

FEMALE AND MALE VOICES IN SOCIAL WORK  
REVISITED: A SYSTEMATIC  
CRITIQUE OF LIANE DAVIS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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DONNA M. BOLGER









**FEMALE AND MALE VOICES IN SOCIAL WORK REVISITED:  
A SYSTEMATIC CRITIQUE OF LIANE DAVIS**

By

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## Abstract

A rift exists in the social work profession between clinical practitioners and academicians/researchers over the use of empirical clinical practice. One explanation of the cause of this rift has been offered by Liane Davis (1985). She draws on the concept of "voice" introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982) and argues that the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers represents a conflict between the female voice of practice and the male voice of academia over the use of a male-voiced empirical approach to practice. There are, however, several logical inconsistencies in Davis' argument.

In this thesis, two difficulties are identified with Davis' position that practice constitutes a female-voiced domain. The first difficulty is Davis' neglect to account for the underrepresentation of women in practice administrative positions. The second difficulty is her failure to consider whether practitioners are under pressure to adopt the male voice. These difficulties necessitate a revision of her conceptualization of the rift as a strict female-male dichotomy in voice.

It is argued in this thesis that the difficulties with Davis' argument about practice reflect the fact that neither the female nor the male voice currently dominates in practice. This absence of a dominant voice is interpreted to be the result of a decades-long revolution in voice that has been occurring throughout the social work profession because of the increasing proportion of men in the profession and their rise to positions of influence. This revolution initially began in academia which once was a domain dominated by women. Since the 1950's, however, the increasing number of men entering social work academia and their overrepresentation in positions of influence has

resulted in social work academia becoming dominated by men. This has been accompanied by a change in the voice of the domain from female to male. The influence that male-voiced academia has on the training of practitioners and the control that male-voiced administration exerts over the behaviour of working practitioners creates pressures on practitioners to adopt the male voice. These pressures have created a state of flux in the voice of practice and the presence of a rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers is an indication that the transition in the voice of practice is not yet complete. The outcome of this transformation in the voice of practice and its implications for female consumers of social work services are explored. As well, the limitations of the present research and suggestions for future research are discussed.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Efficacy of service is an aim of the social work profession. In providing efficacious treatment, it is necessary that good communication and a common understanding of goals exist between the three groups which constitute the profession—clients, practitioners, and academicians/researchers. A breakdown in communication between any of these groups impairs the delivery of a beneficial service.

One notable failure in achieving consensus is the rift between clinical practitioners and academicians/researchers over the use of scientifically based social work practice. Scientifically based practice requires that a practitioner draw upon empirically supported practice methods and empirically evaluate these methods in practice. While academicians/researchers have enthusiastically endorsed the use of empirically based practice models, practitioners have stoically resisted their implementation.

The origin of the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers has been the subject of considerable discussion in the literature. Several authors have noted the significance of agency and educational factors in creating the rift while others have argued that the unsuitability of the scientific method<sup>1</sup> in social work practice is at the

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<sup>1</sup>Walker (1963, p. 5) has defined the scientific method as a set of three recursive steps. The scientific method

- (1) postulates a conceptual model based on existing experimental observations or measurements;
- (2) checks the predictions of this model against further observations or measurements;
- (3) adjusts or replaces the model as required by new observations or measurements.

centre of the rift. A more fundamental view, however, is that the rift represents a conflict between the differing culture or belief systems of practitioners and academicians/researchers.

This latter explanation of the rift is accepted by Liane Davis (1985). She provides an analysis for the differing perspectives of the two groups by drawing on the concept of "voice" introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982). Davis posits that practitioners are a group composed primarily of women who possess a distinct female world view or voice and, conversely, that academicians/researchers are a group dominated by men who possess a distinct male world view or voice. For Davis, the rift represents a clash between female-voiced practitioners and male-voiced academicians/researchers over the use of male-voiced scientifically based practice models. The misunderstanding and conflict between the two groups arises from the distinctiveness of each group's voice.

Congruence in voice, on the other hand, should result in better communication between groups. Davis' position that social work practice is female voiced raises the expectation that the largely female social work practitioners would have a natural affinity for, and a good understanding of, their female clients. However, research into the efficacy of traditional services to female clients does not appear to support this conclusion (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970; Marecek & Kravetz, 1977; Rohrbaugh, 1979; Russell, 1984). This dearth of corroborative evidence suggests that a closer examination of Davis' thesis is warranted.

A critical assessment of Davis' analysis of the rift reveals two major difficulties with her argument that practitioners constitute a female-voiced group. The first difficulty involves Davis' failure to account for the effects of the educational system on practitioners. Davis argues that the academic educational system, which is largely dominated by men, promotes and rewards the use of the male voice. For female academicians to succeed, both as students and as faculty, they must adopt the dominant

male voice. Since female practitioners share much of the same educational training as female academicians, it can be expected that practitioners also experience pressure from the educational system to adopt the male voice. If practitioners adopt the male voice by virtue of their education, as Davis claims is the case for academicians, then her assertion that practice is a female-voiced group is problematic.

The second difficulty with Davis' position that practice is female voiced concerns her failure to consider the consequences of a male-dominated power structure in social work practice. Davis argues that the numerical dominance of men in positions of authority in academia has profound implications for female academicians. A male dominant academic institution results in female academicians adopting the male voice. However, the positions of authority and influence in practice are also dominated by men. If this male domination of practice has the effect that Davis argues for in academia, then her claim that female practitioners are female voiced entails a logical inconsistency.

The difficulties with Davis' research call into question the extent to which social work practice can be considered female voiced and necessitate a revision of her conception of the rift as a strict female-male dichotomy in voice. In revising Davis' analysis of the rift, a new understanding of the conflict between practitioners and academicians/-researchers is exposed. This new understanding may also have important implications for female consumers of social work treatment. Since the efficacy of social work treatment is dependent upon effective communication and cooperation, any conflict between female clients and clinical practitioners can only be deleterious. This thesis explores the implications for female clients of any identified conflict and identifies problem areas in both academia and practice which, if remedied, could contribute to a more efficacious treatment service for women.

A presentation and critical analysis of Davis' interpretation of the rift constitutes the first six of the nine chapters in this thesis. In Chapter 2, the rift between clinical

practitioners and academicians/researchers over the place of scientifically based practice is explored. The first section of this chapter defines scientific or empirical clinical practice and notes the demands it makes on social work practitioners. The second section outlines the arguments that have been raised over the suitability of the scientific method in social work and presents an alternative to the scientific method. The third section outlines the arguments for the adoption of empirical clinical models by practitioners. Explanations of the rift as a culture/belief conflict are outlined in the fourth section and a brief chapter summary is contained in the fifth and concluding section.

In Chapter 3, empirical evidence supporting Davis' claim that women numerically dominate social work practice and men numerically dominate academic social work is presented. This domination of each domain by a particular sex constitutes the first criterion in Davis' interpretation of the rift. In the first section of this chapter, the evidence for women's numerical domination of direct practice positions is provided. As well, the relative distribution of women in administrative positions is documented and the reasons posited for the anomalies in their distribution are examined. This section concludes with a summary of the main findings. The second section of this chapter provides evidence of the extent to which men dominate academia. In particular, the relative distribution of men in administrative and academic positions, among doctoral degree holders, and in positions of influence associated with social work journals is documented. A summary of the main points of this section is provided.

In Chapter 4, evidence supporting Davis' position that the largely female social work practitioners possess an inherent female world view or voice and, conversely, that a male world view or voice characterizes the largely male social work academicians is presented. The domination of both practice and academia by distinct voices constitutes the second criterion in Davis' analysis of the rift. The evidence used to support this criterion is derived from Carol Gilligan's (1982) research and development of the concept of "voice".

This research was prompted by an awareness that current theories of psychological development had limited applicability to women. In the first section of this chapter, an overview of two developmental theories, Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development and Kohlberg's (1981) theory of moral development, are presented along with Gilligan's analysis of their deficiencies. The second section contains a summary of Gilligan's three research studies in the field of human development. The third section presents Gilligan's alternative sequence for women's psychological development, which is subsumed by the term "female voice". The fourth section provides an overview of men's psychological development, or the "male voice". A summary of the main points of the preceding sections is provided in section 5 and Davis' application of the concept of "voice" to the rift is examined in the sixth and concluding section of this chapter.

Chapter 5 examines how numerical domination of each domain by a particular sex and voice works to preserve the voice of the majority and thus maintain the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers. In the first section of this chapter, the mechanisms which suppress the female voice in female social work academicians are considered. These mechanisms include the nature of the academic institution and the distrust of the female voice engendered in female academicians. The second section examines why men in practice may be female voiced; the third and concluding section presents a summary of the findings of this chapter.

In Chapter 6, a critique of Davis' (1985) analysis of the rift is presented. The first section of this chapter assesses the validity of Davis' position that social work academia is dominated by both men and the male voice. The second section assesses Davis' position that in social work practice, women and the female voice dominate. Two major difficulties are identified with this latter position and they are discussed at length. The third section assesses the utility and relevance of voice to an analysis of the rift. The chapter concludes with a summarization of the preceding three sections.

Based on the flaws identified in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 presents a reformulation of Davis' interpretation of the rift. In the first section of this chapter, the voice of social work practice is determined. The second section presents a new framework for understanding the changes that have occurred, and are occurring, in the social work profession. This framework provides the basis for a reformulated interpretation of the rift and of the role played by voice. In the third section, an analysis of the implications of this reformulation for female consumers of social work treatment is presented. A chapter summary is contained in the fourth and concluding section.

A conclusion of this thesis is provided in Chapter 8. The findings of the previous chapters are reviewed in the first section of this chapter. The second section discusses the implications of this research for female consumers of social work services. The third section discusses the limitations of the present research; the fourth and final section explores several avenues of future research suggested by this thesis.

Appendices A, B, and C are synopses of Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development, Kohlberg's (1981) theory of moral development, and Gilligan's (1982) theory of women's psychological development as outlined in Chapter 4.



## **Chapter 2**

### **The Rift Between Practitioners and Academicians in Social Work**

There is considerable discussion in the literature concerning a rift which exists within the social work profession. This rift, between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers, centres on a disagreement about the place of scientifically based practice in social work. Scientifically based practice requires that a clinician draw upon empirically supported practice methods and empirically evaluate those methods in practice. One faction, which generally represents social work practitioners and a small segment of academicians/researchers, argues that a scientific approach to practice is inappropriate and possibly detrimental to the values of the profession. The other faction, which represents the majority of social work academicians/researchers and a small segment of practitioners, advocates that the use and development of critically derived knowledge be increased by practitioners.

Despite the demand from social work academicians/researchers that practitioners engage in a scientifically based practice, studies indicate that social workers do not consume, use, produce or understand research. In a study by Kirk, Osmalov & Fischer (1976), for example, 470 members from a 1972 National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Directory of Professional Social Workers were surveyed regarding the extent of their involvement in research along three dimensions: (a) consumption of research, (b) use of research, and (c) production of research. The data on consumption of research revealed that the number of social work articles read on a monthly basis ranged from 0 to 50 with the median number being 4. However, more than half of the respondents

reported that 80 % of the articles they read did not focus primarily on reporting or analyzing research.

In terms of the use of research, less than half indicated a tendency to consult literature when facing a problem. In the study, 56.1 % of the 470 professional social workers surveyed indicated that when confronted with a difficult practice situation, they did not consult research studies for guidance.

The rate of research production showed that 68 % of the respondents had not conducted a formal research project since leaving school even though the median number of years in social work practice for the group was 7 years. While this indicates that 32 % of the respondents had conducted research, the majority had only done so once or twice. Only 5.1 % of the sample had produced more than 4 research projects.

In an effort to understand social workers' apparent disinterest in research, Casselman (1971) surveyed 44 graduates of the Smith College School for Social Work (class of 1968) regarding their utilization and production of research, attitudes toward research, and the role of professional education in shaping their research attitudes. Casselman found that 59 % of the sample had not conducted any research since graduation and that articles reporting research were judged by the graduates to be of limited use in formulating treatment plans and in improving their practice. Furthermore, 53 % of those workers who had conducted research following graduation had been exposed to research during their field placement as compared with 19 % of the non-researchers. The two major reasons cited by the non-researchers for their disinterest in research were time constraints and the failure of agencies to provide incentives for conducting research. Casselman concluded that this failure of agencies to provide for workers' research, and the failure of the social work curriculum to integrate research into the teaching of practice skills, contributed to the low use of research by social workers.

Kirk & Fischer (1976) questioned whether social workers possess the skills necessary

to critically assess research since this could impede their use of a scientifically based practice. In order to study this, the researchers surveyed 470 members from the 1972 edition of the NASW Directory of Professional Social Workers and randomly presented them with four versions of a hypothetical study of a short-term treatment intervention. The four versions of the study were as follows: a bad design with positive findings, a bad design with negative findings, a good design with positive findings, and a good design with negative findings.

The results showed that those respondents who were given studies with negative findings were significantly less likely than were those respondents who were given studies with positive findings to evaluate the design of the study as methodologically sound, to judge the study as important to social work, and to use the knowledge gained from the study. This suggests that social workers do not possess the skills necessary to assess and utilize important research in an objective fashion and are therefore unable to incorporate research into their practice. It may be inferred from these findings that the lack of requisite skills is caused by a failure in the social work curriculum.

Gingerich (1977) also maintained the view that the limited utilization and production of research was, in part, a reflection of the deficiencies in research theory and methods taught in schools of social work. In light of this, Gingerich designed an advanced research course on clinical evaluation that was congruent with the knowledge needed specifically by students in the clinical concentration of a social work graduate program. The course involved lectures on: (a) principles of evaluative research, (b) classical experimental control group designs, (c) single-subject time-series designs, (d) measurement issues and methods, and (e) the relationship of clinical evaluation to program evaluation.

The effect of the course on the students' utilization and production of research was measured by conducting a pretest and posttest and comparing this with the results

from students enrolled in two treatment method courses. The results showed that in terms of net utilization of research, approximately 25 % of both groups of students at pretest reported having read 1 or more studies that were not required from their course work or work place during the past month. At posttest, the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant. Thirty percent of the nonresearch students and 40 % of the research students reported having read one or more studies.

The results for net production of research showed that very few students in both groups conducted research projects. At pretest, only 5 % of nonresearch students and 5 % of research students had engaged in producing research that was not required from their course work or work place during the past 3 months. At posttest, the net production of research for both groups was not statistically significant from the pretest. Only 5 % of the comparative group of students were conducting research projects in comparison with 9 % of research students.

Welch (1983) reports on the results of a similar effort to implement a direct practice course to 15 second-year graduate students. The course was designed to encourage the evaluation of their intervention strategies with clients through the use of single-subject research designs. The course focused on three skill areas: (a) assessment, (b) intervention techniques, and (c) evaluation of intervention.

In order to determine whether the former students were still using single-subject designs in their practice, 73 % of the graduates were located and interviewed between the 12th and 14th month after graduation. Welch reported that none of the former students were currently making use of these evaluative methods. The former students cited time constraints and the lack of reward in their employment settings as the reasons for their not utilizing the single-subject designs.

The practical explanations offered by the subjects in Welch's (1983) study for their

disinterest in using single-subject evaluative designs were also echoed by the participants in a study conducted by Mutschler (1984). Mutschler trained six experienced social workers in the use of single-subject designs that were most applicable to the clients served in their agency. Four months after the implementation phase, which lasted a year, the workers were questioned about their current use of the designs and the factors which promoted or retarded their use. While the perceived relevance and utility of a design was correlated with its use, Mutschler maintained that the absence of incentives and the lack of computer-assisted information systems within social work agencies would limit "the implementation of practice evaluation and the *persuasive* use of evaluation findings ..." (p. 337).

The studies conducted by Casselman (1972), Kirk & Fischer (1976), and Mutschler (1984) identify curriculum deficiencies as a major impediment to the incorporation of research into practice. However, the studies of Gingerich (1977) and Welch (1983) which attempted to remedy curriculum deficiencies indicate that, despite efforts to design graduate courses relevant to the needs of social work practitioners, the net utilization and production of research following completion of the courses was not significantly altered. This indicates that a lack of relevant research education for social work practitioners is not, in fact, the major cause of their underutilization and production of research.

The anti-science faction, composed of those who oppose empirical clinical practice, views the results of these studies on the low utilization and production of research by social work practitioners as evidence of a fundamental problem with scientifically based models for practice. This faction presents two major arguments to explain why the scientific model is inappropriate for social work and why it is thus resisted. On the other hand, the pro-science faction, composed of those who endorse empirical clinical practice, presents two arguments as to why scientifically based practice must be incorporated

into practice. Before proceeding to the arguments of both factions, a review of the elements which constitute a scientific or empirical clinical practice, will be provided.

## 2.1 Empirical Clinical Practice

### 2.1.1 Definition of Empirical Clinical Practice

The scientific method is typified by the stance that conclusions should be reached by a thorough analysis of objective and quantitatively measured data. The particular application of the scientific method to social work practice (empirical clinical practice), is defined by Jayaratne & Levy (1979) as having seven steps:

1. *Formulating the problem and identifying the goals of intervention.* The caseworker and client identify the presenting problem and specify the goals, or desired results, of the intervention.
2. *Designing the study.* An intervention strategy is chosen for dealing with the presenting problem. It is determined which variables or factors are to be monitored as measures of the effectiveness of the intervention.
3. *Putting the plan into operation.* The intervention strategy is implemented and all effort is made to ameliorate the presenting problem.
4. *Collecting the data.* Data is collected on the monitored variables throughout the implementation of the strategy.
5. *Analyzing the data.* The collected data is put into a form, such as graphs or tables, which facilitate the drawing of conclusions.
6. *Drawing conclusions.* The effectiveness of the intervention is evaluated based on the changes, if any, of the measured data. Depending on the results, the

intervention program may be continued, modified, or terminated.

7. *Presenting the results.* A record of the intervention is made. The record is to be a concise report of the case with data analysis used to draw conclusions. The report is to be used to demonstrate to the client the progress that has been made. It also provides research material for later reference by the clinician and by other interested clinicians/researchers.

Jayaratne & Levy (1979) maintain that the use of the empirical clinical method places six demands or requirements on the clinician. These demands or requirements include:

- That the clinician have a *clear and thorough knowledge of the treatment methods*. This is to ensure that the clinician chooses the best intervention for the problem under consideration.
- That the clinician have a *thorough knowledge of the client system and its environment*. This knowledge is required for the clinician to clearly identify target problems, specify the treatment goals and choose the indices for evaluation, and select the best intervention technique.
- That the clinician have an *empirical and objective orientation to the intervention process*. The clinician must be able to define target problems and goals in such a manner that they can be measured. As Jayaratne & Levy (1979) state "the essence of effectiveness is that others in the client's environment perceive a change in the client's actions and attitudes and that they be able to assess this in an objective manner" (p. 11).
- That the clinician be able to *implement research designs*. The clinician must be familiar with the relative strengths and weaknesses of various research designs

and their areas of application. This knowledge of research designs will often have been determined through the use of an empirical clinical practice.

- That the clinician be able to *make use of the empirical feedback obtained during an intervention*. The clinician must be able to determine if the factors being monitored are in fact useful in making decisions, if other data must be collected, and if the intervention is being effective.
- That the clinician be able to *use the research of others*. The clinician must be able to evaluate the research of others, and to incorporate useful knowledge into their own practice. This requires a knowledge of the literature and of research procedures.

### **2.1.2 Arguments Surrounding the Use of Scientifically Based Practice**

The factions which oppose and support the use of scientifically based practice in social work each present a set of arguments in support of their stand on the issue. The anti-science faction bases its arguments on the incompatibility and inappropriateness of the scientific method in social work. The pro-science faction centres its arguments on the demonstrable effectiveness of the scientific method, and empirical clinical practice in particular, and the benefits this has for the social work profession. Each set of arguments will be presented in the following sections.

## **2.2 Arguments Against the Use of the Scientific Method in Social Work**

### **2.2.1 Incompatibility of the Scientific Method with Social Work**

A major argument against the use of the scientific method and its specific social work form, the empirical clinical method, is that the scientific method will impose a



set of values on social work which are antithetical to current conceptions of good social work practice.

Saleeby (1979) argues that the scientific method "includes a frame of mind and the activities issuing from that are dispassionate, one-sided, skilled manipulation of human beings and the situation they are in" (p. 269). The scientific method is seen as imparting interpersonal power to the caseworker and repressing the synergistic learning between caseworker and client. Saleeby feels that the scientific method controls the client whereas social work "ought to proceed from a model of human development based on the expression of human powers, the liberation of human choice, the heightening of human cognition and awareness, and the widening of the range of possible action and interaction" (p. 279).

Maas (1986) argues that one part of value incompatibility is the restrictiveness of the scientific method as applied to social work. He states that "there is a danger of our narrowing our views to a unidimensional perspective on the complex human scene" (p. 38). He holds the view that in social work, "perspectives and methods of inquiry make all the difference . . . in what we see as problems, in how we interpret them, in what we aim to do about them, and how and why" (p. 37). For Maas, diversity of perspective enhances good social work.

In summary, both Saleeby and Maas are representative of the view that good social work practice is egalitarian, liberating, and open-minded in its approach to helping clients. These authors hold that the scientific method does not meet these standards and should therefore be eschewed.

### **2.2.2 The Inappropriateness of the Scientific Method for Social Work**

A second major argument given against utilizing the scientific method is that its assumptions and methodology may not be appropriate for studying the issues that

social work addresses. Part of the inappropriateness is seen as arising from the sheer complexity of the problems that social workers confront.

Brennan (1973) states that "social workers, in the process of every day practice, must consider a multitude of intrapersonal, social, and cultural dimensions which are frequently too elusive, unpredictable, and multifaceted to be captured by social science theory and methodology" (p. 7). He maintains that the knowledge needed for social work practice cannot be restricted to that which is collected solely through the methods of empirical science.

Maas (1986) points out that the complexity of social work is worsened by the dynamism of the problems under consideration. In his view, empirical evaluative designs which aim to predict, exclude, and delimit are futile to social work. "For in the field of professional action, other things are never equal, delimitation and exclusion of what the researcher may control may be changing far too fast for yesterday's social research predictions to have much meaning for tomorrow's practice" (p. 45).

The belief that the scientific method is inappropriate for social work also arises from the concern that its use entails a restrictive mindset harmful to good caseworker/client communication. Imre (1984) maintains that "an attempt to isolate variables, select a controllable technique, and count behavioural responses can militate against the ability to hear and perceive the meaning of the cry for help" (p. 44).

Skepticism about the appropriateness of the scientific method to social work also arises from the simple concern that the scientific method has not proved its worth. This is reflected in the argument of Vigilante (1974) that "proof in the logical positivist tradition is not possible for inter-personal phenomena" (p. 10). He maintains that the scientific method is appropriate when used to investigate the physical aspects of the universe such as distances, speeds, depths, mass, density, and temperature. However, he declares that the scientific method has not "proved to be efficient for understanding

those processes, actions, and behaviours associated with human relations" (p. 113).

The arguments of Brennan (1973), Maas (1986), Imre (1984), and Vigilante (1974) about the inappropriateness of applying the scientific method to social work centre on the reductionist quality of the scientific method. They hold that such reductionism oversimplifies the complexity of human nature and excludes information that, while not readily quantifiable, is still useful.

### **2.2.3 The Alternative to the Scientific Method**

Having argued that the scientific method is inappropriate to be the dominant means of developing knowledge in social work, the anti-science faction proposes that qualitative research methodologies are a more appropriate means for studying human problems. For this faction, qualitative research is seen as promoting a more egalitarian relationship between the researcher and the subject and as emphasizing the observation of the subject in her/his context. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research is felt to yield:

results in which persons and their social contexts are less likely to be fractionated or abstracted from each other. The theories they yield are likely to give meaning to the kinds of human conditions and events we need to understand in professional action. (Maas, 1986, p. 45)

Qualitative research is thus seen as having a set of values consonant with the desired values of social work and as having the scope to deal with the complexity of humanity.

### **2.3 Arguments for Empirical Clinical Practice**

The proponents of the scientific method and its specific social work form, empirical clinical practice, base their claim for the place of empirical clinical practice in social

work on two arguments: effectiveness and legitimacy. The argument for effectiveness is not that empirical clinical practice is at present necessarily more helpful to clients than the qualitative methods espoused by the anti-science faction. Rather, the argument is, first, that the effectiveness and the helpfulness of a method must be demonstrable to the client; the client must know that her/his encounter with the profession has been of use.

The second component of the effectiveness argument is that by using techniques in a manner such that their effectiveness can be demonstrated, the profession can improve those techniques. The imperative for this improvement of social work practice is basic to the argument about legitimacy. This faction argues that for social work to be legitimate, to be seen as a profession with a legitimate claim to society's resources, it must be demonstrably accountable and self-improving. This faction argues that effectiveness and legitimacy through accountability is best achieved by using scientifically based practice. In the following two sections the case that empirical clinical practice can fulfill these requirements will be made.

### **2.3.1 Effectiveness**

The faction which supports empirical clinical practice has been concerned with the claim that social work practice is or may appear to be ineffective. Indeed, studies have consistently demonstrated that the current methods of social work intervention have not been effective in helping clients. For example, Fischer (1973) located and reviewed eleven controlled studies which explored the issue of casework effectiveness. He found that nine of these eleven studies clearly showed that the treatment program did not bring about any significant change for the client when the experimental and control groups were compared. The two remaining studies were discarded because of a deficient design and faulty statistical analysis.

Wood (1978) also reviewed studies which explored the effectiveness of social work practice. She found that in fifteen of the twenty-two studies reviewed, the interventions used were not effective in preventing or ameliorating the problem. The seven studies which recorded positive results involved a unique approach to practice that was characterized by the following qualities: an accurate definition of the problem, an analysis of the factors which created or maintained the problem, an assessment of the workability of the problem and setting of goals, the negotiation of a contract, a strategy for intervention, and an evaluation of client progress. It is significant that the seven studies with demonstrable effectiveness contained the elements of empirical clinical practice.

The major argument in support of empirical clinical practice is that a more effective social work practice will result. The key to improved casework effectiveness in empirical clinical practice is evaluation. In assessing the client's problem, the caseworker and client choose those factors which have created or maintained the problem and choose an intervention aimed at reducing or ameliorating that problem. Monitoring these factors provides the caseworker and the client with an objective means for evaluating progress. If an intervention is not having the desired effect, changes to the intervention program may be made or another intervention may be substituted. This evaluation and monitoring meets the requirement that social work practice be seen as effective.

Evaluation also encourages knowledge development and the improvement of social work techniques and methods. Knowledge development occurs because the measurement of an intervention's effectiveness can be made by monitoring a client's progress. An analysis of several intervention strategies using the single-subject design, allows these techniques to be compared and the factors that enhance effectiveness isolated. Refined techniques, resulting from this knowledge development, make the caseworker even more effective. In this manner, empirical clinical practice allows social work to be continually self-improving.

### **2.3.2 Legitimacy**

The second argument used by those who favor empirical clinical practice is that this method provides evidence of the demonstrable effectiveness of the social work profession and in turn increases "the profession's legitimate place in society" (Bloom, 1978, p. 594). The legitimacy that effectiveness gives "underlies social work's claim to professional status and privileges and society's mandate for its service" (Rosen, 1978, p. 439). Maintaining this mandate is particularly important in an era of reduced budgets and increasing cost of services. Cost conscious leaders demand that the purpose for which dollars are sought be achieved with maximum effectiveness. Newman & Turem (1974) maintain that current budget restrictions have been imposed "because social work has not sustained the burden of proof of cost effectiveness . . ." (p. 9). The practical aspect of this argument is that if social work cannot prove its effectiveness, it will not receive its share of limited resources.

### **2.4 The Culture/Belief Interpretation of the Rift**

Several authors have provided unique interpretations to explain the existing rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers. These authors suggest that the rift between these two groups over the place of the scientific method in social work practice reflects a more fundamental conflict over differences in cultural or belief systems. Karger (1983) for example, suggests that the debate over the use of qualitative versus quantitative methodology and over the dominance and value of the scientific paradigm itself, serves as a subterfuge for the real underlying issue. The real issue he claims is "a struggle between the values [and] beliefs . . . of the researchers in contradistinction to the practitioners' perspective" (p. 202). This is consistent with Herstein's (1969) suggestion that the rift involves a difference in "rival belief systems

or theoretical systems" (p. 275) rather than a conflict over methodology.

Caro (1975) suggests that the difference in belief systems between these two groups can be attributed to differences in their occupational culture. Practitioners are a conservative group who maintain regular hours, prefer concrete and direct approaches, and are generally enthusiastic about their treatment approaches. Researchers, in contrast, are known to work irregular hours, prefer the abstract and complex, are trained to be skeptical and questioning, and are exposed to an ideology which values empirical science over practical knowledge and quantitative methods over qualitative approaches.

This occupational culture difference is also manifested in their approach to problem solving. Academicians/researchers adhere to structured approaches (i.e., the scientific method) when solving problems. Practitioners on the other hand are informal and innovative. They refine their practice techniques through the accumulation of valuable informal evidence from their encounters with clients and other practitioners. As such, practitioners find that adhering to one structure is too restrictive. Academicians/researchers, on the other hand, find such informal knowledge development by the practitioners as inadequate.

The interpretation of Caro (1975), Herstein (1969), and Karger (1983) is supported by La Sorte (1968). La Sorte analyzed a failed action-research project where a group of social workers had accepted the role of researcher in conjunction with their casework practice but were unable to maintain the dual role. He found that social workers were uncomfortable performing in an impersonal and objective manner in order to retrieve unbiased data. As a result, the social workers rejected the project and devoted their loyalties to their permanent jobs. La Sorte reasoned that the worker's rejection of the research project stemmed from their basic belief that "the very expectations, goals, and techniques of social work [were] ... incompatible with the interests of social research" (p. 224).

## 2.5 Summary

The rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers centres on a disagreement about the application of the scientific method to social work practice. While the majority of practitioners oppose its application, the majority of academicians/researchers advocate that the use of the scientific method be increased in social work practice.

The scientific method stresses that the use and development of knowledge be empirically derived. For the social work clinician, this entails the use of empirically supported practice methods and the empirical evaluation of these methods in practice. Empirical evaluation is the critical component of the scientific method.

The opponents of the scientific method in social work base their arguments on its incompatibility with good social work practice and its inappropriateness for dealing with the complexities of practice. They propose instead, that knowledge development in social work be derived through the use of qualitative methodologies.

The proponents of the scientific method argue that the use of empirical clinical practice results in improved casework effectiveness and that this in turn increases social work's legitimate place in society. For these reasons, this faction argues for the increased use of a scientific practice by social work practitioners.

Several authors interpret the rift as reflecting a more fundamental conflict over cultural or belief systems rather than simply reflecting a conflict over the place of the scientific method in social work practice. This perspective, that the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers arises because of distinctly different culture/belief systems which conflict with one another, provides the starting point of Davis' (1985) research. She provides an analysis for the differing culture/belief systems between the two groups in terms of gender. This analysis is to provide the key



to closing the rift and is based on the concept of "female and male voices" introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982). In the following chapter, a thorough examination of Davis' analysis of the rift will be presented.

### Chapter 3

#### The Domination of Practice by Women and Academia by Men

The concept of female and male voices is central to Davis' (1985) analysis of the existing rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers. Whereas traditional explanations of the rift between these two groups have focused on the existence of two distinct cultures or belief systems which conflict with one another, Davis' extends this explanation and argues that the rift reflects a conflict between two distinct "voices" which are themselves based in gender.

Davis' maintains that practitioners are a group composed primarily of women who maintain a female world view or voice that is characterized by qualitative, contextual, narrative, subjective, connectedness and empathic qualities. In contrast, academicians/researchers are a group composed primarily of men who possess a male world view or voice that is characterized by quantitative, abstract, formal, objective, rational, logical, and distant qualities. Practitioners have difficulty accepting scientific practice, which the academicians/researchers espouse, because it imposes on them the qualities of the male voice which conflict with their inherent female voiced qualities. For Davis, the rift represents a conflict between women's distinct world view or voice and the distinct world view or voice of men.

Davis supports her claim that practitioners speak in a female voice by first demonstrating that those who have created and sanctioned the meanings in the practice world are women. This is accomplished by drawing on studies which point to the numerical domination of women in social work practice. Second, Davis argues that the meanings

created by these women reflect a female world view or voice. Support for this position is drawn from the finding of Gilligan's research (1982) that women speak in a female voice.

Davis supports her claim that academicians/researchers speak in a male voice by first demonstrating that those who have created and sanctioned the meanings in academic social work are men. This assertion is demonstrated by reference to studies which document the domination of men in academia. In particular, Davis illustrates that men are overrepresented in faculty positions, monopolize positions with power, gain tenure disproportionately more often than women, possess higher education, are overrepresented as the authors of articles contained within social work journals, and are overrepresented as journal editors and as journal editorial board members. The second condition necessary to support the claim that academicians/researchers speak in a male voice is to demonstrate that the meanings created by these men reflect a male world view or voice. This position is supported by drawing on the empirically supported finding from Gilligan's (1982) research that men speak in a male voice.

The domination of social work practice by women and the domination of social work academia by men is a central factor in Davis' analysis of the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers. For this reason, this chapter has been divided into two sections. The first section consists of an examination of the evidence which supports Davis' claim that women dominate social work practice. The second section involves a review of studies which support Davis' claim that men dominate academic social work.

### **3.1 The Domination Of Social Work Practice By Women**

Davis maintains that women are the dominant force in social work practice. She supports this assertion by referring to studies which document the numerical domination of women in direct practice positions. While a number of Canadian and United States studies confirm this finding, they also point to women's underrepresentation in the administrative positions in the social work field. Davis does not, however, acknowledge this division of the social work field into provinces of female and male domination nor does she explore the consequences of this division. The power and influence that men gain from occupying the positions which are accorded a higher status and significantly higher incomes than those positions dominated by women is not accounted for. Davis concentrates on women's numerical domination of practice as the source for their power.

In the following Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, data from a number of sources, including a variety of Canadian and United States studies, will be presented to demonstrate the representation of women in both the direct practice and administrative positions. As well, studies which explore the reasons for women's underrepresentation in the higher echelons of social work practice will be presented in Section 3.1.3.

#### **3.1.1 Numerical Domination of Women in Direct Practice Positions**

Canadian statistics support Davis' assertion that women disproportionately occupy direct practice positions. An Employment and Salary Survey conducted by the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) in 1970 and reported by Gelber (1973), revealed that women were heavily represented in direct service positions. Seventy-one percent or nearly three-quarters of the social workers employed as caseworkers, group workers, and community organizers were women.

Table 3.1: Data on Sex Composition and Rank in Newfoundland and Labrador

Position	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
Regional Director	0	0	5	100
Assistant Regional Director	0	0	9	100
District Manager	20	39	31	61
Supervisor	7	47	8	53
Social Worker	161	75	53	25
Headquarters staff	25	45	30	55
Administrative positions	52	39	83	61

In the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1989, the employment status of female and male social workers was similar to that which was reported by Gelber (1973). A review of the Department of Social Services Office and Personnel Directory (January, 1989), indicates that women were overrepresented in the position of social worker in both the regional and district offices. Seventy-five percent or three-quarters of social workers in these offices were women. Table 3.1 illustrates the combined number and percentage of women and men occupying social work positions in the regional and district offices. If Newfoundland and Labrador social workers are a representative sample, then it appears that the overrepresentation of women in casework or social work positions has not changed in nearly 20 years in Canada.

The reported employment status of women and men in social work practice in the United States is similar to that which exists in Canada. Women are consistently found to predominate in the position of caseworker. Fanshel (1976) illustrates this finding with data from a National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Membership Survey taken between November, 1971 and June, 1972 and from data gathered on new members entering the NASW between 1973 and 1975. The 1971-72 survey revealed that women were twice as likely as were men to be employed in casework positions.

Thirty-seven percent of the 12,760 female respondents occupied casework positions in contrast to only 19 % of the 8,995 male respondents. This indicates that approximately 73 % of the direct practice workers were women. However, because only 38 % of the members who were surveyed responded, the sample is not necessarily representative of the social work profession. Although some caution is warranted, the finding that nearly three-quarters of caseworkers were women, corresponds with the Canadian proportions reported by Gelber (1973).

The data gathered on new members to the NASW during the period of 1973-75 revealed that new female social workers were 30 % more likely than new male social workers to choose casework positions. Forty-three percent of the 9,958 women occupied casework positions in comparison with 33 % of the 4,565 men. Therefore, 74 % of direct practice workers were women; a finding quite similar to the 1971-72 survey. Unlike the survey however, since the data was gathered from 91 % of the new members in the NASW, the figures here should be significant. And again, this percentage of female direct practice workers is consistent with Gelber (1973).

### **3.1.2 Administrative Positions**

Unlike direct practice positions, women are underrepresented in administrative positions. In Canada, Gelber (1973) reports that a 1970 CASW Employment and Salary Survey found that only 35 % of administrative, management, and policy-making positions were occupied by women.

The extent of women's underrepresentation in administrative positions in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador is revealed upon review of the 1989 Department of Social Services Office and Personnel Directory. The Directory indicates that women were poorly represented in the top management positions in the regional and district offices. One hundred percent of the regional director positions were occupied by men, as

well as 100 % of the assistant regional director positions and 61 % of district manager positions. It is only in middle management that the disparity between the sexes was reduced. Men occupied 53 % of supervisory positions whereas women occupied 47 % of the positions at this level. Table 3.1 illustrates the combined number and percentage of women and men employed in top and middle management positions in the regional and district offices.

A further examination of the listing for the headquarters staff discloses that 45 % were women while the majority, 55 %, were men. These numbers do not include obvious non-social work positions such as minister, executive assistant to the minister, clerk, accountant, and computer programmer. The number and percentage of women and men who occupied positions in headquarters are also given in Table 3.1.

If the total number of administrative and management positions is taken to include all those positions listed in Table 3.1 except for social worker, only 39 % were held by women. This is consistent with the finding of Gelber (1973) where 35 % of such positions were held by women.

The underrepresentation of women in administrative positions is also found in United States studies. Fanshel (1976) reports that a 1971-72 NASW survey of 21,755 social workers revealed that men were represented in administration twice as often as were women. Thirty-seven percent of the 8,995 male respondents were employed in administration in comparison to only 18 % of the 12,760 female respondents. Therefore, less than 41 % of administrators were women despite their numerical dominance in the survey.

The data contained on new members entering the NASW from 1973 to 1975 revealed that a fewer number of social workers were employed in administration compared with the statistics contained within the 1971-72 NASW membership survey. However, this finding is to be expected given that the latter sample involved younger individuals who

had recently graduated from schools of social work. In terms of administrative positions, the new male members were twice as likely to occupy positions at this level than were new female members. Eleven percent of the 4,565 men and 5 % of the 9,958 women occupied administrative positions. Therefore, approximately half of these new members who occupied administrative positions were women even though there were over twice as many new women members as there were men. This underrepresentation of women in administrative positions is consistent with Gelber's (1973) study in Canada. However, a direct comparison of the statistics noted in both studies cannot be made because of differences in the population sample.

### 3.1.3 Explanations for Women's Underrepresentation in Administration

The studies reviewed document the numerical domination of women in direct practice positions; they also point to women's underrepresentation in the top management positions. Without exception, these studies reveal that the top positions are predominantly occupied by men despite their underrepresentation in the social work profession (Kadushin, 1976). These consistent findings have prompted researchers to investigate whether sexism and, in particular, sex-role stereotyping and discrimination can account for the disparity between the sexes in administration. Kravetz (1976), Knapman (1977), and Sutton (1982) investigated this dimension.

Kravetz (1976) suggests that the division of the social work field into provinces of female and male domination is based on sex-role stereotyping. She states that social workers make career choices based on their own and society's concepts of what is appropriate for their sex. The result is that a disproportionate number of women become involved in the practice of casework which reflects stereotypical feminine characteristics and, conversely, a disproportionate number of men become involved in administration which reflects stereotypical masculine characteristics. The large increase in the number



of men entering the profession since the 1950's has exacerbated this division and as a result, men now occupy a large majority of the positions in administration.

A discussion by Brager & Michael (1969) illustrates the extent to which social work specialities are associated with stereotypical views about female and male roles and how this stereotyping has encouraged differential self-selection and recruitment of women and men. For example, they argue that casework is person-oriented, focused inward, deals with feelings, and often does not require the initiation of aggressive action on behalf of clients. Since "in our society helpfulness, gentleness, and passivity are more valued as female than as male characteristics ... women are more likely to select and be recruited for helping occupations that stress educative and psychological services" (p. 597). In contrast, they argue that males are more likely to select and be recruited for community organization which is system-oriented, focuses outward, and emphasizes administrative tasks. Brager & Michael claim that this specialization "On a scale of passivity-activity, or submissiveness-aggression, ... requires more activism and aggression than do the other social work methods" (p. 597).

Knapman (1977) investigated family service agencies to determine whether discriminatory personnel practices existed. Based on her survey of 20 agencies within the state of Michigan, which represented 132 respondents (77 women and 55 men), sex differences were found in both the current position levels of the respondents and the position level in which they were hired immediately following receipt of their master's degree in social work.

In this study, the positions of the respondents were categorized into four levels. Level one included the position of direct service worker whose primary responsibility it was to provide service to clients and whose secondary responsibility often involved the supervision of undergraduate or graduate students. Level two positions involved direct service to clients or the supervision of undergraduate and graduate students and

Table 3.2: Data on Initial and Current Position Levels of MSW Social Workers in Agencies in the State of Michigan

Sex	Initial Position Level							
	1		2		3		4	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	75	99	1	1	0	0	0	0
Male	45	87	5	10	2	4	0	0

  

Sex	Current Position Level							
	1		2		3		4	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	52	68	13	17	10	13	1	1
Male	27	52	5	10	6	12	14	27

*Note.* From "Sex Discrimination in Family Agencies" by S. Kuehnle Knapman, 1977, *Social Work*, 22(6), p. 462.

the supervision of some staff members. Level three positions included branch directors, administrative assistants, and program directors. Level four included the position of executive director.

The data revealed that in both their initial position and current position level, a significantly greater number of women were found to occupy level one positions. Ninety-nine percent of the total female respondents were initially hired at a level one position following receipt of their degree in comparison with 87 % of the total male respondents. Only 1 % of the total female respondents in comparison with 13 % of the total male respondents were hired at a more advanced level. Table 3.2 illustrates the initial position levels of the female and male respondents.

For current positions, Knapman found that 68 % of women occupied a level one position in comparison to 52 % of men. However, only 1 % of the women occupied a level four position in comparison with 27 % of men. While movement into the top management positions was virtually nonexistent for women, they maintained strong

representation in level two (17 % versus 10 %) and in level three (13 % versus 12 %). As well, 67 % of level one and level two positions, which predominately involved casework duties, and 35 % of administrative positions (levels three and four), were occupied by women. These figures are consistent with Gelber (1973) and Fanshel (1976). Table 3.2 illustrates the current position levels of the female and male respondents.

Knapman did not provide data on the age and years of experience of the respondents which could skew the data and account for the overrepresentation of men in higher levels. However, she did present data which showed that it was much harder for women to progress to higher levels than it was for men. To be promoted from levels one to two, it took women three times as long as men. From levels two to three, it took women twice as long and from levels three to four, it took women 20 % longer. This finding, in addition to the finding that women were hired for lower ranking positions following the receipt of their master's degree significantly more often than were men, could account for the overrepresentation of women in the lower ranks. These findings also, according to Knapman, provide evidence for the existence of discriminatory practices against female social workers in family agencies.

Sutton (1982) also explored the extent to which female social workers were discriminated against in social work agencies. Based on a survey of members of the Pennsylvania chapter of the NASW in May, 1979, who had obtained their master's degree in social work, women were found to be underrepresented in top management. Sutton defined top management as including administrative positions in an agency or organization. Twenty-five percent of the social workers who were employed on a full-time basis for more than 10 years were in these top management positions. However, only 28 % of these positions were occupied by women in comparison with 72 % of the men. For those social workers who had been employed full-time for 2-4 years, 11 % occupied top management positions. But again, women were underrepresented in these

positions: thirty-five percent of top management positions were occupied by women in comparison with 65 % by men. These findings are consistent with Gelber (1973), Fanshel (1976), and Knapman (1977) even though Sutton's sample consisted only of those social workers with a master's degree. The acquisition of an advanced degree by women apparently did not affect their relative standing in the hierarchy of social work agencies.

Sutton did not report on the percentages of women and men who occupied direct services positions. However, it can be concluded from this study that if women were represented in top management positions significantly less often than were men, and accounted for 77 % of the respondents, then women must dominate lower level positions such as casework. This segregation of female and male social workers into low and high level positions may be reflective of the finding that 38 % of females versus 22 % of males, representing a 3:1 female majority, planned to be in direct service positions in the next 5 years while only 36 % of females as compared with 56 % of males selected administration as their career goal to be accomplished within the next 5 years. However, Sutton points out that women's lower career goal may arise because of discriminatory personnel practices. She found that women did not receive the same motivation from their employers as did men to improve their education or skill level, that they worked in an environment where the top positions were predominately occupied by men therefore signalling to women that only lower positions were attainable and finally, that problems in their work environments such as low pay, lack of promotional opportunities, and discrimination hindered them in the pursuit of their career goals.

### **3.1.4 Summary**

The Canadian and United States studies cited above consistently indicate that approximately two-thirds to three-quarters of social work practitioners are women. They

also indicate that only slightly more than one-third of social work administrators are women. The positions women do hold in administration tend to be middle management positions such as supervisor and district manager rather than the high ranking position of executive director. This division of social work into female and male provinces reflects in part, the finding that women are more likely than men to choose a career in casework and less likely to choose a career in administration. The division also reflects discriminatory practices in social work agencies. Women are less likely to be hired at advanced levels, are promoted more slowly than men, do not receive the same encouragement or motivation as do men to improve their education and skill level for movement into high ranking positions, and receive subtle messages that these positions are not attainable by virtue of men's domination of the top administrative positions.

The empirical evidence indicates that women numerically dominate social work practice. Davis claims that this finding provides support for the first criterion of her argument that practitioners maintain a female world view or voice. Women's numerical domination of practice enables their views or voice to predominate rather than the views or voice of men. The second criterion of her argument is to provide evidence for the position that the views or voice of these women can be characterized by unique female qualities, the female voice. This evidence is drawn from the research of Carol Gilligan (1982) and will be presented in Chapter 4.

While Davis bases her position that practitioners speak in a female voice on studies which point to women's numerical domination of direct practice positions, she fails to acknowledge women's underrepresentation in the powerful administrative positions. The influence of men in these positions of power on the views of female social workers appears to be discounted. Discounting this male influence implies that a majority can resist the world view or voice of a powerful minority. This is a troubling point as it seems to imply a stronger link between one's sex and one's voice than Gilligan (1982) was

willing to support. Given the male minority influence, the question raised is whether the practice world can be characterized solely as female-voiced, as Davis maintains, when men are overrepresented in the powerful administration positions. This issue will be thoroughly discussed in a critique of Davis' (1985) research in Chapter 6.

### **3.2 The Domination of Academic Social Work by Men**

Historically, women occupied the majority of academic positions in social work. Over the past three decades, however, the percentage of men in academic social work has increased dramatically. Gripton (1974) relates this increase in male faculty to the active efforts of the profession to recruit male members since the 1950's. It was believed that without men, the social work profession could at best only achieve a marginal professional status. The recruitment of men was viewed as the mechanism to improve its prestige. This increase in the percentage of male faculty, however, has resulted in the domination of social work academia by men.

The domination of academic social work by men manifests itself in several areas: men are disproportionately represented in social work education in terms of numbers; are overrepresented in influential administrative positions and in high ranking teaching positions such as full and associate professor; have attained tenure, hold doctoral degrees, and have published articles in disproportionate numbers and, finally, are overrepresented in journal editor positions and on journal editorial boards. Davis draws on several studies which empirically document the domination of men in these areas of academia in order to support her position that men are the more potent force in this domain. Canadian and United States studies which provide evidence of the domination of social work academia by men will be examined in the following sections.

### 3.2.1 The Numerical Domination of Men In Academia

Gripton (1974) reviewed several studies which documented the progression of male dominance in Canadian schools of social work from 1951 to 1973. He found that in 1951, 35 % of full-time faculty were men. By 1970, 51 % of full-time faculty were men and by 1973, the proportion had increased to 66 %. Thus, the proportion of male faculty had almost doubled between 1951 and 1973.

Gripton's (1974) finding that men occupy the majority of social work faculty positions in Canada is confirmed in a report by the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work (CASSW) Task Force on the Status of Women in Social Work Education (1977). Based on a survey of all deans and directors in Canadian schools of social work, the report revealed that 60 % of faculty positions were occupied by men while 40 % of the positions were occupied by women.

Studies from the United States reveal a situation similar to that which exists in Canada in terms of faculty composition. Ripple (1974) analyzed the data collected by the Council on Social Work Education on 84 graduate programs, of which 43 also administered undergraduate programs, and on 150 undergraduate programs in the United States during the 1973-74 academic year. She reported that the proportion of all faculty who were men in graduate and undergraduate programs was 59.6 % and 56.6 % respectively. For women, it was 40.4 % and 43.4 %.

The data for the 1977-78 academic year indicated that the percentage of male faculty had decreased in both program levels since the time of Ripple's (1974) report. Rubin & Whitcomb (1978) report that based on the data supplied by 84 graduate programs, of which 50 also administered undergraduate programs, and by 178 undergraduate programs in the United States to the Council on Social Work Education, men composed 52.2 % of graduate and 49.5 % of undergraduate faculty whereas women

made up 47.8 % and 50.5 % respectively.

This increase in female faculty, as noted by Rubin & Whitcomb (1978), was not sustained in the 1984-85 survey of 85 graduate schools of social work in the United States by the Council on Social Work Education. Norman's (1986) analysis of the data revealed that men, once again, were overrepresented in graduate faculty by approximately the same percentage as that which was revealed in the Canadian findings of Gripton (1974) and the CASSW Task Force (1977), and in the American finding of Ripple (1974). Fifty-seven percent of graduate faculty positions were occupied by men; 43 % of the positions were occupied by women.

International statistics reveal that the numerical domination of men in academia is not confined solely to Canada and to the United States. DiNitto, Martin & Harrison (1984) surveyed 37 schools of social work, which represented 1,198 individuals in 19 nations, and found that there was a preponderance of male faculty members in comparison with female faculty members (refer to Table 3.3). Fifty-six percent of the academicians were male whereas 44 % of the academicians were female. However, faculty composition varied according to nations. Table 3.3 illustrates the number and percentage of female and male faculty members for each nation that was represented in the study. It is important to note that despite the preponderance of female faculty in several nations, this did not indicate that the power resided with them. Subsequent analysis showed that a larger number of males were tenured even in nations where faculty membership was predominantly female. For example, the chances of gaining tenure were greater for men in Brazil (refer to Table 3.4) and this nation was ranked second for having a faculty membership primarily composed of females (85 %).

These studies reveal that in Canada, in the United States, and on average internationally, men are overrepresented in faculty positions. Approximately 60 % of all faculty positions are occupied by men; 40 % of the positions are occupied by women.



Table 3.3: Data on Sex Composition and Rank of Faculty by Nation

Country	Schools	Female		Male		Highest Rank		Lowest Rank	
		N	%	N	%	F	M	F	M
Australia	(2)	14	(45)	17	(55)	1	1	5	3
Bangladesh	(1)	5	(31)	11	(69)	0	1	1	2
Brazil	(2)	77	(85)	14	(16)	9	6	43	3
Canada	(2)	8	(34)	15	(66)	0	2	2	1
Denmark	(1)	9	(47)	10	(53)	1	1	5	9
Egypt	(1)	48	(37)	70	(63)	0	2	19	21
France	(1)	10	(83)	2	(17)	1	0	2	2
India	(3)	34	(63)	20	(37)	2	11	10	5
Israel	(2)	23	(48)	25	(52)	1	2	11	8
Japan	(3)	3	(12)	23	(88)	1	8	2	2
Netherlands	(1)	33	(32)	107	(76)	0	1	1	9
Philippines	(1)	4	(100)	0	(0)	1	0	2	0
South Africa	(3)	14	(61)	9	(39)	1	2	10	0
Switzerland	(2)	13	(25)	39	(75)	0	6	5	13
Thailand	(1)	24	(77)	7	(23)	3	0	17	6
Turkey	(1)	8	(73)	3	(27)	2	0	0	1
United Kingdom	(2)	16	(41)	23	(59)	2	0	6	7
United States	(7)	60	(38)	99	(62)	16	32	14	17
West Germany	(1)	115	(40)	169	(60)	0	1	83	114
TOTALS	(37)	525	(44)	673	(56)	41	77	244	223

Note. From "Sexual Inequality Among Social Work Faculty: An International Comparison" by D. DiNitto, P.Y. Martin, and D. Harrison, 1977, *International Social Work*, 27(2), p. 29.

Table 3.4: Data on Permanent Status (Tenure) of Faculty by Sex and Nation

(Tenure Total)	Nation- State	Female			Male		
		N	%	%Total	N	%	%Total
(12)	Australia	5	35.7	41.7	7	41.2	58.3
(16)	Bangladesh	5	100.0	31.2	11	100.0	68.8
(12)	Brazil	7	9.0	58.3	5	35.7	41.7
(10)	Canada	2	25.0	20.0	8	53.3	80.0
(19)	Denmark	9	100.0	47.4	10	100.0	52.6
(115)	Egypt	46	95.8	40.0	69	87.3	60.0
(8)	France	6	60.0	75.0	2	100.0	25.0
(37)	India	23	67.6	62.2	14	70.0	37.8
(16)	Israel	12	52.2	75.0	4	16.0	25.0
(26)	Japan	3	100.0	11.5	23	100.0	88.5
(40)	Netherlands	33	100.0	23.6	107	100.0	76.4
(2)	Philippines	2	100.0	100.0	0	0.0	0.0
(18)	South Africa	9	64.3	50.0	9	100.0	50.0
(36)	Switzerland	9	69.2	25.0	27	69.2	75.0
(31)	Thailand	24	100.0	77.4	7	100.0	22.6
(11)	Turkey	8	100.0	72.7	3	100.0	27.2
(39)	United Kingdom	16	100.0	40.0	23	100.0	60.0
(94)	United States	27	45.0	28.7	67	67.7	71.3
(88)	West Germany	33	28.9	37.5	55	32.5	62.5

Note. From "Sexual Inequality Among Social Work Faculty: An International Comparison" by D. DiNitto, P.Y. Martin, and D. Harrison, 1977, *International Social Work*, 27(2), p. 32.

### **3.2.2 The Domination Of Men In Positions Of Power in Academia**

Men's domination of social work education is not confined solely to their numerical domination. It is also reflected in the higher proportion of male faculty, in comparison with female faculty, who hold top administrative positions, who hold high ranking teaching positions, and who have attained tenure.

#### **(i) Administrative Positions**

The relative status of women and men in administrative positions in Canada is revealed by Gripton (1974). In a review of several studies which documented the extent to which men dominate academia, and in particular administration, Gripton reports that in 1973, all deans and directors of Canadian schools of social work were men. This corresponds to 9 % of male faculty who occupied this top administrative position as compared with 0 % of female faculty.

In the United States, studies also reveal that men are overrepresented in the top, high-status administrative positions although the relative percentages are not as drastic as in the Canadian finding of Gripton (1974).

Rubin & Whitcomb (1978) report that during the 1977-78 academic year, a greater percentage of men than women in American social work graduate programs were deans/directors (3.3 % versus 1.2 %) and associate/assistant directors (2.6 % versus 1.9 %). It was only in the lower-status administrative positions that women were over-represented. A higher percentage of female than male faculty were directors/assistant directors of field instruction (2.4 % versus 1.4 %) and directors of admissions (1.9 % versus 0.9 %). In terms of social work undergraduate programs, 16.1 % of male faculty occupied administrative positions in contrast to 12.8 % of female faculty. A further breakdown of these positions was not provided.

A smaller study by Gould (1979) of 302 minority and 517 nonminority faculty member respondents from 84 graduate schools of social work in Canada and the United States during the 1972-73 academic year examined ethnic and sex-based inequalities. An analysis of the responses again revealed that men were overrepresented in administrative positions. Forty-four percent of male respondents occupied administrative positions in contrast to 27 % of female respondents. Ethnicity also had its effects. Among the males, 68.8 % of minority and 32 % of nonminority men were involved in administration, while among the females, only 28 % of nonminority and 25.7 % of minority women held administrative positions. Although Gould did not provide a breakdown of the administrative positions, unlike Rubin & Whitcomb (1978), it is clear that sex was a greater factor than ethnicity in the attainment of administrative positions. Even minority men were represented in administration significantly more often than were nonminority women.

Norman's (1986) analysis of the data from the Council on Social Work Education's 1984-85 survey of 85 graduate schools of social work in the United States supports the previous findings of Rubin & Whitcomb (1978) and Gould (1979). Men were overrepresented in the higher-status administrative positions while women dominated the lower-status positions. While men occupied only 56 % of the administrative positions, which is approximately the percentage of men holding faculty positions as cited by Rubin & Whitcomb (1978), these positions tended to be the better-paying and higher-ranking ones such as deanships (71 %) and associate deanships (60 %). Women dominated the lower-paying and lower-status administrative positions such as field directors (59 %) and assistant field directors (68 %). These statistics indicate that even though the number of administrative positions held by men were proportionate to the number of men in faculty, the positions acquired were of a significantly higher status than those held by women.

These studies show that in Canada and in the United States, the top administrative positions are more likely to be occupied by men even when the higher percentage of men in academia is accounted for. The United States data indicates that when women do attain positions in administration, the positions are lower in status, pay, and responsibility.

## **(ii) Rank and Tenure**

Male faculty are more likely to occupy high ranking teaching positions and to have attained tenure than are female faculty. Gripton (1974), for example, reports that in 1973 male faculty in Canadian schools of social work were overrepresented in the higher ranks while their female counterparts were overrepresented in the lower ranks. Male faculty were more likely than female faculty to be full professors (10 % versus 8 %) and associate professors (31 % versus 23 %) while female faculty were more likely to be assistant professors (41 % versus 40 %) and lecturers (28 % versus 9 %). These figures exclude the 9 % of male faculty who were deans/directors and who would most likely hold the title of full or associate professor. The percentages of male faculty who were full and associate professors are thus understated in the statistics given above. Based on the data provided by Gripton, 91 % of male faculty held a position above the rank of lecturer as compared with 72 % of female faculty.

A more recent study by the CASSW Task Force on the Status of Women in Social Work Education (1977) confirms the finding of Gripton (1974), that male faculty were disproportionately represented in the ranks of full and associate professor while female faculty were disproportionately represented in the ranks of assistant professor and lecturer/field-instructor/other-ranks. Based on a survey of all deans and directors of Canadian schools of social work regarding the rank and sex of their faculty members, male faculty were more likely to be full professors (14.2 % versus 3.7 %) and associate

professors (28.7 % versus 18.1 %) whereas female faculty were more likely to be assistant professors (32.4 % versus 31.3 %) and lecturers/field-instructors/other-ranks (35.7 % versus 25.8 %). Thus, 74.2 % of male faculty were in the combined professorial ranks in contrast to 64.3 % of female faculty. This is similar to Gripton's (1974) finding although the percentage of male faculty in professorial ranks is less dramatic.

Studies on the relative status of American female and male social work academicians reveal a similar situation to that which exists in Canada. Men predominate in the higher ranks of full and associate professor while women predominate in the lower ranks of assistant professor and lecturer/instructor.

Rubin & Whitcomb (1978) report that during the 1977-78 academic year, male graduate faculty were more likely than female graduate faculty to be full professors (24.4 % versus 10.9 %) and associate professors (27.8 % versus 20.4 %) whereas female faculty were more likely to be assistant professors (32.5 % versus 25.5 %) and lecturer/instructor (30.3 % versus 19.3 %). A similar pattern was revealed for the undergraduate social work programs. Male faculty were overrepresented as full professors (10.9 % versus 3.5 %) and associate professors (22.1 % versus 15.6 %) whereas female faculty were overrepresented as assistant professors (45.3 % versus 39.6 %) and lecturers/instructors (32.6 % versus 23.2 %).

A study by Gould (1979) found that during the 1972-73 academic year sex and ethnic differences existed in the distribution of faculty ranks in both Canada and the United States. Approximately 20 % of male graduate faculty respondents occupied the rank of professor in contrast to only 9.3 % of female graduate faculty respondents. Ethnicity also had its effects at this rank. Nearly 23 % of non-minority and 14.6 % of minority men were professors whereas 12.1 % of nonminority and 4.9 % of minority women had attained that rank. Therefore, sex had a greater influence on this rank than ethnicity.

This pattern was reversed at the rank of assistant professor. Forty percent of female faculty respondents were assistant professors in contrast to 27 % of male faculty respondents. In terms of ethnicity, 46.5 % of minority and 33 % of nonminority women in contrast to 34.8 % of minority and 22.8 % of nonminority men were found at the level. The influence of sex over ethnicity at the rank of assistant professor was not as great as was seen in the rank of professor.

Women were also overrepresented as field instructors. Forty-eight percent of women taught at the instructor level in contrast to 34 % of men. In terms of ethnicity, 50 % of the minority and 44 % of the nonminority women claimed this responsibility, whereas only 41.4 % of minority and 30 % of the nonminority men were involved with field instruction. Sex was the more important indicator of this rank than was ethnicity.

In analyzing the data provided by Gould, it is apparent that minority social workers, when compared with nonminority social workers, were at a significant disadvantage. However, a more significant finding was the overrepresentation of nonminority women in low status positions even when compared with minority males. This indicates that sex, rather than ethnicity, was the more important variable in determining one's rank in the academic hierarchy.

DiNitto, Martin & Harrison (1984) report on the relative position of female and male faculty in terms of rank and tenure following their international survey of 37 schools of social work. In terms of rank, the data showed that 65 % of men had reached the highest ranks at their institutions whereas this accomplishment was claimed only by 35 % of women. In terms of the lowest ranks, 46 % of the females were reported to be at this level compared with 33 % of the males. However, the distribution of women and men according to rank varied by nation. Table 3.3 shows the number of women and men who occupied the highest and lowest ranks in each nation that participated in the study. (A breakdown of rank was not provided because the number and gradations of

rank varied according to nation). It should be noted that although men were found to predominate at the lowest rank in such nations as Switzerland and the Netherlands, men predominated in all ranks in these nations. The domination of men in both the highest and lowest ranks in these nations may reflect the predilection for educators in institutions for higher learning to be male.

A comparative analysis of those who were granted tenure revealed that 67 % of males in comparison with 44 % of females were tenured. Again, distribution varied by nation. Table 3.4 shows the number of women and men with tenure, the percentage of women and men with tenure, and the percentage of tenured women and men out of the total faculty. While several nations recorded that a disproportionate number of females were granted tenure than were males, these findings should be interpreted cautiously as exemplified by the situation in Brazil. Brazil is a nation where a high percentage of women faculty are granted tenure. But as reported earlier, Brazil has a high percentage of female faculty in the first place (85 %). Women therefore dominate in all levels of the academic hierarchy. But on the issue of tenure, the percentage of women who gain this permanent status is only a few points higher than men despite the fact that there are 5.5 times more women than men as faculty members. The numerical superiority of women which does arise in the categories of composition, rank, and tenure for some nations, does not necessarily reflect female equality or success.

### **3.2.3 The Domination of Male Faculty with Doctoral Degrees**

Male faculty also display a marked advantage over female faculty in terms of educational attainment. Male faculty are more likely to have earned a doctorate than are female faculty in both Canada and the United States.

In Canada, Gripton (1974) reports that in 1973, male faculty outnumbered female faculty in the possession of a doctorate by a ratio of 3:1. Thirty-two percent of the



male faculty held doctorate degrees in comparison with 12 % of their female colleagues.

Gould (1979) also found significant differences in the educational attainment of minority and nonminority social work faculty during the 1972-73 academic year. The survey revealed that men were more than twice as likely as women to have acquired a doctoral degree (43.3 % to 19.6 %). This disparity reflects the earlier finding of Gripton (1974). In terms of ethnicity, 53 % of nonminority and 25 % of minority men held a doctorate as compared with 25.3 % of nonminority and 10.6 % of minority women. These rates of degree attainment indicate that sex is as great a factor as ethnicity in the attainment of a social work doctorate.

Studies on the degree attainment of social work faculty in the United States reveal a similar situation, although not as severe, to that which exists in Canada. Rubin & Whitcomb (1978), for example, report that during the 1977-78 academic year, American male faculty were twice as likely as their female counterparts to possess a doctoral degree in both the graduate and undergraduate program levels. The proportion of male faculty who possessed a doctorate in graduate programs was 51.1 % and in undergraduate programs, 29.2 %. The proportion for female faculty was 26.9 % and 16.2 % respectively.

The finding that male faculty possess a doctorate degree significantly more often than do female faculty reflects the disproportionate number of doctorates granted in the area of social work to men. Baldi (1971) surveyed the number of social work doctorates granted in the United States from 1920-1968 and found that men were almost twice as likely to have graduated with a doctorate than were women. Sixty-one percent of a total of 618 doctorates had been awarded to men while 39 % had been awarded to women. Baldi also noted that while women accounted for 85 % of the doctorates in the early days of the doctoral program, the succeeding decades saw a reversal of this trend so that between 1960-68, 65.5 % of social work doctorates were earned by men.

More recent data on the percentages of women and men graduating from United States schools of social work with a doctoral degree indicates that the trend towards male domination may be abating. Ripple (1974) noted that during the 1973-74 academic year, 64.2 % of the social work doctorates earned in the United States went to men and 35.8 % to women. By 1978, Rubin & Whitcomb (1978) report that the disparity between the sexes was reduced to insignificance as 52.2 % of doctorates were awarded to men and 47.8 % to women. Whether this marks the beginning of a trend in the United States is difficult to ascertain since Canadian statistics reveal that men still outnumber women in the possession of a doctorate by a ratio of 3:1 (Gripton, 1982).

### 3.2.4 The Domination of Men in Social Work Journals

The studies reviewed document the extent to which men dominate academic social work. Their numerical domination in academia and their monopolization of the powerful positions creates a favorable condition for the dissemination of their views. Davis (1985) points to two further areas which contribute to the likelihood that the views of men will prevail over the views of women in academic social work. These two areas involve the disproportionate number of articles written by men in social work journals and the overrepresentation of men as journal editors and as journal editorial board members.

#### (i) Articles Published

Kirk and Rosenblatt (1980) traced authorship trends from 1934 to 1977 in 5 social work journals. Their review found that from 1934 to 1938, approximately 33 % of the articles contained in the selected journals were written by men. From 1939 to 1943 only 25 % of the articles were written by men but these years corresponded with the beginning of World War II and the service draft. Following that period in history,

the percentage of articles written by men steadily increased. It reached its peak in 1964 to 1968 when men wrote 60 % of the articles contained within the social work journals even though they constituted only 1/3 of the profession. From 1969 to 1977, the percentage of male authorship levelled off at approximately 59 %.

Further evidence of the overrepresentation of articles written by men in social work journals was provided in a more recent study by Kirk and Rosenblatt (1984). Sixteen social work journals were reviewed from 1977-1979. Results showed that faculty members with a doctorate wrote 85 % of the articles contained within these journals compared to 14 % for faculty members with a master's degree. This finding is significant as male faculty are twice as likely as female faculty to possess a doctoral degree (Gould, 1979; Gripton, 1974; Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978) and therefore will be overrepresented in article publication. However, even when the number of articles published by female and male faculty with doctorates were compared, three times as many articles were written by male than by female faculty (63 % versus 22 %).

Kirk and Rosenblatt also took rank into account and found that those in the higher ranks were the most productive. Professors published 39 % of the articles, associate professors published 29 %, assistant professors published 29 %, and instructors and lecturers published only 3 % of the articles. Since men predominate in the higher ranks (CASSW Task Force, 1977; DiNitto, Martin and Harrison, 1984; Gould, 1979; Gripton, 1974; Norman, 1986; Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978) and since these ranks account for the greater number of published articles, an overrepresentation of the work of men results. However, even when women and men were compared at each rank, men were more productive than women except for the rank of lecturer where there was no essential difference in their productivity rates. Table 3.5 illustrates the publication productivity of each sex by academic rank.

Table 3.5: Percentage of Articles by Social Work Faculty – Controlling for Gender and Rank

Gender/Rank	% of Faculty	% of Articles	Productivity Ratio
Female			
Professor	6	9	1.50
Associate Professor	10	9	0.90
Assistant Professor	16	13	0.81
Instructor	5	0	0.00
Lecturer	10	1	0.10
Male			
Professor	14	30	2.14
Associate Professor	15	20	1.33
Assistant Professor	16	16	1.23
Instructor	9	1	0.25
Lecturer	5	1	0.12

Note. From "The Contribution of Women Faculty to Social Work Journals" by S. Kirk and A. Rosenblatt, 1984, *Social Work*, 29(1), p. 69.

**(ii) Journal Editorial Positions and Journal Editorial Boards**

Not only are the ideas of men disseminated more often than those of women because of their higher publication rates, but men also possess the power to control whose ideas will be disseminated since they are disproportionately represented as journal editors and as journal editorial board members. A study by Kirk and Rosenblatt (1980) illustrates this point. Based on a survey of the sex of the editor and the sex composition of the editorial boards in 19 social work journals, it was found that 68 % of these journals had a male editor and 64 % of the editorial boards members were men.

**3.2.5 Summary**

The overwhelming evidence contained within these studies is that men dominate academic social work in North America. In particular, the positions of power and the means for disseminating ideas are largely controlled by men. This is illustrated in the finding that: men occupy approximately 60 % of all faculty positions, are over-represented in the top, high-status administrative positions such as dean/director and associate dean/director, occupy the high teaching ranks such as full and associate professor, attain tenure in disproportionate numbers, are more than twice as likely as their female counterparts to have acquired a doctoral degree, publish a disproportionate number of articles in social work journals, and are disproportionately represented in the position of journal editor and as journal editorial board members.

Davis draws on this material to support the first criterion in her argument that academicians/researchers reflect a male world view or voice. Men's numerical domination and monopolization of power in social work academia ensures that their views will predominate. The second criterion in her argument is to demonstrate that the inherent world view or voice of these men can be characterized by distinct male qualities,

the male voice. Support for this position is drawn from the research of Carol Gilligan (1982). The following chapter will consist of a review of Gilligan's (1982) research into the concept of "voice".

## Chapter 4

### The Concept of Female and Male Voices

The argument by Davis that social work practitioners reflect a female world view or voice and, conversely, that social work academicians/researchers reflect a male world view or voice constitutes the basis of her analysis of the rift that exists between these two groups. In conceptualizing this rift as a female-male dichotomy in voice, Davis maintains that two conditions are necessary. First, it is necessary to demonstrate that the views of women predominate in practice and that the views of men predominate in academia. Evidence for this position was provided in Chapter 3. Second, it is necessary to demonstrate that the views of women can be characterized by distinct female qualities, the female voice, and that the views that characterize men are distinctly male voiced. To support this position, Davis draws on the research of Carol Gilligan (1982). As the concept of "voice" is central to Davis' analysis of the rift, a review of Gilligan's (1982) work into this concept of "voice" and its application to the rift is presented in this chapter.

The premise of Gilligan's (1982) research is that women and men differ in their conceptions of self and morality and in how they deal with experience of conflict and choice. She refers to these differences as the female voice and the male voice. Gilligan stresses that these different voices are not necessarily determined by sex, but rather reflect a different way of constructing reality and of experiencing life. Theoretically, women can speak in a male voice and men can speak in a female voice, but her observations consistently showed a correlation between voice and sex. Although Gilligan did

not explore the reasons for these different voices, she did suggest that they arise in a social context where female and male socialization combine with reproductive biology to shape differential experiences for females and males.

The motivation for Gilligan's research arose from a belief that the theories of developmental psychology had limited applicability. This belief developed during the course of her experience as an educator in the fields of identity and moral development when she became cognizant of both the distinctiveness and the problem in interpreting the voice of women. When compared with the descriptions of identity and moral development, as proposed by Erik Erikson (1950) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1981), the development of women was unique. It was at this point that Gilligan "began to notice the recurrent problems in interpreting women's development and to connect these problems to the repeated exclusion of women from the critical theory-building studies of psychological research" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 1). Consequently, the experiences of women were (and continue to be) evaluated as inadequate or deviant when compared with the standard (male) model of development.

In light of the masculine bias contained within the developmental theories, Gilligan directed her research at incorporating the experiences of women in order to provide an expanded understanding of human development and a clearer representation of women's identity and moral development in particular. This chapter consists of a review of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, Kohlberg's theory of moral development, Gilligan's analysis of the limitations of each theory, her three research studies, and the concept of "female voice" and "male voice". In the final section the application of the concept of "voice" to the rift is presented.



## 4.1 Theories of Human Development

### 4.1.1 Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development (refer to Appendix A) presents the view that identity or personality is shaped by the nature and quality of social relations established as an individual grows from childhood to old age. Although Erikson held that this development was continuous throughout the life of an individual, he believed that there were eight significant conflicts in each individual's life and that each conflict was associated with a distinct stage of development. In each stage the conflict had to be dealt with and resolved before an individual could progress to the next stage. It is the resolution of the conflict in each stage that contributes a layer to the personality of the individual. Erikson also held that there was no strict relation between the age of an individual and her/his stage of development, despite the chronological nature of the stages.

In stage 1, the conflict to be resolved in the healthy personality is "basic trust versus basic mistrust". In this stage, the child learns whether or not it can rely on its mother to satisfy its basic needs. The sense of trust or mistrust learned at this stage will affect all further relationships.

"Autonomy versus shame and doubt" is the conflict to be resolved in stage 2. At this stage a child is physically developed enough to express a will of its own and to stand on its own two feet. If the parenting is strong enough to prevent the child from needless pain and suffering and loose enough to allow the child to develop a sense of mastery and self-confidence, then autonomy is the result. If the parenting errs to either side of the balance, shame and doubt may result, doubt about one's abilities to deal with the environment and shame from the pratfalls of childish impulses.

The conflict of "initiative versus guilt" characterizes stage 3. At this stage the child's

social relations have broadened to include siblings and playmates. To the child's sense of autonomy has been added an ability for planning, in particular for planning self-gratification. Regulating desires so that the child develops a sense of moral responsibility is the problem in this stage.

Society's requirement that each member acquire the skills and knowledge needed for adulthood and to contribute to the society leads to the problem, in stage 4, of "industry versus inferiority". Either a child attains a sense of competence by mastering the tasks of her/his culture's schooling or the child develops a sense of inferiority from comparing herself/himself to the other children who succeed at their tasks.

The fifth stage, "identity versus role confusion", involves an adolescent's search for a sense of identity and self-worth. Role confusion can occur from doubts about one's sexual identity but most commonly occurs from an inability to settle on an occupational identity or career.

Stage 6, "intimacy versus isolation", is somewhat paradoxical in that having attained a sense of identity, the individual is now willing to surrender some of that identity, to fuse it with another in love and intimacy. Isolation occurs if the individual cannot make that commitment or if the individual avoids intimacy.

In the seventh stage, "generativity versus stagnation", the main concern is with parenting and nurturing the next generation. Generativity need not always be concerned with one's own offspring, but can include wider commitments to others. A sense of stagnation, of personal impoverishment, leading to self-indulgence occurs when one does not make the emotional investment in that which is being generated.

The final stage is "ego integrity versus despair". Ego integrity is obtained when the individual has accepted and is satisfied with her/his life and its finality. The loss of ego integrity is signified by the fear of death and the despair at the inevitability of death that accompanies it.

**(i) Gilligan's Analysis of the Limitations of Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development**

Gilligan accepts Erikson's theory of psychosocial development as being an accurate reflection of the lives of his male subjects; she argues against its validity to represent the lives of women. In Erikson's chart, identity formation precedes intimacy and generativity, the stages in which close relationships are developed and extended. Other than the first stage (trust versus mistrust) which anchors development in the experience of relationship, the stages which lead to identity formation emphasize the completion of tasks relating to separation, individuation, and autonomy. Thus, identity is defined through the experience of separation.

Gilligan argues that this quality of separateness, which she refers to as a male-voiced quality, accurately reflects the identity development of males. For the male subjects in her studies, identity was defined through their careers and achievements rather than through their attachments to others. In her studies of female subjects, however, identity was defined through the experience of relationship and connection; two qualities which she refers to as female-voiced qualities.

This unique development of women was later described by Erikson (1968) when he observed that their identity was fused with intimacy in that they came to define themselves through the experience of relationship. Despite this observation, Erikson's developmental chart remains unchanged and identity formation is defined through the male experience of separation. Against this background, the female experience of relationship and connection can be misinterpreted as problematic. If females define themselves in terms of their relationships to others, then they can be judged as having a deficient sense of autonomy. Since autonomy is the crucial element of identity in Erikson's model, women can also be construed to be deficient in identity development.

### 4.1.2 Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

Kohlberg's (1981) theory of moral development (refer to Appendix B) is based on the claim that the development of moral judgement has a natural progression that is universal to all people and to all cultures. The theory holds that this progression is a facet of human psychology similar to the growth of speech ability or abstract thinking. These latter subjects have been fertile fields of study by child development psychologists such as Jean Piaget. The implication of this assumption is that the development of moral judgement is likewise open to empirical study.

Kohlberg undertook a longitudinal study of 75 boys over a span of 20 years in order to explore the reasoning used to resolve hypothetical dilemma's and how this reasoning changed with age. Despite the many solutions that may have been posited for the dilemma's, Kohlberg discerned underlying patterns of reasoning. These patterns were referred to as "stages" because the children's reasoning appeared to become more sophisticated with age. That is, an individual who reasoned according to the stage 3 pattern would have previously reasoned at stage 2 when younger and at stage 1 when younger still.

Kohlberg's stages can be characterized by four features. First, an individual progresses sequentially through the stages. That is, stages can not be jumped. Second, there is no strict correlation between age and stage. A younger individual can reason at a higher stage than an older individual. Third, progress through the stages is not automatic. The reasoning of a majority of the subjects in Kohlberg's study leveled off at an intermediate stage while a minority of others reasoned at a higher or lower stage. Fourth, the stages are not exclusive. An individual who is described as reasoning at a stage 3 level would not always resolve dilemma's using stage 3 reasoning but would occasionally argue at stage 2 or stage 4.

Based on his observation of 75 American boys, Kohlberg constructed a theory that consists of six stages of moral judgement which correspond with three developmental levels. Level 1, which consists of stages 1 and 2, is referred to as the Preconventional Level. At this level, reasoning is governed by physical or hedonistic consequences rather than by cultural values such as laws and justice. In stage 1, right action is determined by its physical consequences. One engages in right action in order to avoid punishment by those who possess the power. In stage 2, right action is determined when it serves one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Qualities such as reciprocity and fairness which are present at this stage, do not arise out of a sense of loyalty or gratitude but rather from the egocentric notion that kindness will result in their receiving special favors.

Level 2, which consists of stages 3 and 4, is referred to as the Conventional Level. At this level, cultural ideas of goodness and duty become involved in moral reasoning. In stage 3, right action is determined when it pleases or helps others. The reason for doing right is to be "good" in one's own eyes and in the view of others as one would want good behaviour from others if the situation was reversed. In stage 4, right action is determined when it conforms to authority and law so that social order can be maintained. Laws may only be broken to uphold greater social duties or rights.

At level 3, the Postconventional or Principled Level, moral decisions now become a matter of rights and principles that are agreeable to all. In stage 5, right action is determined when the basic rights, values and legal contracts (i.e., bills of rights) of a society are upheld even when they conflict with the rules and laws of the group. In stage 6, right action is determined by universal principles of justice rather than by written laws. These principles include a primary regard for the value and dignity of all human beings and for the reciprocity and equality of human rights. When these principles conflict with societal laws, one acts in accordance with the universal principles.

To test for the universality of these stages of moral development, Kohlberg undertook a number of cultural, social, and religious studies. The cultural studies involved the exploration of moral patterns of reasoning of boys in Malaysia, Taiwan, Mexico, Turkey, and the Yucatan. While the dilemma's used and the resolutions of these dilemma's conformed to the culture of the group, Kohlberg found that the reasoning of these male subjects was consistent with the reasoning of his American male population. The only difference noted was that the American boys demonstrated a higher level of moral development at age 16 than did the boys of other cultures.

The social studies involved matching middle-class children with lower-class children from the United States, Taiwan, and Mexico. Results showed that both classes of children in each of these three divergent cultures progressed through the same sequence of moral reasoning but that children from the upper-class progressed faster and farther than children from the lower-class.

To investigate whether moral reasoning was affected by religion, Kohlberg studied a group of Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists, and Atheists. Although Kohlberg did not elaborate on these studies, he concluded that no important differences in moral reasoning arose because of religious affiliation.

While the cultural, social, and religious studies indicated that individuals progressed through the stages of moral judgement at varying rates, the pattern of this sequence was not significantly affected. Thus, Kohlberg claimed that his stages of moral thought had universal application.

**(i) Gilligan's Analysis of the Limitations of Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development**

Gilligan does not argue against the legitimacy of Kohlberg's theory to reflect the moral development of males. Indeed, her own study also found that the moral development of men was tied to the understanding of human rights and rules. In addition, her study also provided a more comprehensive overview of this male morality of rights with her descriptions of the moral dilemma of competing rights which arises for men and the abstract and formal thought process required for its resolution. Implicit in this conception of morality, argues Gilligan, are the male-voiced qualities of individuation, separation, and distance. What Gilligan argues against is the universal application of this morality of rights because of a fundamental bias in Kohlberg's research. This bias pertains to the exclusion of females and the observation of only males to inform his theory on moral development.

Gilligan observed that when one studies women, a different conception of moral development emerges. With women, development is equated with an understanding of responsibility and relationships rather than with rights and rules. The moral problem involves one of conflicting responsibilities rather than competing rights and a contextual and narrative mode of thought, instead of an abstract and formal mode, is required to resolve the dilemma. Female-voiced qualities such as connections and relationships, in contrast to the male-voiced qualities of individuation, separation, and distance, are implicit in a morality of responsibility.

A morality of rights with its emphasis on separateness emerges with the study of men. A distinctly different morality of responsibility with its emphasis on connection emerges with the study of women. If the model of women's development differs from that of men's, as Gilligan argues, then any study of women which uses the male model

for comparison, will likely result in erroneous conclusions. Kohlberg & Kramer (1969) illustrate the devaluation of women's development when compared with the male model and Braverman (1986) documents the harm that can be imposed on women if this model continues to be considered as the norm.

Kohlberg & Kramer (1969) maintain that stage 3 of Kohlberg's theory on moral development (where good behaviour is equated with pleasing others) characterizes a sizeable proportion of women whereas men of similar age drop this stage in favor of the higher stages. For these researchers, stage 3 morality "is a functional morality for housewives and mothers; [i.e.] not for businessmen and professionals" (p. 108). This implies that women will recognize the inadequacy of their moral perspective when they enter the employment sector and the necessity of progressing to the higher stages where men predominate.

A more serious concern about adhering to a male model of development which excludes the experiences of women, is that it impedes clinicians from understanding the psychiatric problems common to women. Braverman (1986) documents this point. She maintains that the key to understanding female symptomatology is in acknowledging their socialization experiences and the unique psychic structure which results from these experiences. In particular, Braverman argues that only by acknowledging two aspects of this structure, the need to serve and the need to affiliate, will a clinician be able to help a woman deal with her problem(s) and facilitate change.

Braverman applies this knowledge of a woman's need to serve and need to affiliate to a situation where a battered woman returns to her partner. Since the need to serve is the basic principle in which a woman's life is organized and her self-worth and self-esteem are derived from this activity, she must remain affiliated to others. The loss of a relationship represents a diminution of self. Therefore, the return of this woman to a batterer appears reasonable since it reflects her need to serve and her need to affiliate



taken to extreme.

In contrast, a clinician may view her return as masochistic or pathological if the theories relied upon were based on the male experience of separation and individuation. Consequently, a clinician may experience anger and frustration with her return. However, these feelings may be the result of an impeded understanding of female symptomatology which arises from the neglect of incorporating women's experiences into developmental theories.

#### **4.2 Gilligan's Studies of Human Development**

In recognizing the misrepresentation and consequent devaluation of the unique development of women because of the masculine bias contained within psychological research, Gilligan includes "the group left out in the construction of theory to call attention to what is missing in its account" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 4). The inclusion of women, in addition to Gilligan's study of men for comparative purposes, illuminates the unique voice of women in contradistinction to the voice of men and provides a clearer representation of women's identity formation and moral development.

The three studies which Gilligan engaged in were a college student study, an abortion decision study, and a rights and responsibilities study. The college student study involved the random selection of 25 female and male students who had chosen to take a course on moral and political choice during their sophomore year. The students were interviewed during their senior year at college and then 5 years after graduation. The interview, which was standard for all three studies, involved questioning participants about their conceptions of self and morality and about experiences of conflict and choice. They were also requested to resolve a moral dilemma which Kohlberg had devised during his research on moral development. The purpose of introducing the

dilemma, which will be described in depth at a later point, was to observe the logic of conflict resolution.

The second study, an abortion decision study, involved the referral of 29 women from pregnancy counselling services and abortion clinics in a large metropolitan city. These women were from diverse ethnic backgrounds and social classes, ranged in age from 15 to 33 and were either single, married, or living common-law. Two interviews were conducted, one during the first trimester when the women were considering their choices and the second at the end of the year following the choice. Interviews were completed for 21 of these women.

The third study, the rights and responsibilities study, involved a sample of females and males who were matched for age, social class, occupation, education, and intelligence across nine points in the life cycle: ages 6-9, 11, 15, 19, 22, 25-27, 35, 45 and 60. Information on conceptions of self and morality, experiences of conflict and choice and the resolution of a moral dilemma were gathered by interviewing a sample of 144 participants or 8 females and 8 males at each point in the life cycle. More intensive interviews were conducted with a subsample of 36 participants or 2 females and 2 males at each point in the life cycle.

Based on these three studies, Gilligan concluded that the voice or world view of women differed from that of men. A presentation of those qualities associated with the voice of women and the voice of men will now follow as well as a discussion of how the theories of psychosocial and moral development as proposed by Erikson (1950) and Kohlberg (1981) inaccurately reflect the female voice.

### 4.3 The Female Voice

The voice of women speaks of the importance of relationships and connections with others. Women tend to believe that all individuals are connected to one another and because of this, they tend to live other's lives as their own. This sense of connectedness causes women to feel a strong responsibility to care for others and to be sensitive to their needs in order that no one experiences distress or feels left out. Women believe that connections must be maintained through concern for others and that when people stop caring for one another and when connections are severed, aggression results. This aspect of the female voice is illustrated by the research of Pollak & Gilligan (1982).

In their study, 50 female and 88 male Harvard University students were asked to write an imaginative story to four pictures. Two of these pictures involved scenes of affiliation where two individuals were portrayed in close relationship with one another and two pictures involved scenes of achievement where two individuals were depicted as being actively involved with their work. Results showed that 22 % of women wrote at least one story which contained descriptions of violence but that upon closer analysis, the women wrote more violent stories when shown pictures of achievement than when shown pictures depicting scenes of affiliation (16 % versus 6 %).

If fantasies of violence are indicative of the perception of danger, then for women, the danger described in scenes of achievement was related to a fear that if successful, they would be isolated from others and left alone. Thus, women perceive danger and its resulting violent response to be tied to the fracture of human connection. Activities of care are thought to sustain relationships, prevent isolation, limit aggression, and make the world safe.

The analysis offered by Pollak and Gilligan to explain women's violent responses to scenes of achievement sheds new light on Horner's (1972) interpretation of women's

"fear of success" in response to achievement situations.

Horner analyzed the stories of 90 females in response to the verbal lead, "After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class", and the performance of 30 females in achievement situations. She found that 65 % of females provided negative responses to the successful female medical student cue. They associated competence in women with social rejection, personal or societal destruction, and loss of femininity. In the achievement situations, 13 of the 17 females who scored high in "fear of success" did better in a noncompetitive situation than in a mixed-sex competitive situation. Twelve of the 13 females who scored low in "fear of success" performed at a significantly higher level in the competitive situation.

Horner interpreted these findings within the framework of an expectancy-value theory of motivation. This theory holds that anxiety is aroused when negative consequences are expected to follow an action and that this anxiety then serves to suppress the action. Horner concluded that the negative reactions or "fear of success" experienced by the female subjects in the first study arose because of an expectation that negative consequences would follow competent or successful behaviour since such behaviour is considered inconsistent with femininity. The second study provided evidence for the second criterion of an expectancy-value theory of motivation—that a high level of anxiety or "fear of success" suppresses achievement motivation and inhibits performance.

The conflict that women experienced when faced with the likelihood of success can be interpreted differently. Pollak and Gilligan attributed women's violent responses to scenes of achievement to their fear that success would sever human connections by setting them apart from others. The finding by Horner that women fear success because of the negative consequences associated with achievement behaviour may not reflect their "fear of success" *per se* but may instead reflect a concern that if successful,

they will be isolated or disconnected from others. By interpreting women's reactions to achievement against an understanding of the importance of connections in their lives, the likelihood that women will be judged as inadequate or deviant will also be reduced. Their responses appear quite reasonable in light of this new understanding of women's development.

The theme of connection delineates a unique developmental pattern with regards to women's identity formation. Identity for women is fused with intimacy and this is illustrated by women's responses to a request from Gilligan to describe themselves. Without exception, all women described themselves in the context of a relationship. They depicted their identity in terms of their role as wife, mother, or lover. Their academic and professional careers, while important in their lives, did not define who they were. Instead, their careers were described in a manner that brought them into connection with others and thereby provided them with the opportunity to impart goodness onto others. This is exemplified in the response of a 27 year old female medical student:

I see myself in a nurturing role, maybe not right now, but whenever that might be, as a physician, as a mother ... It's hard for me to think of myself without thinking about people around me that I'm giving to. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 158)

This conception of identity development where the self is delineated through connection is not represented in Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. Instead, his theory defines identity through separation. While stage 1 emphasizes the importance of the mother-child relationship as the basis for a child's later development, stages 2 through 5 emphasize the theme of separation. This conceptualization of identity development subordinates relationships to the importance of individuation.

Gilligan argues that this developmental schema of identity formation with its emphasis on male-voiced qualities represents the antithesis of women's identity development. As documented earlier with the research of Pollak & Gilligan (1982), women view the quest for autonomy and separation as dangerous because of its association with aggression. Relationships prevent isolation and make the world safe. The limitation of Erikson's theory is its failure to describe the continuing importance of relationships and connections in the lives of women and the progression of these relationships toward a maturity of interdependence.

An emphasis on connections also influences the type of moral dilemma which arises for a woman. The dilemma which she confronts is the conflict of responsibility to oneself and to the other individual. Gilligan observed that in order for this dilemma to be resolved, a contextual and narrative mode of thought is required.

A contextual mode of thought implies that a woman explores and understands the dilemma in terms of the people involved. Her greater orientation towards relationships and connections prevents her from being able to simply extract the problem from its context and resolve it objectively. Rather, emphasis is placed on how the problem, and any decisions or actions therefrom, affect the participants physically and emotionally and how it affects the relationships between the participants. Her tendency to be able to know another's feelings based on what she would likely feel in the same situation aids her with the resolution of this dilemma.

The narrative character of a woman's thought involves relating the problem and its effects as a story. She explains in detail the consequences of an action on each character in the story. This narrative character as well as the contextual mode of thought is best illustrated in the response of an 11-year-old female to a moral dilemma posed by Gilligan in the rights and responsibilities study.

The dilemma involved a European woman who was dying from an unspecified type

of cancer and who could only be saved by one drug (a form of radium). This drug could be obtained from its discoverer, the town pharmacist, but the asking price was ten times the amount it cost to produce the drug. The dying woman's husband, Heinz, was unable to afford the drug and asked that the pharmacist reduce its cost or arrange for payment at a later date. The pharmacist refused to consider either request. Out of desperation, Heinz broke into the pharmacist's store in order to steal the drug. The question posed was—should Heinz steal the drug? (Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969).

In attempting to answer this question, the young girl spoke of the importance of maintaining the connection between wife and husband. Because her world was one of relationships and connections, she reflected on the pain that the woman's death would cause for others. From this awareness of the connections between people, there arose a recognition of the responsibility for others. Therefore, she believed that the pharmacist had a responsibility to ensure that the connection between wife and husband be maintained. Through the process of communication, an agreement could be worked out between the pharmacist and the young man so that the woman could receive the medication and thus the connection between wife and husband be sustained. The resolution of this dilemma reflects a contextual and narrative mode of thought.

The observation that women engage in a contextual and narrative mode of thought to resolve their principle moral dilemma is significant because Kohlberg's stages of moral development do not reflect this unique mode of thought. Rather, his developmental chart emphasizes an abstract and formal thinking process that is characteristic of the male subjects used in his research project.

Gilligan argues that women's mode of thought in contradistinction to men's formal and abstract mode of thought arises because of a different conceptualization of what constitutes a moral dilemma. Whereas women define the principle moral dilemma as arising from a problem of care and responsibility in relationships because of their greater

orientation towards connectedness, the principle moral dilemma for men involves a conflict between the rights of individuals because of their proclivity towards separateness. Kohlberg's stages of moral development reflect a progressive manner of thinking about and resolving a moral dilemma which is based on this male conflict of competing rights rather than women's moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities. This provides an explanation for why women are often rated deficient in moral development. They seldom reach the higher abstract stages where relationships are subordinated to laws (stage 4) and laws to principles of justice (stages 5 and 6) because the thought process involved and the moral dilemma from which it arises do not reflect the reality of women's lives.

Based on the inadequacy of Kohlberg's theory to represent the moral development of women, Gilligan constructs a developmental chart which illustrates the progression of women's thought and resolution to the moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities. Interestingly, the distinct moral language of women was particularly revealed with the abortion decision study, a study which included the participation of only women. The significance of this is that if women's moral development is revealed through the study of female participants, then both Erikson's and Kohlberg's theories, which were developed through the observation of male participants only, more accurately reflect male rather than female development.

Gilligan's theory of women's moral development (refer to Appendix C) consists of three stages, with each stage representing a more complex understanding of the relationship between self and other, and two transitional phases which involve a reevaluation of the conflict between selfishness and responsibility. A woman's response to the moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities is dependent upon her level of development. For example, a woman who is situated in stage 1, experiences a sense of powerlessness because of a feeling of being disconnected from others and left all alone. The individual is able only to concentrate on herself in order to ensure survival. Since self-interest serves



as the basis for judgement, the moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities is resolved in the best interests of the woman.

A transitional phase follows this stage. It is characterized by an enhancement in self-image, an ability to see oneself as worthy of social inclusion, and a new awareness of the connection between self and others. Because of this sense of connectedness with others, a woman recognizes that she has a responsibility not only to herself but also to others. Therefore, moral judgement which is based solely in the best interest of the woman (as in stage 1) is now criticized as being selfish.

Following the first transitional phase where egocentric judgement is considered to be selfish, a second stage arises where a woman now excludes herself in the service of others since paying attention to her own needs is considered selfish. Self-worth and morality are measured by her ability to protect and care for others. Although a woman in this stage possesses somewhat of an enhanced self-image in comparison to the individual in stage 1, mainly because of the satisfaction derived from imparting goodness onto others, there still remains a sense of powerlessness and worthlessness. This poor self-image, along with the paralyzing injunction never to inflict hurt upon another, imposes deference upon the woman. A woman in this stage does not listen to her own inner voice but instead defers to others on whose acceptance and approval she depends upon. Based on the exclusion of self which characterizes this stage, the moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities is resolved by sacrificing her own needs and wishes in favor of the other.

The logic of self-sacrifice and the psychological problems created by it are acknowledged during the second transitional phase of a woman's moral development. Because of an increased sense of power and self-worth, a woman begins to reject her dependency on others to make decisions for herself. She also begins to question whether it is moral or immoral, selfish or responsible to include her own needs and still be a caring

individual. But in the end, this concern with selfishness yields to a concern about the reality of her situation and about the consequences of her decision.

Stage 3 is reached when a woman rejects the conventional feminine self which is characterized by such qualities as self-sacrifice, dependence, and passivity. There is a new awareness of responsibility to herself and an acceptance that her needs are equally as important as others. This stage involves an emphasis on self-determination and a more mature understanding of relationships and connections to others. This understanding involves an awareness of the interdependence of individuals and the acknowledgement that she is unable to care for others if she does not first take care of herself. The moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities to self or to other is resolved by weighing the consequences of the potential action on both parties and accepting responsibility for the choice.

These stages of moral development illuminate the close tie which exists between the conceptions women have of self and morality. Both are entwined in a development that is anchored to the importance of relationships that progress toward a maturity of interdependence. Based on this observation, Gilligan extends her stages of moral development to encompass the identity development of women.

Based on the analysis contained within this section, the female voice can be identified by the following: an emphasis on the importance of relationships and connections and an emphasis on subjective, qualitative, contextual, narrative, caring, and empathic qualities. The female voice in social work would be evident if there were an emphasis on the psychotherapeutic value of a caring relationship between therapist and client that maintains the connectedness between the two, an emphasis on the contextual nature (relationships, social structures) of women's problems, and a caring, empathic, and narrative approach to problem resolution.

#### 4.4 The Male Voice

In contrast to the emphasis women place on connections and relationships, the voice of men speaks of separateness from others. Their orientation is towards autonomy, independence, and distance which they protect by limiting their interference with others because they also do not wish to be interfered with. It is this sense of autonomy and independence which creates a feeling of safety for men. This aspect of the male voice is supported by again referring to the research of Pollak & Gilligan (1982).

These researchers requested from their sample of 50 female and 88 male Harvard University students that they write an imaginative story to four pictures, two of which depicted scenes of affiliation and two of which involved achievement situations. Results showed that 51 % of the male subjects and 22 % of the female subjects wrote at least one story which contained descriptions of violence but that a significantly greater number of male than female subjects (25 % versus 6 %) wrote violent stories when shown pictures depicting scenes of affiliation than when shown pictures of achievement (6.8 % versus 16 %).

If aggression is perceived as a response to danger, then the danger described by men in scenes featuring affiliation or intimacy, was a danger of being entrapped or betrayed, of being smothered in a relationship or humiliated by rejection. Achievement situations, which threaten to sever connections for women, establish clear boundaries for men, protect their need for separation, limit aggression, and appear safe.

The research of Pollak & Gilligan, which links men's feelings of safety in competitive achievement situations to their orientation towards separation, challenges Horner's (1972) explanation for men's reactions to achievement situations.

Horner found that 90 % of the 88 male subjects wrote positive stories in response to the verbal lead, "After first term finals, John finds himself at the top of his medical

school" and that "most" of those male subjects who scored low in "fear of success" (two-thirds of a sample of 30) performed better under a competitive than noncompetitive achievement situation. Horner reasoned that these findings could be explained within the framework of an expectancy-value theory of motivation. This theory holds that when negative consequences are expected to follow an action, anxiety is aroused. This anxiety in turn suppresses the action. Since the expression of competency and strong achievement motivation is consistent with masculine sex-role behaviour, Horner reasoned that the male subjects in her first study displayed a low level of anxiety or "fear of success" with the successful male medical student cue because they did not expect negative consequences to follow. Horner's second study illustrates that a low "fear of success" in contrast to a high "fear of success" is correlated with higher achievement motivation and performance. Since competence, intellectual achievement, and competitive behaviour are inconsistent with feminine sex-role behaviour, Horner noted that the anxiety or "fear of success" which was aroused for the female subjects in achievement situations and which then served to inhibit performance (and discussed earlier) was related to their fear that success would threaten their femininity or would serve as the basis for rejecting them socially.

The more positive response of men to achievement situations can be interpreted differently in light of the research of Pollak & Gilligan (1982). They argued that men experience a feeling of safety with separation. Therefore, the significantly lower levels of anxiety or "fear of success" demonstrated by the male subjects in Horner's studies may not reflect a tendency towards low "fear of success" per se but rather reflect their comfort with the distance and separateness qualities of rule-bound competitive situations.

The male orientation towards separation delineates a pattern of identity formation which is distinctly different from that of women. Whereas the identity of women

is fused with intimacy and defined in relationships and connections, the identity of men precedes intimacy and is defined in separation. In response to a request from Gilligan to describe themselves, men spoke of their achievements and ambitions rather than attachments to others. Although some men briefly refer to the existence of important relationships, no particular person or relationship was identified and their descriptions of self soon returned to their great ideas or need for achievement. This is exemplified in the response of a young intern:

I think I like people a lot and I like liking people. ... I think I am a little lost, not acting quite like I am inspired—whether it is just a question of lack of inspiration, I don't know—but not accomplishing things, not achieving things. ... I have great ideas ... but I can't imagine me in them. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 162-3)

Separation therefore, secures the identity of men through the activities of work and achievement. But the price for this separation, argues Gilligan, is a feeling of isolation which can harden into indifference or lack of concern for others. Intimacy is the transformative experience for men which brings the self back into connection with others and enables men to experience the effects of an action on others as well as on themselves. This sequential ordering of identity and intimacy noted by Gilligan in the development of men, is in sharp contrast to the development of women where their orientation towards connectedness delineates an identity that is fused with intimacy. Hence, Erikson's model of psychosocial development where identity is formed through stages of increasing autonomy prior to intimacy, more accurately reflects the male rather than female pattern of identity development.

The male orientation towards separation also influences the type of moral dilemma which arises for men. Whereas the basic moral dilemma for women is the conflicting

responsibility between self and other because of their greater orientation towards connectedness, the moral dilemma which arises for men is the competing rights between individuals because of their greater orientation towards separation. Gilligan observed that in order for a dilemma of competing rights to be resolved, an abstract and formal mode of thought was required.

The abstract character of men's mode of thought implies that dilemma's are analyzed and reduced to principles or rights. These principles or rights, rather than the effects of an action on the individuals involved in the dilemma, serve as the basis for judgement.

Once the dilemma is abstracted, the formal nature of men's mode of thought is then displayed. This involves establishing a hierarchal ordering of the principles or rights and then applying the laws of logic in order to ascertain which principle or right will prevail. This abstract and formal mode of thought is best illustrated by reviewing the response of an 11-year-old boy in the rights and responsibilities study to the "Heinz" moral dilemma.

The young boy constructed the dilemma as a conflict between the right to life and the right to property. There was a hierarchal ordering of these rights and the boy concluded that Heinz would be justified in stealing the drug for his ill wife because the right to life superseded the right to property. If stealing the drug did present problems, the law would mediate the dispute.

This young boy did not see the world as being comprised of relationships but of people standing alone. Resolution of the dilemma did not involve an analysis of how the action of stealing the drug would effect the connection between wife and husband as it did for the 11-year-old girl. Rather, the moral dilemma was set up as a mathematical problem and the solution was rationally deduced. The situation was viewed impersonally in that stealing the drug would enable the husband to avoid the possibility

of an emotional confrontation with the pharmacist and the law, rather than personal communication, would resolve any dispute. In this way, the problem was abstracted from its context and the logic of fairness provided an objective way to resolve the dispute. In contrast to the contextual and narrative mode of conflict resolution common to females, the form of conflict resolution exhibited by this boy was more abstract, formal, logical and objective.

The response of this young boy to the "Heinz" dilemma reflects a stage 4 "law-and-order" orientation if Kohlberg's theory on moral development were applied. There was an emphasis on higher authority and the law being used to maintain social order. His permission for Heinz to steal the drug also demonstrates an understanding that societal laws can be broken when they conflict with other social rights such as the right to life. In contrast, the response of the 11-year-old girl to the same dilemma would rate a full stage lower than the boy's response. Her response reflects a stage 3 "interpersonal concordance or good boy - nice girl" orientation where right action is dependent upon helping others. She considered neither property nor law in resolving the dilemma but rather emphasized the necessity for the pharmacist to help Heinz and his wife so that the connection between the two could be maintained. However, this response arises from a different conception of what constitutes the moral dilemma. For this girl, the dilemma involves relationships and an emphasis on the ability to care. It does not involve a problem with competing rights or the use of law and authority to resolve the problem. Further, her orientation to connections and relationships gives rise to a contextual and narrative mode of thinking rather than the abstract and formal thinking that is required to resolve a dilemma based on competing rights. For these reasons, it is not appropriate to rate her on Kohlberg's scale of moral development because it is based on the male conception of morality and requires an abstract, formal, and deductive mode of thought to resolve the moral dilemma of competing rights. This

girl does possess a sophisticated understanding of the nature of choice, as does the boy. They however, display different understandings of morality and different modes of thought.

Based on the analysis contained within this section, the male voice can be identified by the following: distant (separate), formal, rational, logical, abstract, quantitative, and objective qualities. The male voice would be evident in social work when the relationship between worker and client were distant and formal (as is the case when "contracts" are used, since boundaries between worker and client are established through the explication of rights and responsibilities, and through the delineation of length of service), when behaviour is investigated objectively using quantitative approaches such as single-case designs, and when problem resolution is pursued in an abstract, rational, and logical manner (as is the case where the problem is isolated from the interpersonal situation).

#### **4.5 Summary**

Based on a belief that developmental theories did not adequately portray the experiences of women because of the masculine bias contained with the psychological research, Gilligan (1982) undertook three studies which included the participation of women, in order to provide an expanded conception of human development and women's identity and moral development in particular. The differences recorded in the identity formation and moral development of her female and male subjects were associated with female and male voices. While Gilligan claimed that these voices were characterized by theme rather than by sex, she consistently observed that the women and men in her studies spoke in distinctly different voices which were characterized by unique qualities.

Gilligan reports that in her study of women, an orientation towards connections



and relationships emerges. In her study of men, an orientation towards separation emerges. This proclivity towards connectedness in women and separateness in men, delineates unique developmental patterns in identity formation, influences the type of moral dilemma which arises, and results in distinct modes of thought.

Gilligan observed that for women, identity formation is fused with intimacy and defined in connection and relationship. With men, identity formation precedes intimacy and separation secures their identity through work and achievement. This sequential ordering of identity and intimacy noted in the development of men where identity is defined in separation, accurately reflects Erikson's model of psychosocial development. In Erikson's model, identity formation precedes intimacy and the steps leading to the formation of an identity require the completion of tasks relating to separation, individuation, and autonomy. The significance of Gilligan's finding is that Erikson's model of identity formation represents the antithesis of women's development and can only accurately portray the development of men.

An orientation towards connection gives rise to a specific moral dilemma. For women, this dilemma involves the conflicting responsibility to self or to the other individual. Gilligan noted that in order to resolve this dilemma of conflicting responsibilities, a contextual and narrative mode of thought is required. In contrast, the moral dilemma which confronts men is the competing rights of individuals because of their orientation towards separateness and distance. To resolve a dilemma based on competing rights, an abstract and formal mode of thought is required.

The finding that women and men differ in their understanding of morality and possess different modes of thought consistent with an orientation towards connectedness or separateness is significant because Kohlberg's theory of moral development is based on the male conception of morality and requires an abstract and formal mode of thought to resolve the male conflict of competing rights. Kohlberg's theory, therefore, represents

the antithesis of women's development but accurately portrays the development of men. Based on the inadequacy of both Kohlberg's and Erikson's theories to represent the development of women, Gilligan constructs an alternative sequence for the development of women's moral judgements and identity.

Gilligan associates the development of women with the female voice and the development of men with the male voice. The female voice is characterized by subjective, qualitative, contextual, narrative, caring, empathic, and connectedness qualities. In contrast, the male voice is characterized by objective, quantitative, abstract, formal, logical, rational, and separateness qualities. In the following section, the significance of this finding to Davis' analysis of the rift is examined.

#### **4.6 The Application of "Voice" in Analyzing the Rift**

As previously discussed, Davis established that the views of women predominate in practice and that the views of men predominate in academia. This finding fulfilled Davis' first criterion for conceptualizing the rift as a female-male dichotomy. Gilligan's finding that women and men possess differing world views or voices fulfills the second criterion in that it establishes that the views of practitioners (composed primarily of women) are female voiced and differ from the male-voiced views of academicians/researchers (composed primarily of men). For Davis, the rift represents a conflict between female-voiced practitioners and male-voiced academician/researchers over the use of the male-voiced practice model, empirical clinical practice.

The voice of empirical clinical practice can be ascertained from the elements and logic of the scientific method which underlie it. The scientific method's approach to problem resolution involves abstracting the problem from its context, assigning a hierarchical ordering to the abstracted elements (i.e. dividing and quantifying the elements

into dependent and independent variables), and applying formal rational logic to examine the relationship between these variables. This approach to problem-solving was also demonstrated by the young boy in Gilligan's rights and responsibilities study (outlined in Section 4.4) in resolving the "Heinz" moral dilemma. The qualities of abstraction and formal logic, characterized by Gilligan as male-voiced qualities, are implicit in Kohlberg's (1981) stages of moral development. As Gilligan has noted, Kohlberg's stages of moral development more accurately reflect the development of men than women since only male subjects were used to inform his developmental theory. Since the qualities of abstraction and formal logic are implicit with the scientific method and characterize the male subjects in Gilligan's and Kohlberg's research, it can be reasoned that the scientific method and its specific social work form, empirical clinical practice, is male voiced. More extensive arguments correlating the scientific method with the male voice are provided in the following chapter.

An analysis of the arguments utilized by practitioners and academicians/researchers to oppose or support scientifically based practice in social work (and presented in Chapter 2) provides evidence for Davis' position that the rift represents a fundamental conflict between the distinct female-voiced views of practitioners and the distinct male-voiced views of academicians/researchers. For example, the faction composed primarily of practitioners who oppose the use of an empirical clinical practice display the qualities of the female voice in what they dislike about the scientific method and in what they would prefer social work practice to be. Saleebey (1979) argued that the use of the scientific method in social work practice creates a distant, formal, and hierarchical relationship between worker and client and that the interpersonal power bestowed upon the worker could result in "one-sided, skilled manipulation of human beings" (p. 269). Brennan (1972) spoke of the inappropriateness of abstracting a client's problem from its context since the problems social worker's address are too complex to be captured

by scientific methodology. Imre (1984) further adds that abstraction (separation from context) can oversimplify a situation and prevent effective aid from being delivered.

What is particularly evident with these arguments is the dislike of the impersonal, distant, and abstract qualities of the scientific method. These qualities which characterize the scientific method reflect male-voice qualities. This faction which opposes the use of scientifically based social work practice proposes qualitative approaches as a more appropriate means for studying the complex human problems confronting social workers. Qualitative research methodologies reflect the female voice in that the theme of connectedness is manifested in the egalitarian relationship between worker and client and client's problems are not abstracted from their context. The relationship between qualitative research methodologies and the female voice is expanded upon in Chapter 5.

The faction composed primarily of academicians/researchers who support the use of scientifically based social work practice display the male voice in how they seek to demonstrate casework effectiveness. For this faction, effectiveness is evaluated by measuring or quantifying changes in specific behaviours which are assumed to be the result of the problem being studied. Proof of effectiveness is deduced from the mathematical relationship of the measured data. As noted by Gilligan and Kohlberg, problem solving that uses an abstract, formal and quantitative mode of thought is characteristic of men. This faction espouses the scientific method because it encompasses (as discussed above) these male-voiced elements.

The central elements in Davis' analysis of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers are the dominance of each domain by one sex and the existence of a distinct view or voice for each sex. As noted in Chapter 3, there is also a significant minority of the other sex in each domain. Davis holds that the effect of these minorities is reduced by the existence of mechanisms which suppress

the voice of these minorities. These mechanisms and how they serve to perpetuate the rift will be examined in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5

### Factors Maintaining the Rift

Davis (1985) maintains in her analysis of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers that practice is characterized by the female voice and academia by the male voice. As documented in Chapter 3, a large minority of men occupy direct practice positions despite its characterization as female voiced and, conversely, a large minority of women occupy social work academic positions despite its characterization as male voiced. Approximately 25 % of practitioners are men and approximately 40 % of academicians are women. Since men predominantly speak in a male voice and women in a female voice (Gilligan, 1982), this raises the question of whether minority-voiced members of a field are influenced by the dominant voice of the majority.

Davis (1985) holds that in academia, there are mechanisms which suppress the female voice in female minority members and encourage their adoption of the dominant male voice. However, Davis does not in turn explore how the male voice is suppressed in male minority members in practice. Davis "suspects" that the inherent world view of male practitioners can be characterized as female but does not investigate this assumption. This unexplained mechanism in practice which suppresses the male voice in male practitioners and results in their utilizing the female voice, and the mechanisms in academia which suppress the female voice in female academicians and encourage their adoption of the male voice, function to perpetuate the rift between female-voiced practice and male-voiced academia. While Davis does not explore these mechanisms in

depth, this chapter supplies the background necessary for an analysis of her arguments on the assimilation of minority voiced members of a domain.

In the first of the following sections, the mechanisms for the assimilation of female minority members in academia are examined. The second section explores why male practitioners may be inherently female-voiced as argued by Davis. In the third and concluding section, a summary of the main points of this chapter is provided.

### **5.1 The Suppression Of The Female Voice In Female Social Work Academicians**

Davis argues that there are two mechanisms by which the female voice is suppressed in female social work academicians. The first mechanism is the academic institution. In particular, a number of facets of the institution serve to suppress this voice. First, schools of social work have adopted the academic reward system which rewards the possession of a doctoral degree and the publication of research with promotion and tenure. Second, schools of social work have also adopted the academic research model which emphasizes the use of quantitative rather than qualitative methodology. Third, quantitative methodology, as Davis argues, is more consonant with the male voice whereas qualitative methodology is more consonant with the female voice. Therefore, for women to be rewarded with promotion and tenure, they must obtain doctoral degrees and publish research. Since it is primarily quantitative research for which doctorates are awarded and which is published, women must adopt the male model of knowledge development—quantitative methodology—if they are to achieve success in social work academia. Through this process of rewarding the male voice with high rank and status, the academic institution is instrumental in suppressing the voice of women.

As a consequence of the necessity for women to adopt the male voice, a distrust

of the female voice arises. This distrust of the female voice, which defines the second mechanism, leads to the conscious or unconscious decision by female-voiced academicians to adopt the male voice since the female voice is neither valued nor rewarded in academia.

In the first of the following subsections, the facets of the academic institution which are instrumental in suppressing the female voice, will be presented. The second subsection involves an examination of the process by which obtaining a doctoral degree and publishing research encourages the use of the male voice. The discouragement of the female voice in academia, and the distrust that this engenders, is examined in the final subsection.

### 5.1.1 The Academic Institution

#### (i) The Academic Reward System

Academia is a masculine domain, whether in Canada, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, or elsewhere. Several authors (Coser, 1981; Finkelstein, 1987; Hornig, 1975) have documented the extent to which men dominate academia. Their review of the research reveals that: men are overrepresented in faculty positions; are concentrated heavily in the highest teaching ranks such as full and associate professor; are disproportionately represented in administration; are more likely than women to hold a doctoral degree and attain tenure; are given lighter teaching loads which results in more time for research and the increased probability for publication; and are paid more than women with equivalent qualifications.

Astin & Bayer (1972) argue that this inequality between women and men in academia is created and perpetuated, in part, by an academic reward system that was established by men and which is "biased toward behaviors and activities exhibited more often by



men than women" (p. 101). This conclusion was based on their analysis of data collected on 3,438 female and 3,454 male faculty respondents by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in conjunction with the Office of Research of the American Council on Education in Spring 1969. It was found that the two most significant predictors of high rank were the possession of a doctorate and high productivity as measured by articles published. The most significant factor in gaining tenure was rank. Therefore, the possession of a doctorate and high publication productivity, which men possess to a larger extent than women, means that men are rewarded in academia more than are women. If women are to succeed in academia, they must obtain doctorates and engage in research since "rewards go primarily to those women who accept and share men's criteria for academic rewards" (p. 101).

The male-biased academic reward system also defines social work's criteria for promotion and tenure. This is the conclusion of Miller (1978) who maintains that:

In the absence of criteria defined by social work education as relevant to the education of its students, it can be expected that social work educators will be measured by criteria established by and for the academic disciplines. Those criteria lean heavily upon scholarly research and publication in refereed journals as evidence of knowledge building. (p. 76)

Miller found that in a survey of 68 accredited graduate schools of social work in Canada and the United States, degree qualifications along with research and publication productivity were important factors for promotion into high ranking teaching positions and for the attainment of tenure. For example at the assistant professor level, Miller found that 38 % of the 68 responding schools required a doctorate while other schools encouraged assistant professors to have a doctorate in progress or an expressed interest or capability in research.

At the associate professor level, 63 % of the 68 responding schools required a doctorate or one well in progress, and more than 29 % of schools emphasized the necessity for research and publication. Also mentioned frequently was the desirability for creative potential and for regional recognition.

At the full professor level, 70 % or 48 of the 68 schools which responded required a doctorate. Emphasized frequently were substantial research or publication, national recognition, and extensive contribution to the school and university.

Requirements for tenure were similar to those of the associate and full professor. Emphasis was placed on the possession of a doctorate, as well as substantial research and publications.

Miller's study demonstrates the importance of research, publication productivity, and the possession of a doctorate in determining academic success in social work. As male social work faculty publish more than their female counterparts (Kirk & Rosenblatt, 1980, 1984) and are twice as likely to possess a doctorate (Gould, 1979; Gripton, 1974; Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978), this implies that in social work, as in academia, the reward of high position and status will go to those women who emulate the behaviours of men.

## (ii) The Empirical Research Model in University

In addition to accepting the academic criteria for promotion and tenure, schools of social work since the 1950's have increasingly adopted the empirical model of research. Currently, "In the university the research model of the sciences dominates. Research interests of social work faculty tend to reflect the science model ..." (Austin, 1978, p. 159). In the science model, quantitative research is emphasized.

This interest in empirical research in social work appears to correspond with the increased proportion of men in the profession since the 1950's. A study by Tripodi

(1984) found that social work researchers have been engaging in empirical research to a greater extent since that time.

Tripodi surveyed six social work journals from 1956 to 1980 to investigate the proportion of empirical and nonempirical research articles. He found that the percentage of published articles that were concerned with research had almost doubled during the survey period. The percentage had increased from 13.8 % in 1956-60 to 26.9 % in 1976-80. Over the same time span, the percentage of empirical research articles had almost tripled. In 1956-60, 7.0 % of published articles were devoted to empirical research and the percentage in 1976-80 was 19.1 %. The percentage of journal articles reporting nonempirical research had also increased though not as dramatically as the percentage of empirical research articles. In 1956-60, 6.8 % of articles contained within the six social work journals were devoted to nonempirical research and by 1976-80, 7.8 % of social work articles contained nonempirical research. These figures indicate that research has become increasingly important to social work and that the primary form of that research is quantitative.

A further consequence of having adopted the academic research model is that the doctoral program is also research oriented. Since quantitative methodology is the dominant mode of knowledge development in social work academia, it also dominates the social work doctoral program. To obtain a doctorate, an individual must therefore demonstrate substantial competence in quantitative research. Further, an individual trained in quantitative research and employed in a milieu such as the university where quantitative research is the norm, is unlikely to publish any other research other than quantitative.

**(iii) Research Methodology And "Voice"**

Associating research methodology with masculine or feminine characteristics is not original. Carlson (1972) for example, analyzed the differences between quantitative and qualitative methodology by drawing on two concepts introduced by Bakan (1966). Bakan used the concepts "agency" and "communion" to characterize the conflictual tendencies that exist within all organisms. He maintained that "Agency manifests itself in the formation of separations; communion in the lack of separations. Agency manifests itself in isolation, alienation, and aloneness; communion in contact, openness, and union" (p. 15). He further adds that "what we have been referring to as agency is more characteristically masculine, and what we have been referring to as communion is more characteristically feminine" (p. 110).

Using this reasoning, Carlson (1972) postulates that:

current scientific operations (separating, ordering, quantifying, manipulating, controlling) ... are "agentic" features which research has also identified as distinctively masculine. ... In contrast, more communal kinds of scientific inquiry— ... involve naturalistic observation, ... qualitative patterning of phenomena ... and greater personal participation of the investigator. (p. 20)

Davis (1986) analyzes the differences between quantitative and qualitative research methodology in terms of gender rather than drawing on Bakan's (1966) concepts of "agency" and "communion". She argues that the quantitative methodology espoused by academic institutions and adopted by schools of social work is more consonant with the male voice. The undervalued and underutilized qualitative methodology, argues Davis, is more consonant with the female voice.

**(a) Quantitative Research Methodology and the Male Voice**

Davis maintains that the predominant theme of quantitative methodology is separation. This theme of separation is manifested in two forms. In the first form, the relationship between researcher and subject is formal, distant, and hierarchal. Contact between researcher and subject follows carefully defined rules. The researcher asks the questions, often remotely through questionnaires, and the subject supplies the answers. Personal interaction between researcher and subject is minimized in a quest for objectivity.

In the second form, the subject is often separated from her/his context. Research is often conducted under artificial conditions such as in laboratories, and on artificial and contrived situations. A frequent aim of research is to eliminate the context from the response in order to permit generalizations.

Quantification is the primary way in which separation and context stripping is manifested. Behaviours are reduced to descriptions on a scale and an individual is reduced to a number on those scales. For example, an individual who feels sad, pessimistic, fatigued, and suicidal is reduced to a number on Beck's (1967) Depression Inventory. Even the responses of an individual to questionnaires are limited to a selection of quantified choices. No room is left for the unique individual response. Reality is reduced to abstractions—numbers.

Separation is also implicit in the inherent assumptions of quantitative research. First, the focus of quantitative research is on short-term events, or isolated segments of longer-term events. This focus assumes that isolated segments reflect the whole of the experience. Second, quantitative research also assumes that behaviour can be categorized, broken down and separated, into independent and dependent variables. Reality is reduced to simple relationships between these variables.

The purpose of separation in quantitative methodology is to reduce reality to abstractions. The relationship between these abstractions can then be derived in a formal, logical, and mathematical manner.

The qualities of separation, abstraction, and the use of formal logic, are implicit in quantitative methodology and characterize the male voice, the predominant voice of men. Based on this reasoning, Davis concludes that quantitative methodology reflects a male model of knowledge development.

**(b) Qualitative Research Methodology and the Female Voice**

Davis maintains that, in contrast to quantitative methodology, the primary theme of qualitative methodology is connection. The theme of connection, as with the theme of separation in quantitative methodology, is manifested in two forms. In the first form, connection between the researcher and subject is emphasized. In qualitative methodology, the goal of the researcher is to form an egalitarian partnership with the subject and to become involved with the subject in exploring psychological phenomena.

In the second form, the connection of the subject to her/his context is emphasized. Interaction between researcher and subject takes place in natural surroundings such as in the subject's home. The researcher explores the reciprocal relationship between the subject and her/his environment and allows for free and unrestricted interaction.

Qualitative approaches to data collection are the primary way in which connection is manifested. The case study or narrative approach, which allows for the full story of the subject to be told, is the predominant form of such data collection. Gilligan (1982) exemplifies this narrative approach with her in-depth interviews and drawing of conclusions based on the themes heard from the stories of the individuals.

The qualities of connection, relationship, and of contextual and narrative thought, are implicit in qualitative methodology and characterize the female voice, the predominant voice of women. Based on this reasoning, Davis concludes that qualitative methodology more accurately reflects a female rather than male model of knowledge development.

### 5.1.2 The Process of Suppressing the Female Voice in Female Academicians

In the previous section, facets of the academic institution which serve as key components in suppressing the female voice in female social work academicians were identified. This section examines the process by which the reward system, in concert with the domination of male-voiced quantitative methodology in academia, accomplishes this suppression.

As documented by Miller (1978), a requirement for achieving success in social work academia is to obtain a doctoral degree. Doctoral degrees are awarded to those individuals who demonstrate substantial competence in research. As "research based on a formal scientific investigation model has become an essential and central element in social work education" (Austin, 1978, p. 171) this implies that doctoral degrees are awarded to those who master, in particular, quantitative methodology.

An individual who wishes to pursue qualitative research in a doctoral program may encounter obstacles. First, quantitative methodology is the dominant mode of research in schools of social work (Austin, 1978). This means that course work will be directed at improving quantitative rather than qualitative research skills. As well, it may be difficult to locate supervisors both willing and competent to guide doctoral students in qualitative research. Second, given the acceptance and adoption of quantitative methodology by schools of social work, it can be expected that quantitative methodology is the norm by which all research is judged. This quantitative norm is likely to be held by committees of senior faculty who review doctoral proposals and dissertations. Such faculty are predominantly male (CASSW Task Force, 1977; DiNitto, Martin & Harrison, 1984; Gould, 1979; Gripton, 1974; Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978) and can be expected to reflect the dominant male voice of social work academia with its predilection



for male-voiced quantitative research (Davis, 1986). This may result in qualitative research being judged as inadequate or insufficient. Given the existence of these obstacles, a female doctoral student unable or unwilling to adopt quantitative methodology may be unlikely to obtain a doctorate and may therefore be at a disadvantage in achieving high rank and status in social work academia.

As documented by Miller (1978), a second requirement for achieving success in social work academia is to publish. Academics who have been trained to use quantitative methodology for research are unlikely to adopt qualitative methodology without motivation or reward. Since social work academia is male voiced (Davis, 1985), motivation or reward is unlikely to be forthcoming for those female academicians who employ female-voiced qualitative methodology.

For those female faculty members who were trained in qualitative methodology as doctoral students or for those in academia who switch to qualitative methodology, there may be a further obstacle in getting qualitative research published. As documented in Chapter 3, 68 % of social work journal editors and 64 % of editorial board members are male. Given that men predominantly speak in a male voice (Gilligan, 1982) and that quantitative methodology in social work is also male voiced (Davis, 1986), qualitative research may not be acceptable. Since publication is important for success, female academicians are likely to choose quantitative methodology as it guarantees a better probability that their research will be published.

### **5.1.3 The Distrust of the Female Voice by Female Academicians**

The paucity of training in female-voiced qualitative methodology and the lack of reward for its use in social work academia, is not without its consequences. Davis (1985) asserts that the discouragement of the female voice results in female social work academicians experiencing distrust with their own inherent voice. This distrust in turn,

serves as a second mechanism for silencing the female voice in these individuals.

Confidence in a research methodology arises with an acquired competence in the use of that methodology and with the belief that the methodology is both accepted and valued. These three elements are apparent with male-voiced quantitative methodology in academic social work. First, quantitative methodology is the dominant form of research in academia and in social work (Austin, 1978). Given its dominance and the emphasis on research in the doctoral program, doctoral students are more likely to be trained for competence in quantitative methodology. Second, the acceptance of quantitative methodology is evidenced by its increasing dominance in published social work research. In 1956-60, 51 % of research articles utilized quantitative methodology and by 1976-80 the percentage had increased to 71 % (Tripodi, 1984). Third, its value is seen by the weight given to published research and to the possession of a doctoral degree in deciding promotion and tenure (Miller, 1978).

These elements are not evident for female-voiced qualitative methodology. First, it is difficult to receive training in qualitative research skills at the doctoral level in social work since the doctoral program emphasizes competence in quantitative research. Second, since mastery of qualitative methodology is not also required of the doctoral student, this implies that the qualitative research mode is not considered as acceptable or as valuable as quantitative methodology. Third, the decline in the value and acceptance of qualitative methodology is reflected in the decreasing percentage of research articles in social work journals utilizing that methodology. In 1956-60, 49 % of research articles contained qualitative methodology as compared with 29 % in 1976-80 (Tripodi, 1984). Since quantitative research increased during that time period and composes 71 % of all research articles, this implies that quantitative methodology is viewed as the preferred mode for conducting research. Qualitative methodology must therefore be considered by social work academicians as being a less useful or valuable

mode for conducting research.

It is difficult for women to develop confidence and trust in a voice that is devalued, unrewarded, and underutilized in academia and in schools of social work. When those in positions of power say that the female voice is wrong, "women come to question the normality of their feelings and to alter their judgements in deference to the opinions of ... [those in] authority" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 16). Since men predominantly occupy positions of authority in social work (CASSW Task Force, 1977; DiNitto, Martin & Harrison, 1984; Gould, 1979; Gripton, 1974; Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978) female academicians must defer to the voice of their male counterparts.

This deference to men is not only rooted in women's academic subordination, it is also rooted in ancient norms which proscribe the impropriety of an authoritative voice for women. "The old norms inhibit women from speaking out, questioning, challenging, criticizing. In short, women are supposed to accept whatever authoritative word is delivered to them; they are not supposed to raise their voices against authority (Aisenberg & Harrison, 1988, p. 71-2). For those women who uphold these norms, praise and approval are bestowed upon them. For those who challenge the norms, resistance is met and a promulgation of negative images follow. The result of the old norms and the resistance encountered by those women who challenge those norms, are raised doubts, lowered self-confidence, and a hesitancy in speaking in their own voice. This hesitancy or distrust serves as a force in suppressing the female voice in female academicians and in turn perpetuates the dominant male voice in social work.

## **5.2 Explanations for Female-Voiced Male Practitioners**

Davis (1985) maintains that men in social work who possess a female world view are more likely to congregate in direct practice than in academia. Although no explanation

was provided to support this assumption, it can be reasoned that one mechanism responsible for this in part, is self-selection.

Davis holds that the practice domain is female voiced and academia, male voiced. Female-voiced men would appear to choose a career in direct practice as it is consonant with their world view. Men who were not secure or comfortable with their career choice would likely leave especially given the stereotypical feminine characteristics that practice is associated with (Brager & Michael, 1969) and the low prestige rating and deficit in rewards that are associated with an occupation dominated by women (Coser, 1981). If the only men entering practice are themselves female voiced, then this domain remains female voiced and the rift with male-voiced academia is maintained.

### 5.3 Summary

Davis argues that the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers is perpetuated by mechanisms in each domain which suppress or exclude the voice of the minority members. Davis identifies specific mechanisms in academia but does not identify any explicit mechanism in practice.

In academia, Davis highlights two mechanisms which serve to suppress the female voice in female academicians. The first mechanism is the academic institution. This institution rewards the possession of a doctoral degree and publication of research with promotion and tenure. Male-voiced quantitative methodology is the academic model for research and research is the focus of the doctoral program. Since schools of social work have become incorporated into the culture of the academic institution, women who wish to succeed in social work academia and who do not already speak in the male voice must adopt this voice.

The second mechanism identified by Davis in academia is the distrust of the female

voice engendered in female academics. The male voice is the accepted voice, the voice of authority, in academia. Women are trained in university to express themselves in this voice and discover that success in academia is also dependent upon the use of this voice. The lack of reward, devaluation, and underutilization for female-voiced methodology in university results in women experiencing a sense of distrust with their own voice. This distrust of the female voice, in concert with women's socialization to defer to the authoritative voice of men, results in women consciously or unconsciously adopting the male voice in academia.

In contrast to her position with respect to academia, Davis does not provide any mechanism in practice which suppresses the male voice in male practitioners or which encourages these men to adopt the female voice. Her assumption is that men in practice tend to maintain an inherent female world view or voice. The apparent logic for this assumption is that the male-voiced male would not be attracted to a stereotypically female profession, whereas the female-voiced male would be.

The argument by Davis that practice is a female-voiced domain is based on the finding that women numerically dominate direct practice positions (Fanshel, 1976; Gelber, 1973) and on Gilligan's (1982) research which indicates that women speak in a female voice. Further, the view held by Davis that male practitioners tend to maintain a female world view or voice, solidifies the female voice in practice. However, Davis provides little evidence of any mechanism in practice that suppresses the male voice in male (or possibly female) practitioners and encourages these individuals to adopt the female voice. This raises the question of whether a majority composed of women is sufficient to maintain the dominance of the female voice in practice in the face of possible pressures to adopt behaviours which reflect the male voice. One source of pressure could originate from the educational training of social work practitioners by a male-dominated academic system. Davis provides a strong argument for the influence

of academia on the voice of female academicians. It would be expected that academia would also have some effect on the voice of graduating social workers. A second source of pressure could originate from social work administration. The evidence indicates that men dominate the administrative positions in social work practice (Fanshel, 1976; Gelber, 1973) and presumably speak in a male voice. Since social work administration exerts a major influence on practice, the overrepresentation of men in this domain must have an influence on the behaviours of female practitioners. These points will be considered in the critique of Davis' research in Chapter 6.

## Chapter 6

### A Critique of Davis' Analysis of the Rift

The concept of "voice" introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982) is central to Davis' (1985) analysis of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers. The validity of Gilligan's research, however, has been the subject of considerable discussion in the literature. Attempts have been made to verify the supposition that women and men differ in their conceptions of morality and in how they deal with experiences of conflict and choice. Walker (1984), for example, critically reviewed 108 studies which examined sex differences in moral reasoning. He found that in only 17 % of the studies reviewed was there a noted difference in the moral reasoning between female and male subjects. In several of these studies, however, Walker located methodological flaws due primarily to sex and occupational/educational differences being confounded. More recent studies continue to deliver mixed results. Friedman, Robinson & Friedman (1987) report that in their sample of 101 liberal arts and community college students, female and male students possessed highly similar patterns of moral reasoning. In contrast, Dobrin (1989) reports that in his sample of 115 social workers, it was the female rather than male social workers who displayed a higher level of principled ethical judgement.

While Gilligan's research on voice has not been firmly established, the concept has raised important provocative questions and suggests interesting possibilities in several disciplines including social work. As with Davis, this thesis does not attempt to establish the validity of Gilligan's work. Rather, the concept of "voice" is considered to have

heuristic value in analyzing divisions in social work. This is the position also taken by Rhodes (1988) who draws on voice to analyze the two distinct approaches to ethical decision-making in social work; one approach emphasizing the female-voiced quality of responsibility and the other the male-voiced concern for individual rights. The focus of this chapter, therefore, is on assessing the validity of Davis' application of voice to her analysis of the rift.

In the first section of this chapter, a critical analysis of Davis' position that men and the male voice dominate social work academia is presented. This is followed in the second section by a critical analysis of Davis' position that women and the female voice dominate social work practice. The third section evaluates the strength of Davis' conclusion that the rift represents a clash between the female world view or voice of practitioners and the male world view or voice of academicians/researchers. A summary of the main points of this chapter is provided in the fourth and concluding section.

### 6.1 The Domination of the Male Voice in Social Work Academia

Davis maintains in her analysis of the rift that social work academia is dominated by the male voice. This position is substantiated with both evidence and argument. The primary evidence presented is that men numerically dominate social work academia (though there is a significant female minority), and are disproportionately represented in positions of authority within social work academia and as editors and editorial board members of social work journals. Davis also presents an argument that dismisses the effect of the substantial minority of female academics on the dominant male voice of academia. She posits that female academicians do not threaten but rather adopt the male voice because of the nature of the academic institution and its reward of male-voiced research with promotion and tenure. Her secondary evidence relies on the



dominance of quantitative research in academic social work and the extent to which quantitative approaches meet Gilligan's (1982) criteria for the male voice. Each of these points is considered separately.

### **6.1.1 The Numerical Domination of Men in Academia**

The evidence presented in Chapter 3 that men dominate social work academia and control the means for disseminating ideas is incontrovertible. Canadian and United States studies consistently reveal that: men occupy approximately 60 % of all faculty positions; are disproportionately represented in the top, high-status administrative positions such as dean/director and associate dean/director; occupy the high ranking teaching positions such as full and associate professor; attain tenure in disproportionate numbers; are more than twice as likely as women to have acquired a doctoral degree; publish a disproportionate number of articles in social work journals; and are over-represented as journal editors and as journal editorial board members. This evidence supports Davis' position that men are in the position to create and sanction the views or meanings in academic social work. If it is accepted that men possess a distinct male voice, then this evidence implies that the views or voice of social work academia would be primarily male.

### **6.1.2 Research in Academia**

Through an examination of the voice of the two distinct methodologies evident in academic research, qualitative and quantitative, Davis provides corroborative evidence for her position that the male voice is dominant in academic social work. It was reasoned that if the male voice dominates in this domain, then the dominant mode for conducting research would be consonant with that voice.

Davis evaluated the qualitative and quantitative methodologies for evidence of the female or male voice. This was accomplished by determining the important characteristics of each methodology and matching these characteristics with the criteria established by Gilligan (1982) for each voice. Davis concluded that qualitative methodology is consonant with the female voice and quantitative methodology with the male voice. This position is not one that has received active disagreement.

The available evidence documented in Chapter 5 indicates that quantitative or empirical methodology is the dominant mode for conducting research in social work although qualitative methodology does constitute a significant minority of published research. The dominance of a male-voiced methodology suggests that the dominant views or meanings (for which men are in the more favourable position to create and sanction in academic social work) reflect the male voice. This domination of quantitative research supports Davis' position that academia is predominately male voiced.

The existence of a significant amount of female-voiced qualitative research in social work journals, albeit decreasing relative to the amount of male-voiced quantitative research, raises a number of questions. Does the decreasing percentage of qualitative research published since the 1950's by social work academicians, and noted in Chapter 5, reflect the increasing percentage of men in social work academia? The answer is unclear, although the concept of "voice" would imply that this is so. Or, does the decreasing percentage of qualitative research reflect, as pointed out by Tripodi (1984), the increasing number of social work doctoral programs which emphasize empirical research? A pertinent question that can be answered is whether there is any correlation between one's sex and the type of research one publishes.

The concept of "voice" would suggest that an analysis of publications by sex of researcher and methodology utilized would reveal differences between female and male social work academicians. A significant preference by women as compared with men

for qualitative research, or for less scientifically sophisticated or more statistically descriptive quantitative research, would provide some evidence for each sex possessing a distinct voice. One confounding factor of such an analysis is, as Davis maintains is the case, the extent to which female academicians adopt the male voice. Such a study of sex and methodology does not appear in the literature and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 6.1.3 Incentives for the Male Voice in Academia

Davis asserts that there are incentives in academia for the use of the male voice. She posits that the academic reward system in concert with the domination of male-voiced quantitative research pressures women into adopting the male voice. These incentives serve to minimize the effect of the significant female minority on the dominant male voice of academia.

The process by which women adopt this male voice, as outlined in Chapter 5, appears reasonable. However, direct evidence that female academicians actually adopt the male voice is not available. It may be possible to locate direct evidence which contradicts Davis' assertion through a study (as outlined above) correlating author's sex with methodology used in published research. If there were a difference in the research methodology utilized by the sexes, and women did indeed favour qualitative research or less mathematically sophisticated quantitative research more often than men, then the difference between the sexes would be a measure of the strength of the adoption process. A large difference would imply that women do not adopt a different voice despite subtle pressures from the academic institution. If there were no difference, then either the women entering academia are male-voiced to begin with, or they assimilate completely, or the concept of "voice" is in fact invalid and women and men do not possess distinct world views.

## **6.2 The Domination of the Female Voice in Social Work Practice**

Davis maintains in her analysis of the rift that social work practice is female voiced. This position is supported with both evidence and argument. The primary evidence presented is that women numerically dominate direct practice positions. Davis also argues that the significant minority of men in practice do not threaten the dominant female voice but may in fact possess an inherent world view or voice that can be characterized as female. Each of these points is considered separately.

### **6.2.1 The Numerical Domination of Women in Direct Practice Positions**

Davis draws upon the evidence, documented in Chapter 3, that women occupy approximately two-thirds to three-quarters of direct social work practice positions to support the position that the views or meanings created and sanctioned in this domain are primarily those of a community of women. This position, however, is questionable since Davis does not also consider the evidence which points to women's underrepresentation in administration. Only slightly more than one-third of social work administrators are women. This percentage is similar to the percentage of women who occupy influential academic positions such as deanships and associate deanships (Rubin & Whitcomb, 1978).

Administration exerts considerable influence over the behaviour of practitioners. It is the administrators who determine how social work services are to be delivered and who are in a position to reward compliance with job security, promotion, and pay. Given women's underrepresentation in these influential positions, it would appear that the ability for women to create and sanction the views or meanings in social work practice is severely impaired. Given the importance of men's domination of influential positions in academia in establishing the dominance of the male voice for that domain, the neglect

to account for women's underrepresentation in practice administration constitutes a major difficulty with Davis' argument that social work practice is female voiced.

It could be argued, however, that the predominantly male administrators inherently possess or have adopted a female world view or voice thereby enhancing the probability that practice is female voiced. This possession or adoption of the female voice by male administrators appears unlikely in light of the argument made by Brager & Michael (1969) that administration is characterized by stereotypical masculine qualities. Further evidence that male administrators are not female voiced is provided by the findings that men are more likely to be hired for administrative positions following receipt of their master's degree in social work (Knapman, 1977) and that a greater number of men select administration as a career goal (Sutton, 1982). Thus, men entering the practice field are drawn to those activities (i.e., administration) that are most consistent with the male voice. If these influential male administrators were male voiced, then it must be shown how and why practice remains a female-voiced domain as maintained by Davis.

### **6.2.2 Incentives for the Female Voice in Practice**

To support the position that the female voice is dominant in social work practice, Davis presents an argument which dismisses the effect of the significant male minority on the female voice of practice. She posits that those men who choose a career in direct social work practice are likely to possess an inherent female world view or voice. No direct evidence was provided for this supposition. However, it can be reasoned that male-voiced men would be unlikely to choose a career in social work practice given its association with stereotypical feminine qualities (Brager & Michael, 1969). This suggestion appears weak when contrasted to Davis' argument that a reward system in concert with the domination of male-voiced quantitative research subtly encourages

the significant female minority in academia to adopt the dominant male voice.

While Davis maintains that men in practice are female voiced through self-selection, she does not consider whether practitioners may experience pressures to adopt the male voice. Davis argues that the domination of academia by men creates pressures on female academicians, both as students and as faculty, to adopt the male voice. Since female practitioners, particularly those who have obtained a postgraduate education, share much of the same training in the male dominated milieu of academia as their female academic counterparts, it would be inconsistent to argue that only those women planning an academic career would be pressured into adopting the male voice. It could be logically argued that the pressure experienced by women at the baccalaureate and master's levels to adopt the male voice is not as great as that experienced by women at the doctoral level where the emphasis is on empirical research. It would be illogical, however, to assume that the existence of a male-voiced academia would have no effect on the content of undergraduate and graduate level courses. Since male-voiced academics also grade the students in these courses, *prima facie* evidence exists for a reward system which pressures female social work students at all levels to adopt the male voice.

The pressure exerted on female social work students by academia to adopt the male voice may not be sufficient to keep these individuals using this voice once they are removed from the academic institution. However, if social work practice administration is dominated by the male voice and is instrumental in creating the reward system for practice, it is reasonable to expect that female practitioners, as is the case with female academics, experience pressure from the institution in which they are employed to adopt the male voice. The existence of a reward system in both the educational training and employment settings of social work practitioners which encourages the use of the male voice challenges Davis' position that practice constitutes a female-voiced domain.

Empirical evidence to support the claim that social work practice is either female

or male voiced is not available. Corroborative evidence that social work academia is dominated by the male voice was provided by the dominance of a male-voiced empirical research methodology in academia. An examination of the research methodology utilized by practitioners in published research may also provide evidence for the voice of practice. If for example practitioners exhibited a greater preference than academicians for qualitative research, or for less scientifically sophisticated quantitative research, it could be argued that practitioners are the more female-voiced group. One confounding factor, however, is the limited training in advanced scientific analysis among practitioners which would account for their greater use of qualitative or less sophisticated quantitative methods. A second confounding factor is that the domination of social work journal editorial positions and editorial boards by men may, as has been argued for female academicians, pressure female practitioners to publish in the male voice. Evidence for the voice of male practitioners might also be found in a comparative study of sex of practitioner/researcher and methodology utilized in published social work research. Such studies do not appear in the literature, and while pertinent, are beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 6.3 The Rift

An examination of Davis' interpretation of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers raises a number of questions. The most important question is whether the concept of "voice" is of any value to a discussion of the rift. Certainly, there is evidence which challenges its necessity in analyzing the rift. For example, as noted in Chapter 2, the research of several authors (Casselmann, 1972; Kirk & Fischer, 1976; Mutschler, 1984; Welch, 1983) has identified more mundane explanations or practical reasons for why practitioners do not utilize the empirical

practice models which academicians/researchers enthusiastically endorse. However, these latter explanations do not by themselves eliminate voice as a factor in the rift. A further challenge to the use of voice as an analytic concept is that Gilligan's research has not been conclusively established. This does not necessarily mean, however, that there is no validity to the concept. In the face of such challenges, one must appeal to its heuristic value, as Davis has done. The value of voice is then determined by whether application of the concept leads to meaningful or enlightening conclusions.

A further question raised from an examination of Davis' interpretation of the rift is whether voice is indeed involved. For voice to be relevant, it must be shown that groups and ideas involved in the rift can be associated with either the female or male voice. Such associations do appear in an examination of the rift. First, various groups do display a dominant voice. The arguments put forward by the two factions which oppose or support the use of a scientifically based social work practice reveal distinct qualities which permit each group to be associated with either the female or male voice (as discussed in Chapter 4). Further, Davis' position that social work academia is dominated by the male voice appears reasonable. Second, the ideas involved in the rift can be associated with a dominant voice. The qualities of a scientific or empirical clinical practice identified in Chapter 4, for example, are consonant with the male voice. As well, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies utilized in academic social work reflect qualities consonant with the female voice and male voice. The only apparent difficulty in applying voice to the rift is that the voice of practice and of the practice administration has not been well established.

Because of the difficulty in establishing the dominant voice of practice, contrary to Davis' claim, the question that arises is—what is the voice of practice? If it is male voiced, there should not be a rift nor should there be a vigorous debate over the use of empirical models in social work. On the other hand, it is difficult to claim that practice



is female voiced since women are not in a position to create and sanction the views or meanings in this domain and since they have received a male-voiced educational training. These points suggest that there may not be a dominant voice in practice. If this is the case, can there still be a rift? Is the absence of a dominant voice in practice reflective of a stage in which one voice is being replaced by another? If the voice of practice is becoming increasingly male, then what is the implication for female consumers of social work services? Possible answers to these questions are provided in a reformulation of Davis' analysis of the rift in Chapter 7.

#### **6.4 Summary**

Davis interprets the rift as a conflict between female-voiced practitioners and male-voiced academicians/researchers over the use of a male-voiced scientific social work practice. The available evidence does support Davis' position that social work academia is male voiced. First, since men are disproportionately represented and predominate in the positions of authority in academia, the views or meanings created and sanctioned in this domain are primarily those of a community of men. Second, corroborative evidence that these views reflect the male voice is provided by the dominance of male-voiced empirical research in academic social work. Third, the nature of the academic institution and its reward of male-voiced research with promotion and tenure pressures the significant minority of female academicians into adopting the dominant male voice.

In contrast to the strengths of Davis' position on academia, there are two major difficulties with her position that practice is female voiced. First, Davis neglects to account for the underrepresentation of women in the influential administrative positions in practice and the effect this may have on their ability to create and sanction the views or meanings for practice. Second, Davis does not consider any possible pressures

on practitioners to adopt the male voice due to the educational training they share with academicians and due to a reward system controlled by the predominantly male practice administration. These difficulties cast doubt on Davis' position that social work practice is female voiced.

Despite these difficulties with Davis' analysis, there is evidence that voice is involved in the rift. Those who oppose or support the use of an empirical clinical practice may be described as female or male voiced. Academia can also be described as dominated by the male voice. As well, empirical clinical practice and its parent empirical or quantitative research methodology display qualities consonant with the male voice while qualitative methodology reflects the female voice. The remaining requirement in order to analyze the rift in terms of voice, is to establish the voice of practice. Since there is a rift between practice and academia, this indicates that practice is not male voiced. On the other hand, the two major difficulties with Davis' position regarding practice suggest that it may not be female voiced. The remaining option, that neither voice currently dominates in this domain, and the implication that this may have for female consumers of services will be considered in the following chapter.

While not in the purview of this thesis, an interesting avenue for confirming the concept of voice and for determining the voice of practitioners and academicians/-researchers is through a study of gender of researcher and methodology utilized in published research. If women favour qualitative research, or less scientifically sophisticated or more statistically descriptive quantitative research, more often than men then this would provide evidence for the existence of distinct world views between the sexes. A confounding factor, however, is the extent to which women possess or adopt the male voice. Consequently, a study of the differences in the choice of methodology utilized between female practitioners and female academicians may shed light on the comparative extent to which these female groups possess or adopt the male voice.

## **Chapter 7**

### **A Reformulated Interpretation of the Rift**

The rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers is interpreted by Davis as a clash between the dominant female voice of practice and the dominant male voice of academia. However, the difficulties identified in Chapter 6 with Davis' position about practice raise doubts about her interpretation of the rift as a strict female-male dichotomy of voice. This chapter explores an answer to the question of what is the voice of practice and, based on this assessment, provides a reformulated interpretation of the rift.

In the first section of this chapter, the voice of practice is determined. This is followed in the second section with a reformulated interpretation of the rift. In the third section, the implications of this reformulation for female consumers of social work services are examined. In the fourth and concluding section, a summarization of the previous sections is provided.

#### **7.1 The Voice of Practice**

In using the concept of "voice" to interpret the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers, it is necessary to identify the voice of each group. As noted in the previous chapter, Davis' position that social work academia is male voiced is strongly supported. Her position that social work practice is female voiced, on the other hand, is difficult to accept. Davis fails to account for women's underrepresentation in administration and their consequent inability to create and sanction the views or voice

for practice, and does not consider the pressures on female practitioners to adopt the male voice, as she does for female academicians. These oversights necessitate a new assessment of the voice of practice.

In determining the voice of practice, it is necessary to assess the options available. The first option is that the voice of practice is female as argued by Davis. However, as noted above, there are two major difficulties with this position. Moreover, if practice were predominantly female voiced then the rejection of male-voiced empirical practice models by practitioners would be as complete as the acceptance of these models is by academicians. If practice were solidly female voiced, there would not be a rift between these two groups but an unbridgeable chasm.

The second option is that practice is male voiced. Such a position, however, is also problematic. If practice were male voiced, then practitioners would not display any hesitation in implementing a male-voiced scientifically based practice as endorsed by academicians. If there were no hesitation on the part of practitioners to adopt empirical models, then a rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers would not exist contrary to the evidence presented in Chapter 2.

The third and most probable option is that there currently is no dominant voice in practice. While there is no available direct evidence for this position, the difficulties with the first two options leave this as a plausible and likely alternative. This alternative, that no voice dominates, is tenable since it may be argued that academia at one time also did not exhibit a dominant voice.

To argue that social work academia at one time did not exhibit a dominant voice, it must be demonstrated that the male voice did not always dominate in this domain. This conclusion is reached by comparing evidence similar to that used in establishing the current male voice of academia but for earlier decades. Presently, men are numerically dominant, are disproportionately represented in the most influential positions, and

the male-voiced empirical research methodology is the dominant mode for conducting research in academia. Prior to the 1950's, however, women were numerically dominant and female-voiced nonempirical research was the standard. This finding is obtained from an extrapolation of the available data on the percentage of women in academia (Gripton, 1974) and on the percentage of published research utilizing nonempirical methodology (Tripodi, 1984). This evidence indicates that the views or meanings created by the numerically dominant female academia, and reflected in research, were female voiced. Since these significant changes in the academic population and approach to research occurred over decades, the change in dominant voice is unlikely to have been sudden. Therefore, the transition from the female to the male voice must have been prolonged and must have included a time when neither voice dominated. If the absence of a dominant voice once occurred in academia, it is possible that practice is presently experiencing a similar absence of a dominant voice. Since the absence of a dominant voice in academia reflected a transition in voice, it is plausible that the current absence of a dominant voice in practice may also reflect a similar transition.

To support the position that practice is in transition, it must be demonstrated that this domain at one time exhibited a dominant voice. This is accomplished by noting that the pressure exerted from the male dominated educational system on female practitioners to adopt the male voice (and described in Chapter 6) was considerably less when the female voice dominated academia. Without this pressure, and given the smaller percentage of men in practice prior to the 1950's (Gripton, 1974) and presumably therefore in administration, practice would have been predominantly female voiced.

Fischer (1981) provides further support for the position that a transformation is presently occurring in the social work profession; a change "in the way social workers view knowledge and practice and in the ways they use knowledge to conduct practice"

(p. 199). To explain how a new conceptualization of social work practice evolves, Fischer draws on Kuhn's (1962) model of a scientific—and by extension, a professional—revolution.

According to Kuhn, the scientific and professional communities are guided in their theorizing and research by a superordinate model or paradigm. These models restrict the problems that the communities consider, bias the communities' perceptions of the phenomena involved in the problems, constrain the solutions sought for the problems, and often prevent the communities from raising questions about the validity of the superordinate models themselves. Over time however, new and unsuspected phenomena, or anomalies, which violate the models are uncovered by research. At first, the communities attempt to eliminate any apparent conflict by accounting for those anomalies with superficial modifications to the superordinate models. As the anomalies increase in both number and importance, the communities eventually begin to question the validity of their models, though at first negative results and new ideas are not accepted. This "crisis" provokes the communities into examining and investigating new models. Ultimately, a new model or paradigm which solves the crisis-provoking problems is adopted and the scientific or professional revolution is complete.

Fischer (1981) argues that this model of a scientific or professional revolution is evident in social work. First, until recently, a loosely structured subordinate model guided social workers in their practice. "This model consisted largely of common theoretical understandings, for the most part not empirically based, plus shared conceptions of the most important characteristics of practice" (Fischer, 1981, p. 199).

Second, several studies of service effectiveness conducted over many years (Fischer, 1973; Schuerman, 1975; Wood, 1978) failed to clearly demonstrate that social work practice results in client improvement. Fischer notes that these consistently negative findings, or anomalies, evoked a crisis in the profession which manifested itself in part

in the denouncement of these findings by social work practitioners (Hallowitz, 1973). Eventually, this crisis prompted social workers to investigate and examine new models for practice which would result in a more efficacious treatment service (Ivanoff, Blythe & Briar, 1987; Siegel, 1984).

Fischer argues that the final stage in Kuhn's model of a scientific or professional revolution, the adoption of a new superordinate model or paradigm, appears to be taking place in social work. "The paradigm shift appears to involve a movement toward more systematic, rational, empirically oriented development and use of knowledge for practice... a movement toward scientifically based practice in social work" (Fischer, 1981, p. 200). The revolution will be complete, maintains Fischer, when social work practitioners adopt as their standard model an empirically oriented practice.

The outcome of the transition in voice, from female to male, in social work academia suggests that practice will share the same fate. This is a reasonable expectation since the pressures on practitioners to adopt the male voice are growing stronger. As Davis (1985) points out, male-voiced empirical models have become popular among social work academicians and the practice textbooks which they draw upon for classroom instruction increasingly reflect these new models of practice. Given the increased popularity of empirical clinical practice in academic instruction, female social work practice students are coming under increasing pressure to demonstrate mastery of the male voice.

Practitioners can also increasingly expect to receive additional pressure to adopt an empirically oriented practice once they commence employment in the field. This pressure originates from the predominantly male administration who would not have difficulty accepting male-voice empirical models because of the voice congruency and because the arguments in favour of empirical clinical practice, effectiveness and legitimacy, have particular weight with administrators. In this era of budget restrictions,

administrators must demonstrate effectiveness and accountability and will demand that the practitioners under their administrative control furnish this evidence using empirical clinical practice. To increase practitioners' use of an empirical practice, administrators are likely offer incentives. Since a lack of agency incentives is a major reason cited by practitioners for their underutilization of research (Casselmann, 1971; Mutschler, 1984), an offer of reward is likely to have the desired effect.

## **7.2 The Reformulation**

The conclusion that social work practice is currently without a dominant voice, challenges Davis' interpretation of the rift as a conflict between the female voice of practice and the male voice of academia. An alternative interpretation of the rift is therefore required.

The framework for an alternative interpretation of the rift is provided by combining the research of both Fischer (1981) and Gilligan (1982). Fischer's description of a revolution in social work towards a scientifically based practice is viewed as a transformation from the female to the male voice. This transformation in voice is driven by the increasing proportion of men to positions of power and influence within the profession.

The revolution towards a male-voiced empirically oriented practice initially began in social work academia. Though academia was once controlled by women and the female voice prevailed, the increasing control of influential academic positions by men altered the voice in this domain. With male academicians in control of the academic reward system, female academicians are pressured into adopting the male voice. The dominance of empirical research models in academia suggests that the revolution in this domain is largely complete.



The increasing dominance of the male voice in academia in concert with the influx of men into practice, and in particular into influential administrative positions, has resulted in the revolution spreading to practice. Practitioners have come under increasing pressure, through their male-voiced educational training and through the male dominated reward system in practice, to adopt scientific practice models. This tension between the inherent female voice of practitioners and the incongruent male voice of empirical clinical practice, endorsed by both academicians and administrators, has resulted in practice being in a state of flux. As these male-voiced groups, academicians and administrators, are in a position to demand the use of an empirical practice, it is probable that the male voice will dominate in this domain. However, the conversion of practice to the male voice is not complete as is reflected by the presence of a rift between practice and academia. The rift over empirical clinical practice is thus viewed as a conflict between the inherent voice of the predominantly female practitioners and the voice which they are pressured to adopt by the male-voiced groups—academia and administration.

### **7.3 Implications of the Reformulation**

It has been argued by the faction composed primarily of social work academicians/-researchers that the adoption of male-voiced empirical practice models by social work practitioners will result in a more efficacious treatment service. However, the consequences of this transition toward the male voice in practice for female consumers of social work treatment have not been considered. In this section, the implications of this revolution in voice for female consumers are examined. This examination first requires a determination of the voice of the predominantly female client population which the profession serves.

Women constitute the majority of those who seek psychological services (Richardson, 1981); they are disproportionately represented among those diagnosed with depression (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987) and among those seeking social assistance (Gelber, 1973). As this clientele composes a large sample, and if Gilligan's (1982) concept of "voice" is valid, the majority of these women would speak in a female voice. The only confounding factor which would prevent the voice of these women from being female is the extent to which members of this group have adopted the male voice. However, since the majority of these women are likely to occupy homemaker or clerical positions, rather than be employed in such male dominated settings as academia or business where the male voice is rewarded, the widespread adoption of the male voice is unlikely.

As the voice of the predominantly female client population is female, the transition occurring in practice toward the male voice means that there is a growing divergence in voice between clinical practitioners and their female clientele. Given that an incongruence in voice between practitioners and academicians/researchers is at the centre of their disagreement over the use of empirical clinical practice, a possible new rift between practitioners and female clients may emerge because of their similar incongruence in voice. This new rift between practitioners and female clients would manifest itself in communication difficulties and would impede consensus over goals, treatment modalities, and criteria for success. These communication difficulties are a consequence of the distinctiveness of the female and male voices. The voice of an individual biases the interpretation of a problem and what is judged to be a satisfactory resolution to that problem, and determines the approach taken for its resolution. Since consensus between practitioners and clients is crucial to the delivery of a beneficial and satisfactory service, it would be ironic if the adoption of the male voice by practitioners, for reasons of casework effectiveness, had the opposite effect.

While there is no direct evidence that incongruency in voice results in a detrimental

treatment outcome, circumstantial evidence that congruence in voice does effect female client satisfaction is provided by Orlinsky & Howard (1976). In their study of 118 women who sought outpatient psychotherapy, it was reported that at least for those women diagnosed with depressive reactions, a therapeutic relationship that was less detached and separate, and more expansive was correlated with greater client satisfaction. This study appears to show that female clients prefer practitioners that display female as opposed to male-voiced qualities.

The difficulty that practitioners have in providing an effective treatment service to women because of an incompatibility in voice is further exacerbated by the androcentrism of current psychological theories which underlie practice. As noted by Gilligan (1982) and discussed in Chapter 4, the theories of Erikson (1950) and Kohlberg (1981), for example, are based on the observation of male subjects only and emphasize the male-voiced qualities of individuation, separation, and distance. These male-voiced theories, however, do not reflect the reality of the women's lives nor the importance of the female-voiced qualities of connection and affiliation in their lives. Since the theories which underlie practice do not accurately represent the psychology of women, the treatment offered to this client population would be inappropriate and nonbeneficial.

Smith (1984) and Braverman (1986) examine how an accurate understanding of the psychology of women enables practitioners to understand the psychiatric problems with which women present and to provide a more appropriate treatment service. They illustrate this point through the example of a battered woman returning to her abusive partner. If the theories relied upon by practitioners emphasized the male-voiced qualities of separation and distance, then the return of this woman to her partner may be misconstrued as masochistic. Her return may also invoke anger and frustration on the part of the practitioner. However, if practitioners understood the importance of connection and affiliation in the lives of women and their association of separation with

danger (Pollak & Gilligan, 1982), then the battered woman's return would appear more reasonable since it reflects the need for affiliation taken to extreme. This recognition of the importance of connection in the life of the battered woman provides the key to effecting a beneficial treatment service.

#### **7.4 Summary**

The difficulties in arguing that social work practice is dominated by either the female or male voice leads to the conclusion that neither voice currently dominates in this domain. It is reasoned that this absence of a dominant voice in practice has occurred because of a revolution in voice that is spreading throughout the profession. This revolution has been driven by the increasing control of the profession exerted by men. The revolution is largely complete in academia and the once dominant female voice has been usurped by the male voice. As a consequence of this revolution, female academicians have adopted the male voice since acquisition of this voice is rewarded.

With the emergence of the male voice in academia, pressure has been exerted on practitioners through their academic training to adopt the male voice. This pressure is reinforced by the predominantly male-voiced practice administration. Administration would have no philosophical problem in adopting male-voiced empirical practice models espoused by male-voice academicians because of the congruency in voice. Further, the arguments for using a scientific practice, effectiveness and legitimacy, have great weight with administrators. As a result, administrators are likely to require the implementation of these practice models by the practitioners under their supervision. The rift is therefore reasoned to be a conflict between the inherent female voice of practitioners and the male voice which they are under pressure to adopt by both academia and the practice administration. As empirical clinical practice becomes the required standard,

it is reasonable to argue that the female voice will erode and will be replaced by the male voice as has happened in academia.

It can be reasoned that female clients display the female voice. If practitioners are increasingly adopting the male voice then a rift is growing between these two groups. The incompatibility of voice between practitioners and female consumers may result in communication difficulties, as it has for practitioners and academicians, and the ability to deliver a beneficial treatment service for women may be hindered.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusion**

In this final chapter, a summation of the main points and conclusions raised by this thesis is provided. As well, the implications of this research, its limitations, and the opportunities for future research are briefly discussed. The thesis summation is presented in the first section. This is followed by discussions of the implications and limitations of this research in the second and third sections respectively. The final section presents possible topics for future research.

#### **8.1 Thesis Summary**

Several explanations have been provided to account for the origins of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers over the use of empirical clinical practice. One particular interpretation of the rift, offered by Liane Davis (1985), is examined in detail in this thesis. In her analysis, Davis draws on the concept of "voice" introduced by Carol Gilligan (1982) and argues that the rift represents a conflict between the female voice of practice and the male voice of academia and revolves around the use of a male-voiced empirical approach to practice.

Davis supports her position that practice is dominated by the female voice and academia by the male voice by first arguing that the views which predominate in practice are primarily those of a community of women and that the views which predominate in academia reflect those of a community of men. Second, Davis draws on the research of Gilligan (1982) to argue that the views which dominate in practice reflect the female

voice while the views which dominate academia reflect the male voice. Davis further argues that the rift between female-voiced practice and male-voiced academia is maintained by mechanisms which suppress the voice of the significant minority of the other sex in each domain.

The data presented in this thesis, that men are numerically dominant and are disproportionately represented in positions of power in academia, lends credence to Davis' claim that men are in the more favourable position, as compared with women, to create and sanction the views in this domain. The data does not, however, support Davis' claim that women are in a similar position to create and sanction the views in practice. While women are numerically dominant in direct practice positions, only a third of the influential practice administrators are women. Davis' neglect to account for women's underrepresentation in practice administration and the consequent effect this has on the ability of women to create and sanction the views in practice constitutes the first difficulty with her interpretation of the rift.

The mechanisms, identified by Davis, which suppress the minority voice in each domain and maintain the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers were examined. The first mechanism identified in academia which suppresses the female voice in female academicians is the academic institution. This institution, as was shown, rewards the possession of a doctoral degree and the publication of original research with promotion and tenure. As well, male-voiced quantitative research methodology was shown to be the dominant mode for conducting research in social work academia. This dominance of quantitative methodology lead to the conclusion that doctoral degrees are awarded to those female graduate students who demonstrate mastery of male-voiced research methodology. Likewise, it was concluded that it is the publication of original quantitative research which is rewarded with promotion and tenure. Women who wish succeed in academia must therefore adopt the male voice.

The second mechanism identified by Davis in academia which suppresses the voice of female academicians is the distrust of the female voice engendered in these individuals. This distrust arises as a consequence of the devaluation, underutilization, and lack of reward that academia displays for the female voice as compared to the male voice. This distrust of the female voice, in concert with women's socialized deference to the authoritative voice of men, results in female academicians consciously or unconsciously adopting the male voice.

In contrast to these two mechanisms in academia for the assimilation of women, similar explicit pressures causing male practitioners to either possess an inherent female voice or to adopt that voice were not identified by Davis. This failure to determine a specific mechanism reflects a logical inconsistency and requires a reconsideration of Davis' argument.

Contrary to Davis' position that practice is dominated by the female voice, this thesis presented the argument that pressures are exerted on female practitioners to adopt the male voice. One pressure identified arises from the male-voiced educational training that female practitioners share in part with their female academic counterparts and which results in those academicians adopting the male voice. Practitioners wishing to graduate must meet the requirements of that male-voiced training. The second pressure emanates from the male dominated practice administration. Administration exerts considerable influence over the behaviour of practitioners. It rewards compliance with job security, pay, and promotion. Davis' failure to consider these pressures on practitioners to adopt the male voice constitutes the second difficulty with her interpretation of the rift. These oversights, along with her neglect to account for women's underrepresentation in administrative positions, necessitated a reassessment of the voice of practice and of Davis' conceptualization of the rift as a female-male dichotomy in voice.



In reassessing the rift, the voice of practice was determined. The difficulties identified with Davis' position on practice militate against the conclusion that this domain is female voiced. An alternate option, that practice is male voiced, is also unviable since male-voiced practitioners would have no philosophical objection to the implementation of a male-voiced empirical clinical practice. The remaining, and most probable, option is that neither voice currently dominates in this domain.

It was concluded that this current lack of a dominant voice in practice is the result of a revolution in voice which initially began in social work academia. Historical trends indicate that the female voice was once dominant in this domain. Prior to the 1950's, women numerically dominated social work academia and there was a high proportion of qualitative research published. Since academia is now male voiced, this implies that there was a decades-long transition during which neither voice dominated. This rise of the male voice coincided with the influx of men into academia and, more importantly, into positions of influence. The conversion of academia to the male voice is largely complete as reflected by the dominance of empirical research models in this domain.

The increasing dominance of the male voice in academia, accompanied by the increasing proportion of men in practice and particularly in influential administrative positions, has resulted in the revolution in voice spreading to practice. While practice was once female voiced, pressures from the male-voiced educational system and the agency reward system controlled by the largely male administrators have resulted in the voice of practice being in a state of flux. The existence of a rift between practice and academia over the use of empirical practice is a sign of this flux and an indication that this conversion of practice to the male voice is not yet complete.

It was concluded that the rift over empirical clinical practice reflects a conflict between the inherent voice of the predominantly female practitioners and the voice which they are pressured to adopt by the male-voiced groups—academia and practice

administration. Moreover, it is probable that the male voice will eventually dominate practice since the male-voiced groups, academia and administration, are in a position to demand the use of male-voiced empirical clinical practice.

These conclusions present an interpretation of the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers that is in general accord with Davis on the main point that voice is involved in the rift. However, the differences between the interpretation of the rift offered by this thesis and that of Davis offers a broader, more complex and dynamic, view of the rift. That a more complex view of the rift emerges from a careful examination of the evidence is not surprising since Davis herself claimed that her straightforward application of the concept of "voice" to the rift is an oversimplification. In this light, this thesis may be seen as a modest extension of Davis' original and imaginative research.

## 8.2 Implications of Thesis

The changing voice in practice from female to male has important implications for female consumers of social work treatment. As a group, these women can be expected to display the qualities of the female voice. A transition toward the male voice in practice implies that there is a growing divergence in voice between practitioners and their female clientele. This divergence in voice may result in a breakdown in communication leading to a rift between practitioners and female clients as has been the case with practitioners and academicians. Since impeded communication hinders the provision of an efficacious service, the transition to the male voice in practice may have deleterious consequences for female consumers. It is difficult, however, to gauge the extent to which the incongruence between the voice of the practitioner and female client will affect treatment.

A second implication suggested by this thesis is that the use of male-voiced androcentric theories which underlie traditional practice may be harmful to female consumers. It has been noted that the application by clinical practitioners of these traditional theories to women may result in a flawed understanding of their presenting problems which will impede the delivery of an efficacious service to this client population (Braverman, 1986; Smith, 1984). Since even female-voiced social work practitioners may make use of traditional androcentric theories, congruence of voice is not, in itself, a guarantee of beneficial service.

Davis has argued that the best available treatment would entail a harmonious blend of both the female and the male voice. This is a position similar to Rhodes (1985) who argued that ethical decisions were best made by a careful balance of the female-voiced and male-voiced approaches to morality—responsibility and individual rights. Despite the current lack of dominance by either voice in practice, the fractiousness of the debate over the use of empirical clinical practice indicates that such a harmonious blend of the voices has not been made. It may be that this balance can result from combining empirical clinical practice with a more accurate understanding of women and men such as is offered by feminist theory.

For this more accurate understanding of women and men to become part of standard practice, changes must be made to more fully incorporate feminist theory into the social work curriculum of both practitioners and academicians. This suggests that the current imbalance in favour of the male voice, particularly in academia, must be met with a counterrevolution aimed not at restoring the female voice to dominance but to achieving a balance. It may be argued that feminist theory and feminist theoreticians and practitioners are indeed struggling towards this goal. The growth and spread of feminist theory, as evidenced by the explicit and required feminist content of Carleton University's social work program and the creation of new academic journals dedicated

to feminist approaches to therapy, are encouraging signs that this counterrevolution may succeed.

The suggestion of combining empirical clinical practice with feminist theory arises from the hypothesis that efficacy of treatment is correlated with the accuracy of the psychological theories used. This hypothesis is testable and merits consideration. If the results of a thorough study favoured the use of feminist theory, the social work counterrevolution in voice may be enhanced. Empirical male-voiced evidence of the effectiveness of feminist theory would make it easier to convince male-voiced academia and administration to incorporate feminist theory into curriculum and practice, thus hastening the achievement of a balanced voice in social work.

### 8.3 Limitations of the Present Research

This thesis has examined Davis' application of voice to her analysis of the rift between social work practitioners and social work academicians/researchers. Two flaws were identified with her analysis and a subsequent reformulation of her work lead to four conclusions:

1. that there is revolution in voice occurring in the social work profession,
2. that the likely outcome of this revolution in voice is the conversion of practice to the male voice,
3. that the transition in practice toward the male voice may result in a possible new rift between practitioners and female clients, and
4. that this new rift will have implications for the treatment of women.

These conclusions may be questioned since the concept of "voice" has not been firmly established (Dobrin, 1989; Friedman, Robinson & Friedman, 1987; Walker,

1984). However, as noted in Chapter 7, voice has been considered in both Davis' work and this thesis to have heuristic value in analyzing divisions in social work. The value of voice as an analytic concept depends on whether it leads to meaningful results. By this measure, it has succeeded. Voice has offered an explanation of the changes that have occurred, and that are occurring, in the social work profession. For example, the profession's shift towards quantitative research methods and empirical practice has been noted by Fischer (1981), as has the increase in the percentage of men in the profession by Gripton (1974). The concept of "voice" enables one to argue that this shift to a scientific model is causally connected to the influx of men. However, despite the plausible connection between voice and the changes in the profession, this thesis does not argue that voice is the only, or even the main, cause of these changes or of the rift between practitioners and academicians/researchers.

One other indication of the merit of having used voice as an analytic tool is the emergence of testable predictions and of possible fruitful areas of future research. One such prediction is the conclusion that practice will eventually adopt the male voice, albeit this is a prediction which will require several decades to be proven true or false. One interesting area of future research suggested by this thesis concerns the sex of author and the type of research conducted and published. Such a study, discussed in the following section, may offer some indication of the validity of the concept of "voice" if statistically significant correlations are found.

#### 8.4 Future Research

The application of the concept of "voice" to an analysis of the rift has had the beneficial side effect of suggesting valuable lines for future inquiry.

The first such area is the connection between the sex of author and the type of

research conducted and published. Voice leads to the expectation that female academicians should differ from their male counterparts in their preference for qualitative over quantitative research and in their use of sophisticated statistical analysis. Such a study is feasible and would follow the lines established by Tripodi (1984) in his study on the breakdown of published social work research. Such a study may allow a determination of the voice of female academicians.

Interpretation of the results would have to take into account several confounding factors. These factors include the possible bias male dominated editorial boards may have against publishing qualitative research, the emphasis placed on quantitative methodology in the social work curriculum, and the extent to which female academicians, as suggested by Davis, adopt the male voice. Null results would therefore not necessarily falsify the concept of "voice".

Extension of this line of inquiry to the published research of practitioners may also yield evidence for the voice of female and male practitioners. It may also yield interesting results particularly in comparison to the results on the research of academicians. If female academicians and female practitioners differ significantly in the types of research they publish, this may be a measure of the extent to which female academicians adopt the male voice. Again confounding factors, as mentioned above, would have to be taken into consideration in any analysis of the results. An additional confounding factor in a comparison of the research of practitioners and academicians is that practitioners are less likely to have received training in advanced statistical analysis.

A different line of inquiry would be to study the effectiveness of empirical clinical practice based on feminist, as compared to more a more traditional, theory. Such a theory would require a sample large enough for the results to be statistically significant. This sample would consist of two groups of practitioners—one group using a combination of empirical clinical practice with feminist theory while the second group

used traditional theory. Other than their use of theory, these two groups should be identical in sex composition, age, years of experience, education, and type of agency. The client population treated by each group of practitioners should also be similar in such characteristics as sex composition, socio-economic status, age, education, marital status, number of children, and most importantly in presenting problem. The research of Smith (1984) and Braverman (1986) suggests that battered women would be an ideal client population for such a study. A measurable increase in the efficacy of empirical clinical practice resulting from the use of feminist theory could have considerable impact on the spread of feminist theory through the profession.

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## **Appendix A**

### **Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development**

#### **Stage 1 - *Basic trust versus basic mistrust***

A feeling of trust is dependent on the quality of the maternal relationship. A mother creates a sense of trust in her child by responding to its needs and by establishing a firm sense of trustworthiness. If these conditions are not met, mistrust arises and manifests itself in the schizoid or depressive personality or in an inability to develop intimate relationships in adulthood.

#### **Stage 2 - *Autonomy versus shame and doubt***

Muscular maturation and experimentation characterize this stage. Firm parenting must exist to protect the child from her/his untrained sense of discrimination yet loose enough to permit the child to experience free choice or autonomy. If a parent errs to either side of the balance, the child will possess a propensity for shame and doubt.

#### **Stage 3 - *Initiative versus guilt***

A child now possesses the ability to plan for her/his own gratification. The problem is that the child does not possess an adequate ability to foresee the consequences of an action. The danger associated with this stage therefore, is a feeling of guilt which arises with certain acts initiated or goals contemplated. The goal of this stage is to develop a sense of moral responsibility so that an action can be undertaken for enjoyment and an action associated with guilt, avoided.



#### Stage 4 - *Industry versus inferiority*

In preparation for a child's future role as provider for her/his family, skills and education must be acquired. With the child's schooling, a sense of competency and mastery can result or a sense of inferiority when the skills possessed are personally evaluated to be deficient when compared with the skills of her/his own schoolmates.

#### Stage 5 - *Identity versus role confusion*

This stage is associated with the adolescent years. The task facing the adolescent is to develop a sense of identity with regards to her/his own sexuality and occupational goal or career. Role confusion arises with the inability to settle on a sexual or occupational identity.

#### Stage 6 - *Intimacy versus isolation*

After searching for and developing a sense of identity, the young adult is now willing to fuse her/his identity with another in intimacy. If an individual is unable to commit to affiliation, a sense of distantiation arises which impedes the ability to form any future relationship.

#### Stage 7 - *Generativity versus Stagnation*

Generativity involves a commitment to establishing and nurturing the next generation. Failure to make this commitment to the next generation, leads to self-centredness which in turn results in a sense of stagnation and personal impoverishment.

#### Stage 8 - *Ego integrity versus despair*

A sense of ego integrity is formed in the individual who has accepted her/his own life as it was. Discontentment or the belief that one's own life had been wasted, leads to despair in the face of inevitable death.

## **Appendix B**

### **Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development**

**Level A. *Preconventional Level*** - Right action is externally controlled. It is governed by physical or hedonistic consequences.

#### *Stage 1 - The Punishment-and-Obedience Orientation*

This stage consists of egocentric thinking where an individual does not consider the interests of others or recognize that they can differ from her/his own. Physical consequences determine whether an action is "good" or "bad" rather than its effects on others.

#### *Stage 2 - The Instrumental-Relativist Orientation*

An individual at this stage maintains an individualistic perspective where right action is determined when it serves her/his own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Qualities of equal sharing and reciprocity are present but only because the individual expects favors in exchange for her/his kindness.

**Level B. *Conventional Level*** - Fulfilling the expectations of family or society is important regardless of its immediate consequences. Right action is therefore governed by conformity to personal expectations and social order.

#### *Stage 3 - The Interpersonal Concordance or Good Boy-Good Girl Orientation*

The individual is now seen in relationship to others. Right action is dependent on whether it helps others or is approved by them. There is an emphasis on "being good" and of fulfilling the wishes that others have of us.

**Stage 4 - The "Law-and-Order" Orientation**

A strong belief in law and order propels an individual to behave in ways which are in accordance with the fixed rules and the demands of higher authority. Laws can be broken in extreme cases when they conflict with other social rights or duties.

**Level C. Postconventional Level -** Moral decisions are internally controlled. Right action is based on higher level principles that are beyond the law.

**Stage 5 - The Social-Contract Legalistic Orientation**

Right action is determined when the rights of individuals are respected and when the legal contracts of a society are upheld even when they conflict with societal rules and laws.

**Stage 6 - The Universal-Ethical Principle Orientation**

Right action is determined by one's conscience in accord with self-chosen universal principles. These principles include a primary regard for the equality and value of all human beings and for the reciprocity of human relations. When these principles conflict with societal laws, one acts in accordance with the principles.

## **Appendix C**

### **Gilligan's Theory of Women's Psychological Development**

#### ***Stage 1 - Orientation to Individual Survival***

A woman at this stage experiences a feeling of disconnectedness from others. This feeling of isolation causes a woman to concentrate solely on her own needs or self in order to ensure survival. The moral problem of conflicting responsibilities does not present a problem at this stage because a woman is unable to consider the needs of the other individual due to an absence of connection. The dilemma is resolved in the best interests of the woman.

#### ***Transitional Phase 1 - From Selfishness to Responsibility***

The transitional issue involves the recognition of the connection between self and other. A woman is now aware of her responsibility not only to herself but also to others. Therefore, moral decisions are no longer based solely on the needs of the woman. The moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities is now resolved in the best interests of the other individual.

#### ***Stage 2 - Goodness as Self-Sacrifice***

In contrast to stage 1, a woman in stage 2 sacrifices her own needs and wishes for those of the other individual. She defines herself and proclaims her worth through her ability to protect and care for others. This concern for others, in concert with a sense of powerlessness and worthlessness, prevents her from making her own decisions. Instead, she defers to the judgement of others. The moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities is resolved in the best interest of the other individual.

*Transitional Phase 2 - From Goodness to Reality*

The logic of self-sacrifice is now questioned because of a woman's increased sense of power and worth. She is able to separate her own voice from that of others and wonders whether it is possible to care for herself as well as for others and still be a caring and unselfish person. The exercise of such responsibility requires that a woman acknowledge the reality of her situation and the consequences of her action.

*Stage 3 - The Morality of Nonviolence*

This stage is characterized by a new awareness of the interconnectedness between self and other and a recognition of the fact that she cannot take care of the other individual without first taking care of herself. Self-sacrifice is therefore rejected as immoral because of its ability to hurt. Dependency on the judgements of others is avoided and she is able to take responsibility for her own decisions. The moral dilemma of conflicting responsibilities, therefore, is resolved by placing herself and the other individual on an equal level, weighing the consequences of the potential action and accepting responsibility for the consequences.









