinical preferences, faculty members do remind students that social work is more than private practice.

> And this may seem critical, but I'm not really sure that one or two of our faculty here have recently been in the trenches, and I think it's necessary. We can become too theoretical, too comfortable in academia. So those faculty members who have been out there, who are still out there, whether it's in clinical practice or whatever...I don't know what their personal reasons are or whatever, it keeps them sharp. It keeps them aware of what's happening, what works and what doesn't work. Now, I really don't think we need somebody who's just teaching theory, but it really doesn't, but can't give it the practical application that it has to have (Thomas).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...plus a lot of them carry on private practices. So, I really feel like they're still really in tune. They give examples of what they did when they were supervisors in whatever field they were in. I just feel more impressed with them than what I've seen... (Rachel).
>
> Because she really stressed community organization. She would always say that it's very important to us as social workers to always help the indigenous people, to uplift themselves. And, it's not all about just having a private practice. It's more than that (Kim).

Social qualities

The students also responded that ideal social workers should be able to successfully combine personal and professional qualities into the appropriate *social skills*. Possessing *good communication skills* is viewed as essential for an ideal social worker. However, communication skills mean different things to different people. For Kim, communication means writing and knowing another language, for Dee-Dee, it is the power of persuasion. The students project their own personal meanings or subjective interpretations onto the communication skills they're expected to learn.

> People who could um, articulate themselves well. Like say what's on their minds well. Writing skills. You have to write good. I guess it helps if you have a good vocabulary. You could spell. And it helps if you know one-on-one language (Kim).
>
> Someone with a lot of time on their hands, a real knack for persuading people, almost like a lawyer knack, especially with politicians, a real way to kind of shmooze and get what they need, especially for community organizing (Dee-Dee).

"Good communication skills" and the "willingness to listen" cannot be disentangled in these accounts from "having an open mind," a willingness "to work with any population" and a commitment to "being non-judgmental." The last quality is not constructed as passive but as active acceptance.

> Communication, having an open mind, understanding, supportive, you have to accept people, you can't judge...(Patty).
>
> ...the willingness to listen and not to dictate, a willingness to allow people to make mistakes. Social work, you have to listen. A willingness to listen, a willingness to allow somebody else to be in the light (Thomas).
>
> ...as a social worker, it doesn't matter, you're there to help. The person may say negative things about your race, but you still have to help them because they're an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> individual seeking help. You can't advise. You can't put your own views in there. You just have to do your job (Lydia).

In the same vein, another social or interactive quality identified by students as essential in a social worker is the capacity *to empower*. In one meaning, the work involves equipping the clients with the tools *to help themselves*. Additionally, it implies *stepping back and allowing the client to initiate* the needed change. Finally, it may also involve *making demands upon the client* to fulfill the client's half of the contract. The variations in students' interpretations are presented below.

> ...a person who can understand the problems that the client comes to the table with and a person who will empower the client to go forth on his or her own...You want them to walk out of there and realize that they can do it, that you have helped them do that, that they are doing it. You cannot do it for them. You are gonna give them the ammunition to go on, and then they are going to go forward. And they are gonna use it (Janet).

> It's like the child fisherman, you have to move back and back and back and back until that ornery fish can't see you at all, and then you're liable to catch him. And if we step into a social work session with a client realizing there has to be change, but the change to a large extent would have to be dictated by the client, whether it's change within him or herself or community, or whatever...(Thomas).

> But yet, someone who at the same time is demanding almost in their work from the client. Demanding that the client meet them more than half way or half way depending on who the client is. Um, someone who is empowering of the client, business skills I guess (Nancy).

Students especially linked favorable *social* attributes to faculty members. The faculty was characterized as connecting and communicating well, listening attentively and respectfully as well as not being judgmental in their interactions with students. In some cases, these qualities were related to the "work" and in other cases, they were related to the interactions that take place outside the formal setting.

> ...and they connected well with the students (Lynn).

> They're all good listeners, and never talking down, and open to other points of view. I like the way they treat me...(Annie).

> Oh, she's very soft-spoken, she's such a good listener, she's very open to a lot of issues, she's willing to hear you out—it's not phony, she's actually, she gives you that feeling that she's very interested in what you want to say (Isabel).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Faculty and field instructors demonstrated their supportiveness of students in subtle actions such as validation, looking for the positive, instilling a sense of confidence and inspiration in students.

> ...she makes me feel like it's normal to feel the way I feel. She helps me feel good about myself and points out when I'm doing a good job, she helps me feel good about the progress I've made...I was able to open up to her, and tell her why...explain to her things I was having struggles with, and she helped me work them through it...(Lynne).

> I guess she brought me confidence because if there were times when I didn't think I could do something or wasn't sure about something, I would talk to her about it and she would just validate me...(Patty).

> She's non judgmental, she brings with her, to the table when she teaches...the wonderment of social work, what she's done, she's exhilarating, she talks about social work with a passion, she makes you feel that you can go out and do anything...(Janet).

One faculty member also helped to empower by encouraging a marginalized, less vocal student to be heard. This point is richly illustrated by the resistance Kim experienced in class from other students who shunned her opinions about racism and race relations.

> ...like when I would go to her to, when I would pass by her office, she would ask me, 'Kim, I need you to talk up and voice your opinion in class. ' That 'I see your face, and it's very important for them to hear it.' And I told her that, that sometime I feel like when I do talk up, that I feel like a lot of the students are not really happy with it. And she told me that she doesn't care. That it's very important that I contribute to the class with my opinions. Because it would help, it would give somebody another idea and it will generate conversation. And she said, that's very important. So, she was very compassionate about it (Kim).

<u>The process of role model selection</u>

The process by which students develop criteria for ideal social workers and designate a role model to satisfy those criteria is fluid and reciprocal. As illustrated in the previous section, the students first identified their criteria for ideal social workers, and then subsequently linked these criteria to specific faculty members and field instructors. Most if not all of those identified as ideal social workers were also identified as students' role models.

> She's everything that I want to be and I would love to emulate her...
> *So she has all those characteristics of an ideal social worker...*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> She IS an ideal social worker.
> *You said you're gonna take her with you all the time?*
> All the time. She's in my heart.
> *And she's a model of what you'd like to be?*
> I think she's a model of what everybody wants to be (Janet).

The first anecdote below illustrates the students' assumption that ideal social workers *should be* role models. The second anecdote serves as a reminder that students are unlikely to expect ideal qualities from educators in other disciplines.

> *[describing an 'ideal social worker.']* They have to know their job. They have to walk their walk. They have to do what they say, and that's extremely important. They need to be influential in people's lives. They need to be good role models (Catherine).

> They *(the students)*...I think have this idea that they're *[the faculty]* supposed to be, you know, when you look up 'social work' in the dictionary this is what you get...Like if I was a, you know, chemistry major, there is no guarantee I would meet anyone, like that (Colleen).

The interplay between students' profiles of ideal social workers and selection of role models gradually produces an even more refined set of characteristics. The students did *not* enter the program with highly evolved expectations for ideal social workers or role models. They gradually developed specifications regarding the ideal qualities of a social worker after encountering desirable characteristics in available social workers. They then select and adopt these characteristics, or simply acknowledge them to be of value and retain them for later use. Critically, many students report that finding a role model was not necessarily an *intentional* selection process. Students may not start out their education consciously seeking a role model.

> *What does having a role model mean to you?*
> I've never put much importance on it. So I guess this is the first that I'm realizing that this professor would have been a role model to me, or is a role model to me, but I never really looked for a role model or a mentor (Catherine).

> *Would you say you chose your supervisor to be your role model; she was somebody that you said, 'this is what I want to be like?'*
> ...well, as the experience progressed. I don't think in the beginning, that's what I had in mind, but I think as I got to know her, and trust her and see her work, and then see the results, see what I got out of her work with me, then maybe I realized that I hope I remember everything she taught me, so I could carry it with me (Lynn).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> *Coming into the program did you think it would be helpful for you to find somebody that can be a role model, or was that even a thought in your mind?*
> Not really. It was just kind of like I'd go through the motions, and just kind of in my head, remember what one teacher did...and I'd listen to the way that they helped me...and sometimes like when...they'd say something that I would be like, "I don't think I would have said that" (Jackie).

Many students expressed that role model selection was more a matter of serendipity based on some level of attraction than a process of willful determination. Some viewed it as an added convenience or perk and to others it was only a half-hearted process of "comparison shopping." Some variations are reflected below.

> *Did you feel that that was a conscious choice on your part to have a role model?*
> No, I think it's just because I think that's just the way that they are. That's the kind of person I would be attracted to as a role model (Rachel).

> *You've chosen her to be your role model?*
> Well I don't know if I've specifically chosen her, but she's been the one that I've been working with closely in my internship, she's been the one helping me so...(Patty).

> *She was somebody--would you say you consciously chose her as somebody you wanted to be like?*
> Yeah, I guess so. I saw how she handled experiences, and I saw the outcome of how, the results of how she handled those experiences, what resulted in it. And I saw the way other people handled them, this way I could...I realized I liked better the way she did things than the way other people did (Lynn).

Role models provide students with two significant benefits. The first benefit is passive in that role models serve as living examples of what students seek to attain or become through *emulation.* Secondly, when role models interact with students, they actively encourage students personally and professionally through *motivation.* However, role model candidates must also belong to the social work profession *and* be present at a propitious time in the student's education. In relation to emulation, students largely agreed that role models serve as reinforcements and reminders of the vision that they're working so hard to attain, noting that even negative role models have significance insofar as illustrating what not to become. Students assess how they measure up against the benchmark qualities their role models possess.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What does having a role model mean to you?
I guess someone I could be like...(Elena).

It's having something that you can aspire to. You look at all of the great things that they have done and that they do and it gives you like a standard for yourself (Rachel).

Well, it's important to, to mold yourself. To see where your short points are and where you need to grow. And, by looking at another and seeing their positive life and you can put it on your life...To see where you fall into place (Brenda).

[re: negative role models]. They're the poster child of what not to do (Nicole).

On occasion, a student is fortunate to find *one* role model possessing all the desired, qualities. More often, the student's chosen role model does not possess all the qualities of the ideal social worker to which the student aspires. In such cases, a student may create a *composite* role model that contains desirable qualities from many persons. Commenting on the available professionals who fit their criteria of the ideal social worker, the students often responded that their role model is both "all of them" and yet "no one person." Nancy illustrates the active role she takes in selecting available qualities and fashioning a role model to meet her needs.

Role model here during my education? You know, I would say all of them...(Brenda).

I can't say that I'd pick out one person that has been, you know... But, like I said, it was more or less taking qualities from each person that I come into contact with my professors. With people that work at the agencies. My supervisor. It's more or less taking, just taking different qualities...I like this about that person. Or, this really stands out about this professor. Or, this professor is really caring...One professor has really, really rigid boundaries and I'm not, no I don't want to be like that...You know there are different things that you see in each person. And especially the more you learn, the more you can pick these things out (Nancy).

Some of the professors, I don't think it's one individual person. I think that, from what I see, different professors, and my supervisors all have different characteristics that I like about them, and that maybe if I can pull all those characteristics out of them...I'd have this ideal social worker there.
And they would fit all those things [qualities of an ideal social worker] that you said before.
Definitely (Jackie).

Often the composite role model is constructed by integrating preferred characteristics for retrieval when later needed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I don't know, I, put it in my, it's in my head. It's up there, you know, well I liked what that one said, and you know, that that really made sense to me, and you know, I agree with that, and then you know there's a new idea to keep in my back pocket, you know. Um, cause they're all different, but they all have great things to offer you know
> *Do you put them together though, to create the ideal social worker that you'd like to be...?*
> ...I think so. Integrate them. They're good examples, you know, I take this from this one, and this from this one (Colleen).

In addition to an emulative function, role models also serve a *motivational* role for students. When role models actively interact with students, they encourage, excite, and often impose performance expectations upon students.

> Someone who really believes in you and gives you that push...and they're so good at what they do, and they believe that I can do, well I guess I really can do it, so (Dee-Dee).

Students asserted that their chosen faculty role models performed the motivational function they sought by "demanding excellence." Contrary to the researcher's expectation, students identified their faculty role models as tough, hard and demanding, pushing them to be the best they can be. Students acknowledge that too often they can't "get over" on their teachers, implying that conversely they respect the teachers for their standards. Students also insist that the faculty did not expect anything academically from the student that they themselves were unwilling to give in or outside the classroom, implying that the role model also emulates excellence.

> I think these two were very demanding in the work that they wanted, but it wasn't more than they were willing to give (Nicole).

> She's a hard professor, but boy you learn from her. And you want to give, you want to give your best to her because she makes you feel that way. I love when she tells us, when we're doing our reports, "I'm the dumbest person on the earth. I don't know anything. Teach me" (Janet).

> ...just being in their classes and having them have me push myself to be the best I can be and to learn the most (Rachel).

The selected role models demanded personal as well as academic growth. Students were expected to undertake the internal journey *and* transcend the process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> They're a very demanding group in the sense that they expect excellence, they expect growth, they expect...Especially professors like...she expects you to look within yourself, and to dive into the waters of your inner man/ inner woman and hopefully come out alive (Thomas).
>
> ...And her determination, she's tough, and I told that to her, but I'm actually glad she's tough, because she makes us dig deep inside of ourselves, so I like that (Lydia).

Social work professionals may possess emulative qualities or motivational abilities but these may not be enough to qualify them as role models. The professional must also occupy the student's preferred field of interest.

> *Have you chosen her to be your role model?*
> Uhmmm...Maybe.
> *Tell me why a qualified maybe.*
> Ok. I think she is an outstanding social worker...But I don't think that where her job is, I don't think that that's something that I would want to do...(Jackie).
>
> ...I don't know if I really would say that I would have professionally any role model being somebody like I aspire to be like them. Well I think back when I wanted to do social work, then it was. At this point, I would say no, because what they are is not really what I aspire to be...(Rachel).

Related to this criterion, [same desired field or profession], some students also imply that *timing* and *location* in the student's education also play a role in whether or not a candidate becomes a role model. The following accounts suggest that some available professionals may be more significant in certain stages or at certain periods in the students' education than others. Also some students see role models as situational, in that role models fulfill a function only during a designated period. Additionally, other students state that they will maintain their role model relationships after graduating.

> I think I talked a lot about my supervisor as a role model, but I think also that my professors are role models...I guess I had all my teachers last year and I thought of them all as role models, and I have them again this year, but now I have my supervisor so she's even more fresh in my mind...(Lynn).
>
> I don't have as much contact with her now. I guess I'm kind of off on my own now, ya know (Dee-Dee).
>
> She's somebody I'm sure I'll keep in touch with but she's not somebody that I'm gonna use in my personal life as a role model. She was a role model for this period of my life and that's it (Patty).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> One of them is very close, and in fact, I think we will continue to have a relationship, and probably it will get—maybe we'll have lunch or dinner once or twice a month... (Annie).

Role models as students' social workers

Students don't only expect their role models to be ideal social workers, they also expect their role models to be *their* social workers. As illustrated earlier, students characterized their teachers by a number of affective attributes [*being supportive, available, listening well and not talking down*] that closely resembled the preferred relational qualities that an ideal social worker exhibits during encounters with a client. The nurturing nature of social work faculty in relation to students' needs was oftentimes expressed.

> Um, the fact that, the staff, are social working people, and they, they nurture...they're empathic, they're sympathetic... (Colleen).

> Well the best thing, I think, I found the professors to be very supportive, very helpful, because I think it's their nature as a social worker (Lynn).

> She has a really soft voice and the way...like she'll just have a way of repeating what you say...we always call her office "Niagara Falls..."(Dee-Dee).

In addition to the affective qualities, many students identified faculty *availability* as another preferred quality of their role model relationships. The small, intimate size of the program was viewed as conducive to an available and accessible faculty that rarely turned a student away and in fact often sought out the student. [Availability assumes special significance for field instructors in the quantitative portion of this study.]

> Because they were always available for you. It wasn't like, take a message. They were like, "Come in right now". Maybe if you went to a bigger school, it wouldn't have been so intimate. But it was very easy to get in touch with them. Come in anytime I want to speak about anything with them...(Kim).

> Instead of you trying to find them, it was the other way around (Brenda).

> And their door was always open. You had a problem, you were never turned away, where some people seem I'm too busy for you, they would stop and take the time. I think that was very important (Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Outside of class. They gave us their numbers in case we ever had to call them which I never had to, but if there was ever like any personal issue they, you know, they made us feel that we could always come to them in case anything else came up that we had to speak about...They were always available...(Elena).

"The professors were not only professors," was the common retort. Students' descriptions of their role model *relationships* resembled more of a therapist-client relationship than a teacher-student relationship. Faculty role models were expected to help students with their day-to-day personal problems, and faculty complied by stretching the boundaries of their educational role. It is important to note that these accounts largely came from the younger students but included a few of the older students as well.

> ...I had some things going on in my family that were pressing, very, at the time. And, you know, just for those reasons I would go in and speak to the professors...They weren't only professors. I mean anything that went wrong. Even on a day to day personal life, I would run in...And, you know, sometimes there's just things going on in my personal life where I would say, "I can't deal with these social work issues today. I can't talk about other people needing help. I need help myself." You know. And, the professors are just so willing to listen to you. And some willing to just take out that extra, that ten to fifteen minutes to say, "Here, come into my office. I'll close the door. I won't answer the phone and I'll talk to you." And, I think that helped me and I know it helped other people as well. That's because they had such an open relationship with the students. (Nancy).

> Like the first time Grandpa got sick, I called her at her home...Two of my close friends in class were also close with this role model just as I was. One girl—her mother was just diagnosed with cancer, so she called, again called this person at home...(Dee-Dee).

> Well I have to say there's a particular professor. He truly, honestly understood what I was going through. He encouraged me to keep on, but he also encouraged me that I had to learn how to do time-outs for self. That it's OK for me just not to clean up the house, or not get dressed, or not answer the phone...because he said life is too short for you to end up in a hospital because of exhaustion because you don't find time for yourself (Lydia).

> ...and I just broke down and I told him everything that was going on in my life and why and how of the situation. And he helped me get on my feet by working with me towards jobs and housing and education and being a little more understanding (Catherine).

> Yeah, it was one of the times- it was Dr.____ when I had the post- traumatic stress incident, I think he was going to get me out of the bathroom eventually (Angela).

Some of the faculty's therapeutic skill was experienced collectively by an entire class, when social issues affecting either individual students or groups of students arose.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Subsequently, the instructor made himself/herself available on a one-to-one basis, or would refer the student to another professional.

> It starts in a class, and then everyone would go speak to a teacher. I'm not saying anything bad, it was really great...(Dee-Dee).
>
> ...And we did, we were doing videos in front of the class, open presentations, interviewing skills. And this particular time was mine *[turn]* and I went. And when I, I just started crying. I didn't cry, actually. I was just on the verge of tears and I went into his office and it was like an outpour (Brenda).
>
> ...a conversation about suicide came up, the whole class is a mess. They had stopped before the class was over, and started to bring us back to talk on a surface level, made sure everyone was OK to go to their next class, that they didn't just open something up and leave you there to deal with it yourself. Then they first took care of it in the classroom, and then whoever else didn't seem to be OK, they went down to the office and waited for whoever wanted to come down (Nicole).
>
> *Would they refer you someplace if you had a really deep issue? Would they refer you to counseling elsewhere?*
> Yeah. Yeah. They wouldn't take it on themselves. I did. I had a problem a month or two ago. And, you know, I went in to see one of the professors. And, she listened to the problem, obviously. And then, you know, referred me from there (Nancy).

The boundaries of the educational relationship blurred in other ways as well. A few students characterized their relationships with teachers as parental rather than therapeutic. One student mentioned that her maternal relationship with a professor included physical affection.

> They're like, you know, they, they just know me so well...it's like surrogate parents...(Colleen).
>
> She was the best teacher. She's just so like a mom. She'd hug you. I think if you're a warm, sweet person, it helped, if you're like real hard core, it doesn't help. Go to social worker, you have to be like real compassionate and she was.
> *You said she hugs you? She hugs all the students?*
> Well, I don't know if all, but she hugged me. I guess she liked me, so she hugged me...if you had a problem and you went to her, she would give you a hug. She'd be so gentle, you know (Kim).

In light of these extra-educational depictions of role model relationships, it is notable that many of the younger students identified their mothers as their role models prior to entering the program. Perhaps there is some resonance between the affective qualities the students prize in their mothers, the value they place on a "helping" profession, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

faculty role models who express their mothering qualities. In the abstract, students denied that gender was a criterion in their role model selection, with male and female students identifying role models of both genders. However, further exploration revealed distinctions were made on the basis of gender. For example, even when students weighed qualities of male and female professionals as equally desirable, some female students [below] preferred female role models to the males. Male role models were sometimes added as an afterthought. As Elena's account indicates, there is more to role model selection than desirable characteristics. Closeness or intimacy, without risk, plays a part as well.

> *And was her gender an important criterion in your choosing her as a role model?*
> No. Because there's other professors here too that are male that are just incredibly wonderful.
> *But this one is really...*
> This one is just... she's, without a doubt, one of the most wonderful people in my life (Janet).

> *Was gender a criterion in your choice of these people* [females] *as role models?*
> No, not at all because actually, well I would include...now that you say that, I would include one of the male professors here as well. And he has very similar qualities (Angela).

> I think being that she was a woman...I'm not sure if she was a man, if I would have felt so close to her as a...ya know, being that she was a woman. I think so. I think it did. I mean because my other male professors...I thought they were great, great professors, especially this one professor, my advisor, I think he's great. But I guess being that she was a woman, I felt more close to her (Elena).

One female student asserted that she would seek the same qualities in a male role model as a romantic male partner. She required that they be caring, responsible and receptive. Her criteria supported the recurrent theme that students expect their role models, whether male or female, to nurture. However, for other women, *identification* is a motivator for choosing female role models. Though the following respondents [both women] identify with different characteristics of their female role models, their strengths take on added significance because they are women.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Yeah, because women...we always have to prove ourselves. Even in the military, I still had to prove myself. A man is always gonna be a man, but if a woman does something, they're looked at in a different way.
> *So her gender was an important part of you choosing her as a role model?*
> ...She's just a fighter, she strong, and as I said, she's a no-nonsense person, and that makes it better. I like that (Lydia).

> Maybe that I would identify more with a female... Like with my supervisor as a role model, I view her also as a woman as a role model, like a female in the professional field. She's, I think, six years older than me, so she's somebody who as a woman, she got married a year ago, that's how I can see me taking my life course, being a professional, and not getting married till my late twenties. And she's...I guess as a female, I identify with her as a female in the professional world. I look up to her that she has a career, and she has a husband, and that, ya know, she kept her maiden name, she was telling us (Lynn).

For Kim, gender was not a factor in selecting a role model but race was significant. Kim was inspired to undertake professional education as a result of the influence of an African American Sociology professor. Of all the students, Kim was the only interviewee who evidenced any political/racial consciousness. Though only one respondent, she offers valuable feedback on the process of active role model selection that is less invested in therapeutic support than political identification.

> If he was white, I'd probably would never had *[chosen him as a role model]*. But because he was Black and...I really didn't have any Black professors and teachers... And, I can't even think of any teachers being Black...I didn't see somebody like myself in a position of authority, you know. I mean, there was a janitor or the lunch person. But, they weren't intellects. And, he was like the first Black person I knew who was an intellect. Who could speak. And who knew things. Who traveled the world and had pictures to show it...That impressed me so much that I wanted to really, you know continue my studies...Where would I be if I didn't take that first African class? And, I took every, all his classes....And he always said, the key to power is education. And, he is so right, you know... The key to, you know, to anything you want is education...(Kim).

Kim sought a role model of color in the all white social work program to no avail. She sought and found a comparable Sociology professor at Bishop, who although not Black, was characterized as "Black inside but white on the outside." Kim appreciated this role model for being able to "feel her pain" because of his history of marginalization.

> Well, Dr. S., he is, he's like, he's like Black inside but he's white on the outside. He is so cool. Like he wants to...show that the white student, what's really going on...he said people don't like him even in this school. He said half the faculty, they want to get rid of him. Yeah, because he doesn't fit the status quo of what they want...he let's you know

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that, yes, we live in a racist world and there's no denying that...He was a poor person too...He told me that he had to struggle to get where he got.
So, is he kind of like a role model for you...he was, he made it that not all white people are the same. He...did that for me because I was generalizing a lot. Like how they all evil devils...Until you actually meet one who, who keeps it real with you. And, who understands your pain. That's the thing. They don't want to understand your pain. But he understands your pain. Because him, himself, he had experienced a lot of pain from his own color *[dark-skinned Italian]*. So, he knows that he could do it, experience it. What am I gonna experience? A lot of hell, you know. So, we could relate on a lot of stuff(Kim).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER V
REFUTATION-NEGOTIATION

Distinctly different from the first phase, the Refutation-Negotiation phase marks a trying, tumultuous and fragile time for the students. The initial confidence and enchantment with social work education evidenced in the previous phase now give way to doubt, disillusionment, frustration, and sometimes despair. In this phase, the students grapple with identifying and processing their conflicts and finding voice for the complex upheavals they experience. Their vulnerability prompts them to confront their doubts about their proficiency, suitability and commitment to social work. They develop negotiation strategies an attempt to resolve these challenges and alleviate their stress.

Struggles with the curriculum

All of the students interviewed reported struggling with at least one area in the social work curriculum. Students identified three major concentrations in the curriculum; *Research, Social Policy* and the *Community Organization* component in Practice III that they either found highly difficult and/or strongly disliked. All three of these macro choices were criticized for two general reasons. One, they were viewed as too theoretical and two, they were viewed as irrelevant and ungrounded to the micro individual practice most students wanted to perform as professionals. The complaints included *the course's [mathematical, scientific, historical, etc.] difficulty, the large amount of work required,* and *the course's questionable necessity for individual practice.* One anecdote is presented in each course or area representing the students' primary complaints.

> *What area of the social work curriculum has given you the most trouble?*
> Research...just because, it's too scientific for me...and just, it was overwhelming to me, I, I'm just a micro person *[giggled].* Statistics, yeah and the math. And...then just the volume of, work that that comes with it, I guess. I don't...nobody likes it...(Colleen).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Social Policy, without a doubt...everybody in our class moaned and groaned everyday. It was just difficult for us to grasp, I think, a lot of the people were saying that Policy is the part they hate the most. I don't know, for us, I guess that just is...We probably didn't find it as fun as our other classes. We had one class, Practice I, was really hands-on with interviewing clients and doing different things, and Human Behavior, that was really interesting, more hands on, doing...and then it was Social Policy and just memorizing this stuff. It was almost like a history class. No one really liked it (Dee-Dee).

> Community Organization. Hate it. Don't want to talk about it. Can't stand it. I just, I couldn't grasp it. Um, I think I couldn't grasp it because I wasn't, I'm not interested in it. Really, it sounds terrible, I know...So, you know, it's like when you're not interested in something, it's in one ear and out the other. I mean, if you gave me a test on it and I studied the night before, I'd get a good grade. But as far as retaining that information for further use, it's not gonna happen...I don't see myself ever doing anything in that community organizing area (Nancy).

Sharing grades

Some of the other social work courses, notably *Research* and *Human Behavior* contained an additional dilemma for many students; the requirement that students work together in groups to complete required assignments. The students coped with the practice by weighing the pros and cons of group collaboration and confronting their feelings about trusting their peers. The following response reflects some of the ambivalence experienced in relation to the practice.

> A number of the classes demanded that we do papers as a group, and I don't like that--group assignments. I'm not comfortable with that. I don't want to part of determining your grade, nor do I want you to be part of determining my grade. And yet I realize that in one course, I couldn't have done the assignment alone...in the Research class, if it wasn't for those beautiful and intelligent young ladies in that group, I would have done terrible. So I'm forced to admit that sometimes the group concept is better...What a terrible lesson to have shoved down your throat (Thomas)!

Disapproval of working groups was more intense among most of the other students. Many students resented sharing a group grade with fellow members who did not contribute equitably toward the assigned work. This resentment spawned an attending dilemma relating to the students' *loss of control.* Loss of control included *not having a say* in choosing one's group, feeling that *the process was taken over* and owned by only

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

one or two members, and *not being clear on what is expected* in the assignment or of each other.

> ...working in groups...That's been very stressful because not everybody wants to do the same amount of work, so I think that the teachers just put you in groups. And then two or three people out of a group of seven or eight end up doing all the work...And then everybody ends up getting the same A, and meanwhile you feel like stuck that you did all the work (Rachel).

> Research and Methods. Ohhh, the mere shudder of that, just a mental picture of what that was like, I just cringe. It was the most God-awful experience and maybe part of the problem was that I'm an older student, and I was working with 19, 20, 21 year olds, who could have cared less whether they got a decent grade in it or not. And we'd have meetings scheduled and no one would show up, and the slackers. And I find myself getting so aggravated and so irritated...(Annie).

> Every group has one person who's gonna run the whole thing, because they need the A, and unfortunately when they pick up the work, they've actually learned the class, and the rest of them are just at their mercy...because we had one girl who was gonna get an A, and she took care of everything (Nicole).

The students did not view surrendering the process to a qualified member of the group as an easy way out of the work. Their inability to negotiate their respective roles and actively participate in the outcome of the project left them highly anxious.

The "core" requirements

In addition to having to complete the social work curriculum, students also had to satisfactorily fulfill a number of core requirements including science, math, English, etc. in order to complete their degree. In spite of the students' disenchantment with some of the social work courses, they more actively criticized the Core [curriculum] as a "chore" and as "peripheral." *Unnecessary* and *irrelevant* were again the salient descriptors assigned to the core requirements that were contrasted with the social work courses as of little use in preparing students for social work. Some core courses were described as more difficult than social work courses. Students also noted that the Core courses *could be* and *should be* connected and made more relevant to social work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...the core that is there should be related to your social work more than it is now...I should be taking a Theology course that deals with social work, I should be taking a Philosophy course that deals with social work. I'm getting a BSW, so I think that these things should be in relevance to what I'm taking. I mean, I think criminal justice is great, because I'm learning about the system, that's important...you have to take three Philosophies...You're working with Aristotle, you're working with the Bible, with God and all that kind of stuff, I mean it's very nice to know, but it's not what I want to know. I didn't come here for that (Janet).

The demand to excel and indicators of proficiency

Many students reported feeling intimidated by the demands of their coursework, and consequently ashamed of their performance in certain areas. Commonly, they asserted that if they could not learn or master the material, then they could not become social workers. In addition, many students compounded the burden by requiring that they acknowledge their inadequacies. This only served to intensify their stress.

> Um, it's, scary, at first...because...once you get into any of your major concentration classes...it's intimidating, do I really want to do this, is this for me, am I good at it?...So, you know, when you go in and take the basics, and, either you find out or you don't...and some people have it and some people don't. The bottom line is that you have to be self-aware, and realize whether you have it or not...(Colleen).

> Sometimes in class when there was material you didn't understand, I would think oh my God, if I can't get this, then I can't be a social worker, especially like Social Policy, knowing about the laws and all the political stuff...(Elena).

> ...'you're the only one in the class that really didn't understand the subject.' I was like...It's like having the rug ripped out from underneath you. I feel like I'm dangling on that subject...(Catherine).

The students were concerned about their proficiency in social work for two reasons; one the implications their abilities had for their work with clients and two, its personal implications for the student's ego.

> *What are some of the worst things about being a social work student?*
> Worrying about not being proficient in social work. Because, you know, if you're doing a suicide intervention and you're not good, that's lives...(Colleen).

> I want to be effective. I don't want to do anything that I can't be effective in...I don't want to necessarily be better than you, but I want to come out on the other end and look back and say I gave it my best shot and I did the best I could knowing that I can grow and do better (Thomas).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Students gauge their ability to succeed in social work, by two indicators; one is *grades*, the other is *feedback* from their professors and field instructors. Grades exert tremendous influence as indicators of students' academic success and failure. Not surprisingly, "poor grades" was the most common response to "What were your two greatest disappointments or losses?" With mild reservations, many students posit a fairly direct relationship between *good grades* and *becoming a good social worker*. "Putting all their effort into it" or "going the extra mile" in one's studies is viewed as transferable to work with clients. Getting good grades is also associated with responsibility, which in turn is associated with professionalism. Perhaps adherence to this belief also serves as a insurance or self-assurance that academic excellence may one day pay off.

> *You would say those students who get the best grades are apt to make the best social workers?*
> I would say. I think because...probably for two reasons. One, they're getting the best grades, they're learning the most and they're able to not only learn it, but apply it. And I think that it also shows that this is what they really want, they're putting all their effort into it, and if they're putting that effort into the schoolwork, chances are when they're in an agency, they're gonna put that effort into their clients (Rachel).

> Well I think by getting good grades, you're taking the responsibility, and you're learning what you have to learn. You're in a sense being professional, going to classes, having classes, getting your stuff in on time, getting to class on time, managing your time to get all your work done, so that's all stuff that you're gonna use when you get into the field (Lynn).

However, other students deny the relationship between grades and becoming a good social worker. The last two anecdotes reflect how some students operationalize this belief. When confronted with poor grades, they dismiss or deny any connection between their performance and its potential for predicting their success.

> I don't think grades mean a thing. Maybe going into Business or into Law, yeah, you need the grades (Nicole).

> ...that's *[grades]* only part of it. It's getting out in the field and actually putting it into action. I think just because you got an A, or a high GPA doesn't mean that you're gonna be a better social worker than someone else...(Dee-Dee).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...it wasn't like a major shock, ya know I wasn't questioning oh why didn't I do so well...I guess I kind of just accepted it. I didn't really stress over it (Patty).
>
> I shrugged it off like, ya know what? That was the last grade, it doesn't reflect my education, it doesn't reflect on me as a social worker...and I'm just going to have this real attitude of, 'I'm not gonna let it bother me' because that's one grade out of hundreds or that's one experience out of a hundred so I'm not gonna let that be the finale of my education...(Catherine).

As if it wasn't troublesome enough for students to resolve the relationship between grades and their ability to succeed as a social worker, the matter becomes further complicated by the unpleasant discovery that grades are neither a consistent nor a pure measure of a student's social work abilities. In one case, a student learned that her grade in the field was not based on her progress or learning, but on her paperwork skills. Students confront a similar dilemma with regard to a program policy that interferes with the designation of grades as a reliable measure of aptitude in social work. The attendance policy demands a drop in ½ grade for every three absences. The students complain that because of the attendance policy, good grades no longer serve as an accurate reflection of good social work, but rather an indicator of good attendance. The policy is criticized for creating additional stress in the students' lives.

> To be a social worker, I don't think your grades reflect your skills. And I have a perfect example of that...Not coming to class, the penalty would be a half a grade for three absences. I spent more time getting my grades cut due to absences, when you looked at my work, it was all A work. My grades don't reflect that though (Nicole).
>
> Here at Bishop was, the attendance policy was a little more difficult. 'Cause commuting is just not an easy thing to do, and the attendance policy sometimes conflicts with...Life, so it's difficult to have your letter dropped half a grade because you missed four classes, as opposed to three classes...(Catherine).
>
> I didn't do so good in Practice I. I got a C in Practice I. That was early in the morning and I would come to class late almost every morning because I would have to leave from Brooklyn to come to class...(Kim).

In spite of the inadequate measure of aptitude that their grades may serve, most students still found themselves ascribing to the prevailing value system of "obsessing" over grades.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> People in our class seem to get obsessed with grades. Everyone does well but people compare. It's out of control...(Dee-Dee).
>
> They *[faculty]* sit there and tell me, 'Why do you flip out about grades?' I had to say, ever since I got into the social work program, all they kept on saying is push for A's, because it's so competitive to get into graduate school, so if they plant these seeds in our head, that's why some of us are flipping...(Eric).

In addition to grades, negative formal and informal feedback from faculty and field supervisors serve as powerful referents for students' perceived level of competence. These judgments create yet another source of stress. The evaluative process suggests the influence educators exert over students' socialization and perceived competence and self-esteem during this vulnerable phase.

> ...when I got my evaluation, I was almost in tears...I just didn't like some of the things he wrote... (Eric).
>
> ...And just the way she, the professor spoke to me...she gave me a D-, and I just thought that, wow, a D-, I mean for that, just put a big F on the paper...I've always gone around thinking...I'm stupid...And I...felt like, I think at that moment I felt very low, because I've always struggled...academically, and just hearing that from her, it really just added on to it...it was just like, 'Oh God, what am I gonna do now (Elena)?'
>
> *What felt worse though, getting the grade or having the teacher saying, "you're the only one who didn't get it?"*
> 'You're the only one who didn't get it,' the teacher's eval...and what she said to me...
> *How did that make you feel?*
> *[Laughs]* Like a schmuck, like the biggest idiot walking the earth. I thought I was doing so well and to turn around and say, 'Oh by the way, you didn't do so well and you're an idiot' basically, she made me feel like an idiot (Catherine).
>
> ...I was very intimidated by her *[field supervisor]*...that I became, extremely nervous writing my papers...I became extremely...low self-esteem, or I had none (Janet).

However, contradictions arise when the students are asked *how much* faculty and field instructors control their professional socialization. The students surprisingly deny that their educators wield substantial control over their development, insisting that their performance and development is predicated on what they "put into it." Perhaps as a means of coping with unanticipated ambiguities in their education, most of the students reported themselves as holding at least equal power, and sometimes greater power than their educators to drive their socialization. Their power in this process was often

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

described as seizing the initiative to critique the significance of information offered by educators, and then to determine whether or not to accept it and integrate it. This is what they define as "learning" and thus "becoming" a professional.

> That depends on the student and how creative he or she is, how involved they want to be...So I think to a large extent that depends on the student, how much of yourself do you want to invest...(Thomas).

> I think it's half the students, half the faculty. Well, the faculty guides you along in the things that they need to teach you and then it's up to the student to choose whether they want to absorb it or not...(Patty).

> I think it's an equal share because...my professors and my supervisors have called certain things to my attention, and my behavior was then my choice as to what I wanted to do with that. Because I also processed out what they told me. I didn't just take what they told me for face value. I integrated it, processed it, and made changes where I felt were appropriate...(Angela).

> ...And that's really all in my, in the student's control. These people can only, you know, push you or bring you along so far (Nancy).

Faculty favoritism and boundary violations

Disputes with faculty did not involve negligence of formal duties or overt disrespect toward students. More likely, they concerned complaints of favoritism toward selected students.

> There's favorites, and I'm not just one of them, so if you don't become a favorite, and although the favorites are less than the favorable group, I think even if they do it to five people, it's too many...That's how the interaction takes place, where we sit with our mouths open because something is passed, a comment is passed to me *[from the teacher]* and it's just so out there that there's even no hiding it anymore...(Nicole).

> Like, certain people, man she would click to and other people she wouldn't. And I was one of the persons that she didn't click to...(Kim).

Three themes emerged with regard to faculty favorites. A number of students suggested identified favorites on the basis of how much the students "do" for faculty. They indicated that if students 'don't play the game' with faculty, then they're marginalized. Finally, preferential treatment for favorites may include a feeling of inclusion and acceptance both inside and outside the classroom.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I think it's all politics, because I think it's all a matter of how much you do for the social work department or how far you kiss someone's butt honestly...like how involved you get, and just like some of the things that they do, like the social work club, and all these things...I just think it's so phony, because I mean if you really want to hear what these students say behind the teacher's back...but those are the ones that I feel that the teachers will go the extra mile for...I noticed in her classes, if certain people do not feel good, she's like "oh, just go home." Or if there are certain topics that people cannot handle, she has told them that they can be excused from that class...I just feel that I got like the short end of the stick...(Eric).

> ...She saw that I was the only one outside, she went back in. I came back inside. And as soon as the white girls were outside smoking, she came outside with them and they was conversating.
> *She didn't come out to talk to you.*
> She never came out to talk to me. They would have these cliques. And then when we was downstairs...even in the group itself, like I would just sit there...It was not a good experience...But they would joke around...It was just like they would have their little chit chats and their little jokes and I wasn't included in that (Kim).

> Negative. It's negative. It's not a pleasant experience. They've driven me crazy to a point of my mother would like to say something that they've been out of line at times... And I think it also spilled off into the way he interacted with people in the classroom...
> *So do you think you're being openly scapegoated, is that what you're saying?*
> At times I could be, and I think it's the way I present myself...I think I'm an easy attack for it...(Nicole).

The students that were most marginalized viewed the faculty members as capriciously designating them as ill-equipped for social work. This action prompted some students to drop out of the program and incited other students to fight.

> *[speaking about the negative influence of faculty members who discouraged her and others from social work]* you might not actually get it out of them *[the students being told they'll never be social workers]* because a lot of them just will leave it with not causing any waves...they're not gonna be so quick to say the negative...And they've *[faculty]* done it to a couple of people where other students in the school have come up to me and say, 'I heard you have a problem with so and so' or you catch them in the hallway crying, 'What's the matter?' 'So and so did this, I think I'm dropping out of social work.' 'What are you out of your mind? You're not dropping out of social work. You're gonna go in here, speak to the other two *[social work professors]* and see what happens from there...' (Nicole).

For the scorned students, the flip side to the complaint of faculty favoritism included faulting faculty for *not* filtering out students ill-suited for social work. In these instances, faculty members were ironically viewed as not exerting enough power, or being slow to exert control.

> She's another one in class that takes up a lot of time, that I feel that she monopolizes.
> *And how is it handled? How does the teacher handle students who...*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> They sit there and cater to them, so finally this semester Dr. Barbara got a little tough with Wanda...this girl always cries for every subject that touches...and I feel that it's just to get sympathy from the teacher (Eric).
>
> *So they actually tell people that they'll never be a social worker?*
> There's a couple of them they need to tell and they don't, and that's my problem...(Nicole).
>
> ...The student is not making the personal changes and the professor probably, addresses it in class...But, if it comes up ten, times, you need to pursue it outside of class and say, maybe you ought to look at why you're here...And that's, what very rarely goes on, and seems to, need to go on maybe one or two more times a year...We don't have half the training they do and it's, blatant to us, they *[faculty]* have to see it, they have to know and yet nothing is done...(Colleen).

Though the students were far less likely to vilify their professors than their field instructors, three forms of boundary violations concerning faculty members did emerge. The first included a familiar rather than formal manner of communicating with faculty. Students aver that it is inappropriate to call faculty by their first names, and to joke around or fraternize with them. Interestingly, these respondents do not fault faculty for such breaks in expected decorum.

> ...we always called them by their first names....I noticed that a lot of us and I started doing it too is calling them by their first name and they never said anything...I mean my other professors...from other classes never did I ever call them with their first names (Elena).
>
> It's just the boundaries aren't there anymore, not like in the beginning. It's just kind of like, well, we call them by their first name, and we may joke around with them like we do your brother...(Dee-Dee).
>
> ...this one professor, you know I had him a couple of times...I did notice that...a couple of girls, the way they would act with him, I didn't think it was appropriate. They would play around with him and make jokes. I think he just got down too personal with him. You know, I think there was no boundary there with them...(Elena).

The second boundary violation concerned inappropriate physical contact between faculty and students.

> She would play with the white girls' hair and twirl their hair and she would have jokes with them...in class. Not all the time...if she was right here and you was right here and she was saying a joke to you...she was twirling their hair. And, I was like, I know my hair's short and...we can't twirl mine, but at least you can joke to me too and let me feel included. She didn't...
> *Doesn't anybody think that's weird for a teacher to be playing with somebody's hair?*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> No. No. Remember we're all young kids. I mean, everybody in my class are either younger than me or maybe a couple of ages older than me...Like boundaries, right? It was like there was no boundaries (Kim).
>
> ...I feel they crossed the line with this professor. Just recently, we had our graduation...the social work dinner, and...we were hugging the professors, then there was this one girl- she went to hug the professor and I just thought the way she hugged him was just...like too...it didn't look right to me. And I think a lot has to do with because...he crossed that line with them...(Elena).

To the researcher's surprise, only two students overtly identified therapeutic relationships with faculty as problematic and only one of the two explicitly designated it as a "boundary problem in the department."

> ...there's like a group of students who are so close with the faculty that they're in and out all the time...There is a definitely a boundary problem in the department. I really shouldn't say that but there really is...She's not really our therapist...And I think that once a person helps you and is effective, people just keep going back...sometimes it just gets out of control. (Dee-Dee).
>
> *[speaking about gender boundary violations between female students and a male faculty member.]* Well, to see other people get along better with the professor...sometimes you think, is that going to affect their grade, is it going to be higher, because they, you know, they *get along* better with the professor...(Elena).

Oddly enough, only the students that recognized the problem as a boundary problem negotiated the dilemma by taking responsibility for resolving their personal issues themselves, even in one case when a faculty member invited one student to prolong the personal disclosure. Only these two students evidenced any recognition that faculty members are human and limited by their own constraints in what they can reasonably provide to students.

> ...like a lot of the teachers, they want to know what's going on with you and like last semester when he *[grandfather]* was sick on and off, I would like tell them, and they would be a part of it. I don't do that anymore, it's kind of a decision I made, I just kind of keep that quiet...I'm just gonna deal with it. I don't wanna go to the department anymore about problems...I dealt with it with my friends and family, more appropriate resources, than faculty who have other things to do...(Dee-Dee).
>
> ...they kind of, a, you know, put, our professors up on pedestals I think. And the minute that they show that they're human and they can make mistakes...They don't, they don't allow them to be human I don't think, at all...another student, might, write, the person off forever and why?
> *And you just kind of let it go.*
> Well, yeah...nothing is black or white here. As it shouldn't be, anyway...(Colleen).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, the majority of students normalized the personal relationships they held with social work professors. They rationalized teacher-student relationships as inherently friendly or intimate. Some students argued that their relationships with faculty were flexible and self-corrective in that the faculty member could shift roles or redraw boundaries as the context demanded.

> I guess I've always been close to my teachers, even in high school...I don't think it's odd for these teachers to be this way...they are professionals, but they're professors. So they're...It's a different kind of relationship...They're not my social worker and I'm not their client. She, you know, it's a teacher/student relationship.
> *But, when you go to them with personal problems, is it still a teacher and a student relationship?*
> Yeah. Yeah, I think so. I don't see why it can't be.
> *Are they still being professors, or are they being counselors to you?*
> I haven't given it much thought. Maybe it's a mixture of the two...
> *Well, how did you see it?*
> I just saw it as a teacher who cared who took the time to sit down and listen. Because if we, if I didn't have that, I would be closed minded...(Nancy).

> *[describing his relationships with faculty]* Very good, friendly, but not friendly to the point where they permit that to step over the line so to speak. They know that they're the instructor, that I'm the student, and that because of that relationship, there are times when the student has to be corrected, perhaps even called on the mat, so to speak. It's a friendly relationship, it's a professional relationship, it's a learning relationship.
> *...would you say your relationships with faculty are hierarchical or collegial or both?*
> Probably both to some extent but more collegial (Thomas).

> She knows how to break the barrier from being a therapist, to being a supervisor to a friend. She has clear boundaries, and she knows when she can slip into each different role (Jackie).

Struggles in the field

When students enter the field, they are forced to address some non-negotiable conditions of their field experience. The first immutable condition is the program's practicum policy of providing only one internship experience in the BSW program. Thus the program offers only practice opportunity to test their skills, find out whether they are in fact equipped to practice, and whether social work is what they want to do.

> ...we only get to do one internship, so it kind of limits us, and I don't like that, the fact that we did one in our Senior year and that was it. I think that it should have been half a year in one place and half a year in another place, so we could have had two different

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> experiences, cause I feel like I'm gonna be leaving here with one experience only. I'd say that's the only complaint I really have, the only thing that really bothers me (Patty).

Though the students are academically prepared for the rigors of the field, they admit chagrin when it doesn't turn out as they envisioned.

> Before it was like, yeah you're going into your field. You know everything was so highlighted and then when I got there, like I said, that issue wasn't brought up until after we were all placed already. You know that there are going to be things that you have to look forward to, but was never told before. It was kind of like glorified before...*[I did think]* you know, it was going to be a walk-in, do my job and I leave, and everyone was happy, you know. But it wasn't like that. At all. It wasn't...There were a lot of days when 3 o'clock was looking so good...(Brenda).

> I mean you never know what to expect when you're out in the field (Elena).

Most notably at first, students have to contend with the physical and structural limitations of their agencies that make realization of the ideal all but unattainable.

> ...the ideal we were taught is enticing, it's attractive...but certainly it's not being practiced...(Thomas).

> The first day I went in to be interviewed there, to do the internship, like it was, like so much chaos. Even though the supervisor was there...there were desks all over the place...Like there was no order. You know...And that was like, that was like a first key in knowing that this place needed some work (Brenda).

> We're told to create a comfortable environment for your client---most...I mean our agencies are really small so we have to share offices with other workers. One worker has to leave and then constantly the workers are coming in when me and my client are in session, getting some stuff and it's not too private. There's always a lot of kids in my office and I'm with a client so there's a lot of noise going on. It's not really a comfortable environment. It's kind of hectic. We don't have that privacy as much as I would like to have...(Isabel).

Political tensions and constraints

In addition to confronting the myth that the ideal agency structure does not exist, students also learn something about the political process in the field. They discover that the policies that regulate their agencies exert tremendous control over their fate as a student and future social worker. Even the most carefully chosen internship can be thwarted when the agency compels the student to *change* to another internship, vastly altering the student's sense of stability in the field.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> So I put in sometimes 25, 30 hours a week, and they just walked in one day and said, "We're closing, pack your stuff up." And it was kind of a back and forth, maybe we can stay, maybe we can't...(Nicole).

> Hardest thing to adjust to in my training?...Just accept the fact that I can be in an agency one day, and be gone the next...ya know, that it's not secure (Isabel).

Oftentimes, the forces responsible for students' or social workers' ephemeral status in the agency lie outside the control of the students' program or agency practicum. Budget cuts are a powerful manifestation of how political and economic realities often control the livelihoods of professional social workers and the subsequent availability of social workers to supervise social work students. Students learn that social workers are the first to be discarded from agencies whenever any fiscal belt-tightening is in order. The students are sensitive to how these cuts affect their job opportunities and the clients they are dedicated to serving. These forces are often viewed as yet another intractable obstacle beyond the students' control.

> Well, my internship we're already seeing a lot of obstacles that come up when we try to help people. Gulotta cut so many funds from social service agencies...and we can't help as much people as we can...People are getting laid off left and right, and you have to go advocate and you have to fight for what you want to do, and it shouldn't have to be like that, we should be supported by government officials, legislators...When there's a crisis with the budget, we always have to be advocating for ourselves and for the people that...we're trying to help and that can be very discouraging (Isabel).

> Yeah, lots of people lose their jobs in our agency, yeah there's a lot of anger for that, things I can't understand with that. So sometimes that's what might push people out of it. It is like that overwhelming feeling well how can I combat that? How can I make a change against that? We had this program...and it was a great program and they just closed it. I don't understand how things like that can happen...(Dee-Dee).

In addition to dealing with constraints from inside their individual agencies, the students must also deal with the challenges of the larger social welfare milieu. The students discover the contradictions between formal policy and actual practice within and between social welfare agencies that impose additional limitations on their degree of effectiveness with clients. For those students working with children, encounters with Child Protective Services [CPS] were a particular source of frustration.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I worked with a ten year old...an eleven year old who was sexually abused, who it was their second offense, CPS founded the first case and he returned home after a couple of months. He was a foster child. And then, this was the second case, and they sent him back home. And I think that that's frustrating because I can't undermine CPS...So, and this little kid was like grabbing onto me crying, 'please don't send me back home, don't take me back.' It broke my heart, it really broke my heart. And it was frustrating because there was nothing I could do (Jackie).

> ...we learned your kid is abused, he is removed from the home, and really, you know, CPS it's, it's much different, depending on the case...(Colleen).

Conflict over the nature and intensity of field work roles

Students also confront *conflicts over the nature and intensity of their work roles* in the agency that don't conform to previously learned notions of appropriate social work activities. Students frequently found themselves performing non-social work tasks. *Being required to perform "busy work"* or *not having enough real work to do* or *clients to serve* were common complaints.

> I hate when I go to my internship, like I said, and there's no clients there, I don't have any clients, and I'm doing literally nothing...When there's nobody in the house...I'm sitting around just reading the paper, pretty much to just put in my hours for my field class. And it's almost frustrating, like if there's no clients, why don't you just call me and let me not come in, instead of sitting here and doing nothing (Jackie).

> I just think I was cheap labor because on Thursdays, I would like clean the place, and I stopped cleaning, because I was like 'am I here to clean or am I here to work?' ...It was just horrible...(Eric).

Surprisingly, some students didn't always choose to change an internship in which they were under-worked, as a lighter workload in the field lightened the load of other burdensome demands in their lives.

> ...at this intern*[ship]*, I was pretty left to do whatever I really wanted to do...I wasn't going to fight it. So, I didn't want to change it because it was convenient for me to be there. Because I could come in late...I mean I got to do my school work there...because I didn't get a lot of studying done at home. Because I have the baby at home and she doesn't let me do anything. I have to cook, clean. So, my intern I really did a lot of my studying and my papers there. And I didn't want to blow that opportunity. I need to graduate (Kim).

The flip side of not having enough to do was being overworked. Some students' complained that they did most of the work of the paid workers in the agency.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> It was difficult...like the other social worker says, "you did all of her work. What didn't you do there?" I found that to be very stressful too (Elena).

> ...We *[her and other intern]* were overworked. I mean like, clients would come in, and we'd see like say ten clients a day. And where there are five workers and we would see all the clients. And no one else would...We just got it all. Everything...We were used...From the moment we got in we were working till we left...there were many things that we were doing that wasn't a part of what we were, our role of being there...And, I mean when I say we saw all the clients, if there were 50 clients a month, most likely, 40 percent of those were seen by us and we were only there two days a week. They would schedule appointments on the days that we were there. People would come in, I've seen appointments booked and the next day would be empty. And appointments would be made for the next day we were there in addition to walk-ins. It was ridiculous (Brenda).

Overwork might also include performing two jobs rather than one, which commonly arose when a student performed the dual role of paid worker and student intern in the same agency, an increasingly common field practice for many students. In such cases, both the student and the agency staff might experience difficulty distinguishing the student role from the worker role. [Data not presented here.]

Struggles with clients

Though most students reported "feeling" most like social workers when working with clients, they were often troubled when clients didn't behave or respond to them as they expected. Some of these refuted notions include the unwelcome realizations that *clients are not all alike, don't always want to be helped, may be abusive or manipulative* or *may not even be receptive* to the student.

> ...I guess, almost in a way, I expected every client to be more or less the same, and the solutions to be more or less the same, but obviously, they're not (Jackie).

> ...the negative is when you can't help someone. Like I had a client that I just couldn't help and it wasn't my fault. She didn't want to be helped (Fran).

> ...Dealing with a bad client, definitely, makes you feel really low and frustrated. I have an abusive client...She wasn't truthful on her application and we knew that, but we had a duty just to follow through with it...And she called me that day and shook a bottle of pills into the phone and told me she wasn't gonna be here tomorrow just because of me...(Dee-Dee).

> ...And the next day, he *[male client]* came to the agency, and he was on the phone with me, and he told me...that I wasn't so bad and he liked me, and then when he came up

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> to the agency, he pulled me towards him...and gave me a kiss on the cheek, and I thought that was very unprofessional...It made me very upset... (Isabel).
>
> I find it frustrating when clients lie and don't tell the truth, and even more frustrating and aggravating when you can't figure out the reason that they're lying to you, you can't make that intervention which would be all the more helpful in the long run (Jackie).
>
> ...And then afterwards it was like, you know, like one woman, she's in her field placement and no one likes her. You know, she's like, no one wants to talk me. You know, the clients, they all look down on me. They walk away when I speak to them. And that's like, you know, I never really expected this. You know, I wasn't warned about some things (Brenda).

In addition to confronting unappealing clients, students find themselves confronting unsavory problems that they never expected to address, nor feel qualified to address. Students struggle with defining their role in these confounding situations, both as a social worker and in comparison to other helping professionals intervening in the client's life.

> ...it's not easy. It's not like, oh yeah, I want to go speak with this man who is really confused and doesn't even know where he is...(Patty).
>
> There's been some things where I thought, " Ickkk, I don't want to do that."...a discussion came up on his part about sex. I wasn't too keen on discussing birth control methods with him...he talked to me one day about wet dreams and I almost fell off the chair. I'm not somebody's dad, I'm not somebody's mom, and that was difficult, I'm sure I probably turned purple and, 'What am I gonna say to him (Annie)?'
>
> I do case management and I got a counseling client and I felt very overwhelmed because she had tried to commit suicide two months ago so she has a psychiatrist and a therapist and I kind of felt where's my place in all of this? What can a student do when she has a psychiatrist already there and a therapist there (Dee-Dee)?

The supervisory process was viewed as helpful in managing students' difficulties with clients. As a result of their supervisor's encouragement and firm call to duty, students were pleased to learn that they could confront and work through their discomfort and perhaps emerge better equipped for the next round of destabilizing situations or relationships.

> She urged me to continue *[talking to her male client about sex]*, she said, 'You have the line of communication with him. The fact that he brought this up and asked you these questions, he's comfortable talking with you.' And I had to address those issues. I had to address the issue of personal hygiene with him because he stunk. There were some issues there that I was a little embarrassed, I was a little uncomfortable, but I managed, and when I thought about it, 'Yeah right, who else would he ask these questions?' So I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> made it through. I lived to tell and it wasn't as bad as I got myself all worked up for...(Annie).
>
> *So how did you work through all this, what did you do to try to cope with all these feelings?*
> My supervisor, at my internship would just talk to me about it and tell me about her experiences and kind of teach me and what I've been taught here is that you have to put your personal feelings aside and just be a social worker for that moment, and not think about your personal feelings (Patty).
>
> And I spoke to my supervisor about it and you know she helped me through it. She helped me through, you know, my feelings of feeling as though I didn't know what to say to them *[clients].* I mean I knew what to say, but I didn't think what I said was going to be appropriate for them (Elena).

Powerlessness over social problems and client situations

Compounding the resolution of these dilemmas was the emergence of an overpowering sense of hopelessness. When the students confronted the intractability of social problems both educationally in the classroom and experientially in the field, their idealistic, altruistic ambitions fractured.

> Like we were watching a video on a group of AIDS...Very depressing...we're trying to help people, but all these topics are very depressing. All you hear is negative stuff, we never hear anything good. We walk out of the classes, and everyone is just like crying and depressed, because of the stories that we tell and the stories that we hear and that's what we're going into. I don't know... how long I can actually take having to hear all these depressing issues...(Isabel).
>
> We had to go to a Child Abuse Seminar, and that was very disturbing to say the least considering I have a daughter and just seeing, hearing and seeing pictures of...Poverty, depression. It made me see a lot of problems that I never really thought about (Fran).
>
> ...My internship is for homeless youth, so 'I'm sleeping on the streets. I'm under a box.' And it's heart-breaking...That's another bad thing about social work is that it's heart-breaking, you see things and people that go through things, that you look at them and you're literally like, 'How are you still alive, surviving after what you've just been through (Jackie)?'
>
> Yeah, my internship's in a hospital, and I'm seeing a lot of stuff that I really don't want to be seeing, not even psychologically, but medically, cause I work...with a lot of the elderly, a lot them have Alzheimer's disease, dementia, cancer...all different diseases. And I'm seeing stuff at this age that I guess I never knew a lot of this stuff was out there...It's just hard, it's hard to be in that environment to see people who are dying, to see people who are sick, to talk to an elderly person who is totally confused and doesn't even know they're in the hospital, it's hard, it's just a hard thing to see... (Patty).

The students' sense of powerlessness in influencing intractable problems triggers an additional dilemma on an internal level; uncovering their implicit beliefs regarding the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

existence of quick or easy fixes for changing clients' predicaments. They refer to these as "magic solutions" and "miracles." Recognizing that they can't always help their clients with a quick fix is often a gain in terms of insight, but such understanding can also result in a loss or tradeoff of original naivete and idealism that initially propelled them into the field.

> I think there's a lot of things that I wish there was a magic solution for, and feelings is one...(Annie).
>
> You have this feeling that you just want to create miracles and not being able to help a particular client is very disappointing and very depressing. And as an intern, you're walking in thinking that you're gonna help every client and not realize that it's not that way (Isabel).
>
> Frustrating in the sense that a lot of times you don't have control over, obviously over your clients and over the situations that they're in...You have a client that's right in front of you and you wanna just yell out, 'This is what you need to do' and they can't see that. You just need to pick yourself up and do this, and they just can't see that (Jackie).

The frustration of *not having control over clients' situations,* emerged most frequently among the younger students. Those students working with adolescent populations often found themselves vying with other more pervasive influences in their clients' lives. Earlier in the interviews, they relayed that they mistakenly thought that working with teens would be easy due to their relative closeness in age.

> And I thought it would be easy working in a high school because I was a teenager not too long ago. And all of the issues that they have, I faced. You know, teen pregnancy, sex and all of that...And the teenagers, I thought I would be helpful in that setting... And, I tell them my experience, I tried to share little parts, you know. And, they don't listen. It's like, it's like, if I'm gonna be speaking to you and you're not going to listen me, then what's the point?...It was very frustrating. Like those kids were deep off, like they have no dreams...I find it real difficult trying to persuade them to continue to go to class, that it's worth it. And, they just didn't see any reason to go to class, so, that part was very sad...(Kim).
>
> ...A lot of times you just feel like what did I do all day, besides sit and talk to these kids. A lot of them, it's hard, they're so influenced by their friends and they're still doing all the things, they know what they're doing's not right, but they're still doing it. And it's too frustrating for me (Rachel).

However, the younger students working with older populations blamed their inability to make a positive impact on the age disparity between them and their clients. Some of these

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students insisted that they found validation for believing that they were both too young and too life-inexperienced for their clients. They claimed that due to their age, they weren't taken seriously, or that their clients have experienced social problems or life stages for which the students have no personal frame of reference.

> I think the other part of it also, it's very difficult when you're only 21 and you're going into people that...they're married, they have kids, they've been divorced three times already. They've dealt with things that I've never dealt with...That's just difficult in itself though, being young...I was in an agency that...the mother was my client. So, to have an older woman. Even if she was only five years older than me. Even if she was only two years older than me. The facts...will still remain that she had children, or she had a drug abuse problem, or she was homeless, or she had HIV and I've never experienced any of that...I'm only, you know, this my first experience in this field. I have nothing to compare it to. So I think the issue of the age is a pretty big deal. It was for me anyway...So, one day I went to go visit her at the shelter and I was walking up the steps and she was talking to another lady that was staying in the shelter...The other lady looked at me and she said, 'Oh, you're right. She is young.' So, I said, well I guess I was right when I... thought that my age was an issue for her...I just, I know that there's that barrier and I know that they think it (Nancy).

Often, students coped with the frustration of feeling ineffective by simply disavowing responsibility for their failed interventions, either rationalizing the movement backward with the client as still movement, or claiming that "it's not my fault" or "my responsibility" or may infer that the client is manipulative. Sometimes the supervisor reinforces their denial of responsibility. Even while employing these rationalizations, the last anecdote reflects that they may still take client drawbacks personally and have not yet been able to distance themselves on a professional level.

> ...over the holidays, there was a domestic abuse on them, so it was like Grrrrrr. Oh my God! I just kind of took it where it was another step for them even though it was a step back, it was some kind of movement in the case, just to re-evaluate the goals and say that all right, well...pick up the pieces, whichever ones aren't as crushed and start over again, start from there.
> *Did that feel frustrating to you?*
> Yeah, frustrating, but understandable, I mean it's not easy, I don't, ya know. I was disappointed but I was also extremely understanding. It's not easy especially in their situation when you have so many things against you (Catherine).

> It is. It's very, very frustrating and I almost take it as, sometimes I take it as a personal dag towards me. If they would have just waited till I got here, Monday morning, we could have worked this out. But that's too much to...My supervisor and I have talked

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> about this a thousand times. It's something that I have to learn, that it's not my responsibility, it's not my fault.
> *And has that helped?*
> It has helped. It has definitely helped, but... It's definitely gotten better now than it was in the beginning (Jackie).

> I don't know if I'm coping that well cause I--like when she calls, I cringe, and I don't know if I should or if it's not right to feel to really not like her because I don't. And I know that she needs help, I just, I don't know... It's hard to be so grown up about something when someone makes you feel...so down. You can be having a good day and she'll call and call me stupid. And I said to my supervisor, no matter how many accomplishments I get, when she says that, it seems to undo all the good. And it seems so silly, I would think, ya know, I get mad at myself, Dee-Dee, you know she's just trying to get to you and I would think she's just trying to say something hurtful, I know what she's saying isn't true but then when it comes down to what she says, it still gets to me so much so...(Dee-Dee).

Unprofessional social workers

In addition, the students encounter imperfect social workers in the field that violate their ideal specifications of professional behavior. These "unprofessional professionals" are observed as modeling inappropriate, unethical or otherwise undesirable qualities or behaviors that students identify as unbefitting to a social worker.

> ...when you're working in a situation with professionals...and they were running things a certain way, and in your mind, you were taught a different way...just because you're in a professional agency, not everybody is professional...(Lynn).

> When you go into these internships and you see how these other workers act with their clients, I'm just like wow, I'm just like blown away. This is not what I was taught in social work classes...There's not too much of a professional relationship with your client, it's more like laid back. That's what I've seen...(Isabel).

The students may deride professionals who are not professional as a "disappointment" in the field, but may cope by trying to either learn from the experience/ negative behavior or electing to be choosier about their coworkers in the future.

> And it helps you learn what kind of a person you want to be, and how you want to handle things, but it's...a learning process to learn how to deal with people like that...(Lynn).

> ...I've just seen it a couple of times and almost feel like I felt bad for the client, like oh, don't yell at him. But maybe that's something that I need to learn about myself, that that's what has to get done and I'm a big pushover (Jackie).

> ...when you go into a job atmosphere, you have to think about your coworkers, cause when you're not doing work, and you're not with clients, those are who you have to deal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> with...So that's something that I learned there as well...aside from what your role is, but your role as a coworker. And that's, it's different, so different (Brenda).

The students expected the workers in their agencies to be helpful, supportive and available and their relationships with their coworkers to be collegial and. Instead, they often found that the agency culture's definition of professionalism meant acting impersonally or only interacting when there's a question about an assignment. In the opposite extreme, one student found that male workers were more interested in establishing social/sexual relationships than professional ones.

> ...at my internship, it was different, it was just like this is what you have to do, do it, and don't come see me unless...There wasn't really a personal relationship, it was so vague. It was just like I'm a professional...Because I remember there was one point that myself and the other intern, if she was out, and I wasn't there, and I was there, it would be like...who am I gonna...I mean we had other people to talk to, but who really can I... I felt like lonely. They were just...it was different, very different. Everyone had a different aspect on life (Brenda).

> The District Attorney, I went to meet him for a client of mine. And while he was talking to the client and her mother, I was in the room, he asked them to leave, and then told me to stay, and told me that I was very pretty, and very attractive and that...He says he noticed that I spoke Spanish, and he's like, I hope you don't feel uncomfortable with this, but I did feel uncomfortable because he was the District Attorney and I was there for a client, and for him to just tell them to leave, to step out of the room and to tell me this, I thought that was very unprofessional...There was a worker that left the agency but was asking me out on a date. He was married and had a little girl and was expecting another one, and was asking me out to dinner and to drinks and I kind of just blew it away...(Isabel).

Expectations and disappointments of field supervisors

The students experienced even more distress when they observed unprofessional actions in their field supervisors. They identified deviations from the ideal profiles of *personal, supervisory, professional* and *social* qualities of a social worker. In the *personal* category, most of the descriptors employed for imperfect supervisors were antonyms of their ideal personal characteristics [kind, empathic, attentive, compassionate and caring]. Instead, the refuted characteristics included; ***not empathetic, mean, can hurt***

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people's feelings, insults people, moody, unapproachable, disrespectful, lacks people skills, power hungry, vindictive, hurtful, rigid and *cold.*

> She's...well you would think that as a social worker you'd be a little bit more empathetic, but she's not, she's very...I don't know...she can be very mean sometimes, and she can hurt people's feelings and...something that I would definitely not want to be like...she insults people, I guess...(Isabel).
>
> Oh I hated my supervisor, he is very moody, unapproachable...(Eric).
>
> Disrespectful, and I believe that the one thing that kind of showed me the light was the way that he spoke to people (Jackie).
>
> ...my supervisor...lacks people skills, she is power hungry, she's vindictive, she is not a good supervisor, she was very hurtful...She's a very rigid person, this supervisor. She does not have any skills to promote a feeling of warmth. She's very cold, she's in essence, a vindictive bitch! *[whispers]* That felt good...(Janet).

The students also discover that counter to what they learned they could rightfully expect, supervisors do not always meet *supervisory* obligations. A frequent complaint was that supervisors were way too busy for students. The supervisor's lack of availability is most blatantly communicated to the students as a lack of formal supervision, or supervision "on the fly."

> What I learned in class was that the supervisor is the one that helps out, and the one that's supposed to be knowledgeable and understanding and give you supervision and help you out with certain situations. And my experience in the field was that, no, no, no, no, no. They're way too busy for you. So if you have a question and you don't know the answer, ask a coworker or another caseworker or just wait on it (Catherine).
>
> ...she was very into her work. This is what you have to do, and I'll speak with you about it if there's a problem. Ya know, she never did any...supervision...I believe once ever, and then she put it on the assistant supervisor at the time (Brenda).
>
> ...we talked about supervision and we were supposed to get one hour of supervision and I got probably fifteen minutes of supervision at a time... (Elena).
>
> I don't think I was getting the supervision I needed from the one that was supposed to be in charge...And I just say...how could he grade me if he's not there to see me (Eric)?

Since the student's right to formal supervision stands among one of the few clear-cut and enforceable responsibilities of a field instructor, most students were comfortable enlisting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the help of their field liaison in resolving the problem. Unfortunately, in many cases, the confrontation only exacerbated the student's already precarious situation.

> My professor then spoke with my supervisor's supervisor. She was like, 'What's the situation here? Why isn't this intern being supervised? You're supposed to be giving her an education.' I really did not understand my supervisor's position at all...you know what your supervisor's duties are, you know what their job requires and I totally did not understand it at all.
> *But when you went back to the placement after these negotiations took place, did it become more difficult for you?*
> I even had less supervision. It was almost like she was 'oh well, if I'm not getting rewarded for this, I might as well...why even try?' (Catherine).

> ...and I told the Field Instructor *[field liaison]*, she said she was gonna call her, and it just so happened that the day she called her, we were in the Main Office, they handed her the file, and she was like 'Aha, aha, I'll speak to Elena about it.' And right there in front of everyone she said, 'Oh, I just received a phone call that you think you're not receiving enough supervision,' in front of everyone there. So then after that, I just thought, let me just stay shut, do my work and leave. That was my attitude (Elena).

> He *[field liaison]* didn't do nothing. He was like, 'Well, Andy *[field supervisor]* happens to be very aware,' and he's really like...a good...field supervisor and everything, that there's never been no complaints... I only got twice one-on-one supervision from my supervisor twice. That's it. And I spoke to Dr. Frank about this and everything, and he was like, 'Well I spoke to Andy,' this and that, he was gonna like have more one-on-one supervision, but he never gave the effort...(Eric).

Disenchanted with the lack of improvement resulting from asserting their needs, some students coped with their unsatisfactory situation by utilizing less direct and less conventional methods. Two students actively turned their anger at what they perceived as unfair treatment into a personal mission of ensuring that they are not treated similarly in the future. Two other students claimed to passively detach from their unsatisfactory experiences, one by "slacking off" in their work and another by simply going through the motions of an "actor" at her internship.

> ...it got to the point where I would not even look forward to going there on Mondays and Wednesdays. It was just like I was waiting for three o'clock to run out of there... Now, when I go out on interviews, I really want to just interview the job, instead of them interviewing me to see what I'm really getting myself into, cause I want to be comfortable, I don't want to be like I was there (Brenda).

> ...I started slacking off with my, with my process recording. I mean there was thirteen kids that I was seeing. I was just slacking off...and she noticed it...(Elena).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...I never allowed that part of the internship to influence my work with the client. When I closed that door, I became an actor. *(laughing sound)* I put all that that bad stuff behind me (Janet).

In addition to disappointments in *personal* and *supervisory* qualities, the students also complained that their supervisors lacked two major *professional* requirements they expected in a social worker, *self-awareness* and *knowledge*. Some students reflected that when they received supervision, the quantity or quality of the guidance was often inadequate to effectively direct the student, or the assessment was irrelevant to the student's issues, signaling that the supervisor was not as knowledgeable or self-aware as students expected.

> She didn't tell me like, in this scenario you do this. Like I was just left alone to like, sit with students and talk to them. And I felt like I was talking to them like a parent and not like a social worker. Like, I don't know the difference (Kim).

> So, we spoke to the supervisor, and I don't know what she did with the case, but I, we thought, it was very unprofessional of our supervisor to expect us to take this case without telling us the background information...(Isabel).

> Even going to speak with him in supervision, it was pointless...everything that I brought up in supervision, I was bringing in information about what to learn and...he would ask me, 'Are you sure that...you're not being judgmental?' And it wouldn't even be a judgmental issue, and he would throw it in...does he know anything else to say in supervision other than this? It was crazy. And I even asked him and he said, 'Well you know, cause that's really what a lot of interns go through.' And I said, 'You're not even listening to what I'm telling you...' (Brenda).

The students also experienced boundary violations through their supervisors' imprudent use of supervisory sessions. At times, supervision and other informal interactions between supervisors and students were inappropriately used as a forum for the supervisor to disclose personal information.

> ...And at the same time, I'd go into supervision, I'd get a personal story as opposed to talking about my clients. So I'd get her talking about her personal life experience and her own personal opinions and less about what I should do about a client...(Catherine).

> And then like, the things that he talks about in his personal life. He speaks very profanely and he just discloses too much...(Brenda).

> You can't joke about sex with the supervisor...we always joked around and stuff like that...We talked about her house...about her ex-husband, her husband, we talk about

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> her daughters...I've met a lot of people and they just keep everything strictly professional and she wasn't like that...she...just put her baggage on me (Elena).

Supervisors also unwittingly violated professional boundaries non-verbally. The following two accounts reveal various states of undress with which students had to contend.

> ...he showed us pictures of him. He went on a trip. Of him half-naked...It never dawned on me until one of the workers said, 'Why does he bring those in?' ...I was like, wait a minute, she's right. Why did he bring those in? He's our supervisor...(Brenda).

> ...she just like dressed up right in front of me and that made me uncomfortable because I'm thinking there's no boundaries whatsoever...She took her shirt off and put on another one right in front of me and this is like you know, a big woman. Her chest was like really big and I'm sitting and the thing is that her desk is here and I'm sitting here and I was like, okay *[sighs uncomfortably on the "OK."]* (Elena).

Supervisors were also criticized for transgressing against the same agency protocols the students were instructed to obey. In one case, the violated protocol involved improper utilization of client resources.

> He sleeps on the job...it's just like he's just there because he's getting paid to do that. ...he lacks order... Like he'll dress down to work. And there...are times when you have to go to Court. So that's why you have to dress respectfully. And he had jeans on and boots, and like a T-shirt. And he's like...what am I going to do, I can't go up. That shouldn't be an issue that you have to tell us. That should be something that...should be expected of you (Brenda).

> I think the funny thing is with my, with the supervisor, she had to write the evaluation. It was late, which I thought was really ironic since that's what she was telling me that everything was late with me...(Janet).

> ...she was always late. And you know what? Because she was always late, I would just come in five, ten minutes late everyday too because she wouldn't even notice it...(Elena).

> The agency has two vans that are able to transport our clients to and from...we have to take them to a conference...or to the park. My supervisor has one mini-van that she takes for herself and she goes on trips on that. Sometimes we've needed those vans to take more kids with us, but we have to take our own cars to transport the clients when we can use that minivan. She doesn't give that minivan to any of the workers...(Isabel).

The students also struggled with noticeable deviations in the expected *social* skills they held for their supervisors. These included the ability to build a *good rapport* with clients, helping clients *to feel comfortable* and *good about themselves,* the *possession of good*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

communication skills, and the quality of being *non-judgmental* and *empowering*. The gulf between student expectations and actual practice was most vivid in relationship to those supervisors that were authoritarian. The students were particularly disturbed if a supervisor did not speak or act respectfully to subordinates, students and clients.

> She *[supervisor]* started fumbling with things, getting a little nervous...came back with a grin on her face and said, 'Do you think that anything you say is going to make a difference in this evaluation? What I say, goes'...no matter what I did, it wasn't good enough. *[voice shakes—gets weepy]*...And the worst you can imagine, it was worse than that...And she called me the...called me the bitch...(Janet).

> ...she doesn't have the greatest rapport with the other workers. So I wouldn't want to be that way...she comes off kind of rough around the edges...(Dee-Dee).

> Oh, he's very unprofessional...he does not speak on a professional manner to, to his employees...(Brenda).

> ...this director...really doesn't like talk to you like an equal, he thinks he's better than you...(Eric).

> It was almost like, he was this big bad authority figure and everybody else was three feet tall and he needed to speak down to everybody, and it was disgusting (Jackie).

> There are clients that will stand in front of her door and say to her, 'I really have to talk to you now,' and she'll say to them, 'Get away! This is not my time with you.' I don't know where these skills come from. But they're not in my book...I don't feel that the clients have a safeness with her. They have a feeling of such a rigid boundary, that if you pass, if you come to the desk and you pass that point, you've passed into territory you don't want to be in (Janet).

> ...we *[student and her supervisor]* went on a home visit to one of the buildings and I saw a roach on the floor, but...I didn't say anything...She pinpointed...this tiny little roach that was crawling on the floor...And I mean they teach you that not to do things like that...I felt bad...here I was translating everything that she said...you're letting her know, she's not doing her responsibility as a mother...(Elena).

Conversely, supervisors were also criticized for acting too personally with clients. Students are taught in class not to develop personal relationships with clients and then may observe their supervisor's blatantly violating professional boundaries with clients in the field.

> ...And then my supervisor takes some of our clients to her house. I mean that's boundaries...(Isabel).

> ...she acted like a mom to all the students. She gave them money, no offense. On their birthdays, she gave them money. She hugged them. She had them in her office.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> They would cut class and come into the Teen Center when they wasn't allowed to...They knew that they could get over on her...everybody knows that (Kim).

Though the students expected their supervisors to communicate in a *non-judgmental* manner, in the following case, a student witnesses a display of her supervisor's prejudice in her communication with a client. This also violated the social work value of respecting diversity that the student learned in class.

> ...we did a social history on a parent, I knew the parent was from one of the islands ...and they started talking about immigration because he had a job at the immigration building in the city...And she said, 'Well, they should all just go back...You know what, a lot of times these...Hispanic people, they come to this country, and they just work here and then they go back with the money, the American money and they go back to their country' (Elena).

In a similar vein, while observing Dr. Frank's class, a student presented a similar dilemma concerning her supervisor. She was asked to translate from Spanish to English for her supervisor in non-confidential settings and sought help in the Field Seminar class on how to confront her supervisor on this.

> I kept translating, but I was annoyed. I really didn't want to do this. I thought it should be in a private setting.
> *That's the problem...Why not say to the supervisor—I'd be more comfortable with this in a private office?*
> I thought that by her asking me to do this, she was right. She's head of the whole thing.

Most of the students disapproved of their supervisors' undesirable characteristics, and attempted to resolve the dissonance between the ideal and the real by promising themselves not to become like them.

> I just don't want to become like that...as a social worker, I wouldn't want to act the way she acts with other people...(Isabel).

> My supervisor...while I was there I just kept thinking, I do not want to do that. The whole time I was there, her attitude just, I kept asking myself, "How did she become a social worker?"...I just kept thinking every time I was there, what not to do as a social worker...(Elena).

> Well this is everything you should not do...I don't think it had to be kept consciously, they were just so out there that when you look, they just look a mess... (Nicole).

> ...I will never be a person like that, and I can truly tell you that I do hate her...(Janet)!

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some students temper their polarized reactions to their supervisor's influence by sifting the feedback they receive through the supervisor's personality. By assigning varying degrees of influence to their educators, they negotiate their supervisors' control over their socialization. Other students rationalize the existence of negative role models in social work positions as basically a matter of luck or politics, a lesson in Life.

> ...when I was in internship, I had two supervisors...And whenever the softer supervisor would come to me and tell me things, I would process them through her personality...I knew I needed to soften a little, I was aware of that, but I didn't know if I wanted to go the full gamut as to what she was saying to me. So I would process it through to a level where I was comfortable and then I was open again to them saying, 'well, maybe you can adjust this.' And I would again go through the same process...(Angela).

> How did I resolve that? It showed me, you know what, two things...he didn't have the qualifications of the last supervisor that was there. So, I look at it as...just like luck...Because he's under-qualified, yet, he won a supervising position for the simple fact that he basically knew about the environment had to hold as far as what happens there. They didn't have to train anyone else because there was someone there and he was bilingual. So that was a great asset on their behalf...that's just how he got in there...it's like letting a high school student out in Silicone Valley...(Brenda).

Negotiation of internship stress

Since the students were restrained by the limits of confidentiality in talking about their internship stresses with friends and family, they sought to resolve their struggles predominantly through the supportive and validating group atmosphere of their Field Seminar class.

> I guess the only thing that we have is our placement class where we come as a group together and we discuss our feelings and what's going on with us in our internships and stuff that we're feeling. That's good because it's not only me that is feeling like this. I see other people that are going through the same issues and the same problems and we get a chance to talk about it. So I think that's a good way to just relieve all this stress, I guess, that we have...I guess you only speak with your fellow students, your classmates, about the issues that you're going through (Isabel).

> I think that in my field class, in the Field Seminar that I had weekly, I was able to express my frustration and that got the ball rolling (Catherine).

In spite of the availability of group support, some students didn't feel safe or accepted in resolving internship stress in the group setting. Consequently, they either refrained from opening up or assumed a deviant role. Most believed that inevitably the burden of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

problem resolution lied within the individual, and thus elected approaches such as journal writing or the breathing and visualization techniques provided by their professors to alleviate stress and prevent burnout.

> I really never spoke to anybody about my internship.
> *What about class?*
> Yeah, in our Field Seminar class, I spoke about it a couple of times, how difficult it was.
> *Did you get the support you needed there?*
> From other students, yeah, they would give their suggestions, but it's basically something you have to work out on your own to be able to deal with it (Patty).

> ...they provided us with techniques to not get burned out, from either keeping a personal journal to doing breathing techniques or visualizations or to being more centered...(Catherine).

> I liked keeping a journal, I thought keeping a journal was really helpful especially as I went through that family crisis thing. I could just get everything out by writing it down so that was important to me...(Angela).

The struggle of integrating classwork and fieldwork

Students often blamed their difficulties in the field on their coursework, complaining that that their social work coursework is poor preparation for, divorced from or in direct conflict with what they are experiencing in the field. Even more disconcertingly, they are sometimes told in the field to disregard what they've learned in class. The dissonance between supposedly complementary aspects of their professional socialization compounded students' stress and sometimes strained students' commitment to social work.

Perhaps most critically, students insisted that they're just not prepared in class to deal with the complex issues that arise in the field. They argued that the content taught in [generalist] social work classes overlooks and fails to include most of what is needed to function effectively in their specialized field settings. The students almost unilaterally identified a lack of knowledge about current social problems affecting their client populations as the most blatant gaps in the curriculum. Mental Illness, HIV/AIDS,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Substance Abuse, and Criminal Justice emerged as the specific areas in need of greater representation in the curriculum.

> ...I wish that I would have gotten was a better education on issues like...gangs and teenage pregnancy, information about AIDS, more information about issues that are facing our society...have classes on that, or mental health or different mental disorders. You walk into your internship and you're given clients that have ADHD and sometimes you don't even know what that is...Basically what we're taught is theories and concepts. We're not really taught the issues that are happening right now...I had to learn a lot of things about the Law, the System, and how it works...(Isabel).

> We only have two electives here, Contemporary Issues in Social Work, and Crisis Intervention, but I think that they could base a whole class on runaway youth, they can base a whole class on HIV/AIDS. They can base a class on all these issues, homosexuality...Mental Illness. There's no class for mental illness. There's a class at Bishop, *Alcoholism and Substance Abuse*, but that's considered either a Health or a Sociology...I think that we can be so much more educated on and that we're not (Jackie).

> I think what we did need to know more was like about eating disorders and things like that...and also like about the Law. I took a Criminal Justice class as an elective. And I even said that I thought that it was a great class because a lot of times in social work, you...had to call Probation Officers and certain wordings that were used, I wouldn't know about them unless I took a Criminal Justice course or something (Elena).

> ...I wanted to learn more... Even like substance abuse training. And, I believe that if I...had started that course, it would have been an asset...there is so many other certification courses there that we could have made use of, that were not told to us. That we had to find out really on our own...(Brenda).

In addition to contending that the knowledge transmitted in the course content was insufficient and under-specialized, students also complained that their class lessons and role plays were irrelevant to practice, making client interactions seem misleadingly easy and manageable. They contended that "it never works that way" when they're in the field.

> Yeah, I sit there thinking, talking to clients, well what did I learn in school, and realize that it really has no relevance this time...the textbook is gonna teach you, 'Hi, how are you, I'm doing great, ya know Life's wonderful.' And then you get into reality, and it's not like that...(Nicole).

> ...half the stuff that we learn in class doesn't even apply in our internship, ya know...most of the stuff that you learn, it just doesn't really apply to what you're gonna be actually doing...(Isabel).

> ...I don't think that it was as easy to do that as they make it seem in the classroom. Because when Dr. Barbara role plays it, it looks so easy...(Nancy).

> ...I think it seems so much easier than it really is when you're out in the field. Like when we do role plays in classes and the professors are the social worker and you're the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> client, and they always have the answer, they always have the right thing to say. It never works that way when you're in the placement, in your field, with the client in front of you (Jackie).

One specific example of the impracticability of class learning for the field concerns the explicit advisory that students should not disclose personal information including age, address and phone numbers to the client. Most of the younger students struggling with the age dilemma found this advice awkward and sometimes alienating to their clients when put to use in the field.

> ...if someone asks how old are you, the correct answer on the test was, 'I wonder what my age is bringing up for everyone else.' So when I got this counseling client, she had asked me on the phone, she gave me a little test and she asked me my age, and I did that, I didn't answer her and she became upset that I...was like undermining her intelligence, if not giving her a straight answer, I was leading her away...that's frustrating and insulting to them (Dee-Dee).

> ...when you go to a client's house and they say, 'How old are you and where do you live?' ...and Dr. Barbara's face pops into my head saying, 'Well, why is that important for you to know?' ...it's like my first month or two of interning and I'm thinking to myself, 'I can't say that.' So I say 'I'm 21 and I live in Franklin Square, anything else?' ...it's very difficult to throw...it back in the client's lap...those words, I couldn't get them out.
> *Why do you think that's so, that you can't get those words out?*
> I think I felt because I, I'm young and I was dealing with a client that's in her late forties and...possibly early fifties and...I'm trying to develop some kind of rapport with this woman and I don't want her to turn around and be like, 'What are you too good to tell me how old you are?' She just asked a simple question. So, it's hard. It's not like I was working with people at my own age level...(Nancy).

Students are forced to muddle through complex practice scenarios in the field when role plays and course content fail to equip them with the necessary practice tools. In the absence of a successful application, students rely on their own instincts to get them through.

> We're not taught to deal with certain issues that have come up, so we have to deal with it on our own...I've had a mother come into the agency and throw herself on the floor, hid beneath the desk, and we had to try to calm her down and get her out of the desk. She ran out to the street, causing havoc...I've had to go into a home and try to break up a fight between a mother and daughter. I had a client that was thirteen years old and was pregnant, and had a miscarriage, and she called me from her house, and she had it in a little cup, so I saw that, and I had to rush her to the hospital with the mother...(Isabel).

> Oh yeah, Day One in my adolescent program. I had walked into the group and was greeted by a client, "Who the f___ are you?" And we did not learn this in social work. I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> wound up fighting and like arguing with him, because I had fifteen people staring at me, and he was the group leader, so I couldn't back down...I was arguing with him like I was just from the neighborhood. There was nothing professional about it at all, except I knew I couldn't back down or I was gonna lose that whole group, and I kind of got stuck in between, am I professional or do I wanna be accepted?...When I came back, it was like, 'You didn't teach me this (Nicole).'

The students often coped with these difficulties by simply telling themselves that "this field" or "these clients" were "not for them." This strategy provides comfort for their discouragement and a rationale for their dissuasion from the specific area of difficulty only, while still keeping them open to other more desirable prospects in social work.

> I started to realize that if I stayed in social work, I didn't think I'd want to be a school social worker. I think it's really hard to be a social worker in a mental health, or whatever you want to say, in an academic setting...(Rachel).

> ...I don't want to do this. I don't want to be in this environment everyday. I already know I don't want to work in a hospital (Patty).

> ... I just kept in my head that I, this is not what I want to be doing. I don't want to work in preventive services...I want to work with handicapped children and I still want to do that...(Nancy).

The students are prepared in class to progress with clients from engagement to termination, but in the field may not experience the full range of the helping relationship. Students are often alarmed by the often short-term nature of the interventions that their agencies restrict them to providing to clients and thus the premature termination of their relationships with them.

> The setting that I work in is a temporary situation for adolescents and it's a voluntary program so a lot of times a client that I think I'm progressing with will discharge voluntarily, and that is disheartening because I think that I'm making such progress, and I go back the next day, and they're gone...I don't think that it's enough progress for them to be on their own. It's very disappointing and, because of the temporary, voluntary nature of my placement, I never know if I'm gonna have a client the next day, or if my client's still gonna be there (Jackie).

> *And what were your greatest disappointments or losses?*
> ...From leaving that client...It had to do with me feeling like I was abandoning the client. Like I said, if the case was closed and everything would have been fine. That would have been okay. Because I would've known that I got to see from the beginning to the end this family work through their problems and end on a good note. Whereas I was leaving them, and there still, there were still issues that needed to be resolved. And I would have to say that is one of, if not the biggest disappointment I had (Nancy).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sometimes the contradiction between class and field learning is subtle as in the contradictory messages students receive about the significance and impact of their interventions on clients. Perhaps most distressing to students is that field instructors often suggest that they forget or throw out everything they learned in class, lessons that as of then may not yet have been fully absorbed or integrated. To students who already feel less than effective, this is less than a reassuring message, and confuses them as to whom to defer.

> My supervisor one time said when I was worried how to speak to the children. She said, 'Well what could happen, it's not like they're go off and commit suicide, so it doesn't matter what you tell them'...I'm not sure where I went that a social worker said to me, 'Well forget about what you learned in class because it's different when you're working—ya, know, doing the real thing.' And a lot of the students said that in the class that once right when they went into their internships, a lot of the supervisors told them that this is the real deal, you have to forget about what you learned (Elena).

> ...she *[supervisor]* had heard me arguing with him*[client]*, and wouldn't walk into the room until I finished...'We couldn't come and bail you out. It was your first day. You handled it OK.' And I was like, 'That's not what they taught me in school.' And she said, 'I don't care what they taught you in school. Throw those books out. You're dealing with adolescents.' So it was a whole new ballgame. So not only am I not sure I know what to do in social work--like I don't think I learned enough, but now I'm being told to throw everything out (Nicole).

> We're learning about termination in school, one supervisor says, 'Oh well, termination in school isn't really that big of a deal, ya know, don't worry about it.' So it's just very hard, cause it's like well what way is it (Rachel)?

Rachel's account alludes to the overtly contradictory messages from the field about termination, a sensitive area for many of the students.

> We're talking about termination right now and that termination should go in three phases, and start it early enough to terminate with your clients...Well it's nice if you can do it in the longer term manner, as the books say and the teacher talks about, but in reality this isn't happening with some of the clients, because you just can't get anything else done (Annie).

> Terminating with...my clients...It was very difficult. And I really don't know of a way to make it better. To teach it better. There is no way of teaching termination. It's just something that you have to go through. And, you have to, almost do it on your on and learn it on your own. Professors can tell you, well you know, they might have, they might leave doorknob excuses and they might have nihilistic flight and they can tell you all these terms but until you're really face-to-face with it, you don't know how to deal with it. *[laugh]* I didn't know how to deal with it (Nancy).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...I don't terminate with my clients because they're only there a maximum of thirty days, so...in my placement it's one of those situations where 'here's our card, call us, give me a hug before you leave...'
> *So the door is always open.*
> Right. And that's something that has always been questionable to me like, from my Bishop learning experience, it's always been termination, that's it, don't give out your home phone number, good-bye, good-bye, good-bye, that's it, and in my placement, it's if you need anything, call us...(Jackie).

Perhaps most notably, the students complain that coursework did not prepare them for the instability of a career in social work. One student complained that Social Policy class didn't adequately prepare her for the extent of budgetary and political influences on the practices of social welfare agencies.

> *Do you feel like the program, meaning your classes here, did they prepare you for that possibility...that social work jobs can be very unstable?*
> No, they didn't talk about anything like that. It's only recently that since we've all experienced it in our own internships, the fact that we saw people get laid off, that's actually when all these other issues started to come up with the profession and how unstable it is. Not too many professors talked about it that much (Isabel).

> The difference between when we were taught social policy and then you actually get out and do it, and you find out how totally political social policy is, and how your hands are really more tied than social policy would teach you...the agency that I was in...it was a political appointment, and the director left and then there was all this politics going on as to who was going to take over and who was going to stay. And of least concern to anyone was actually what the agency did. And as a matter of fact, the person who is there is not even a CSW or anything and she's running the agency (Angela).

Negotiating practice and conceptual dilemmas as part of professional identity

How do students cope with the discrepancy between class and field learning? Students often defer in principle to the judgment or teachings of their professors, yet in practice more often than not, conform or pretend to conform to practice field norms in operation at their agencies. Though they knowingly risk violating the rules learned in class, they still see view the consequent conflicts as "part of the learning."

> I had this one child that really hated me, no matter what I did and told him, he just seemed to really dislike me, and I spoke to her *[supervisor]* and she said, 'Well you're gonna have to raise your tone of voice at him, give him time out during your session

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with him.' And I'm like, "Give him time out?! It's our therapy session together, how can I give the poor boy time out?!"...
And did you question it with the supervisor?
I didn't question her, I just knew I was just not gonna do that (Elena).

I mean, you're going through all these years of training and then finding out when you work with adolescents, you can't use any of it? I mean how are you negotiating that?
I had to just stick where the client was, forget what I learned in school, just throw it out ...So I tossed everything out that I learned in school, spoke to the client and just had a round about way of getting information out of them...
Now how do you feel about your education in light of that?
I think that was just part of the experience, it was part of the education...The training will be used, I mean, you still have your basic training (Nicole).

On the other hand, some students acknowledged intentionally bending or breaking fundamental practice precepts in order to compensate for their feelings of practice ineffectiveness. They often rationalized that the violation was performed in the name of helping a client. One frequently identified boundary violation concerned the development of personal relationships with clients.

I have one of the clients that we took care of sort of reminded me of my grandmother and I forgot about boundaries...she was so feisty and she insisted on living in her own home, and no one was gonna help her. And we struck up—I'm calling it a friendship...I mistakenly was trying to, I guess relive my life through her as my grandma...(Annie).

...So, sometimes you do have to tell them that, 'Okay, I'm a single parent. So, you can do it. You can go to college and still be a suc*[cess]*.' ...And they don't want you to do that in the social work profession. They say...'Don't tell them certain things about your private life.' But in some cases it helps for them to hear. So, I did cross the boundaries a couple of times...I didn't know how not to disclose and yet still let them feel comfortable. So, I just disclosed...(Kim).

A related dilemma associated with crossing boundaries of shared intimacy concerned whether or not to touch a client. Most students felt that it should be permitted despite what the profession prescribes. One student was explicitly instructed to violate this professional norm by her field supervisor.

Touching, hugging, caressing. Yeah, I don't think you should do that indiscriminately. I don't do that in my public life, but I find with my population, the elderly, especially when they're living alone, everybody needs a hug or some human touch...I don't find that that's a boundary issue, at least it isn't for me. I just think it's a necessary thing (Annie).

...She *[student's supervisor]* said that I have boundary issues. When I walk into this agency, I am given hugs. I don't pursue it, they pursue it (Janet).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I think boundaries is something that we learn about at Bishop...but like I said, they *[the clients]* hug us good-bye.
> *And you were told never to do that.*
> Never to do that. We're not supposed to touch clients, which is pretty much the general rule that I've gotten, but my supervisor says that adolescents are different, working with that population is different than working with adults or another population (Jackie).

Not surprisingly, the conflicts engendered by the classroom and field learning often impaired an efficient construction of a professional identity. The students negotiated the strain on their fledgling professionalism through their interactions with clients first and collateral social workers second.

> *...give me a sense of what makes you feel most like a social worker?*
> So I guess for me, number one would be dealing with the clients...(Thomas).
>
> ...I guess clients, and supervisor, working with people outside and inside the agency, other professionals (Lynn).
>
> Yeah. Actually, I guess it's more with the patients, then it would be the other social workers.
> *...but they do make you feel more like a social worker.*
> Yeah, because they don't know the difference. They don't know that I'm just a student, they think I'm a social worker...(Patty).
>
> My clients and other social workers...The visits to see the clients when, when I was interning. Or calling outside sources for services for that client and you know, they say, "Who's calling". And, I say, "Oh, I'm the social worker" (Nancy).

When students were asked to identify the contexts most helpful for fostering a sense of professional identity, they were most likely to choose case and agency conferences. Case conferences offered opportunities for networking, a sense of accountability, a venue for exchanging information on how to better serve clients, and it provided a place where students could perform a professional function alongside other seasoned social workers. Perhaps most importantly, case conferences helped students feel like a "member of the team" or part of the social work community. Agency meetings that served the purpose of educational forums for workers were also viewed as providing the specific knowledge that the students craved to help them cope with the range of practice situations in their agencies.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The students also found extra-curricular educational forums offered by their program as particularly effective at reinforcing a sense of professional self. The top choices were the program-sponsored "Diversity Day" and the field trips to outside agencies, Queens Family Court and the Nehemiah Housing Development in Brooklyn. Also, the supplemental seminars that the students took on rape, substance abuse and child abuse either at Bishop or other allied programs were described as filling gaps in knowledge. The students indicated that this combination of experiences rather than a single event contributed to their professional development.

> Definitely projects, like we went to Brownsville, and went to Nehemiah Housing, trips like that. We had to go to Queens Family Court, trips like that really...it gets you out of the classroom like cause it kind of puts a face behind everything you're learning, it's not, you're not just reading it on paper, you're seeing it...We had to take a Child Abuse Seminar. We didn't have to, but I took a Rape Awareness Seminar, gave by one of the social work professors. That really is a key part of education to attend things like that. Diversity Day and Lobby Day, I found really great...(Dee-Dee).

> ...like attending certain seminars; like rape and sexual abuse which is very important because it's something we deal with, it's just something very common. Let's see, I went to a drug and alcohol seminar yesterday...There were other students that toured in from junior high and high school that came—they went to seminars and they talked to the kids about certain issues that they face on a daily basis and how they react. So knowing that, going to these types of seminars are helping you become more aware of what's going on with the clients. Let me see...lectures, everything together. It's not just one thing (Isabel).

<u>Do I really want to do social work? Coping with the fallout of practice demands</u>

The strategies that the students devise to help them make sense of the inconsistencies in their professional training are of little use in enabling them to negotiate *personal stress* and the *low status of the profession.* Both of these factors undermine students' enthusiasm and commitment to social work. Scarce personal resources of time, money, and especially energy influence the quality of the student's social work experience. Students commonly suggest that they "take on a lot" which requires "giving up a lot."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The tradeoffs associated with expansive obligations that require a shrinking of other obligations is described below.

> It's hard not having a set schedule, where you know you can come home and just relax, and not have to worry about doing homework, and going to this place and doing that. I guess it's a sacrifice of your time, while you're in school (Lynn).

> I gave up my personal life...(Nicole).

> I had to rearrange my social life and my work schedules to find time for my internship...(Jackie).

> One of the worst things would be that you have no more social life. At home, I would slack off with the cleaning and that brought up another whole issue. You know, it took awhile for my parents to understand that I was in school...So it was the first time they had a college kid at home and half the time I'm studying, or I'm here at school, or working, so that brought up issues at home about that, so I think having time for your family and for your friends....(Elena).

An especially profound form of stress is monetary. Both the older and younger students make frequent references to those "who have the luxury to stay home with Mom and Dad" and thus not have to support themselves. Interestingly, few if any of the students interviewed had such an experience.

> Well, tuition time...cause I'm paying for my own school, so I had to take out loans, and I'm working too besides classes and internship, so it's been a lot, it's been hard, just like financially.
> *Sure, what kind of strain did that put on your schooling?*
> Just stress, trying to have time to do everything, and still have to work to make money (Patty).

> I've been a hundred percent self-supporting through school so I've had to keep basically at least two jobs going at one time plus school plus interning. Everybody's experiences is different, ya know, some people have the luxury of staying home with mom and dad and not worrying about where the next meal is coming from but I don't have that, so it's difficult but...I was homeless for awhile, that was fun (Catherine).

> So it's been...I work three part-time jobs, have no social life, I go to school full time, I intern full time, I literally work seven days a week, I'm up till two o'clock in the morning every night trying to get everything done...I need to work these jobs, I need to pay for school, I need to save for grad school. Obviously I can't give up my internship, I can't give up Bishop, so I put the demands on myself...(Jackie).

> ...I worked until 11:00 at night, I'd be up until three in the morning, I had to be up and out of my house by six or seven. Then I'm running to my internship, I'm running to class and running back to work...(Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

None of the students' accounts are confined to a single stressor. The stressors cited by students include but are not limited to family, money, health, disabilities, and social needs.

> ...I live in Brooklyn and I have my daughter in the morning...I don't understand how people say they're stressed when they don't have kids and they're doing this. And, they live at home... And...you know, their parents pay for their car. I have to pay for my car payments, my insurance...It's just like, if didn't have no kid and I lived at home with my mom...I would've got A's every semester I think (Kim).

> It takes a lot of like I said, self-determination, a lot of juggling, that's my biggest problem. I'm not having time management meaning that I felt like I was neglecting my son because I wasn't able to spend quality time with him because I was always spending it, I was doing my internship, trying to catch a few hours of rest in between...And that's the thing, I never had time. It was always internship, go to work, go to sleep. I wasn't eating properly, I was just feeling stressed...(Lydia).

Not surprisingly, as noted above, the single mothers in this study experienced the most intense strain. Due to pressing work and family obligations, the single mothers were even more constrained than other students from participating in extra-curricular social work activities designed to provide peer and professional socialization experience. Not taking part exacerbated at least one student's growing feelings of alienation from her peers and from the profession as well. The following account richly illustrates the intersection of forces that influcene the content and quality of a student's experience.

> No, I wasn't a part of *[the social work club.]* That was after school and, you know, I would rather, you know, pick my daughter up and go home, than spend an hour away from her unnecessarily, you know. So, my priorities are different than everybody else's.
> *...you really didn't feel like a part of the community.*
> No, I didn't...I think a lot too because, I'm not like a regular student, I'm a mother. I'm a mom too and at my age. So, I really, I couldn't really participate in as much things as if, if I was single, just going to school...It was like, I have to think about my daughter, food, clothes, shelter. I had to think about all these things for myself, you know. So, my experience, of course, is going to be different from them...(Kim).

Students complain that the stresses of work promote any of a number of problematic outcomes. The consequences include not eating or sleeping properly, feeling depressed, short-tempered and lifeless.

> The difficulty for myself and I know a number of other students was the workload, going full time to school, working full time and then having family obligations as well, so I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> found myself working at low energy. My wife--she always tells me to pop some vitamins and so forth. So I find myself perhaps a bit more short-tempered than normal, which is not good news...you're supposed to be on top of things, pleasant (Thomas).
>
> It might be, or it might be like a trigger effect which is what happened to me yesterday...It was like that trickle down effect, if something else is gonna happen to me, I'm gonna snap, ya know, like one of those things...(Jackie).
>
> ...my hardest thing of adjusting to, and that would be just like not being able to make it to class on just four hours sleep, I'm tired, I can't move. That was my hardest adjustment...There's lack of sleep...Energy, I'm focusing on four hours a night sleep, ya kind of lose it (Nicole).
>
> The lowest point I think was when, at one point I just felt like kind of lifeless. I felt like ...the beginning of this semester, I didn't know how the heck I was going to get through this semester. I felt very overwhelmed...I was experiencing burnout from doing so many different things, and just feeling like I was just going through the motions and kind of dragging myself along (Lynn).
>
> ...I couldn't do these things I had to go, it was a struggle for me to get up in the morning and to get to work. It was a feeling of...I had stomach problems the whole year (Janet).

When asked how they negotiate the competing stressors in their lives, some students responded that they consciously try to manage their workload or cut back on it. Others find ways to emotionally distance themselves from workload stress.

> Cause I know, I can feel it coming on...and I know OK, that I need to just make a list, I'm one of those...I have to have a list for everything...and handle each thing at a time, because if I get myself overwhelmed, that's when I get crazy and frustrated and then I just throw my hands in the air (Jackie).
>
> ...kind of looking at myself and seeing where I can cut back stuff, and keep telling myself that it's almost over and that, try to take it easier. I joined a gym, I started doing some exercise...I think that helped...(Lynn).
>
> Well when I get angry or upset, I do my deep breathing, which I learned in my classes. I'm able to understand better, about how to...that everyone's going through it, and I don't know, it just gives me better coping skills, I think, just learning how to cope with depression and anger and all the emotions that everyone experiences (Fran).
>
> I refuse to stay up until 1 A.M. with the books. If I can't do it by 11:30, midnight the latest, it just doesn't get done, ok. I may get up earlier and do it, but we have students here who stay up till 2 or 3 in the morning...(Thomas).
>
> So I just feel, ya know, forget it attitude...Just forget it because it's not worth getting sick about or upset about (Catherine).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wanting to quit

The students' struggle to manage the stress of juggling roles often brings them to a crisis point. Not surprisingly, they flirt with the notion of quitting. Though earlier data revealed that students' go through significant soul-searching at the beginning of coursework and fieldwork, a desire to quit may occur at the beginning, middle or end of training. Importantly, it is not necessarily triggered by a specific defining event. In fact, students' urge to quit doesn't cluster around any one explanation or time frame, though consideration to quitting is associated with continuous stress.

> *About your feelings about wanting to quit, when did you have them...?*
> You know what? Every once in a while, I still get them. I don't think it was a specific time...Maybe when I get frustrated at the internship, or even when I get frustrated at Bishop...I don't think there's any pattern, I think if anything it's just when it gets frustrating or when I get frustrated and aggravated with the outside, not even necessarily social work stuff but other things in my life. Ya know and everything gets frustrating and overwhelming. It's like, do I wanna do this forever?...I had a feeling that I don't know if this is for me, I don't know if this is the profession that I want to be in, I don't know if I could do this for the rest of my life because it's so frustrating (Jackie).

> Basically, there were times I wanted to give up. I usually kind of get like this every time school starts. It takes me a couple of weeks to get really back into it.
> *Talk about that, when you wanted to give up.*
> Oh yeah. I wanted to have normalcy. I want to be able to not have to cook four meals on Sunday so it could last for the week. Not do my laundry. I had to combine everything on the weekend, because during the week, I had no time...I wanted to go to a show on a Tuesday night, not wait till Friday or Saturday...So that's why I wanted to give up...I wanted to be able to just do things like everybody else...(Lydia).

When students were asked to identify a specific reason for wanting to quit, they most often focused on professionally-related frustrations of one kind of another. Such frustrations included not seeing results quickly enough, agency constraints, the low pay or the distress of working with people with a lot of problems.

> *Have you ever wanted to quit?*
> Yes. I'd say it was during interning, the beginning. I was just so, just like a mixture of being nervous and confused, and nervous really about what I was doing and...working that closely with DSS. I was getting very frustrated because I wasn't seeing the results I wanted to see quickly enough... So, I mean, that I'd have to say was definitely the point where I was like, 'That's it. I don't want to be a social worker anymore. Forget it. Just give me my degree and I'll go do something else' (Nancy).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Now it's very hard, working with individuals and families...and all you work with is negative issues. It's hard to see a good outcome come out of all the problems that you're dealing with your clients or your families... along with the personal stuff that you might be going through, and then you have all this other stuff and then school and all the papers that you have to write...I've thought about maybe I should get into something else...And I guess too much negative stuff you just tend to like--just want to forget about it sometimes and just go into something else...What I wanted to do in the beginning was to help people...and that was easy...(Isabel).

> At first when I started, I thought I wanted to just quit, that I wanted to change my major, cause I didn't think...because I would come home and I'd be very upset over the things I saw...Yeah, it's the money and do I want to work with this population? Do I want to even be involved?
> *Which is what kind of population?*
> How do I put it? People who have a lot of problems. Do I want to be around that all the time? Do I want to get myself down my listening to people all the time about their problems when I could be having enough problems in my own life sometimes (Patty)?

When the students were asked how they coped with a compelling desire to quit, some said that they relied on the support of their families [others explicitly said they could not], friends or professors to help them cope. Other responses ranged from crying to "sticking it out," to rationally weighing the costs and benefits of staying the course.

> *How did you cope with those times when you wanted to drop out? What did you do to get through it?*
> I cried, I cried. I talked to my mom, I talked to my professors, I'd take walks by myself. I self-analyzed myself...I wrote a piece of paper, the positive and the negative; if I drop out, what would happen, if I stay in, what would happen. And that's how I came to the conclusion, I must go on (Lydia).

> It was really hard. I guess I just kind of talked about it with my family and with my friends. Just tried to do a lot of soul-searching, tried to really think about when I was at my field, like really think about how I was feeling doing it--the kind of work I was doing, is this really what I wanted to do? Tried to think, what's the best for me, and not what other people want me to do, or what I think I should do, things like that (Rachel).

> *Do you have any other support systems that helped you through that?*
> I'd say my parents, my boyfriend, friends, students, other students, or teachers (Lynn).
> ...I didn't quit because, you know, they took care of me. The social work department, the faculty. And I mean, if anything else...I didn't want to disappoint anyone, and I'd come so far, and what would I do? So I hung in. And I'm glad that I did...(Colleen).

> *So they kept you in when you wanted to leave?*
> Oh yeah. And I'm glad. And I know it's not gonna be easy...Even when I wanted to give up, I spoke to them *[faculty]* about it, and they just kept on telling me, 'You're a good student. You can do it' (Lydia).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Most of the students chose to shoulder their burdens privately. These students survived the process by "pushing" themselves to perform better and work harder through a process of willful determination.

> It gives me determination, it makes me work harder, because there is no one giving me anything to do what I'm doing. It's all about me, so that just makes me push myself... I'm gonna do it. I'm not a failure and I was feeling like a failure, but I'm not, I'm a winner...(Lydia).

> I guess I was very determined. I mean I knew that I was struggling academically but like in the beginning, but I was very determined to work. I spoke to my advisor and another professor about it, and I just said, 'I'm just determined to work hard to stay in this program.' And I did (Elena).

> I just knew that I had to do it, to get out there. And, I wasn't gonna let them *[teachers]* stop me. I think maybe that's what, what they wanted to do. But, I wasn't gonna let that happen. I knew that I had to get the grades. I had to build up my GPA. I, you know, I would never stop (Kim).

One negotiating strategy for students was to keep their "eyes on the prize." This included not getting side-tracked with negative thoughts, reminding themselves of their original motivation in choosing social work and looking forward to a better life when they finish the program.

> Why should I do this? And then I said, "I have to do this because I'll get to go to Philadelphia, I'll get to go to Virginia, I'll get to go to Georgia." Those are where all my friends are...It gives me something to look forward to, because I know at the end of my rainbow will be a pot of gold, I'll have a Bachelor's degree...(Lydia).

> But there is this type of thing that there's light at the end of the tunnel and so you persevere (Thomas).

> ...and you have to be very dedicated, and keep at thinking well this is what you want to do, remember how you felt in the beginning, that you had the desire to help people and as time goes by and you hear all these negative things...there's something that you have to look forward to in this profession (Isabel).

> I think you need to be set...and you have to know you want to do it, because many people are gonna tell you...get out now (Nicole).

Other students felt that they had no choice but to "stick it out," to "just do it" partly because they had much time invested in their education and it was either too late to quit, or they would lose something personally or educationally by leaving. For these reasons, it was suggested they had to go the distance.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> Yes I wanted to quit in January, April, I wanted to quit, but I couldn't. Um, I should have left, but I didn't because I felt that I would lose face...I felt that I would be giving up something...I had three hundred and sixty hours, or three hundred and twenty hours at the time and I couldn't quit. A month. I couldn't quit...I had to do it (Janet).

> Basically I had no choice, I couldn't go back, because it was in my senior year so...
> *But you could quit.*
> At first I thought about it, but then I said...let me just stick it through and finish it. And as time went on, it didn't seem as bad...(Patty).

> I just kind of went with it, I just did it...and I just kind of got in that mind frame where, OK, this is what I have to do for the next 2½ years (Jackie).

> You just do it...and you just balance it. I just try to balance it and try not to let myself get overwhelmed, and try to do the best I can, and realize there's only so much I could do...(Lynn).

> So, by that point I just said, "All right, I'll stick it out"...I just made the best out of it...I didn't let it *[negative experience]* turn me off to what I wanted to do later on. I guess I just kind of sorted it out in my own, in my own head (Nancy).

Low status of the profession

In this phase of the educational experience, the students confront the direct implications of social work's low status on their lives. They consider pragmatically how they feel about being part of a low status profession, the stability of the job market for social work and more significantly, whether they can live on a social worker's salary.

> Basically, you work hard as a student, you do your work. And when you hear about all these different things that are happening in our society, it seems like what are we in this for? ...it's just like almost like we're already burnt out and we haven't even started...What I see, what it's become, what is happening to the profession. We're here trying to be social workers, but then we go out and we actually see how it is to be a social worker, how everyone sees us...(Isabel).

> I've been self-supporting so I've always been in the work force, but looking at the money you receive. I knew it wasn't that much but it still, it still blows my mind at the small amount of money that you do receive (Catherine).

> Like, looking in the papers and seeing how much money that I'm going to start making. That was very depressing (Kim).

> ...maybe the second semester, we were still learning about what the world, the condition the world is really in and I thought to myself, my goodness, I'm going to work my tail off for absolutely no pay- do I really want to do this (Angela)?

Students face dissonance between their belief that social work is critical and irreplaceable work and their realization that society compensates social workers poorly [see previous

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phase]. Specifically, the students identified and struggled with three forms of "status inconsistency" between social work and other professions. Respondents noted that social workers do the same work as allied professions, such as psychology and police work, for a lot less money and prestige.

> I went to the Psychologist the other day with my niece, and I'm like what he's doing is what a social worker does in clinical social work, so why is it OK for him to be a bit higher? I'm thinking why do they get the big bucks, when we do the same thing. That's what I think about. I think about that (Elena).

It was also suggested that unprofessional jobs requiring less skill often pay more than a social worker.

> I'm making more as a nurse's aide, than I'm going to as a social worker to start. I mean I made $116-$118 a night as a bus girl, you're not gonna beat that kind of money when you're talking about a bachelor's degree in social work...(Nicole).

Some students also suggested that jobs that are comparable in status to social work [notably in nursing and education] pay more.

> For example, I was interviewed for a...to work with the schizophrenic population, mentally ill for adults in a counselor's position and starting at $19,000 a year. Let's take the mentally ill and put someone who is educated and who's paid well over $19,000 in education—only $19,000 a year to take care of these people just doesn't make sense to me. It doesn't make sense to me at all (Catherine).

Some students worked through these apparent contradictions by becoming defiant and defensive of their choice for social work. They argued that their degrees are valuable and transferable to types of work outside of welfare.

> *And how do you feel about the negative feedback that you get from people?*
> Ahhh, it's fuel. It's OK. It just keeps me going. It's like...
> *It doesn't discourage you?*
> No, not at all. To hear that I can do something that somebody else can't (Catherine).

> At the beginning I was questioning...maybe they're right, what am I doing here, but after working hard through all my classes, I ignore it, it doesn't bother me any more. It's my choice what I want to do...I felt like, well, I'm going to college, still I'm getting a degree, can't you look at me good in that way?...I can take my degree and do other things with it. I don't have to exactly stay in social work, and I think those people who say stuff like that don't know everything about social work (Patty).

> I feel embarrassed sometimes, when people ask me like what I'm going to be. And I say a social worker because they...act so negative. 'Oh, you're gonna work for the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> government. You're gonna work in welfare.'...It's like I have to defend myself and say, 'No, there's other things. You know, other populations I could work. I could work in a school or a hospital or a non-charity organization, or I could even work in a business that has like a Human Resource type of department that if the people have, you know, have problems, I could talk to them too.' It's not like a welfare office, that's all I'm good for (Kim).
>
> ...I don't think a lot of people in the community really understand what social work is, they think it's going into horrible, horrible neighborhoods, dodging bullets to hand the person...to personally hand them their welfare check. You get a lot of that...
> *How did that used to make you feel?*
> I used to get really upset. I used to feel like I was constantly defending it, constantly trying to explain all the vast areas of social work and all the different kinds of agencies there are. Then I just got to the point where I just didn't care (Rachel).

In addition to having to confront inaccuracies about the work of social workers, students must also fend off critiques about another aspect of social work's low status, low pay. They commonly rationalize that their career choice was guided by loftier and more altruistic goals than merely material ones. The variations of "I didn't go into it for the money" are presented below.

> ...well not everything is about money...sometimes it's just about doing good. It's doing something good, something that's right...It does feel right to me...(Angela).
>
> I keep telling myself I didn't go in it for the money, if I was going into something for the money, I'd do it for Business or something that I knew definitely paid well...(Catherine).
>
> I think if you choose a certain job and you know that it might not pay that much...it's also about making a change, helping a family get housing, helping children get clothes, taking a child out of a bad situation. That's a reward, more than just money...(Lydia).
>
> ...I know that money is important but I mean when I grew up, we were never rich, but we lived comfortable...We always had everything even though we weren't rich. So to me, I don't think money is...everything to me, and as long as I'm helping people, I think that's what...I really care about (Elena).

A few students half-heartedly joked that they would resolve the problem of doing the work they love with low wages by marrying rich. One idealistically determined student insisted that she was going to change the low status of the profession by changing people's perception of the profession.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VI
ADAPTATION-AFFIRMATION

The students stabilize from their academic and developmental struggles feeling relieved and confident. Though steadied, they have changed. Many of the adjustments or adaptations they experienced resulted from their emergent self-awareness. Though reporting some discomforts, the students regarded their self-awareness as an asset rather than an imposition. The majority of students boasted personal gains in compassion, confidence, focus, open-mindedness, and empathy. Changes were also acknowledged in the students' personal relationships and in their perspectives on social problems. In addition, job and career preferences were altered along with the students' perceived level of professional competence and professional identity. Since many of these personal adaptations also served as positive declarations of a successful transition to a social work identity, they are categorized as *affirmations*. However, not all adaptations or affirmations were complete by graduation. This suggests that just as professional socialization does not begin in the social work program, it does not end there either.

Self-awareness and personal change

The social work profession imposes many explicit demands upon its students, but no demand requires more personal introspection and rearrangement than the development of self-awareness. How do the students feel about the necessity of making personal changes in order to be considered professional? The researcher expected that the students would feel oppressed by this demand and queried the students about the trials and tribulations they endured in exchange for a job that barely pays subsistence wages. However, the students overwhelmingly responded that the demand to develop self-awareness was not a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

hindrance but rather a benefit. At least in theory, self-discovery and the resolution of personal issues is *something that you have to do*; it *comes with the territory; you have to help yourself before you can help others;* and *everyone should learn about themselves.* Self-learning is entangled and often spoken of synonymously with self-change.

> *How do you feel about making personal changes as a required part of becoming a professional?*
> I think it's something that you have to do...you have to change your ideas and change your behavior, and it's just something that comes with the territory...You're gonna have to sacrifice some things and you're gonna have to be self-aware of your own issues and your own feelings in order to help your client because if you have issues that you haven't even dealt with, how can you even help someone else (Isabel)?
>
> I think it just goes with the territory, you have to do it, this is the field that you chose. ...when you're a social worker, you're giving part of your heart...and if you're not well or you're not stable or something, then you're not gonna be able to give to your job, you're not gonna be able to be effective for your clients... (Dee-Dee).
>
> You can't help other people if you can't help yourself...you can't live it in your own way. I don't want an alcoholic to sit across from me and tell me not to drink. It just doesn't work...(Nicole).
>
> ...well you chose this profession, so...if you don't like it, good-bye...I know this is what I want to do and...I have to become more self aware...So, if this isn't what you want to be doing, then don't bother making the changes...I'd say it's healthy for everybody to be self aware...(Nancy).

The following responses reflect what the students deem most important in their critically reflective learning about themselves. The areas they enumerated include values, feelings, prejudices, preferences and competencies.

> ...the most important thing is to really learn...about your self-esteem, your values, your morals...how you feel if you're white, how you feel about working with black people, how you feel about working with murderers...how you have to learn to put all these insecurities that you have behind you and move on, and help people no matter what they are...(Janet).
>
> ...in social work you need to know what your abilities are, what you can handle, what you can't handle, know when to say 'no, I can't do that' you have to be really self-aware...(Catherine).
>
> ...let's say your friend just got raped...as a social worker you need to become aware of how they might feel if they're dealing with someone that's just been raped...in order to be a social worker, you have to be able to be able to accept all different things...You can't sit here and judge someone...(Eric).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...you have to discover yourself and how you fit into the mixture on a corporate level and community...Because you really don't want to go in there...with a lot of unsolved riddles, with some bogeyman in your closet that you haven't confronted... (Thomas).

Confronting imperfections and personal prejudices

In actuality, however, the emergence of self-awareness was not as matter-of-fact, routine or welcome a part of the students' professional development as they indicated in the abstract. The students confronted painful self-revelations, acknowledging and tempering self-idealizations that were long hidden from view. Many of these discoveries such as the recognition of vulnerability, selfishness and ineffectiveness caused significant discomfort and highlighted yet other areas in need of recognition and change.

> For me, it was very, very difficult to hear things about myself and to see things that I just didn't allow myself to see before (Dee-Dee).

> ...It made me more aware of...the type of person I am...well it made me feel a little selfish, because I take everything for granted and...just learning about how so many people in this world have less than I do and I never looked at it that way. I just always thought I should have what I have and more. So it made me realize that...I have a lot...I mean I love to shop and stuff like that and it makes me feel like in a way, guilty sometimes...(Fran).

> ...sometimes you view yourself as one way and then you kind of see yourself differently. So I think that was a little startling for me...I think that's the scary part for me, but I have become more vulnerable, emotionally vulnerable...(Angela).

> ...I'm starting to realize...that if I'm crying or feeling sad and feeling sorry all the time, I'm not gonna help anybody, and I'm certainly not helping myself. And I think there's no solution for that...(Annie).

Specifically, the acknowledgment of prejudices concerning race, sex and sexual orientation were among areas causing the most discomfort. The students' reactions to the admission of their prejudices vary, inferring shame or explicitly stating that the revelation was *painful* or *scary*.

> ...I was confronted with prejudices I didn't even know I had...we were talking in class about prejudice and I was explaining a story...I had really done something very nasty to someone who was black and I did it specifically, I could tell you today because he was black...I wouldn't have done it to another human being...And I never really considered

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> myself to be a prejudiced person. So, there were certain prejudices I realized I had to deal with (Angela).
>
> There are self-aware things that I don't like...Like, homosexuality. I can't hang with it. ...I don't want to work with the lesbian and gay population at all. So, I'm self aware of that...It's just I don't like those type of people...Because, it's like when I see them, I get squirmy. Like...my stomach gets weak and I don't want to look at them and I don't want to talk to them...And that process, that you really have to look at the truth and see it for what it is. So, that was kind of painful... (Kim).
>
> I come from a background where women know their place, ok, where children are seen and don't speak unless they're spoken to. My father was an old hillbilly and he was in charge, he dictated the pace of everything...for social work to be effective we have to learn to allow the other person to a large extent to be in charge, and that's kind of scary because that's not my background, as my children would be very pleased to tell you (Thomas).

For many students, it was easier to scrutinize the limitations of their peers than to look at their own shortcomings. Many students petulantly criticized their peers' suitability for social work. Peer critiques included complaints of ageism, sexism, homophobia, and even conservatism.

> ...when it came to lesbians and homosexual topics, there was a lot of people that were not open as they should be...(Eric).
>
> One of them *[the males]* for instance, would call us "hon" and "dear"- which I thought was inappropriate...(Angela).
>
> I have a problem with a lot of the students who I think they're too conservative in their views, I guess...I don't know how you can go into work in social work, and then you're gonna have a problem with people who are gay, you have a problem with people who are white, you have a problem with people who are black...And there are issues that they have personally, I think they need to work through (Nicole).
>
> ...there's this senior in particular, that's really, ridiculous, ridiculous, racially...you just wanna yell, 'why are you here?'...there are people that are blatantly and openly racist...that are blatantly and openly against homosexuality, that are blatantly mean to people and insensitive and, just, you know, they might as well like wear a sign that says, 'I am these things.' And, they get diplomas...And you know, no one's perfect...but can you really give a social worker a degree like that (Colleen)?!

One of the complaints of a few minority students was that most of their white peers were disrespectful or disaffected in their attitudes toward the poor and only wanted to serve the rich and middle class through private practice. They concluded that many of their peers were shallow and not attuned to the plight or struggle of the very poor.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...sometimes the things they said in class. Like one time a girl said, "bum" in class and I just felt offended...by her saying that. I was like, 'they're not bums, they're homeless people (Elena).'
> ...A lot just want to go for good -smelling folks (Brenda).

> ...They all want to do private practice. Nobody wants to do community organization. Nobody wants to help the poor...So, right there you see what type of people are in my class...Like they're just like so phony like...Like shallow...just like cater to a certain society. Because they can't handle the whole society because they're not attuned to those people's struggle. How could you be a social worker and not care to know about these people's struggles?...How are you going to address them? How you're gonna help them? You're not, you know. You're not...(Kim).

Adapting pre-existing beliefs

Many students described new perspectives they acquired in the program that augmented, challenged, rearranged and sometimes replaced feelings of privilege, arrogance or ignorance. Sometimes perspectives were broadened and enriched through educational challenges in the classroom or through internship experiences. At other times, exposure to diverse points of view presented by peers or workshop presenters precipitated an empathic change in standpoint or values.

> I think in some ways it's just erasing the slate and kind of seeing things differently and realizing that what you think you know, you really don't know. And just really broadening your horizon...if you started school right out of high school, then most kids are 22 or 23, and I think at that point you think you know everything, and then you sit in a social work class, and you're faced with some issues and especially in internship and you realize, wow, I'm gonna wipe that slate clean and not start over but have more room to take in everything that's going on...(Dee-Dee).

> ...you learn what it is to be a minority. As a white WASP, I never had too much training in being one of a minority...And the women of today are much more open...so that's proven to be a learning experience...I have certainly learned some new insights in...class through the input of younger students who look at it radically different in some respects the way I do, or the way I care to do...I'm forced to look into issues from a different perspective and angle than what my up-bringing, the way I grew up...it's certainly been a growth experience...(Thomas).

> ...it makes me look at things with a more critical eye and also, it has ... it touches your beliefs.... I'm a Born-Again Christian and we totally ...disagree on homosexuality, we disagree on abortion, and we disagree on a lot of things, and like in the social work classes, when we were taking different workshops, it would leave me like, wow! You know, it really opens your mind and opens your eyes...to see what really people go through and one comment... I think as long as I live, I would never forget. I went to a workshop on homosexuality and the lady...it was a mother, she said that if it wasn't for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> the social worker that my son called that night, I believe that my son would have committed suicide that night...(Elena).

In concert with their own developments, some students recognized changes in their peers as well. Astute students identified in others growth in attitudes or behaviors, and sometimes took credit for having triggered the change.

> *I am wondering- why is it that you went through this internal struggle and yet I am not hearing that other students have gone through a similar internal struggle?*
> I am surprised they are not articulating that to you because I witnessed it...We all spent a lot of time crying...I watched them go through internal struggles...I have seen them go through...maybe not for them life changing, but life questioning situations...I saw people dramatically change...Maybe they didn't see it as their most dramatic experience, but I certainly did (Angela).

> But, the last day of school, one of the ladies, which was white, she came up to me and she hugged me and she was like, she knew that I was in a lot of pain. And, she's very sorry for that. But, I opened her eyes up to a lot of things. And for that, I was thankful...(Kim).

> I'm best friends with...Lydia...She sort of had...mixed emotions about people that are gay and lesbian, so...I was talking to her *[about his internship]* and she said, 'I'd really like to see this place.' ...So I, in a way, opened her eyes to see what kind of youth go there, what goes on there...at first, she was a little uncomfortable...I was very happy to see that she was receptive...I think now in a way by her going there, helped open her eyes to see what really goes on...(Eric).

Adapting perspectives on social problems

Many of the changes in students' pre-existing beliefs were attributed to direct exposure to social issues. Encounters with clients and their problems spurred a painful adaptation to a now more complex perspective about the world. Many students indicated that their education challenged them to redefine social problems as complex realities rather than as simplistic projections they see or hear about in the media. Many of the more insulated students exclaimed incredulously that "poverty, rape and homelessness...*do* exist."

> *What has been the hardest thing for you to adjust to or accept in your training?*
> ...Accept the fact that things really happen and it's not just TV...That there are rapes on Long Island, there is homelessness on LI, there is gays and lesbians on LI. I don't know if 'adjust to' is the right word...I think it's more that it's really happening, and it's an awareness that I think a lot of people are in a bubble about (Jackie).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I'd be in tears constantly, and I was very touched from Day One...I mean I knew that the social condition was not good, but when I actually began to learn about it, I was really touched by it. And then from that, the shift was internal.
> *When you say the social condition, what do you mean?*
> Poverty, how children are treated, how minorities are treated, the elderly- things that you read about, but don't really have statistics and don't really see the magnitude of the problem (Angela).
>
> *What was the hardest thing for you to adjust to or accept in your training?*
> Just to be able to accept the depressing things...We had to go to a Child Abuse Seminar, and that was very disturbing to say the least considering I have a daughter...It made my outlook in life, in general, different...It made me see the ugliness more.
> *What do you mean by ugliness?*
> Poverty, homelessness...depression. It made me see a lot of problems that I never really thought about... (Fran).
>
> ...I've always knew that there was people who was less fortunate than me. I always knew that. But it really made it clear to me that it's real...(Kim).

In the process of learning to accept the profundities of social problems, the students claim to have gained "open-mindedness," a now broader lens through which they look at the world. Open-mindedness permits flexibility in thinking and permeability to new ideas and possibilities, but the last two anecdotes infer that it also brings some discouragement and over-identification with [clients'] pain and suffering.

> ...I read the newspaper more, I try to be more open-minded to things. And I try to get the whole thing instead of just one part of what's going on...It makes me feel like I need to make an agency to help a lot of things that go on in the world like homelessness and child abuse...(Elena).
>
> It opened my eyes up to more of the issues out there, help me become more aware of the world around me...I think it helped me to grow up, look at the world differently...(Lynn).
>
> I think it's made me more open-minded. I have a bigger, broader view on the way I perceive things...It's changed me not only positive, but negatively... I'd say it's half and half...I guess being exposed to that negative stuff can be positive in a way because I guess if you're gonna be a social worker, you have to learn to deal with issues that normally people don't want to deal with...it may touch you personally...but you have to put your personal feelings aside...(Patty).
>
> ...So the scary piece of it *[open-mindedness]* is, do I become this really compassionate, thoughtful person...would I be compassionate to the point of codependent?...That's a little frightening for me...(Angela).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acceptance of diverse populations

Along with a deepened and extended understanding of social problems came an emerging acceptance and sensitivity to people experiencing such problems. Less obstructed and weighted by prejudgments, the students reported new insight and understanding about others' predicaments. They also indicated that penetrating beyond the superficial was an asset in becoming more accepting and less judgmental practitioners. In many cases, this greater acceptance of others extends to greater acceptance of themselves.

> ...people might forsee homelessness, for why he got into debt, or why maybe some people become homeless. You have professionals who become homeless. Mental illness, schizophrenia, I learned more about that. You take certain things for granted...you might say a glass of water, but I actually saw the contents of the water...(Lydia).

> It's made me see more in other people...made me just stop and think, almost...in the past, I might have jumped... 'Oh yes, that person's a little weird, or a little shady.' Now, it's more like, 'You don't where they're coming from, or what kind of home life they had, or what kind of life they're living now.' I read more into things now, rather than being quick on the draw and just calling a judgement...(Nancy).

> So social work makes us look at people and by looking at people, looking at yourself. ...if I look at your lifestyle and I respect it, I want to know why you interpret it differently, and I've discovered that by doing that, one of three things is going to happen to me. I'm gonna come out on the other end more firmly believing what I did or wondering if maybe you're correct or coming out scratching my head saying why didn't I see it sooner knowing that you're correct. But no matter how I come out, I've grown, I've matured, I'm better...(Thomas).

> And it gave me a deeper acceptance of some of the areas that...are considered a weakness...So, what actually wound up happening when I came into social work and I started to look into more of the internal nature of people and myself...I was able to relate to people differently- and in a way that made me feel more comfortable. It was almost like...a deeper acceptance of myself, and then a deeper acceptance of other people...(Angela).

Along with an altered perspective, the students reported having developed *empathy* and *improved communication skills* that enabled them to convey their increasing acceptance of diverse clients.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I think that's one thing I've learned a lot...that I showed genuine empathy...I'm able to relate what they're going through...when I'm speaking to them, I can relate...(Eric).
>
> ...I think I'm able to listen to people more and understand where they're coming from...(Elena).
>
> I do see a big difference in the way I talk to some people, to everyone... (Brenda).
>
> Just in, in speaking to people I look for different things now almost instinctively...(Colleen).

Adapting personal relationships

The students proudly commented that they applied their evolving perspectives and interpersonal skills onto their families and personal relationships. The anecdotes imply that the students view these situations with both greater objectivity and empathy.

> *In what ways has social work education changed you?*
> ...when we were doing family systems. It's made me aware that some things that were going on in my family were just not right...it's little subtle things, like I remember doing boundaries, and realizing that wow, my dad is like a really rigid boundary kind of person...I think that each opened up almost like a can of worms. But now I can look at it not from a family member, but almost like removing myself from the situation...I'm finding now that when friends or people outside come to me with problems...I'm finding now I kind of switch onto that social work mode...I think it's been an influence in a lot of my relationships...(Jackie).
>
> *[speaking of his wife's psychiatric disorder]* This has given me a deeper understanding of what she's going through. It gives me the knowledge that she's probably never going to totally recover from it, but yet it helps me to accept that...but we can always push and hope for more...(Thomas).
>
> It changes me because I look at my son and I say...sometimes I access what I've learned in school with certain situations he's going through. So I'm able to kind of put titles on certain situations whereas before I came to the social work program, I had no idea...I can see it in other situations. I see it within my friends. I don't always express my opinion as a social worker, sometimes when I go home, I say 'oh that's why that situation happened a certain way.' ...sometimes they say you take the job home. I can see that, relating to everyday living (Lydia).
>
> I think I've learned...how to be more understanding of my family, to be able to look at different things. My mom lost her mom tragically and young and I think that's helped our relationship because I'm able to see things clearer; to see how when she does certain things, instead of getting angry...So I guess it's helped me with my family, and with other people and with myself to realize that everything's that happened does have an effect...It will make you aware of some...issues that you already know about but at a different level (Dee-Dee).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Newly acquired insights and communication skills prompted the students to actively change dynamics in their relationships or to accept things they could not change. In many cases, the students became more assertive with voicing their needs and perspectives. However, communication issues with a coworker in the field sparked parallel family dilemmas for one student who was advised to tone down her assertiveness.

> ...I'd try to use some of the skills that you learn in class. I would speak to my family, 'So how does that make you feel?' I found myself getting into arguments because I was speaking up more and I was letting them know how I felt about certain things and it was something that I guess my family never did...was communicate. And you know I brought up that issue of suicide at home and you know we talked about it...If there was something I didn't like, I would express it. And then I would find myself telling my mom, 'You should speak up more mom, let dad know how you feel about this and this and that.' And I've noticed that there is like more communication in the home (Elena).

> ...I had to look at relationships...I had to seriously sit down and think...I was living with my boyfriend for eight years, I just kicked him out of the house...I guess we'd go on an emotional abuse kind of thing where I kind of ignored it, and as I listened to clients, I couldn't ignore it. How am I gonna sit here and not look at my own relationship and try to help someone else when you can't help yourself...(Nicole)?

> ...I had to work through a whole family dynamic...She *[other intern]* has a very similar personality to my sister and I was asked in my family, to tone down to make my sister more comfortable...one of the first things they *[field instructors]* said to me is, 'You have a very assertive personality...Could you be less aggressive? Could you watch the way you speak to her?'...And I flipped...I was angry and I identified it, but in my family structure there was no resolution of problems--you just had them, you didn't resolve them, you didn't work through them. *[We]* were literally working together to resolve the whole issue between the two of us and resolve this family issue for me and whatever issues she had...And to just realize that that is the family dynamic and if it's been that way for a very long time, and it's probably not going to change...(Angela).

Adapting professional relationships and gaining professional expertise

Parallel to their acceptance that they cannot always change significant others in their personal lives, the students also progressed toward an acceptance that professionally they may not always be able to effect change in their clients' lives as well.

> ...you can't change people, unless they want to change, and I guess...I've learned that...you can't tell them why they need to change, you just have to show them what they can do to help themselves change. And I guess that has been not something I necessarily struggled with but something that I've come to understand better... (Catherine).

> You have to be willing to consider the other man, the other woman's stance, the other perspective, their story, after all it IS their story. And I can only take ownership of that...I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> can only partner with them to the extent that number one, they're willing to allow me, but also to the extent that I'm willing to allow them to be the owner of the partnership (Thomas).
>
> But I'm slowly getting over that idea that I can just give everybody a hug and bring everybody home with me and we'll all live happily ever after. It doesn't work that way, and I'm starting to realize and dealing with my feelings...(Annie).

While accepting that they cannot always change clients, the students often struggled to increase their effectiveness through the development of resources and advocacy skills.

> ...I know what to do. Give me this number, call this place...I know these things now...go to the welfare office or...go to the Court office to get certain things done...So I think that changes me....I have...more to offer...I could help people more now because I know more things...(Kim).
>
> That is something that social work has helped me with as far as getting resources for people...(Brenda).
>
> ...the advocacy skills, just going to bat for somebody who needed some assistance here...how important it is...before that, well yeah that's not right, that shouldn't happen...What are you doing about it? Nothing. But now learning where the bodies are buried and who to go after about a problem or networking—how important that is (Annie).
>
> ...learning how to advocate for myself and for others...how you have to use social work skills in order to get things...you learn how you have to accommodate people and that all people don't understand certain things...(Janet).

More receptive to the nuances of change, the students often credited their clients for providing them with a deeper understanding about the demands of building relationships and the skills needed to maintain them. As such, a common refrain was that the clients *taught me so much*. In part, this claim implies that the students learned how to be better social workers through improved responsiveness to their clients.

> And I've learned from the indigenous population...That that person *[client]* has so much to give you, if you only just listen, and that they do have power and so that's an important factor (Janet).
>
> ...I've had to work harder than with any other client, but I'm grateful in a way because I learned so much that I guess if I'm presented with something similar, I know how to deal with it...this client, she's taught me so much. That it takes time for you to build a relationship with someone...Or how open they can be once that you establish a very trusting relationship with them, and how delicate it is, and that you need to take your time with them and be very patient...because you can easily destroy your relationship that you worked hard for, with just one little thing (Isabel).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...and she's explained to me why she feels it's better. So that was good that I could kind of get a feeling for what the client wants, and what they find more helpful, what they get out of it...(Dee-Dee).

As a result of improving their responsiveness to clients, client responsiveness to the students improves as well, promoting trust. Thus, the students come to the realization that they do subtly influence their clients and their circumstances through open and trusting relationships.

> ...I can make a positive influence on a client's life...I saw my client...she had a brown baggie up to her mouth, which signaled to me she was hyperventilating...She was very upset. And I said, 'It's getting harder, because you're getting better.' ...And the husband turned to her and said, 'Is this the one you told me about? Is this the positive one you were telling me about?' And she goes, 'Yeah, this is the one.' I was like, 'Oh my God, I'm actually making a difference in somebody's life.'...I felt wonderful...Things are getting better and you have done something (Catherine).

> ...I was assigned to counsel a young man who was 42 years old who has a history of psychiatric disorders...little by little, he gained my trust and he felt more open and comfortable around me and we would talk about all sorts of issues...And lo and behold, after nine months, he started his job, I'm happy to say...his wish is coming true today, so I'm very proud of myself. I feel like Mom Hen (Annie).

> I was able to establish a very good trusting relationship with a particular client which was very hard, because she was very distant and very quiet and she's actually revealed something that...she had never mentioned to anyone, not even her mother, anyone in her family that she was sexually abused. And I was very proud of the fact that she was able to trust me with that information and I realized that...I created a very good relationship with this client...has made me continue on, to keep on with this profession...(Isabel).

Positive feedback from their clients further encouraged and reinforced the students' evolving confidence and sense of mastery.

> ...the clients, people's reaction to your work and saying different things that...really make an impact, you know, 'You're a godsend, what would I do without you' and... 'You've made such a change,' ...That's one of the great things I'll walk away with from field placement...She's told me that she's found our work together to be the best out of all the work that she's doing at the hospital. And that was a pretty incredible feeling. I thought I was a little fish in big waters to be working with her...(Dee-Dee).

> When you hear from a former client that's doing well that you know that you helped, that gives you a sense of accomplishment, that gives you that feeling like I helped this person, I've influenced their lives which I think is more rewarding in this profession than in any other profession (Jackie).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Additionally, many students recounted their evolving mastery of professional skills, an expertise that suggests greater autonomy and less dependence on others for direction. Those students who identified themselves as formerly timid were especially surprised with their developing initiative.

> I was able to run three groups. I was able to take over when one of the staff members was absent...I was able to run an advisory board...I was able to have individual therapy with these clients and a lot of the clients were very resistant...There were many many illnesses with these clients, but I was able to overcome that and work with them and develop a relationship that was absolutely wonderful...I did case conferences...I did so many thing there that they allowed me to do, that if they didn't think I was capable of doing, they wouldn't have let me do this. Now I'm making decisions on my own...(Janet).

> ...Being proud of the fact that I've been thrown into certain situations not thinking I can do as well and I have come out doing well, better than I thought I could actually...Well just being in the hospital. I used to be very shy and I didn't think that I could be thrown into a patient's room and talk with them and talk with their family and be helping them making decisions for their life. I didn't think at first that I can do that, and I was thrown into that situation and I actually was able to do it (Patty).

> I ran a ten week group with mothers whose children are survivors of sexual abuse...I felt like the group really got something out of the experience...I conquered something that for awhile I didn't think I was going to be able to get.
> *You conquered something? What did you feel like you conquered?*
> I guess being the facilitator or being able to facilitate a group that...was a tough mix of personalities...I'm more of a timid, passive personality, and I was dealing with a group of two in particular, outspoken and assertive and so that was really hard for me to...but then I felt I was able to work through that, work past that (Lynn).

The students' exercise of skill and ability produced a gain in *self-confidence* and *strength*.

> It's confirmed my ability I feel, changed me, I guess made me stronger, more confident as a professional...(Catherine).

> I'm a very, different person because of this place. Again, just confident and outgoing, and, more self-assured, more self-aware, all good things.
> *And you weren't these things before?*
> Not to the degree now. It's almost like I'm an ego maniac. I've gotta find a middle ground now (Colleen).

> It's given me more confidence, more knowledge...(Janet).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Positive changes from social work education

In light of adaptations in perspectives and skills, the students claimed that the educational process as a whole made them "a better person." In these anecdotes, the gains noted in personal growth included both *softening* and *building*.

> ...I feel that all the personal changes that I've made have been in my benefit...(Jackie).

> Some of the best things for me was my own personal growth...I've softened. I've softened as a human being...And I think the key is- I have become less afraid to be soft...I think that was a big change for me...So, what I think happened for me was that I became...more whole, where I accepted all the parts of me. I found that I actually liked the softer side of me better...(Angela).

> Everyday is like a trial for me, like a building process. Because I'm being made into a better person each day...You know, what I did, is that a good thing or a bad thing? Did I show quality in what I just worked for?...(Brenda).

The students also reported a gain in *focus, motivation, perseverance* and *dedication.*

> ...I'm much happier with the person I am today than when I came in. I just feel like I have more focus of kind of what's important and what's not important...(Rachel).

> I've never been as motivated as I have...the way I am in this program I've never had dedication and motivation. So I think for me that's a special situation cause the way I study, the way I handle everything with school seems to be all because of social work...(Dee-Dee).

> I finished a goal I put for myself—I met the goal. Heretofore I guess you might say I was like a butterfly I'd flit to here to here to here to here and start projects and never finish them. And I finished this one, or at least this part of the project. I'm very proud of myself...(Annie).

> I've accomplished something that I've always wanted to do. And that the fear was there because I didn't think I could do it. But I know I can do it and I've done it well and I'm looking forward to going on...(Janet).

Incomplete or dissociated adaptations

In spite of the number and variety of progressive changes the students experienced, some insisted that some part of the educational experience was incomplete, inadequate or simply could not be attributed to their social work education. Some of the implications of these 'loose ends' included tasks left undone, problems left unresolved or lessons left unlearned. When asked to render a summary assessment of the changes experienced, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

older students were more likely to report anger and sorrow because of the incompleteness of some aspects of the educational process.

> ...Disappointments...is that I don't think I allowed myself to become as much of the community as I could have...I've never been comfortable with mixing as I've said earlier...and it's getting worse as I get older...Never been comfortable with feelings and emotions, no...the changes have been occurring for years...certainly the social work has helped that... it helped some, but not to the extent that I hoped, but if I were to put the finger of blame, it would have to be on myself...So there's been some healing there through...social work, not the extent I would have liked, but then I plan to live another hundred years, so maybe there'll be some deeper healing along the way (Thomas).

> My own brokenness, I would say. Areas in my life where I have issues, I didn't even know I had issues. I think that has been the most difficult--not that it overwhelmed me...But, I think the thing that was difficult was seeing myself differently...And like maybe the losses of things that were important to me relationally, or whatever, that this may have been a piece or a part of. So I think that was kind of distressing for me a little bit...I think that definitely is a work in progress (Angela).

> *Are there any issues that remain unresolved in your training?*
> From my evaluation, I would have to say self-awareness. I'm aware of what's going on, I seem to lack...I can't associate how I'm feeling with what's going on...I'm taking a break from social work. I have to find out about this self-awareness thing, so I'm taking a year off for my personal need to grow...(Nicole).

Similarly, some of the younger and older students insisted that specific personal changes were *part of other developments already underway*, and others simply would not ascribe any credit to the program for personal changes that occurred while enrolled.

> ...it's not like I got...hit over the head to realize that this is what I was then, this is what I am now (Annie).

> ...I don't think that my belief system has been changed that much (Jackie).

> I think the time that I took off from school was the time I got to know myself. I did my soul-searching then. I think it's an ongoing thing. You're constantly finding out things about yourself. I don't think I had to go through major changes. I think I'm transformed, but I don't know if it's solely because of school or school and my personal life and my friends (Patty).

> It's *[social work education]* made me a more caring person. I actually, I give that credit to God. Because throughout my education here, over the past two years, I have grown very much so, spiritually...I think it's something I did on my own. And, it is an asset in social work.
> *...Is that because of your social work education that you've grown spiritually?*
> I can't give the credit to social work...I have to give it to God (Brenda).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Therapy as a remedy for incomplete personal transformation

For many of the students who felt that their transformation was less than complete, or who had personal issues requiring more thorough exploration, therapy was viewed as a critical remedy. Sold on the virtues of therapy by their professors, many students agreed that it would *improve their self-awareness, make them better people* and *should be mandatory for social work students.*

> When I, I went into the Intro class and the professor said...getting into therapy is the greatest gift you can give to yourself, I went and I got into therapy (Colleen).

> I even know that they *[professors]* told us that we should seek therapy. And I think that's a good idea...I know in class we have certain individuals that they can't work with a certain population...because of their beliefs, but I think that's the best thing to do is demand us to make us a better person...there's a lot of anger in me because that was taught to me...sometimes when I get angry, I can see that military coming out of me, so I learned how to suppress my feelings...I definitely will get therapy as stated by a professor...because I always talk about my daughter. I have to be able to be open and honest when dealing with children's issues...I know that I can become a better social worker through therapy (Lydia).

> ...One of our teachers goes into therapy... I guess once a week or after she does her private practice. So it's kind of like she helps the client and then she has to go to make sure she's ok in order to help them...
> *So did you say therapy should be mandated?*
> Yeah, I think so, especially if you're going to ask someone to do really difficult work, but you never went through it yourself. And I think you can have an appreciation for what they're going through when you've gone through it yourself...And I just wouldn't feel right asking someone to do that, when I didn't myself do that...(Dee-Dee).

> I think all students should be told to go into therapy...it would really help them, even at the bachelor's level...I think going back to how people interact and their views...I think it should be required...(Nicole).

Therapy was viewed as more than just a remedy for incomplete personal transformation. It was also viewed as a career choice. Respondents noted that faculty members in private practice did not just impart the value of therapy for self-awareness, but that they also modeled the value of *being* a therapist, often in combination with other professional and personal roles. In this way, faculty influenced and modified students' future aspirations [as well as their personal development].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

And your relationships with your role models and other professors...have they reinforced this decision to go in to clinical work?
Uh huh *[yes]*. Yeah I went in barely knowing what clinical work...meant, and they...are great clinicians, a few of them, so...we, I would sit in awe. And I think a lot of us did, you know it wasn't only me. But...we were amazed by what they pick up, and what they pinpoint that we haven't developed that skill yet or whatever. But you know, in a few years we will (Colleen).

Would you say other professors in the program might have also influenced your change in destination?
...yes, I was thinking about how you can also do the mediation and you can have a private practice. How all these things can develop and that having a private practice is really special. And that most of the professors have private practice. And how they deal with it is that, it's actually so good because you learn from each client and then you take it to another level with a different agency that you're working with during the day and your clients at night and you're able to really work these things together and it really seems to make a big difference...(Janet).

...how much has your destination been shaped by social workers, by the other people that you met, like Dr. Sidney or other professors?
...you have to see what they're doing. Because they...all, I believe have their own private practice. Or they're working somewhere else. You know. So I think that, you see what they're doing...Like I can be, awesome in the classroom, and at the same time, go out and do one on one and still fulfill that as well as be your wife or husband and maintain a family (Brenda).

I wanted my own practice and eventually my ultimate goal is to teach... I had a general idea and then I think in speaking to them...I think some of their knowledge and their life experience definitely influenced me...(Angela).

Affirmations

Faculty and field instructor affirmations

The messages that faculty sent to students' about the significance of therapy and the value of being a therapist occurred in a broader context of positive declarations that significantly influenced the way students viewed themselves as persons and future professionals. For example, positive feedback from significant social work professionals enhanced students' self-esteem and sense of pride.

...one of the preventive supervisors over there at DSS came over to me and to ok me aside and told me, that she was very impressed with what I knew and how I interacted with the client. And, she actually went so far as to say, you know, 'I hope that you continue to stay with *[agency]* after you receive your Masters' (Nancy).

...one of the professors said I soared through the material...I've always spoken to her about how sometimes I struggle with the material and actually she was proud of me too and I think that that was the highest point...So I felt good about myself then (Elena).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...I've gotten compliments from professors here that really goes a long way as far as I know, the sincerity...who it's coming from and the compliments from my supervisor has just been such a great feeling for me (Dee-Dee).
>
> ...doing the work and doing well, getting a lot of affirmation for it. I mean it makes you feel so good that you can understand the work, present it, do it (Janet).

Oftentimes, the role models belief in the students' abilities surpassed that of the students. This display of faith, trust and encouragement convinced the students of their competence, serving as an especially important validation of their professionalism. The frequent response was that the role model *helped me feel like I could do it.*

> *...how has this relationship with this person influenced you?*
> I think it just made me believe in myself, that I can do it. Pretty much that's what is it; that I'm important, that I can believe in myself, that I can make a change (Elena).
>
> The one thing that she *[supervisor—role model]* did that was really important was validate the fact that I knew I can do certain things but I didn't think I had enough courage to do them and she would point it out to me, and say, 'You really do know more than you think you do' (Patty).
>
> ...she makes you feel that you can go out and do anything...that I'm gonna be...a great social worker...She's given me the...the fact that I can go on, that I can make it, that I will be great at what I do...there's so much affirmation from her, she tells you, 'Move on. Go on. You can do it...' (Janet).
>
> I think that...the professors were very influential in making you feel like, you could do it and...I just know that I can do it now. I'm not a failure if I do ask for help. So I think that was a major learning experience in my life (Catherine).
>
> My supervisor treated me like a professional, all the way, and she encouraged me to say that, 'I am a social worker.' Not, 'I'm a social work intern.'...I felt good, I felt professional. I didn't feel like a student (Annie).

However, the affirmations the students received for their growing professional competence did not just emanate from easily won praise and encouragement. The students noted that their role models pushed them to earn this affirmation.

> Personally, they *[role models]* made me look into my self-awareness, and it was even just through papers they gave us or something. They seem to expect more...I've had my papers handed back, 'You can do better than this. Bring it back.' They wouldn't accept just anything from me...and I'm glad that they gave it back, knowing that I can do more.
> *So what did it do for you?*
> They made me work. They made me work at who I was and what I was doing. Where if it was anyone else, I could have just handed that paper in and went on my merry way. I don't think I would have had the same experience and learning...they encouraged...and pulled more out of you (Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> I'm actually glad that she's the person who she is. I don't want anyone just pushing me ahead just because of certain situations I may have been exposed to. She really made us work...I think in life...everything isn't gonna be peachy-creamy, you're gonna have thunderstorms so you have to be prepared. And that's what she's doing, she's preparing us for the real world...she's just trying to make us better people. You always want the next generation to become better (Lydia).
>
> *So in what ways has this person personally or professionally influenced you?*
> Mainly being motivated, sticking with a goal, and really following through, areas in my life that I was having problems with prior to entering social work (Dee-Dee).

By encouraging the expression of fears and anxieties, faculty role models provided non-judgmental reassurance of their presence and partnership. They allowed the students to determine the pace of their learning and democratized the process by retreating from offering all the answers. These components were prized by students because it helped *make them better learners and professionals.*

> *[describing faculty role models]* I guess in a word, the quality would be accepting...when I got to the point that I was no longer telling a story and I really had gone much deeper than that, she was right there with me. So, I didn't feel like I was in the process alone...They were able to reach in and to help me call out things that were inside of me that would make me a better professional in a really non-threatening, accepting way which eventually led to a greater acceptance of myself...if you're saying something to them, they know the point that it becomes really, really important to you. And they're able to just receive whatever you need to express (Angela).
>
> ...they *[faculty role models]* prepare you...by addressing your fears or your anxieties if you had any about getting out there and becoming a social worker. I think that was definitely an open discussion in many classes to address the anxiety...So that was really impressive, the caring that went into that experience, from my professors...(Catherine).
>
> And what I think is so awesome about the way he *[faculty role model]* operates is that he never gives you an answer, but he has you answer it yourself. And he gives those back your information to you and you will be like, 'I did say that, didn't I?' That's what I did mean, but you're really answering the question yourself or whatever that problem is, you have the answer. He doesn't. And he has a great way of bringing that out...(Brenda).
>
> ...there's never a negative feedback from her. No matter what you do when you go to her, there's always, positive feedback. Maybe instead of saying, 'you should try it this way,' she would say, 'maybe let's look at it on a different level,' so she's not putting down what you're doing, she's adding to it...(Janet).
>
> I'm seeing people who are very professional...and yet who display to me that by no stretch of the imagination do they think they've arrived. They see the necessity of learning, even from students. I'm amazed at times...at the humility that they're willing to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> learn from the likes of us who are still wet behind the ears...That's being real. That's the way I want to be...(Thomas).

The students also benefited from some "unintentionally taught" lessons. One of the most significant was learning to negotiate the dilemma that role models are neither perfect nor ideal social workers. This was an especially liberating affirmation of their professionalism as the educational experience neared completion, because the students were more receptive to forgiving the flaws of exemplars at this time while simultaneously feeling less pressure to be perfect professionals.

> *How has your commitment to social work been influenced by your interactions with these persons [role models]?*
> It's made me feel good about it—about the profession. They demonstrate that you can be effective and still be very fallible and very human. I don't especially care for people who portray themselves as perfect and incapable of making a mistake...They're real people and I think the ones that affected me the most are just those, whether they're faculty or whether they're social workers in the field (Thomas).

> ...you just expected her to be perfect all the time and she's a person, and I think that that was a lesson for some of us to learn. She had to be all these different things, and yet she was supposed to be there 100% for each one of us...then if she forgets your appointment, or does something like that, you get so upset. And then, you realize she's just a person too...I remember the first time I didn't think she said something to my liking about Grandpa and I was so upset and she's like, 'I'm not always gonna say the right things, ya know.' Sometimes they say the wrong things, and then sometimes it's probably the right thing...but I guess that was her role to bring that all in...(Dee-Dee).

> *[after being wrongfully accused of cheating on a test by this professor].* And I honestly felt uncomfortable with that professor afterwards. But then, we got into a whole other issue in our course...And he shared something with the class and it's like, for some reason, we just went on like an emotional high for the rest of the semester....And after that I forgot like everything that had happened in the past with that exam. It wasn't even an issue anymore...(Brenda).

> ...but I know here that...when I feel it's okay to make a mistake. It's a part of learning, and, you don't have to be perfect. And they state that here, that you learn through your mistakes and then you make it better...(Janet).

The students even commended negative role models for playing a role in affirming their professional identities by providing motivation to excel and archetypes of undesirable social workers.

> They've helped me to graduate a little quicker because I was told I wouldn't do it...it was even more so that their type of thinking empowered me. I went on my merry way to prove them wrong...They had a definite impact, they just pushed me...(Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> ...I said I learned so much with this agency and...'How not to be this particular person *[field supervisor]*...I will be a person who will always be there for that person, for my client. I am going to advocate for that client. I'm going to let that client come into my office and let out all their frustration...They don't get that with her' *[negative role model]*...I will use this as an example...I know how to handle it. And I know that I'm going to be a great social worker (Janet).

Educational achievements

The changes experienced by the students during their undergraduate education were perceived as especially significant when they received tangible confirmation and recognition for them in the form of accolades, awards and honors. These concrete affirmations of academic success served as a source of pride and renewed commitment to social work.

> I've gotten Dean's List and Honor Society; things I've never achieved before and I've achieved that in Social Work (Dee-Dee).

> I got inducted into an honor society, I guess that was it...I guess it just made me realize, like wow, I really have been doing good, and I guess all my work has paid off (Patty).

> I was accepted to the Social Work Honor Society. I was too excited for words (Annie).

Another affirmation for students was achieving good grades and testing well on projects or field evaluations. Good grades were viewed as entangled with positive ratings of their professional aptitude and thus reinforced confidence in their competence.

> I made the Dean's List this, like this marking period. I had got four A's and one B. So that was good. That was a major accomplishment. You know, it really feels good like when you work on a paper and you really worked on it and you get like an A. It's just like, yes...like getting an A in your profession...(Kim).

> ...I got my report card...I got straight A's, and I was thrilled.
> *And that had an impact on your professional development?*
> Positive, very positive impact. It does so much for one's self-esteem and self-confidence. Not cocky, but just, I can do it. I can do this (Annie).

> Being able to do so well in classes and so well on papers and so well understanding and absorbing and utilizing the skills that were taught to me in class. Made me feel like...I did it...a really high sense of myself as accomplished...as a social worker (Catherine).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Graduation and professional identity

In addition to good grades and awards, *completing the program* and *surviving the program* were also frequently identified as the greatest accomplishments of their undergraduate experience. However, unlike graduation, which simply served as a symbol of completion, *surviving* the program reflected a more conflict-laden representation of the student's perseverance and dedication.

> The highest point of my experience. I would have to say it's graduating, it's knowing that it's over. You know, that I've accomplished this. That this have come out of four years...(Brenda).

> ...I think graduating is a great accomplishment...Like I said, it's five of us, and I'm the only one that graduated high school and continued on with my education...(Elena).
> I think that getting a BSW degree is an extremely great accomplishment in my life personally and having that feeling of accomplishment that I could do that...so I would say that obtaining the degree...(Catherine).
> ...the fact that I'm graduating. Because people thought that I wouldn't because I had a daughter. Like, 'Oh, she's gonna give up. She's not gonna go to school.'.
> *Did you really feel that?*
> No. People thought that (Kim).

> My biggest accomplishment was surviving *[laughs]*...once I get my degree. I think that's the biggest accomplishment, and I'll be able to adjust to whatever comes forth (Eric).

> *What would you say are the two greatest accomplishments of your training?*
> Oh man, that I stayed after that whole terrible experience *[referring to field supervisor conflict]* (Colleen).

> ...I'm happy that it's over. You know I'm just happy that it's all behind me and that I did it and that I'm proud of myself...The accomplishments I think of... getting through school...(Janet).

> ...graduating. Just doing it, working full time, going to school at night and that in and of itself was an accomplishment...(Angela).

For some, *graduation makes the social worker* because the degree serves as tangible proof that they are now qualified to work as professionals.

> *Do you see yourself as having become a social worker already?*
> It's funny that you ask that because right after graduation...I said, 'Oh, I'm an official social worker now...'
> *Is that the first time you really felt that you were a social worker?*
> I think that was pretty much the first time, yeah...After graduation...(Elena).

> *Do you see yourself as having become a social worker?*
> Yes...

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Can you describe when that process occurred, when you really went from being a student to feeling like a social worker?
I guess this year, like knowing that I'm graduating and done with it, ya know...(Fran).

...once you're finished, you're saying quote, unquote, 'I am a social worker.' Your degree states that. So no matter what, I have to be in that capacity. I will be in that capacity...as a social worker (Lydia).

Do you see yourself as having become a social worker?
Yes, and I just received that revelation, like two weeks ago. I was on my way here and I was like, wow, you know what? It's almost over...Wow, when I graduate, I'll be a social worker. That's kind of shocking to me. I have to like, say it over again. Social worker. It didn't click. Like, all along I didn't just have this mind-set that I'm going to school, but it finally hit, that this is what you're going to school for...I feel like Brenda, and social worker is one of the things that I'll probably be now (Brenda).

Practice and professional identity

Other students indicated that affirmation of their professional status did not occur spontaneously at graduation but was rather a gradual process that occurred through repeated practicing of the social work role in the field. [Also discussed in Expectation-Revelation, The field.]

...do you feel like you are a social worker, or do you feel like you're still a student?
Not after this year. Not after the interning. If you were to ask me that a year ago, I would have said, 'Yes, I'm a student.' But after the interning, and after being out there and actually doing it, I think, yeah...As...I went through the whole program, I would see more and more in myself. You know, that social worker (Nancy).

Do you see yourself as having become a social worker?
Absolutely.
And you don't remember when that moment or transition occurred?
No, I think it was probably a slow process, but when I really noticed it I think, was when I really began to go into internship and work with people...really be encouraged to deal with people in a totally different way. So, I would think that that's where I had a change...(Angela).

The experiences I've had working hands-on in the field, being able to apply my skills. I'm feeling like I am a professional...I feel...less like a fish out of water and more like a big fish in a little pond (Catherine).

I do identify now. It took awhile...It was like a rude awakening...I woke up one day, I was doing the interviewing, I was doing everything else, and then all of a sudden, I sat down to write my notes, I had already attended groups and it didn't click. And just writing my name...with the Social Work Intern after it, that it finally clicked, wow you're here...(Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Incomplete affirmations: Not feeling like a social worker

The students in this study were divided almost evenly among 1) those that felt like social workers at program completion and 2) those that did not. For the first group, obtaining the BSW degree or repeated practice of the social worker role facilitated professional affirmation. For these students, the question "*Do you feel like a social worker?*" was implicitly understood. However, the second group struggled with this question, and seemed troubled by their confusion asking, "What is a social worker supposed to feel like?" Their response suggested that ambiguities remained after graduation about whether the transition from student to professional ever occurred. Alternatively, for those older students who insisted they were social workers prior to program entry, professional identity was viewed as already attained, and thus the program could not be credited for their transformation. The variations in responses are listed below.

> *Do you see yourself as having become a social worker?*
> I don't understand, what are you supposed to feel like?... I graduated and I'm supposed to be like a, you know, a general practitioner or something like that. And, I have no idea what that means to me. I know I'm going to get a job, somewhere...I don't think I'm a social worker yet. I just have a degree. That's it (Kim).
>
> ...I guess I do feel more like a social worker, certainly more knowledgeable in the field of counseling... It gave me insight into the population I've been serving now for I guess 10 years...So, I'm finding myself more confident in those areas, so I guess I do feel more like a social worker, whatever that entails. And you're wanting something more, which you're not gonna get because I'm not sure how a social worker does feel...You won't help me, you won't tell me how I'm supposed to feel (Thomas).
>
> I always feel like I'm a professional...I guess for so many years, I've just been involved with people who are less fortunate than I...and it didn't seem like I was crossing over a big barrier to go from my life in private industry to social work. It just seemed like a very natural thing for me.
> *So you don't really feel there's been that much of a change in your identity, per se?*
> No, no, no. No, I got a lot more book smart about it, but I don't feel...any different...I don't feel like I got hit in the head and said, 'Wow, here I am, I've arrived!' I haven't had that experience or that feeling. Maybe because it's my age, I don't know (Annie).
>
> Yes I do feel that I am a social worker...I've always been doing this though...So it's always been there inside of me, it's something that's been inside of me and now it's coming out...(Janet).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lack of preparedness

Most students initially responded that they felt sufficiently equipped and sometimes even over prepared for an entry-level job in social work. After further probing, it was evident that most students associated 'preparedness' with possessing an adequate foundation of what they referred to as "the basics" of generalist social work. They additionally qualified their responses about preparedness with indications that their *education wasn't finished,* that they *still had a lot to learn* and that *learning would be an ongoing process.*

> I feel prepared- I just don't see this as the end so I feel prepared. I just know this is going to be an ongoing learning process for the rest of my life if I stay in the field...as far as the overall process, I don't really think it's done... (Angela).

> I feel that if I were to enter the field after graduation with a Bachelors degree that I'd be prepared but I think I'd feel that there'd be so much more for me to learn, that I would still need supervision, and...it'd still be a lot of learning for me, but I feel like I've gotten the foundation to continue...probably at first I'd be in maybe a little over my head, but that I would eventually catch up (Lynn).

> I feel prepared, but I feel like I still need more. I mean I feel prepared to do some work, but I feel I need more, like I still need to educate myself to be able to serve people...to try to meet their needs. I feel like I still need to educate myself (Elena).

> I feel like I have the basic knowledge. I don't think that anyone's ever done learning, you know. Um, there are always seminars being offered and you can never know too much. So, I don't think that my education wise, I'm finished. I don't think I ever will be. I don't think anybody ever will be. But, as far as knowing the basics and, having learned what I think we were supposed to learn. I think I'm all right...And, I'm going on...(Nancy).

In addition, some students expressed trepidation about maintaining their acquired knowledge and later demonstrating expected competencies in the field, implying that their learning was not internalized or fully realized to the degree expected. The concern "what if I don't remember what I learned?" suggests that the students' preparedness and competency probably remains at a mechanistic stage. Their expressed need to consult their textbooks for answers suggests an academic conception of professionalism characterized by memory retrieval.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Do you feel prepared for a career in social work, right now?
...I'd have to bring all my notes into it for the first couple of w eeks...I would definitely need to really review. Because I have a lot of class notes and like, videos that we had to buy with other social workers...To see how they talk and how they work and stuff. So, I'm not really prepared at all. I mean, I could wing it but I don't know if I'll probably get in trouble... Like, I can't have my book in class...at my job. And, go over my notes with a client. Like, because I don't know what's needed...(Kim).

How prepared do you feel for a career in social work as a result of this program?
More prepared than when I started.
Do you feel pretty confident now going out there after graduation?
Yeah, I think so. If I feel I'm over my head, I'll refer it to somebody else. That's part of professionalism (Thomas).

...my mom's a nurse and she said the same thing when she was graduating, there was that panic, well what if I don't remember all the drugs they taught us in class? And I think that's the same with social work, I'm afraid I'm gonna forget terms...and how come I forgot all that after the test, and maybe I should still read and memorize it once I'm done with the class or go back and retake a class. Sometimes I panic, but I think that...it really comes from experience, it really gets drilled into your head when you're working with it as opposed to just memorizing it for a test...(Dee-Dee).

In relation to preparedness, there's a certain ambivalence and discomfort that attends embracing an unfamiliar and independent professional role and forfeiting the security and familiarity of the student role.

I'm a little nervous that when I get a job, it's gonna be about being a student all over again. I'm gonna have to learn the ropes. I think I'm prepared...it's more like...go back to the other professional, hey I'm a student, slow down a little. I don't want to pretend I know everything and then not learn...Maybe I'll be a student for a little longer...(Nicole).

I'm not gonna be all that thrilled when it's all over, because I really enjoyed my life here as a student, and I liked the idea of having a supervisor almost at my beck and call if you will, the door's always been open with her, and the communication is always flowing, and I think I'll miss that. Because it was always so easy to walk in her office and just bounce things off her and I don't know that all supervisors are like that (Annie).

Remedies for incomplete or inadequate professional identity

Time, experience and graduate education

For those students feeling less than professional, gaining professional experience over time was viewed as a critical means of supplementing incomplete knowledge and cementing professional identity

Personally I feel I'm a social worker. Not, not necessarily professionally...
What's the difference?
Well, because I haven't actually gone out and done that much work...I feel like I have

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the potential to be a professional (Colleen).

> Do I see myself as a social worker...? Honestly right now, no... I think when I graduate I'll try it, I'll try it for awhile, maybe a couple of years...to transition yourself to stop being a student to being an actual worker, that's a hard part. It's gonna take me awhile to realize that...I think it'll take a long time.
> *What do you think would do it?*
> Probably just being in the field for years or at least a year (Patty).

> I don't feel like a social worker. I think that comes with experience and more education and more supervision...I don't know what to do if you throw me into a welfare office...besides handing me the forms and telling me to fill this out...(Kim).

> I'm still the same person...as a graduating student, I still think of myself as not knowing anything...I don't want to rush out and start a new job, because I still have a lot to learn, and that's only gonna come with experience...It's just a matter of time, it'll all fit in (Nicole).

For many of the students not yet feeling like a social worker, graduate education was viewed as providing the necessary knowledge and experience to remedy missing or underdeveloped aspects of professional identity. The mere option of graduate education confirmed educational incompleteness and created an expectation of richer experience and fulfilled professionalism.

> ...I do need more knowledge in social work. That's why I'm going on for the *[Masters]* degree, to get a more generalized prospective of the field. Because I don't have a generalization yet (Brenda).

> But I'm thinking when I'm working on my Master's, maybe I'll have a better experience. Maybe I'll have more time to...know it *[Research]*...when I do my Master's, then I'll really learn to be a social worker...At my Master's, I can't, like b.s...(Kim).

> I'd like to see myself moving on in my education....Masters program...I need the experience, I want the experience. I think that's important...In five years, I feel I should be more of a professional. I should, if not have my Masters, be finishing it up, so we'll see where that leads me (Catherine).

> ...I'm going to get my Masters. So I don't feel like I'm done with school, I don't feel like a professional yet maybe because I have that in the back of my head, 'well, you still have another year to go.'...(Jackie).

> ...I think part of that is that in my mind I know I'm going on for another year, so my response might be different if I was graduating and I knew this was it...I don't know, cause I think I feel like there's so much more for me out there to learn...So I don't think I'll feel like a social worker until I'm done with graduate school...(Lynn).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Modified career destinations

A commonly followed course of action for students struggling to feel more secure in their professional identity lied in a reconfiguring of professional aspirations. Several students asserted that they would not remain social workers forever, and would anchor their BSW degree to more rewarding professional careers. For example, some looked forward to promising opportunities with state government.

> ...and I was thinking about being a Probation Officer, which is a consideration. I don't know if I want to do that. But that's because the money's better...(Fran).

> I want to be a social worker, something with Law Enforcement maybe, youth counselor, maybe children's shelter, I'm looking at Probation Officer or Parole Officer, but something with legal, because I do have a legal degree, but not per se just a legal secretary or just a social worker. I want to use both of my experiences and combine it in one...
> *So you don't see it as just doing social work, then. You see it as a step up.*
> Exactly. It opens up doors for me to take tests because I have a background. I do know to take the Parole or Probation, you needed Criminology, Sociology or Social Work. And that's one of the reasons why I also chose social work so I can take tests for the state, tests for the gov...(Lydia).

> ...my main thing is I want to do Probation and Parole...I want a job that once I go into it, I'll be able to grow, instead of just staying at that one level...if you get into the State, you can move up little by little. That's what I want to do. I want to be able to broaden my horizons instead of saying, 'I work child abuse only.' I want to be able to be able to do everything...I want to be flexible (Eric).

Other students viewed social work as a 'stepping stone' to law, politics or business.

> ...but honestly I don't see myself being a social worker for the rest of my life. I see maybe taking this degree and doing something else with it, maybe working in a legal setting, but in some way, working with people still, I don't know a hundred percent, but I don't see myself as like a social worker who has clients, or hanging a shingle outside my house and having clients come in (Patty).

> I don't think I'm gonna be a social worker all my life...I would rather work...the administrative part...I don't want to have like um, a client, one you see everyday like a psychiatrist or a psychologist...I'd rather help a whole environment...That's why I want to go into Politics...It's like I want to be prestigious...Because I don't think I'm gonna get any fame from being just a regular social worker...I want to have a good foundation of what the grass roots people are coming from...I don't want to be a politician and help the rich...So, this is just a stepping stone for me. Just to get like, to meet people, make connections...(Kim).

> I'm gonna go for Business also.
> *So are you leaving social work?*
> I'm taking a break from social work...so I decided to start my Business Administration or Health Administration...I'm staying in social work...(Nicole).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In retrospect: Was it all worth it?

To some extent, stress, disillusionment, loose ends and a non-exclusive commitment to social work characterized the students' journey. It was therefore anticipated that respondents would indicate that they regretted ever having chosen social work education. Surprisingly, when the students were asked whether they would choose social work as a career path again, with the exception of two respondents, everyone answered *yes*.

> *Looking ahead to graduation and back on your training, was it all worth it?*
> Yes. My God, yes.
> ...*So that must be a real emphatic yes.*
> ...You can say yes and underline it a couple of times...(Catherine).

> Yeah, it was worth it, it was definitely worth it...I think that I've learned a lot, and I'm really glad that this was a school that I chose to go to...(Jackie).

> Yeah, I have to say that...because a lot of people say to me, now don't you wish you majored in da, da, da...and I don't really feel that way. I do feel that I did learn a lot...I definitely like where I'm at now versus when I came into the program. And I do feel that I'm able to handle things...I think it is hard work, and I don't think just anybody could do it...All in all, it was a good experience (Rachel).

> ...it was a wonderful learning experience...It just went so smoothly that I couldn't have done it any better if I did it all over again...It could never, it couldn't have been better. I'm very pleased with the way that everything worked out (Nancy).

Even those students experiencing the most adversity during their education suggested that despite the struggles, the journey was worth it.

> *Looking ahead to graduation, and back on your training, was it all worth it?*
> Yes.
> *Without hesitation?*
> Without any hesitation. My internship, if you'd asked me this in April, I would have probably said something totally different. But now that it's behind me, my internship was invaluable for what it has done for me, as a person now...(Janet).

> ...*was it all worth it?*
> Sure it was. When they called my name and I got that in my hands, it was all worth it...It was like I beat the system in other words. Like, I got out ahead (Kim).

> Yeah, it was, it was worth it. Like I said, without going through any hardships, it's not gonna be worth anything...So you're gonna have to face some hard times, but at the end, you look back and you say "it is worth it," and that's life, and that's how you have to deal with things. Nothing comes easy. I think that's what makes us keep at it even more because we're always faced with different obstacles. And I guess until we decide

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

we don't want to do it anymore *[laughs]*, but for now that I'm young, I guess I still have the energy and I still have the desire to keep on (Isabel).

Looking ahead to graduation and back on your training, was it all worth it?
Oh yeah.
No reservations?
No, none whatsoever .I would have done this twenty years ago...Because I'd be younger, I'd have my doctorate, I'd be teaching, I'd be where I wanted to be.
If you could do it all over again would you have done anything differently?
Everything brings you to where you are- probably not. That's hard to say. I don't really have a whole lot of things I regret- which I guess is good. Everything I learned from...(Angela).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VII
QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

In April 2001, the entire BSW graduating class (n=27) in Bishop's social work program was surveyed through two Field Seminar classes using the *Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale [CICRS]* (Rauen, 1970). Though return envelopes were provided, the students filled out the surveys in class and promptly returned them to the researcher. The total number of surveys returned containing usable data was 25. Thus, the response rate was approximately 92%.

The purpose of administering the CICRS was to measure social work students' expectations of their field instructors and to determine whether students expected their field instructors to be role models. The CICRS survey data were intended to complement and supplement the interview data by 1) verifying the students' designations of desirable qualities in their role models from the interview data and by 2) indicating desirable qualities that may not have emerged in the interview data. Since the survey yields ordinal data that can be statistically treated as interval data, the findings can also reveal the relative importance of some qualities the students designated over others.

The survey was originally designed to rank the most desirable characteristics of "clinical nursing faculty," which is the equivalent of "field instruction faculty" in social work [see Methods section]. With permission from Karen Rauen, the creator of the CICRS, the indicators on the survey utilizing the term "nurse," "nursing," or "patient" were changed to "social worker," "social work" and "client" respectively.

The survey consists of eighteen behavior indicators on a six point ranking scale, where a rank of 1 indicates the *lowest* level of importance of the quality and a score of 6

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indicates the *highest* level of importance. The eighteen behaviors fall into three groups or dimensions; *person, teacher,* and *social worker* roles [See Appendix **J**]. These behaviors are randomly mixed throughout the three sections of the survey [see Appendix **F** for behavior categorization key]. After ranking the desirability of characteristics on a scale of 1 to 6 in the three groups, respondents are then requested to rank the importance of the three "6's" and the three "5's" assigned within the three groups.

The scale containing *person* role characteristics include the following indicators:

P1-Shows genuine interest in me as an individual.
P2-Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.
P3-Demonstrates honesty to me and others.
P4-Avoids embarrassing me.
P5-Shows empathy to me and others.
P6-Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.

The scale containing *teacher* role characteristics include the following indicators:

T1-Is available for help when I need her guidance.
T2-Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention.
T3-Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.
T4-Encourages me to think for myself.
T5-Evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.
T6-Rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention.

The scale containing *social worker* role characteristics include the following indicators:

SW1-Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.
SW2-Demonstrates ability to do social work skills.
SW3-Demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention.
SW4-Demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation.
SW5-Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention.
SW6-Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.

The next section describes the demographic data of the sample.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Description of the sample

[The demographic characteristics of the CICRS survey respondents are presented in Appendix K.] In summary, the average student in Bishop's social work program is a white single childless female between the ages of 19 and 23, enrolled in the program between 2 and 3 years, and who interns in a casework placement that is either educational or serves families and children. The demographic data also reflect some variations. The widest variations are found in the income categories. Sixty per cent of the students' households earn between less than $15,000 to $49,000 while the other 40% earn between $50,000 to over $100,000. This disparity in income is probably due to the location of Bishop's social work program. This suburban university straddles the border of both an upper middle income community and a poor and working class community. Most of the students likely come from both sides of the border in this community.

Though the majority of the sample is white (n=17 or 68%), eight students or 32% are either Latino/Latina or West Indian. Though most students (72%) are single, seven students or a little more than a quarter are married, cohabiting or divorced. More importantly, though roughly half the sample is between the ages of 19 and 23 (n=13 or 52%), about a quarter (28%) fall between the ages of 24 and 38, and sixteen percent (n=4) is aged 39 years or older. Also, five students or 20 per cent of this sample have children.

It was anticipated that due to the small size of this sample (n=25), all statistical results could only be used descriptively since in all likelihood, no statistical significance would be reached on any parametric tests. Surprisingly however, some of the tests resulted in areas of statistical significance.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 1: Mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students

Statistics

		PERMEAN	TEACMEAN	SWKRMEAN
N	Valid	25	25	25
	Missing	0	0	0
Mean		2.8200	3.5133	4.1667
Median		2.5000	3.6667	4.3333
Mode		2.50	3.17[a]	3.83
Std. Deviation		.8021	.6103	.8937

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Figure 1a: Mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students

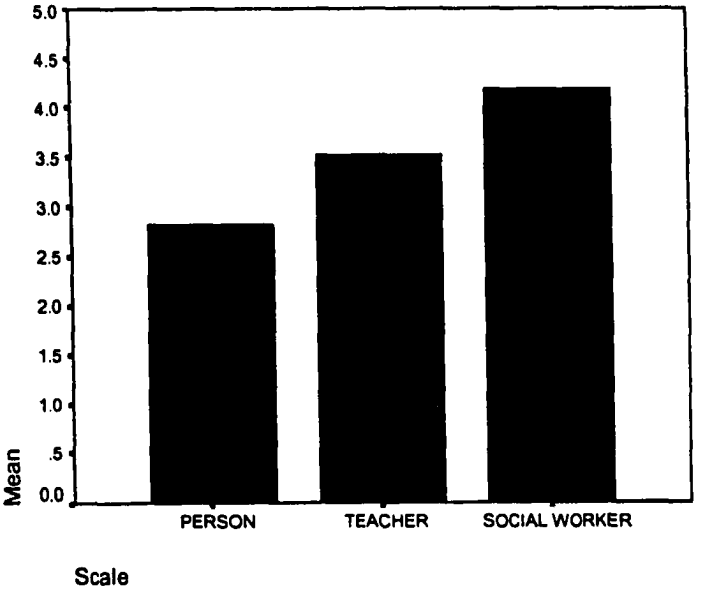


Table 1 reports the mean, median, mode and standard deviation on the *person, teacher* and *social worker* scales of the CICRS survey. Figure 1a illustrates the difference in mean scores between the three scales. On a 18 item survey measuring desirability of field instructor characteristics where a ranking of 1 signifies the lowest level of importance of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the quality and 6 signifies the most important, the mean score on the *person* scale was the lowest at 2.8; the mean score on the *teacher* scale was the second highest at 3.5 and the mean score on the *social worker* scale was the highest at 4.2. Thus, as a whole, the students rated the items on the social worker scale as the most important or most highly desirable characteristics of a field instructor than the items on the person or teacher scales respectively. This signifies that behaviors involving some aspect of feeling or relationship with the instructor *[person scale]* were generally less significant than ability to transfer knowledge *[teacher scale]* and professional competence *[social worker scale]* respectively.

Table 2: Differences in mean scores on the person, teacher and social work scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	PERMEAN - TEACMEAN	-.6933	1.1104	.2221	-1.1517	-.2350	-3.122	24	.005
Pair 2	PERMEAN - SWKRMEAN	-1.3467	1.5847	.3169	-2.0008	-.6925	-4.249	24	.000
Pair 3	TEACMEAN - SWKRMEAN	-.6533	1.3034	.2607	-1.1914	-.1153	-2.506	24	.019

Table 2 indicates that there is a statistically significant difference (at the 0.05 level for a two-tailed test) between all paired mean scores: *person-teacher; person-social worker;* and *teacher-social worker.* The paired samples t-test compares the responses of the same individuals on the two-paired scales. This test revealed a statistically significant difference between the *person and teacher* scale (t= -3.12, p= .005), the *person and social worker* scale (t= 4.24, p= .000) and the *teacher and social worker* scale (t= -2.50, p= .019) at a 95% confidence level. These results clearly indicate that the difference in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

paired scores indicating the importance of 1) qualities concerning some aspect of feeling or relationship with the instructor *[person scale]* and 2) qualities concerning ability to transfer knowledge *[teacher scale]* did not occur by chance. Similarly, the difference in paired scores indicating the importance of 1) qualities concerning some aspect of feeling or relationship with the instructor *[person scale]* and 2) qualities of professional competence *[social worker scale]* also did not occur by chance. Finally, the difference in paired scores indicating the importance of 1) qualities concerning ability to transfer knowledge *[teacher scale]* and 2) qualities of professional competence *[social worker scale]* also did not occur by chance. Thus, the students' preference for qualities of professional competence relative to instructional effectiveness and affective qualities respectively did not occur by chance.

Table 3: Pearson coefficient for person, teacher and social work scales of the CICRS for Bishop social work students

Correlations

		PERMEAN	TEACMEAN	SWKRMEAN
PERMEAN	Pearson Correlation			
	Sig. (2-tailed)			
	N			
TEACMEAN	Pearson Correlation	-.222		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.286		
	N	25		
SWKRMEAN	Pearson Correlation	-.746**	-.484*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.014	
	N	25	25	

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3 reports the strength of the linear association between the paired mean scores on the three scales using the Pearson correlation coefficient. The results indicate a statistically significant negative correlation between the *social worker* mean and the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

person mean (Pearson's r= -.746, p= .000) at the 0.01 level, and the *social worker* mean and the *teacher* mean (Pearson's r = -.484, p= .014) at the 0.05 level. The direction of the association is negative in both cases indicating that high ratings on the social worker scale suggest lower ratings on the teacher and person scales respectively. Thus the students' assigned importance to qualities of professional competence *[social worker scale]* and their relationship to 1) qualities of instructional effectiveness *[teacher scale]* and 2) affective-relationship qualities *[person scale]* did not occur by chance. These findings further reinforce the understanding that professional competence was valued over both instructional effectiveness and affective-relationship qualities.

Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scales of the CICRS with demographic characteristics of Bishop social work students

T-tests [for independent samples] compared the mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scale for all demographic characteristics. No statistically significant differences were found between mean scores and gender [*male* and *female*]; race [*whites* and *nonwhites*]; income group [*under $50,000* and *over $50,000*]; gender of field instructor [*male* and *female*], and years in program [*less than one to less than 3 years* and *3-4 or more years* in program.]

It was anticipated that the mean scores on the three scales would distribute themselves differently on three demographic variables; *age, marital status and having children.* Though the results were not statistically significant, the data are presented for descriptive purposes in Table 4, 4a and 4 because the scores deviated from the researcher's expectations.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale by age

Group Statistics

	AGE	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
PERSON	1	18	2.7593	.8915	.2101
	2	6	3.0000	.5774	.2357
TEACHER	1	18	3.5000	.6642	.1566
	2	6	3.5000	.5164	.2108
SOCIAL WORKER	1	18	4.2407	1.0198	.2404
	2	6	4.0000	.4714	.1925

Group 1=19-28 years of age **Group 2=29-39+ years of age**

Table 4 compares the mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales for two groups, 1) those who are 19-28 years of age and 2) those who are 29-39+ years of age. The younger students scored lower on the person scale [M=2.75, SD=.891] than the older students [M=3.00, SD=.577]. The younger [M=3.50, SD=.664] and older students [M=3.50, SD=.516] scored identically on the teacher scale. The younger students also scored higher on the social worker scale [M=4.24, SD=1.01] than the older students [M=4.0, SD=.471]. [The two groups did not differ at all on the teacher mean.] Thus, the younger students as a group valued characteristics of a social worker more highly than the older students and personal qualities less highly than the older students. Qualities reflecting professional competence were more important to younger students than interpersonal qualities, while the opposite held true for older students.

Since the interview data revealed that the younger students were more likely than the older students to value the nurturing and supportive qualities of their role models, it was anticipated that they would rank the personal qualities of a field instructor higher than the social worker qualities, while the reverse would occur for the older students.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thus, it was also anticipated that the scores on the person scale would be higher for younger students than for older students and lower on the social worker scale than the older students.

Table 4a: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale by marital status

Group Statistics

	Marital Status	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
PERSON	1	18	2.6667	.7796	.1838
	2	7	3.2143	.7741	.2926
TEACHER	1	18	3.6019	.5862	.1382
	2	7	3.2857	.6577	.2486
SOCIAL WORKER	1	18	4.2315	.8326	.1963
	2	7	4.0000	1.0887	.4115

Group 1= Single **Group 2= Married, Cohabiting and Divorced**

Table 4a compares the mean scores on the person, teacher and social worker scales for two groups, 1) those who are single and 2) those who are either married, cohabiting or divorced [MCD]. The single students scored lower on the person scale [M=2.66, SD=.779] than the MCD students [M=3.21, SD=.774]. The single students scored higher on the teacher scale [M=3.60, SD=.586] than the MCD students [M=3.28, SD=.657]. The single students also scored higher on the social worker scale [M=4.23, SD=.832] than the MCD students [M=4.0, SD=1.08]. Thus, the single students as a group valued teacher and social worker characteristics of a role model *slightly* more highly than the MCD and personal qualities less highly. Again, the reverse was expected since the single students tended to be younger and indicated the importance of affective qualities more highly in the interview data. In addition, the smaller standard deviations on the teacher and social

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

worker scale for the younger students indicate slightly less dispersion around these mean scores than those of the older students, suggesting greater consensus on rankings.

Table 4b: Comparison of means on the person, teacher and social worker scale for respondents who have children and those who do not have children

Group Statistics

	children	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
PERSON	yes	5	3.2667	.7782	.3480
	no	20	2.7083	.7871	.1760
TEACHER	yes	5	3.3333	.6455	.2887
	no	20	3.5583	.6100	.1364
SOCIAL WORKER	yes	5	3.9000	1.3155	.5883
	no	20	4.2333	.7881	.1762

Table 4b compares the mean scores for the person, teacher and social worker scales for two groups, those who have children and those that do not. For those students who have children, the mean score on the person scale [M=3.26, SD=.778] was almost as high as the mean scores on the teacher [M=3.33, SD=.645] and social worker [M=3.90, SD=1.31] scale respectively. This signifies that students who have children value personal characteristics of a field instructor almost as highly as they value teacher and social worker characteristics of field instructors. For those students who have children, the mean on the person scale [M=3.26, SD=.778] was higher than the mean score on the person scale for those without children [M=2.70, SD=.787] and lower on the social worker scale [M=3.90, SD=1.31] than those students who do not have children [M=4.23, SD=.788]. The mean scores on the teacher scale are only slightly higher [M=3.55, SD=.610] for those who do not have children than those who do [[M=3.33, SD=.645].

Interestingly, *within* each group, the scores on the three scales differ substantially between those with and without children. That is, interpersonal qualities of a field

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instructor are almost as important as instructional qualities and only slightly less important than professional qualities for students with children. However, for those students without children, the preference for social worker qualities is more pronounced when compared to teacher or person qualities respectively.

Table 5: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the person scale

Statistics

		Shows a genuine interest in me as individual	Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings	Demonstrates honesty to me and others	Avoids embarassing me	Shows empathy to me and others	Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.
N	Valid	25	25	25	25	25	25
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		2.3200	3.0400	4.0000	1.9600	2.6400	2.9600
Median		2.0000	3.0000	4.0000	1.0000	3.0000	3.0000
Mode		1.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
Std. Deviation		1.4922	1.5406	1.5811	1.5937	1.3808	1.4283
Variance		2.2267	2.3733	2.5000	2.5400	1.9067	2.0400
Range		4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Sum		58.00	76.00	100.00	49.00	66.00	74.00

Table 5 reports the measures of central tendency for all individual items on the person scale. The item receiving the highest mean, median and mode score was item p-3: *demonstrates honesty to me and others* (M=4; Median=4; Mode=5). The item receiving the lowest mean and median score and shared the lowest mode score was item p-4: *avoids embarrassing me* (M=1.96; Median=1; Mode=1). This signifies that students ranked honesty as the most important quality of all affective qualities on the person scale and non-embarrassing behavior as the least important. The medians of the individual items on the person scale are illustrated in a box plot [see Figure 5a] and the means of the individual items on the person scale are illustrated in a bar chart [See Figure 5b].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 5a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the person scale

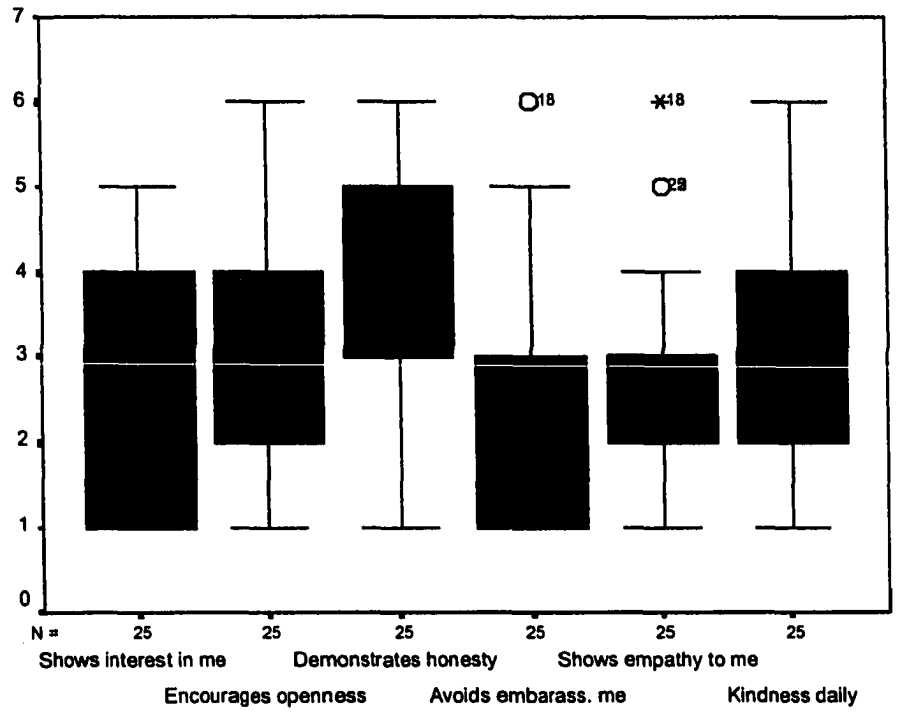


Figure 5a presents a boxplot of items on the *person* scale by rank. The "boxplot" displays the distribution of the values for each scale through a simultaneous representation of the median, the quartile ranges, and the smallest and largest values for each item. The lower boundary of each box represents the 25th percentile, while the upper boundary represents the 75th percentile. The vertical length of the box represents the interquartile range. The line inside the box represents the median. The length of the box tells how much the values vary (the spread of variability). The asterisks represent extreme values—cases with values more than three box lengths from the upper or lower edge of the box. The O represents outliers—cases with values between 1.5 and 3 box lengths from the upper or lower edge of the box.

Figure 5a presents several items whose distribution of data is not symmetrical because the line representing the median is not in the center of the box. There is a tail

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

toward larger values (positive skewness) on item p-4: *avoids embarrassing me.* Item p-5: *shows empathy to me and others* shows a negative skew. The values also vary least widely on this item and thus the consensus on this item is greatest, as evidenced by the fact that half of the responses are between 2 and 3 with only two outliers. The greatest variability [widest range of responses], and thus the least consensus is found on item p-1: *shows genuine interest in me as an individual.* This signifies that in relation to personal qualities, students were most likely to agree that empathy was a moderately important characteristic of a field instructor and least likely to agree on the relative importance of the field instructors' interest in the student.

Figure 5b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the person scale

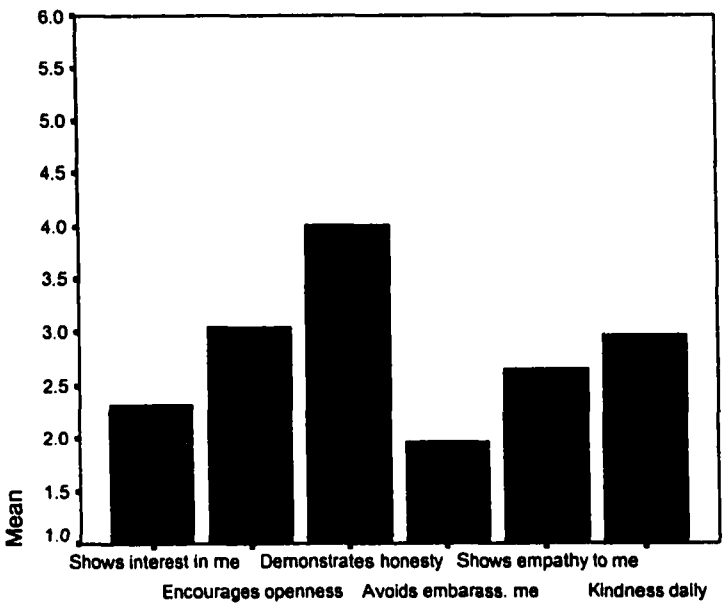


Figure 5b compares the means of the individual items on the person scale. The bar graph further illustrates that the item receiving the highest mean and median score was p-3; *demonstrates honesty to me and others* (M=4.0, SD=1.58), followed by p-2; *encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings* (M=3.04, SD=1.54). The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

item receiving the lowest mean score was item p-4, *avoids embarrassing me* (M=1.96, SD=1.59). Honesty and openness are thus rated as the most highly valued personal characteristics of a field instructor, while non-embarrassing behavior is rated as the least highly valued personal characteristic of a field instructor.

Table 6: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the teacher scale

Statistics

		Is available for help when I need her guidance.	Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention.	Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.	Encourages me to think for myself.	Evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.	Rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention.
N	Valid	25	25	25	25	25	25
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		4.8000	2.4800	3.7600	3.3200	4.1200	2.6000
Median		5.0000	2.0000	4.0000	3.0000	4.0000	2.0000
Mode		6.00	2.00	4.00	3.00[a]	4.00	1.00
Std. Deviation		1.5275	1.3577	1.3626	1.5199	1.2689	1.4434
Variance		2.3333	1.8433	1.8567	2.3100	1.6100	2.0833
Range		5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00
Sum		120.00	62.00	94.00	83.00	103.00	65.00

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table 6 reports the measures of central tendency for all individual items on the teacher scale. The item receiving the highest mean, median and mode score was item t-1: is available for help when I need her guidance (M=4.8; Median=5; Mode=6). The two items receiving the lowest mean, median and mode scores include items t-2: gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention (M=2.48; Median=2; Mode=2) and item t-6: rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention (M=2.6; Median=2; Mode=1). This signifies that students ranked availability as the most important quality of all instructional qualities on the teacher scale and classroom-transferable assignments and rewarding behaviors as the least important. The medians of the individual items on the teacher scale are illustrated in a box plot [see

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 6a] and the means of the individual items on the teacher scale are illustrated in a bar chart [See Figure 6b].

Figure 6a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the teacher scale

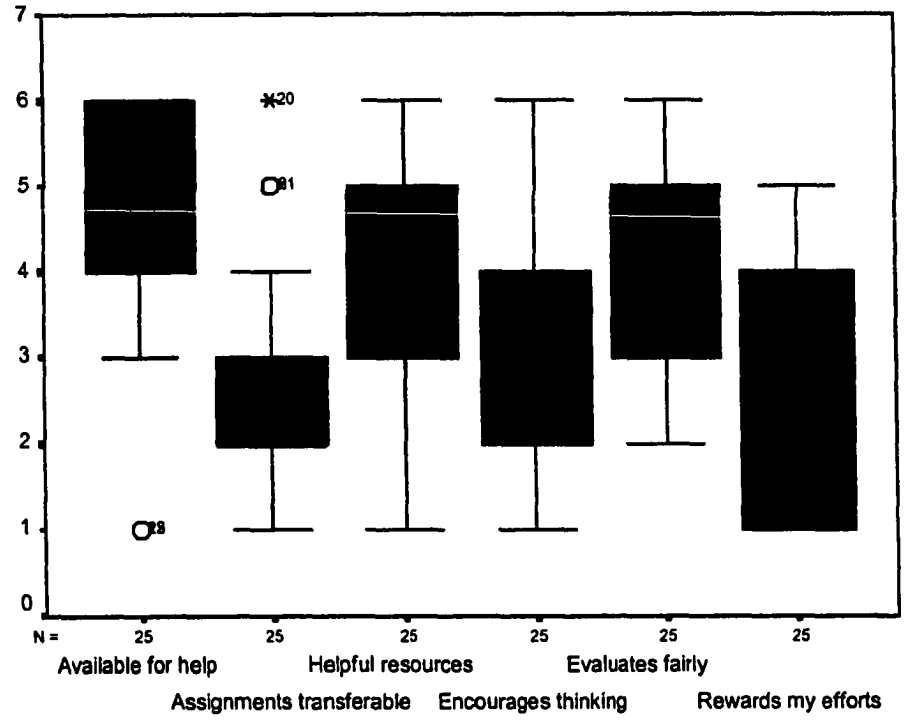


Figure 6a presents a boxplot of items on the *teacher* scale by rank. The median scores of the teacher characteristics are generally higher than that of the person characteristics and distribution of the responses is generally more symmetrical than on the person scale except on the second and final item. On item t-2; *gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention,* there is a tail toward larger values (positive skewness). The values vary least on this item, as evidenced by the fact that half of the responses are between 2 and 3 with only two outliers. The most variability in response is found on item t-6; *rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention,* as evidenced by the length of the box. This signifies that in relation to instructional qualities, students were most likely to agree that classroom-transferable assignments were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a moderately important characteristic of a field instructor and least likely to agree on the relative importance of the field instructors' rewarding behaviors.

Figure 6b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the teacher scale

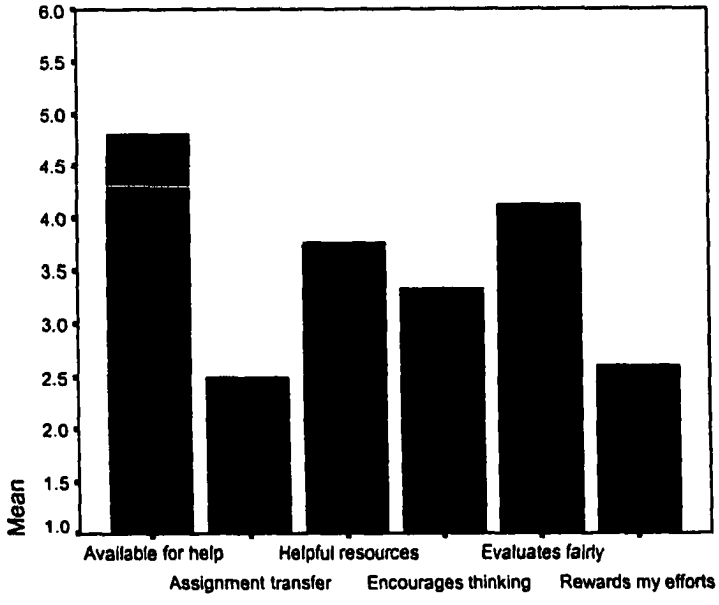


Figure 6b compares the means on the individual items on the teacher scale. The graph illustrates that the item receiving the highest mean score was t-1; *is available for help when I need her guidance* (M=4.8, SD=1.52). This item was the most highly ranked overall on the survey and was followed by t-5; *evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner* (M=4.12, SD=1.26), followed by t-3; *suggests helpful resources when I have questions* (M=3.76, SD=1.36). The item receiving the lowest mean score was item t-2, *gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention* (M=2.48, SD=1.35). Thus, availability, fairness and resourcefulness were ranked as the most highly valued teacher characteristics of a field instructor and classroom-transferable assignments were ranked as the least highly valued.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 7: Measures of central tendency of individual items on the social worker scale

Statistics

		Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.	Demonstrates ability to do social works skills.	Demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention.	Demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation.	Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention.	Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.
N	Valid	25	25	25	25	25	25
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		4.2800	4.0800	3.7200	4.2400	4.5200	4.1600
Median		5.0000	4.0000	3.0000	5.0000	5.0000	5.0000
Mode		5.00	4.00	3.00[a]	5.00[a]	6.00	6.00
Std. Deviation		1.4295	1.3820	1.6961	1.6401	1.6613	1.9933
Variance		2.0433	1.9100	2.8767	2.6900	2.7600	3.9733
Range		5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Sum		107.00	102.00	93.00	106.00	113.00	104.00

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Table 7 reports the measures of central tendency for all individual items on the social worker scale. The item receiving the highest mean score was item sw-5: *shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention* (M=4.52; Median=5; Mode=6). However, items sw-1, sw-4 and sw-6 also all received means of over 4.1 and also attained median scores of 5 and modes of 5 or 6. The item receiving the lowest mean, median and mode scores was item sw-3: *demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention* (M=3.72; Median=3; Mode=3). This signifies that students show a clear preference for enthusiasm as a professional quality than the worker's use of client principles. The medians of the individual items on the social worker scale are illustrated in a box plot [see Figure 7a] and the means of the individual items on the social worker scale are illustrated in a bar chart [See Figure 7b].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Figure 7a: Boxplot of rank by individual items on the social worker scale

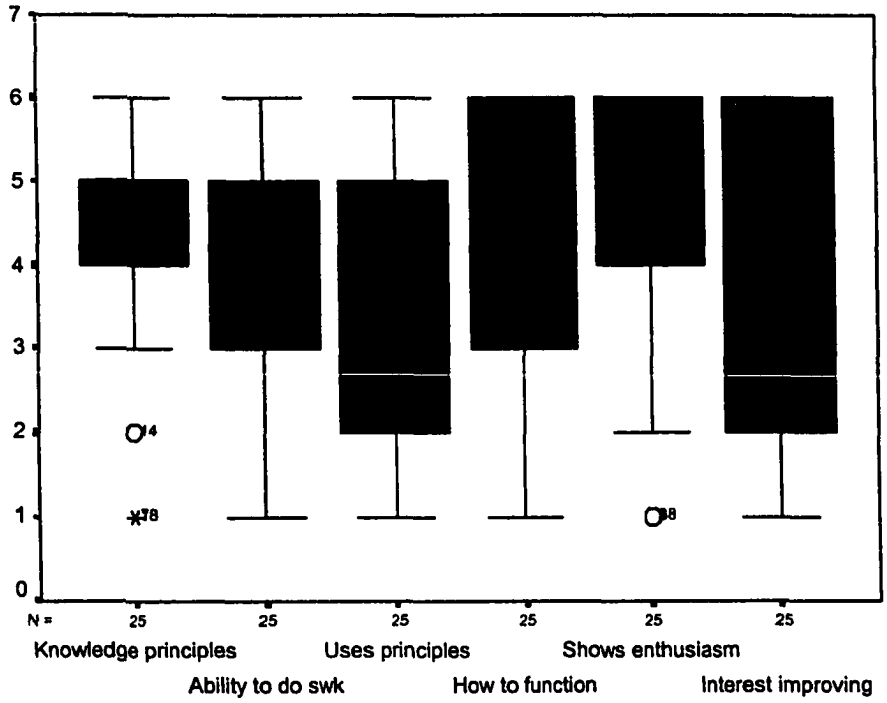


Figure 7b presents a boxplot of items on the *social work* scale by rank. The median scores of the social work characteristics are the highest of the three scales, signifying the greater relative importance of professional values over instructional and affective qualities respectively. The values vary most widely on item swk-6; *shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.* Unlike the other two boxplots, the social work boxplot indicates a tail toward smaller values (negative skewness). The responses vary least on item swk-1 than for any other item on the social work scale; *demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention* since half the responses were between 4 and 5 with only two outliers. The responses vary most on item sw-6; *shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.* This signifies that in relation to professional qualities, students were most likely to agree that *knowledge* of client principles was a very important characteristic of a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

field instructor and least likely to agree on the relative importance of the field instructors' interest in *improving* client methods.

The last three items shared the highest median value and were higher than the mean values. They included item sw-4: *demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation;* item sw-5: *shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention* and item sw-6; *shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.*

Figure 7b: Bar graph of mean scores of individual items on the social worker scale

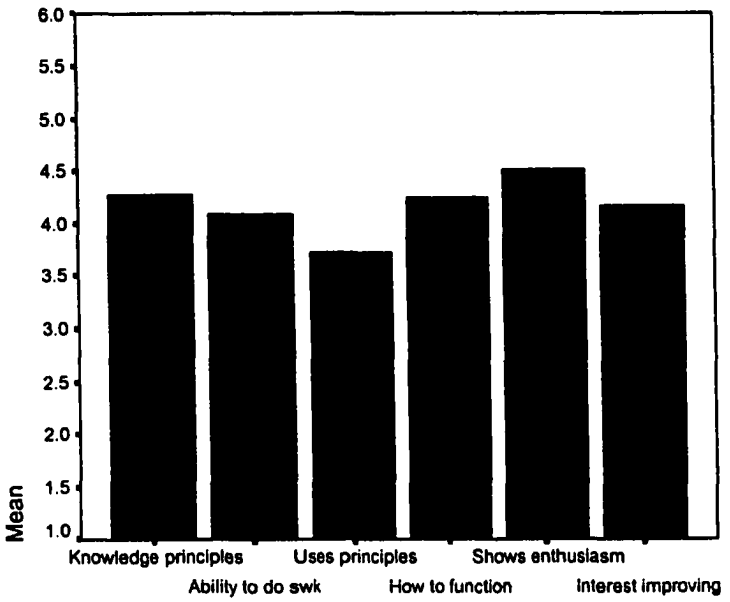


Figure 7b compares the means of the individual items on the social worker scale. The bar graph indicates the relatively high ranking of most items on the social work scale as contrasted with the teacher and person scale. Most of the items on the social work scales received a mean of 4 and above. As noted, the item receiving the highest mean and median score was sw-5; *shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality social work intervention* (M=4.52, SD=1.66). This item was the second most highly ranked item on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the survey. It is important to restate the the item receiving the lowest mean score on the social work scale was item sw-3, *demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention* (M=3.72, SD=1.69).

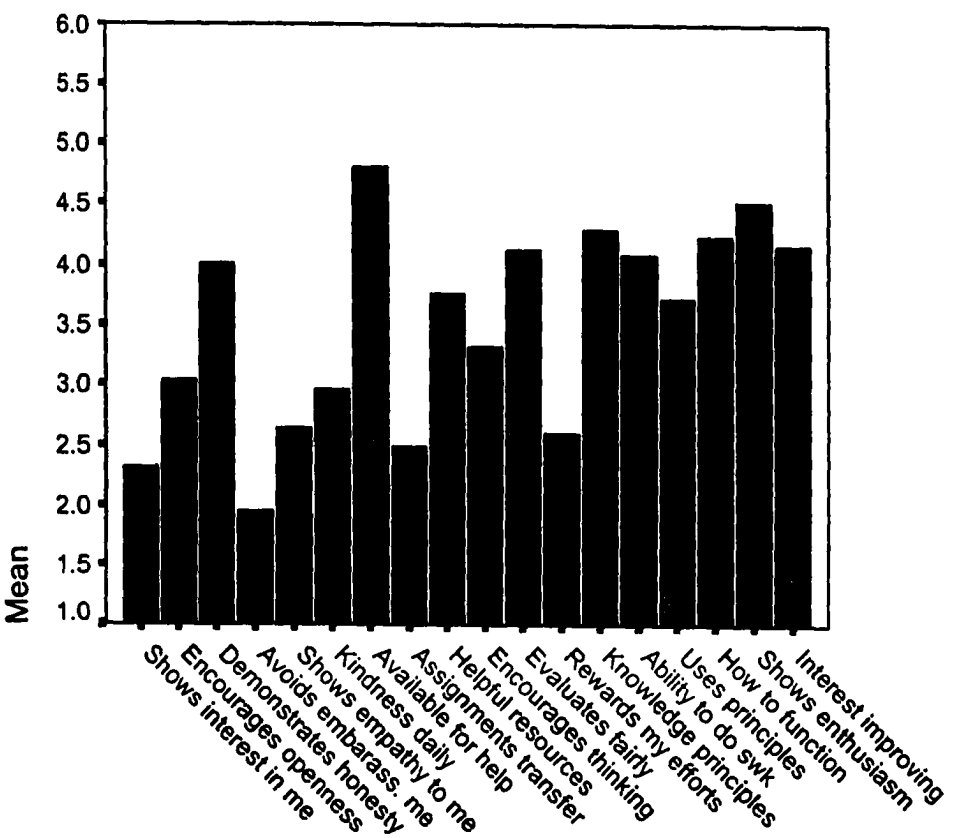
Items sw-1 and sw-3 are very similar. The only difference between these items is the difference between demonstrating *knowledge* and demonstrating *ability* "to use skills relative to client intervention." Though sw-3 closely resembles item sw-1, sw-1 received a higher ranking (M=4.28). Curiously, the students more highly valued the demonstration of *knowledge* than the demonstration of *ability.* The low mean score on this item dovetails with a similar item that was ranked lowest on the teacher scale; item t-2; *gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention* (M=2.48, SD=1.35). The students indicated on both scales that they do not appear to highly value the application or transfer of classroom learning to client intervention. In the same vein, though students highly ranked the importance of item sw-6; *shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention* (M=4.16), they were least likely to agree on the relative value of this quality of all social worker characteristics as reflected in the standard deviation (SD=1.99). The wide dispersion on this ranking support the previous findings that ability to intervene is less significant to the students than knowledge.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8: Mean values of the highest rated items on the CICRS in descending order

Item Number	Item Name	Mean	Standard Deviation
T-1	Is available for help when I need her guidance.	4.80	1.52
SW-5	Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality intervention.	4.52	1.66
SW-1	Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.	4.28	1.42
SW-4	Demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation.	4.24	1.64
SW-6	Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.	4.16	1.99
T-5	Evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.	4.12	1.26

Figure 8a: Bar chart of individual items on the CICRS by mean score



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8 lists the mean values of the highest rated items on the CICRS in descending order and Figure 8a graphs the mean scores of all18 indicators by their order in the scales. As mentioned previously, item t-1: *is available for help when I need her guidance* received the highest mean score (M=4.80, SD=1.52), followed by 4 items on the social worker scale. These items include sw-5: *shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality social work intervention* (M=4.52, SD=1.66); sw-1: *demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention* (M=4.28, SD=1.42); sw-4; *demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation* (M=4.24, SD=1.64); and item sw-6; *shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention* (M=4.16, SD=1.99). The sixth highest rated item, item t-5: *evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner* (M=4.12, SD=1.26) was included in the teacher scale. In summary, when the rankings of affective, instructional and professional qualities are viewed in aggregate, students indicate that availability is most important for a field instructor, followed by professional enthusiasm, professional knowledge, professional functioning, an interest in improving methods and evaluative fairness. A disproportionate number of items (3 out of 5) that were ranked very highly were included in the social worker scale. Students value access to their instructors first, knowledge, ability and service in relation to clients second, and fairness as an evaluator last.

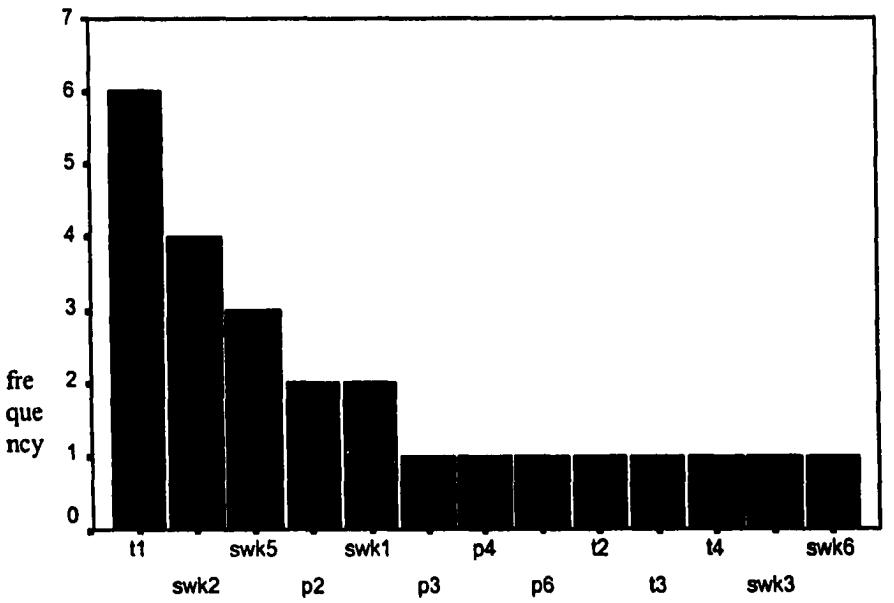
Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 9: Most highly ranked role characteristic of three 6's by frequency

Item Number	Item Name	Frequency	Percent
T-1	Is available for help when I need her guidance.	6	24%
SW-2	Demonstrates ability to do social work skills	4	16%
SW-5	Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality intervention.	3	12%
SW-1	Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.	2	8%
P-2	Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.	2	8%
Total		17	68%*

*Percentages do not add up to 100% because items receiving a frequency of 1are not reflected in this table.

Figure 9a: Histogram of most highly ranked role characteristic of three 6's by frequency



Item Number

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 9 and Figure 9a present the most highly ranked role characteristics of field instructors by frequency when students were asked to rank the three 6's (the three most highly rated items) from Groups A, B and C on their survey. Six students or 24% rated item T-1: *is available for help when I need her guidance* as the most important characteristic. Nine students or 44% of all students ranked three items from the social worker scale as the most desirable characteristics of a field instructor. The remaining 8 items [p-3, p-4, p-6, t-2, t-3, t-4, swk-3, swk-6] chosen as most important all received a frequency count of only N=1 and thus are not listed in Table 9.

Agreement and disagreement between quantitative and qualitative findings

In regard to the demographic characteristics, the representation of older and child-rearing subgroups in the demographic categories numerically correspond to the prevalence of those themes in the interview data that suggested differential socialization experiences based on age and having children. The reader should recall that schisms were often manifested in these data between the "younger" and "older" students, and those that are single versus those who have families to support. Additionally, it is not surprising that a relatively large number of students (n=11 or 44%) claimed to have had previous experience in social work. This "previous experience" finding also emerged as a theme in the qualitative data regarding students' reports that they have always "done" social work or work related to social work [See Phase I: Expectation-Revelation.]

Qualitative data were presented in the Expectation-Revelation chapter concerning the *personal, professional* and *social* qualities the students valued most in their vision of an ideal social worker/role model. Factors that promoted tension with the potential realization of these preferred qualities were presented in the Refutation-Negotiation

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

chapter. These categories of ideal qualities and frustration of ideal qualities were reexamined to determine their resonance and/or dissonance with the students' ratings of the preferred characteristics of a field instructor from the CICRS. The quantitative findings support the qualitative findings in some instances and challenge them in others.

The highest rated item on the person scale, item *p3: demonstrates honesty to me and others* corroborated the qualities named in the *personal* category of the qualitative data. Thc students suggested that ideal social workers/role models should possess core qualities of honesty and humanity. These qualities included themes such as a willingness to admit fallibility, disclose professional mistakes, and acknowledge the limitations of one's knowledge. Deviations from the preferred quality of honesty were observed in the unethical behaviors of field instructors including transgressions against agency protocols, and using client resources for their own personal use.

The second highest rated item on the person scale was *p2: encourages me to be open thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.* This item was strongly associated with the *social* qualities the students identified as central and which included the value of good communication skills, a willingness to listen, having an open mind, and a commitment to being non-judgmental. The students also alluded to the importance of this characteristic when they observed its violation in the field. Those field instructors that were disrespectful, unapproachable, rigid or cold and thus did not develop good rapport with their students or clients were sharply criticized.

Unexpectedly however, item *p-1; shows a genuine interest in me as an individual* was one of the lowest ranked items on the person scale and on the CICRS overall. It was anticipated that this item would rank more highly since availability [item t-1] and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

enthusiasm [item sw-5] were highly rated on the CICRS; qualities that arguably overlap with demonstrating a genuine interest. In addition, the qualitative data also suggested that role models were expected to take an interest in students' problems. Additionally, they were commended for their availability and willingness to provide therapeutic support. The data in the Adaptation-Affirmation phase also revealed that role models' involvement in students' personal development had a significantly positive influence on students' professional identity.

Consequently, it was anticipated that since these and other personal and social qualities emerged as central in the qualitative data that these items on the person scale of the CICRS would receive the highest overall rankings for the three scales. To the contrary, these items received the lowest ratings for all three scales. More pointedly, it was also anticipated that since younger students expected greater personal and social benefits from role models, including the satisfaction of having personal needs met through therapeutic relationship, that overall they would rank higher on the person scale than the older students. This was also not the case. The younger students and the single students scored lower on the person scale than did the older and married, cohabiting and divorced students. Finally, those students who have children rated more highly on the person scale. In sum, those students who are older and have children value personal characteristics of a field instructor more highly than those students that are younger and do not have children.

On the teacher scale and for the survey as a whole, the highest rated item was *t1: is available for help when I need her guidance.* The importance of this quality was also firmly supported in the qualitative data as students described the central importance of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nurturing, supportive and therapeutic relationships with their faculty role models. Availability was reflected in anecdotes stating that the faculty role model's door was always open, faculty's home phone numbers were provided and that the faculty often sought students out. When field instructors were identified as negative role models, they were criticized for being too busy to supervise students.

The second most highly rated item on the teacher scale was item *t5: evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.* This finding is also supported by the qualitative data. The powerful influence of role model evaluation was alluded to when students described how negative formal and informal feedback affected their stress levels and perceived levels of competence. Also, students complained of being dropped ½ a grade for every three absences from class, and consequently indicated that their grades were inaccurate assessors of their aptitude. Field instructors were also criticized on the quantity and quality of supervision, for their lack of knowledge and insight into the students' learning issues, biased evaluations, and for violating personal boundaries in the supervisory relationship. Unfairness was also implied when field instructors were criticized for retaliating against students by providing less supervision after students enlisted the school's help in resolving supervisory dilemmas. These deficiencies arguably impede the field instructor's ability to evaluate the students' progress in a fair manner.

Surprisingly, item *t2: gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention* received the lowest mean score on the teacher scale. Though there was no explicit praise for field instructors regarding classroom-transferable assignments in the qualitative data, it was anticipated that this behavior would rank more highly since the students did criticize those field placements that left them with either not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

enough meaningful work or the burden of overwork. The students expressed chagrin during the qualitative interviews with the 1) the irrelevance of some macro courses; 2) the inadequacy of classroom instruction relative to the skills and knowledge needed in the field; and 3) the incompatibility between what field supervisors and faculty told them about how client interventions "work." In light of these critiques, it was anticipated that any effort on the part of a field instructor to strengthen the compatibility between classroom and field learning through classroom-transferable assignments would be most welcome and highly rated.

Another item that surprisingly received the second lowest score on the teacher scale was item *t6: rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention.* Though "rewards" could be interpreted in many ways, it was expected that this item would rank more highly since the students during the qualitative interviews strongly associated the positive feedback offered by their role models as affirmations of their professional expertise and identity [See Adaptation-Affirmation]. In relation to demographic trends on the teacher scale, curiously, the single students rated the items on the teacher scale more highly than the married, cohabiting and divorced group, when it was expected that the presumably more life-experienced students (marital status, etc.) would more highly value these qualities. When tested for age, the mean scores were identical between these two groups.

The mean score on the social work scale was the highest of all three scales. Four items on the social work scale were among the five most highly rated items on the CICRS survey. Again, these items reflected that *enthusiasm, knowledge, professional functioning* and *interest in professional development* were among the most highly valued

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

characteristics of a field instructor. The first, item *sw-5*; *shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality intervention,* was thematically represented in the qualitative data. The students emphasized the motivational function of role models that included related themes of encouragement, motivation and demanding excellence. The students were inspired by those social workers that were enthusiastic about their work and were inversely discouraged by those social workers that were burnt-out, disenchanted and 'in flight' from the profession.

The second and third most highly rated items, *sw-1; demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention* and *sw-4; demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation* also emerged in the qualitative data. When students described the expected *professional* qualities of a social worker, they indicated that their role models should be knowledgeable which included knowing about practice areas, client populations, resources, power or practical skills. In relation to clients, the students specified that role models should empower clients with the skills needed to help themselves, know when to step back to allow the client to initiate the change and make demands on clients to fulfill their half of the contract. These quantitative findings and the qualitative data suggest that those faculty role models possessing a private practice and capable of sharing experiences are viewed as more professional and more 'knowledgeable about clients' than those who could or did not. Similarly, students prized those field instructors who equipped them with the tools needed to perform their role in the agency and commended their insight in helping manage students' difficulties with clients. The importance of these qualities was emphasized through the students' dismay at finding many of their professional expectations violated in the field. Additionally, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students noted inconsistencies between the academic principles [i.e., the importance of termination] of client practice learned in the classroom and the messages they received from field instructors about the expendability of classroom learning in the field. Frequently, instead of gaining practice knowledge, the student cited problems with the quality of supervision, the adequacy of guidance received relating to client intervention, the relevance of supervisory assessment of student learning issues and the imprudent use of supervision for personal disclosure that often detracted from its formal purpose.

In relation to the demonstration of client principles and the professional functioning expected in "real social work situations," the students were vexed when their supervisors and other collateral "unprofessional professionals" were observed as violating tenets of professional behavior/ boundaries with clients. Negative role models were criticized for their lack of availability to clients, taking clients to their homes, giving clients money, yelling at clients, acting impersonally, without diplomacy or respect, or acting in a racist or sexist manner with clients or students.

It was also anticipated that certain demographic variables, for example, age, marital status and having children would be strongly associated with scores on the three scales. Of special interest is that students with children rated the personal qualities of a field instructor more highly and the social worker qualities of a field instructor less highly than those without children. It may be that students with children [most were single mothers] value personal qualities in a field instructor more than professional qualities due to the extenuating stressors in their lives that often impeded academic concerns. A field instructor who is sensitive to the constraints of single mothers might be more desirable

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

than one who emulates professional expertise. This is certainly an area warranting further investigation.

Overall, though the qualitative data strongly represented the value of personal qualities in role models, it seems that when forced to rank the importance of personal qualities against instructional [teacher scale] and professional qualities [social worker scale], professional qualities assume more significance than instructional and personal qualities respectively. However, in certain cases, what students *say* they value and what they *actually* value is dissonant as evidenced in the noted disparities between some of the qualitative and quantitative findings.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CHAPTER VIII
Summary and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the professional socialization of undergraduate social work students, and specifically the influence that gender and social work role models have on this process. The phenomenological and symbolic interactionist frameworks were utilized to sensitize the inquiry to expected irregularities and uncertainties in the process as viewed from those that construct its meaning. Care was taken not to impose existing formulations of professional socialization a priori the findings. The inquiry was intended to stretch the boundaries of the values conceptualization staunchly held by the profession. In order to achieve this goal, the study cast a wide net and emphasized breadth over depth. The findings revealed a broad process of socialization that suggests more complexity than social work's empirical base previously investigated.

Methodological considerations

The utilization of small, purposeful samples in case studies are often criticized for their questionable representativeness and applicability to other programs. However, small nonrandom samples are selected in qualitative research precisely *because* the researcher wants to understand the individual case and/or the phenomena under study by choosing those that best approximate the reality being investigated (Merriam, 1998). A particular strength of exploratory research lies in its ability to illuminate the significant dimensions of a process or experience, and to inform future research in those areas. It is within such context that the researcher allows the readers to determine the extent to which the findings apply to their situations. User generalizability is a common practice in law or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

medicine where the applicability of one case to another is determined by the practitioner (Firestone, 1993; Merriam, 1998).

Reliability is problematic in the social sciences [and in the hard sciences when it concerns the constancy of phenomena] because human behavior is never static. Reliability in a research design is based on the assumption that there is a single reality and that studying it repeatedly will yield the same results. However, qualitative research is not conducted so that human behavior can be isolated—it seeks to describe the world as those in the world experience it. Since there may be many interpretations of what is happening, there is no benchmark by which to take repeated measures and establish reliability in the traditional sense. This is particularly true when the demographic make-up of the student-respondents is diverse, and other demographic variables such as geographic location, size, as well as auspice of the program vary. Findings from diverse respondents often reflect diverse rather than homogeneous realities that are not fixed, but rather "in flux, multifaceted and highly contextual" (Merriam, 1998, p. 205-206.) However, this does not necessarily preclude the existence of a shared experience based on a mutual curriculum of classes and educational interventions.

Summary

Summary of the qualitative data

The data generated from observation and student interviews suggest that students undergo a journey consisting of three phases of professional socialization to the social work profession. These phases were discussed sequentially for analytic purposes, but are not necessarily consecutive or mutually exclusive. That is, though the taxonomic presentation of these phases implies an order, the process itself is not necessarily uniform or orderly.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The themes generated in the Expectation-Revelation phase strongly suggest that the process of professional socialization does not begin in the social work program in which students enroll. Students possess well-developed expectations of social work and social workers and an understanding of the qualities and functions of both long before they enter their first social work class. These constructions are influenced either by personal experience with social problems frequently through direct contact with social workers or by communications with teachers or counselors who influence career direction. The data also indicate that social work identity is not formed exclusively via professional training. Most students report long-held feelings of compatibility with social work; either that they always felt they possessed personal characteristics well suited to the profession or that they were born or "called" to help others. Thus many students report "always having felt like a social worker."

Socialization experiences vary most notably among younger and older students. Age influenced both the reasons for entering social work school [except among single mothers] and the level of "learning personalization" which is higher among the younger students. Students for the most part expected social work education to be more academic and less personal, and are pleasantly surprised by social work's professional breadth. The respondents are in virtual agreement regarding the essentialness and significance of fieldwork for skill-building and professional identity. Students provide mixed reactions to the level of personal disclosure and emotional demonstrativeness permitted in class, with some favoring and some opposing the group-like aspects of social work class. A number of women and students of color also report differential classroom and peer experiences. Though all students assign great importance and value to the profession, they soon find

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this valuation rudely challenged. Students cite the negative status of social work as the worst thing about being a social work student. They encounter the low status of the profession through negative media depictions of social workers, negative comments received in response to their career choice, and observation of social workers in flight from the profession. Unprofessional conduct by social workers encountered in the field such as failing to abide by agency protocols animates and reinforces these messages and infects the students' regard for the profession as well.

Students identify a number of *personal, professional,* and *social* characteristics of an ideal social worker and find these traits modeled in the social work professionals they encounter in the program. The relationship between the identification of ideal traits and role model selection is fluid and reciprocal. Role model selection proves to be more accidental than intentional for a number of students. Students agree on the significance of role models as either [passively] providing an example to emulate or [actively] motivating them in some way. Many students construct "composite" role models, or amalgamations of preferred characteristics selected from various socializing agents. Timing or students' position in the program also influences role model selection.

Students predominantly chose faculty members, and to a lesser extent, field instructors as their role models. Students' descriptions of their relationships with faculty role models frequently resemble more of a therapeutic relationship than an academic one. The role model's gender is not identified as significant in the abstract, but does play a role as when some female students identify with either the success or social status of women with whom they shared relationships. Race was highly influential in only one student's role model selection.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Distinctly different, the Refutation-Negotiation phase marks the most stressful and conflicted of all phases as optimistic expectations and initially satisfactory revelations give way to contradiction and disillusionment. Many students confront their doubts about their suitability and commitment to social work and flirt with the possibility of quitting their educational program. All students report some distaste and difficulty with the macro content areas in the curriculum, finding them at odds with their micro interests. Ambivalence toward social work is fueled by the often unresolvable stress that arises from conflicting personal demands, the low status of the profession, and students' insecurity about their proficiency. Students rely heavily on grades and feedback from faculty and field instructors to gauge their aptitude, but in the abstract insist that grades do not make the social worker. They also find that grades are unreliable indicators of their capabilities as grade reductions are used to deter classroom absenteeism.

The most discord occurs between class and the field. The students entered the field with high hopes for 1) a professional atmosphere that values interns; 2) likable, appreciative and receptive clients; 3) colleagues and field supervisors that act like ideal social workers; and 4) a learning laboratory where knowledge and skills learned in class can be neatly applied to practice. Instead they find that not all professionals are professional, many clients are unreceptive to their helping efforts, agencies exert considerable control over their tenure and relationships with clients, and many of the tasks they perform do not seem to be part of the professional work of the field. Additionally, contrary to expectations, the younger students find their youth and inexperience as liabilities in working with clients close to their age. Critically, older, more life-experienced clients especially intimidate them. Respondents also confront the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reality that they are oftentimes powerless over their clients' predicaments and a field besieged by political and economic constraints affecting the quality of service delivery. Students also discover that coursework is often irrelevant or inappropriate to the vagaries and complexity of practice issues of the field. In sum, their relative impotence is keenly felt internally [underdeveloped knowledge and skills] and externally [environmental constraints].

Students encounter imperfect social workers in the field that refute the profiles of ideal social workers constructed in the previous phase. Although faculty members were predominantly chosen as positive role models, field supervisors were generally identified as negative role models. Students insist that supervisors violate students' personal, professional and social expectations of a role model: they are not always kind, empathic, attentive and caring; are too busy for students; lack the self-awareness and knowledge to effectively supervise, violate agency protocols; and do not treat clients, students and subordinates equally. Students' negative experiences with faculty, however, are less substantial and specific. Though students complained of favoritism and boundary issues, they were less likely to directly identify any faculty member as a negative role model.

The students employ various strategies to address the stress and conflict experienced during this phase and to "survive" the program. Generally, students describe both "sticking it out" by pushing themselves, or trying to focus on their original idealism and mission in social work as a basis for keeping their "eyes on the prize" which includes the hope of normalcy when their education ends. Peers, faculty and field instructors are described as support systems for helping students negotiate the stresses of their education. However, the program is generally criticized prompting recommendations for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

program improvement that include making other curricular requirements more relevant to social work. The students cope with their professional instability by drawing validation and reinforcement from client interactions, Field Seminar class and other seminars and field activities afforded by the program. Most students contend that they are largely in control of their transformation from student to professional by what they "put into it," rather than attributing power over their development to instructors. Conversely, they criticize faculty for not exerting a stronger gatekeeper role over some of those students perceived as ill suited for social work. Furthermore, in an attempt to manage their perceived ineffectiveness with clients, students sometimes knowingly violate professional protocols of the helping relationship such as disclosing personal information to clients, and rationalizing these deviations as necessary for helping the client. Students negotiate the low status of the profession by either dismissing it, getting angry and feeling diminished, reminding themselves that they didn't go into social work for the money, or resolving to go on for their masters.

The students note beneficial changes in beliefs and behaviors as a result of confronting prejudices and developing self-awareness in the Adaptation-Affirmation phase. They agree that the best thing about professional training was learning more about themselves and others, and credit their education as a basis for becoming more compassionate, confident, focused, open-minded, empathic and objective. Students also acknowledge positive change in their perspectives and interactions in their personal and professional relationships.

However, not all changes were completed by graduation. Some of the older students expressed disappointment that the program was not as effective in promoting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personal change to the extent they had anticipated. Still others did not entirely credit social work training for their transformation, and instead viewed their training as primarily tethered to developmental or spiritual changes previously underway. Many students viewed their personal therapy as a remedy to their incomplete transformations and also expressed a desire to pursue a career in private practice.

Alternatively, many respondents cite a number of affirmations facilitating professional identity. They identify good grades and positive recognition in the form of accolades, awards and honors as concrete, tangible evidence of accomplishment. Students credited their role models for preparing them for the real world and for providing validation, demanding excellence, and democratizing the developmental process. Even negative role models were appreciated for providing motivation. Additionally, students learned to accept the flaws of their role models, liberating them from the pressure of perfectionism exhibited in earlier stages.

Students were divided on the degree to which they internalized the professional role, with some saying they felt no different and many reporting that they felt like a social worker only in certain contexts or under certain conditions. Though most students took pride in their fledgling professional autonomy, and though graduation symbolized the "passage" to their readiness, students disagreed on whether their degree makes them professionals. Most students felt prepared for an entry-level job in social work, but expressed trepidation that their learning might not yet be internalized or solidified, as they remain "works in progress." Many respondents said that they did not intend on remaining social workers forever, insisting that they would use their degree as a bridge to other careers where they might make more money or have greater status.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Summary of the quantitative data

Utilizing a modified version of the *Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale [CICRS]* (Rauen, 1970), 25 students ranked the desirability of 18 behavioral characteristics of social work field instructors along three dimensions; *person, teacher* and *social worker* on a six point ranking scale. Overall, the students ranked the items on the social worker scale more highly than on the person and teacher scale indicating that they valued profcssional qualities over personal and educational ones. When the rankings of affective [person scale], instructional [teacher scale] and professional [social worker scale] qualities were viewed in aggregate, the students indicated that *availability* is most important, followed by *professional enthusiasm, professional knowledge, professional functioning, an interest in improving methods* and *evaluative fairness*. Thus, students indicated that they valued access to their instructors first, knowledge, ability and service in relation to clients second and fairness as an evaluator, last. Demographic trends revealed that younger single students valued personal qualities less highly than professional qualities while the reverse occurred for the older, married and cohabiting students.

The Socialization Process

Phases as renewable cycles

As discussed in the literature review, some of the early professional socialization studies in other disciplines utilized a structural functionalist perspective (e.g., Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957) and contended that student-recruits journeyed through orderly, sequential phases. Others utilized a symbolic interactionist perspective, arguing that the process was conflict-ridden (e.g., Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961). Though not denying the existence of stress, [but not putting their theories empirically to the test

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

either], early social work scholars subscribed to a structural functionalist viewpoint, emphasizing an integrative, progressive perspective of professional education. Reynolds (1942) specifically conceptualized professional learning as an orderly, sequential, five-stage process of "conscious attention" related to both the safety of the learner and the goal of mastering the experience. Hamilton (1954); Knowles (1972); Perlman (1967); Reynolds (1942); Robinson (1978); and Towle (1954) contended that students become professionals through organic, developmental processes; that "learners" are constantly adapting, and that teaching is highly influential in strengthening acclimation to the profession.

> Educators have in common an acculturation task which makes it necessary that the demands for change be paced as far as possible to come within the integrative capacity of the student. This implies an orderly progression in teaching, oriented to developmental norms (Towle, 1954, p. 176).

This study lends some support to a socialization process characterized by both a progression of stages as espoused by the structural functionalists, and a preoccupation with the exigencies of situational adjustment as proposed by the symbolic interactionistists. Didactic learning is an arguably non-linear process. Since the early social work scholars contended that professional education always constituted a test of the self (i.e., Robinson, 1978, p. 198), then learning how to "become" a social worker, with its requisite engagement and penetration of the self is fundamentally more circuitous. Therefore, in spite of the inferred temporality or succession from one phase in the process to another, the data also reinforce the notion that the socialization process is fraught with disruptions to orderliness, supporting the contentions of Becker, et al (1961) and other related studies.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Though the students' experiences with stress and their negotiation of it were primarily isolated and analyzed in the Refutation-Negotiation phase, the journey through the socialization process was reported as continually problematic. The tension between the students' "expectation" and "affirmation" of themselves as social workers was ubiquitous throughout the educational process, manifested in sustained conflict and stress. Their continual teetering between tenuous stability and instability prevented the possibility of strict linearity from a beginning point to an end point. Additionally, the loose ends, uncompleted tasks and ongoing personal changes presented in Adaptation-Affirmation confirm that no straight orderly progression exists from student "expectation" at program entry to a neat culmination of professional identity in "affirmation."

Throughout their tenure in the program, alternations of progressions and regressions repeatedly arose from each conflict and negotiation, supporting the contentions of Shuval (1975) and others that socialization is not a smooth, single-directional process. These fluctuations also support the assertions of Robinson (1978) that the self is constantly in flux, never static and never completely closed, achieving at best momentary balance and equilibrium only to be broken up again into new movement by the energy or impulse of change (p. 199). Thus, the recurrent circuits the students traveled more closely resemble the fluid, dynamic exchange of *cycles* than the transfixion of stages or phases. In sum, the movement from expectation through affirmation is perpetual; revealing vicissitudes of shorter [micro] cycles rather than one macro process consisting of isolated points or components of a process having a determinate beginning and end. Olesen and Whittaker (1968) refer to these as the "cycles of the inner world"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that include the "depressions and elations, bravado and timidity...predicaments and discrepancies, self-regulation of the cycle, emerging self-awareness and integration of self and role" (p. 286).

Like the nursing students in Olesen and Whittker's (1968) study, the students in this study also passed through continuous oscillations from idealism-to-imbalance-to-readjustment-to-integration throughout the program. The end of each cycle results in an incremental integration that promptly triggers additional crises. However, each successive culmination progressively spirals the students a little closer to the realization of the ideal they envisioned for themselves. Integration is never solid or stable, but rather an advancing and receding state that will continue to come and go throughout the students' professional careers.

The official versus the unofficial curriculum

The students reported struggling with some overtly troublesome areas in the curriculum, but were far more preoccupied with the struggle between what the profession is and is not, what practice is and is not, what social workers are and are not, and how to adapt to and accept these realities. Most of the reported socialization experiences consisted of an unofficial learning [that which is unintentionally taught] rather than an official learning. At first, the students superficially encountered the formal objectives of the program and the formal roles of the professionals in it. This manifest component of their education includes aspects of professional education systematically programmed into student experience, and therefore deemed intentional. It consists of the knowledge the students are required to amass throughout the curriculum as well as some expected protocols they are expected to adhere to, and personal changes they are expected to make

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[i.e., self-awareness] as they subsequently transform from students into professionals. It also consists of behaviors and components befitting "ideal" social work, social workers and social work milieus. As students progress and acclimate to the program, they unwittingly penetrate the superficial face of their education, and are forced to confront and resolve the discrepancy between what the program presents as ideal and what they find to be real. It is predominantly the challenges between official [manifest] and unofficial [latent] components of professional education that comprise the Refutation-Negotiation phase. The latent component encompasses the far broader multidimensional "training" of the students, as distinguished from the manifest component of "education." Merton, et al (1957, p. 72) alludes to these disparities when he notes that a coordinate norm exits for every norm in professional education.

Training includes what the students learn experientially, extra-programmatically and not didactically about clients, social work professionals, human service organizations, and the status of the profession. Included are the survival skills students' acquire, often of their own volition, after a personal struggle to discern between the ideal and the real and thus physically and psychologically survive the demands of the program. Because these aspects of discrimination and survival are inseparably powerful criteria to achieving success, as time progresses, the students' preoccupation leans considerably more heavily toward managing the challenges of their unofficial training than those of their official education.

> In spite of the manifest concerns of schools to perfect the socialization process, the latent understanding is always that the rhyme and reason lie in the ultimate confrontation with reality—can be seen from the wings rather than the center stage (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968, p. 289).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Controlling the process

When the students realize that what is most essential in their professional development is not mastery of the manifest curriculum but the latent one they seek ways to control the process. Classroom observations revealed one context in which students negotiate their official and unofficial learning and also suggested that vacillations between and within the cycles of expectation to affirmation occur repeatedly. More importantly, such observations indicated that whether or not the students acknowledge it, they create their learning and are largely in control of the duration, intensity and even occurrence of these cycles.

For example, the students direct the outcome of their learning through their level of interaction in the classroom. Some students endeavored to master a number of tasks in the classroom, succeeding at some, failing at others, and sometimes barely managing many. Alternatively, other students chose to disengage from the interactive learning process altogether and chose not to create or confront any interactive opportunities. Some chose to meet certain challenges while excluding others, and so on. [Many of their options can be readily observed in any typical classroom setting.] Demonstrating/not demonstrating mastery of content; pleasing/not pleasing the teacher; engaging with/disengaging from class discussion; taking/not taking risks; paying/feigning attention; sharing/refusing to share experiences were some of the obvious decisions available. The students could choose one or the other of the extremes in each set, and its opposite at varying times depending on the task, while also regulating the degree or intensity to which they expressed their choice.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clearly, choices contain various degrees of risk as when the students were tested on specific tasks of professional expertise. These tasks included demands to present and link examples from field practice to theory, or to demonstrate practice skills by assessing a problem in a role play or case presentation, or to problem solve other students' field dilemmas in class. Aware that their knowledge and experience were oftentimes inadequate and their internalization of their professional abilities mostly tenuous, the students wavered between the idealistic enactment of the social work role they held for themselves and a more grounded practice explication limited by their developmental stage. Through "impression management" (Haas & Shaffir, 1972), the behaviors they chose to present and 'play act' were probably the best approximation they could muster of the ideal, but their negotiations often stubbornly exposed their inexperience.

Proving competence

Social work students are provided few opportunities to convince others that they are being transformed into the types of professionals expected. They lack the "standardized assessments of specialized skill or examinations" (Loseke & Cahill, 1986, p. 250) that prove competence as found in other professional schools. In response, the students choose certain and familiar programmatic measures to prove competence and to reduce anxiety in ambiguous learning contexts where performance pressures prevail. At least initially, academic indicators served as reassuring comfortable anchors for grounding the vagaries of professional education to concrete guidelines, as they gauged both academic progress and the development of professional skill. In this context, it was not surprising that honors, good grades and positive feedback from clients, faculty and field instructors served as identifiable high points and reassuring "legitimators" (Olesen

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

& Whittaker, 1968) of the students' progress toward and claims to a professional role. However, the weight that students initially assigned to these arguably narrow benchmarks of success and failure soon left them in a continuously vulnerable situation, resulting in their understandable quandary about whether good grades do/do not make a good social worker. Poor grades and negative feedback/evaluations frequently triggered stress and depression, diminished self-esteem and self-confidence and indicated failure. Negative evaluations were considered pejorative reminders of the distance the students had yet to travel before they could fulfill the standards of adequate professionals that either they or their instructors constructed. Unsure about the utility and significance of their accumulated knowledge, poor grades and evaluations also triggered feelings of incompetence and besieged students with doubts about their overall appropriateness for professional work.

Additionally, the students could not reconcile indoctrinated beliefs about grades and evaluations as an accurate, objective assessment of capacity with the program's stance on evaluation as a subjective, judgmental and developmental tool used for fostering professional growth. Written and verbal criticism by faculty and field instructors in social work education is purposively structured to balance support with critique. It is assumed that the student, as a partner in the process, is capable of making the needed changes with the proper insight. Though the explicit norms of social work programs prescribe "playing down" grades, the students were conscious of the dichotomy between the philosophical norm and the program's practical emphasis on grades. Students were punished for excessive absences by reductions in grades, were reminded of the [grade] competitiveness involved in graduate school admission, and needed high

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

grades for admission to the Social Work Honor Society. These contradictions illustrated one conflict between the official and unofficial norms of the program.

Students frequently viewed low grades, and negative evaluation as part of an evaluative process that was unfair and inconsistent. The assertion that some students were "favorites" while others were scapegoated or that some were allowed to remain in the program when they should have been dismissed or that some instructors made more demands on some students than on others refuted the official notion of the evaluative process as equitable. The unequal distribution of power, grades, feedback and evaluations created distress and compromised the desired trust between students and their evaluators. Due to the exertion of power over neophytes in organizational contexts, Becker (1961) and Reid (1981) contended that students could never be socialized as professionals, but only as students. This point was richly illustrated through the students' reports of having evaded any direct confrontation with their evaluators [and presumably the power structure as well] when evaluative conflicts surfaced in either the field or class. Their evasion stood in stark contrast to their assertions that they controlled their education when directly asked who wielded most of the power over their socialization.

Instead of challenging the evaluations of significant others, the students strove to prove their competence, however privately, through comparisons to their peers. Instead of using the academic indicators they valued so heavily in their own self-assessments, the students critiqued their peers through the lens of a future colleague, and judged their appropriateness for social work on such moralistic criteria as personal values and the degree of prejudice they expressed. On these counts, the students were surprisingly disappointed and offended by their peers' behavior, expecting them to behave in a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

manner reflecting those characteristics considered suitable for social work; a similar finding to Barbour's (1985). Nonetheless, these evaluations became a necessary part of constructing a professional identity. [This will be discussed in a later section.]

Negotiating performance expectations

Despite the students' value judgments of each other, they knew that they did not always act from their values. As evidenced from observations, students often engaged in "fronting" behaviors (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968), by which they gave faculty [and assumedly field supervisors] demonstrations of what they thought they wanted to hear and see in a social work student. The students' conscious engagement or disengagement in expected behaviors suggests they learned the program's official prescription for professional behavior but also consciously manipulated behavior to suit specific purposes, thereby directing the course of their socialization. Manipulation often meant putting on the right face for their instructors while not fully internalizing expectations--thus the students are never more themselves as when fronting because they actively choose which aspect of the role to present. That is, if students can play at the role, then they're not totally absorbed in it and could shape it to some degree (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968, p. 294).

As inferred earlier, students were acutely aware of the program's expectations of their behavior, but in certain cases, either failed to adhere to them or consciously violated them in order to survive. In some cases, class and field simply didn't provide enough information on what to do in specific practice situations, and the student had to muddle through, relying on instinct rather than skill. Sometimes, field instructors aided and abetted students in violating norms taught in class pertaining to client practice. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students insisted that they were more likely to trust the ethical soundness of faculty over field advice, yet in most cases, they made their own decisions about how to negotiate their dilemmas. When classroom and field instruction proved inadequate in deciphering or responding to complex field situations, the students created guidelines for sustaining and protecting themselves against what they considered short-sightedness on the part of the program. These survival strategies were part of a shift in the locus of learning responsibility from the teacher to the student. Insofar as they were also subjected to the scrutiny and approval of their peers, they also represented culturally accepted norms for coping and learning among the peer group, suggesting the development of a subculture (Schreiber, 1989). Curiously, the students gracefully viewed the negotiation of programmatic dualities "as part of the learning." If they had added, "part of the unofficial learning," they would have been closer to its essence. However, the resolution of any dilemma was always tenuous at best due to the constant disruptions of interpersonal stress.

The formation of coping strategies enabled the students not just to learn behaviors essential for survival but compelled them to continually evaluate their efficaciousness for present and future situations. As a result, students learned to develop and sharpen their observational and assessment abilities while still "playing" at the professional role within the safety of student contexts, again, exercising control over the degree of their role socialization.

Wijnberg's (1977) study of social work students also noted the efficacy of coping reactions in the face of dissonance when expectations and doubts about social workers' status, autonomy, behavior, knowledge and service orientation were all disconfirmed. In

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the presence of cognitive dissonance, many students adapted their original expectations. They devised strategies that included 1) organizing their perceptions to either fit or change the environment; 2) changing/expanding their perceptions or definition of their environment; or 3) seeking confirmation of their prior expectations from other [school or agency] sources. When students were able to bring prior expectations and current realities into meaningful balance they could reduce dissonance and strain.

Personal Change

Stress as a stimulant to growth

Reynolds' (1942) asserted that the teacher's role in social work education is in "protecting the personality of the learner" (p. 67) and that conflict and stress are separate from the learning process and something to be *removed.*

> ...growth is so natural a process that we can only provide favorable conditions, remove obstacles, and then *let it happen* (Reynolds, 1942, p. 330).

Reynolds views tensions as undermining the learning and separates and decontextualizes learners from the essence of their learning environment. On the contrary, crisis fuels movement through the cycles of expectation to affirmation, and the production of coping mechanisms facilitates the possibility of resolution from conflict. In short, developing strategies to overcome the conflicts of professional learning are not aberrations of the socialization process, but inextricable components of it. Attempting to remove them from the student's milieu is not only impossible but a grave disservice. Though students clearly need supports to help them resolve their stress, confronting ambiguities and formulating management strategies create the conditions necessary to resolve tensions, propel adaptations, and stimulate emergent self-awareness that lies at the core of professional growth. As mentioned earlier, survival strategies provide critical guidelines for working

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

through future ambiguities. Arguably, without the presence, acknowledgement and negotiation of adverse circumstances, students would probably emerge from their professional program in possession of a number of dissociated behaviors and skills that in all likelihood would not be integrated, internalized or potentially transformational.

In view of this, coping strategies represent more than ephemeral survival tactics triggered by situational exigencies (Becker, 1964). The complexity and ambiguity of educational experience often left the respondents defenseless and cognizant that their old perspectives and behaviors were woefully inadequate to negotiate them. The new interactive strategies they devised to either retain or discard reflected integral aspects of the "broadening" they reported in perspective and behavior [see Adaptation-Affirmation].

> Professional education preparation disturbs previously established patterns of managing drive energies securing essential satisfactions and maintaining vital relationships. Anxiety is the emergent; an intense and unpleasurable subjective state of disequilibrium (Kink, 1964, p. 206.)

Robinson (1978) avers that social work students must reckon with the threat that new learning situations present to pre-existing "equipment" and "structure." Whenever learners enter new situations that demand unfamiliar "skills and techniques or facts and interpretations," they become conscious of the threat and consequent pressure. Robinson notes that learners frequently first resist such pressure and disengage, but eventually they yield to tensions endemic in learning in order to acquire new skills and/or knowledge. This process is described as an "internal movement through disorganization and reorganization to the new balance" (Robinson, 1978, p. 197) that ultimately results in learners regaining mastery of themselves and in possession of the new values demanded. Rather than typifying it as a *natural* growth process (Reynolds, 1942), she instead argues

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that it is a *stimulated* growth process, programmatically imposed upon the student. New patterns of learning, she contends, must become conscious to the learner and "built up slowly and with the struggle which any new important adjustment requires" (p. 211). [Hart (1991) similarly concluded that all socialization processes contain three common stages: *uncertainty and learning, adjustment, and gaining balance.*]

Inevitably however, gain is accompanied by loss. At the same time that students constructed new schemas for organizing ideas, they simultaneously had to cope with the loss of old behaviors and belief systems. The students report leaving parts of their "old selves" behind when they forfeit naïve notions about clients, social problems and the change processes and replace them with more sophisticated and nuanced conceptualizations. By abandoning previously reliable frameworks for viewing the world, the students in a sense lose their innocence.

Tempered idealism

A loss of idealism was frequently reported. In spite of the difficulties of adopting a more realistic stance toward the profession, respondents, as in Becker, et al's (1961) study of medical students, did not entirely lose their initial idealism. Becker, et al (1961) contended that at graduation, the students' idealism "returned" and was more informed than when they entered. Unlike Becker's medical students, the social work students did not put aside their idealistic notions to attend to the urgency of immediate situational problems, but at times "regressed" to idealism as a basis for coping with the program. This is not to say that their initial idealism remained unchanged but rather that it developed and matured; a finding that parallels Simpson's (1979) nursing study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The maturation of respondents' idealism can at least in part be viewed through their emergent insight. That is, they realized that whatever knowledge and skill were acquired was insufficient and that whatever personal changes had occurred were still inchoate. Expecting less of clients and role models and more of themselves as they neared graduation, the students acknowledged a readiness to assume greater professional responsibility while acknowledging limitations. Unlike their utopianism at program entry, the students no longer felt that they still could do anything, but rather understood more sharply possibility and limitation. They exited with tempered expectations of social workers and similarly modified expectations for themselves. At the same time, the students modified their expectations for the profession and career destinations.

Did this tempered idealism translate into value change? Becker, et al (1961) contend that since the humanistic values that medical students bring from their lay backgrounds are irrelevant and inapplicable to the exigencies of medical school, they lie dormant until the appropriate situation summons them again. However, the humanistic values with which the social work students entered the program were not irrelevant and inapplicable to official programmatic values. In addition, no contradiction existed between the personal changes the program demanded and the personal changes the students experienced. Humanistic values and the necessity of self-change were reinforced rather than recessed during the course of social work education. It is therefore unlikely that the attitudinal and emotional rearrangements the social work students underwent while in school are specific to the setting only and will not carry over after graduation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Self-awareness

None of the changes discussed thus far would have been possible without the development of a growing self-awareness. Confronting flawed belief systems created crisis for the students. They were programmatically compelled to both acknowledge their shortcomings *and* change initially under the scrutiny of instructors, and later on the basis of self-scrutiny. Officially and unofficially, the program required the students to demonstrate the development of self-awareness. Such demonstration was institutionalized through the supervisory conference, evaluation, and the group process in seminar class—and implicitly through one-on-one interactions with faculty members. Formally and informally, students were required to express their private thoughts in the program. However, such private reflection also demanded a self-discipline inasmuch as it could not be shared with clients. In both "on stage" and "off stage" (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968) interactions, the students believed they were always being examined by their educators. They reciprocated by continually scrutinizing their educators.

Self-examination became an additional, though implicit benchmark of success and failure. By probing and modifying their status in relation to their colleagues and role models, the students were able to construct behavioral guides. Awareness was then incrementally gained by resolving the discrepancy between self, others and the ideal. The internal criterion of self-awareness assumed more lasting importance than external criteria such as grades and feedback as students progressed through the program. This was in part evidenced by greater dismay over incomplete transformations at the time of graduation, than over grade/feedback dissatisfaction. Self-awareness was also the most frequently identified essential characteristic that students sought in their role models and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

required in their peers as future social workers. These findings illustrate the students' acceptance of the program's emphasis on this characteristic.

Progression through the program suggests an increasingly inverse relationship between the development of self-awareness and the influence of role model feedback. That is, as the students developed a stronger inner dialogue of self-reflection and evaluation, the power and influence of external evaluators diminished so that eventually, students were less affected by the power of outside indicators of legitimization. This was a finding similar to Darby's (1996) who found that beginners experience the socialization process in phases, expressing change in focus and in the nature of their concerns. Over time, behaviors that were initially externally-focused gave way to more internally-focused behaviors and attitudes. As the respondents moved closer to program completion, many had diminished expectations or clearer understanding of the imperfections of client, peer and role model legitimators. In part, this indicated that the students somewhat shifted responsibility for judgment and validation from significant others to themselves.

> The psychological reality of the successfully socialized individual thus *verifies* subjectively what his society has objectively defined as real. He is then no longer required to turn outside himself for 'knowledge.'...He can obtain that result by simple introspection. He 'knows who he is.' He feels accordingly. (Berger, 1966, pp.105-115.)

As external indicators of development were replaced with internal ones, self-awareness became the inextricable outcome of the continuing crisis in identity triggered by the tension between the ideal and real self; the continuous interplay from expectation to affirmation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Influences on Professional Identity

Role model characteristics and relationships

As mentioned earlier, the students started "becoming" social workers before they entered the social work program. In view of these early contacts, the students entered the program quite capable of making judgments about what they viewed as desirable behaviors in others, and by implication, themselves. Additionally, since most students also had considerable pre-program experience with role models, they already possessed prototypes against which they could select and evaluate potential role models in the program. These relationships and interactions cumulatively contributed to the student's conceptualization of the ideal social worker.

The program played a complementary role in reinforcing the students' visualization of the ideal social worker as a recognizable type through modeling and a curriculum that emphasized desirable personal, professional and social qualities. Classroom instruction also reinforced the students' preferred notions of field supervisors as available, supportive and empowering [observed in classes]. Thus, the students entered and left the program with the belief that what defines a social worker is not the realization of an identity predicated "on receptive audiences, displays of identifying symbols or the enactment of a specific, predefined part," as holds true for medical students. Instead, as noted in Loseke and Cahill's (1986) study, "a certain constellation of personal qualities was the defining characteristic of an 'authentic' social worker" (p. 252). Thus, desirable personal qualities became entangled and synonymous with ideal social workers before program entry and were consequently refined and reinforced in the program. Role models validated the implicit relationship between nurturing and desirable social work qualities,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and formed the students' ideas about the qualities necessary for social work. Through observation and admiration, the students made inferences about the qualities needed for social work, about what to look for in subsequent role models and what to aim for in their own expression of the role. Inversely, deviations from these ideals were something to be avoided, though learned from.

As Turner (1978) explains through 'role-person merger" or the mechanics of "internalized adjustment," students are likely to merge the role of social worker with "their persons."

1. The more intensely and consistently significant others identify a person on the basis of a certain role, the greater the tendency for the individual to merge that role with his person.
2. The more publicly a role is played and the more an individual has engaged in explaining and justifying a role and its standpoint, the greater the tendency to merge the role with the person (pp. 14-15).

In short, Turner contends that it is not always possible to separate the person from the role. Thus, the influence that significant others had on students' career direction and professional identity was likely intertwined with personal qualities befitting a social worker.

Though separated artificially for analytic purposes, respondents consistently melded personal, social and professional qualities when constructing their composites of the ideal social worker/role model. Since they were so highly interwoven, it was anticipated that the students probably could not separate professional behaviors from personal attributes. This inability was expected to emerge quantitatively or when students were forced to rank the relative importance of designated *person, teacher* and *social worker* characteristics on the CICRS. It was suspected that the rankings on the three

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

scales would not show discernible differences. Additionally, it was also anticipated that if one scale did rank higher, it would be the person scale. The reasoning was that students tended to overstate the importance of personal qualities in their qualitative descriptions. Surprisingly, this was not the case. The statistical differences between the person and social work scale revealed that the students possessed well-defined, discernible preferences for professional qualities over personal qualities.

Though the students ranked professional qualities over personal qualities on a quantitative instrument, these highly rated items were scarcely alluded to in their [qualitative] depictions of role models. The interview data more closely captured the context of their preferences, where one set of qualities [professional] does not necessarily preclude the other [personal] and the students don't have to make exclusive categorical choices. Insofar as affective qualities [person scale] can be integrated with instrumental skills [social worker scale], the students chose the professional skills as more desirable. However, it is unlikely that in reality they would choose instrumental skills as most important or more important than affective qualities. This point is supported by the finding that many instructors whose professional skill was not called into question but who lacked the requisite affective qualities were described as negative role models. In addition, students didn't always consider the presence or absence of professional skills in their positive role models. Frequently, the presence of desirable affective qualities was significant enough for this designation.

The confluence of affective and instrumental is probably best epitomized in the students' most highly ranked item on the survey, the instructor's "availability" to the student when help is needed. The wording of this item assumes that the instructor is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accessible [affective quality] and capable of guiding the student [instrumental quality]. Though this item originated from the *teacher* scale, it was the only item that explicitly blended both an affective and instrumental characteristic. Perhaps it is this association which influenced the student ranking of the item "availability."

Quantitative indices and qualitative themes regarding role model preference(s) reflected personal and social criteria. These preferences provided a window into the expectations respondents constructed for themselves and also reflected the intensity of the relationship between social worker idealizations and programmatic reality. In their negotiation of the two, the students confirmed their active participation in their design of a "personalized" professional identity. The fact that some role models emerged serendiptiously or at seemingly idiosyncratic points during the students' education offers testament to the students' ability to attract, repel and otherwise filter the influences they needed at the most propitious times during their education. Simpson (1967) also found that the influence of significant others shifted depending on the students' priorities. The sifting and incorporating required in the assembly of "composite" role models also reflects the students' unique handiwork. In turn, the persons chosen as role model referents contributed to the formation of a personalized identity by sharpening the students' perception of how individual personal qualities contribute to one's interpretation or enactment of the social work role.

Although the students could exert control over the qualities that would constitute their professional identity, they were oftentimes unprepared for the dilemmas involved in ultimately owning such characteristics. The students were constantly thrown into a series of evaluative predicaments where they were forced to assess and reassess the discrepancy

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between their personification of the role and the role enactment of instructors and peers. It was within this context that negative role models were perceived as important as positive ones. They exemplified the other end of the continuum of identification or non-identification and were embodiments of what not to become. At times, however, these individuals strained rather than facilitated the students' identification with and commitment to the profession.

Commitment to social work was in great part predicated on the students' ability to reconcile the gap between ideal and real. Those students who were the most successful at reconciliation reported the least overall distress. These respondents were 1) flexible in adjusting their initial idealistic expectations of the social work role with conflicting realities and/or 2) benefited most from the affirmations of clients and role models. The influence of affirmations cannot be overstated. Positive role models were appreciated for accompanying and not abandoning students through a precarious and sometimes demoralizing developmental process. Students took solace in a democratized process where they could determine their own pace and respond to their own dilemmas knowing their role models would validate their struggles and accept their new selves, however imperfect and incomplete. The role models' acceptance was critical to the students' self-acceptance and the simultaneous relinquishment of impossible ideals which in turn allows affirmation to be internalized.

Many students who claimed not "feeling like a social worker" at program completion did not develop a significant role model relationship in the program, and arguably failed to benefit from the support an exemplification that an ideal-real social-worker could provide. As mentioned previously, these students also did not change to the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

extent they expected. Does incomplete identity transformation signify incomplete socialization? Since socialization involves not only the "recognition of an assumed identity by the outside world," but also the "individual's recognition of the identity within" (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968, p. 247), then success is indeed a relative matter, depending on the definer. The program implicitly viewed completion of the program and the awareness of self as integral indicators of a socialized professional identity. However, every respondent graduated and most students exited describing gains in self-awareness. However, such benefits were not enough to enable all respondents to feel like social workers. [One student did both and still left social work.]

The peer group

The data imply that powerful and as of yet unexplored intersections of influences contributed to many respondents exiting the program not "feeling like a social worker." For example, three students from this cohort had no significant role model relationships, and reported not significantly changing pre-entry beliefs regarding diverse populations. [One acknowledged resistant homophobia, another sexism, and the third an intolerance to those intolerant of homosexuality.] Interestingly, all three also complained that they were unable to integrate into the mainstream student culture. One student reported isolation due to a combination of race, age and child-rearing status; one traced his circumstance to a combination of gender, age and occupational status; and another, sexual orientation. These three respondents were perceived and perceived themselves as differing significantly from the rest of the class. They exited the program as they existed within it--marginalized and disillusioned. Enoch (1989) claims that marginality is accentuated during professional socialization for those students that already come from marginal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

backgrounds. These students had the option of trying to conform to the prevailing peer culture or could have organized to form their own subgroup. [The Latina students by contrast, did report forming a subgroup in response to their marginality from the dominant group.] It is unknown why these three students did not form a subgroup. Perhaps they felt they did not share any [cultural] commonality.

In view of their disenfranchisement, how much of an influence does "belonging" to the peer group have on acquiring a professional identity? Schreiber (1989) found that that the peer group in graduate social work education helps students manage the student role which "furthers the overall goals of the school and faculty." Furthermore, the peer group "helps students learn together how to actively manipulate their educational experiences with the instrumental, emotional and social supports of their peers" (p. 39). The majority of the mainstream students in this study [single, white, female, childless] reported ties to a peer group of similar demographics. Interestingly, students that were older, of color or gay did not belong to this group. Should the program have been more sensitive to the exclusion of diverse students in the program and developed support group mechanisms for their inclusion? Did the identification conflicts and resistance of the disenfranchised students contribute to a self-limiting access to opportunities available to others for member relationship and specific kinds of new identity formation? Though this is an area warranting further inquiry, it is important to note that peer groups were not the only significant influence on professional identity.

Negative role models and the low status of the profession

The students' interactions with peers outside the program also influenced perceptions of the profession. In general, friends and relatives' perspectives simply

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

echoed negative media representing the profession. The low status of the profession presented a more impersonal yet more formidable extension of the negative role model that was not as easily rationalized as an aberration or as easily escaped. Lacking a face and a concrete form, this elusive and encompassing definition of the field was more difficult for the students to confront and counter. Where negative role models could be counterbalanced with positive ones, the negative status of the profession had no counterpart except the students' tenuous idealizations.

In sum, the negative role model and the low status of the profession were two powerfully influential agents of socialization that continually challenged students to reconcile dissonance between the idealistic and realistic view of social work. Since the students were not especially distanced from these depictions, negative role models and the low status of the profession posed the greatest threats to the realization of professional identity. The students were constantly pulled between a desired identification with the profession and an undesired association with the stigmatized characteristics of the profession. Due to the pervasiveness of negative representations, the students gradually revised their initial images of social work. In the process they too were changed and forced to reinvent themselves. This may in part explain why half the students interviewed did not feel like a social worker at graduation.

Since medicine and nursing were considered prestigious professions for men and women respectively in the 1950's and 1960's, these early influential studies did not have to contend with the tension between the students' appraisal of the profession and society's valuation. Coping and adapting to membership in a low status profession is a pivotal theme that also emerged in Barbour's (1985) and Loseke and Cahill's (1986)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

qualitative studies concerning the professional socialization of social work students. As implied by Enoch (1989), if a profession's graduates represent the profession, then social work exposes its incomplete and marginal status through its students.

For the students in this study, changing career direction was a less intimidating challenge than taking on the status of the profession. Departing from original aspirations, many students opted for a career in private practice at graduation, due to its higher status and the endorsement received from faculty. Choosing clinical social work serves to lessen the disillusionment of association with a stigmatized profession while creating the least cognitive dissonance with faculty values. As Loseke and Cahill (1986) note, perhaps the intangible rewards of self-understanding and development [sometimes through willing faculty-therapists] are the only incentives and rewards a low status profession can offer its recruits. Conversely, all too soon, the non-clinical aspirants will have to contend with the byproducts of low wages, burnout and possible retrenchment virtually anywhere they go.

This section concludes with many unanswered questions about the development of professional identity. For example, what will happen to those that have not yet internalized the professional role? Can graduate school complete such a socialization process or can professional realization only occur outside it? To what extent and in what way is the internalization of a new professional identity dependent on a constellation of contextual influences, such as peer group culture, that is beyond the realm of programmatic control?

> It is clear that the realization of the identity of professional social worker remained an elusive goal for most of the students despite their valiant efforts to achieve that goal...(Loseke & Cahill, 1986, p. 255).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perhaps educational programs at least officially cannot be counted on to instill professional identity since some students acquire some part of their occupational identity before program entry and others don't acquire it by program completion. The discussion of findings thus far suggests that the value of social work professional education lies not in what it formally provides in knowledge, skill and identity but rather in what it informally stimulates in the way of survival skills and self-awareness. Despite obstacles in their training, the opportunity to create a "personalized professional identity" remains and can at least in part be traced to the students, their ideals, resourcefulness, and negotiation and integration capacities. The objectives of professional education/socialization therefore need to begin to shift from an exclusive emphasis on skills, values and knowledge to discriminating an education and experience that increasingly emphasizes negotiating the tension between abstracted ideals and the complex realities of social work. Admittedly, this is a shift away from the official aspects of the program in favor of the unofficial, but students infer that this is the *real* business of their professional socialization.

Gender and minority status

The influence of gender on professional socialization was central to this inquiry. However, due to the minimal representation of male students in the program (n=2), the sample was insufficient to empirically support conclusions about how gender influences the process. Therefore, references to the data will only be utilized for descriptive rather than comparative purposes in this section.

Classroom observations obviated that the men's experience in the classroom was different from the majority of women. The males were observed as uncomfortable and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reticent to embrace the class value of interpersonal sharing. One male was notably critical [in interviews] of the "theatrics" employed by the females that he insisted was used manipulatively to gain favor with the faculty. In class, he receded completely into the back of the classroom and disengaged completely. The other made several admissions during his interview that he was uncomfortable with exposing himself before others. In class, he made strained attempts at engaging but would quickly recoil when the feedback returned was ambiguous or not clearly positive. Unlike most of the women who appeared comfortable with self-expression, the males did not engage in the same level of risk-taking behavior in the class and did not as actively exploit the opportunities available for shaping their experiences. [Merdinger (1991) found that BSW students were consistent in reporting that when classes were all or mostly women, they felt more comfortable and less judged when disclosing personal issues. The researcher observed an "all women's class" lead by a female professor and found the class the most expressive of personal experience--to the detriment of the curriculum.]

Alternatively, the women complained in interviews that they were treated differently from the men. They argued that the men were not expected or encouraged to take the same emotional risks as the women, and one of them presumably "got away" with inadvertent demonstrations of consistently sexist references to women. One explanation may be that the men retreated from emotional risk-taking due to their inability to undo earlier academic socialization patterns. Furthermore, the faculty may have sensed the males' discomfort and were careful not to further alienate them. Another explanation is that the social work profession and those fully socialized in it continue to reproduce the gender inequities already prevalent in the profession and larger society by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fostering affective qualities in women and instrumental qualities in men despite pedagogical ethos.

As noted earlier, the experiences of women in the program were not homogenous. Older women and/or women of color in the program separated themselves from the single, white female majority. Identifying themselves as different, the older women were often resentful of the younger women, their lifestyle, work habits, assumed complacency and parental dependence. On the other hand, the single mothers, regardless of race or age were more alike than dissimilar, connected by the priority of child-rearing demands. In spite of their differences however, most of the women gained inspiration from the presence and affirmations of influential women. In addition to the social benefits involved, interactions with female social workers served as an effective means of assuaging the dissonance experienced between their validation as women in the program with their invalidation as social workers outside of it. Sometimes the women identified with the family roles of their female role models, and sometimes they identified with the public roles they played. At other times, they were simply more comfortable with female role models and could not explain their connections with them in spite of a recitation of similar qualities in their male instructors. [Merdinger (1991) found that BSW students were more intimidated by their male professors and felt that they tended to discourage discussion and "stick to business."]

Many of these women linked their mothers' nurturing qualities and later female role models that displayed mothering qualities to their profiles of ideal social workers. The younger women and even some of the older women implicitly expected the female faculty to nurture them as evidenced by their mutual engagement in therapeutic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relationships. Role models fulfilled a distinct relational need for the women that the two men in this study did not report. The males identified desirable role model qualities, but neither committed to a close relationship with a role model nor reported it as central to their socialization. Both of the men had male supervisors in the field but this gender matching did not translate into a meaningful identification. Neither of the men utilized faculty members for therapeutic purposes, though the faculty was half male, and one of the male professors was used therapeutically by the female students. For these two men, role models served as archetypes of desirable qualities that were viewed as separate and distinct from them. They were not personalized as nurturers or internalized as a Future Self in their development as they were for the women. Lacking personal or therapeutic relationships with role models, the men were also not reportedly devastated by the discovery of ambiguities or contradictions between role model expectations and realizations. This is not to say this is the experience of all men in social work programs, but it was the experiences of the two men in this case study.

Most of the white women believed that therapy was a remedy for their incomplete transformations while also expressing the desire to become clinicians. [Olesen and Whittker (1968) make the point that the nursing students in her study also preferred clinical nursing as it permits "more reasonable arrangements in the matter of home and family since the hours and working structures...do not make the scheduling demands that hospital nursing does" (p. 294-5).] It is not known how much of the clinical preference of the predominantly white, female social work students was shaped with consideration to child-raising and familial responsibilities. This is an area in need of further exploration. Neither of the males in this study expressed the desire to conduct private practice. In this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

way, the men were most like the single mothers and/or female students of color that were less influenced by the clinical predilections of faculty. It is possible that a mutual dissuasion from clinical work was influenced by the experience of marginality in the program; that private practice was viewed as an occupation for "the majority" to which these cohorts did not feel they belonged. Another possibility is that marginal students might be more likely to be influenced by stronger extra socialization influences/role models. Nonetheless, not enough is known about how gender, class and race intersect to construct marginality and influence identification with specific career destinations.

The female students perceived the men as being prepared for the higher status positions in social work such as policy and administration. How they rationalize their preening for these more prestigious positions with their own preparation for the traditionally lower status positions in social work is currently unknown. The women were aware of society's intertwined perception of the profession as feminine and of little worth. As mentioned previously, some of the white females may have opted for a career in private practice to offset those inconsistencies. There are other painful inequities in the workplace they may not be able to rectify. Mean salaries for female social workers are 84 percent of the mean salaries for male social workers (Gibelman & Schervish, 1995). Landers (1992) reported that males in private practice had a median income of $52, 273, whereas females in private practice had a median income of $47,000. Lastly, female social work educators still earn less than their male colleagues with comparable rank, degree and experience (Sowers-Hoag & Harrison, 1991).

In addition to pay disparities, the field offers female students a taste of other painful realities they can expect to confront in agency practice. One is that a feminine

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

profession is not immune to the power inequities that give rise to sexual harassment. Some of the women in this study spoke of sexual propositioning by clients, supervisors and collateral workers, others complained of profane language, improper personal disclosures and various displays of indiscreet behavior. They are not alone. Students in MSW programs have reported experiencing sexual harassment in their field placements (Singer, 1994; Valentine, Gandy, Burry, & Ginsberg, 1994). Similarly, a study of NASW members indicated that one third of female respondents and one seventh of male respondents had been subjected to some form of sexual harassment by other workers, supervisors or clients (Maypole, 1986). In addition, Fogel, Ellison and Morrow (2001) surveyed 990 BSW graduates concerning sexual harassment in field placement and their findings suggest that incidents may be underreported to school officials. In another study, undergraduate and master's social work students were asked to respond to questions about sexual harassment in the classroom and in field placement (McNeece, DiNitto, DeWeaver, & Johnson, 1987). Nearly 30 percent of the 264 respondents reported some form of harassment. Ninety percent of those who experienced harassment were female and males perpetuated most of the harassment. Whether the males in this study were sexually harassed at their placements remains unknown. However, it is worth noting that they are not immune to the problem. Respondents from a study cited above (Fogel, Ellison and Morrow, 2001) insisted that those students who are gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender tend to be sexually harassed more often than straight students.

In closing, the social work profession is in need of further inquiry as to how the process of professional socialization varies for men and women. Some progress has been made in learning about differential socialization processes by gender particularly in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

field of medicine (i.e., Barnartt, 1980; Campbell, 1973; Grant, Genero, Nurius, Moore, & Brown, 1986; Hitchman, 1976; Leserman, 1981); law (Costello, 1998); and ministry (Kleinman, 1984). Though the Becker, et al (1961) study of male medical students and the Olesen and Whittaker (1968) study of female nurses both utilized a symbolic interactionist perspective, they emphasized vastly different aspects of socialization experience. Becker's findings emphasized the students' preoccupation with mastering the enormous amount of knowledge and skills involved in medicine. The nursing study on the other hand, concentrated on the students' interior changes and shifting self-awareness resulting from day to day interactions with significant others. It provided a far more vivid representation of how women are socialized into a woman's profession. In addition, the individual and collective processing of experiences and their influence on professional identity in the nursing study suggest parallels to women's socialization to social work. This study warrants serious consideration by the social work profession and arguably replication by researchers interested in this topic.

Implications for research and education

As noted in the literature review, sociologists began conducting numerous grounded studies concerning the professional socialization of students to medicine, nursing, pharmacy, dentistry, law, business, etc about fifty years ago, but demonstrated considerably less interest in social work students. Alternatively, empirical studies conducted by social work researchers narrowly limited the conceptualization of professional socialization to a few quantitative indicators. Today, the profession continues to equate professional socialization with value acquisition without the benefit of grounded empirical verification. Due to the paucity of qualitative inquiry in this area, social work pedagogy fails to benefit from the foundational knowledge base that other

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professions enjoy. The social work profession needs to accept some responsibility for remedying the obvious gaps between its inadequate socialization knowledge and that of other professions that have accumulated such data over the last 50 years.

The data from this study strongly suggest that some form of professional socialization occurs before students enter social work class and that social work school is not the first orientation students have to the profession. Since students hold well-defined conceptualizations of social workers and of the profession through previous experiences, it behooves social work programs to start where the "clients" are by building upon their breadth of experience rather than assuming they are blank slates. Without incorporating the understanding of students' worlds, attempts at structuring the socialization process are likely to consist of disjointed, uncoordinated and irrelevant interventions.

This study supports findings from the medical and nursing fields that students are active participants in the construction of their professional socialization (e.g., Becker et al, 1961; Olesen & Whittaker, 1968) rather than passive recipients of knowledge. Unlike the empirical literature in social work, the studies in medicine and nursing also obviate the importance of role modeling in professional socialization. Students enter social work school with well-defined expectations of their role models that correspond to their vision of ideal social workers. Students construct criteria, assign meaning, sift through qualities of available role models, apply them to their own identities and negotiate the discrepancies. These paralleled the nursing findings regarding the shifting influence of significant others depending upon the students' priorities (Simpson, 1967) and the inextricability of faculty evaluation on the student's development of self-awareness (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There has been little empirical investigation of the role of faculty and field instructors as socializing agents in social work. However, available findings from Abbott (1988) and Pike (1996) indicate that the value orientations of students align with those of those socializers. Shriver (1978) found a positive correlation between significant others' view of students' professional identity and the students' view of themselves. Judah (1979) also determined that faculty and field instructors have differential impact on undergraduate and graduate social work students. Though social work has always stressed the importance of relationship in the change process, it is curious that so little empirical inquiry has been directed to the specific and critical influence of faculty and field instructors in shaping the socialization experiences of students.

In addition to identifying areas in need of further inquiry, this study also challenges specific findings from some quantitative studies in social work concluding that demographic variables do not influence students' socialization (e.g., Cryns, 1977; Grimm & Orten, 1973). Rather, this study supports Judah's (1979), Becker, et al's (1961) and Melia's (1984) findings that professional socialization is not uniform or consistent and does not produce a homogenous class of [social work] practitioners ascribing to the same values. Furthermore, extensive empirical exploration is needed to more fully understand how age, race, and gender intersect to construct differential and sometimes marginal socialization experiences for certain groups of students. For example, a perceived sense of social alienation and lack of sensitivity from one's white peers to racial issues inside and outside the classroom, and the absence of role models of color in the program reported by some students of color suggest differential experiences based on race. The relative under-challenging of male students' emotional mettle in the classroom,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and unwelcome social advances by male professionals in the field reported by some of the female students suggest that women's professional socialization experiences are not immune from societal gender inequities. Also, age was associated with disparate student cultures. Differences in age were associated with divergent expectations of professional education and socializing agents. The programmatic divide between the older students in the night program with the younger students in the day program reinforced these differences.

The fact that many students indicated preferences for role models and peer affiliations on the criterion of race, age or gender and specific affective qualities such as empathy and attentiveness suggest that a personal identification with professionals and future professionals may be more crucial than identification with the profession. While role models were often chosen for their desirable affective qualities, students also selected professors as role models who had a private practice. Critically, many of the white students in this study indicated that they sought careers in private counseling while students of color were more apt to indicate interest in working with the poor through agency-based work that targeted social inequities. Racial and socioeconomic inequity already pervasive in the profession are thus perpetuated through the modeling of career interests; a white homogenous faculty models the clinician for white students, a more diverse agency personnel models the agency worker for students of color. Programs need to examine the stratification of their faculty and field personnel for its impact on the differential career interests of their students.

Since students report gaining both the most advantage as well as the most conflict in the field, and since they encounter the most negative role modeling in the field, social

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work education must intentionally address the sometimes dichotomous influence of this component of students' socialization. Students need to be equipped with the tools to take on the challenge of negotiating the gaps and incompatibilities between classroom and field practice. At the same time, faculty need to prepare and validate students in their observations that social work, social workers and social welfare agencies are not ideal types and more often than not, what is learned in class and textbooks will not always play out as expected in the field. Though field practica may be brought into closer alignment with educational objectives and material, aligning sophisticated organizational and agency cultures with programmatic goals is far more difficult. If field education is to provide a realistic social work agency experience, then students must be prepared for that complex and often contradictory reality. The question remains how to best facilitate a reconciliation between idealized class instruction and the often more sophisticated and ambiguous scenarios of the field. This is especially critical as many students repeatedly raise questions not just about negative modeling but also about the value of an education that is reported as ungrounded and irrelevant to the practice exigencies of the field.

More extensive research is needed to fully understand how students reconcile the discrepancy between ideal and real representations of social work. To this end the social work profession can benefit and build upon the findings of the qualitative professional socialization studies available in social work and those from other disciplines. Studies in medicine (Becker, et al, 1961), nursing (Melia, 1984; Olesen & Whittaker, 1968) and social work (Loseke & Cahill, 1986; Schreiber, 1989; Wijnberg, 1977) and this inquiry have discovered that students develop survival strategies to deal with the stresses and ambiguities of their training. Despite documenting concern over the stress and conflict

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that social work students experience (e.g., Mayer & Rosenblatt, 1974), scholars have not extensively explored this area.

This study's findings indicate a need for programs to be creative in developing support structures for students. These preliminary findings suggest that strain tends to be the rule and not the exception for the vast majority of students. Educational stress compounded by the burdens of integrating a personal life into work and student role can contribute to a highly destabilized and vulnerable learning experience for students. Both nursing (Olesen & Whittaker, 1968) and social work (Barbour, 1985) have recognized the dilemma of integrating a student-professional role into other pre-existing broader roles. Stress was particularly unmanageable among single mothers, who in this study represented about a quarter of the respondents. Single mothers often felt marginalized from extra-curricular social work activities due to the enormity of their obligations. This circumstance in turn created a less rich socialization experience for single mothers. This example suggests that programs need to be more mindful of specific cohort's constraints when program planning.

While social work educators need to more rigorously focus on students' unofficial learning, they might also reduce some of the stress associated with the official learning of self-awareness. Almost serendipitiously, students learn about themselves and what they can and can't endure without formal intervention, thus an inevitable result of this informal survival process is the growth of self-awareness (see Knowles, 1972; Perlman, 1967; Reynolds, 1942; Towle, 1954). Olesen and Whittaker's (1968, p. 282) reinforce this point when they note that "emergent self-awareness" occurs with great regularity

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

among various types of students during their professional socialization whether or not it is an instructional part of the curriculum.

However, social work programs *do* need to direct greater attention toward a relatively ignored yet powerful socializing agent in students' training, the low status of the profession. Traditionally, most professional socialization studies investigated students' socialization to high status or well-respected professions in our society with relatively little concern with how lower status professions socialized its members (Sarfatti-Larson, 1977). Thus, the accumulated research is insufficient to discern how status affects students' stress, self-esteem, commitment, perceived competence and formation of professional identity. This study suggests that a significant part of social work students' socialization experiences and their subsequent internalization of professional norms are colored by their early disillusionment and lack of preparedness for entry into an undervalued profession. In Barbour's (1985) and Loseke and Cahill's (1986) qualitative studies, social work students had to specifically develop strategies for coping with the stigma of membership in a low status profession. Enoch's (1989) study also posited that the status of the profession is a powerful socializing agent in its own right.

The over-emphasis on official learning and undervaluing of unofficial learning has important implications. To begin with, the profession must first encourage and legitimate inductive inquiries into the study of professional socialization. The themes and forces of this process once identified and verified by quantitative studies need to be considered when developing the proscribed educational standards of the Council on Social Work Education. Outcome measures for accredited programs should then require

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ongoing student feedback with attention to areas that are identified as lacking clarity or compatibility with practical learning needs. Rather than continuing the emphasis on deductive assessments such as whether students are/are not learning professional values, programs should first investigate *which* values students are learning since what students learn [for example, the discrepancy between ideal and real] is not necessarily what they are taught. Enoch (1989) found that specialized social work values were not acquired during the course of professional training and though students were highly influenced by social workers in the work setting, faculty contributed little to value development in their students. Becker, et al (1961) makes a cogent point that instructors cannot teach values if they don't know which values are needed.

> We have explained earlier why we felt it not fruitful to think of the student's training as providing him with the attitudes and values necessary for professional practice. We do not feel that we know what attitudes and values will help the student adjust most easily and adequately to the professional role he is going to play, for we do not know what the role consists of (Becker, et al, 1961, p. 420).

Critically, a profession that prides itself on the empowerment and self-determination of the client should provide clear and visible investigative methods that engage students' participation in feedback and the subsequent planning of their own learning/socialization process. At the same time, the profession must address its status issues as aggressively as its pedagogy since the broader context of the profession has a powerful effect on students' identities. This means that the implicit developmental issues of the profession must be explicitly addressed with the same emphasis and energy the profession expends in addressing the developmental needs of clients.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Through their own practice wisdom and good sense, many field educators intuitively facilitate many of the developmental processes that students undergo while preparing students for their field practicum. For example, as noted in the literature review, many of the recent textbooks for the field highlight activities and exercises that encourage students to validate, synthesize, and integrate their overall training and field experiences with personal reflection about becoming a social worker (e.g., Cochrane & Hanley, 1999; Horejsi & Garthwait, 2002; Thomlison, Rogers, Collins, & Grinnell, 1996). One textbook devotes an entire chapter to *Socialization into the Social Work Profession* (Berg-Weger & Birkenmaier, 2000, pp. 24-49). It offers students information about the phases of their education and concomitant developmental changes that they can expect during their training. The chapter also offers strategies for handling the subsequent stress. In the last several years, *The new social worker: The magazine for social work students* published by White Hat Communications has paid substantial attention to validating the developmental issues of students' professional education. A series of articles from the magazine were recently compiled into a book entitled *Becoming a social worker: Reflections on a clinician's transformative journey* (Melcher, 2002) that records a social work student's development from the beginning to end of his graduate education. Critically, the illuminating discrepancies between the students' developmental struggles and the content of class and field must extend beyond Field Seminar classes and textbooks. The profession must transport such support for students' developmental learning into every part of the curriculum.

This study resonates with the findings of other studies which suggest that students do not necessarily become professionals in social work programs, but rather

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professionalization may have occurred through previous work roles (e.g., Gould, 1993; Landau, 1999; Shey, 1969). Though students may undergo a relatively uniform training module in the program, they negotiate specific experiences on the basis of their own needs and lives. It is within this context that some will undergo a more radical transformation personally and professionally than others. For example, the data in this study resonate with the social work research findings that undergraduate [and presumably younger] students change more significantly in desired directions than graduate students as a result of their exposure to professional education (e.g., Judah, 1979; Merdinger, 1982, 1985, 1991; Moran, 1989; Varley, 1963). Additionally, this study suggests that younger students also have stronger preferences than the older students for professional qualities of a field instructor over personal ones. A metamorphosis is less likely to occur for those older students who entered professional education with a pre-existing professional identity. Since older students journey a shorter distance from neophyte to professional, they may thus emerge less transformed by their training and subsequently more disillusioned. [This was explored in the Adaptation-Affirmation chapter. Those that were the most dispirited by their incomplete "adaptations" were older.] Additionally, just as professional socialization does not always begin in social work programs, neither can it end there. In the final phase of the study, the students unanimously reported that they are still 'works in progress' and have so much more to learn. This demonstrates that they were successfully socialized to embark on a quest of life-long learning, a value compatible with Section 4.01 of the NASW Code of Ethics as it pertains to "Social Workers' Ethical Responsibilities as Professionals" (NASW, 1997).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In sum, social work must re-evaluate its approach to professional socialization since what we know about this process suggests substantial problems for the development of social work professionals. Critical to this study and the findings of other research is that more prolonged and intense socialization does not necessarily change students in desired directions (e.g., Bargal, 1978; Manzo & Ross-Gordon, 1990; Pardeck & McCallister, 1991; Valentine, Gandy, & Weinbach, 1986; Wodarski, Pippin & Daniels, 1988). This counterintuitive set of findings raises fresh questions that are perhaps best addressed through inductive inquiries. The questions that might provide a basis for the next stage of inquiry into professional socialization would include but not be limited to the following. First, if schools of social work do not change students in desired directions, then *what* role do they play in students' socialization? This study suggests that the value of professional education lies in its ability to promote the development of negotiating strategies thus helping students to temper their ideals with reality, self-reflect and ultimately change. This finding needs to be confirmed and deepened through further inquiry. Second, if social work education is not always the first step in the students' orientation to the profession, then *when* do students begin their socialization to the profession? This study discovered that students are attracted to social work, in part, because of childhood or volunteer experiences. Students' experiences and ideals must serve as a starting point for any educational interventions or curricula since they heavily determine professional development. At the same time, social work educators must rise to the task of incorporating what is known about students' complex journey into the formal and especially under-recognized informal aspects of student's socialization, while responsibly maintaining the awareness that they are powerful co-creators in this process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix A
Letter from Bishop's IRB

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

College

ACTING VICE PRESIDENT
FOR ACADEMIC AFFAIRS

March 10, 2000

Ms. Marietta Baretti
256 West Beech Street
Long Beach, NY 11561

Dear Ms. Baretti:

The members of the Institutional Review Board have approved your proposal on "The Professional Socialization of Undergraduate Social Work Students: An Exploratory Case Study Design".

Please submit a report to the committee at the conclusion of your project. Good luck in your research!

Sincerely,

Lillian Bozak-DeLeo

Lillian Bozak-DeLeo, Ph.D.
Acting Vice President for Academic Affairs

eb

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix B
Interview Script and Guide

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Script for the Interview Guide)

Introduction (Opening statement)

I am a doctoral student at Hunter College School of Social Work and for my dissertation, I have chosen to investigate how undergraduate social work students experience their social work education. This includes how teachers, field supervisors and other social workers influence your training. That is, I am interested in knowing what becoming a professional social worker means to you and looks like to you, and how it has affected you, and your career aspirations. This topic is relatively under-explored in our profession, and the information you provide will be very important in helping social work educators better understand how you experience your education by providing insight on how to improve that process. I will be interviewing about 15-30 seniors in your class, in addition to other methods of gathering information. The Seniors in this class were selected because your group is nearing the end of its professional preparation and are thus in a unique position to provide feedback on what the whole process looks like as you reflect back on it.

Please understand that this is not a test. Your teachers and administrators have no part in this study except by granting me permission to interview you. Your individual responses will not be provided to them, and can then in no way impact upon your continuing status in the program. Your responses are completely confidential, and your identity will be disguised for the purposes of collecting and storing the information you give me today. This means that I will assign a phony name or pseudonym as your identity in the transcript of our interview. In this way, you can be assured that nothing you say will ever be identified with you personally. To insure that I have recorded your responses accurately, I can have the transcript of our interview available for your review.

The questions in this interview will offer you the opportunity to reflect on and evaluate your training experiences. Although reflection and evaluation can provoke a number of positive feelings such as mastery, satisfaction and pride, they can also provoke negative feelings, including anger, frustration, sadness, and loss. Though these questions are not intended to cause you distress or discomfort, if you find there's anything you don't want to answer, just say so, and you do not have to answer it. Also, if you have any questions about why I am asking something, please feel free to ask. Please also let me know if you want to take a break, or discontinue your participation.

With your permission, I would like to use a tape recorder, so that I don't miss or inadvertently change any information you give me. If at any time, you would like to turn the tape recorder off, just tell me and I will turn it off.

Depending on the length and depth of your responses to my questions, and your interest and energy level, this interview can take anywhere from one hour to two hours to complete. I will be paying a flat rate of $10.00 for a one-hour interview. If

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

you decide to terminate the interview before it is complete, I will pro-rate the fee based on the amount of time you have spent with me @ the rate of $2.50 for every fifteen minutes. Similarly, I am willing to pay $2.50 for each additional fifteen-minute increment exceeding the first hour. Are there any questions before we begin?

If you have any further questions about this study, you may call me at (516) 431-9811. You can also contact my research advisor, Professor Michael Fabricant at 212-452-7023.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Interview Questions

A. The grand tour: What does the process of professional socialization look like?

1. Suppose I was a new Social Work student and I asked you what it's like to be a social work student, what would you tell me?
[Probe: Describe the workload I could be expected to have as a social work student. What are some of the features, characteristics, or ingredients of professional social work education?]

2. What are some of the best and worst things about being a social work student?

3. How would you describe the process of "becoming" a social worker?
[Probe: Is there anything that comes to mind that you would compare your social work education to, an analogy or metaphor?]

4a. In what ways has social work education changed you?
b. How do you view these changes?
[Probe: What would you say social work education is going to do for me, or to me?]

5a. To what degree would you say a student creates or controls the transformation process of student to professional?
b. How much of the process is controlled by others?
[Probe: How much of your professional development do you "make happen" as opposed to having "happened to you"?]

6a. What would you say are the two greatest accomplishments of your training?
[Probe: What are you most proud of?]
b. What are your two greatest disappointments or losses?
c. What issues remain unresolved?

7. What has been the hardest thing for you to adjust to or accept in your training?
[Probe: How was it hard? In what ways?]

8. In what ways do you think social work training differs for men and women?

Most significant experiences

9a. What was the highest point of your educational experience so far?
b. What was the lowest point? How did you cope with this?
c. Can you describe any other outstanding experiences in your education that had a significant impact on your professional development? Please elaborate.

10. Can you describe any incidents or experiences where you received conflicting or disturbing messages between ideal and real social work? If yes, please describe the dilemma and how, when and where it occurred.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[Probe: How has what you have learned about being a social worker in the classroom presented dilemmas in the field?]

11. How do the experiences you've spoken about so far compare to what you initially expected social work education to be like when you first entered the program?

12. How did these experiences influence your desire to continue your social work training?

B. Learning the technology and language of the profession

1a. What tasks or skills do social work students need to master in order to become a social worker?
[Probe: What kinds of things should social workers know how to do?]
b. What kind of jargon or professional language do you associate with being a social worker? Can you name some examples?

2a. What courses, activities, or experiences in your education do you view as necessary in helping you become a professional social worker? Do these activities make you feel most like a social worker?
b. What do you view as unnecessary?
[The student may wish to comment on lectures, agency meetings, educational seminars, case conferences, keeping journals, reading professional literature, discussing a case, etc.]
c. What role does field work play in helping you feel like a social worker?
[Probe: How does your response contrast with what the program considers necessary for your professionalization?]

3. What kinds of interactions--that is, with whom and doing what--make you feel most like a social worker?
Which do not?
[The student may wish to comment on client interactions, supervisor interactions, peer interactions, colleague interactions, faculty/advisor interactions, team meeting or case conference interactions, or collateral contacts with other professionals, etc.]

4a. What area of the social work curriculum has given you the most trouble? Why do you think this is so?
[Probe: What kind of strategies do you use to cope with this?]
b. How would you describe the relationship between getting good grades in your social work classes with becoming a good social worker?
[Probe: Would you say those students who get the best grades are apt to make the best social workers? Why or why not?]
c. How is learning how to be a social worker different from your learning in other college courses?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. The process of becoming a professional social worker is fraught with demands that students make a number of personal changes, including the development of self-awareness. How do you feel about making personal changes as a required part of becoming a professional?

C. Internalizing the professional culture

1. Describe the ideal social worker.
[Probe: What are some of the expected behaviors/ attitudes/ personal qualities of a social worker?]

2. How does being a social work student distinguish or separate you from other student professionals?

3a. How can you tell a social worker from other professionals?
b. What do you consider to be the "work" of a social worker?

4a. What philosophy, beliefs or values do you feel are the essence of the social work profession?
b. How does the philosophical/theoretical stance of social work differ from yours?

5a. How has learning professional values affected you?
b. Which values resonate for you and which do you not?
c. In what ways do professional values conflict with your personal values?
d. How important do you think learning social work values are for your development as a social worker?

These questions pertain to your peer group in the social work program.
6a. Can you describe any differences between what your peer group defines social work to be and the program defines it to be?
b. Can you identify any differences between what your peer group believes is the best way to get through the program as opposed to what the program prescribes for you to get through?

7. Are you a member of any professional organizations, student committees, or extra curricular activities pertaining to social work?
[Probe: How have these affiliations influenced your development as a social worker?]

D. Finding a personally and professionally acceptable version of the role

1. Tell me how you first came to social work.
[Probe: What is it about the profession that most attracts you?]

2. What personal qualities do you bring to social work that you think are assets?

3a. Do you consider yourself, and call yourself, a "social worker"?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b. Do you identify yourself as a "social worker" or a "social work student" to others?
c. How do people act toward you/ treat you when they find out you want to be a social worker? How do you feel about this?
d. In your opinion, what do people outside your chosen profession think of social workers?

4a. Has anyone you've come into contact with since you've been in the program, influenced or changed your perception or feelings about social work? How so?
b. How has this affected your field of practice destination in social work?
c. Your commitment to social work as a career choice?

5a. Social work is often described as a "feminine" profession. What do you think that means? How do you feel about that?
b. On the hierarchy of professions, where would you place social work?
c. How important is the status of the profession to you?

6. What do you think will be your most important priorities in looking for/ accepting a job?

E. Integrating the professional role into the other life roles

1. How do your parents/ spouse/friends/ children (if any) feel about your decision to become a social worker?

2. What factors in your personal life influence your level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with your training?
[Probe: How do the demands of social work school affect your personal relationships?
Leisure time?
Family life?
Social life?
Health?
Job, if any?
How does it impact on your finances?]

3a. What would you say are the biggest stressors in your training?
b. In what ways has this stress been positive for you? Negative for you?

4. Have the tradeoffs and compromises been worth it, in your opinion?

5. How do faculty, field instructors, advisors play a part in creating/exacerbating or reducing/ameliorating the stress you experience?

6. Do you feel stress is different for male and female social work students?

7. What kinds of survival strategies do you utilize to cope with these stresses?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

F. Student interactions/relationships with faculty/field instructors

1a. Describe the positions or roles of those who have had the most influence on your training.

b. Describe the qualities of those people who have helped you most with the tasks you need to master to become a social worker?

[Probe: What do these people do to help you feel professional?]

c. How has your commitment to social work been influenced by your interactions with these persons?

2. How satisfied are you with the faculty/staff that have been formally identified to help you with your field placement/advisement issues?

How would you describe their level of helpfulness?

[Probe: How does this compare to what you expected of these professionals when you first entered the program?]

3. Compare your perception of the ideal social worker with those qualities of the social work professionals, i.e., faculty, field instructors, advisors, you've encountered since you entered this program.

[Probe: Are you receiving clear messages that faculty/ field instructors emulate professional values and ethics?]

4a. In general, how would you describe your relationships with social work professionals in this program? In the field?

b. How do you think your gender affects your relationship with instructors, field instructors, and other social workers, if at all?

5. In general, would you say your relationships with faculty are hierarchical or collegial or both?

[Probe: In the classroom and the field, how would you describe your comfort level on these items?

- *Disagreeing or contradicting the underlying philosophy or approach of a course or intervention*
- *Presenting new material or ideas about a theory or client intervention*
- *Seeking advice about a personal matter*
- *Seeking advice about a professional matter*
- *Asking questions or making comments about a class lecture or supervisory conference*
- *Discussing interpersonal clashes you have with them*
- *Discussing counter-transference issues you're having with clients]*

6. In your view, how has the gender of the instructor affected your comfort levels in the aforementioned areas?

7. How have gender differences/similarities between you and your professor or field instructor influenced your journey to becoming a social worker?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[Probes: Formal interactions in the classroom or in the field?
Informal interactions outside the classroom or field?
Nonverbal interactions?
Feelings of camaraderie?
Personal growth?
Self-esteem?
Status within the program?
Harassment?

8a. What qualities and skills do faculty, field instructors and advisors expect you to acquire during your professional training?
[Probe: Describe the professional and the person you think they expect you to become.]
b. How are these expectations realistic? Unrealistic?
c. Conflicting? Compatible or complementary?
d. How do you feel about being evaluated by faculty, field instructors and advisors?

G. Student interactions/relationships/selection of role models
Many students speak of having had role models, or professionals that have influenced their personal or professional development in some way.
Has this been a part of your experience in this program?

If yes:
1a. What does having a role model mean to you?
[Probe: What do you expect a role model to do for you?]
b. Please describe the qualities of the social work professional(s) that you have chosen to be your role model.
[Probe: How does this compare with your expectations?]
c. In what ways has this person personally or professionally influenced you?
d. How would you describe your relationship with the person(s) you have chosen to be your role model?
e. How has this relationship changed you?
f. Does this person(s) know how significant he/she is to you?
g. Is this person(s) male or female?

If no:
1b. What do you think prevents you from having a role model in this program?
[Probes: Do you feel there is a lack of adequate role models or is there no one you can identify with?]
[In the absence of a role model, whom do you turn to for assistance?]

2a. On what criteria do you [would you] choose your role model(s)?
b. Is the gender of the role model an important criterion in your selection process?
c. [In what ways] do you prefer male/female role models?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d. In what ways, if any, are male and female role models different?

3. How are the role models you have chosen similar or different from other role models you have had in your life?

H. Improving the program

1a. Which aspects of the program worked well?
[Probe: What supports aided the program in working well?]
b. Which did not?
[Probe: What obstacles or barriers prevented the program from working well?]

2a. What mechanisms are available for students to provide feedback for evaluating the quality of the program?
b. Describe your [and the students' overall] level of participation in this process.
c. Describe your [and the students' overall] perceived level of impact on this process.

3a. How do you think your professional education could improve your preparation for professional practice?
b. If you could add or delete any course, area of skill training, or program mechanism, what would you recommend?

4. In retrospect, how prepared do you feel for a career in social work?

I. Summation and a look ahead

1a. Look ahead 5 years: where would you like to be working?
b. How does this compare to where you wanted to go [in the profession] when you first entered social work school?

2a. Overall, how much has your destination in social work been shaped by your experiences in this program?
b. How much has your destination in social work been shaped by the social workers you came into contact with during your training?
[Probe: If a change: What do you think the reasons are for the change in direction?]

3. Looking ahead to graduation, and back on your training, was it all worth it?

4. Is there anything else you'd like to add about your experience that was not covered during this interview?

Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts and experiences with me. The information you have provided is most useful.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix C
Consent form for subjects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Consent form for subjects

An explanation of the interviewing procedures to be employed in this study, in which I have willingly agreed to participate, has been offered to me. All my inquiries concerning the activities have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that the information collection will be held in confidence, and that my name will not in any way be identified. I understand that additional information about the study results will be provided, at its conclusion, upon my request.

I understand that this interview will offer me the opportunity to reflect on and evaluate my training experiences. I have been informed that reflection and evaluation of past experiences can provoke a number of both positive and negative feelings. I understand that if I find that any question causes me distress or discomfort, or if there's anything I don't want to answer, I do not have to answer it. I am also free to ask any questions about the researcher's reason for asking me a question. I am also aware that depending on the length of my responses, this interview may last anywhere from one to two hours. I have been informed that I can request a break, or discontinue my participation at any time. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time.

I have been informed that I may call the researcher or her research advisor for any further information about this interview or this study:

Marietta Barretti (Researcher): (516) 431-9811
Prof. Michael Fabricant (Research Advisor): (212) 452-7023

The above cited information was given to me (check one)
_____Orally

_____In writing

_____ _____
Signature of Researcher Signature of Research Participant

_____ _____
Date Date

Complete the following if you wish to receive an abstract of the findings of this study:

Name:_____

Address:_____

_____

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix D
Original CICRS for Nursing

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CLINICAL INSTRUCTOR CHARACTERISTICS RANKING SCALE

Listed below are three groups of characteristics of a clinical instructor. Each group lists six characteristics. In your opinion, which of the listed characterestics are most important to you to help you become the type of nurse that you wish to become?

In the following three groups, please rank each characteristic, giving the number 6 to the most important characteristic and the number 1 to the least important characteristic to you. The other numbers should be given accordingly, with 5 the second most important characteristic, and so on. There are three groups to rank.

**Remember in ranking the characteristics to choose a nurse faculty you consider to be your nurse role model!

GROUP A

____Is available for help when I need her guidance.
____Demonstrates Knowledge of scientific principles relative to patient care.
____Shows genuine interest in me as an individual.
____Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual patient care.
____Demonstrates ability to do nursing skills (such as nursing Procedures).
____Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.

GROUP B

____Demonstrates honesty to me and others.
____Demonstrates ability to use scientific principles relative to patient care.
____Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.
____Demonstrates how to function in a real nursing situation.
____Avoids embarrassing me.
____Encourages me to think for myself.

GROUP C

____Shows contagious enthusiasm for giving quality patient care.
____Evaluates my progress in nursing in a fair manner.
____Rewards my efforts to give quality nursing care.
____Shows empathy to me and others.
____Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.
____Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of giving nursing care.

Above you have 3 number 6's. Please rank the 6's in order of their importance to you, giving rank 3 to the most important.

Rank 3: #6 in Group____
Rank 2: #6 in Group____
Rank 1: #6 in Group____

Now do the same for the characteristics marked with #5's above.

Rank 3: #5 in Group____
Rank 2: #5 in Group____
Rank 1: #5 in Group____

Reprinted by permission of:
Rauen, K. D. 1974. The clinical instructor as role model. Journal of Nursing Education. 13:36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix E
Key for original nursing CICRS

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

CLINICAL INSTRUCTOR CHARACTERISTICS RANKING SCALE

N = Nurse T = Teacher P = Person

Listed below are three groups of characteristics of a clinical instructor. Each group lists six characteristics. In your opinion, which of the listed characteristics are most important to you to help you become the type of nurse that you wish to become?

In the following three groups, please rank each characteristic, giving the number 6 to the most important characteristic and the number 1 to the least important characteristic to you. The other numbers should be accordingly, with 5 the second most important characteristic, and so on. There are three groups to rank.

GROUP A

__T__ Is available for help when I need her guidance.
__N__ Demonstrates knowledge of scientific principles relative to patient care.
__P__ Shows genuine interest in me as an individual.
__T__ Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual patient care.
__N__ Demonstrates ability to do nursing skills (such as nursing procedures).
__P__ Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.

GROUP B

__P__ Demonstrates honesty to me and others.
__N__ Demonstrates ability to use scientific principles relative to patient care.
__T__ Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.
__N__ Demonstrates how to function in a real nursing situation.
__P__ Avoids embarrassing me.
__T__ Encourages me to think for myself.

GROUP C

__N__ Shows contagious enthusiasm for giving quality patient care.
__T__ Evaluates my progress in nursing in a fair manner.
__T__ Rewards my efforts to give quality nursing care.
__P__ Shows empathy to me and others.
__P__ Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.
__N__ Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of giving nursing care.

Above you have 3 number 6's. Please rank the 6's in order of their importance to you, giving rank 3 to the most important.

Rank 3: #6 in Group ____
Rank 2: #6 in Group ____
Rank 1: #6 in Group ____

Now do the same for the characteristics marked with #5's above.

Rank 3: #5 in Group ____
Rank 2: #5 in Group ____
Rank 1: #5 in Group ____

Printed by permission of: Rauen, K. D. 1974. The clinical instructor as role model. Journal of Nursing Education. 13:36.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix F
Key to Social Work CICRS

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Key: SW= Social Worker T= Teacher P= Person

Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale—CICRS

Listed below are three groups of characteristics of a field instructor. Each group lists six characteristics. In your opinion, which of the listed characteristics are *most important to you* to help you become the type of social worker that you wish to become?

In the following three groups, please rank each characteristic, giving the number *6* to the *most important* characteristic and the number *1* to the *least important* characteristic to you. The other numbers should be given accordingly, with *5* the second most important characteristic, and so on. There are three groups to rank.

GROUP A:

__T__ Is available for help when I need her guidance.
__SW__ Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.
__P__ Shows genuine interest in me as an individual.
__T__ Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention.
__SW__ Demonstrates ability to do social work skills.
__P__ Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.

GROUP B

__P__ Demonstrates honesty to me and others.
__SW__ Demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention.
__T__ Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.
__SW__ Demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation.
__P__ Avoids embarrassing me.
__T__ Encourages me to think for myself.

GROUP C

__SW__ Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention.
__T__ Evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.
__T__ Rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention.
__P__ Shows empathy to me and others.
__P__ Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.
__SW__ Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.

Above you have 3 number *6's*. Please rank the *6's* in order of their importance to you, giving rank *3* to the most important.

Rank 3: #6 in Group _____
Rank 2: #6 in Group _____
Rank 1: #6 in Group _____

Now do the same for the characteristics marked with *#5's* above.

Rank 3: #5 in Group _____
Rank 2: #5 in Group _____
Rank 1: #5 in Group _____

Please indicate the gender of your present field instructor _____Female _____Male

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix G
Correspondences to creator of CICRS

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I, Karen Rauen, do hereby grant Marietta Barrett permission to use the instrument which I developed, the *Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale*. Marietta Barrett may modify those indicators that contain nursing language by replacing this language with social work language. I am to be credited and cited in all references made to the development of the scale.

Karen C. Rauen 12-6-99

Signature Date

Best Wishes with your study! I'd enjoy receiving an abstract of it when it is completed.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

256 West Beech Street
Long Beach, NY 11561
October 29, 1999

Ms. Karen C. Rauen
10406 North Sunflower Court
Mequon, Wisconsin 53092

Dear Ms. Rauen:

I hope this letter finds its way to you. I am writing to request permission to use the instrument that you developed, the *Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale* (1970, 1974) in my dissertation research. I am a doctoral candidate at Hunter College School of Social Work at CUNY and a junior faculty member at Long Island University's new undergraduate social work program. I obtained your address from Geneva Cooper's Master's Thesis, *Characteristics students view as important in nurse faculty role models* (1982). She also contacted you for permission to use this instrument.

I intend on utilizing a case study design (multiple methods of data collection) to explore the professional socialization of undergraduate social work students. This includes how gender influences the process, and how role models and their gender differentially influence socialization experiences. Your instrument would be well suited to addressing the influence of role models on students. However, I would need to make some minor modifications so that some of the nursing language in several of the indicators more adequately reflects the language of social work. Specifically, in all items using the word "nursing" the words "social work" would replace it, and all items employing the term "patient care," would be replaced with "client intervention." In addition, the word "scientific" would be eliminated from all indicators. I hope this is not objectionable to you. I believe the validity of the instrument would not be affected by making these changes.

Please notify me at your earliest convenience if I have your permission to use this instrument. I would be happy to send you an abstract of my findings when my data analysis is complete.

You may sign and return the attached form to me in the SASE or e-mail me at
mbarrett@optonline.net

Thank you for your time and consideration to my request.

Very truly yours,

Marietta Barretti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix H
Cover letter to CICRS survey

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Spring, 2000

Dear Student:

I am a doctoral candidate at Hunter College School of Social Welfare conducting my dissertation research on the professional socialization of social work students. One area of inquiry in my study concerns the influence of field instructors on social work students' and their educational experiences. This survey is designed to better understand those characteristics of field instructors that students think are most important.

The survey takes approximately 20-25 minutes to complete and is strictly anonymous. Your responses can never be associated with you personally. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. The raw data collected from this survey will not be seen or utilized by the educational program in which you are enrolled, and therefore cannot affect your future enrollment in this program. However, completion and return of the survey grants me permission to use these data for my research.

I am collecting demographic information in order to give me a broader idea of those factors that may play a part in your responses. I would appreciate it if you would provide this information. Please return the survey in the attached SASE. If you have any further questions about this survey or study, you may call the researcher or her research advisor.

Marietta Barretti (Researcher): (516) 431-9811
Prof. Michael Fabricant (Research Advisor): (212) 452-7023

I wish to extend my sincerest appreciation for participating in this project. The data you provide may someday better equip social work educators and field instructors to more fully understand students' perspectives of their social work education.

Very truly yours,

Marietta Barretti

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix I
Demographic Survey

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Demographic Information

SEX: Male_____ Female_____

RACE: White_____ African American_____ Latino(a)_____ Asian _____
West Indian_____ Native American_____ Other_____

AGE: 19-23_____ 24-28_____ 29-33_____ 34-38_____ 39+_____

MARITAL STATUS: Single_____ Married_____ Cohabiting_____
Divorced_____ Widow(ed)_____

CHILDREN: Yes_____ No_____

NUMBER OF YEARS IN SOCIAL WORK PROGRAM: _____years

HOUSEHOLD INCOME:
Less than $15,000_____
$15,000--$19,999_____
$20, 000--$29,999_____
$30,000--$39,999_____
$40,000--$49,999_____
$50,000--$59,999_____
$60,000--$69,999_____
$70,000--$79,999_____
$80,000--$89,999_____
$90,000--$99,999_____
$100,000+_____

TYPE OF FIELD PLACEMENT:
Educational _____
Medical _____
Mental Health _____
Criminal Justice_____
Alcohol/Substance Abuse_____
Family/ Children's Services_____
Services for the Elderly_____
Women's Services_____
Immigrant/Refugee Services_____
Housing_____
Legal Services_____
Other (please indicate)_____

PREDOMINANT MODALITY:
Casework _____
Groupwork_____
Community Organization _____
Administration_____
Research_____

Did you have previous experience in any other professional field before coming to social work? Yes_____ No____

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix J
CICRS with Social Work Indicators

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Clinical Instructor Characteristics Ranking Scale—CICRS

Listed below are three groups of characteristics of a field instructor. Each group lists six characteristics. In your opinion, which of the listed characteristics are *most important to you* to help you become the type of social worker that you wish to become?

In the following three groups, please rank each characteristic, giving the number *6* to the *most important* characteristic and the number *1* to the *least important* characteristic to you. The other numbers should be given accordingly, with *5* the second most important characteristic, and so on. There are three groups to rank.

GROUP A:

_____ Is available for help when I need her guidance.
_____ Demonstrates knowledge of principles relative to client intervention.
_____ Shows genuine interest in me as an individual.
_____ Gives assignments that help me transfer classroom concepts to actual client intervention.
_____ Demonstrates ability to do social work skills.
_____ Encourages me to be "open," thereby respecting my opinions and feelings.

GROUP B

_____ Demonstrates honesty to me and others.
_____ Demonstrates ability to use principles relative to client intervention.
_____ Suggests helpful resources when I have questions.
_____ Demonstrates how to function in a real social work situation.
_____ Avoids embarrassing me.
_____ Encourages me to think for myself.

GROUP C

_____ Shows a contagious enthusiasm for providing quality client intervention.
_____ Evaluates my progress in social work in a fair manner.
_____ Rewards my efforts to give quality social work intervention.
_____ Shows empathy to me and others.
_____ Demonstrates kindness during her daily interactions with people.
_____ Shows a continued interest in applying improved methods of client intervention.

Above you have 3 number *6's*. Please rank the *6's* in order of their importance to you, giving rank *3* to the most important.

Rank 3: #6 in Group _____
Rank 2: #6 in Group _____
Rank 1: #6 in Group _____

Now do the same for the characteristics marked with *#5's* above.

Rank 3: #5 in Group _____
Rank 2: #5 in Group _____
Rank 1: #5 in Group _____

Please indicate the gender of your present field instructor _____Female _____Male
Thank you, and good luck in your social work career!

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Appendix K
Demographic Characteristics of the Survey Respondents

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Demographic characteristics of the respondents to the CICRS survey

The sample (n=25)	N	%
Gender:		
Male	2	8
Female	23	92
Age:		
19-23	13	52
24-28	5	20
29-33	1	4
34-38	1	4
39+	4	16
Missing	1	4
Race:		
White	17	68
Latino	4	16
West Indian	4	16
Marital Status:		
Single	18	72
Married	5	20
Cohabiting/Divorced	2	8
Children:		
Yes	5	20
No	20	80
Family income:		
<$15,000-$49,999	15	60
$50,000-$100,000+	10	40
Type of field placement		
Family/Children's Services	8	32
Educational	5	20
Alcohol/Substance Abuse	3	12
Services for the Elderly	3	12
Other	6	24
Predominant modality		
Casework	15	60
Groupwork	5	20
Combination	5	20
Number of years in social work program		
=, > 2 years to < 4 years	17	68
4 years or more	3	12
Missing	5	20
Previous social work experience		
Yes	11	44
No	14	56

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A.A. (1988). *Professional choices: Values at work.* Silver Spring, MD: National Association of Social Workers.

Abramovitz, M. (1987). Making gender a variable in social work teaching. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 1*(1), 29-52.

Abramovitz, M. (1998). Social work and social reform: An arena of struggle. *Social Work, 43* (6), 512-526.

Adler, F. (1956). The value concept in Sociology. *American Journal of Sociology, 62,* 272-279.

Adler, J., & Shuval, J.T. (1978). Cross pressures during socialization for medicine. *American Sociological Review, 43*(5), 693-704).

Agar, M.H. (1986). *Speaking of ethnography.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Allport, G.W. (1968). *The person in psychology.* Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.

Allport, G.W., Vernon, P.E., & Lindzey, G. (1968). *Study of values: Machine scorable edition* (4th ed). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Almquist, E.M., & Angrist, S.S. (1971). Role model influences on college women's career aspirations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 17,* 263-279.

American Association of University Women (AAUW). (1992). *How schools shortchange girls* (pp. 60-74; 78-79). Washington DC: Wellesley College for Research on Women.

Anderson, D.S. (1974a). *New patterns of teacher education and tasks: The Development of student-teachers, a comparative study of professional socialization.* Paris, France: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 109 054)

Anderson, G. L. (1974b). *Trends in education for the professions.* (ERIC/ Higher Education Research Report No. 7). Washington DC: American Association of Higher Education.

Anderson, G.N., Dey, E.L., Gray, M, & Thomas, G. (1995). *Mentors and proteges: The influence of faculty mentoring on undergraduate academic achievement.* Paper presented at the Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Orlando, FL.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Angrist, S.S., & Almquist, E.M. (1975). *Careers and contingencies: How college women juggle with gender.* NY: Dunellen Publishing Co.

Argyris, C., & Schon, D.A. (1974). *Theory in practice: Increasing professional effectiveness.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Aronfreed, J. (1969). The concept of internalization. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 263-323). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Astin, A.W. (1984). Student involvement: A developmental theory for higher education. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 25,* 297-308.

Atkinson, P. (1983). The reproduction of the professional community. In R. Dingwall & P. Lewis (Eds.), *The Sociology of the professions: Lawyers, doctors and others* (pp. 224-241). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Atkinson, P., & Delamont, S. (1985). Socialization into teaching: The research which lost its way. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 6* (3), 307-322.

Avriam, U., & Katan, J. (1991). Professional preferences of social workers: Prestige scales of populations, services and methods in social work. *International Social Work, 34*(1), 37-55.

Bailey, K.D. (1982). *Methods of social research* (2nd ed.). NY: Free Press.

Baird, L.L. (1990). The melancholy of anatomy: The personal and professional development of graduate and professional school students. In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol VI, pp.361-392). New York: Agathon.

Baldwin, C. (1977). *One-to-one: Self-understanding through journal writing.* New York: M. Evans.

Bandura, A. (1969a). *Principles of behavior modification.* NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Bandura, A. (1969b). Social-learning theory of identificatory process. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social-learning theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social-cognitive theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Barber, B. (1963). Some problems in the sociology of professions. In R. Lynn (Ed.), *The professions in America* (pp. 658-675). MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Barbour, R.S. (1985). Dealing with the transsituational demands of professional socialization. *The Sociological Review, 33* (3), 495-531.

Bargal, D. (1978). *Ethicalal judgment and the development of social values of female social work and psychology students.* Jerusalem: The Hebrew University. (Hebrew).

Bargar, R.R., & Mayo-Chamberlain, J. (1983). Advisor and advisee issues in doctoral education. *Journal of Higher Education, 54* (4), 407-432.

Barnartt, S. (1980, April). *Sex differences in significant others as professional socializers.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwest Sociological Association Meeting, Houston, Texas.

Barnartt, S., & Cohen, H.A. (1978, April). *A conceptual model for evaluating professional schools: A comparison of medical school and graduate school.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Houston, Texas.

Barrows, H.S., & Neufeld, V.R. (1980). The McMaster philosophy: An approach to medical education. *Journal of Medical Education, 49,* 1040-1050.

Bartlett, H.M. (1970). *The common base of social work practice.* New York: National Association of Social Workers.

Basow, S.A., & Howe, K.G. (1980). Role-model influence: Effects of sex and sex-role attitude in college students. *Psychology of women quarterlym 4,* 558-572.

Baumgarten, E. (1982). Ethics in the academic profession. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 283-295.

Becker, H.S. (1964). Personal change in adult life. *Sociometry, 27*(1), 40-53.

Becker, H.S. (1968). The self and adult socialization. In E. Norbeck, D. Price-Williams, & W.M. Mc Cord (Eds.), *The study of personality: An interdisciplinary appraisal* (pp. 194-208). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Becker, H.S. (1972). School is a lousy place to learn anything. In B. Geer (Ed.), *Learning to work.* Beverley Hills, California: Sage.

Becker, H. (1986). *Doing things together.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Becker, H.S., & Carper, J.W. (1956). The development of identification with an occupation. *American Journal of Sociology, 21,* 341-347.

Becker, H.S., Geer, B., & Hughes, E.C. (1968). *Making the grade: The academic side of college life.* New York: Wiley.

Becker, H.S., Geer, B., Hughes, E.C., & Strauss, A.L. (1961). Boys in white: Student culture in medical school. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Becker, H.S., & Strauss, A.L. (1956). Careers, personality, and adult socialization. *The American Journal of Sociology, 62* (3), 253-263.

Belenky, M.F., Clinchy, B.M., Goldberger, N.R., & Tarule, J.M. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice and mind.* New York: Basic Books.

Bell, A. (1970). Role models in young adulthood: Their relations to occupational behaviors. *Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 18,* 280-284.

Bellinger, K., Reid, J., & Posey, S. (1985). Beliefs held by associate degree nursing students about role models. *Community College Review, 13*(2), 33-40.

Benson, G.D. (1995). Managing dilemmas in field education in a faculty of education. In G. Roberts (Ed.), *Social work field education: Views and visions* (pp. 503-509). Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing.

Benson, G.D., & de Leeuw, G. (1993). The deideation of teacher education. In C.J. Ball, L. Dupuy-Walker, O. Ricord, & D.H. Westgate (Eds.), *Advances in teacher education: Readings from the Canadian Association for Teacher Education* (pp. 141-165). Ottawa: Canadian Association for Teacher Education.

Berger, P. (1966). Identity as a problem in the Sociology of knowledge. *European Journal of Sociology, 7,* 105-115.

Berger, P., & Luckman, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Berkowitz, L., & Lutterman, K. (1968). The traditionally responsible personality. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 32,* 168-185.

Betz, N.E., & Fitzgerald, L.F. (1987). *The career psychology of women.* Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Bidwell, A.S., & Brasler, M.L. (1989). Role modeling versus mentoring in nursing education. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 21* (1), 23-25.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Biggerstaff, M., & Kolevzon, M. (1980). Differential use of social work knowledge, skills and techniques by MSW, BSW, and BA level practitioners. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16,* 67-74.

Blackwell, J. (1989). Mentoring: An action strategy for increasing minority faculty. *Academe, 75,* 8-14.

Blau, G. (1988). An investigation of the apprenticeship organizational socialization strategy. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 32,* 176-195.

Block, J.H. (1980). *Gender differences and implications for educational policy.* University of California, Berkeley, Institute of Human Development.

Bloom, S.W. (1963). The process of becoming a physician. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 346,*77-87.

Bloom, S.W. (1965). Sociology of medical education: Some comments on the state of the field. *Milbank mem. F.Q., 42,* 143.

Bloom, S. W. (1973). *Power and dissent in medical school.* New York: Free Press.

Bloom, S. W. (1979). Socialization for the physician's role: A review of some contributions of research to theory. In E.C. Shapiro & L.M. Lowenstein (Eds.), *Becoming a physician: Development of values and attitudes in medicine* (pp. 3-52). Massachusettes: Ballinger Publication Co.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Boehm, W. (1958). The nature of social work. *Social Work, 3,* 12.

Boehm, W. (1959). *Objectives of the social work curriculum of the future.* New York: Council on Social Work Education.

Bogdan, R.C., & Biklen, S.K. (1992). *Qualtitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Bogo, M., & Vayda, E. (1998). *The practice of field instruction in social work: Theory and process* (2nd ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bourne, P.G., & Wilker, N.J. (1978). Commitment and cultural mandate: Women in medicine. *Social Problems, 25*(4), 430-440.

Bradburn, N.M. (1983). Response effects. In P.H. Rossi, J.D. Wright, & A.B. Anderson (Eds.), *Handbook of survey research* (289-328). New York: Academic Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bragg, A.K. (1976). *The socialization process in higher education.* (ERIC Report No. 7). Washington DC: George Washington University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 132 909)

Braxton, J.M., Lambert, L.M., & Clark, S.C. (1995). Anticipatory socialization of undergraduate college teaching norms by entering graduate teaching assistants. *Research in Higher Education, 36* (6), 671-686.

Brennan, E.M., & Rosenzweig, J.M. (1990). Women and work: Toward a new developmental model. *Families in Society, 71*(9), 524-533.

Brief, A.P., Sell, M.V., Aldag, R.J., & Melone, N. (1979). Anticipatory socialization and role stress among registered nurses. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 20,* 161-166.

Brieland, D., & Korr, W.S. (1987). Social Work education: The foundation for professional ethics. *Arete, 12* (2), 33-39.

Brigham, T. (1977). Liberation in social work education: Applications from Paulo Friere. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 13*(3), 5-11.

Brim, D.G. (1966). Socialization through the life cycle. In D.G. Brim & S. Wheeler (Eds.), *Socialization after childhood* (pp. 1-49). New York: Wiley.

Brim, D.G., & Wheeler, S. (1966). *Socialization after childhood: Two essays.* New York: John Wiley.

Broadhead, R.S. (1983). *The private lives and professional identity of medical students.* New Brunswick: Transaction.

Brown, J.D. (1991). Preprofessional socialization and identity transformation: The case of the professional Ex. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 20* (2), 157-178.

Brown, M.J. (1970). Social work values in a developing country. *Social Work, 15,* 107-113.

Brown, R. (1983). Locus of control and sex role orientation of women graduate students. *College Student Journal, 17,* 10-12.

Bruce, M.A. (1995). Mentoring women doctoral students: What counselor educators and supervisors can do. *Counselor Education and Supervision, 35* (2), 139-149.

Bucher, R. (1965). The psychiatric residency and professional socialization. *Journal of Health and Human Behavior, 6*(4), 197-206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bucher, R., Stelling, J.G. (1977). *Becoming professional.* California: Sage.

Bucher, R., Stelling, J.G. (1978). Becoming professional. *Sage Library of Social Research* (Vol. 46). California: Sage.

Burke, K. (1945). *A grammar of motives.* New York: Prentice Hall.

Bush, D.M., & Simmons, R.G. (1981). Socialization processes over the life course. In M. Rosenberg & R.H. Turner (Eds.), *Social Psychology* (pp. 133-164). New York: Basic Books.

Calhoun, D.H. (1960). *The American civil engineer, origins and conflict.* Cambridge, Massachusettes: The Technology Press.

Callahan, D. (1982). Should there be an academic code of ethics? *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 335-346.

Campbell, M.A. (1973). *Why would a girl go into medicine?* Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press.

Canes, B.J., & Rosen, H.S. (1995). Following in her footsteps? Faculty gender composition and women's choices of college majors. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 48*(3), 486-504.

Cannell, C.F., Fowler, F.J. (1963). *A study of the reporting of visits to doctors in the National Health Survey.* Ann Arbor, MI: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

Caplow, T. (1954). *The sociology of work.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Caplowitz, D. (1961). *Student-faculty relations in medical school: A study of professional socialization.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, NY. (Microfilm No. 61-1070)

Carpenter, P. (1986). The education of professionals. *Education and Society, 4* (1), 38-51.

Carpenter, P.G., Foster, W.J., & Byde, P. (1981). *Entering teaching: The perception of a cohort of teacher education entrants.* A report to the Education, Research and Development committee, Canberra.

Carpenter, P.G., & Western, J.S. (1982). Aspirations for higher education. *Australian Journal of Education, 26*(3), 266-278.

Carr, W., & Kemmis, S. (1986). *Becoming critical.* London: Falmer Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Carr-Saunders, A.M., & Wilson, P.A. (1933). *The professions.* London: Frank Cass.

Casamayou, M.H., & Mikhalevsky, N. (1993, September). *Women's leadership roles and Washington internships.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 363 566)

Chambers, D. (1987). *Draft: Tough enough: The work and family experiences of recent women graduates of the University of Michigan Law School.* University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Chappell, N.L., & Colwill, N.L. (1981). Medical schools as agents of professional socialization. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 18* (1), 67-81.

Chatterjee, P., Hamlyn, C., & Gutierrez, F.R. (1978). Changing patterns in recruitments in the professions: Comparative trends in law, medicine, social work and dentistry. *Journal of Applied Sciences, 2*(1), 42-54.

Child, I.L. (1954). Socialization. In G. Lindsey, (Ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology.* Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Clark, S.M., & Corcoran, M. (1986). Perspectives on the professional socialization of women faculty: A case of accumulative disadvantage? *Journal of Higher Education, 57* (1), 20-43.

Clausen, J. (1968). *Socialization and society.* Boston, MA: Little Brown.

Cobb, N.H., & Jordan, C. (1989). Students with questionable values or threatening behavior: Precedent and policy from discipline to dismissal. *Journal of Social Work Education, 25* (2), 87-97.

Cochrane, S.F., & Hanley, M.M. (1999). *Learning through field: A developmental approach.* Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Cohen, H.A. (1981). *The nurse's quest for professional identity.* Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing.

Cohen, C.S. (1994). What culturally diverse students say about emotion: An exploratory study. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work, 3* (1), 113-124.

Cohen, H.A., & Barnartt, S.N. (1978). *The endless circle: Socialization in nursing.* Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Coker, R., Back, K., Donnelly, T., & Miller, N. (1960). Patterns of influence: Medical school faculty members and the values and specialty interests of medical students. *Journal of Medical Education, 35,* 518-527.

Cole, J. (1979). Fair science: Women in the scientific community. NY: Free Press.

Collins, R. (1994). *Four sociological traditions* (pp. 260-266). New York: Oxford University Press.

Combs, R.H., & St. John, J. (1978). *Making it in medical school.* Los Angeles: Medical Society Press.

Condie, C.D., Hanson, J., Lang, N., Moss, D., & Kane, R. (1978). How the public views social work. *Social Work, 23,* 47-53.

Congress, E.P. (1993). Teaching ethical decision-making to a diverse community of students: Bringing practice into the classroom. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 7*(2), 23-36.

Congress, E.P. (1996). Dual relationships in academia: Dilemmas for social work educators. *Journal of Social Work Education, 32* (3), 329-338.

Congress, E.P. (1997). The value dilemmas of faculty advising: Significant issues in a code of ethics for faculty advisors. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 14* (1/2), 89-105.

Conrad, A.P. (1988a). The role of field instructors in the transmission of social justice values. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 2* (2), 63-82.

Conrad, P. (1988b). Learning to be a doctor: Reflections on recent accounts of the medical school years. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 29,* 323-332.

Constable, R. (1983). Values, religion, and social work practice. *Social Thought, 9* (4), 29-41.

Cooley, C.H. (1956). *Social organization: A study of the larger mind.* Peoria: IL: Free Press.

Cooley, C.H. (1964). *Human nature and the social order.* New York: Schocken.

Coombs, R.H. (1978). *Mastering medicine.* New York: Free Press.

Cooper, G. (1982). *Characteristics students view as important in nurse faculty role models.* Master's thesis, University of Mississippi Medical Center, Jackson, MS. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 248 793).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Corbett, H.D., III. (1980). Using occupational socialization research to explain patterns of influence during student teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 31,* 6, 11-13.

Cosgrove, T. J. (1986). The effects of participation in a mentoring-transcript program on freshman. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 27,* 119-124.

Costello, C.Y. (1998). *Identity dissonance: Gender, identity and professional socialization at law school.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association.

Costin, l. (1964). Values in social work education: A study. *Social Service Review, 38,* 271-280.

Council on Social Work Education. (1992). *Curriculum policy statement for baccalaureate and master's degree programs in social work education.* Alexandria, VA: Author.

Council on Social Work Education. (1996). Curriculum policy statement. *A handbook of Accreditation Standards and Procedures.* Alexandria, VA: Commission on Accreditation, Council on Social Work Education.

Council on Social Work Education. (2001). Functions of Educational Policy and Accreditation. *Educational policy and accreditation standards.* Alexandria, VA: Commission on Accreditation, Council on Social Work Education.

Cournoyer, D.E., & Klein, W.C. (2000). *Research methods for social work.* Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Cronbach, L.J. (1975). Beyond the two disciplines of scientific psychology. *American Psychologist, 30,* 116-127.

Cryns, A.G. (1977). Social work education and student ideology: A multivariate study of professional socialization. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 13,* 44-57.

Daly, C.M. (1990). Equality in the female professions. Nursing, social work and feminism: Complement or contradiction? An historical perspective (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1990). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 51,* (10A).

Dane, E. (1981). Principles of design for a postgraduate program in social work administration (Doctoral dissertation, City College of New York, 1981). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 17,* (03), 936.

Darby, B.A. (1996, April). *Mentoring relationships and beginning nursing practice: A study of professional socialization.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the American Educational Research Association, New York, NY. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 395 620)

Davis, F. (1968). Professional socialization as subjective experience: The process of doctrinal conversion among student nurses. In H.S. Becker, B. Geer, D. Reisman, & R.S. Weiss (Eds.), *Institutions and the person.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Day, P.J. (1980). Values clarification through science fiction. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 7,* 6, 791-800.

Dean, R.G., & Fenby, B.L. (1989). Exploring epistemologies: Social work action as a reflection of philosophical assumptions. *Journal of Social Work Education, 1,* 46-54.

DeLange, J. (1995). Gender and communication in social work education: A cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Social Work Education, 31*(1), 75-81.

Denton, W.H. (1993). Comparing medical and graduate school training: A personal perspective. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 1,* 71-77.

Desjardins, P.J. (1993). Mentoring during the transition from graduate school to faculty member. *Journal of Dental Education, 57* (4), 301-305.

Dhooper, S.S., Royse, D.D., & Wolfe, L.C. (1990). Does social work education make a difference? *Social Work, 35* (1), 57-61.

Dill, D.D. (1982). Introduction. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), *243*-254.

Dill, D.D. (1982). The structure of the academic profession. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 255-267.

Doelker Jr, R.E. (1977). Education and values: Does Social Work education acculturate future professionals? *Social Perspectives, 4* (2), 1-4.

Doehrman, M. (1976). Parallel processes in supervision and psychotherapy. *Bulletin of the Meniniger Clinic, 40,* 9-20.

Dore, M. (1993). The practice-teaching parallel in educating the micropractitioner. *Social Work, 29*(2), 181-190.

Dore, M. (1994). Feminist pedagogy and the teaching of social work practice. *Journal of Social Work Education, 30*(1), 97-106.

Dornbusch, S.M., & Scott, W.R. (1975). *Evaluation and the exercise of authority.* Washington: Josey Bass.

Dreitzel, H.P. (1973). *Childhood and socialization.* London: Collier-Macmillan.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Duncan, H.D. (1962). *Communication and social order.* New Hampshire: Bedminster Press.

Dyer, P.M. (1977). How professional is the BSW worker? *Social Work, 22,* 487-492.

Edgar, D.E., & Brod, R.L. (1970, August). *Professional socialization and teacher autonomy* (Report No. TR-12). Washington DC: Stanford University, California Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 046 885)

Edgar, D.E., & Warren, R.L. (1969). Power and autonomy in teacher socialization. *Sociology of Education, 42* (4), 386-400.

Egan, J.M. (1989). Graduate school and the self: A theoretical view of some negative effects of professional socialization. *Teaching Sociology, 17* (2), 200-207.

Eldridge, N.S. (1990, August). *Mentoring from a self-in-relation perspective.* Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 350 494)

Elkin, F. (1962). *The child and society: The process of socialization* (p. 101). New York: Random House.

Elkin, F., & Handel, G. (1972). *The child and society: The process of socialization.* (2nd ed.). New York: Random House.

Edwards, R.L., et al. (1995). *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (19th ed., Vols.1-3). Washington DC: NASW Press.

Edwards, R.L., et al. (1997). *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (19th ed., Supplement). Washington DC: NASW Press.

Enoch, Y. (1988). Why are they different? Background, occupational choice, institutional selection and attitudes of social work students. *Journal of Social Work Education, 2,* 165-174.

Enoch, Y. (1989). Change of values during socialization for a profession: An application of marginal man theory. *Human Relations, 42* (3), 219-239.

Epstein, C.F. (1983). *Women in law.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Epstein, C.F., & Coser, R.L. (Eds.). (1981). *Access to power: Cross-national studies of women and elites.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Erikson, E. (1963). *Childhood and society.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Erickson, F. (1986). Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In M.C. Whittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed.). Old Tappan, NJ: Macmillan.

Erkut, S., & Mokros, J.R. (1984). Professors as models and mentors for college students. *American Educational Research Journal, 21,* 399-417.

Eron, L.D. (1955). Effect of medical education on medical students' attitudes. *Journal of Medical Education, 30,* 559-566.

Etzioni, A. (Ed.).(1969). *The semi-professions and their organization.* New York: Free Press.

Fagenson-Eland, E.A., Marks, M., & Amendola, K.L. (1997). Perceptions in mentoring relationships. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51,* 29-42.

Falck, H.S. (1980). On going public: Reflections of a student. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16,* 4.

Feldman, R. (1971). Professionalization and professional values: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Review of Sociology, 1,* 85-97.

Feldman, K., & Newcomb, T. (1969). *The impact of college on students.* San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass.

Felkenes, S.W. (1980). The social work professional and his ethics: A philosophical analysis. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 41,* 3725A.

Festinger, L. (1958). The motivating effect of cognitive dissonance. In G. Lindzey, (Ed.), *Assessment of human motives.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Fife, J.D. (1971). *Education for the professions and the process of socialization.* (Mimeographed.). University Park, PA: Center for the Study of Higher Education, Pennsylvania State University.

Findlay, S.B. (1995). Teaching the unteachable? The teaching of ethics in field education. In G. Roberts (Ed.), *Social work field education: Views and visions* (pp. 152-163). Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing.

Firestone, W.A. (1993). Alternative arguments for generalizing from data applied to qualitative research. *Educational Researcher, 22*(4), 16-23.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Fitts, W. (1970). *Interpersonal competence: The wheel model.* Nashville: Counselor Recordings and Tests.

Fogel, S. J., Ellison, M.E., & Morrow, D. F. (2001). Baccalaureate social work graduates respond: Is sexual harassment a problem in field placements? *Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work, 7*(1), 79-93.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J.H. (1994). Interviewing: The art of science. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Fox, T.G. (1972). *The influence of manifest and latent social identities on medical school faculty attitudes.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Frazier, N., & Sadker, M. (1973). *Sexism in school and society.* New York: Harper Collins.

Freeman, D. (1996). "To take them at their word": Language data in the study of teachers' knowledge. *Harvard Educational Review, 66* (4), 732-761.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* NY: Continuum.

French, J.R.P., & Raven, B. (1968). The bases of social power. In D.Cartwright & A. Zander (Eds.), *Group Dynamics: Research and theory* (3rd ed., pp. 259-269). New York: Harper and Row.

Freud, S. (1920/1953). Beyond the pleasure principle. In J. Strachey (Ed. and trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (vol. 18). London, England: Hogarth Press.

Freud, S. (1949). *An outline of psychoanalysis* (pp. 19, 121). New York: Norton.

Friedson, E. (1970). *Profession of medicine.* New York: Dodd, Mead.

Friedson, E. (1994). *Professionalism reborn: Theory, prophecy, and policy.* Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Fyan, L.J. (1979). *Socio-cultural differences and developmental changes in continuing motivation, evaluation anxiety, and attributions of success and failure.* Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 8-12.

Gaff, J.G., & Lambert, L.M. (1996). Socializing future faculty to the values of undergraduate education. *Change, 28* (4), 38-45.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Garnier, M.A. (1973). Power and ideological conformity: A case study. *American Journal of Sociology, 79* (2), 343-363.

Gasker, J.A. The making of a social work instructor: A qualitative research study. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 13* (1/2), 93-109.

Gecas, V. (1981). Contexts of socialization. In M. Rosenberg & R.H. Turner (Eds.), *Social Psychology* (pp. 165-199). New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (1983). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In R. Emerson (Ed.), *Contemporary field research.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gergen, K.J. (1985). Social constructionist inquiry: Context and implications. In K.J. Gergen & K.E. Davis (Eds.), *The social construction of the person* (pp. 3-18). NY: SpringerVerlag.

Germain, C. B. (1991). An instructor's story about students' life stories. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 5*(2), 3-16.

Gessell, A., & Ilg, A.F. (1943). *Infant and child in the culture of today* (pp. 291-292). New York: Harper.

Gibelman, M., & Schervish, P.H. (1993). *Who we are: The social work labor force as reflected in the NASW membership.* Washington DC: National Association of Social Workers.

Gibelman, M., & Schervish, P.H. (1995). Pay equity in social work: Not! *Social Work, 40*(5), 622-630.

Gilbert, L.A. (1985). Dimensions of same-gender student-faculty role model relationships. *Sex Roles, 12,* 111-123.

Gilbert, L.A., Gallessich, J.M., & Evans, S.L. (1983). Sex of faculty role model and students' self-perceptions of competency. *Sex Roles, 9*(5), 597-607.

Gilbert, N., Miller, H., & Specht, H. (1980). *An introduction to social work practice* (pp. 14-16). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women' s development.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ginsberg, M.B., & LeCompte, M.D. (1980). *Passive and active models of occupational socialization: The case of teachers.* Paper presented at the Southwestern Sociological Association, Houston, Texas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Girves, J.E., & Wemmerus, V. (1988). Developing models of graduate student degree progress. *Journal of Higher Education, 59*(2), 163-189.

Gist, N.P., & Dworkin, A.G. (1972). *The blending of races.* New York: Wiley Interscience.

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Chicago: Aldine.

Gochros, H. (1988). Research interviewing. In R. Grinell (Ed.), *Social work research and evaluation* (3rd ed., pp. 267-299). Itasca, IL: Peacock Press.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Goffman, E. (1961a). *Asylums.* New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (1961b). Role Distance. In *Encounters* (pp. 85-152). New York: Bobbs Merrill.

Golden, D., Pins, A.M., & Jones, W. (1972). *Students in schools of social work.* New York: Council of Social Work Education.

Goldmeier, J. (1984). Ethical styles and ethical decisions in health settings. *Social Work in Health Care, 10* (1), 45-60.

Goldsmid, C.A. (1976). Professional socialization of teachers of sociology. *Teaching Sociology, 3* (3), 229-248.

Goldstein, E. (1979). Effect of same-sex and cross-sex role models on the subsequent academic productivity of scholars. *American Psychologist, 34,* 407-410.

Gomez, A.P. (1997, March). *Professional socialization of student teachers.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 410 190)

Goode, W.M. (1957). Community within a community: The professions. *American Sociological Review, 22,* 194-200.

Goodstein, L.D. (1981). Ethics are for academics too. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 12* (2), 191-193.

Goodyear, R.K., Crego, C.A., & Johnston, M.W. (1992). Ethical issues in the supervision of student research: A study of critical incidents. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23* (3), 203-210.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gordon, L.V., & Mensh, I.N. (1962). Values of medical students at different levels of training. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 53,* 48-51.

Gordon, W.E. (1965). Knowledge and value: Their distinction and relationship in clarifying social work practice. *Social Work, 10* (3), 32-39.

Goslin, D.A. (1969). Introduction. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 2-21). New York: Rand McNally.

Gottlieb, D. (1961). The process of socialization in American graduate schools. *Social Forces, 40,* 124-131.

Gottschalk, S.S. (1974). Toward a radical reassessment of social work values. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 2* (2), 126-139.

Goldstein, E. (1979). Effect of same-sex and cross-sex role models on the subsequent academic productivity of scholars. *American Psychologist, 34,* 407-10.

Gould, N. (1993). Cognitive change and learning from practice: A longitudinal study of social work students. *Social Work Education, 12* (1), 77-87.

Government Accounting Office. (1991). *Case study evaluations.* Transfer Paper 10.1.9. Washington DC: Author.

Graham, M.A. (1997). Empowering social work faculty: Alternative paradigms for teaching and learning. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 15,* (1/2), 33-49.

Granfield, R. (1992). *Making elite lawyers: Visions of law at Harvard and beyond.* New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Granfield, R., & Koenig, T. (1992). Learning collective eminence: Harvard Law School and the social production of elite lawyers. *Sociological Quarterly, 33.*

Grant, L., Genero, N., Nurius, P., Moore, W., & Brown, D.R. (1986). Gender and time variations in medical students' value development. *Sex Roles, 15* (1/2), 95-108.

Greene, M. (1978). *Landscapes of learning.* NY: Teachers College Press.

Gregson, J.A., & Bettis, P.J. (1991). *Secondary trade and industrial education work values instruction: Emancipatory or indoctrinational.* Paper presented at the American Vocational Association Convention, Los Angeles, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 341 781)

Greene, G.J., & Kelly, P.K. (1985). Cognitive relationship enhancement: An exploratory study. *Family Therapy, XII,* 231-244.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gregg, W.E. (1972). Several factors affecting graduate school satisfaction. *Journal of Higher Education, 43,* 483-498.

Griffith, E.H., & Delgado, A. (1979). On the professional socialization of black residents in psychiatry. *Journal of Medical Education, 54* (6), 471-476.

Grimm. J.W., & Orten, J.D. (1973). Student attitudes toward the poor. *Social Work, 18,* 94-100.

Gross, G.M., Rosa, L., & Steiner, J.R. (1980). Educational doctrine and social work values: Match or mismatch. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16*(3), 21-28.

Grosset, J.M. (1991). Patterns of integration, commitment and student characteristics and retention among younger and older students. *Research in Higher Education, 32,* 159-178.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1981). *Effective evaluation.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Haas, J., & Shaffir. (1982). Taking on the role of doctor: A dramaturgical analysis of professionalization. *Symbolic Interaction, 5* (2), 187-203.

Haas, J., & Shaffir, W. (1987). *Becoming doctors: The adoption of a cloak of competence.* Connecticut: IAI Press.

Hackett, G., Esposito, D., & O'Halloran, M.S. (1989). The relationship of role model influences to the career salience and educational career plans of college women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 35*(2), 164-180.

Haemaelaeinen, J. (1989). Social pedagogy as a meta-theory of social work education. *International Social Work, 32* (2), 117-128.

Hafferty, F.W., & Franks, R. (1994). The hidden curriculum, ethics teaching, and the structure of medical education. *Academic Medicine, 69* (11), 861-871.

Haiman, S. (1990). Student recruitment in psychosocial occupational therapy: Intergenerational approaches, *Occupational Therapy in Mental Health, 10*(1), 1990.

Hall, R., & Sandler, B. (1984). *Out of the classroom: A chilly campus climate for women?* Washington DC: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ham, T. (1958). Treating the medical student as a member of a graduate professional school. In H. Gee & R. Glasex (Eds.), The ecology of the medical student. *Journal of Medical Education, 33*, 61-77.

Hamachek, D.E. (1987). *Encounters with the self* (3rd ed.). NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

Hamilton, G. (1954). Self-awareness in professional education. *Social Casework, 35*, 371-379.

Hamilton, M.S. (1981). Mentorhood: A key to nursing leadership. *Nursing Leadership, 4*(1). 4-13.

Hammond, J.M. (1980). Biography building to insine the future: Women's negotiation of gender relevancy in medical school. *Symbolic interaction, 3*(1), 35-49.

Hancock, H., & Wilk, R. (1988). Promoting professional values: A study of two types of small group interaction. *Arete, 13* (2), 12-25.

Handelsman, M.M. (1986). Ethics training at the Master's level: A national survey. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 17* (1), 24-26.

Hanson, S.L. (1983). A family-cycle approach to the socioeconomic attainment of working women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 45*(2), 323-338.

Harbaugh, G.L., Casto, R.M., Burgess-Ellison, J.A. (1987). Becoming a professional: How interprofessional training helps. *Theory Into Practice, 26* (2), 141-145.

Harleston, D.W. (1962). Test anxiety and performance in problem-solving situations. *Journal of Personality, 30*, 557-553.

Harrison, D., & Atherton, C.R. (1990). Cognitive development and the "one foundation" controversy. *Journal of Social Work Education, 1*, 87-95.

Hart, A.W. (1991). Leader succession and socialization: A synthesis. *Review of Educational Research, 61*, 451-474.

Hartman, A. (1989). Growing up female: A different route? *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 59*(3), 252-266.

Hartman, A. (1994). Social work practice. In F.G. Reamer (Ed.), *The foundations of social work knowledge.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Hartnett, R.T. (1976). Environments for advanced learning. In J. Katz & R.T. Harnett (Eds.), *Scholars in the making: The development of graduate and professional students* (Chapter 3). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hartnett, R.T., & Katz, J. (1976). Past and present. In J. Katz & R.T. Harnett (Eds.), *Scholars in the making: The development of graduate and professional students* (Chapter 1). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Company.

Hayes, D., & Varley, B.K. (1965). Impact of social work education on students' values. *Social Work, 10(3), 40-46.*

Haynes, D.T. (1999). A theoretical integrative framework for teaching professional social work values. *Journal of Social Work Education, 35* (1), 39-50.

Haynes, K.S., & Holmes, K.A. (1994). *Invitation to social work.* White Plains, NY: Longman.

Heimann, B., & Pittinger, K. (1996). The impact of formal mentorship on socialization and commitment of newcomers. *Journal of Managerial Issues, 8*(1), 108-117.

Heiss, A.M. (1969). Today's graduate student—tomorrow's faculty member. *AAUP Bulletin, 55,* 452-454.

Heyman, I.M. (1977). *Women students at Berkeley: Views and data on possible sex discrimination in academic programs.* Mimeographed. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Hill, C.E. (1974). Graduate education in Anthropology: Conflicting role identity in fieldwork. *Human Organization, 33,* 408-412.

Hill, S.C., Fensham, P.J., & Howden, I.B. (1975). *Ph.D. education in Australia—The making of professional scientists.* Canberra: A.G.P.S.

Hinshaw, A.S. (1986). Socialization and resocialization of nurses for professional nursing practice. In E.C. Hein & M.J. Nicholson (Eds.), *Contemporary leadership behavior: Selected readings* (2nd ed., pp. 19-34). Boston: Little Brown.

Hitchman, G.S. (1976). *The professional socialization of women and men in tow Canadian graduate schools.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. York University, Canada.

Hochschild, A.R. (1975). Inside the clockwork of male careers. In F.Howe (Ed.), *Women and the power to change.* NY: McGraw Hill.

Hochschild, A.R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology, 85,* 551-575.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hochschild, A.R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hokenstad, M.C. (1976). Commentary. *Social Casework, 57*(6), 391-392.

Homans, G.C. (1958). Social behavior as exchange. *American Journal of Sociology, 63,* 597-606.

Homonoff, E. (1988). Salient factors in assessment and service planning: A comparison of social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists (Doctoral dissertation, Boston College, 1988). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 24*(03), 1422.

Hopper, M. (1977). Becoming a policeman: Socialization of cadets in a police academy. *Urban Life, 6* (2), 149-170.

Horner, W., Reid, P.N., & Okanes, M. (1978). Manipulative orientation and social insight: A comparative study of social work and business administration students. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 14,* 56-63.

Howard, T.U. (1981). Professional socialization and cognitive moral development: A study of the relationship between level of moral thought and humanistic attitudes (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1981). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 17*(03), 974.

Howard, T.U., & Flaitz, J. (1982). A scale to measure the humanistic attitudes of social work students. *Social Work Research and Abstracts, 18(*4), 11-18.

Hudson, W.W., & Pike, C.K. (1995, March). *Reliability and measurement error in the presence of homogeneity.* Paper presented at the Council on Social Work Education.

Hughes, E.C. (1955). The making of a physician. *Human Organization, 14,* 21-25.

Hughes, E.C. (1958). *Men and their work* (pp. 116-130). New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Hughes, E.C. (1973). Professions, as cited in Ritzer, G., Professionalism and the individual. In E. Friedson (Ed.), *The Professions and their prospects.* CA: Sage Publications.

Husserl, E. (1962). *Ideas.* New York: Colliers.

Inkeles, A. (1969). Social structure and socialization. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 615-633). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jacobs, C. (1991). Violations of the supervisory relationship: An ethical and educational blind spot. *Social Work* , 130-135.

Jacobsen, M.D. (1966). Effective and ineffective behavior of teachers of nursing as determined by students. *Nursing Research, 15,* 218-224.

Jacox, A. (1973). Professional socialization of nurses. *Journal of the New York State Nurses' Association, 4,* 6-15.

Johnson, T. (1972). *Professions and power.* London: Macmillan.

Jones, D.H., Greene, G.J., & Ruhala, T.G. (1993). On campus practicum: A model for accelerating the social construction of professional social work identity. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 7* (1), 3-16.

Jordan, J., Kaplan, A.G., Miller, J.B., Stiver, I., & Surrey, J. (1991). *Women's growth in connection: Writings from the Stone Center.* New York: Guilford Publications, 1991.

Joseph, M.V. (1989). Social work ethics: Historical and contemporary perspectives. *Social Thought, 15* (3/4), 4-17.

Joseph, M.V. (1991). Standing for values and ethical action: Teaching social work ethics. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 5* (2) 95-109.

Joseph, M.V., & Conrad, A. P. (1983). Teaching social work ethics for contemporary practice: An effectiveness evaluation. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 19* (3), 59-68.

Juan, I.R., Paiva, R.E., Haley, H.B., & O'Keefe, R.D. (1974). High and low levels of dogmatism in relation to personality characteristics of medical students: A follow-up study. *Psychological Reports, 34,* 303-315.

Judah, E.H. (1976). Acculturation to the social work profession in baccalaureate social work education. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 12,* 65-71.

Judah, E.H. (1979). Values: The uncertain component in social work. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 15,* 79-86.

Judah, E.H. (1985). A spirituality of professional service: A sacramental model. *Social Thought, 11* (4) 25-35.

Kadushin, A. (1992). *Supervision in social work* (3rd ed., p. 156). New York: Columbia University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kadushin, C. (1969). The professional self-concept of music students. *American Journal of Sociology, 75*(3), 389-401.

Kahn, E.M. (1979). The parallel process in social work treatment. *Social Casework, 60*(9), 520-528.

Kanwar, A. (1995). Gender in the classroom: Boundaries real or imagined? *Thresholds in Education, 22*(3/4), 35-40.

Keith, B., & Moore, H.A. (1995). Training sociologists: An assessment of professional socialization and the emergence of career aspirations. *Teaching Sociology, 23* (3), 199-214.

Kelman, H.D. (1961). Process of opinion change. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 25,* 57-58.

Kemper, T.D. (1968). Reference groups, socialization, and achievement. *American Psychologist, 33,* 31-45.

Kendall, P., & Selvin, H. (1957). Tendencies toward specialization in medical training. In R.K. Merton, G.C. Reader, & P.L. Kendall (Eds.), *The student physician.* Cambridge, Massachusettes: Harvard University Press.

Khleif, B.B. (1975). Professionalization of school superintendents: A sociocultural study of an elite program. *Human Organization, 34,* 301-308.

Kidneigh, J.C., & Lundberg, H.W. (1958). Are social work students different? *Social Work, 3,* 57-61.

King, K.P., & Hahn, J. (1981). The differential perception of male and female alcoholics by alcoholism therapists. *California Sociologist, 4*(2), 119-134.

Kitchener, K.S. (1992). Psychologist as teacher and mentor: Affirming ethical values throughout the curriculum. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23* (3), 190-195.

Kleinman, S. (1981). Making professionals into persons: Discrepancies in traditional and humanistic expectations of professional identity. *Sociology of Work and Occupations, 8* (1), 61-87.

Kleinman, S. (1984). Women in seminary: Dilemmas of professional socialization. *Sociology of Education, 57*(4), 210-219.

Klink, T.W. (1964, Winter). The career of preparation for the ministry. *Journal of Pastoral Care,* 18, p. 206.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kluckhohn, C. (1951). Values and value-orientations in the theory of action: An exploration in definition and classification. In T. Parsons & E. Shils (Eds.), *Toward a general theory of action* (pp. 388-433). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kluckhohn, F.R., Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in value orientations.* New York: Row, Peterson, & Co.

Knafl, K., & Burkett, G. (1975). Professional socialization in a surgical specialty" Acquiring medical judgment. *Social Science and Medicine, 9,* 397-404.

Knott, B. (1977). Symbolic interaction and social work education. *Education for Social Work,* 24-30.

Knowles, M.S. (1972). Innovations in teaching styles and approaches based upon adult learning. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 8*(2), 32-39.

Koerin, B. (1977). Values in social work education: Implications for Baccalaureate degree programs. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 13* (2), 84-91.

Koerin, B. (1990). Facilitating the transition form student to social worker: Challenges of the younger student. *Journal of Social Work Education, 2,* 199-207.

Kolevzon, M., & Biggerstaff, M. (1983). Functional differentiation of job demands: Dilemmas confronting the continuum of social work education. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 19,* 26-33.

Kramer, M. (1968). Role models, role conceptions, and role deprivation. *Nursing Research, 17*(2), 115-120.

Kramer, M., & Schmalenberg, C. (1978). Bicultural training and new graduate role transformation. *Nursing Digest, 5*(4), 1-47.

Kramerae, C., & Treichler, P. (1990). Power relationships in the classroom. In S.Gabriel, & I. Smithson (Eds.), *Gender in the classroom: Power and pedagogy* (p. 41). Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kugelman, W. (1992). Social work ethics in the practice arena: A qualitative study. *Social Work in Health Care, 17*(4), 59-80.

Kuh, G.D., Douglas, K.B., Lund, J.P., & Ramin-Gyurnek, J. (1994). *Student learning outside the classroom: Transcending artificial boundaries.* (ASHE-ERIC Report No.8.) Washington DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

Kurland, R. (1991). The classroom teacher and the role of authority. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 5* (2), New York: Haworth Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kutner, N.G., & Brogan, D.R. (1980). The decision to enter medicine: Motivations, social support, and discouragements for women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 5.* 341-357.

Lacey, C. (1977). *The socialization of teachers.* London: Methuen.

Ladinsky, J. (1963). Careers of lawyers, law practice and legal institutions. *American Sociological Review, 28,* 52.

Laing, M. (1993). Gossip: Does it play a role in the socialization of nurses? *Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 25* (1), 37-43.

Landau, R. (1999). Professional socialization, ethical judgment, and decision-making orientation in social work. *Journal of Social Service Research, 25*(4), 57-76.

Landers, S. (1992, April). Survey eyes therapy fees. *NASW News,* 39-43.

LaPidus, J.B. (1993). Déjà vu all over again. *Liberal Education, 79* (2), 10-15.

Larsen, J., & Hepworth, D. (1980). Enhancing the effectiveness of practicum instruction: An empirical study. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 18*(2), 50-58.

Leahy, R.L., & Shirk, S.R. (1985). Social cognition and the development of self. In R.L. Leahy (Ed.), *The development of self.* New York: Academic Press.

LeCompte, M.D., & Preissle, J., with Teach, R. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research* (2nd ed.). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Leddy, S., & Pepper, J.M. (1989). *Conceptual bases of professional nursing.* New York: J.B. Lippincott.

Leighninger, L. (1995). Some thoughts on the status of women in social work. *Journal of Progressive Human Services, 6*(1), 93-102.

Leserman, J. (1981), *Men and women in medical school: How they change and how they compare.* New York: Praeger.

Leuenberger, P., Gullerud, E.N., Patchner, M.A., & Hartman, J. (1984). Comparative analysis of quality control methods used by schools of social work offering alternative graduate degree programs. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education, 3*(1), 12-16.

Levinson, D.J. (1967). Medical education and the theory of adult socialization. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 8* (4), 253-264.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Levinson, D.J. (1978). *The seasons of a man's life.* New York: Knopf.
Levy, C.S. (1972). The context of social work ethics. *Social Work, 17,* 95-101.

Levy, C.S. (1973). The value base of social work. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 9,* 34-42.

Lewis, H. (1987). Teaching ethics through ethical teaching. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 1* (1), 3-14.

Lewis, H. (1992). Innovating a value-based curriculum: The first two decades. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 6* (1), 175-187.

Light Jr., D. (1983). Surface data and deep structure: Observing the organization of professional training. In J.V. Maanan, (Ed.), *Qualitative methodology.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Light, R. (1990). *The Harvard assessment seminars: Explorations with students and faculty about teaching, learning, and student life.* Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Light, D., Keller, S., & Calhoun, C. (1989). *Sociology* (5th ed.). New York: Knopf.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1984). *Analyzing social settings.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lopez, K.A. (1983). Role modeling interpersonal skills with beginning nursing students: Gestalt techniques. *Journal of Nursing Education, 22*(3), 119-122.

Lortie, D.C. (1959). Laymen to lawmen: Law schools, careers and professional socialization. *Harvard Educational Review, 29,* 352-369.

Lortie, D.C. (1975). *Schoolteacher.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Loseke, , D.R., & Cahill, S.E. (1986). Actors in search of a character: Student social workers' quest for professional identity. *Symbolic Interaction, 9*(2), 245-258.

Lowenthal, M.F., Thurnher, M., & Chiriboga, D. (1975). *Four stages of life.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Lubove, R. (1965). *The professional altruist: The emergence of social work as a career 1880-1930.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Lum, J.L.J. (1988). Reference groups and professional socialization. In M.E. Hardy & M.E. Conway (Eds.), *Role theory: Perspectives for health professionals* (2nd ed., pp. 137-156). Norwalk, CT: Appleton & Lange.

Lunneborg, P. (1982). Role model influencers of nontraditional professional women. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 20,* 276-281.

Lurie, E.E. (1981). Nurse practitioners: Issues in professional socialization. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 22,* 31-48.

Lusk, M., & Miller, D. (1985). A study of traditional and nontraditional graduate students of social work for values and cognitive development. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education, 3* (2), 22-28.

Lynn, M.R., McCain, N.I., & Boss, B.J. (1989). Socialization of RN to BSN. *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship, 21,* 232-237.

Maas, H.S. (1980). On teachers and teaching. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16,* 11.

Manasse, H.R., Jr., Kabat, H.F., & Wertheimer, A.I. (1976). Professional socialization in pharmacy I: A cross-sectional analysis of personality characteristics of agents and objects of socialization. *Drugs in Health Care, 3* (3), 3-18.

Manasse, H.R., Jr., Kabat, H.F., & Wertheimer, A.I. (1977). Professional socialization in pharmacy I: A cross-sectional analysis of dominant value characteristics of agents and objects of socialization. *Social Science and Medicine, 11,* 653-659.

Manasse, H.R., Stewart, and Hall (1975). Inconsistent socialization in pharmacy: A pattern in need of change. *Journal of American Pharmacy Association, NS15,* 616.

Manzo, D.A., & Ross-Gordon, J. (1990). *Socialization outcomes of part time graduate professional social work education: A comparison of adult students in career transition to social work with returning adult students who have undergraduate training and practical experience in social work.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 372 724).

Marlow, C. (1998). *Research methods for generalist social work* (2nd ed.). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/ Cole.

Marlow, S. (1996). New relationships, new realities: Bringing preservice teachers and a preservice principal together in a professional preparation program. *Journal of School Leadership, 6* (2), 155-179.

Marshack, E. (1988). Ethics in field work. *Jewish Social Work Forum, 24,* 41-44.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Marshall, E., & Rossman, G. (1989). *Designing qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G.B. (1999). *Designing qualitative research* (3rd ed.). CA: Sage.

Mayadas, N.S., & Duehn, W.D. (1977). The effects of training formats and interpersonal discriminations in the education for clinical social work practice. *Journal of Social Service Research, 1*(2), 147-161.

Maypole, D.E. (1986). Sexual harassment of social workers at work. *Social Work, 31,* 29-34.

Mayer, J., & Rosenblatt, A. (1974). Sources of stress among student practitioners in social work: A sociological review. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 10,* 66.

McCracken, G. (1988). *The long interview.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McKinney, K., Saxe, D., & Cobb, L. (1998). Are we really doing all we can for our undergraduates? Professional socialization via out-of-class experiences. *Teaching Sociology, 26* (1). 1-13.

McLeod, D.L., & Meyer, H.J. (1967). A study of the values of social workers. In E.J. Thomas (Ed.), *Behavioral science for social workers,* (pp. 401-416). New York: Free Press.

McNeece, C.A., DiNitto, D.M., DeWeaver, K.L., & Johnson, P.J. (1987). Social work education: No sexual harassment here? *Human Service Education, 8*(2), 20-28.

McNeer, A., Haynes, & Paludi, M.A. (1983). *Developmental discontinuities in women's role model choice.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, Illinois.

McQuillen, J.S., Ivy, D.K. (1985). *Student role selection: A replication.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Speech Communication Association, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.

Mead, G.H. (1934). *Mind, self and society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mead, G.H. (1959). The present. In A. Murphy (Ed.), *The philosophy of the present: Essays by Mead* (p. 185). La Salle, IL: Open Court Publishing Company.

Melcher, M.J. (2002). *Becoming a social worker: Reflections on a clinician's transformative journey.* Harrisburg, PA: White Hat Communications.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Meleis, A.I. (1975). Role insufficiency and role supplementation: A conceptual framework. *Nursing Research, 4,* 264-271.

Melia, K. (1984). Student nurses' construction of occupational socialization. *Sociology of Health and Illness, 6* (2), 132-151.

Merdinger, J.M. (1982). Socialization into a profession: The case of undergraduate social work students. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 18*(2), 12-19.

Merdinger, J.M. (1985). Professional development of the BSW student. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 12*(2), 362-382.

Merdinger, J.M. (1991). Reaching women students: Their ways of knowing. *Teaching Secrets: The Technology in Social Work Education,* 41-51.

Merriam, S. (1983). Mentors and proteges: A critical review of the literature. *Adult Education Quarterly, 33*(3), 161-173.

Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education.* San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass.

Merriam, S.B., Thomas, T.K., & Zeph, C.P. (1987). Mentoring in higher education: What we know now. *The Review of Higher Education, 11*(2), 199-210.

Merton, R.K. (1957a). Preliminaries to a Sociology of medical education. In R.K. Merton, G.G. Reader, & P.L. Kendall (Eds.), *The student physician* (pp. 3-80). Mass: Harvard University Press.

Merton, R.K. (1957b). Socialization: A terminological note. In R.K. Merton, G.G. Reader, & P.L. Kendall (Eds.), *The student physician* (p. 287). Mass: Harvard University Press.

Merton, R.K., Reader, G.G., & Kendall, P.L. (1957). *The student physician.* Mass: Harvard University Press.

Miles, M.B., & Huberman, M.A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, S.J. (1966). Exchange and negotiated learning in graduate medical education. *Sociological Quarterly, 7,* 469-479.

Miller, S.J. (1970). *Prescription for leadership: Training for the medical elite.* Chicago: Aldine.

Mingle, J.R. (1978). Faculty and departmental response to increased black student enrollment. *Journal of Higher Education, 49* (3), 201-217.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mix, M. (1971). *Toward a theory of socialization into the academic profession.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. State University of New York, Buffalo.

Moore, W.E. (1969). Occupational socialization. In D. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 852-883). Chicago: Rand McNally.

Moore, W.E. (1970). *The professions.* NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Moran, J.R. (1989). Social work education and students' humanistic attitudes. *Journal of Social Work Education, 25,* 13-19.

Morelock, K.T. (1997). The search for virtue: Ethics teaching in MSW programs. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 14* (1/2), 69-87.

Morris, V.C., & Hurwitz, E. (1980). *The Heisenberg problem: How to neutralize the effect of the observer on observed phenomena.* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Mortimer, J.T., & Simmons, R.G. (1978). Adult socialization. *Annual Review of Sociology, 4,* 21-54.

Mumford, E. (1970). *Interns: From students to physicians.* Cambridge, Massachusettes: Harvard University Press.

Munson, C.E. (1979). Evaluation of male and female supervisors. *Social Work, 24*(2), 104-110.

Neikrug, S.M. (1978). Approaches to social work practice: values of students, faculty and field advisers. *Social Work Research and Abstracts, 14* (2), 36-43.

Neuman, W.L. (2000). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Newcomb, T.M. (1952). Attitude development as a function of reference groups. In G.E. Swanson, et al. (Eds.), *Readings in social psychology* (revised ed.). NY: Holt.

Noble, D.N., & King, J.E. (1981). Values: Passing the torch without burning the runner. *Social Casework, 62* (10), 579-584.

Noble, D.N., Matthews, J.B., Chalfant, H.P., & King, J. (1980). From practice to professing: Identifying routes to baccalaureate social work education. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16,* 29-35.

Norman, J., & Wheeler, B. (1996). Gender-sensitive social work practice: A model for education. *Journal of Social Work Education, 32*(2), 203-213.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

O'Connor, I., & Dalgleish, L. (1986). The impact of social work education: A personal construct reconceptualization. *Journal of Social Work Education, 22*(3), 6-30.

Oermann, M.H. (1991). Professional nursing practice. In M.H. Oermann (Ed.), *Professional nursing practice: A conceptual approach.* (pp. 1-29). Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott.

Oles, T.P., Black, B.M., & Cramer, E.P. (1999). From attitude change to effective practice: Exploring the relationship. *Journal of Social Work Education, 35* (1), 87-100.

Olesen, V., & Whittaker, W. (1966). Adjudication of student awareness in professional socialization: The language of laughter and silences. *Sociological Quarterly, 7* (3), 381-396.

Olesen, V.L., & Whittaker, E.L. (1968). *The silent dialogue.* California: Jessey-Bass.

Olesen, V.L., & Whittaker, E.L. (1970). Critical notes on sociological studies of professional socialization. In J.A. Jackson, (Ed.), *Professions and professionalization* (pp. 181-221). Mass: Cambridge University Press.

Olmsted, A., & Pacet, M. (1969). Some theoretical issues in professional socialization. *Journal of Medical Education, 44,* 663.

Olsson, H.M., & Gullberg, M.T. (1987). Nursing education and professional role acquisition—theoretical perspectives. *Nurse Education Today, 7,* 171-176.

Olsson, H.M., & Gullberg, M.T. (1988). Nursing education and importance of professional status in the nurse role: Expectations and knowledge of the nurse role. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 25,* 287-293.

Ondrack, D.A. (1975). Socialization in professional schools: A comparative study. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 20,* 97-103.

O'Neil, Sr. M.J. (1980). A comparative study of social workers from one and two year graduate social work programs. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 16* (3), 75-81.

Pardeck, J.T., & McCallister, R.L. (1991). The effects of undergraduate social work education and the personal growth and development of students. *Education, 111* (3), 382-387.

Parsons, T. (1949). *The structure of social action.* Glencoe: Free Press.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system* (pp.59-61). Glencoe: Free Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Parsons, T. (1954). *Essays in sociological theory* (2nd ed., Chapter 2). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Pascarella, E.T. (1980). Student-faculty informal contact and college outcomes. *Review of Educational Research, 50*(4), 545-595.

Pascarella, E.T. (1985). College environmental influences on learning and cognitive development: A critical review and synthesis. In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol 1, pp. 1-61). New York: Agathon.

Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P. (1980). Student-faculty and student-peer relationships as mediators of the structural effects of undergraduate residence arrangements. *Journal of Educational Research, 2,* 344-353.

Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P. (1991). *How college affects students.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Patton, M.Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pavlin, F. (1970). *A study of attitudes and personality traits change during a course of professional education for social work.* Unpublished MSW thesis, University of Queensland.

Pearson, P.G. (1998). The educational orientations of graduate social work faculty. *Journal of Social Work Education, 34* (3), 427-436.

Pease, J. (1967). Faculty influence and professional participation of doctoral students. *Sociological Inquiry, 37* (1), 63-70.

Penn, J. R., Manspeaker, J., & Millette, B.J. (1975). The model merry-go-round. *NASPA Journal, 12* (4), 222-224.

Perlman, H. (1967). And gladly teach. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 3* (2), 153-166.

Perlman, H. (1976). Believing and doing: Values in social work education. *Social Casework, 57*(6), 381-390.

Perna, L.W., & Hudgins, C. (1996, October 31-November 3). *The graduate assistantship: Facilitator of graduate students' professional socialization.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Memphis, TN. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 402 822)

Petchers, M.K. (1996). Debunking the myth of progress for women social work educators. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 11*(1), 11-38.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Phillips, G.M. (1979). The peculiar intimacy of graduate study: A conservative view. *Communication Education, 28,* 339-345.

Piaget, J. (1932). *The moral judgment of the child* (pp. 19-49). New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Petrie, D. (1987). Life cycle simulation: Human growth and development course design and method. *Human Service Education, 8* (1), 21-25.

Phillips, D.G. (1980). Adherence to social work values and their enactment in practice among graduate students in psychology, social work, and psychiatric nursing. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42,* 1797A.

Pike, C.K. (1994). Development of the social work values inventory (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alabama, 1994). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 55* (01), 1696A.

Pike, C.K. (1996). Development and initial validation of the social work values inventory. *Research on Social Work Practice, 6,* 337-352.

Pilsecker, C. (1978). Values: A problem for everyone. *Social Work, 23,* 54-57.

Platt, L.A., & Branch, R.G. (1972). *Innovation and the professionalization process: An analysis of dental education.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, LA.

Poole, M.E. (1983). *Youth: Expectations and transitions.* Melbourne: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pooley, J.C. (1975). The professional socialization of physical education students in the United States and England. *International Review of Sport Sociology, 10* (3/4), 97-107.

Popple, P.R. (1991). The introductory course in the undergraduate social work curriculum. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 18*(1). 121-138.

Pumphrey, M.W. (1959). *The teaching of values and ethics in social work education* (Vol. 13). New York: Council on Social Work Education.

Punch, K.F., & Sheridan, B.E., (1978). Determinants of aspiration in secondary students. *Journal of Educational Administration, 16*(2), 175-186.

Punch, K.F., & Waugh, R.F. (1980). The formation of educational and occupational aspirations in adolescents: An empirical study. In I.D. Smith (Ed.), *Youth, schooling and unemployment* (pp. 392-404). Melbourne: A.A.R.E.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Quarantelli, E.L., & Helfrich, M. (1967). *The professionalization of dental students.* Final report to the Division of Dental Health, Public Health Service, United States Department of Health Education and Welfare. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University.

Quarantelli, E.L., Helfrich, M., & Yutsy, D. (1964). Faculty and student perceptions in a professional school. *Sociology and Social Research, 49* (1), 32-45.

Ratcliffe, J.W. (1983). Notions of validity in qualitative research methodology. *Knowledge: Creation, diffusion, utilization, 5*(2), 147-167.

Rauen, K.C. (1970). *Nursing students' expectations of the clinical instructor as role model.* Unpublished Master's thesis, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Rauen, K. (1974). The clinical instructor as role model. *Journal of Nursing Educaiton, 13*(3), 33-40.

Raymond III, F.B., & Pike, C.K. (1997). Social Work Education: Electronic Technologies. In the *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (19th ed., Supplement, pp. 281-298). Washington DC: NASW.

Reamer, F.G. (1979). Fundamental ethical issues in social work: An essay review. *Social Service Review, 53* (2), 229-243.

Reamer, F.G. (1983). Ethical dilemmas in social work practice. *Social Work, 28* (1), 31-35.

Reamer, F.G. (1997). Ethical standards in Social Work: The NASW Code of Ethics. In *The Encyclopedia of Social Work* (19th Edition Supplement, pp. 113-123). Washington DC: NASW.

Reamer, F.G. (1998). The evolution of social work ethics. *Social Work, 43* (6), 488-500.

Reamer, F.G., & Abramson, M. (1982). *The teaching of social work ethics.* The Hastings Center, Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences.

Reid, A. (1974). *Professional socialization and the effect of professional school: The case of dental education in Canada.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Carleton University, Canada.

Reid, A.E. (1979). The development of work-related attitudes and behavior of professional recruits: A test of the functionalist argument. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 20,* 338-351.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reid, A. (1981). Socialization into professions: Impact of dental school faculty on student professional orientations. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 18* (1), 48-66.

Reinharz, S. (1979). *On becoming a social scientist.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Reskin, B.F. (1979). Academic sponsorship and scientists' careers. *Sociology of education, 52,* 129-146.

Reynolds, B.C. (1937). The development of a professional self. *The Family, 18,* 61-63.

Reynolds, B.C. (1942). *Learning and teaching in the practice of social work.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart.

Rice, D.S. (1995). Professional values and moral development: The social work student (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1994). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 56* (01), 358A.

Richan, W., & Mendelsohn, A. (1973). *Social work: The unloved profession.* New York: New Viewpoints.

Robertson, E., & Grant, G. (1982). Teaching and ethics: An epilogue. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 345-357.

Robinson, V.P. (1978). *The development of a professional self.* New York: AMS Press.

Robst, J., Russo, D., & Keil, J. (1996). *Female role models: The effect of gender composition of faculty on student retention.* Paper presented at the Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Roeske, N.A., & Lake, K. (1977). Role models for women medical students. *Journal of Medical Education, 52,* 459-468.

Rokeach, M. (1968). *Beliefs, attitudes and values.* San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass.

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values.* NY: Free Press.

Ronkowski, S., & Iannaccone, L. (1989, March). *Socialization research in administration, graduate school and other professions: The heuristic power of Van Gennep and Becker models.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Association, San Francisco, California.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Rooney, R., & Reitmeir, M.A. (1991). Sharing power: Student feedback to field supervisors. In D. Schneck, B. Grossman, & U. Glassman (Eds.), *Field education in social work* (pp. 198-204). Iowa: Kendall-Hunt.

Rosch, T.A., & Reich, J.N. (1996). The enculturation of new faculty in higher education. *Research in Higher Education, 37* (1), 115-131.

Rosen, B.C., & Bates, A.P. (1967). The structure of socialization in graduate school. *Sociological Inquiry, 37,* 71-84.

Rosenberg, M. (1957). *Occupations and values.* Illinois: Free Press.

Rosenfeld, A., & Stark, E. (1987). The prime of our lives. *Psychology Today* (May). 62-72.

Rosinski, E.F. (1963). Professional, ethical and intellectual attitudes of medical students. *Journal of Medical Education, 38,* 1016-1022.

Rossi, A.S., & Gilderwood (Eds.). (1973). *Academic women on the move.* New York: Russell Sage.

Rowan, B. (1991, April). *The shape of the professional communities in schools.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 338 599)

Rubin, A., Johnson, P.J., & DeWeaver, K.L. (1986). Direct practice interests of MSW students: Changes from entry to graduation. *Journal of Social Work Education, 22*(2), 98-108.

Saarman, L., Freitas, L., Rapps, J., & Riegel, B. (1992). The relationship of education to critical thinking ability and values among nurses: Socialization into professional nursing. *Journal of Professional Nursing, 8,* 26-34.

Sainsbury, E. (1982). Knowledge, skills, and values in social work education. In R. Bailey & P. Lee (Eds.), *Theory and practice in social work* (pp. 46-60). Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Saks, A.M. (1997). Organizational socialization: Making sense of the past and present as prologue to the future. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51,* 2, 234-279.

Salomon, E.L. (1967). Humanistic values and social casework. *Social Casework, 48,* 26-32.

Sanchez, W., & Fried, J. (1997). Giving voice to students' narratives: Cultural criticism and education in the helping/service professions. *College Teaching, 45* (1), 26-31.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Sarfatti-Larson, M. (1977). *The rise of professionalism: A sociological analysis.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schacter, B. (1988). The younger social work student: Personal developmental issues and learning experiences. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 2*(2), 145-163.

Schatzman, L., & Strauss, A. (1973). *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Schein, E.H. (1969). The mechanisms of change. In W. Bennis, et al (Eds.), *The planning of change* (pp. 98-107). New York: Rinehart & Winston.

Schinke, S.P., Blythe, B.J., Gilchrist, L.D., & Smith, T.E. (1980). Developing intake-interviewing skills. *Social Work Research and Abstracts, 16* (10), 29-34.

Schniedewind, N. (1987). Teaching feminist process. *Women's Studies Quarterly, 15*(3-4), 15-31.

Schon, D.A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schreiber, M.S. (1989). Student peer groups: A key aspect of professional socialization in graduate social work education. *Jewish Social Work Forum, 25,* 33-42.

Schrimsher, K.P. (1996). *Professional socialization, career patterns and commitments: A gender analysis of law school graduates.* Doctoral dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

Schurr, G.M. (1982). Toward a code of ethics for academics. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 318-334.

Schwartz, A. (1962). *The engineering student: Interaction patterns and orientation to professional values.* Unpublished MA thesis, Ohio State University, Ohio.

Schwartz, S.H. (1968). *Moral orientations and interpersonal conduct in moral encounters.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Scriven, M. (1982). Professional ethics. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 307-317.

Seater, B.B., & Ridgeway, C.I. (1976). Role models, significant others and the importance of male influence on college women. *Sociological Symposium, 15,* 49-64.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Seeman, M., & Evans, J. (1962). Apprenticeship and attitude change. *American Journal of Sociology, 64,* 365-380.

Segal, U.A. (1992). Values, personality and career choice. *Journal of Applied Sciences, 16* (2), 143-159.

Segalman, R. (1979). Interactionist theory, human behavior, social work, and social work education. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare,* 467-481.

Sells, L.W. (1975). *Sex and discipline differences in professional socialization.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C.

Shapiro, M. (1987). *Getting doctored: Critical reflection on becoming a doctor.* Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Sharwell, G.R. (1974). Can values be taught? A study of two variables related to orientation of social work graduate students toward public dependency. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 10,* 99-105.

Shavlick, D., Touchton, J., & Pearson, C. (1987). *The new agenda for women for higher education: A report of the ACE commission on women in higher education.* Washignton DC: American Council on Education.

Sheridan, M.J., & Hemert, A. (1999). The role of religion and spirituality in social work education and practice: A survey of student views and experiences. *Journal of Social Work Education, 35* (1), 125-141.

Sherlock, B., & Morris, R. (1972). *Becoming a dentist.* Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.

Shey, T.H. (1969). *The professional socialization of social work students: How length of schooling, prior work experience, and other variables affect some aspects of the professional socialization of graduate social work students.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, New School for Social Research, New York.

Shrewsbury, C.M. (1987). What is feminist pedagogy? *Women's Studies Quarterly, 15*(3-4), 6-13.

Shriver, J.M. (1978). The socializing impact of professional social work education on students in two graduate schools of social work (Doctoral dissertation, Catholic University). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 14*(3), 850.

Shulman, L. (1992). *Teaching guide: The skills of helping individuals, families, and groups* (3rd ed., pp. 128-166). Illinois: Peacock Publishers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Shulz, C.M. (1978). Perceived responsibility in decision-making in ethical death issues: The professional socialization of nurses. *Essence, 2* (3), 113-128.

Shuval, J.T. (1975). From "boy" to "colleague": Processes of role transformation in professional socialization. *Social Science and Medicine, 9,* 413-420.

Shuval, J.T. (1975). Socialization of health professionals in Israel: Early sources of congruence and differentiation. *Journal of Medical Education, 50* (5), 443-458.

Shuval, J.T., & Adler, I. (1980). The role of models in professional socialization. *Social Science and Medicine, 14A* (1), 5-14.

Shuval, J., & Gilbert, L. (1978). Attempts at professionalization of pharmacy. *Social Science in Medicine, 11,* 19-25.

Silberman, S. (1976). Comparison of personal values among freshman and senior dental students and dental faculty. *Journal of Dental Education, 40,* 334-339.

Simon, S.B. (1972). *Values clarification.* New York: Hart.

Simpson, I.H. (1967). Patterns of socialization into professions: The case of student nurses. *Sociological Inquiry, 37*(1), 47-54.

Simpson, I.H. (1979). *From student to nurse.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Singer, T.L. (1994). Sexual harassment in graduate schools of social work: Provacative dilemmas. In M. Weil, M. Huges, & N. Hooyman, (Eds.), *Sexual harassment and schools of social work: Issues, costs, and strategic responses* (pp. 25-38). Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Sinick, D. (1956). Two anxiety scales correlated and examined for sex differences. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 12,* 349-395.

Slawski, C. (1973). *Professional socialization in organizational context: Hypotheses and comparative cases.* Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, NY, NY.

Smith, N.J. (1982). Professional socialization—inherent reasons for stress. In P. Boss & N.J. Smith (Eds.), *Professional burnout* (monograph 2). Melbourne, CT: Department of Social Work, Monash University.

Smoyak, S.A. (1978). Teaching as coaching. *Nursing Outlook, 26,* 361-363.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Snyder, D.S. (1967). *Selected socialization experiences of medical students and their conceptions of professional responsibility.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Washington.

Sowers-Hoag, K.M., & Harrison, D.F. (1991). Women in social work education: Progress or promise? *Journal of Social Work Education, 27,* 320-328.

Speizer, J.J. (1981). Role models, mentors, and sponsors: The elusive concepts. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 6*(41), 692-712.

Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Spradley, J.P. (1980). *Participant observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Springer, E. (1970). *Types of man, manual, study of values.* Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Springer, L., Terenzini, P.T., Pascarella, E.T., Nora, A. (1995). Influences on college students' orientations toward learning for self-understanding. *Journal of College Student Development 36,* 5-18.

Stake, R.E. (1978). The case study method in social inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 7,* 5-8.

Stake, R.E. (1994). Case Studies. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 236-247). Newberry Park, CA: Sage.

Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stein, E., & Weidman, J. (1989). *Socialization in graduate school: A conceptual framework.* (Report No. HE 023 097). (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 339 258).

Stern, G., & Scanlon, J. (1958). Pediatric lions and gynecological lambs. In H. Gee and R. Glaser (Eds.), *The ecology of the medical student.* Evanston: Association of American Medical Colleges.

Sternglanz, S.H. (1979). *Sex differences in student-teacher classroom interactions.* Paper presented at the Research Conference on Educational Environments and the Undergraduate Woman, Wellesley College.

Sternglanz, S.H., & Lyberger-Ficek, S. (1977). Sex differences in student-teacher interactions in the college classroom. *Sex Roles, 3,* 345-352.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stouffer, S., Suchman, E.A., DeVinney, L.C., Star, S.A., & Williams Jr., R.M. (1949). *The American soldier: Adjustment during army life.* Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stover, S.S. (1983). Convergences between symbolic interactionism and systems theory. *Symbolic Interaction,* 88-103.

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A., & Bucher, R. (1961). Professions in process. *American Journal of Sociology, 66,* 325-334.

Strom, S.M., & Tennyson, W.W. (1989). Developing moral responsibleness through professional education. *Counseling and Values, 34* (1), 33-44.

Su, J.Z.X. (1992). Sources of influence in preservice teacher socialization. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 18* (3), 239-258.

Swenson, C.R. (1978). The professional log: Techniques for self-directed learning. *Social Casework, 69*(5), 307-311.

Swenson, C.R. (1998). Clinical social work's contribution to a social justice perspective. *Social Work, 43* (6), 527-537.

Sykes, G. (1958). *Society of captives.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tabachnick, B.G., Spiegel, P.K., Pope, K.S. (1991). Ethics of teaching: Beliefs and behaviors of psychologists as educators. *American Psychologist, 46* (5), 506-515.

Tangri, S.S. (1972). Determinants of occupational role innovation among college women. *Journal of Social Issues, 2,* 177-199.

Teare, R.J., & Sheafor, B.S. (1995). *Practice-sensitive social work education: An empirical analysis of social work practice and practitioners.* Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Teevan, K.G., & Gabel, H. (1978). Evaluation of modeling—Role playing and lecture---Discussion training techniques for college student mental health paraprofessionals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 25* (2), 169-171.

Teicher, M. (1967). *Values in social work: A re-examination,* NASW Monograph No. 9. New York: National Association of Social Workers.

Terenzini, P.T., & Wright, T.M. (1987). Influences on students' academic growth during four years of college. *Research in Higher Education, 26,* 161-179.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thomas, C.B., Jr. (1986). Values as predictors of social activist behavior. *Human Relations, 39,* 179-193.

Thomlison, B., Rogers, G., Collins, D., & Grinnell, R. (1996). *The social work practicum: An access guide* (2nd ed.). Illinois: Peacock Publishers.

Thompson, J. (1978). Occupational socialization in graduate and professional education: An annotated bibliography.

Tidball, M.E. (1973). Perspective on academic women and affirmative action. *Educational Record, 54,* 130-155.

Tidball, M.E. (1974). The search for talented women. *Change, 6,* 51-64.

Tidball, M.E. (1976). Of men and research: The dominant themes in American higher education include neither teaching nor women. *Journal of Higher Education, 47,* 378-389.

Tiederman, D. (1952). Occupational choices: An approach to general theory. *Harvard Educational Review, 22,* 184-190.

Tierney, W.G. (1997). Organizational socialization in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education, 68* (1), 1-16.

Timberlake, E.M. (1974). *Career identity development of the agency-employed field instructor* (pp. 90-93). Studies in Social Work, No. 98. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America.

Toren, N. (1969). Semi-professionalism and social work: A theoretical perspective. In A. Etzioni (Ed.), *The semi-professionals and their organization* (Chap. 4). New York: Free Press.

Towle, C. (1954). *The learner in education for the professions.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Tropman, J.E. (1989). American values and social welfare: Cultural contradictions in the welfare state. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Turner, R.H. (1978). The role and the person. *American Journal of Sociology, 84*(1), 1-23.

Turner, C.S.V., & Thompson, J.R. (1993). Socializing women doctoral students: Minority and majority experiences. *The Review of Higher Education, 16*(3), 355-370.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Valentine, D., Gandy, J., Burry, C., & Ginsberg, L. (1994). Sexual harassment in social work field placements. In M. Weil, M. Huges, & N. Hooyman (Eds.), *Sexual harassment and schools of social work: Issues, costs, and strategic responses* (pp. 39-53). Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education.

Valentine, D.P., Gandy, J.T., & Weinbach, R.W. (1986). Assessing the socialization of students in part time and full time graduate social work education. *Journal of Continuing Social Work Education, 3*(4), 27-32.

Valliant, G. (1977). *Adaptation to life.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown

Van Maanen, J., & Schein, E.H. (1979). Toward a theory of organization socialization. *Research on Organization Behavior, 1,* 209-264.

Varley, B.K. (1963). Socialization in social work education. *Social Work, 8*(3), 102-109.

Varley, B.K. (1966). Are social workers dedicated to service? *Social Work, 11,* 84-91.

Varley, B.K. (1968). Social work values: Changes in value commitments of students from admission to MSW graduation. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 4,* (2), 67-76.

Varley, B. (1975). *Students value orientations: A decade in review.* Paper presented at the Annual Program Meeting, Council on Social Work Education, Chicago, IL.

Vigilante, J.L. (1974). Between values and science: Education for the profession during a moral crisis or is proof truth? *Journal of Education for Social Work, 10* (3), 107-115.

Vinton, L. (1992). Women's content in social work curricula: Separate but equal? *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 7*(1), 74-89.

Vonk, M.E., Zucrow, E., Thyer, B.A. (1996). Female MSW students' satisfaction with practicum supervision: The effect of supervisor gender. *Journal of Social Work Education, 32*(3), 415-418.

Wagner, D. (1990). *The quest for a radical profession: Social service careers and political ideology.* (pp.70-82). Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America Inc.

Walsh, M.R. (1977). *Doctors wanted: NO women need apply: Sexual barriers in the medical profession 1835-1975.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ward, D.A., & Kassebaum, G.G. (1965). *Women's prison: Sex and social structure.* Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Watzlawick, P., Beavin, J., & Jackson, D.D. (1967). *Pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies and paradoxes.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Wax, R. (1971). *Doing fieldwork: Warning and advice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Waxman, M. (1992). Mentoring, role modeling, and the career development of junior science faculty. *Journal of College Science, 22* (2), 124-127.

Webb, N.B. (1984). From social work practice to teaching the practice of social work. *Journal of Education for Social Work, 20* (3), 51-57.

Webb, N.B. (1988). The role of the field instructor in the socialization of students. *Social Casework,69* (1), 35-40.

Webb, N., Linn, M., Hirsh, K., Stein, S., & Furdon, J. (1976). Changes in the values of social work students: Authoritarianism, dogmatism and alienation. *Journal of Social Welfare,* 3 (3), 59-65.

Weick, A.. (1993). Reconstructing Social Work education. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 8* (1/2), 11-30.

Weidman, J.C. (1989). Undergraduate socialization: A conceptual approach. In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol 5, pp. 289-292). New York: Agathon.

Weiler, K. (1991). Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference. *Harvard Educational Review, 61*(4), 449-474.

Weiss, C.S. (1981). The development of professional role commitment among graduate students. *Human Relations, 34*(1), 13-31.

Weiss, R.S. (1966). Alternative approaches in the study of complex situations. *Human Organization, 25,* 198-205.

Welfel, E.R. (1992). Psychologist as ethics educator: Successes, failures, and unanswered questions. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23* (3), 182-189.

Welfel, E.R., & Kitchener, K.S. (1992). Introduction to the special section: Ethics education—An agenda for the 90's. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 23* (3), 179-181.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wells, L.E., & Marwell, G. (1976). *Self-esteem: Its conceptualization and measurement.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Western, J.S. (1963). Social Work and professional socialization. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 1* (4), 53-65.

Wheeler, B.R. (1987). How to fail as an ethical social worker: A tool for teaching ethics. *Arete, 12*(2), 40-44.

White, E., Riley, E., Davies, S., & Twinn, S. (1993). *A detailed study of the relationships between teaching, support, supervision and role modeling in clinical areas, within the context of the Project 2000 courses.* London, England: English National Board for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting.

Whitehead, A.N. (1929). *The aims of education and other essays.* New York: MacMillan & Co.

Wijnberg, M. (1977). A role systems approach to field instruction: A new phase in professional development. In T.L. Briggs & G.M. Gross (Eds.), *Field Instruction: New perspectives on partnership.* Syracuse, NY: School of Social Work, Manpower Monograph No. 12.

Wilensky, H.L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology, 60,* 137-158.

Williams, M.M. (1993). Actions speak louder than words. *Educational Leadership, 51* (3), 22-23.

Wilson, B.S., Pratto, D.J., & Skipper, J.K. (1992). Students' perceptions of teaching innovations in medical school: Are things changing? *Sociological Spectrum, 12*(53), 53-72.

Wilson, E.K. (1982). Power, pretense, and piggybacking. *Journal of Higher Education, 53* (3), 268-291.

Wodarski, J.S., Feit, M.D., & Green, R.K. (1995). Graduate social work education: A review of 2 decades of empirical research and considerations for the future. *Social Service Review, 69* (1), 108-130.

Wodarski, J., Pippin, J., & Daniels, M. (1988). The effects of graduate education on personality, values and interpersonal skills. *Journal of Social Work Education, 24,* 266-277.

Wolensky, R.P. (1981). The graduate student's double bind: A professional socialization problem in Sociology. *Sociological Spectrum, 1* (4), 393-414.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Wood, J.T. (1994). *Gendered lives: Communication, gender, and culture* (pp. 13-55). California: Wadsworth.

Wood, G.G., & Middleman, R.R. (1991). A different approach: Principles that guide teaching. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 5* (2), New York: Haworth Press.

Worthen, B.R., & Gardner, M.K. (1988, April 5-9). *A second look at the relation of research assistantships and research productivity.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 301 100).

Wright, C.R. (1967). Changes in the occupational commitment of graduate sociology students: A research note. *Sociological Inquiry, 37,* 55-62.

Wright, C.A., & Wright, S.D. (1987). The role of mentors in the career development of young professionals. *Family Relations, 36* (2), 204-208.

Wyatt, J.F. (1978). Sociological perspectives on socialization into a profession: A study of student nurses and their definition of learning. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 26* (3), 263-276.

Yamatani, H., Page, M., Koeske, G., Diaz, C., & Maguire, L. (1986). A comparison of extended and traditional master's of social work students: A repeated measures analysis. *Journal of Social Work Education, 22*(3), 43-51.

Yarrow, M.R., Campbell, J.D., & Burton, R.G. (1964). Reliability of maternal retrospection: A preliminary report. *Family Process, 3,* 207-218.

Yin, R.K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

York, R.O., Henley, C., & Gamble, D. N. (1988). The power of positive mentors: Variables associated with women's interest in social work administration. *Journal of Social Work Education, 24*(3), 242-250.

Zakutansky, T.J., & Sirles, E.A. (1993). Ethical and legal issues in field education: Shared responsibility and risk. *Journal of Social Work Education, 29* (3), 338-347.

Zald, M.N. (1997). Professions, work and organizations: Comments on the contributions of Anselm Strauss. *Symbolic Interaction, 21,* 17-18.

Zamora, M.D., & Stegall, P. (1980). Professional enculturation and turning in life history. *The Eastern Anthropologist, 33* (3), 255-262.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Zuckerman, H. (1977). *Scientific elite: Nobel laureates in the United States.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.