THE USE OF AN EXTENDED AXIAL MODEL FOR EXAMINING SOCIAL WORK CORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT EARLY ATTACHMENT

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BY

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ABSTRACT

This examination of social work core knowledge about early attachment proposes a methodology for identification of the major contributors to core knowledge, and suggests the use of an epistemic inventory and extended version of Lally's axial model for analysis of selected work by these primary theorists. The 10 primary theorists were identified by citation count of 19 periodical articles published between 1974-1984. These articles, representing the social work early attachment literature base, were identified by a keyword search of Social Sciences Citation Index social work journals and Social Work Research and Abstracts. A selection of the primary theorists' work was examined using an epistemic inventory to focus on issues pertinent to social work, and to plot the conceptual perspectives of the theorists.

The findings suggest that the methodology was effective in identifying authors whose work is consistent with the definition of core knowledge. This methodology is an inversion of Garfield's clustering technique, and might be useful in identifying core knowledge about a variety of topics germane to social work practice. Conversely, Garfield's technique could be straightforwardly applied, using core theorists, to generate a wider cluster of social work literature about a specific

topic, literature suggestive of applied-derived knowledge in social work.

The use of the epistemic inventory and axial model was effective in locating the underlying assumptions of primary theorists, and in highlighting troublesome issues for social work practitioners within the core knowledge base. This analysis predicts difficulties for practitioners in extrapolating from core knowledge about early attachment to active intervention, particularly in the area of policy and ethical considerations. This study lays the groundwork for further investigation of both the applied-derived literature base and the implementation of early attachment knowledge in social work practice. The findings suggest the importance of exposure to a broad range of sometimes conflicting theoretical orientations in training social work professionals.

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INTRODUCTION

> In a unanimous decision, the court ruled that "bonding" between the child and his adoptive parents overrode anyright of the biological parent to custody.
>
> It is the first Supreme Court of Canada decision to use the concept of bonding and other psychological evidence to deny custody . . . (Lipovenko, 1985)

The Supreme Court of Canada's March, 1985 decision reflects growing interest in the importance of early emotional ties between children and caretakers. The issue of bonding, or early attachment, has been a regular topic in the popular press (Brazelton, 1977, 1980; Gordon, 1978; Hluchy, 1983; McCall, 1980, 1983, 1985), and was identified as early as 1974 as one of the 100 most active areas of research in the social sciences (Garfield, 1977). At the 1984 annual convention of the American Psychological Association in Toronto, awards honoring Mary D. Salter Ainsworth for her expansive work in the area of infant attachment underscore the continued prominence of this topic within the scientific community.

It is easy to understand the growth of interest in the affectional link between infant and caretaker. This early bond has been considered prototypic of later emotional and social ties (Bowlby, 1979, 1982; Fraiberg, 1977; S. Freud, 1940/1969; Klaus & Kennell, 1982).

Healthy attachment has been associated with satisfaction in later emotional relationships (Bowlby, 1979, 1982) and with cognitive and social competence in childhood (Ainsworth, 1962; Easterbrooks & Lamb, 1979; Sroufe & Waters, 1977). Disruption or severe deprivation of this emotional bond has been associated with such diverse and debilitating problems as infant failure to thrive (Fraiberg, 1980; Klaus & Kennell, 1976), childhood dwarfism (Gardner, 1973), autism (Robson & Moss, 1970), retardation (Ainsworth, 1962), adult depression, sociopathy and suicide (Bowlby, 1968/1979). Some authors suggest that early failures in attachment may contribute to child abuse and maltreatment (Bolton, 1983; Harlow, 1971; Kennell, Jerauld, Wolfe, Chesler, Kreger, McAlpine, Steffa, & Klaus, 1974).

Across the helping professions, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, physicians and social workers have focused their attention on both "risk" situations, contexts involving significant separation of caretaker and infant, and also on populations "at risk" because of apparent stress upon the caretaker in adjusting to the parental relationship. Samples (by no means all inclusive) of work addressing separation of infant and caretaker include Klaus and Kennell's (1982) investigations into routine perinatal mother-infant separation and isolation of infants in intensive care/premature nurseries; Frai-

berg's (1977) critique of day care as a form of significant separation of mother and infant; Robertson's film (cited in Bowlby, 1982) addressing hospitalized toddlers' separation from maternal care, Hess's (1982) article about foster children's separations from parents; and Burlingham and A. Freud's (1942, 1944) classic studies of children in wartime residential nurseries. Populations suspected of having difficulty in early bond formation include adolescent mothers (Wise & Grossman, 1980), parents of infants with birth defects (Greenberg, 1979; Klaus & Kennell, 1982), parents of premature or seriously ill infants (Brown & Bakeman, 1979; Klaus & Kennell, 1982; Kopelman, Smeonsson, Rune, Smaldone, & Gilbert, 1978), and mothers who have been significantly sedated or medicated in childbirth (Montague, 1977; Peterson & Mehl, 1977).

The contributions of this body of work clearly speak to the practice domain of social workers. An awareness of the concepts and hypotheses found within the early attachment literature can enhance social workers' general understanding of individual and family development, and can facilitate improved communication with other professionals dealing with these issues. In the field of family and child welfare, familiarity with attachment issues could benefit workers dealing with child abuse and neglect cases, foster and permanent care placements,

custody and access decisions, and day care concerns. In health care settings, an awareness of attachment concepts could be helpful for social workers in providing care to parents and children coping with separation resulting from illness and hospitalization or in dealing with crises arising in the perinatal period. In summary, a full understanding of the material about early affectional bonds could be useful for both social work generalists and specialized practitioners.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

As the number of articles and publications addressing early attachment has grown, so too has critical comment about this body of work. The validity of research methods has been questioned by Chess and Thomas (1981), Lamb (1982), and Sluckin, Herbert, and Sluckin (1983). Prospective studies have often not replicated earlier findings (Egeland & Vaughn, 1981; Svejda, Campos, & Emde, 1980). The sheer volume of material dealing with this topic* and virtually simultaneous publication of widely divergent viewpoints can leave motivated, literate social work practitioners with a sense of urgency, concern, and confusion.

What practitioners need in order to better cope with this predicament, are some tools for managing the unweildy and contradictory literature about early attachment. The first requirement is a mechanism which would condense the volume of material by distilling out the most significant contributions underlying the literature. Next a heuristic device is needed for the analysis of these major contributions, a tool which could accommodate contradictory perspectives and which would focus on

*The Social Science Citation Index cluster of publications on the topic of "Infant Attachment Behavior" includes 140 articles published in 1974 alone (Garfield, 1977). Over the next few years this topic grouping further expanded into 4 separate highly active clusters (ISI, personal communication, Dec. 1984.)

issues of importance to social work practitioners. This study proposes the use of 1) a methodology for identifying primary theorists who are the major contributors to social work core knowledge about early attachment and 2) an epistemic inventory and axial model for analysis of the foundation assumptions underlying the work of these authors.

The purpose of this study is to examine the core knowledge used by social work in seeking to understand early affectional bonds. This will first of all involve the delineation of those early attachment publications which can be demonstrably linked with social work. Next, from this subset of attachment material, authors whose work represents important contributions to the knowledge base will be identified as primary theorists. Thirdly, an epistemic inventory will be used to develop an axial model for the comparison and analysis of the work of these primary theorists. Further elaboration and discussion of ways that these different conceptual underpinnings might bear on social work practice will complete this preliminary work. In itself this investigation represents an introductory study, however it provides the groundwork for assaulting the larger question of how the social work profession actually utilizes the wealth and complexity of this literature base in conceptualizing the practice issues surrounding early emotional bonds.

Given the widespread interest in early attachment expressed within public and scientific domains, and given the relevance of the attachment knowledge base to helping in general, and to social work practice in particular, the further study of the profession's use of the voluminous and contradictary early attachment literature appears to be an issue of some salience. This examination of the core knowledge base that social work uses in addressing early attachment is a prerequisite to further consideration of the profession's application or integration of this literature in practice.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The investigation of primary theorists in seeking to understand the profession's most fundamental assumptions about early attachment grows from the consensus within social work that a major portion of the knowledge base used in practice originates within other disciplines and professions. Albers and McConnell tackle the question of the complexities of professional knowledge in their 1984 presentation re-examining the working definition, and distinguish three types of knowledge in social work: unique, applied-derived, and core.

Briefly, unique knowledge is basically atheoretical, and encompasses the fundamentally technical aspects of services, programs, regulations, and policies, as well as specific information about social work client populations. Applied-derived knowledge fuses concepts borrowed from sometimes divergent intellectual traditions with practice experience directed toward actually helping troubled people. This merger yields practice models which grow from the profession's experience with the particular and urgent problems encountered in practice, from the values underlying social work, "What it Wants for People" (Albers & McConnell, 1984, p. 31), and from the silence of many core theories on intervention.

Lastly, core knowledge provides the epistemological foundations for the profession's understanding of

human behavior and experience. This primary type of knowledge is generally developed within the social science disciplines in the pursuit of a more complete understanding of human behaviour and, as such, may or may not address strategies for intervention. In their wealth and complexity, these core theories borrowed by social work represent "competing and sometimes radically different" (Albers & Mconnell, 1984, p. 29) perspectives, and together form the assumptions which underlie social work practice.

LALLY'S AXIAL MODEL

Albers and McConnell (1984) advise that an understanding of core knowledge is an essential first step in understanding professional knowledge (the combination of core, applied-derived and unique knowledge), and suggest Lally's (1981) quadrant map as a useful conceptual and heuristic device in this pursuit. Lally's elegant axial model provides a powerful tool for analysis and comparison of different theories, both highlighting shared assumptions and underscoring distinctions between perspectives. The model accommodates broad epistemological communities (paradigms), and yet can be used in a tight focus on a particular "substantive area" (Lally, 1981, p. 12) of study (eg. early attachment).

Fundamentally Lally's model provides an "immedi-

ate and graphic view of the entire terrain of epistemological perspectives" (Lally, 1981, p. 6). This map utilizes a horizontal axis which separates those scientific communities who focus upon "man (the subject) as the key unit of sociological analysis and those who see something other than man ... as the key unit" (Lally, 1981, p. 6). This axis accommodates the conventional dichotomy between Kantian man at the centre of his universe, and man as the object of a greater environment. In ongoing work by Albers, Hurley, and McConnell, these poles have been further extrapolated to include the distinctions between 1) autonomy (free will) and determinism, 2) non-consequentialism (process/becoming orientation) and consequentialism, and 3) a focus on subjective experience (meaning) and a focus on content (outcome prediction).

The vertical axis distinguishes "between those perspectives whose adherents' prime interest lies in pursuing knowledge about the existing social reality ['Analysis of the Is'] and, on the other hand, those perspectives whose adherents' prime reason for studying and writing about society is to expose its fundamental flaw as a prelude to having it changed fundamentally ['Analysis for the Ought to Be']" (Lally, 1981, p. 6-7). Again Lally's work has been extended by Albers, Hurley, and McConnell in order to articulate specific implications

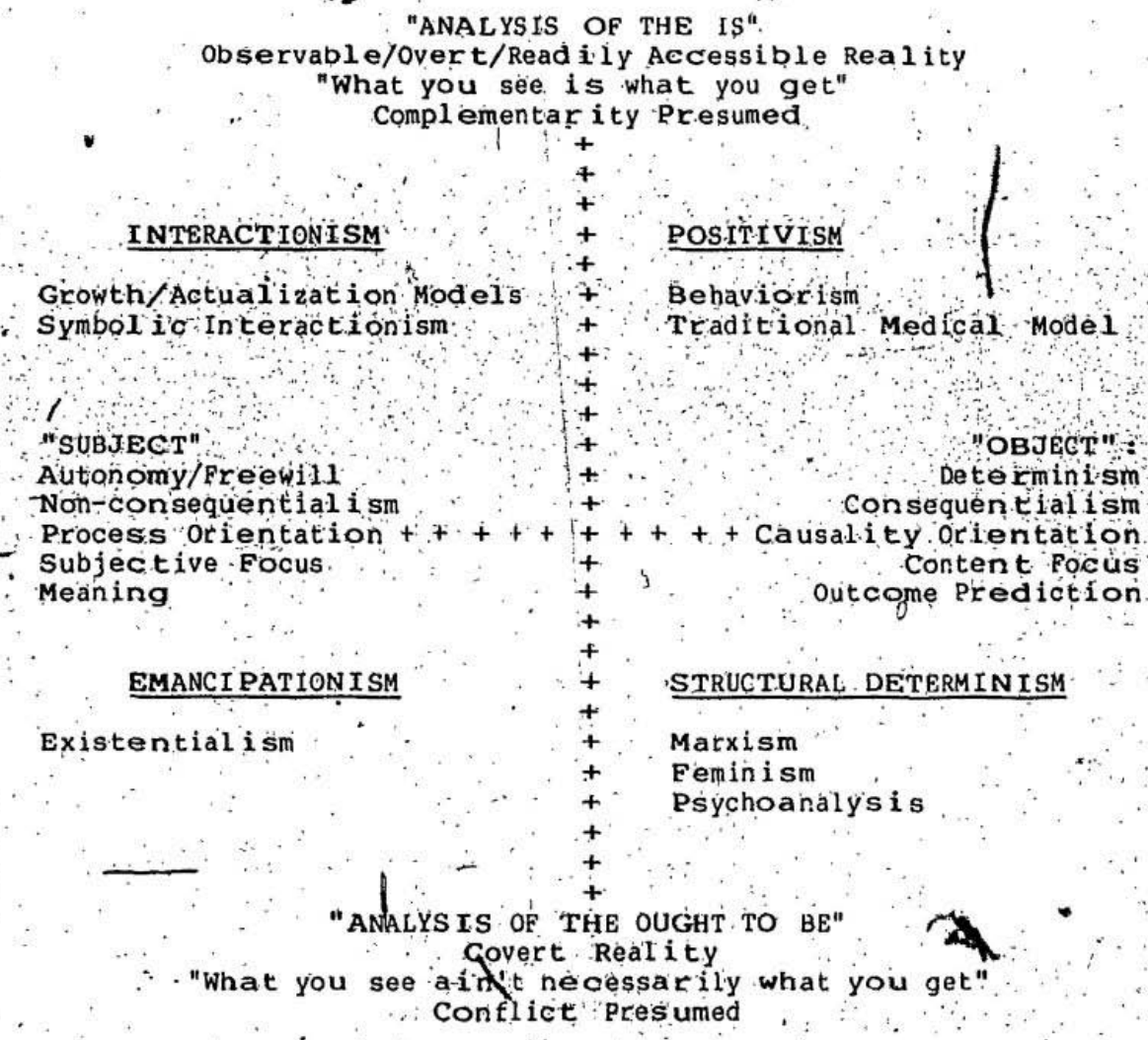
of his wording. They feel the "Analysis for the Is" label further assumes an observable, overt, readily accessible reality, a "what you see is what you get" view of the human condition. At the opposite pole, emphasis on efforts to expose a fundamental flaw as a prelude to change implies a covert or hidden reality which is inherently conflictual, a reality which requires change. At this pole, "what you see ain't necessarily what you get" at all, and problems which cannot be managed within the existing reality are presumed. These assumptions represent a stark contrast to the upper "Is" pole, where an accessible reality suggests that if problems arise, solutions are built in, underscoring a fundamental complementarity between man and his environment.

The juxtaposition of Lally's axes produces four fundamentally distinct paradigms or "loose-knit scientific communities (in Kuhn's sense)" (Lally, 1981, p. 7.): Positivism, Structural Determinism, Emancipationism, Interactionism. Each paradigm accommodates numerous theorists who share basic assumptions about reality and man's place within it. Individual theorists are located spatially within the quadrant field by plotting their position relative to their strength of agreement with axial assumptions.

Within the quadrant and across perpendicular boundaries, spatial proximity between theorists denotes

FIGURE 1

LALLY'S AXIAL MODEL WITH EXTENSIONS



the degree of similarity between their perspectives. (The closer the match of philosophical assumptions, the closer the theorists appear on the quadrant map). This occurs vertically and horizontally because each quadrant shares some fundamental assumptions with neighbouring adjacent quadrants. However, across diagonally opposite quadrants, no basic assumptions are shared. Therefore the most entrenched disputes occur between theorists occupying the symbolic "opposite corners" of the axial diagonals, (Emancipationism vs. Positivism, Interactionism vs. Structural Determinism; Lally, 1981).

The following synopses of the individual quadrants represent Lally's work as extended by the ongoing work of Albers, Hurley, and McConnell, and Albers and Hurley (1985).

POSITIVISM

Lally's Positivism quadrant espouses the ontological assertion that "social reality exists out there independent of a human knower" and mainly emphasizes "causal explanation and cumulative theory building" (Lally, 1981, p. 8). These fundamental assumptions are the result of the conjunction of determinism's "Object" pole on the horizontal axis, with the observable complementarity of the upper "Is" pole on the vertical axis. The traditional medical model, as well as behaviorist and

exchange theories, plot within this quadrant. Positivist theorists fundamentally look to observable data in their attempts to understand humanity.

Within this quadrant, man is viewed as a "tabula rasa," shaped by external events and/or internal chemistry. Socialization occurs largely through non-conscious learning, and is impressed upon individuals by the external environment. Here the relative importance of the individual is small when compared with the significance of the community as a whole. If human problems exist, they are the result of exposure to inappropriate external or environmental events. Help for problems occurs when external changes provide appropriate environments. Therefore, in the helping process, the technical dimensions of intervention happen fundamentally "to" clients on behalf of society, (e.g., drug therapy, selective reinforcement of appropriate behavior, provision of "concrete" services).

At a policy level, the foregoing assumptions predispose helpers working from the Positivist perspective to define problems in terms of observable differences which cause some type of disruption to the social collective. The converse, healthy or appropriate social functioning, is defined by default, simply as "no observable problem", (e.g., the "negative" test of the traditional medical model).

Within the domain of public programs, the amount of resources available from the social collective is intimately linked with both the normative and utilitarian contexts of the definition of problems. As well, available resources affect decisions about when intervention begins and terminates and to what extent helpers' time and energy is committed to intervention.

Safeguards for clients within the Positivist paradigm occur within the context of protection from "poor science," and seek assurances of effectiveness such as adequate sampling, significance in findings, and replicability of results. Research within this paradigm focuses on causality, and seeks at an epistemological level, a better understanding of external influences and their effects upon mankind. At an intervention level, research in the Positivist tradition investigates better ways to utilize the environment to influence humans in order to ultimately control human problems.

STRUCTURAL DETERMINISM

Within Lally's lower right quadrant, theorists share the Positivists' assumption of determinism from the horizontal axis, but reject the supposition that social reality is observable. As well, these Structural Determinists do not espouse their Positivist neighbors' belief in a fundamental complementarity between man and environ-

ment. From the vertical axis, the lower right theorists view reality as underlying structure, and seek to understand inherent hidden conflict. Albers and Hurley (1985) look to Marx's "homo damnatus" and Freud's "homo duplex" as representative of this paradigm's view of mankind; humanity caught within the inevitable conflicts of social or personality structure.

Theorists such as Marx and Freud, as well as orthodox feminist writers, map within this quadrant, and conceptualize socialization as an unconscious process of supression of humanity's fundamental nature by the external environment. Within this paradigm, human difficulties are seen as inherent problems, and exist essentially because of this "inevitable collision" of individual nature and the social environment which occurs at a covert level. Help for these omnipresent human problems requires insight. Although this insight cannot eliminate conflict, it does eliminate the hidden aspect of conflict, and makes possible a better management or approximation of balance between oppositional components of the underlying structure. Theorists here suggest that the individual and the social collective should approximately balance each other in importance, but in keeping with the "Object"-ive view of humanity, acknowledge the inevitably greater significance of the social environment. In seeking this balance, helping professionals fundamen-

tally intervene for the individual on behalf of society.

Helpers operating from the structural determinist paradigm tend to conceptualize problems at two different levels. Often, to the helper, these troubles represent symptoms of imbalances in the covert (underlying) level of the social or personality structure. In this sense, the Freudian's view of glove anesthesia, the Marxist's view of poverty, and the feminist's view of wife abuse are similar in that each conceptualizes these observable difficulties as merely symptommatic of the real underlying structural problem. Health or proper social functioning, as seen from this quadrant, occurs only when the conflicting components of the covert structure of personality or social order are nearly balanced.

Intervention begins when the Structural Determinist helper confirms that the surface level "problem" indicates an underlying imbalance, and ideally terminates only when the helper recognizes that some approximation of balance has been achieved. In keeping with the tenets of the vertical "Ought" axis, the goal of effecting change is primary, and therefore helpers are committed to intervention efforts until a better structural balance is achieved. This is exemplified by the long term treatment orientation of psychoanalysts and the life long commitment of Marxist and feminist activists.

Safeguards within this perspective focus on

protecting clients from practitioners who do not fully understand the hidden reality of the underlying structure, and therefore emphasize extended apprenticeships and careful evaluation of helper commitment and understanding. In terms of research, Structural Determinists seek both a more complete epistemological understanding of the covert structure, and better methods of promoting insight or consciousness raising.

EMANCIPATIONISM

Diametrically opposed to Positivism, lies Lally's Emancipationism quadrant, home of the existentialists. Here theorists share with the Structural Determinists both the commitment to change, and the view of reality as covert conflict (implied by the "Ought" pole of the vertical axis). However, these lower left thinkers have rejected the precepts of determinism for the more subjective, free will, process-focused orientation of the opposite pole on the horizontal axis. This conjunction of axes suggests that Emancipationists believe not only "what you see ain't necessarily what you get," but that "if you can see it, it really doesn't matter." Within this quadrant observable social reality is conceptualized as mystification, and true (individual) reality exists only through demystification or rejection of the external world (Lally, 1981). To understand mankind, emancipationists

look to the individual's struggle in becoming, conceptualizing humans as "homo laborans." Socialization, for these theorists, means the depression of the individual's consciousness, and loss of authenticity. Here the individual is all important, and society is insignificant.

Given the foregoing assumptions, problems are inherent within the Emancipationist view of the human condition. Theorists here suggest that the only hope (?) for dealing with these implicit problems lies with individual recognition of the misleading and insignificant nature of externally imposed false realities, and with personal commitment to the struggle to recapture individual authenticity. In this quadrant help for human problems comes from within the individual, and is viewed as a personal journey in consciousness, a fundamentally solo venture. Here the individual helps himself, not on behalf of society, but purely (authentically) on behalf of himself.

As within the Structural Determinist quadrant, helping professionals grounded within the Emancipationist paradigm, view problems at two levels of stratification. At the surface level, much of humanity operates smoothly within the falsehood of social structure, sacrificing consciousness and authenticity, unaware of any alternative. Emancipationist helpers would suggest that approaching these "cheerful robots" (Mills, 1959, p.171) with

specific intervention would be inappropriate, would merely impose yet another external reality upon them. Perhaps existential discourses, often personal accounts, fiction or plays, might at some point touch these automatic humans, but proselytizing or counsciousness-raising is not the fundamental goal of such works. Existential writing is fundamentally a personal statement of one's own struggles, and espouses the premise that individuals should not be determined by any external social pressure, even that of an Emancipationist.

How then do professionals provide help from this paradigm? It is at the second level of problem definition that professionals become involved. At this problem level, individuals experiencing a "boundary crisis" express a self-defined sense of alienation. It is these individuals (who themselves have glimpsed their own loss of self and who are experiencing the acute distress of initial consciousness), who are the appropriate clients for Emancipantionist help. Thus client problems are ultimately self-defined, and the responsibility for initiating and terminating intervention rests solely with the client. Within this paradigm "health" is a process of seeking full consciousness and of commitment to the struggle for authenticity. Health can therefore only be accurately assessed from within. In recognizing this process, and in sharing portions of the journey, the

therapist can be of help to the client and is himself expressing his personal view of intervention as an authentic, conscious commitment to both his own and his client's authenticity.

Within Emancipationism, safeguards for clients grow from the therapist's vigilance in the maintenance of his own consciousness and authenticity. In extending their understanding at an epistomological level, Emancipationists seek to better express individual subjective-consciousness through discourse. At the level of intervention these theorists seek improved vigilance against mystification of the helper. As such the struggle of the individual is mirrored and focused in the professional's extension of self within the helping role.

INTERACTIONISM

The remaining Lally quadrant, Interactionism, is formed by the conjunction of the "Is" pole of the vertical axis and the "Subject" pole of the horizontal axis. Theorists here share the free will/process focus of the Emancipationists, but reject their lower right neighbors' assumption of a reality of covert conflict. They instead espouse the Positivist's view of an observable, complimentary reality. For theorists such as Mead, Cooley and Rogers, who share this paradigm, social reality is produced and continually emerging, and the human condition

is understood at the level of shared meaning. Here mankind is "homo communitas" and socialization is viewed as the expression of individual nature within the context of the nurturing social environment. (e.g., The individual seeks a sense of belonging and social interaction provides security.) Within this quadrant the individual and the social collective are both important. However, given the horizontal orientation at the "Subject" pole, the significance of the individual is inevitably greater whenever the needs of the individual and the collective are compared. Unlike below in Emancipationism, human difficulties are not inherent within this quadrant. If problems are present, they are conceptualized as the result of inadequate opportunities for complementary interaction, which has prevented the individual's nature from fully emerging. This is the quadrant of growth or actualization models, and here human troubles are seen as emminently solvable. From this perspective, all people can benefit and become more fully human if given opportunities to allow full self expression. Therefore, professionals using this orientation conceptualize their intervention as facilitation, working with clients in order to benefit both the individual and the social collective.

Here for intervention purposes problems are basically defined as any "self-perceived limitation in the

becoming process," (Albers and Hurley, 1985). Health, conversely, is conceptualized as a process of mutual becoming and actualization; an ongoing synergy without any clearly defined endpoint. Within this perspective there exists no clear delineation between "therapy" and growth-producing interaction or facilitative education, and self-help and short-term growth or enhancement experiences are perfectly valid. Intervention begins when the client engages with the helper in an interactive process and terminates when the client disengages. The limits of the helping process are mutually determined within the partnership of client and helper, and are based in part on the time and energy each wishes to share. Professionals attempt to safeguard clients by ensuring the authenticity of their own contribution to the interaction.

To further their understanding of the human condition. Interactionists seek better methods for analysis of the meanings people share. In terms of intervention, they seek better ways to both facilitate individual expression and to allow meaning to emerge.

THE META DEBATE

Of course the forgoing epistemological capsules do not adequately address the complexity and depth of individual schools of thought within each paradigm, but represent an attempt to summarize the basic issues of

agreement within the "loose knit scientific communities (in Kuhn's sense)" (Lally, 1981, p. 7) implicit in each quadrant. Lally himself is quick to acknowledge that, of necessity, any attempt to map all of the major epistemological approaches underlying intervention within a two-dimensional scheme is subject to the inherent and thorny difficulties of oversimplification. Nevertheless Lally's quadrants provide a powerful tool for understanding the theoretical works underlying intervention within the helping professions as a whole, and within social work specifically. Perhaps a more complete comment about the contrasts in perspectives across quadrant borders will elucidate some of these issues.

Theorists within each quadrant view alternative paradigms with serious concern. Their arguments across borders illustrate the most basic conflicts inherent between the different perspectives. Such contrasts are most pronounced across the diagonal quadrants (Lally, 1981), but heated debate also volleys across vertical and horizontal boundaries.

Interactionist Objections to Alternative Paradigms:

Interactionists share an objective view of reality with the Positivists, however object strongly to the control component underlying much of intervention suggested by the Positivist camp. They emphasize that such control may be detrimental to both the individual and

society because it stifles mutual becoming. In discussions with Emancipationists, Interactionists share the assumption of the subjective centrality of the individual, but argue that their lower-left neighbors miss the obvious reality of the mutual benefits of human relationships.

The most fundamental schism occurs, however, across the diagonal boundaries. Interactionists emphasize that lower right theorists fail to acknowledge the importance of the individual and his inherent capacity to express himself through opportunities for mutual growth. They further protest that the Structual Determinists, in seeking "hidden flaws," actually create conflict and problems where they do not and would not otherwise exist. For Interactionists, intervention from the Structural Determinist perspective is not simply ineffective, it may well make things worse.

Structural Determinist Objections to Alternative Paradigms:

The Structural Determinists counter these arguments emphatically, and contend that the Interactionists have an idealistic and superficial "Pollyanna" view of reality that erodes social order through misplaced emphasis on the individual. The lower right theorists' concerns with preservation of the necessary and appropriate social order are voiced as well, in objections to the Emancipationists' world view. They argue from their

deterministic ("Object") orientation, that the Emancipationists fail to recognize that the basic survival and development of the individual (as well as any "self knowledge") is predicated upon social order.

The Structural Determinists share their deterministic view of man with the Positivists, but see theorists from upper right as fundamentally ineffective in promoting any real change in the status quo. To the Structural Determinists, Positivists deal with symptoms only, and because of their superficial understanding of reality, will never impact upon underlying structural flaws to improve the human condition.

Positivists' Objections to Alternative Paradigms:

Positivists, however, respond that the work of the Structural Determinists is "mystical mumbo jumbo," simply a waste of time. Because the causal factors within the Structural Determinists' world are not readily observable, Positivist theorists view their lower right neighbors as engaging in "poor science."

In looking at their horizontal neighbors (who share an observable reality), the Positivists see little evidence of essential accountability in the Interactionist paradigm. "Mutual becoming," Positivists contend, allows for little accurate prediction, and drains group resources through overemphasis on the individual.

The most entrenched rift again, however, occurs

across the diagonal paradigms. In looking to the Emancipationists, who espouse neither determinism nor an observable reality, Positivists borrow the words, if not the concept, of the Existentialists in saying this is "absurd.". The Positivists contend that the real, causal world is far too powerful for the tenets of Emancipationism to be "even a possibility." As such, the lower left opposition camp promotes ideas that are "so ridiculous as to be unimportant."

Emancipationist Objections to Alternative Paradigms:

On the other hand, the occupants of that lower left theoretical community would anticipate no less from the Positivists. Emancipationists view Positivism as the problem, not in any way the solution. They argue that Positivists are so superficial in their understanding of the human condition, that the important aspects of mankind and his world do not even register. They further contend that Positivist attempts to control people and their problems result only in further dehumanization of the subjective individual.

Emancipationists are not quite so hard on the Interactionists, who at least understand the centrality of the individual and the significance of free will in "becoming". Nevertheless, Emancipationists see their vertical neighbors as deluded by the superficiality of their "observable world." Like the Structural Determin-

ists, Emancipationists label Interactionists as hopelessly "Pollyanna" in their emphasis on "togetherness." Mutuality is an assumed impossibility from the Emancipationist perspective.

This is not to say that Emancipationists do not object to the assumptions of Structural Determinism. On the contrary, Emancipationists find their lower right neighbors' emphasis on "social order" (and their failure to recognize the importance and freedom of the authentic individual) extremely objectionable. Despite their shared emphasis on covert conflict, Emancipationists conceptualize Structural Determinists as having "missed the theoretical boat."

In summary the horizontal arguments between the quadrants grow from different orientations on the "Subject"/"Object" (free will/determinism) axis, and focus on the importance of the individual in relation to the social collective. In terms of intervention, the argument from the right side quadrants focuses on demands for accountability and protection of the social order or collective interest. From the quadrants on the left, theorists express distress about the control component inherent in the determinists' intervention. These "Subject" quadrants view control as dehumanizing and detrimental to growth. Both left and right see fundamental threats to mankind in the intervention strategies of the opposite side.

The vertical debate is the result of differences on the "Is"/"Ought" axis. Differences here focus on the dichotomy between 1) the upper quadrants' assumptions of complementarity between mankind and the social environment, and 2) the lower paradigms' view of mankind as caught within a social reality of covert conflict; a reality in need of fundamental change. The intervention issue here is effectiveness, whether "real" changes will occur. Theorists occupying lower quadrants view their upper neighbors as deluded by the superficial, and therefore as ineffective in changing the underlying problems in the human condition. Theorists from above see their lower neighbors as unable to recognize the obvious reality of the observable world, and wasting their time on "mystical bunk."

Diagonally these concerns overlap, and orthodox theorists in opposite corners view each other with entrenched suspicion. For determinists, belief in another perspective's "ineffectiveness" can diffuse the "threatening" component of that paradigm. This is the case for Positivists, who view the Emancipationists as simply "impossibly ridiculous." The situation is similar for the Structural Determinists who see Interactionists as "simply wasting their time" (and all too often wasting the resources of the collective).

However, from the "Subject" pole, when diagon-

ally opposite theorists are seen as both dealing in the wrong reality and prioritizing control, the "threatening" component escalates rapidly to "dangerous." The Structural Determinists are seen by the Interactionists as "creating conflict," depriving individuals of opportunities for growth through mutuality, and simply "making things worse" in situations where problems exist. Likewise, the Emancipationists view Positivists as part and parcel of the real problem for mankind. They see upper right theorists' efforts to improve or control problems as promoting further dehumanization of individuals. Both determinist quadrants, in the eyes of the opposite corner theorists, represent dangerous views which promote the creation of the "wrong" reality.

By providing a structure for mapping these conflicting views and grouping like-minded theorists, Lally has developed a powertul tool for understanding and analyzing the broad spectrum of epistemologies underlying the helping professions. As a heuristic conceptual device, this model can be helpful in organizing the wide range of core knowledge, the foundation for professional knowledge in social work, and can be useful in analysis of a tightly focused topic area.

Specifically in terms of this study, Lally's axial model provides the structure for development of an epistemic map showing social work core knowledge in the

focused topic area of early attachment. As a tool for analysis, the extended Lally quadrant map will be used to examine and describe the work of primary theorists who have contributed to social work's understanding of attachment concepts, and will help interpolate how the underlying assumptions within this core knowledge base might relate to practice issues in social work.

METHODOLOGY

The present study examining the social work profession's core knowledge in the area of early affectional bonds involves three stages of investigation. The first delineates those early attachment publications which are demonstrably linked with social work between the years 1974-1984. The second stage isolates major contributors to core knowledge in the topic area of early attachment by identifying those primary theorists whose work is most frequently cited in the social work literature identified in Stage 1. Finally, the third stage involves the development of an epistemic map of the conceptual foundations of the core knowledge about early attachment, by way of an epistemic inventory of selected works by the primary theorists. A discussion follows elaborating ways these conceptual foundations might affect social work practice. A brief description of the operationalization of each of these stages follows.

STAGE 1: DELINEATION OF AN EARLY ATTACHMENT LITERATURE BASE WHICH IS DEMONSTRABLY LINKED WITH SOCIAL WORK

The identification of a topic specific literature base which is clearly associated with social work presents no small challenge. Because much of the material used in social work practice originates in other disciplines or professions, it is difficult to set clear limits on the field of knowledge. The range of outside literature which potentially contributes to social workers' understanding of early attachment is limited only by the productivity and creativity of authors in psychiatry, psychology, sociology, medicine, and nursing. The sheer volume of possibilities is unwieldy, and there is no readily accessible data base which catalogues those "classic works from other disciplines" which constitute the core knowledge in this or other topic areas.

Even the identification of material written by social workers about early attachment is difficult. Social workers often publish in concert with other professionals in non-social work arenas. Under such conditions their professional identity as social workers is difficult to track. Some social work authors also identify themselves by their position within an agency (e.g., Director, Child Guidance Clinic) rather than by their professional training in social work. These factors make the location of material published by social workers

about specific topics a challenging task.

Because of these difficulties, the broad field of potentially significant work and the elusive identity of social work authors, the following arbitrary boundaries were imposed in operationally defining terms in Stage 1 of this study.

It was simply beyond the scope of this study to address all of the relevant forms of written material (books, theses, dissertations, conference proceedings, pamphlets, and periodical articles) which are used by social workers in understanding attachment. Therefore the "literature base" was defined for the purposes of this study as periodical material. In part this definition was based on the assumption that periodical literature fundamentally replicates the ideas presented in other publication formats. Periodicals also provide a broad forum for new formulations and therefore serve as a sensitive index for trends in professional thought. Undoubtedly the exclusion of non-periodical publications has resulted in the elimination of much relevant material, however this definition has reduced the field of potential literature to a representative, current, and reasonably manageable subset.

An objective definition of a clear association or link between periodical articles and the social work profession has been derived from two independent sources:

1) the Institute for Scientific Information (I.S.I.), publishers of Social Sciences Citation Index, and 2) the National Association of Social Workers (N.A.S.W.), publishers of Social Work Research and Abstracts.

Within the Social Sciences Citation Index a total of 25 English language journals were identified in the 1984 subject category of "Social Work" (Appendix 1). For the purposes of this study I.S.I.'s classification of these journals was regarded as sufficient to identify any article included in these designated journals as "demonstrably linked with social work."

N.A.S.W.'s publication of an abstract within Social Work Research and Abstracts was considered sufficient to demonstrate a tangible and objective connection between the periodical article and social work, even when articles were not written by social workers and/or were not published in social work journals. Inclusion of abstracts of articles published by other professionals presumes the endorsement of the N.A.S.W. editorial board, and indicates specifically that the article "lends itself to improving social work practice" (N.A.S.W., 1965, p. 2).

The practice of including non-social work journals within the social work literature base is not unique. For example, the "Social Work Journals" appendix of Reference Sources in Social Work, An Annotated Biblio-

graphy (Conrad, 1982) includes such diverse publications as The Harvard Business Review, New England Journal of Medicine, and The American Psychologist.

In order to accommodate the different formats of the two indices, the operational criteria for identification of "early attachment" articles differed somewhat between Social Sciences Citation Index and Social Work Research and Abstracts. The social work journals of Social Sciences Citation Index were searched by computer for the presence of the terms attachment or bond in the titles of articles published between 1972 and 1984. This search was initially completed using the Bibliographic Retrieval System (B.R.S.) data base, and was then supplemented by the use of the DIALOG data base in the case of specific journals whose "social work" coding was potentially equivocal in the B.R.S. system (see Appendix 1). The resulting unduplicated reference list was then screened in order to eliminate those titles which incorporated key words in clearly inappropriate contexts (e.g., value attachment, bonded labor) or in contexts other than caretaker-child relationships (e.g., sibling bonds, attachment to self). Titles of thesis abstracts and book reviews were also eliminated because of their non-periodical format.

In a manual search of Social Work Research and Abstracts, (1965-1984) the broader subject index made

possible a wider scope in tracking potential articles, and accommodated a more focused emphasis on early relationships. From the subject index, key words ("attachment"; "bond"; "father" + "infant"/"neonate"/"newborn"; "infant" + "caretaker"/"father"/"mother"/"parent"; "maternal" + "child"/"infant"; "maternal" + "deprivation"/"separation"; "mother" + "infant"/"neonate"/"newborn") as well as related concepts (e.g., "anaclitic depression") were used to identify abstracts for further evaluation. From these selected abstracts, only those using the terms "attachment" or "bond" in the text of the abstract or in the subject index heading, were considered to identify references as "early attachment" material. Again references to non-periodical material, and those using the terms "attachment" or "bond" in contexts other than affectional relationships between caretaker and child were rejected from further consideration.

For both Social Sciences Citation Index and Social Work Research and Abstracts, only articles published between 1974 and 1984 were selected for use in this study.

The foregoing methodology represents the process for identification of a subset of early attachment periodical literature published between 1974 and 1984, and demonstrably linked with social work for the purposes of Stage 1 of this study. The total unduplicated articles

from the respective conjoint key word computer search and manual search strategies for the Social Sciences Citation Index and Social Work Research and Abstracts are listed in the findings. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

STAGE 2: IDENTIFICATION OF PRIMARY THEORISTS, THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO SOCIAL WORK CORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT EARLY ATTACHMENT

Core Knowledge, the theoretical foundation of social work practice, is generally borrowed by the profession from the social science disciplines. On the assumption that core knowledge in a specific topic area replicates this larger pattern, it is appropriate to look to the work of primary theorists whose writings underlie the literature identified in Stage 1 of this study in order to isolate a selection of social work core knowledge focused on early attachment.

In seeking the primary work which underlies a specifically identified topic area, this study has inverted the process used by Garfield in identifying the Social Sciences Citation Index clusters (Garfield 1977, 1981). Garfield's procedure groups articles into related areas and specialties using an algorithmic technique which identifies topic areas via co-citation analysis of most cited works. The clustering process is initiated by the identification of most frequently cited works which are then used to classify citing papers into specific research topic areas. This study, on the other hand, begins with an identified current topic area (early attachment) and then by citation analysis identifies the most cited works, the work of primary theorists.

Operationally all authors cited in reference

lists (bibliographies) of the identified periodical articles (Stage 1) were considered contributing theorists. On the assumptions that 1) not all contributing theorists were primary, and that, given the variety of issues collaterally considered in the articles, 2) not all cited authors necessarily addressed attachment issues at all in their publications, a working definition of "primary theorist" was required. Specifically, primary theorists were defined as authors whose work as first author was cited in a minimum of 20% (4/19) of the early attachment articles identified in Stage 1. This selective definition was designed to isolate authors whose work made a contribution to an arbitrary but substantial number of the Stage 1 articles, while eliminating both those authors who fundamentally assisted the thinking of others (secondary or et. al. authors) and those whose writing exclusively addressed collateral issues (e.g., child abuse, fostering, teenage parents). All authors whose citations met this minimum criterion for primary theorist were assumed to provide core knowledge, the epistemological foundations for the early attachment literature linked with social work.

The 19 articles identified in Stage 1 yielded a total of 594 cited references. Individual articles contributed from 0 (Fahlberg, V.) to 90 (Sugarman, M.) cited references to this total. Articles from social work

journals averaged 19.75 citations per article and contributed a total of 158 citations. Articles from allied journals averaged 39.64 citations and contributed a total of 436 cited references.

These citations included 361 first authors, however 277 were cited only once, and 304 were cited in only 1 of the 19 articles. Thirty-six first authors were cited in only 2 articles, 11 in only 3 articles, and 10 qualified as primary theorists cited in a minimum of 4 of the 19 articles, slightly over 20% of the total articles. (See Table 3.)

The distillation of primary theorists eliminated 351 first authors whose work did not contribute to the minimum of 20% of the Stage 1 articles, as well as numerous secondary or "et. al." authors. Several eliminated authors were often cited as secondary contributors and only occasionally as first authors (e.g., A. Freud, whose work was cited only once without her co-author Burlingham listed as first author). Although such significant, but largely secondary, authors may be underrepresented in the final group of primary theorists, the actual contribution of the primary theorists is greater than identified. The work of a number of the final 10 theorists, (specifically Ainsworth, Bell, Bowlby, Kennell, Klaus, and Rheingold) reverberates through the total cited reference list in secondary and "et. al." author positions

as well as in positions of primary authorship.

A broad spectrum of work addressing collateral subject matter was also eliminated in culling 10 primary theorists. A sample of the issues addressed by some of the excluded authors included epistemological clarification (Kuhn Paradigms), medical management (obstetric risks, pain in childbirth, hospital practices, breast feeding and neonatal complications), child abuse, adolescent issues, the death of a parent, adoption and fostering.

Although some of the contributions of primary theorists did not appear to exclusively address early attachment, for example Bowlby's Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves: Their Characters and Home Life (1944), Brazelton's Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale (1973), S. Freud's An Outline Of Psychoanalysis (1940/1969), the predominant themes were clearly centered on early affectional relationships and interactions. Thirty-four of the 70 cited works by primary theorists utilized the term "attachment" or "bond" (or an equivalent descriptor for affectional relationship) in the title. An additional 20 works dealt with infant behavior, infant-caretaker interaction, maternal deprivation or separation, and parental behavior. The remaining 16 cited references, included 8 by Bowlby and all 5 of S. Freud's cited contributions. The majority of these titles addressed

broader psychoanalytic subject areas which were not exclusive to attachment, but which might easily encompass early infant-caretaker relationships.

In summary, the nearly 600 references cited in the 19 articles identifed in Stage 1 yielded 10 primary theorists, whose work as first author contributed to a minimum of 20% of the early attachment articles clearly associated with social work. This distillation process eliminated a host of secondary authors and a wealth of material addressing issues collateral to early affectional relationships. The work of these primary theorists is presumed to represent social work core knowledge in the specific topic area of early attachment.

STAGE 3: DEVELOPMENT OF AN EPISTEMIC MAP OF SELECTED CORE KNOWLEDGE

An essential step in beginning to understand professional knowledge in the area of early attachment is an examination of the core knowledge used by social work in this topic area. Lally's extended axial model provides the structure for these initial efforts to analyze core knowledge, efforts to describe and compare the work of the primary theorists identified in Stage 2 of this study. The development of such a map requires an epistemic inventory of theorists' underlying assumptions and makes possible the discussion and elaboration of how these conceptual foundations might relate to practice issues in social work.

Because it was far beyond the scope of this study to review the core knowledge base in its entirety, (all of the cited work written by the 10 authors identified in Stage 2 of this study), a selection of works by each author were chosen for consideration. The limited number of works utilized in Stage 3 of this study represents therefore a convenience sample of material chosen on the basis of both the availability of material and the clarity of that material in representing the conceptual foundations of the authors.

The most often cited work of each author (See Table 4.) was included in the sample, as were all works by authors with smaller numbers of publications (Bell and

Robson). Often retrospective works by the theorists were selected because of the outspoken simplicity of their statement of foundation assumptions. The material reviewed for epistemological inventory in Stage 3 of this study has been identified by an asterisk in the reference list.

The expanded Lally quadrant map lends itself to the analysis, description, and comparison of the theoretical orientations of the 10 primary theorists, and was used as a structure for mapping the conceptual underpinnings of these authors within the 4 scientific communities. This axial model of the theorists foundation assumptions represents the end product of an epistemic inventory conducted using a series of questions developed from Lally's work by Albers and Hurley (1985).

These questions and their correlated quadrant specific responses (See Appendix 2.) were designed to articulate the orthodox conceptual position of theorists in each of the 4 quadrants. Together the questions and answers highlight the distinctions and differences between paradigms, and focus on issues of special interest to helping professionals in general and social work in particular.

This series of questions and answers were used in terms of early attachment as a device for examination of the work of the primary theorists. This epistemic

inventory made possible the comparison of the conceptual assumptions of attachment theorists with the orthodox theoretical positions held in each quadrant. Such a comparison was helpful in spelling out the epistemological tensions within individual authors' positions and in locating their work on the Lally axes. In terms of early affectional relationships, these questions remain focussed on issues germane to social work practice and make possible a broader elaboration and discussion of the work of the primary theorists in relation to practice concerns.

In summary the epistemic inventory conducted in Stage 3 of this study involves the examination of the conceptual foundations underlying selected works of the primary theorists in relation to a series of questions and answers which are pertinent to social work practice and which articulate the distinctions between the extended paradigms of the Lally model. The culmination of this inventory is represented by the mapping of the epistemological work of primary theorists on the extended Lally quadrant map. (See Figure 2.)

FINDINGS

STAGE 1: THE SOCIAL WORK EARLY ATTACHMENT LITERATURE BASE

In the first stage of this study, a total of 19 unduplicated articles were identified by searching the two independent sources, The Social Sciences Citation Index (social work journals) and Social Work Research and Abstracts, for 1974-1984 periodical material dealing with the early affectional bonds between child and caretaker. Only 2 articles were identified by both sources. (See Tables 1 and 2.) Of the total articles, 8 were published in social work journals, and 11 were published in journals of allied professions (predominantly The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry).

Of the 15 articles identified in Social Work Research and Abstracts, 5 were categorized under the heading "Fields of Service: Family and Child Welfare," 2 under "Service Methods: Research," and the remaining 8 under "Related Fields of Knowledge: Psychology and Social Psychology."

Three of the 19 articles are of Canadian origin: Carter (1976) from the University of Toronto; Argles (1980) from Ville Marie Social Service Centre, Montreal; and Ward (1981) from the Children's Aid Society, Sudbury, Ontario. The average year of publication of the 19 articles is 1979 (median=1980).

Table 1

EARLY ATTACHMENT ARTICLES IDENTIFIED FROM SOCIAL WORK JOURNALS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES CITATION INDEX 1974-1984

Year	Title/Publication Data	Author
1978*	Development of maternal attachment. Smith College Studies in Social Work, 48 (3), 183-208.	Kezur, D.
1979	Differentiating between attachment and dependency in theory and practice. Social Casework: Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 60 (3), 138-144.	Sable, P.
1980	Attachment and child abuse. British Journal of Social Work, 10 (1), 33-42.	Argles, P.
1981	Parental bonding in older child adoptions. Child Welfare, 60 (1), 24-34.	Ward, M.
1982*	Parent-child attachment concept-crucial for permanency planning. Social Casework: Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 63 (1), 46-53.	Hess, P.
1982	Father-to-newborn attachment behavior in relation to prenatal classes and presence at delivery. Family Relations, 31 (1), 71-78.	Miller, B.C. & Bowen, S.L.

*Also identified in manual search of Social Work Research and Abstracts.

Table 2

EARLY ATTACHMENT ARTICLES IDENTIFIED FROM

SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH AND ABSTRACTS 1974-1984

Year	Title/Publication Data	Author
1974	The operational definition of human attachment. Psychological Bulletin, 81 (4), 207-217.	Cohen, L.J.
1974	Engrossment: The newborn's impact upon the father. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 44 (4), 520-531.	Greenberg, M. & Morris, N.
1974	The study of human infant attachment: A procedural critique. Psychological Bulletin, 81 (4), 218-237.	Master, J.C. & Wellman, H.M.
1976	The nature of the mother's absence and the infant's response to brief separations. Developmental Psychology, 12 (5), 428-434.	Corter, C.M.
1977	Paranatal influences on maternal infant attachment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 47 (3), 407-421.	Sugarman, M.
1978	Infant nurturance and early learning: Myths and realities. Child Welfare, 57 (3), 165-173.	Aaronson, M.
1978*	Development of maternal attachment. Smith College Studies in Social Work, 48 (3), 183-208.	Kezur, D.
1979	The role of some birth-related variables in father attachment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 49 (2), 330-338.	Peterson, G.H, Mehl, L.E. & Leiderman, P.H.
1980	Adolescent Mothers and their infants: Psychological factors in early attachment and interaction. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 50 (3), 454-468.	Wise, S. & Grossman, F.K.
1981	Failure of "bond formation" as a cause of abuse, neglect, and maltreatment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 51 (1), 78-84.	Egeland, B. & Vaughn, B.
1981	What is attachment? Adoption and Fostering, 103 (1), 17-22.	Fahlberg, V.

1982 Attachment and loss: Retrospect and prospect. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 54 (2), 664-678. — Bowlby, J.

1982 Infant bonding: Mystique and reality. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 52 (2), 213-222. — Chess, S. & Thomas, A.

1982* Parent-child attachment concept-crucial for permanency planning. Social Casework: Journal of Contemporary Social Work, 63 (1), 46-53. — Hess, P.

1983 Maternal "en face" orientation during the first hour after birth. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 53 (1), 92-99. — Trevathan, W.

*Also identified in computer search of social work journals of Social Sciences Citation Index.

STAGE 2: PRIMARY THEORISTS, THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO SOCIAL WORK CORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT EARLY ATTACHMENT

In the second stage of this study, a total of 10 primary theorists were identified from the cited reference lists of the articles noted in Stage 1. The work of these authors spans 68 years and represents major contributions to core knowledge for social work in the topic area of early attachment between 1974 and 1984. (See Table 3.)

The 10 primary theorists identified represent less than 3% of the 361 total cited authors, yet their publications were cited 120 times, accounting for slightly over 20% of the 594 total cited references from the Stage 1 articles. The maximum number of citations as first author was 38, noting 18 publications by Bowlby in 13 of the 19 articles. The minimum number of first author citations for primary theorists was 4, noting 2 articles respectively by Bell and Robson. The mean number of articles citing each author was 6.3. Primary theoreticians were cited an average of 12 times each, and contributed an average of 7 publications. Bowlby's 1969 book Attachment and Loss was the most cited single publication, and was referenced in 11 of the 19 articles.

The work of the 10 primary theorists spans the years 1914-1982, with an average publication date of 1966 (median=1970). The peak 10 years of publication for cited work by these theorists was 1969-1978 inclusive, when 40

Table 3

PRIMARY THEORISTS WHO ARE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO SOCIAL WORK

CORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT EARLY ATTACHMENT

Author	No. Articles Citing	Total Citations	No. Publications Cited	Publication Period
1. Bowlby, J.	13	38	18	1940-1981
2. Klaus, M.	9	21	9	1970-1976
3. Ainsworth, M.	8	20	11	1962-1982
4. Kennell, J.	7	9	6*	1972-1981
5. Rheingold, H.L.	5	7	6	1961-1973
6. Brazelton, T.B.	5	5	5	1961-1976
7. Harlow, H.F.	4	7	6	1958-1974
8. Freud, S.	4	5	5	1914-1949
9. Bell, S.M.	4	4	2	1970-1972
10. Robson, K.	4	4	2	1967-1970
	63	120	70	1914-1982
	(Mean) (6.3)	(Mean) (12)	(Mean) (7)	(Mean) (1966)

*5 publications/1 personnal communication.

Table 4

MOST CITED PUBLICATIONS BY PRIMARY THEORISTS

Author	Title/Publication Data	Year	No. Articles Citing
Ainsworth, M.D.S.	Object relations, dependency and attachment: A theoretical review of the infant-mother relationship. Child Development, 40, 969-1025.	1969	4
Bell, S.M. & Ainsworth, M.D.S.	Infant crying and maternal responsiveness. Child Development, 43, 1171-1190.	1972	3
Bowlby, J.	Attachment and Loss. London: Hogarth.	1969	11
Brazelton, T.B.	(All 5 publications cited once.)	-	-
Freud, S.	(All 5 publications cited once.)	-	-
Harlow, H.F. & Zimmerman, R.R.	Affectional responses in the infant monkey. Science, 130, 421-432.	1959	2
Kennell, J.H.	(3 publications cited twice.)	-	-
Klaus, M.H. & Kennell, J.H.	Maternal-Infant Bonding. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.	1976	7
Rheingold, H.L.	The effect of a strange environment on the behavior of infants. In B.M. Foss (Ed.), Determinants of Infant Behavior. (Vol. 4). New York: Barnes and Noble.	1969	2
Robson, K.	The role of eye-to-eye contact in maternal infant attachment. Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 8, 13-25.	1967	3

references were printed. This represents approximately 57% of the total cited work by the 10 authors. The earliest work was S. Freud's "On Narcissism: An Introduction" (1914), and the most recent was Ainsworth's "Attachment: Retrospect and prospect" (1982).

None of the ten primary theorists identified in this study were social workers, but rather hailed from medicine (Brazelton, Kennell, and Klaus - all pediatricians), from psychiatry (Bowlby, S. Freud, and Robson), and from psychology (Ainsworth, Bell, Harlow, and Rheingold).

These 10 individuals from 3 allied disciplines represent the most cited authors in the social work literature on early attachment, and for the purposes of this study are assumed to be primary theorists, the major contributors to core knowledge in social work in this topic area.

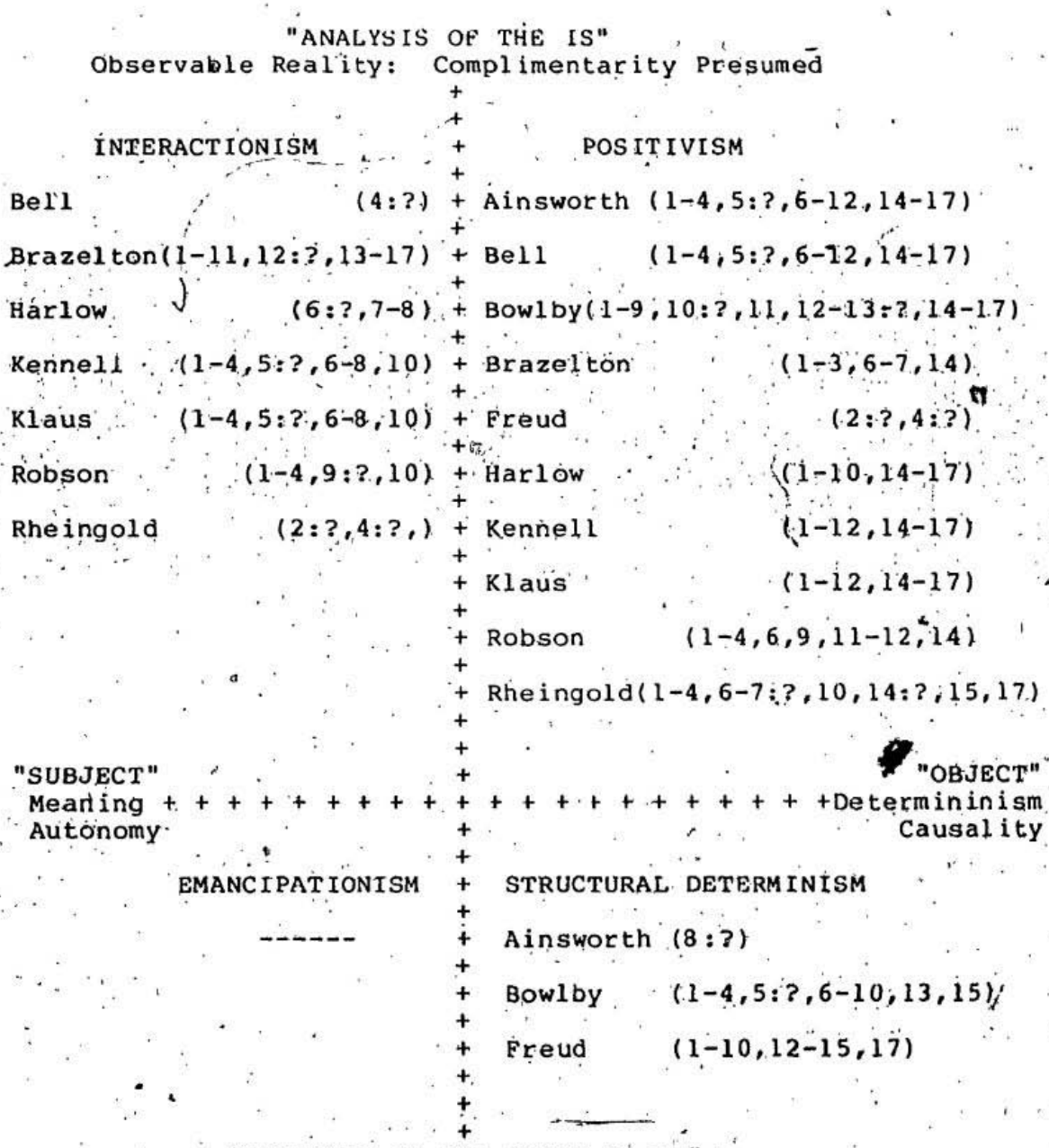
STAGE 3: THE EPISTEMIC MAP OF SELECTED CORE KNOWLEDGE

Figure 2 represents the 10 primary theorists' quadrant-specific responses as found in selected works and evaluated using the Albers and Hurley (1985) epistemic inventory. All the theorists' responses are distributed across 3 Quadrants: Structural Determinism, Positivism, and Interactionism. No responses are found in the Emancipationist paradigm. The greatest number of combined firm and tentative responses (112 + 10 = 122) were found in the Positivist quadrant, and all 10 theorists posited at least tentative answers to some questions in this paradigm. Seven theorists additionally responded to some questions in the Interactionist paradigm with 39 firm responses and 8 tentative responses, 47 total. The Structural Determinist quadrant was utilized by only 3 theorists, 2 extensively and 1 for only a single tentative response. The 28 total responses in the lower right quadrant included 26 firm responses and 2 tentative responses.

Each theorist answered or at least espoused the tentative validity of responses in more than one quadrant, even if in answer to only a single question. Inevitably these responses mapped in adjacent quadrants and never crossed to the epistemological diagonally opposite quadrant. In doing so, each theorist maintained a consistent orientation with either the observable reality

FIGURE 2

MAP OF PRIMARY THEORISTS' EPISTEMIC INVENTORY RESPONSES



("Is") axis (Interactionism-Positivism) or the determinism ("Object") axis (Positivism-Structural Determinism).

Bowlby, the theorist who was most fully represented in two camps, (Structural Determinism: 11 firm responses and 1 tentative response, and Positivism: 14 firm responses and 3 tentative responses) was also the only theorist to speak to each issue questioned. The most frequently non-responsive to questions were Rheingold and Robson, each with 7 unanswered questions.

Some authors exhibited consistent responses to nearly all questions in a single quadrant. Ainsworth and Bell are notable for their nearly exclusively Positivist orientation (15 firm Positivist responses each with 2 single tentative response in an alternative quadrant). Freud too responded almost entirely in a single paradigm, Structural Determinism (15 firm responses with 2 tentative responses in adjacent Positivism). Brazelton displayed the largest number of Interactionist assumptions (16 firm responses and 1 tentative response), but maintained 6 firm Positivist responses as well.

In professional groupings, the psychologists (4) represented the most clearly Positivist stances with 56 total (firm and tentative) responses in that quadrant, 1 tentative Structural Determinist response, and a total of 6 Interactionist responses. This produced an average total response profile of 14 Positivist, 1.5 Interaction-

ist and .25 Structural Determinist responses for the psychologists examined.

The psychiatric triad of Freud, Bowlby, and Robson were the most responsive group in the Structural Determinist quadrant. This is clearly the result of Freud and Bowlby's work, some of the earliest material to be published by the primary theorists. As a whole the psychiatrists provided 28 total responses in Positivism, 27 in Structural Determinism, and 6 in Interactionism, giving them, as a group, a commitment to the widest epistemological territory and correspondingly the broadest theoretical disjunction. Their total professional response profile, averaged 9.3 Positivist, 9 Structural Determinist, and 2 Interactionist answers.

The pediatricians as a group demonstrated the most responses in Interactionism with 34 total Interactionist answers and 38 total Positivist answers, keeping them exclusively in the terrain of the observable reality. Their average total response profile was 12.2 Positivist and 11.1 Interactionist answers.

Particular questions elicited different rates of response from the theorists. Every theorist responded to Questions 1-4 (about people and reality), 6 (about people's troubles), 10 (about health), and 14 (about client safeguards) in some fashion. Question 13 dealing with the commitment to helping was not addressed by 7 of

the 10 theorists, but was firmly answered by Bowlby and Freud in Structural Determinism, and by Brazelton in Interactionism. The remaining questions were not addressed by 1 to 3 theorists.

Only 4 of the 80 possible responses to questions addressing broad fundamental assumptions about people and reality (Questions 1-6, 15 and 17), registered "no answer," null responses (05%). Questions 7, 8 and 16, which address intervention at a broad level, registered null responses for 3 of 30 possible answers (10%). Questions bearing on policy and ethical issues elicited the highest rate of null responses. For these (Questions 9-14), 13 of 60 possible responses (20%) registered "no answer" in the literature evaluated.

Positivism was the quadrant of response for most theorists when addressing those questions with the highest rate of response. Although other responses were sometimes conjointly expressed in alternate quadrants, 9 of the 10 theorists responded clearly in Positivism for Questions 1, 2 and 3. Eight of the 10 theorists, plus another more tentative theorist, responded in Positivism for Questions 4, 6, and 14.

The question with the lowest number of Positivist responses was Question 13, also the question with the highest null response rate. Here, on the issue of commitment to intervention, the single theorist to respond

in Positivism mustered only a query response.

In summary, the 10 theorists identified in Stage 2 responded to the questions in the epistemic inventory in every quadrant except Emancipationism. All theorists responded, at least tentatively in Positivism for at least 2 questions, and the overwhelming majority of total responses were Positivist. Considerable variation was exhibited between theorists (e.g., Ainsworth and Bell nearly exclusively Positivist, Freud nearly exclusively Structural Determinist, Brazelton largely Interactionist), and between response profiles of professional groups. All theorists registered at least tentative responses in 2 adjacent quadrants, but never responded in diagonal opposite quadrants.

Nearly all theorists responded in Positivism for 6 of the 7 most answered questions, although their responses to these questions were not limited to this paradigm. The least answered question was also the question with the lowest number of Positivist responses and was only firmly answered in Structural Determinism and Interactionism.

Intervention questions were more frequently unanswered than broad questions about reality and mankind; however, policy and ethical questions had the highest rate of null responses.

DISCUSSION

STAGE 1: THE SOCIAL WORK EARLY ATTACHMENT LITERATURE BASE

Given the highly active status of social science research in this topic (Garfield, 1977), the 19 articles identified in the initial stage of this study represent a very small number of early attachment publications over a 10 year period. In 1974 alone, 140 articles on this topic were published and clustered in the infant attachment behavior category defined by the Social Sciences Citation Index. The number of publications on attachment in the social science literature was equal to the total number of articles on bereavement, and exceeded published research on clusters such as education, depression, and prognosis in schizophrenia, as well as inflation and unemployment. Among the articles under study, 11 were drawn from journals published under the aegis of allied professions, leaving only 8 articles published in specifically in social work journals during the defined decade. Social work is clearly not at the forefront of research publication addressing early attachment. A number of speculations might explain this finding.

1) Social work material addressing this topic might be published in other formats.

Clearly the decision to include only periodical material in Stage 1 of this study excluded a variety of valid contributions published by social workers in books, conference proceedings, journals not screened by the

editorial board of Social Work Research and Abstracts, and even visual modalities such as film or video. These materials were neglected because of methodological problems associated with the identification of material produced by social workers who might not always list their profession, who publish in concert with other professionals (e.g., Natacha Josefowitz, M.S.W. in Klaus & Kennell, 1982), or who may publish in journals outside the social work realm (e.g., Gail Peterson, M.S.S.W. et. al., 1979 in The American Orthopsychiatric Journal).

These difficulties in accessing social work publications beyond the periodical format emphasize the significance of such indices as The Social Science Citation Index and Social Work Research and Abstracts, and underscore the need for a clearinghouse for all social work publications. Such a resource would allow practitioners to track and identify more accurately the work of fellow professionals, and would more clearly highlight the written contributions of the profession to social workers and other professionals.

For the purposes of this study the periodical material was assumed to be representative of the content of material by social workers in other formats. Numerically it is impossible to know whether these findings are in fact representative of all these social work publications, or whether workers have differentially chosen other

publication formats in addressing early attachment. This uncertainty is, nevertheless equally present in each of the social sciences, and is therefore a comparable problem for each discipline catalogued in the citation index. Therefore the discrepancy between the wealth of early attachment publications in the social sciences as a whole, and the 8 articles published in social work journals remains, although it may in part be an artifact of a hypothetical tendency for social workers to publish in non-periodical formats.

2) A broader array of social work early attachment material may be present in the periodical literature base, but hidden somehow.

It is conceivable that the social work literature may address early affectional bonds under some alternative terminology, perhaps a term unique to the profession or more specific to the absence of an emotional tie (e.g., maternal deprivation). This might affect the findings of the keyword/title search of the Social Sciences Citation Index, but would have a less dramatic impact on the manual selection of material from Social Work Research and Abstracts, where a broad range of related terms (e.g., anaclitic depression, mother and infant, etc.) were used to screen-in potential abstracts. No equivalent terms were identified in this process for the 1974-1984 time period. Although maternal deprivation and anaclitic depression were indexed prior to the time-

frame of the study, they did not appear during the decade examined. It therefore appears that this is an unlikely explanation for the small number of articles.

Another possible explanation for the small findings might be that the early attachment information was so well integrated into the material in relation to specific problem topics, that the attachment issues were no longer demonstrable as topics in their own right. Although a review of the titles of articles from social work journals suggests that a variety of topics were collaterally associated with bonding issues, the manual search of all infant-caretaker abstracts maximized the inclusion of articles that addressed attachment even as a subcategory within the material.

This potential concealment of early emotional bonding through integration into another topic is more likely to have occurred in the computerized search for keywords in article titles. There, comparable ideas could not be evaluated. This strengthens the argument that material may have been missed from the Social Sciences Citation Index portion of the literature base and may in part explain the small overlap (2 articles) between the 2 sources.

This effect might be more pronounced because the Social Sciences Citation Index infant attachment behavior cluster is established on the basis of a threshold of co-

citations of a cluster of primary authors and can therefore screen-in a variety of material which might not utilize the terms attachment or bond in the title. It is however reasonable to assume that the topic area is fairly represented by Garfield's cluster title, and that the vast majority of material deals explicitly with early emotional bonds, and reflects that in title information. The I.S.I. technique might also screen out appropriate material below the co-citation threshold.

In summary it is quite plausible that in this study some appropriate material was concealed by the absence of the terms attachment or bond, particularly in the title search of the Social Sciences Citation Index.

3) Social workers may in fact have published very little addressing early attachment between 1974 and 1984.

Perhaps social work has been slow to incorporate the material about early attachment into published periodical manuscripts. It is certainly possible that the immediate and thorny demands of work with clients in the professional reality of limited and fallible resources might make it especially tough to incorporate the burgeoning and contradictory research information from a "related field of knowledge" into actual social work practice and subsequent social work publication. This is especially reasonable given the troublesome nature of decisions required of workers particularly in child welfare, where workers deal with child protection and the apprehension of

young children from parents, place children in minimally supervised foster homes, advise the judicial system regarding the custody of children and the access that anxious parent have to them, and help to establish policy about adoption and daycare in the face of increasing demands for service.

These potential difficulties would not only explain the small number of articles identified, but would also account for the propensity for some social workers to publish in concert with allied professionals (e.g., Shapiro in Fraiberg (1980), Peterson in Peterson et al., 1979, Josefowitz in Klaus & Kennell, 1982). With an interdisciplinary team approach, workers may benefit from exposure to the ideas from "related fields" and from the support of the team in formulating intervention decisions. This would appear to be a more secure base for publication in the early attachment arena.

In conclusion, it appears most likely that social workers simply did not publish extensively in the area of early attachment between 1974 and 1984. A plausible explanation for this might relate to the tremendous volume of outside material published about this topic, to the conflicting perspectives expressed regarding early attachment, and/or to the perception that early attachment is the research or theoretical terrain of other disciplines. All these concerns in the face of difficult and

immediate practice decisions could well combine to make publication difficult about early attachment. If any one of these explanations might be valid, a mechanism is needed for the organization and management of early attachment material.

Despite the small number of findings for Stage 1 of this study, the delineation of this sample of early attachment material which is objectively connected to social work suggests that the two strategies combined here (the computer search of social work journals in Social Sciences Citation Index and the manual search of Social Work Research and Abstracts) were reasonably effective. This process may be helpful in identifying a social work literature base for other topic areas of particular interest to practitioners, topic areas such as alcohol treatment programs, problem pregnancy counseling, foster parent groups, or student placements in health.

It is possible that the material which was written by social workers in this literature base represents what Albers and McConnell (1984) term applied-derived knowledge. Although further investigation would be required to evaluate whether this material fulfills the definition of applied-derived knowledge, the smaller number of citations used by authors in social work journals might suggest that these articles represent a fusion of actual practice experience and social work

values with a selection of borrowed theoretical or research material. An investigation of this potential applied-derived literature base would be possible only after an examination of the topic-related core knowledge, and would be secondary to the study at hand.

STAGE 2: THE PRIMARY THEORISTS

The list of 10 primary theorists identified in Stage 2 of this study was developed from the citation lists closing each of the 19 early attachment articles identified in Stage 1. This process of locating major contributors whose work underlies current material is derived from Garfield's efforts in citation indexing. Specifically this development of a grouping of primary theorists who have contributed to a specific topic area is methodologically the inverse of Garfield's algorithmic clustering techniques (Garfield 1977, 1981) which generate research topic areas by identifying current articles which co-cite a group of major publications. This inverted process was more broadly focused than Garfield's methods by both the decision to expand the citation concept from specific milestone publications to the work (any work) of a particular author, and the decision to evaluate a decade of material. Although this more diffuse approach broadened the base of available material for Stage 3 of this study, it may have skewed the findings by introducing

a more historical, retrospective bias.

Nevertheless, there is sufficient overlap in procedures to consider some of Garfield's speculations about the significance of the publication dates of cited material. He suggests that the "average year for cited publications presumably is one indication of how fast the field is moving. Another indicator is how rapidly some of the 'primordial' papers disappear from the cluster" (1981, p.634). In the context of the inverted methodology of this search, these dates and disappearances might be more accurately considered indicators of how current the social work attachment literature base actually is given the potential historical bias of the sampling technique.

The average year of publication for the cited material by primary theorists is 1966, (median=1970). This indicates a difference of 10-13 years respectively between the median and average publication dates of primary theorists' material and the literature base articles identified in Stage 1. This difference might well substantiate the suspected historical bias of the methodology. In this context, Freud, (the earliest author, an author with the minimum number of citing articles, and an author with a low number of total citations) may well be an example of a theorist whose "primordial" contributions to the topic area are in the process of disappearing from current usage.

This probable historical bias appears however to be tempered by the differential loading of more current material. This is suggested by both the peak decade for cited publications, 1969-1978, which overlaps the literature base period, and by the very recent publications of the most cited theorists. The initial publication picture of primary theorists is therefore suggestive of the inclusion of early historically significant citations nested in bibliographies with a higher number of more current citations.

The large percentage of total citations (20%) by this very small number of contributors (less than 3%) also indicates that their work as a group is of more than historical importance within the social work literature base. This suggests as well that the citation count methodology used in Stage 2 was effective in identifying key contributors to the early attachment periodical literature in social work.

Additional evidence for the usefulness of this methodology is found in the absence of social workers among the list of primary theorists. This finding would be consistent with the assumption that these authors are contributors to core knowledge, the type of knowledge which is usually generated outside of the social work profession. An examination of the content of the work of these authors (Stage 3) would be needed to more completely

substantiate the assumed relationship of these theorists with core knowledge.

STAGE 3: THE EPISTEMIC MAP

The findings from Stage 3 of this study speak both to the methodological integrity of the process for identification of contributors to core knowledge, and to the usefulness of the epistemic inventory in mapping the assumptions of these primary theorists. Overall the findings from Stage 3 demonstrate the complexity and tensions within the social work core knowledge in the topic area of early attachment.

Essentially these findings appear to represent knowledge consistent with Albers and McConnell's definition (1984) of core knowledge for social work. Not only does this knowledge base originate outside of the social work profession (Stage 2), the overall content addresses the major epistemological assumptions which make up theory and are assumed to underly applied-derived knowledge. As Albers and McConnell predicted the core includes conflicting theoretical orientations, as evidenced by theorists responses in 3 of 4 paradigms. Also as predicted, major issues in the larger understanding of human behavior are most completely addressed (Questions 1-6, 15 and 17), and theorists are less responsive in the area of intervention issues (Questions 7-8 and 16) and policy and ethical

concerns (Questions 9-14). Specific strategies for extracting people from their troubles were minimally addressed. In every dimension, the work of these authors correlates with the definition of core knowledge.

Given the high correlation between core knowledge and these findings, the work of these theorists could be presumed to correspond to the major co-cited publications used to develop Garfield's clusters. In the specific literature base of social work journals and with a broader focus on authors instead of publications, Garfield's (1981) clustering technique could be applied to generate a field of applied-derived material in the topic area of early attachment which would be more complete than was possible in Stage 1 of this study.

The use of Garfield's non-inverted methodology with any 2 authors on the list of primary theorists would screen-in the type of social work material which might have been concealed from inclusion in this study, (articles using other terms to identify attachment, or material incorporating attachment ideas in relation to an identified problem). Such a process could even test the hypothesis that Freud's contributions to this topic area are approaching historical status and are beginning to disappear from current citation lists.

This type of procedure could be generalized to other topic areas within the social work journal litera-

ture base, and could be used to generate first of all contributors to core knowledge, and then a broad field of corresponding applied-derived literature. From other literature bases, (such as course bibliographies, child welfare texts, conference proceedings, academic theses, even practitioners own libraries) identified core theorists might be compared or used to develop expanded lists of applied-derived material in a variety of timely subject areas. This methodology appears to have potential for broad application as a tool for research into social work core and applied-deprived knowledge, and would be an interesting topic of further investigation.

The findings as presented on the map of core theorists, demonstrate the potential effectiveness of both the epistemic inventory and the axial visual display format for the analysis and comparison of primary authors' work in a focused topic area. The high level of congruence between the theorists' responses as a whole, and the concept of core knowledge, suggests that the epistemic inventory was helpful in highlighting the differences and similarities between theorists' assumptions as well as the tensions and dynamics within each theorists' stance. Lally's suggestion that the axial model provides a structure for an "immediate and graphic view of the entire terrain of epistemological perspectives" (Lally, 1981, p.6) is demonstrated in the analysis

of epistemological content.

The combined use of the axial map and epistemic inventory may prove to be helpful in analyzing core knowledge in a variety of other topic areas of interest to social workers. With an analysis of core knowledge in place, these devices could be helpful in further examination of applied-derived knowledge and its relationship to core knowledge in specific topic areas. The inventory and map might be useful in assaulting the question of how core knowledge is adopted, adapted, and extrapolated in conjunction with practice experience and the values that underlie the profession, in actually assisting clients with their problems.

In terms of content, these Stage 3 findings suggest that social work core knowledge about early attachment originates in all quadrants except Emancipationism. Again this finding is entirely consistent with the tenets of the quadrant map. In Emancipationism, the quadrant where individual consciousness struggles against the imposition of social falsehoods, it would clearly be disjunct to espouse the significance of an affective interactional bond. Such a liaison would be seen as a threat to individual authenticity, just another suspect element of mystification from a problematic external reality. In Emancipationism, the truly human individual "goes it alone," while in every other quadrant theorists

address the importance of the early emotional bond between infant and caretaker.

STRUCTURAL DETERMINISM:

From the orthodox Structural Determinist perspective, the infant-caretaker relationship is the vehicle for the infant's first experience of the clash of the external pressures of society with his own instinctual needs and desires. This prototypic relationship (Freud 1940/1969, p.45) literally begins the civilizing process of socialization. As much through what a caretaker cannot do for the infant, as through the satisfactions provided to the infant, the baby begins to develop the personality structures which help to manage the lifelong internal conflict, ..."the conflict with which humanity is oppressed..." (Bowlby 1958/1979, p.5). In this quadrant the emphasis is not on the affective, growing interaction between infant and caretaker, but rather on the underlying "defect of our mental apparatus" (Freud 1926/1959, p.155). Even in the parental aspect of the caretaker-child relationship, it is not the immediately obvious affective component that matters, but the "revival ... of (the parent's) own narcissism" (Freud, 1914/1957, pp.91). The best possible outcome here in Stuctural Determinism is for the infant to develop (in spite of his phylogenetic defect) a "capacity to regulate his conflict of love and

hate and through this, his capacity to experience in a healthy way his anxiety and guilt" (Bowlby, 1958/1979, p.3). If the external environment imposes frustrations which "lead to the development of intra-psychic conflict of a form and intensity such that the immature psychic apparatus of the infant and young child cannot satisfactorily regulate it ..." (Bowlby, 1958/1979, p.21-2), psychological illness can follow.

POSITIVISM:

For the Positivists, who largely operate from an ethological perspective, the infant-caretaker relationship can be translated into observable, measurable components of interaction verified by empirical study. They posit underlying species specific genetic programming, innate response patterns in the infant and mother (and sometimes others), which serve to elicit maternal caretaking behavior, and maintain the infant's proximity to the caretaker. In the environment of evolutionary adaptedness, the environment within which the human species evolved, these automatically triggered patterns would facilitate the protection of the vulnerable infant from a hostile environment during the extended period of infantile immaturity. Here the environment is the major variable both in terms of the adaptation of the species, as well in the shaping of individuals.

When the environment provides the appropriate caretaking responses (tactile and visual contact, warmth, nourishment, stimulation) to the infant's innate behaviors or signals (sucking, crying, looking, clinging) a feedback loop is established which incorporates the maturing abilities of the developing infant into an affectional system. Eventually the infant's behavior becomes outcome directed or goal corrected, and with increasing infant competence, exploratory behavior begins with the attachment figure as a secure and accessible base. Neurologically these patterns become organized as a representational model of self and environment. From a Positivist perspective a secure attachment is related to later social competence, behavior considered "self reliant," and better language and cognitive performance.

The individual's expectations of affectional relationships are shaped by his or her early attachment experiences, and persist into adulthood affecting the quality and stability of love relationships. Inadequate "maternal care," or disruptions in early affectional bonds can therefore result in a variety of observable, measurable problems; from reduced intellectual functioning, to difficulties in relationships, character disorders, even sociopathic behavior. Ethologists suggest the existence of a sensitive or critical period for attachment when environmental supports are prerequisites for healthy

development to occur. If deprivation occurs throughout this phase, appropriate development may well be precluded.

These theorists also acknowledge the importance of hormonal supports for maternal responsiveness, especially in first days after birth. Klaus and Kennell propose that immediate and extended physical contact between parents and infant is sufficient (although certainly not always necessary) to begin the species specific sequence of behaviors which hold parents (especially mothers) and infants together. Environmental interference with this process, such as hospital policies which separate infants from mothers, may cause undue difficulty in the elicitation of appropriate maternal caretaking behavior.

INTERACTIONISM:

From the Interactionist perspective, most clearly represented by some of Brazelton's work, early attachment is an interactive, communication of affect which unfolds between the parent and the infant. In Interactionism the infant is a communicative, unique, and powerful individual personality from the very first, who actively contributes to this emotional relationship. Infant and parent use a variety of channels (eye to eye contact, physical contact, postural positioning, vocalization) to send and receive messages expressing

their individuality in an affective synchrony which feels good both to participants and observers. Within this attachment interaction "a kind of working arrangement (develops) in which each participant (learns) the rules over time, (and) ... each participant derives satisfaction that fuel the ongoing process." (Brazelton, cited in Klaus & Kennell, 1982, p.3). This is the infant's mechanism for "socialization," for learning about himself, about the people who care for him, and about love. Parents too participate in the learning process, learning about and locking onto the unique individual who is their child, and exploring the enjoyment of loving a baby.

Troubles in this affective system arise when the interaction between mother and infant is out of synchrony and communication becomes painful. Here parents may need help in understanding the strengths of the infant, in translating the infant's messages, or in finding a "channel" (Brazelton, 1975) for communication with even a "damaged" baby.

Each paradigm, as demonstrated above, provides a different picture of early emotional bonding between infant and caretaker: a different mechanism for the process, a different function within socialization, a different understanding of the role of the caretaker. Each quadrant, however, underscores the importance of this relationship. From the determinist quadrants, theorists

look to outcome in terms of the health and functioning of the infant, measurable in Positivism in terms of observable performance in social and cognitive contexts; discernable in Structural Determinism by the trained analyst who recognizes problems in terms of difficulties in management of the inevitable intra-psychic conflict. In Interactionism the relationship between infant and caretaker is the issue, and the subjective experience of each participant is significant.

Although each quadrant provides a coherent scheme for understanding of early attachment, none of the primary theorists contained their expression of ideas to only one quadrant. Each responded at least tentatively in an adjacent quadrant on some questions. With only one exception (Ainsworth's tentative response to Question 8), this overall momentum across boundaries appears to flow from lower right counterclockwise toward upper left. This might reflect the conceptual pull of Interactionism in explaining the fundamentally subjective, interactional experience of attachment, although this is difficult to quantify. The major epistemological travelers between quadrants are Bowlby, Klaus and Kennell, and Brazelton. These theorists are discussed below.

Although Bowlby responds in both determinist camps, he does not address these views simultaneously. His writings suggest a quadrant shift, a virtual departure

from Structural Determinism to Positivism over time. Bowlby's vehicle for this changeover was ethology and the work of Konrad Lorenz (cited in Bowlby 1957/1979 and subsequent work) which incorporates underlying conflicting impulses and instincts within the biological perspective of animal studies. Bowlby's earliest work espouses the psychoanalytic structure of covert conflict, but by 1957 he postulates an ethological approach. This new approach, he initially views as compatible with psychoanalysis (Bowlby, 1957), but later he increasingly differentiates it from Structural Determinism as his focus shifts to observable evidence and the effects of the environment in shaping the species and the individual. His "resulting conceptual frame work is designed to accommodate all those (observable attachment) phenomena ... and so to offer an alternative to the traditional metapsychology of psychoanalysis ..." (Bowlby, 1982, p.668).

Bowlby describes some of his early objections to Structural Determinism when he suggests that psychodynamic "definitions of instinct are notoriously unsatisfactory and are apt to degenerate into the allegorical..." and that "experimental method is conspicuous by its absence" (Bowlby, 1957/1979, p.26). He goes on to say that "from the time I first studied psychiatry ... my interests have centered on the contribution that a person's environment makes to his psychological development" (Bowlby,

1977/1979, p.126). These considerations were clearly a part of his decision to study the separation of the young child from the mother. In these instances an observable environmental event appeared to have "serious ill effects on a child's personality development" (Bowlby, 1979, p.viii), and preventive measures might be effective. As his efforts progressed he deliberately set out to develop a conceptual framework which could explain his observations of early attachment better than his Structural Determinist training. Perhaps his distinction of being the theorist who was most complete in responding to the epistemic inventory is correlated with his conscious effort in theory building.

Unlike Bowlby who departs from his quadrant of origin, Klaus and Kennell, the tandem pediatricians who propose the importance of early post-partum contact between parent and infant, waffle between Interactionism and medicine's home turf, Positivism. They both suggest the importance of "interlocking behavioral, immunological, endocrinological, and physiological systems" (Klaus & Kennell, 1982, p.71), and espouse the potential beauty and ecstacy of the birth experience, the significance of expression of feelings and communication between partners, and the importance of sending messages to the infant (Kennell, et.al., 1975).

Their most clear-cut departure from their

Positivist heritage, is found in their chapters dealing with premature, mal-formed, and stillborn infants or neonatal death. It is as though here, when no fully positive outcome looks probable through environmental manipulation, the meaning (Klaus & Kennell, 1982, p.284) and identity (Klaus & Kennell, 1982, p.287) of the infant's life become paramount. At this point, permission to feel and to share sadness, openness and expression, listening and support make up the all important process of understanding and helping. In their instructions to physicians, who they anticipate will have difficulty in participating in this process, Klaus and Kennell (1982, p.291) recognize their departure from the traditional medical model, but retreat again to their fundamental grounding (16 of 17 responses) in Positivism, citing Lindemann's 1944 distorted grief reactions.

Another pediatrician, Brazelton, makes a more comprehensive shift to Interactionism (16 of 17 responses Interactionist). Brazelton does not retreat from Positivism when the outcome is troublesome, but rather in his observation of the infant finds such a socially competent, powerful, and unique individual that the true affective communication of Interactionism can naturally proceed between parent and baby.

Even his behavioral assessment scale for neonates (Brazelton, 1984) is "intended as an assessment

of the infant in an interactional process, not a simple assessment of the baby alone. The infant is seen as an active participant in a dynamic situation" (Brazelton, 1984, p.3). In evaluating the infant, "... the examiner not only becomes aware of the capacities of the infant, but through his or her efforts, identifies with the parents of this baby" (Brazelton, 1984, p.4). He uses the observations from his assessment to demonstrate to parents "the strengths of the infant as a potent individual" (Brazelton, in Klaus & Kennell, 1982, p.98), and to open a "channel" for parents of even damaged babies to begin to communicate.

Brazelton, hailed as "a successor to Dr. Spock" (Finlayson, p.54) publishes regularly in the popular press (Brazelton, 1977 & 1980) where he extends his role of infant translator for parents across North America. In these writings especially he clearly moves to an Interactionist perspective with suggestions to parents to ..."relax and learn from ... children" (Finlayson, 1985, p.54), to "do what makes you and your baby feel the best, and will give you the nicest time together," (Brazelton, 1977, p.155). As opposed to Klaus and Kennell, who find themselves coping with situations where no answers available from Positivism will produce a fully satisfactory outcome, Brazelton finds himself with too many Positivist observations of competent infants to continue

to see babies as less than fully participating persons, ready to be viewed from the full Interactionist quadrant. As he complains of his training in the medical model, "I wanted to understand human beings, and all we were learning about was disease," (Finlayson, 1985, p.54).

Observational data which is unexplained in the original orientation appears to play a key role in speculation about possible reasons for these theorists' movements into adjacent paradigms. Whether the data takes the form of problem situations with no clear solutions (Klaus and Kennell), an inappropriate fit between theory and observation (Bowlby), or a wealth of data suggestive of capacities which blossom over the epistemological fence (Brazelton), impetus for the shift seems to occur when the original orientation does not provide an adequate sense of understanding of the observed reality.

It is possible that particular theorists have a predisposition to a particular epistemology, which may not mesh with the orientation of their training. Bowlby and Brazelton's expressions of frustration about their training quadrant could support such a hypothesis. G. Hurley & A. Hurley (work in progress) hypothesise that such epistemological predispositions among therapists might relate to personality variables.

It is also possible that particular problems may not be as easily addressed within one paradigm as another.

Klaus and Kennell's suggestions specific to situations when infant outcome is in jeopardy, might be an example of an epistemological shift under the pressure of urgent troubles; a shift to a quadrant which serves to match the problem more comfortably in terms of both the view of reality, and the potential for helpful intervention.

Not all theoreticians, however, shifted to the degree that Bowlby, Brazelton, Klaus and Kennell did. Three of the psychologists, Ainsworth, Bell, and Harlow are fundamentally grounded in Positivism with limited departures to adjacent quadrants. They appear to have been reared, in a professional sense, within a paradigm which continues to explain their observations about people and reality.

Freud too responds nearly exclusively within his quadrant, Structural Determinism. Bowlby suggests that Freud's consistently lower-right conceptualizations were the artifact of the less developed status of sciences in Freud's time. "Thus the world of science in which we live is radically different from the world Freud lived in at the turn of the century, and the concepts available to us immeasurably better suited to our problems than were the very restricted ones available in his day." (Bowlby, 1982, p.673). Although Freud wished to elaborate a truly scientific base or biological model for personality, it took Bowlby's work to really effectively traverse the

boundary to Positivism.

It is interesting to note that none of these four theorists whose responses are focused in a single quadrant are practitioners with infants and their caretakers. Harlow, Ainsworth and Bell all are university related people involved in research (and not even necessarily research with humans, as Harlow's classic monkey experiments testify). Freud, although a practicing therapist, was not much involved in sorting out ongoing troubles between mother and infant.

This apparent correlation might be construed to mean that epistemologically, consistency is easier for researchers within a scientific discipline, than it is for practitioners (such as Bowlby and the 3 pediatricians). Conversely it may be harder to be epistemologically congruent when involved in ongoing work with people. This may speak to the importance of a variety of sometimes conflicting epistemological approaches for practitioners, and in the training of social work professionals, would highlight the importance of course work (such as "Human Behavior in the Social Environment") which surveys the broad and contradictory theoretical turf explaining the human experience.

Two theorists remain, Robson and Rheingold, who straddle the Interactionist/Positivist boundary. Perhaps as an artifact of their large proportion of silent,

responses these theorists seem less clearly defined. Perhaps a broader sampling of their work could yield expanded responses which would clarify their positions.

On the whole, these findings would predict that social work practitioners would find this core knowledge base troublesome in direct application to practice. Three major observations underly this prediction.

First, three of the four epistemological communities suggest that the early affectional relationship is highly significant to later appropriate functioning and health. While there is agreement on the importance of early emotional bonds between infant and caretaker across 3 quadrants, the agreement between paradigms stops here. Each paradigm goes on to suggest a different vision of attachment, a different mechanism for the process, a different function in socializing the infant, and a different understanding of the role of the caretaker.

This situation is not problematic as long as the attachment between infant and caretaker appears to be going well. Social work practitioners, however, generally become involved when some type of trouble arises. In the face of peoples' problems, this three way split between paradigms turns up the pressure for intervention by emphasizing the importance of attachment while suggesting 3 distinct and contradictory pictures of what matters in

the early relationship.

Second, the preponderance of comment in the Positivist paradigm, in terms of both total epistemological responses and total theorists, suggests that the majority of assumptions about attachment grow from a quadrant which neither matches well with the concept of affectional relationships nor, more importantly, matches well with the values that social work espouses in addressing intervention with clients. This represents a fundamental mismatch between what social work wants for clients; autonomy and self-determination, respect for the uniqueness of each individual (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 1983); and the epistemological roots of the bulk of the core knowledge on attachment.

This mismatch might be offset in part by looking carefully at policy and ethical considerations. This, however, is specifically the area which is least addressed by the theorists as a whole. The importance of these issues to practice is underscored by the higher rate of response in the area of policy and ethics by the practitioner-theorists who actually work with children and caretakers (Bowlby and all three pediatricians). To social workers, whose values grow from an Interactionist perspective, the greater silence of core theorists on ethics and policy issues generally, and the silence of Positivists on the issue of commitment to helping clients,

could be irreconcilable in the "by default" budget-sheet analysis in times of limited resources.

Third, although the preponderance of Positivist core knowledge does not match well with social work values, it does match well with what social workers hope for in practice; effective, predictable, demonstrable intervention. If core knowledge only included a broader interventive text in the area of attachment, this alignment of Positivism and social work expectations for practice would make for a comfortable fit. From the findings of this study, however, it is evident that as a group, theorists are increasingly silent as questions turn to intervention, and even more quiet in relation to policy and ethical issues which bear on the types of specific decisions which must be made by social workers in implementing intervention.

Coupled with this increasing silence is an oscillation in the agreement between theorists' responses to intervention, policy, and ethical questions. In response to questions about what more needs to be understood about intervention, how programs should be initiated and terminated in the public domain, and what should be the safeguards for clients, theorists responded in Positivism 3 to 6 times more often than in any other paradigm. Yet in addressing the actual character of intervention and the issue of commitment to intervention,

theorists responded more frequently in other quadrants.

Ainsworth (1978) perhaps best expresses the hard reality of the paucity of clear cut intervention guidelines when she suggests "these are important questions (about intervention) with profound implications for those charged with the care of infants without families. Unfortunately there are no firm answers yet, ... (and) practical decisions must be made in advance of clear guidelines from research" (p.43). Clearly this represents no small dilemma for social workers.

Therefore, for practitioners actively involved with clients, the core knowledge in early attachment simply does not say all that is needed to operationalize theoretical assumptions in actual intervention. Given the key silences, the contradictions in perspectives, the mismatch with social work values, and the sense of urgency derived from the importance of the attachment process in 3 of 4 major epistemological orientations, it will be especially important for further investigation to begin to consider the applied-derived knowledge base about early attachment, and to examine the ways social workers address difficult policy and ethical decisions under the pressure of actual practice demands.

CONCLUSIONS:

STAGE 1: THE SOCIAL WORK EARLY ATTACHMENT LITERATURE BASE

The findings of Stage 1 of this study, suggest that the combined keyword search strategies used to identify early attachment social work articles from The Social Sciences Citation Index, and from Social Work Research and Abstracts, can be effective in identifying a topic specific social work literature base. These conjoint strategies may be useful in application to a variety of topic areas salient to social work, and their simplicity in implementation demonstrates the tremendous contribution of the indices in accessing professional social work literature. The subset of identified articles published in social work journals may correspond to what Albers and McConnell (1984) conceptualize as applied-derived knowledge, however, this will require further research and evaluation.

When compared to the extensive amount of periodical material about early attachment in the social sciences as a whole, the relatively small number of total articles (19), and the even smaller number of articles published in social work journals (8), certainly demonstrates that the social work profession is not in the vanguard of publication about this topic. It seems unlikely that these small findings are the result of

profession-specific terminology, although it is possible that early attachment issues were integrated into social work material to such an extent that the topic itself was no longer demonstrable. Logically these findings seem most suggestive of a small percolation of early attachment information into the social work literature and might be related to difficulties in integrating early attachment material with the urgent demands of practice. The volume of material published about early attachment, the contradictory nature of the attachment literature, and/or the suggestion that this topic is a research or theoretical issue belonging to related disciplines, are all speculations which might underlie the paucity of social work publications dealing with this topic. If valid these concerns would underscore the need for a mechanism of coping with early attachment material.

These small literature findings are also partly the result of the exclusive utilization of periodical material for this study, a decision which neglected valid contributions of social workers in other publication formats. The exclusion was largely imposed by the absence of an objective mechanism for obtaining information about these non-periodical materials and speaks to the need for a clearinghouse for social workers to catalogue their published work in all formats.

STAGE 2: THE PRIMARY THEORISTS

The inversion of Garfield's (1981) clustering technique (with author focus) has yielded a series of 10 authors whose significance in the social work early attachment literature citation lists is substantial beyond their number. Their cited work is suggestive of some historical methodological bias, but is for the most part reasonably current material. The finding that all 10 theorists' professional orientations were outside of social work is consistent with the assumption that these authors are contributors to core knowledge.

STAGE 3: THE EPISTEMIC MAP

The Lally map as extended by Albers and Hurley's (1985) epistemic inventory was used to examine the work of the theorists identified in Stage 2 of this study. The findings suggest that the work of these primary theorists is consistent with the Albers & McConnell (1984) definition of core knowledge for social work; a knowledge base which originates in social science disciplines outside social work, addresses conflicting theoretical understandings of human experience, and offers little prescriptive strategy for intervention. These findings speak to the integrity of the methodology for identification of major contributors to core knowledge.

Garfield's clustering techniques could be used

in conjunction with the Stage 2 list of primary theorists to generate a broader field of social work literature suggestive of applied-derived knowledge about early attachment. The methodology could be used to generate core and applied-derived knowledge bases for a number of salient topics for social work practitioners, and could be adapted to access a variety of literature bases.

The Stage 3 findings also speak to the usefulness of the epistemic inventory in plotting core theorists' underlying assumptions on an axial model. These heuristic and analytic tools could be effective devices for the examination of core knowledge in other topic areas, or in evaluating how core theories are adapted and extrapolated for practice in the applied-derived knowledge base.

The theorists studied address early attachment from every quadrant except Emancipationism, where the validity of relationships is questioned. Theorists who fairly consistently responded in only one quadrant were not involved in practical intervention with infants and caretakers. This might suggest that a variety of conflicting approaches may be helpful in practice, and underscores the importance of exposure to varied theoretical orientations in the training of social work practitioners.

Examination of the practitioner-theorists who

shifted from one paradigm to another suggests that the failure of the quadrant of origin to explain observational data was often behind their departure to a new epistemological territory. This may be the result of either the theorist's predisposition, or of a better match of particular problems with specific paradigms.

The analysis of the Stage 3 findings would predict that social workers would find this core knowledge base about early attachment troublesome in implementation. The 3 paradigms each emphasize the importance of early attachment for healthy development, yet posit conflicting views of what this involves. The preponderance of Positivist assumptions are aligned with the profession's expectations of practice in terms of effective, demonstrable intervention, yet are in conflict with social work values. Theorists as a group become increasingly silent and inconsistent in addressing actual strategies for helping, particularly in the area of those ethical and policy considerations which might offset the mismatch of values and knowledge. Careful examination of the applied-derived knowledge about early attachment is necessary to evaluate the profession's extrapolation of this troublesome core knowledge base in the face of the urgent demands of practice. This study lays the groundwork for further research into the implementation of social work knowledge in practice.

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APPENDIX 1

Fully Covered Source Publications: Subject Category "Social Work"
Institute for Scientific Information. (1984): Social Sciences Citation Index.

Administration in Social Work

British Journal of Social Work*

Child Abuse and Neglect

Child Care Quarterly

Child Welfare (Child Welfare League of America)

Child and Youth Services Review*

Clinical Social Work Journal

Community Development Journal (Oxford University Press)

Family Relations (National Council on Family Relations)*

Indian Journal of Social Work (Tata Institute of Social Science)

Journal of Education for Social Work (Council for Social Work Education)

Journal of Gerontological Social Work

Journal of Social Policy (Columbia University Press)

Journal of Voluntary Action Research (Pennsylvania State University)

Public Welfare (American Public Welfare Association)

Rehabilitation Counselling Bulletin (American Personnel Guidance Association)

Smith College Studies in Social Work (Smith College School of Social Work)

Social Casework - Journal of Contemporary Social Work (Family Service Association of America)*

Social Service Review (University of Chicago Press)

Social Security Bulletin (US Government Printing Office)

Social Work with Groups

Social Work in Health Care

Social Work Research and Abstracts (National Association of Social Workers)

Social Work (National Association of Social Workers)*

Urban and Social Change Review (Boston College)

*Accessed individually in DIALOG Data Base because unavailable via B.R.S. "Social Work Journal" code. All others accessed in B.R.S.

APPENDIX 2

Epistemic Inventory©

from Albers, D.A. & Hurley, A.L. (1985). On the importance of being janitorial: A heuristic for organizing scientific knowledge in social work. Unpublished manuscript, Memorial University of Newfoundland, School of Social Work, St. John's, Newfoundland.

Question List

1. What is the underlying premise about reality?
   Where is reality found?

2. What is the orienting feature of reality?
   What do we look at to understand man?

3. What is the fundamental view of man?
   What is most important about man?

4. What is the process of socialization?
   How does man get the way he is? (primary motivation)

5. What is the ideal relationship between the individual & society?
   How does the individual stack up relative to society?

6. What is problematic for man?
   What gets man in trouble?

7. What is required for positive change to occur?
   How can man get out of trouble?

8. What is the character of intervention? (technical dimensions)
   How does the helper relate to the client to effect change?

9. What are the policy and ethical issues related to intervention?
   What's messy in the helping business?

   a) 1. How are problems defined?
      2. How is health (proper social functioning) defined?

   b) 1. How is intervention initiated?
      2. How is intervention terminated? public programs

   c) 1. Is there an upper limit to the commitment to intervention?
         How far does the helper go?
      2. What are the safeguards for clients?
         What is hands off?

10. What needs to be done to further our understanding of man?
    What do we still need to know?
    a) Broad epistemological level
    b) Professional level: Intervention

11. (Meta Question): What is the core debate?
What heat does the paradigm catch from the others?

12. How does the paradigm defend itself from the foregoing assault?
How does the paradigm cover its ass?

Quadrant-Specific Responses: Positivism

1. What is the underlying premise about reality?
   Where is reality found?

   Reality exists out there.

2. What is the orienting feature of reality?
   What do we look at to understand man?

   Data.

3. What is the fundamental view of man?
   What is most important about man?

   Tabula Rasa (nurture only).

4. What is the process of socialization?
   How does man get the way he is? (primary motivation)

   Impression/"Learning" (non-conscious).

5. What is the ideal relationship between the individual and society?
   How does the individual stack up relative to society?

   Individual < Society

6. What is problematic for man?
   What gets man in trouble?

   If problems exist they are caused by inappropriate nurture.

7. What is required for positive change to occur?
   How can man get out of trouble?

   Appropriate nurture.

8. What is the character of intervention? (technical dimensions)
   How does the helper relate to the client to effect change?

   To (to the individual for society).

9. What are the policy and ethical issues related to intervention?
What's messy in the helping business?

a) 1. How are problems defined?

Observable differences (normative component) which are disruptive to the collective (utilitarian component). Budget sheet.

2. How is health (proper social functioning) defined?

By default: "No Observable Problem" (negative test).

b) 1. How is intervention initiated in public programs?
2. How is intervention terminated in public programs?

At the discretion of the collective after budget sheet is reviewed. (Linked to problem definition). Clear end-points.

c) 1. Is there an upper limit to the commitment to intervention?
How far does the helper go?

Answered by budget (balance) sheet of collective: (available resources/disruption relative to other problems).

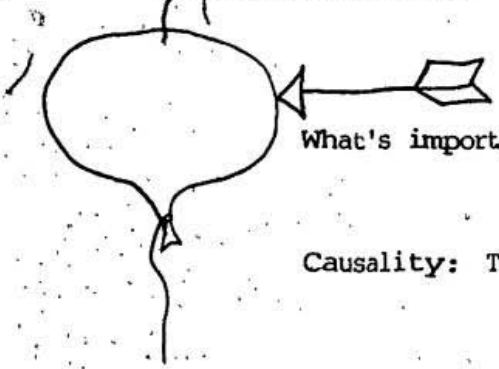
2. What are the safeguards for clients?
What is hands off?

Bad science. (Other answers imposed from outside the quadrant on the basis of individual rights).

10. What needs to be done to further our understanding of man?
What do we still need to know?

-Epistemological Answer: Better understanding of the environment and its effects

-Intervention Answer: Better ways to use the environment (to control man).



What's important about the arrow and the balloon?

Causality: The arrow.

11. (Meta Question): What is the core debate?
What heat does the paradigm catch from the others?

From Emancipationism: (shares nothing) This is the problem not the solution.
1) Superficial. What's important does not even register. (covert/conflict axis)
2) Dehumanizing. (free will axis)

From Interactionism: (shares observable reality)
1) Control is detrimental to the growth of the individual and society. (free will axis)

From Structural Determinism: (shares determinism)
1) Superficial: symptoms only. (covert/conflict axis)
2) Maintains status quo: ineffective. (covert/conflict axis).

12. How does the paradigm defend itself from the foregoing assault?
How does the paradigm cover its ass?

See 1-10 above.

Quadrant-Specific Responses: Structural Determinism

1. What is the underlying premise about reality?
   Where is reality found?

   Reality is the underlying structure.

2. What is the orienting feature of reality?
   What do we look at to understand man?

   Hidden conflict.

3. What is the fundamental view of man?
   What is most important about man?

   Freud: Homo Duplex/Marx: Homo Damnatus.

4. What is the process of socialization?
   How does man get the way he is? (primary motivation)

   Suppression of nature by nurture.

5. What is the ideal relationship between the individual and society?
   How does the individual stack up relative to society?

   Individual 49%

   Society 51%

6. What is problematic for man?
   What gets man in trouble?

   Problems do exist because of the inevitable collision between nurture and nature at a covert level.

7. What is required for positive change to occur?
   How can man get out of trouble?

   Through nurture to achieve insight...insight causes a change in the underlying structure. (Conflict remains inevitable, but a better approximation of balance of conflict is possible.)

8. What is the character of intervention? (technical dimensions)
   How does the helper relate to the client to effect change?

   For (for the individual for society).

9. What are the policy and ethical issues related to intervention? What's messy in the helping business?

a) 1. How are problems defined?

Level I: Problems are usually identified by the collective on the basis of a potentially disruptive, surface-level difficulty, and represent...

Level II: Imbalances in the social or personality structure.

2. How is health (proper social functioning) defined?

When the underlying personality or social structure is nearly balanced.

b) 1. How is intervention initiated in public programs?
2. How is intervention terminated in public programs?

Intervention is initiated when the helper confirms that the surface level "problem" is indicative of an imbalance within the underlying structure, and terminates when the helper recognizes that an approximation of a balance has been established.

c) 1. Is there an upper limit to the commitment to intervention? How far does the helper go?

The helper is committed until (in his opinion) balance is achieved.

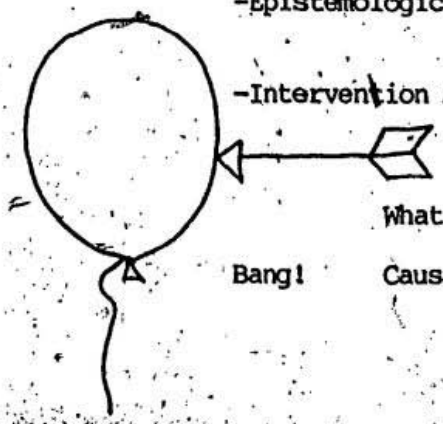
2. What are the safeguards for clients? What is hands off?

Helper is not to practice without first having a full understanding of the underlying structure. (Papa better damn well know best.)

10. What needs to be done to further our understanding of man? What do we still need to know?

-Epistemological Answer: Better understanding of the covert structure (conflict implied).

-Intervention Answer: Better ways to promote insight/raise consciousness (covert).



What's important about the arrow and the balloon?

Bang! Causality: The inherent weakness in the balloon.

11. (Meta Question): What is the core debate?
What heat does the paradigm catch from the others?

From Interactionism: (shares nothing) This is dangerous!
1) Creates conflict where it does not and would not otherwise exist. (oberservable reality axis)
2) Slights the individual who is of prime importance. (free will axis)

From Emancipationism: (shares covert/conflict)
1) Fails to recognize the primacy of individual his importance and power. (free will axis)
2) Emphasis on control of the individual is problematic. (free will axis)

From Positivism: (shares determinism)
1) No observable/reproducible change involved, therefore "Bad Science," " Mystical Bullshit." A waste of time. (observable reality axis)

12. How does the paradigm defend itself from the foregoing assault?
How does the paradigm cover its ass?

See 1-10 above.

Quadrant-Specific Responses: Emancipationism

1. What is the underlying premise about reality?
   Where is reality found?

   Individual reality exists through demystification.

2. What is the orienting feature of reality?
   What do we look at to understand man?

   Individual struggle.

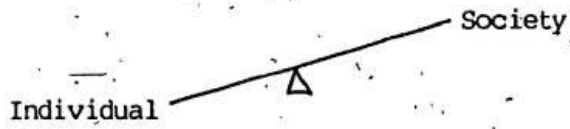
3. What is the fundamental view of man?
   What is most important about man?

   Homo Laborans (nature only).

4. What is the process of socialization?
   How does man get the way he is? (primary motivation)

   Depression of man's consciousness/authenticity.

5. What is the ideal realtionship between the individual and society?
   How does the individual stack up relative to society?



6. What is problematic for man?
   What gets man in trouble?

   Problems do exist because man loses his nature through the mystification of nurture.

7. What is required for postive change to occur?
   How can man get out of trouble?

   With recognition of the mystification and engagement in the struggle to recapture individual nature.

8. What is the character of intervention? (technical dimensions)
   How does the helper relate to the client to effect change?

   The individual goes it alone (for me, for me).

9. What are the policy and ethical issues related to intervention? What's messy in the helping business?

a) 1. How are problems defined?

Level I: "Cheerful robots" have lost their nature (no intervention).
Level II: Self-defined sense of alienation (boundary crisis).

2. How is health (proper social functioning) defined?

Individual who is fully conscious and committed to the struggle for authenticity (in the process of regaining individual nature).

b) 1. How is intervention initiated in public programs?
2. How is intervention terminated in public programs?

This is entirely the responsibility of the client.

c) 1. Is there an upper limit to the commitment to intervention? How far does the helper go?

There are no limits as long as therapist authenticity is not compromised.

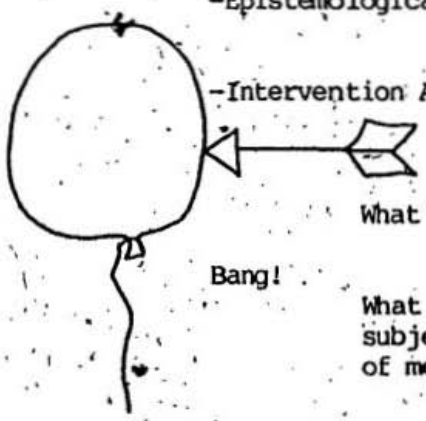
2. What are the safeguards for clients? What is hands off?

Therapist must view helping as authentic expression of commitment to client authenticity.

10. What needs to be done to futher our understanding of man? What do we still need to know?

-Epistemological Answer: Better expression of individual nature via discourse.

-Intervention Answer: Better vigilence vs. helper mystification.



What's important about the arrow and the balloon?

What matters about the balloon and arrow exists only in the subjective experience of the individual, and is independent of mere physical presence.

11. (Meta Question): What is the core debate?
What heat does the paradigm catch from the others?

From Positivism: This is absurd!
(shares nothing)
1) "Mystical Crap": So ridiculous as to be unimportant. (observable reality axis)
2) The world is too powerful for this to even be a possibility. (determinism axis)

From StructuralDeterminism:
(shares covert/conflict)
1) Failure to recognize that man cannot develop and survive (much less know himself) without social order. (determinism axis)
2) Destroys social order (which is essential). (determinism axis)

From Interactionism:
(shares free will/centrality of the individual)
1) Missing the obvious reality, the mutual benefit of man's relationships (observable reality axis)

12. How does the paradigm defend itself from the foregoing assault?
How does the paradigm cover its ass?

See 1-10 above.

Quadrant-Specific Responses: Interactionism

1. What is the underlying premise about reality?
   Where is reality found?

   Reality is produced and continually emerging.

2. What is the orienting feature of reality?
   What do we look at to understand man?

   Shared meaning.

3. What is the fundamental view of man?
   What is most important about man?

   Homo Communitas (nature and nurture are complimentary).

4. What is the process of socialization?
   How does man get the way he is? (primary motivation)

   Expression of nature through nurture (belonging/security).

5. What is the ideal realtionship between the individual and society?
   How does the individual stack up relative to society?

   Society 49%

   Individual 51%

6. What is problematic for man?
   What gets man in trouble?

   If problems exist they are caused by inadequate nurture (opportunity) which prevents nature from fully emerging.

7. What is required for positive change to occur?
   How can man get out of trouble?

   Allow nature to emerge through adequate nurture.

8. What is the character of intervention? (technical dimensions)
   How does the helper relate to the client to effect change?

   With (with individual for the individual and society).

9. What are the policy and ethical issues related to intervention? What's messy in the helping business?

a) 1. How are problems defined?

Problems are any self-perceived limitation in the becoming process.

2. How is health (proper social functioning) defined?

Health is defined in terms of mutual growth, actualization, synergy. There is no clearly defined endpoint in the process of mutual becoming.

b) 1. How is intervention initiated in public programs?
2. How is intervention terminated in public programs?

Intervention begins when client engages and ends when client disengages from the process. No clear delineation between therapy, interaction, and education; therefore consent issues are particularly fuzzy.

c) 1. Is there an upper limit to the commitment to intervention? How far does the helper go?

Upper limit is determined at a partnership level based on internal resources available (time, energy, other commitments to relationships) for both therapist and client.

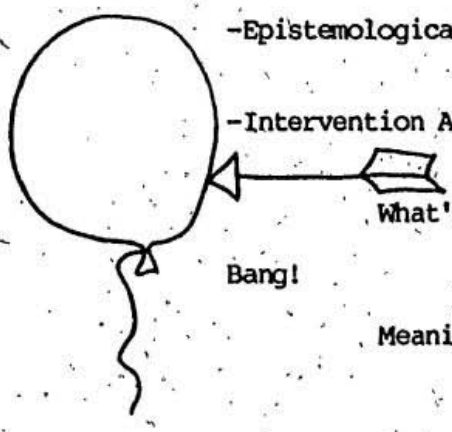
2. What are the safeguards for clients? What is hands off?

Anything that mutually feels good goes in the process of becoming. Helper must not be dishonest or cover-up true feelings. (Quadrant of facilitation, not intrusion, punishment or threat.)

10. What needs to be done to further our understanding of man? What do we still need to know?

-Epistemological Answer: Better ways to analyse the meanings people share.

-Intervention Answer: Better ways to facilitate, to fully allow meaning to emerge.



What's important about the arrow and the balloon?

Bang!

Meaning: Both arrow and balloon come together creating a new phenomenon (a joyous sound).

11. (Meta Question): What is the core debate?
What heat does the paradigm catch from the others?

From Structural Determinism: (shares nothing)
A waste of time.
1) Superficial. (covert/conflict axis)
2) Pollyanna. (covert/conflict axis)
3) Erodes social order. (determinism axis)

From Positivism: (shares observable world)
1) No accountability:
-no accurate prediction
-drains group resources
(determinism axis)

From Emancipationism: (shares free will/ centrality of individual)
1) Deluded by the superficial. (covert/conflict axis)
2) Pollyanna emphasis on "togetherness" which is an impossibility. (covert/conflict axis)

12. How does the paradigm defend itself from the foregoing assault?
How does the paradigm cover its ass?

See 1-10 above.

Addendum

For the purposes of this study, the questions in the Epistemic Inventory were renumbered as follows:

Epistemic Inventory (1985)	This Study
Questions 1-8	Questions 1-8
Question 9A1	Question 9
Question 9A2	Question 10
Question 9B1	Question 11
Question 9B2	Question 12
Question 9C1	Question 13
Question 9C2	Question 14
Question 10A	Question 15
Question 10B	Question 16
Question 10 (Overall: Balloon Metaphor)	Question 17
Question 11	(not utilized)
Question 12	(not utilized)

APPENDIX 3

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