BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION AND COUNSELLING IN CONTRASTING SETTINGS

DAVID SCOTT

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BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION AND COUNSELLING IN CONTRASTING SETTINGS

BY

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Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to explore the relationship between bureaucracies and counselling. More specifically, this research will examine how bureaucratic structures influence counsellors' attitudes and occupational behaviour. Based on the distinction between autonomous and heteronomous bureaucracies, two contrasting work settings were defined and operationalized. The attitudes of counsellors were measured using the concept 'bureaucratic orientation' and counsellors' jobs were examined using the dimensions standardization and specialization of occupational practice.

Forty counsellors were interviewed. Nineteen counsellors were from autonomous settings and twenty-one from heteronomous settings. Interviews consisted of open and close-ended questions and lasted approximately one hour.

The findings indicate that counsellors' attitudes within bureaucratized settings are determined not only by the degree of bureaucratization within each organizational setting, but also by the length of time spent in the work unit, level of education, and the position held within the organization. The findings also indicate that specialization and standardization of occupational practice are positively correlated with bureaucratization.

Differences by gender were found to be significant. Women in counselling were found to be marginalized. On all the dimensions measured, women were subordinate to men. Women were also over-represented in highly bureaucratized settings. Female counsellors

were more bureaucratically oriented than males, had spent less time in the organization than males, and were more likely to possess vocational as opposed to academic degrees. In contrast, males were over-represented in autonomous settings, displayed lower levels of bureaucratic orientation than females, had spent more time in the organization, and were more likely to possess advanced academic degrees.

The evidence does not support the existence of bureaucratic-professional conflict, although the potential for this conflict exists to a greater degree in autonomous work units than in highly bureaucratized (heteronomous) work units. The research also points to the socialization aspect of education and the type of education undertaken by counsellors as being major factors in formulating attitudes towards bureaucracies and in determining the place of employment.

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Today counsellors are employed in a wide variety of settings. These settings include colleges and universities, clinics and hospitals, schools and business organizations, employment agencies and community centres and numerous other organizations. The growth of counselling can be seen as part of the expansion of the 'helping professions' which is a relatively recent phenomenon stemming from advanced industrialization. The expansion of the helping professions has been seen as "part of the growth of tertiary service occupational functions and the development of expertise" (Gerstl, 1969:2). As Wilensky and Lebeaux claimed, "the growth in scale and complexity of social organizations...[has created] a demand for liaison and contact men of all kinds...we need guides, so to speak, through a new kind of civilized jungle" (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958:286). The growth of counselling, in other words, reflects both the complexities of contemporary society and the endorsement of personal services by the wider society.

Perhaps because of the diversity of counselling, sociological research has, by and large, failed to apply two major aspects of theory developed in the sociology of organizations and occupations to counselling. The first of these is the important body of sociological research which points to the activities, programs, and goals of individuals being determined by the organizations within which these individuals are located. Organizations influence in varying degrees the attitudes and occupational behaviour of those employed within the organizational setting. The second aspect of

theory is the fact that occupations themselves are stratified. The field of counselling is not limited to the practice of "professional" counsellors. Rather, counselling roles are frequently played by policemen, teachers, physicians, lawyers, ministers, and countless others in less formal positions. In other words, counsellors themselves are stratified and vary in their degree of 'professionalism.'

This thesis focuses on counselling taking place in bureaucracies by measuring 'professional' counsellors' commitment to the attitudes and values fostered in bureaucratic settings and the relationships between counsellors' attitudes and their occupational practice. The integration of structural, attitudinal and behavioral aspects of occupations is in itself theoretically undeveloped. Furthermore, no previous research exists which has combined all three of these dimensions into a single empirical study.

The specific questions to be investigated in this research include: (1) Are counsellors employed in bureaucratic settings merely bureaucrats who carry out the bureaucratic regulations or do they display characteristics consistent with the concept of 'professional?'; (2) If so, what factors encourage professionalism within a bureaucracy?; (3) Do the interests of counsellors lie not with the client, but in maintaining the organization's status quo?; (4) What type of information is passed on to the client, and more generally, are counsellors the autonomous 'professionals' that much of the counselling literature would lead one to believe?

To examine the relationship between bureaucracies and counselling, counsellors employed in contrasting bureaucratic settings in St. John's, Newfoundland were studied. This research involved the use of taped interviews consisting of standardized open- and close-ended questions. An in-depth methodological discussion is presented in Chapter 2 and the research instruments are included in the appendices.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Overview

Central to the sociology of organizations and occupations are the concepts 'professional' and 'bureaucrat.' According to Weber, the professional or "expert" is one who adopts a particular code of ethics (Gerth and Mills, 1980). The code of ethics requires the expert to adhere to rationality "in the form of faithful execution of rules regardless of disagreement, preservation of the impersonal character of the rules, and the confining of one's authority to the limits of one's legally defined competence" (Bendix, 1947:496). This code reinforces the requirements of the bureaucracy (Gerth and Mills, 1980:228).

The supreme chief of the bureaucracy (like the expert) occupies his/her position of dominance by virtue of appropriation and sets the goals of the organization, justifies the promulgation of rules as the best way to achieve the goals of the organization, and couches all of his or her activities in the claim that their actions are in the best interests of the clients (Weber, 1978:220).

These characteristics, it has been argued, do not distinguish an expert (i.e., professional) from a bureaucrat, but rather confuse the two concepts by ambiguously equating the concept of expert with bureaucrat (Parsons, 1947:58). In addition, it has been argued by Nass (1986) that Weber confuses the concepts of expert with bureaucratic organization in that Weber (1978) claimed bureaucracies (like experts) dominate their clients through institutionalized claims of technical efficiency and expertise and attempt to gain authority over their clients through state-endorsed rules.

Weber's somewhat ambiguous discussion provided the basis for Parsons' (1947) critique. In the introduction to Weber's **The Social and Economic Organization of Society** (1947), Parsons suggests that Weber's model of bureaucracy is ill-equipped for the study of professionals (Parsons in Weber, 1947:iv). According to Parsons, Weber ignores the fact that professionals are fundamentally different from bureaucrats in that "a professional is characterized by technical training and expertise, a service orientation based on a code of ethics, and institutionalized credentials" (Parsons cited in Weber, 1947:iv). It is arguable, however, that these characteristics may also apply to bureaucrats.

Parsons' criticisms led to the development in the early 1950s of the structural-functionalist model which was instrumental in creating a grand theory of the professionalization of occupations in modern capitalist society (Benoit, 1989). At the core of this grand theory are a number of attributes (referred to as 'traits')

which theoretically distinguish a 'profession' from a 'non-profession.' The trait selected by most writers to identify and define a profession is the notion of work autonomy, i.e., the ability to work independently (Goode, 1960; Greenwood, 1957; Kornhauser, 1963; Marcson, 1960; Merton and Barber, 1963).

Since the 1950s, the increasing bureaucratization of professions (Pavalko, 1988:174), accompanied by a shift in work locale from small private practices to large organizational contexts (Hall, 1987), has resulted in the trait approach to the professions being challenged (see Larson, 1977:178-9). Within the Weberian framework, writers have hypothesized that occupations considered professions (the classic examples being doctors and lawyers) and characterized by high autonomy have undergone a process of 'deprofessionalization' (Haug, 1973; Rothman, 1984; Toren, 1975). This position views bureaucracies as imposing external limitations and constraints upon professions, the result being a decline in professional autonomy and increasing accountability and subordination to the bureaucratic structure rather than to a professional association or client. Pavalko (1988:188-95) has even proposed the notion that bureaucracies serve essentially as a means of social control.

Empirical studies investigating variations in occupational professionalization versus bureaucratization of occupations do so primarily through operationalization of the concept 'autonomy,' (see, for example, Hall, 1968; Benoit, 1989; 1992). However, just as occupations themselves vary in their degree of

professionalization so do individuals (Ritzer, 1972:45). Hall (1968) states that the professional model consists of both structural and attitudinal variables. The former being professionalization and the latter professionalism. Arguably, these two 'levels' should be kept analytically distinct.

Weber (1978) claims that the individual conforms to the requirements of the position, which thereby ensures reliability of behaviour through rules and regulations designed to standardize operating procedures. These rules and regulations are internalized in varying degrees by individuals employed in bureaucratic organizations (Gerth and Mills, 1980; Merton, 1957; Kohn, 1971).

Career Orientation Model

In order to examine the impact that the bureaucratic structure has on the individual practitioner, the 'career orientation' model, based on Weber's concept of bureaucracy as an 'ideal type,' has been employed in this research. Explicit in this concept are the principles of fixed rules, hierarchical offices, a reliance on conformity and expert judgments, an impersonal social environment, and the notion of career (see Gerth and Mills, 1980:196). Out of these structural level features developed the concept of a 'bureaucratic personality' which focuses on the effects bureaucracy has on the individual (Merton, 1957).

Merton (1957:200) claims that structural features of the bureaucratic setting are established to ensure reliability and adequacy of workers' performance. However, an emphasis on rules,

discipline, and a graded career can lead "to an over-concern with strict adherence to regulations which induces timidity, conservativism, and technicism" (Merton, 1957:201). These characteristics may also lead to the willingness of workers to subordinate themselves to a superior, to restrict themselves to a narrowly prescribed area of activity, to have full confidence in the judgment of 'experts,' to maintain impersonal on-the-job relationships, to follow rules exactly, and to accept organizational and in-group norms (Gordon, 1971:61). Each of these characteristics have been incorporated into the 'career orientation model' (Foster, 1990:225). This model will be applied to counsellors employed within bureaucratic settings in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The career orientation continuum runs from 'professional' at one end to 'bureaucratic' at the other end. Professionally oriented individuals use an external group, a professional association, for example, for the purpose of defining their ambitions, values, and other aspects of personal status. Bureaucratically oriented individuals use their employing organization for the same purpose, and consequently, these individuals are the most likely to internalize organizational rules and become trapped into the dysfunctional application of these rules. In contrast, professionally oriented individuals tend to see the organizational rules as, at best, a means to an end and frequently as obstructions to professional autonomy (Foster, 1990). Professionals are less likely to attach much symbolic meaning to

bureaucratic rules, but they may, however, be subject to rules and regulations within the structure of their profession.

The career orientation continuum provides a methodological alternative to the often used (and often definitionally problematic) 'professional-versus-unprofessional' approach to the study of occupational practice (Goode, 1960; Greenwood, 1957; Hall, 1968). The career orientation model which focuses on the individual's psychological relationship to a bureaucratic structure has been used to measure the attitudinal dimensions of counsellors working in bureaucratic settings in St. John's and, furthermore, to examine the relationship between bureaucratic orientation and how counselling is actually practised.

Previous Empirical Studies

The career orientation model is based on Weber's discussion of bureaucracy which emphasizes rules, obedience, and hierarchy (Gerth and Mills, 1980). Each position has well defined activities which are stable, predictable, and minimally influenced by personal considerations (Foster with Jones, 1978:348). Employees function as representatives of a particular position which defines the degree of formality and the nature of the relationships to be observed. Ultimate control of the organization rests at the top of the hierarchy. Reliability of behaviour is maintained by directives, rules, regulations, and by standard operating procedures which prescribe the exact manner in which duties are to be performed. Weber's model of bureaucracy applies to the

structural level. The career orientation model, which describes the bureaucratic orientation of the individual employed in a bureaucratic setting, refers to the individual level. It is a personality construct which describes the set of values, attitudes, and behaviours that are characteristically fostered and rewarded in the bureaucratic organization.

Bureaucratic orientation as a personality construct was first identified by Merton (1940). Merton proposed that work environments represented by the bureaucratic organizational model would appeal to individuals with specific personality characteristics (Gordon, 1970:5). Research based on this proposition take one of two approaches. The first is the attitudinal study which uses general or abstract questionnaire items to discern the respondent's relative commitment to rules. The second approach asks subjects to speculate on how they would act in specific rule conflict situations and/or how they think others would behave in such dilemmas (Foster, 1990:228). The most common literature related to bureaucratic orientation involves attitudinal studies which are relatively inexpensive and easy to administer. Consistent with the nature of this research, discussion of previous studies will be limited to the attitudinal approach.

The first comprehensive examination of Merton's assertions was provided by Gouldner (1957). Gouldner's discussion (based on Weber and Merton) centred around the 'local' (i.e., bureaucratic orientation) and 'cosmopolitan' (i.e., professional orientation) typology. Gouldner viewed these orientations as falling along a

continuum. They are differentiated by varying degrees of organizational loyalty, commitment to specialized skills, and orientations to outside reference groups. To be cosmopolitan is to be low in organizational loyalty, high in commitment to specialized skills, and high in orientation to outside reference groups. The locals are opposite on each of these dimensions. Professionals retain their identification with their professional group, are highly committed to their professional skills, and look for social support from professional colleagues outside the organization as well as within. Such involvement in the larger network of professional relations that cuts across organizations was said to indicate a 'professional' orientation (Blau and Scott, 1962:64). Other individuals have less commitment to their specialized skills, come to identify with the particular organization by which they are employed and its program and procedures, and are more concerned with gaining the approval of administrative superiors inside the organization than that of professional colleagues outside. These individuals were defined by Gouldner as "bureaucratically oriented" (Gouldner, 1957).

Hughes (1958) called attention to the "itinerant professional," who, "being more fully committed and more alert to the new developments will move from place to place seeking ever more interesting, prestigeful, and perhaps more profitable positions" (Hughes, 1958:136). Reissman (1958) confirmed this observation in his study of forty middle-level bureaucrats by suggesting the label "functional bureaucrat" for the type of worker

who "is oriented toward and seeks his recognition from a given professional group outside of rather than within the bureaucracy" (Reissman, 1958:308). Two other studies of professional groups examined the conflict between the professional and the organization. Caplow and McGee (1958:85) in their study of the process of recruitment in a sample of universities provided a specific example of this loyalty struggle:

> Today, a scholar's orientation to his institution is apt to disorient him to his discipline and to affect his professional prestige unfavorably. Conversely, an orientation to his discipline will disorient him to his institution, which he will regard as a temporary shelter where he can pursue his career as a member of the discipline.

Wilensky (1956) studied intellectuals in labour unions. The largest and most stable category was the "professional service" type whose distinguishing characteristics included an orientation to a colleague group outside the union (Wilensky, 1956:129-144). Unlike the other types described by Wilensky, these "experts" were less concerned about loyalty to the labour movement, many admitting that they would consider company employment. In general, they desired positions where their skills could be used to best advantage and were willing to consider any move that would enhance this possibility (Wilensky, 1956:132).

As previously stated, the first systematic study of conflict between organizational and professional commitment was carried out by Gouldner (1957) in a small, private, liberal arts college. Gouldner constructed Guttman-type scales to measure loyalty to the

employing organization, commitment to specialized professional skills, and reference group orientation. He found that high commitment to professional skills and an orientation to outside reference groups were associated with low loyalty to the college. Generalizing from his data, Gouldner concluded that although Weber implied that the more expert an organization's personnel the more efficient and stable the organization would be, "there seem[ed] to be some tension between an organization's bureaucratic needs for expertise and its social-system needs for loyalty" (Gouldner, 1957:281).

In short, these early studies have for the most part concluded that professionals have a 'cosmopolitan' orientation manifesting itself in a lack of loyalty to particular organizations and a willingness to move from one employer to another, whereas those less committed to professional skills are usually 'locals' with strong feelings of loyalty to their organization (Blau and Scott, 1962:66).

Blau and Scott's (1962) study attempted to explore Gouldner's concept further. Specifically, Blau and Scott tested the hypothesis that there exists an inverse relationship between professional commitment and organizational loyalty. The index they constructed was devised to measure a professional orientation among social work staff. The index consisted of two parts. First, commitment to professional skills as indicated by some graduate training in social work, and second, orientation to professional reference groups outside the agency. Considering the first

dimension, it was assumed that graduate training in social work was indicative of superior commitment to professional skills. With regard to reference-group orientation, workers who chose both professional people outside the agency and professional books and journals as two of the three sources from which they obtained most intellectual and professional stimulation were considered to be oriented to outside reference groups.

Blau and Scott's methodology consisted of dividing respondents into four groups: (1) professionals -- workers who had graduate training and were oriented towards outside reference groups; (2) reference group only -- workers oriented to outside reference groups, but lacking graduate training; (3) training only -- workers having graduate training but not choosing outside reference groups; (4) bureaucrats -- workers without graduate training and not oriented to outside reference groups. By retaining these four groups Blau and Scott were able to differentiate workers by their orientation.

In order to determine how workers in these categories differed on certain activities and attitudes, Blau and Scott correlated each category with specific activities and attitudes. For example, workers with a professional orientation might be expected to attend more social work conferences and be more active in local welfare activities than workers with a bureaucratic orientation. Professionally oriented workers might be expected to express the belief that supervisors should have a graduate degree in social work rather than have only work experience in the field. They

might also be expected to be more concerned than workers with a bureaucratic orientation about furthering the interests of clients. Blau and Scott's data supported these hypotheses. Their findings indicated that in all cases professionals were most likely to exhibit professional characteristics, bureaucrats were least likely, and mixed types tended to be intermediate.

Blau and Scott's findings were based on measurement of workers' loyalty to the social work agency. Workers who stated that they would consider leaving their recent position at a similar or lower salary were considered to exhibit low loyalty to the agency; second, workers were asked whether or not they expected to be working in the agency five years from now, and if not, what they expected to be doing. Those who expected to leave the agency during this period, but to go on working in the field of social welfare were considered to exhibit low loyalty. It was found that professionals were somewhat more apt to be willing to leave and to expect to leave than were bureaucrats. Blau and Scott's findings support the hypothesis that a professional orientation is inversely related to organizational loyalty and that professionals tend to be cosmopolitan and not locals (Blau and Scott, 1962:69).

For the most part these studies tended to substantiate the existence of different bureaucratic and professional orientations. Merton (1940) initially defined bureaucratic orientation as a personality construct; Gouldner's (1957) cosmopolitan-local dichotomy extended upon Merton's work by providing a theoretical typology which Blau and Scott (1962) empirically examined.

In a 1968 study "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," Hall (1968) measured both structural and attitudinal aspects of professionals working in bureaucratic settings. Hall incorporated three 'levels' for analysis -- the general social structure, the organization, and the attitudinal dimensions of professionalization. The attitudinal dimensions of professionalization were measured using a standardized Likert scale based on the 'trait' approach, i.e., using the professional association as a major reference; a belief in service to the public; belief in self regulation; a sense of calling to the field; and a feeling of autonomy in work (Hall, 1968:95). Hall's conclusions indicated that there appeared to be an inverse relationship between bureaucratization and professionalization (Hall, 1968:92).

Gordon (1970) further developed the career orientation model by referring to bureaucratic orientation as "a set of attitudes, values, and behaviours that are characteristically fostered and rewarded in Weber's concept of bureaucratic organizations" (Gordon, 1970:2). Gordon constructed a set of five categories which parallel those of Weber. In contrast to grounding research on the concept of 'professional,' Gordon approached it from the other end of the continuum i.e., the 'bureaucrat.' The categories he constructed are as follows: (1) 'self-subordination,' referring to a willingness to comply fully with the stated wishes of a superior and to have decisions made by higher authority; (2) 'compartmentalization,' referring to complete confidence in expert

judgments and a need to restrict one's concern to one's own area of specialization; (3) 'impersonalization,' referring to a preference for impersonal or formal relationships with others on the job, particularly with individuals at different organizational levels; (4) 'rule conformity,' a desire for the security that the following of rules, regulations, and standard operating procedures affords; (5) 'traditionalism,' a need for security provided by organization identification and conformity to the in-group norm (Gordon, 1970:2).

Gordon's (1970) findings indicate that bureaucratically (as opposed to professionally) oriented individuals place a higher value on being treated as important by other employees within the organization and on having clearly defined work objectives. They also place a lower value on treating other people with consideration, on being in a leadership position, and on setting high standards of accomplishment for themselves. Subsequent correlations to high degrees of bureaucratic orientation include authoritarianism, dogmatism, acquiescence, religious conservativism, and a belief in hard work (Gordon, 1970).

Other attitudinal studies related to bureaucratic orientation focus on conformity to rules in bureaucratic settings. Kohn (1971) measured conformity to superiors' and group norms on a range of value questions in a sample of 3,101 adult males. Kohn found that there "is a small, but consistent tendency for men who work in bureaucratic organizations to be more intellectually flexible, more open to new experience, and more self-directed in their values than

are men who work in nonbureaucratic organizations...this may be a result from bureaucracies drawing on a more educated work force" (Kohn, 1971:461). In addition, whatever pressures for rule adherence may exist within a bureaucracy seem to be offset by the greater protection from arbitrary authority provided by rules and procedures (Kohn, 1971:473). In other words, according to Kohn, bureaucratization and rule conformity may not necessarily be positively correlated.

Buchanan (1975) and Allinson (1986) looked at the impact of private sector versus public sector employment on attitudes toward rules and procedures. Buchanan found that the protection offered by civil service regulations may allow government employees to resist or ignore a variety of organizational norms and pressures. Government employees were found to be less bureaucratic than private sector employees. Allinson's (1986) study concluded that extreme bureaucratic orientation was rare. Where it existed, however, was "in the self-indulgent industrial administrator who is most likely to conform to the popular image of the bureaucratic man" (Allinson, 1986:54-55).

These studies identify the existence of bureaucratic orientation and have attempted to measure the concept in various ways across a variety of occupations. However, they have not been applied specifically to counsellors and, furthermore, all have fallen short in that they do not empirically examine the implications such a psychological orientation has for occupational practice. In measuring workers' orientation on a professional-

bureaucratic or cosmopolitan-local continuum, most of the studies have based their operationalization on the 'professional' end of the continuum. Individuals measuring 'high' on this continuum are considered 'professionals' and those measuring 'low' are considered 'bureaucrats.' This study will measure bureaucratic orientation through use of concepts which are not biased towards either end of the continuum, and therefore, can be viewed as a methodological alternative to previous approaches.

IMPLICATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION FOR COUNSELLING

The summary of previous research identifies the following as factors explaining differences between bureaucratic and professional workers: (1) levels of organizational loyalty; (2) conforming to professional standards or administrative requirements; (3) the amount of criticism levelled by workers towards the agency. Measured extensively across a variety of occupations (for various case studies see Pavalko, 1972), these 'traits' are consistent with the functionalists' static professional model (Greenwood, 1957; Rothman, 1984) which purports to differentiate a profession(al) from a non-profession(al).

This research project does not attempt to measure professionalism, but rather individuals' socio-psychological orientation to bureaucratic structures, that is, their degree of bureaucratic orientation which is operationalized through measurement of impersonalization, self-subordination, rule

conformity, and traditionalism. As 'professionalism' has generally been considered inversely correlated to bureaucratic structure (Hall, 1968), it is reasonable to hypothesize that bureaucratic orientation is positively correlated with bureaucratic structure. In short, individuals employed in highly structured bureaucratic settings should display 'high' levels of bureaucratic orientation; in less bureaucratized organizations individuals should display 'lower' levels of bureaucratic orientation.

The second relationship to be investigated concerns bureaucratic orientation and occupational practice. According to Weber, an increase in rationalization is accompanied by increasing bureaucratization (Coser, 1977:233-44; Weber, 1978). Bureaucracies are characterized by rational-legal authority and are "intimately associated with the administrative methods of developing predictable social order that rose along with the modern state" (Freidson, 1986:3-4). These "administrative methods" are characterized by a high degree of standardization and specialization (Larson, 1977:40; Freidson, 1986:4). As more and more professionals are employed in complex organizations (Bacharach, Bamberger, and Conley, 1990), the balance between the professional's need for individual identity and autonomy and the organization's need for collective coordination and control can become a source of conflict. Four dimensions can be used to examine occupational practice. These are specialization, standardization, role conflict, and degree of 'closeness' to the administration.

Within the bureaucratic orientation model, the concept of 'self-subordination' refers to a willingness to comply fully with the stated wishes of a superior and to have decisions made for one by a higher authority. It is proposed that those individuals indicating 'high' levels of self-subordination may indicate lesser degrees of role-conflict as their interests are closely entwined with those of the administration; conversely, individuals measuring 'low' may indicate high levels of role conflict as the distance between professional autonomy and administrative interests is widened.

Impersonalization refers to "a preference for impersonal or formal relationships with others on the job -- particularly with individuals at different organizational levels" (Gordon, 1970:2). Consequently, the result may be that counsellors measuring 'high' on this dimension tend to take a programmatic and standardized approach in dealing with clients' problems (see Roberts, 1991:144). In contrast, counsellors measuring 'low' may identify particular problems, specify objectives to be pursued, assess alternative means, plan interventions, and observe outcomes -- all of which are consistent with the "professional" literature on counselling (see Egan, 1975).

The fourth dimension 'rule conformity,' i.e., "a desire for the security that the following of rules, regulations, and standardized operating procedures provides" has been associated with an individual's length of time in a particular position (Sorenson and Sorenson, 1974) and with educational levels

(Thompson, 1961; Blau, 1963; and Scott, 1981). Similarly, the dimension of 'traditionalism,' i.e., a need for the security provided by organizational identification and conformity to the in-group norm, may also be associated with an individual's length of time in a particular position (Sorenson and Sorenson, 1974). These relationships will be subject to further discussion in Chapters 3 and 4.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to attempt an analysis of counselling and counsellors by integrating three levels of analysis: the structure, attitudes, and behaviour. As indicated by the literature cited, empirical studies pertaining to specific occupations have failed to integrate these three levels of analysis into a single study. Therefore, there is very little existing literature from which to draw upon theoretically and methodologically. In addition, the literature review has pointed to empirical studies pertaining to specific occupations as being limited in their scope.

Although the issue of studying professionals in organizations is not new to the sociology of occupations, what is new in this research is that this old issue of professionals in organizations is being applied to the new occupation of counselling. Furthermore, it is the hope of this study to go beyond the standardized approach of viewing professional behaviour as being determined solely by the organizational structure, and that because

of the unique nature of counselling this study will produce results different from previous studies.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section outlines the research design while the second discusses the data analysis procedure. This study was designed as a comparison of counsellors employed in different bureaucratic settings. The concepts providing the basis for comparison are the bureaucratic structure, the bureaucratic orientation of counsellors, and the occupational practice of counsellors. The bureaucratic structure was measured using open-ended questions administered informally to supervisors in each organization. The data gathered were then categorized and subsequently divided into two discreet groups. Bureaucratic orientation was measured using a closed-ended questionnaire administered to respondents at the beginning of each interview. Responses were measured on a Likert scale and are presented in tabular form (see Table 2.6, page 41). Counselling as practised by the interviewees was measured using open-ended questions and subsequently coded.

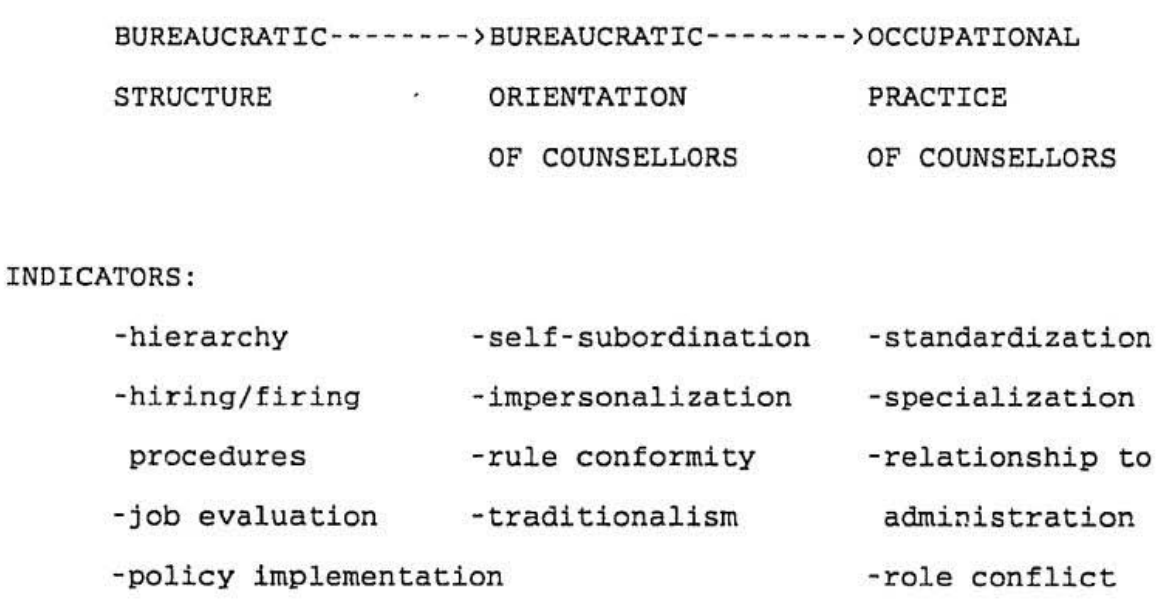
SECTION I: RESEARCH DESIGN

Proposition to be Investigated

The main proposition to be investigated is that the type of organizational structure is related to the degree of bureaucratic orientation of individuals in the organization which therefore influences the practice of counselling in different bureaucratic settings.

The direction of causality and the concepts investigated are represented diagrammatically in Figure 2:1:

FIGURE 2:1



OPERATIONALIZATION

Counsellors

The lack of any objective or standardized definition of 'counselling' is evident from both counselling and sociological literature. In addition, most definitions lend themselves to ambiguity. Murgatroyd (1982), for example, provides a non-exhaustive list consisting of twenty-three different definitions of counselling. According to Woolfe, et al. (1987), this multitude of definitions is a result "of the complexities of the process of

helping" and the number of possible approaches to doing so (Woolfe, et al., 1987:34). A general theme running through these definitions, however, is the notion that counselling is about helping people through the use of psychological theories "towards responsible independence, development of maximum potential, [and] self-actualization" (Arbuckle, 1967). The general role of the counsellor, therefore, becomes that of a 'skilled helper' who performs these tasks (Egan, 1975). By using these definitional themes, a target population was identified.

Individual counsellors were selected for this study if they fulfilled all of the following three criteria: (1) individuals who perform the role of a 'skilled helper' using psychologically-based theories for interaction with the client; (2) individuals having a self-identification as a counsellor; and (3) individuals employed as full-time counsellors. The intent of these parameters is to produce a homogeneous target population whose primary occupation is counselling while still maintaining the general definitional themes from the literature implicit in the terms 'counsellor' and 'counselling.' This operationalization is consistent with the 'trait' model of professions which includes three core characteristics -- a body of theoretical and technical knowledge, a service orientation (Toren, 1975:325) and the notion that a profession is a full-time occupation (Rothman, 1984:62-66). Also, for comparative purposes, counsellors selected must be employed in bureaucratic settings, i.e., organizations which have a structure consistent with the Weberian concept of bureaucracy as an 'ideal

type.' Operationalization based on these criteria excluded such groups as counsellors in private practices, volunteer and part-time counsellors, and individuals who provide counselling services as a secondary part of a different occupation. A list of organizations in St. John's which employ counsellors consistent with the above definition is found in Appendix C.

Organizational Structure

As the basis for comparison, two discrete groups of organizations were constructed based on their bureaucratic structure. Using an interview with supervisors in organizations employing counsellors, which was open-ended administered prior to interviews with counsellors taking place, the level of bureaucratization of each organization was measured using the following dimensions: (1) hierarchy -- i.e., the number of levels of supervision; (2) where the ultimate authority for hiring and firing lies (i.e., within or outside of the work unit); (3) where the ultimate responsibility for establishing and amending policy lies (i.e., within or outside of the work unit); and (4) where the responsibility for job performance and evaluation lies (i.e., within or outside of the work unit). As many of the organizations employing counsellors in St. John's can be described as small work units or departments within larger bureaucracies, these variables indicate both the 'bureaucratic structure' and 'level of autonomy' that these work units possess. This is subject to further discussion in the findings section of this thesis.

Bureaucratic Orientation

Bureaucratic orientation was operationalized using the following set of four categories which together measure individual attitudes in bureaucratic settings: (1) self-subordination, or a willingness to comply fully with the stated wishes of a superior and to have decisions made for one by higher authority; (2) impersonalization, or a preference for impersonal or formal relationships with others on the job, particularly with individuals at a different organizational level; (3) rule conformity, or a desire for the security afforded by adherence to rules, regulations, and standard operating procedures; (4) traditionalism, or a need for the security provided by organizational identification and conformity to in-group norms. These concepts were measured using ordinal level indicators consisting of Likert scale responses. The indicators, developed by Gordon (1970), have been used with valid and reliable results across a variety of occupations (for a list of case studies see Gordon, 1971).

Military personnel have been shown to display the highest levels of bureaucratic orientation (Gordon, 1971:8) and at the initial stages of this research it was suspected that when applied to counsellors, those working in minimally bureaucratized settings would demonstrate the lowest levels of bureaucratic orientation. Conversely, counsellors working within highly bureaucratized settings, the educational system for example, were expected to demonstrate the highest levels of bureaucratic orientation.

With minor changes to make it applicable to this research,

Gordon's questionnaire was adopted and arranged so that indicators of self-subordination (S); impersonalization (I); rule conformity (R); and traditionalism (T) were in rotating order, i.e., S, I, R, T; S, I, R, T, etc. The following twenty-four items (not in rotating order) represent the measuring instrument for bureaucratic orientation. On the administered closed-ended questionnaire the response categories were Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree. Appendix A contains the closed-ended questionnaire as administered to respondents.

SELF-SUBORDINATION INDICATORS

(1) Counsellors at higher levels are in the best position to make important decisions for those working below them.

(2) Counsellors' first real loyalty within the organization should be to their superior.

(3) In a good organization, counsellors' future careers will be pretty well planned out for them.

(4) Supervisors should expect subordinates to carry out their orders without question or deviation.

(5) The most important part of a supervisor's job is to ensure that regulations are followed.

(6) Counsellors should do things in the exact manner that they think their supervisor wishes them to be done.

IMPERSONALIZATION INDICATORS

(7) Relationships within an organization should be based on position or level, not on personal considerations.

(8) Formality, based on position or rank should be maintained by members of an organization.

(9) Counsellors should think of themselves as members of the organization first, and as an individual second.

(10) Within the organization, it is better to maintain formal relationships with other people.

(11) In general, a person's rank or level should determine her/his relationships toward other people.

(12) Within an organization, counsellors should think of themselves as a part of a smoothly running machine.

TRADITIONALISM INDICATORS

(13) Counsellors' expressions of feeling about their organization should conform to those of their peers.

(14) Outsiders who complain about the organization are usually either ignorant of the facts or misinformed.

(15) Within an organization, it is unwise to question well-established ways of doing things.

(16) Pins, written commendations, ceremonies, etc. are all signs of a good organization.

(17) Counsellors should defend the actions of their organization against any criticism by outsiders.

(18) Length of service in an organization should be given almost as much recognition as level of performance.

RULE CONFORMITY INDICATORS

(19) In dealing with clients, rules and regulations should be followed exactly.

(20) Counsellors should avoid taking any action that might be subject to criticism.

(21) Counsellors are better off when the organization provides a complete set of rules to be followed.

(22) There is really no place in a small organizational unit for the non-conformist.

(23) Job security is best obtained by learning and following standard work procedures.

(24) It is better to have a complete set of rules than to have to decide things for oneself.

These indicators were administered in a questionnaire format and completed by the subjects at the beginning of each interview session prior to the open-ended questions. It took most respondents approximately five minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Interview

The majority of the research took place through pre-scheduled interviews in which the objective was to develop an insight into the nature of counsellors' practice in organizational settings. The interview consisted of open-ended questions which revealed respondents' levels of knowledge about counsellors' relationships to organizations and peers. Also, these open-ended questions revealed how well the respondents' opinions were thought out and structured. A pretest using two subjects was conducted eight days prior to the research taking place. Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar (1981) and Singleton et al. (1988) claim that unstructured questions should be used when the researcher has limited knowledge about the kinds of answers a question is likely to provoke, when the researcher anticipates a great range of responses, when the researcher is interested in what information people will volunteer before specific prompting about a subject and when the researcher wants to dig deeper into people's motivations. These reasons provided the basis for the decision to use open-ended questions in the interview process.

The location and time of the interview was at the convenience

of the interviewee (for interview questionnaire see Appendix B), and, as suggested by Seidman (1991:13), the spacing of interviews allowed sufficient time for reflection and consideration of the content of each interview. The length of each interview session was approximately 60 minutes and participants were aware of this prior to agreeing to be interviewed. This time allowed participants to reconstruct their experience and place it in a broader context, and also permitted the researcher to reflect on its meaning.

The interview focused on the following concepts by using the broad open-ended questions found in Appendix B:

CAREER ROUTE

(1) educational and employment history of the counsellor;

(2) on what basis the decision to become a counsellor was made;

ROLE CONFLICT

(3) the nature of the relationship between counsellors' and their supervisors and employing organization;

(4) constraints influencing job performance and how these constraints are dealt with;

STANDARDIZATION AND SPECIALIZATION

(5) a description of the counsellor's current job, its content and responsibilities;

(6) major problems/issues perceived by counsellors and how they

are dealt with;

RELATIONSHIP TO THE ADMINISTRATION AND PEERS

(7) the degree of willingness to refer problems to other organizations and what type of problems are subject to referral;

(8) the relationship with other professionals working in similar fields and willingness to consult with them; perceptions and attitudes towards the profession; and trends and future issues pertaining to counselling.

Selection of Subjects

A complete list of organizations employing counsellors in St. John's, Newfoundland was developed using various sources, which included Memorial University of Newfoundland's Counselling Centre, Counselling Centre Referral and Community Resources Handbook, Community Services Council Resource Directory and the St. John's telephone book. Also, counsellors in St. John's provided additional information and names of organizations which employ counsellors consistent with the operational definition of the target population.

In the preliminary stages of this research these organizations (see Appendix C) were informally approached to determine their willingness to participate in the project. All organizations expressed initial interest. A letter was then sent to each organization broadly outlining the purpose and methodology of the

research (see Appendix D) with the request for permission to interview their respective counsellors. Someone from each organization subsequently contacted the researcher (or the researcher contacted them after about a week) with approval for the research and to grant their permission to access their counsellors. Several of the organizations did not respond, and, after repeated attempts to contact them, it was assumed that they did not want to participate in this study. Also, several of the organizations which had initially agreed to cooperate turned down the request usually giving reasons centering around time limitations. A list was then compiled of the organizations which had formally agreed to participate in this study (N=12) and which had permitted the researcher to contact their counsellors (see Table 2.1, page 38).

In total, 12 out of 17 organizations agreed to participate in this research (i.e., 70%). In spite of gaining approval at the organizational level, however, it remained unknown as to how many individual counsellors would decline the requested interview -- especially when taking into account the fact that response rates of 50 percent or lower are fairly common (Singleton, et al., 1988:246). Due to this uncertainty a strategy was developed taking into consideration time and available resources.

The organizations which had agreed to participate were divided into two categories with the corresponding number of counsellors each organization employs (see Appendix E). The first category consisted of those organizations employing fewer than eight counsellors (N=9); the second category consisted of organizations

employing eight or more counsellors (N=3). Taking into account the relatively low number of counsellors in the first group (N=24) and an uncertain response rate, I contacted each counsellor and requested an interview. Most of these individuals agreed and 21 out of 24 counsellors were interviewed giving a response rate of 88%.

Due to the high number of counsellors in the second category (N=55), the time involved in conducting this number of interviews, and the unusually high response rate from the first category, it was decided to use a random-quota sample (with replacement) to select nineteen interviewees from the second category. In addition to being manageable, this number brought the total number of respondents to forty. This process involved placing each counsellor (in no particular order) by name on a list, assigning each a number, and randomly selecting (using a random numbers table) nineteen counsellors. These individuals were then contacted with requests for interviews.

Approximately one in every seven of these counsellors declined the request to be interviewed due to lack of time available. As the counsellors on this list are employed in large bureaucratic settings (e.g., the educational system) where day to day activities are scheduled weeks in advance, this response rate is understandable. When refusals occurred the individual next on the list was contacted until 19 counsellors agreed to be interviewed. In total, forty counsellors were interviewed using a combination of non-probability (i.e., a 'total' population of counsellors from

category 1) and probability (i.e., random sampling with replacement from category 2) sampling techniques covering 12 different organizational settings in St. John's. Based on the relatively high proportion of counsellors interviewed from a broad range of bureaucratic organizations, this selection process can be seen as producing a representative sample.

SECTION II: DATA ANALYSIS

Bureaucratic Organization

The degree of bureaucratization in each organization (or work unit) was measured on the basis of the following dimensions: (1) hierarchy -- i.e., the number of levels of authority; (2) where the control for hiring and firing exists -- within or outside of the work unit; (3) where the responsibility for job evaluation exists -- within or outside of the work unit; and (4) how and where any changes to organizational policy are implemented -- from within or outside of the work unit. The information gathered was then used to separate and formulate two distinct organizational categories for comparison, as indicated below:

The Autonomous Organization:

(1) responsibility for hiring and firing lies within the work unit;

(2) responsibility for job evaluation lies within the work unit;

(3) control over changes to policy directly affecting the nature of the work performed are initiated from within the

work unit.

The Heteronomous Organization

(1) responsibility for hiring and firing lies outside the work unit;

(2) responsibility for job evaluation lies outside the work unit;

(3) control over changes to policy directly affecting the nature of the work performed are initiated from outside the work unit.

Sociological literature relating to professionals in organizations indicates professionals perform their tasks under many types of arrangements. After a review of the major literature in this area, the construction of the two comparative groups was developed based on a typology originally constructed by Scott in 1965 (see Scott, 1981:241). Providing a framework within which to organize data, this typology has been used in a number of studies both qualitative and quantitative and has proved useful as a measurement of the degree of bureaucratization (see Bidwell, 1965; Hall, 1968; Etzioni, 1969; Freidson, 1975). As this study is predominantly qualitative, the organizations from which data were gathered have been categorized using this typology, thereby providing the comparative dimension for bureaucratic structure.

The first 'type' has been labeled the "autonomous" professional organization (Scott, 1981:222). This arrangement exists to the extent that "organizational officials delegate to the

group of professional employees considerable responsibility for defining and implementing the organization's goals, for setting performance standards, and for seeing to it that standards are maintained" (Scott, 1981:66). A clearly defined boundary is established distinguishing between those tasks for which the professional assumes responsibility and those over which the administrative officials have jurisdiction (Hall, 1981:222). Considerable discretion and autonomy are delegated to individual professionals who are subject to formal and/or informal collegial review and control systems (Hall, 1981:223). Examples of autonomous organizations include some departments within universities and research institutes.

The second type has been labelled the "heteronomous" professional organization because in this arrangement "professional employees are clearly subordinated to an administrative framework and the amount of autonomy granted them is relatively small" (Scott, 1981:223). Employees in heteronomous organizations are subordinated to administrative controls and their discretion is clearly circumscribed (Scott, 1981:223). Employees work within a structure of rules and of hierarchical supervision and have little or no responsibility for defining and implementing the organizational goals, in setting performance standards and for seeing that these standards are maintained.

Examples of heteronomous organizations may include public agencies, private research firms, public accounting firms and many public schools. However, employees may be given "discretion over

task decisions, in particular, decisions concerning means or techniques" (Hall, 1981:223). For example, counsellors in public schools may make choices regarding counselling techniques, but these choices take place within a clearly defined context of rules and hierarchical supervision. Using Scott's (1965) typology as the measure of bureaucratic structure, 50 percent (N=6) of the participating organizations were categorized as 'heteronomous' and the remaining 50 percent (N=6) were categorized as 'autonomous.' A summary of data collected from each organization is found in Table 2.1.

Although presented as mutually exclusive categories some overlap did occur relating specifically to 'implementation of policy.' In these cases policy changes were made with the participation and consensus of both the counsellors within the work unit and another level of authority, although the majority of decision making power was found to lie within the work unit. Organizations in which this overlap occurred were considered as internally implementing policy changes.

TABLE 2.1

BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION DATA

ORGANIZATION	# OF LEVELS	HIRING/ FIRING	JOB EVAL.	POLICY CHANGES
Anglican Family Life Centre	3	External	External	External
Avalon Consolidated School Board	5	External	External	External
Cabot College	2	Internal	Internal	Internal
Drug Dependency Services	3	Internal	Internal	Internal
Emmanuel House	2	Internal	Internal	Internal
Emmanuel House Sexual Assault Div.	2	Internal	Internal	Internal
Family Life Bureau (RC)	4	External	External	External
Marine Inst.	2	External	External	External
M.U.N. Counselling Centre	2	Internal	Internal	Internal
School Board (RC)	5	External	External	External
Unified Family Court	3	External	External	External
United Church Family & Community Services	2	Internal	Internal	Internal

Bureaucratic Orientation

Bureaucratic orientation is measured through a closed-ended questionnaire in which respondents were asked to express feelings and opinions by responding to a set of simple direct statements. It is used to measure the degree of commitment to a set of attitudes, values, and behaviours characteristically fostered in bureaucratic organizations (Gordon, 1970). In order to determine the level of commitment to the organization, the scoring of results can take two forms to increase validity. First, the traditional Likert scores can be used which range from 1 to 5 with 1=strongly disagree and 5=strongly agree. The higher the score the higher is the individual's commitment to the organization. The second method, which is the one used in this study, has generally been found to yield higher validities than the other method (see Gordon, 1970). The scoring was accomplished by counting the number of "strongly agree" and "agree" responses, multiplying this value by two, and adding the result to the sum of the "undecided" and "disagree" responses. The maximum number of scoring points is 48 which indicates the respondent has a high commitment to organizational values, norms, attitudes, etc. Comparisons can then be made at both the individual and group levels using scores and measures of central tendency respectively. However, due to the potential breach in confidentiality and anonymity individual scores will not be discussed.

Data from the closed-ended questionnaire have been summarized in Table 2.2. Table 2.2 indicates the bureaucratic orientation

scores from those organizations categorized as 'heteronomous' and the bureaucratic orientation scores from those organizations categorized as 'autonomous.' Scores have been rounded off to the nearest whole number and for the purpose of discussion in the next chapter, scores ranging from 0-16 have been labelled 'low,' 17-34 'medium,' and 35-48 'high.'

TABLE 2.2

COMPARATIVE BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION SCORES

Heteronomous Organizations

ORGANIZATION	1	2	3	4
ANGLICAN FAMILY LIFE CENTRE	1	33	0	33
CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL BOARD	5	21	21	24
FAMILY LIFE BUREAU (R.C.)	5	27	15	29
MARINE INSTITUTE	1	26	0	26
ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL BOARD	6	24	17	24
UNIFIED FAMILY COURT	3	29	0	28

Autonomous Organizations

CABOT COLLEGE	3	14	14	20
DRUG DEPENDENCY SERVICES	4	20	9	20
EMMANUEL HOUSE	1	7	0	7
E. H. SEXUAL ABUSE DIV.	3	24	10	23
FAMILY/COMMUNITY SERVICES	1	18	0	18
MEMORIAL COUNSELLING CENTRE	7	21	29	21

CODE: COLUMN 1=number of counsellors interviewed from the organization; COLUMN 2=mean bureaucratic orientation score; COLUMN 3=range of scores from the organization; COLUMN 4=median score.

Interview Analysis

After the interviews were conducted, a transcript of each interview was produced and analyzed by looking for themes and concepts. Consistent with much of the major literature relating to qualitative research (for example, Taylor and Bogdan, 1984; Singleton, et al., 1988; Babbie, 1992), the categories were constructed to fit the data rather than the reverse and they were used as indicators to facilitate the identification and discussion of broad trends. Some of the data recorded were contextually specific and difficult to code on the code sheet, but were nonetheless highly relevant to the research. These statements were marked and coded directly on the transcripts using the four broad categories (i.e., standardization, specialization, role conflict, etc.) and will be drawn upon in subsequent chapters.

Based on the interview transcripts, indicators and value labels were developed with each case being placed on the code sheet. Several of the categories were dichotomous (e.g., yes/no) and served to function merely as indicators with the related specific information being discussed throughout the subsequent text.

CHAPTER 3

BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines research findings related to the concept 'bureaucratic orientation.' The bureaucratic orientation of counsellors in organizational settings is affected by a number of variables, including organizational structure, gender, length of time employed by the organization, education, position held within the organization and career route. Each will be considered in turn.

BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

As previously stated, 21 respondents were located in heteronomous settings and 19 in autonomous settings. The differences in their degree of bureaucratic orientation by work setting is summarized in Table 3.1 on page 45.

TABLE 3.1

BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION BY WORK SETTING

BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION	Count / Col Pct	WORK SETTING: autonomous	WORK SETTING: heteronomous
LOW	1	3	1
		15.8	4.8
MED	2	11	8
		57.9	38.1
HIGH	3	5	12
		26.3	57.1
	Column Total	19	21
		100	100

In autonomous organizations 14 out of 19 respondents (73.7%) fell into the 'low' and 'medium' categories whereas in heteronomous settings the majority of respondents (12 out of 21, i.e., 57.1%) fell into the 'high' category. The data indicate that bureaucratic orientation, a concept which is based on the degree of self-subordination, rule conformity, traditionalism and impersonalization of respondents within bureaucracies, tends to increase as work units decline in having internal control over policy making, selection of employees, job evaluation and operating policy.

There is considerable overlap in the levels of bureaucratic orientation between the two work settings evident in Table 3.1. In

explaining this overlap it should be noted that in addition to a small sample, there most likely exists some overlap between organizations on the dimensions used to operationalize 'bureaucratization.' The organizations were divided into two discrete categories to facilitate comparison. Therefore, each dimension was not controlled to determine quantitatively the amount of influence each dimension has on respondents' bureaucratic orientation. By doing so this overlap may be lessened to a certain extent.

The differences between organizational settings and bureaucratic orientation can be illustrated through use of descriptive statistics. Counsellors employed in heteronomous settings indicated a mean and a median bureaucratic orientation score (out of a possible 48) of 27 and 27 respectively; counsellors employed in autonomous settings measured a mean and a median bureaucratic orientation score of 17 and 16 respectively. Counsellors in heteronomous organizations measured an overall bureaucratic orientation which was 38 percent higher than counsellors in autonomous settings. Based on these differences it can be said that bureaucratization would appear to be positively associated with bureaucratic orientation and that bureaucratization is a factor in determining the attitudes of counsellors.

This finding is consistent with a large body of research cited in Chapter 1, but contradicts the more conservative position taken by Kohn (1971) and Guy (1985). Kohn's functionalist position suggests that bureaucratization is associated with "greater

intellectual flexibility, higher valuation of self-direction, greater openness to new experience, and more personally responsible moral standards" (Kohn, 1971:472). Similarly, Guy (1985:88) claims "...the bureaucratic structure provides an authority over the professionals which in turn frees the professional to engage in [their] chosen activity, rather than having to devote energy to mundane concerns...". The findings from this research indicate the opposite to be true as the trend is a positive association between bureaucratization and bureaucratic orientation.

Information about the bureaucratic structure was gained informally from supervisors within each organization. These individuals tended to express the view that their organizational structure facilitates a high degree of professional autonomy even before the subject of autonomy was brought up by the interviewer. This was emphasized by supervisors, and in many cases reiterated by counsellors, located in organizations which measured the highest levels of bureaucratic orientation. This points to an awareness on the part of these respondents of the limited autonomy their organizational structure allows. Conscious of their limited autonomy, these counsellors demonstrated a strong commitment to the values and behaviours fostered in these highly bureaucratized settings supported by high levels of bureaucratic orientation.

In a highly bureaucratized setting, for example, one supervisor stated "we have a high degree of autonomy which allows us input for decisions...lots of counsellor interaction...and being selective about taking on cases." Shortly thereafter the same

individual claimed "we have to work within the framework of the Archdiocese," which, by any standards, can hardly be seen as providing occupational autonomy. In a similar vein another supervisor claimed, "...I have high professional autonomy...I am responsible for administrative work, conducting family life courses, supervising the staff, being accountable for budgets, selecting information for ["family life"] courses, and be available to the board of directors, and [pass on "information"] not contrary to the Catholic church." These paradoxical comments made by counsellors claiming on the one hand to be autonomous yet on the other hand to be bureaucratically constrained may be explained by a number of ways. Most likely, however, is that these comments indicate counsellors possessing a lack of intrinsic understanding of the sociological meaning of 'autonomy,' i.e., "the opportunity to organize essential tasks free from direct supervision by a higher authority" (Benoit, 1989:634). In contrast, most of the individuals in organizations who measured 'low' and 'medium' on the bureaucratic scale rarely mentioned the issue of occupational autonomy which indicates that organizational constraints are not perceived as a major factor affecting their practice in these autonomous settings. Also, many of the counsellors in autonomous settings stated that the ideal work setting was "...where I am [employed], only with more money and more staff," which may point to a high degree of satisfaction with the actual work setting.

Some of the counsellors in autonomous settings also went on to state problems associated with private practice: "many of the

clients don't show up when they're scheduled...its difficult to build a steady clientele...you have to rely on organizations to refer clients to you in order to support your private practice..." In all, it was noted that counsellors in autonomous settings perceive few organizational constraints, with the exceptions of not enough time and money and too many clients, which were evident in all of the organizations included in this study. This affects the way in which the counsellors practise, specifically, in the areas of specialization and standardization of practice.

It was found that counsellors in autonomous settings determine and subsequently influence to a large extent their own bureaucratic structures. For example, in a university setting where counsellors are members of the university faculty (as opposed to hired staff), they have input into selecting a departmental chairperson, the hiring of other faculty members, job evaluation, and many other areas. In contrast, counsellors in heteronomous settings have little if any say in determining their organizational structure. They are hired and placed within a clearly defined hierarchical structure in which several of the hierarchical levels usually exist outside of the actual work unit. Counsellors are directly accountable to one or two members within the work unit (usually supervisors), but the majority of authority and ultimate control over individual practice lies outside of the work unit (e.g., in the educational system).

Counsellors in heteronomous settings demonstrated a central obligation to authority within the bureaucracy. For example, when

asked about their responsibilities to clients, one counsellor stated "...we have a waiting list for clients...organizational duties come first" clearly indicating the low status placed upon the client by the counsellors and indeed the organization. This is consistent with Ferguson (1984:123) who claims that in bureaucracies whose 'products' are people or services, the client is located as lowest rung of the bureaucratic hierarchy. In autonomous settings counsellors demonstrated a high commitment not to authority, but to colleagues and clients. As stated by one counsellor, "...the welfare of the client is our primary concern which is essentially a team effort."

The difference between counsellors' commitments to organizational and client priorities was most evident in religious-based and highly bureaucratized organizations where counsellors indicated a primary commitment not only to the bureaucratic authority, but also to the religious dogma promoted in these settings: "...I work to maintain the standards of [the organization]...which is to provide help and services to the Catholic community who need guidance and spirituality with emphasis on the family" claimed one counsellor. These individuals measured the highest levels of bureaucratic orientation.

Although these findings indicate bureaucratization and bureaucratic orientation to be associated, the shaping of individual attitudes in organizations is contingent on a number of other factors which are determined and promoted to a large extent by the bureaucratic structure. Drawing from the interview data

several factors other than bureaucratization were found to influence bureaucratic attitudes. Each will be considered in turn.

GENDER AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

Forty-five percent of the respondents were male (N=18) and 55 percent were female (N=22). In autonomous organizations there were 11 males and 8 females; in heteronomous organizations there were 7 males and 14 females. Overall, there was found to be a higher proportion of females employed in highly bureaucratized settings. This finding may be indicative of labour force segmentation in that women are more likely to be employed in highly bureaucratized service work (see Labour Canada, 1986:19).

When looking at both organizational settings combined, there is very little overall difference between the bureaucratic orientation levels of men and women. However, when looking at differences in levels of bureaucratic orientation by gender within autonomous and heteronomous settings, the relationship changes slightly. In autonomous organizations there still remains no differences by gender and bureaucratic orientation, but in heteronomous settings women overall measure higher levels of bureaucratic orientation than males. Whereas the majority of males in heteronomous settings fall into the 'medium' category, the majority of females are located in the 'high' category. As there are a disproportionate number of women located in heteronomous

settings (which have higher bureaucratic orientation levels overall) this translates into higher bureaucratic orientation scores for women.

In addition to women being disproportionately located in highly bureaucratized settings they have also been found to display a consistent pattern when looking at each of the factors influencing bureaucratic orientation.

LENGTH OF TIME IN THE ORGANIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

Based on a study of certified public accountants employed in bureaucracies, Sorensen and Sorensen (1974) concluded that the length of time employed in the bureaucracy influences employee attitudes. They state specifically that those individuals employed a longer time in bureaucratic settings have bureaucratic perspectives more in line with the organization than those individuals employed for shorter periods of time.

> accountants who stay with a firm longer, the more the organization's values 'rub off' on them and the more they bring their preferences in line with the organization...or if they find the organization's values too contradictory to their own, they exit the organization, thus leaving behind those who hold different values (Sorensen and Sorenson cited in Guy, 1985:88).

In short, Sorensen and Sorenson (1974) claim that the length of time employed in an organization has a positive correlation to bureaucratic orientation. Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that counsellors employed in organizations over a longer period of time would measure higher on the bureaucratic orientation scale than those counsellors who have been employed for

shorter periods of time.

Table 3.2 (below) summarizes the length of time counsellors have been employed in their respective work settings and from this summary there appears to be little difference between time in the organization by work settings.

TABLE 3.2

TIME IN ORGANIZATION BY WORK SETTING

TIME IN ORG.	Count / Col Pct	WORK SETTING: autonomous	WORK SETTING: heteronomous
1-7 YEARS		11	8
		57.9	38.1
8-14 YEARS		5	6
		26.3	28.6
>15 YEARS		3	7
		15.8	33.3
	Column Total	19	21
		100	100

When looking at both work settings together the overall mean length of time counsellors were employed by their respective organizations was slightly above 9 years with a median of 8.5 years and a range of 25 years. In heteronomous organizations the mean length of time was just above 9 years with a median of 8 years and

a range of 25 years. In autonomous organizations the mean was also 9 years with a median of 9 and a range of 17 years. In short, measures of central tendency indicate little if any difference in the length of time counsellors have been employed in the two work settings. Therefore, the length of time in the organization should not account for any differences in bureaucratic orientation.

TABLE 3.3

TIME IN THE ORGANIZATION BY GENDER

TIME IN ORG.	Count / Col Pct	GENDER: males	GENDER: females
1-7 YEARS		6	13
		33.3	59.0
8-14 YEARS		5	6
		27.8	27.3
>15 YEARS		7	3
		38.9	13.7
	Column Total	18	22
		100	100

However, when looking at gender divisions in both organizations (summarized in Table 3.3), the average length of employment for males is well above that of females. The average for males is 12 years with a range of 25 years and a median of 12

years. Females in both heteronomous and autonomous settings were employed on average 7 years with a median of 5 years and a range of 19 years. This may indicate that females have moved into a male-dominated occupation over time, that females leave the organization before achieving seniority or that there is some instability in female employment after a number of years. Furthermore, based on their length of time in the organization their power (stemming from experience and seniority) may well be less than that of their male counterparts. It may also indicate that female counsellors earn less than their male counterparts because of their lower seniority.

In autonomous organizations males were employed on average 11.5 years with a median of 13 years and a range of 17 years. Females in autonomous organizations were employed considerably less with an average of 7 years; a median of 4 years; and, a range of 19 years. In heteronomous organizations, males were employed on average just over 11 years with a median of 8 years and a range of 25 years. Females in heteronomous organizations were employed on average 6.5 years with a median of 6 years and a range of 12 years. This again may point to the fact that not only do women enter counselling later in life than males, but that on the basis of seniority as indicated by time in the organization, women are subordinated to males -- especially in heteronomous settings.

Applying Sorenson and Sorenson's (1974) proposition that the period of time within a bureaucracy is positively correlated with bureaucratic orientation to this data would suggest that male counsellors employed in autonomous settings would be the group to

measure highest on the bureaucratic orientation scale whereas females in autonomous work settings would measure the lowest on the bureaucratic orientation scale. This does not appear to be the case.

In both types of work settings, counsellors who have been employed for the longest periods of time demonstrate significantly lower levels of bureaucratic orientation than do counsellors who have been employed for shorter periods of time. The upper quartile of bureaucratic orientation scores (ranging from 27 to 38) have been exhibited by counsellors (mostly females) who have an average of approximately 6 years of employment in their organizations and are located for the most part in heteronomous settings. The lower quartile of bureaucratic orientation scores (ranging from 6 to 18) have been exhibited by counsellors (mostly males) with an average of 10.5 years in autonomous settings. The remaining respondents who are located within the 'medium' category of bureaucratic orientation scores have an average of approximately 9 years of employment in their organizations with female counsellors scoring higher than their male counterparts.

On account of the fact that the overall length of time that counsellors are employed in organizations does not differ significantly between heteronomous and autonomous settings (as do the bureaucratic orientation scores), the length of time employed in the organization cannot solely be used to explain variations in bureaucratic orientation. What is clear from the data, however, is that the length of time employed in the organization is inversely

correlated with bureaucratic orientation. Discussions in the interview sessions tend to support this relationship. Many counsellors claimed that when they first entered the organization they were unsure about many aspects of their job, and therefore were more willing to conform to the bureaucratic structure. For example, one counsellor in a heteronomous setting remarked, "when I first came to [the organization], I was insecure and tended to go by the book...I feel I have much more freedom now." Another reason extrapolated from the interviews is the discrepancy between a counsellor's institutionalized training and actual 'on the job' practice. This separation between educational theory and actual practice has been noted in social work (see Richan and Mendelsohn, 1973) and was made apparent throughout the interviews by many counsellors, especially by those who held a Masters of Education degree.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in-depth the nature of counsellors' training, but it is reasonable to hypothesize that counsellors' initial exposure to actual practice (as opposed to classroom theory) may contribute to a feeling of uncertainty when entering employment in an organization. This in turn may result in counsellors orienting themselves to the bureaucracy (as opposed to relying on their 'professional' training) in the first few years of employment. It should also be noted that many of the public agencies which have been categorized as 'heteronomous' tend to employ counsellors who are recent graduates at low salaries. Therefore, the minimal practical

experience these counsellors have received may contribute to higher levels of bureaucratic orientation.

When looking at variations in time in the organization by gender the interview data point to women entering counselling later in life than men. For example, a female respondent explained "...I raised a family and then decided to go back to school...I liked working with people and social work appealed to me...besides, it was a degree with which I could get a job." In addition to being a degree which is widely perceived to be marketable and which takes a relatively short period of time to complete, a Bachelor of Social Work requires students to complete a practicum in a specialized area within an organizational setting. Organizations which take on practicum students tend to be public bureaucracies, many of which subsequently hire the same individuals upon completion of the training. Indeed, many of the counsellors in heteronomous settings claimed to have gained their initial job, and in many cases their only employment, through practicum training.

EDUCATION AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

A large body of research in the sociology of occupations points to education as being a strong factor in predicting occupational autonomy (see Larson, 1977:10-47). Therefore, it was suspected prior to the research taking place that there would be a relationship between education and bureaucratic orientation. The data collected relating to respondents' education were coded in two ways: first, as full-time years of post-secondary education;

second, as type of degree held. Each of the two coding categories indicates relationships of differing strength with bureaucratic orientation.

When using measures of central tendency to look at the number of years of post-secondary education of counsellors in both organizational settings combined, the overall mean was found to be approximately 6 years with a median of 6 years and a range of 6 years. In autonomous organizations the mean number of years was 6.7 years with a range of 6 years and a median of 6.5 years; in heteronomous organizations the average was 6 years with a median of 6 years and a range of 5 years. On the basis of these small numbers and such insignificant differences it is reasonable to conclude that no difference exists when comparing years of education between organizational settings.

Within each setting, differences in length of time spent in post-secondary education by gender were evident. Women in heteronomous settings spent below the overall average for all female counsellors with 5.3 years in post-secondary education with a range of 2 years and a median of 6 years. In autonomous settings women spent slightly above the average for women with 6.2 years in post-secondary education with a range of 6 years and a median of 6. Male counsellors in heteronomous settings spent an average of 6.5 years in post-secondary education with a median of 6 and a range of 6; in autonomous settings males spent on average 6.8 years in post-secondary education with a median of 7 years and a range of 6 years.

When using the mean as an indicator of educational differences between organizational settings, counsellors in autonomous settings spent more time in post-secondary education than counsellors in heteronomous settings. When looking at gender, women in heteronomous settings have spent a lower amount of time in post-secondary education than males in heteronomous settings and women in autonomous settings have spent a lower amount of time than their male counterparts in autonomous settings. The group with the least amount of time spent in post-secondary education, therefore, are females in heteronomous settings with males in autonomous settings spending the greatest amount of time in post-secondary education.

As Table 3.4 indicates, all respondents possessed post-secondary degrees. These degrees have been placed into the following categories: Bachelors Degree (N=14); Masters of Education (N=13); Masters of Social Work (N=6); and Doctor of Philosophy (psychology) (N=7). Table 3.4 indicates that just over half of the counsellors in heteronomous organizations hold a Masters of Education degree and in autonomous settings Bachelors and Ph.D. degrees together account in almost equal proportions for a total of just under 75 percent of the group. Slightly over one half of the employees in heteronomous organizations have masters level degrees which can be considered to be more vocational (and specialized) than academic degrees. Specifically, all individuals possessing a masters level degree in heteronomous settings hold either a Masters of Social Work or a Masters of Education degree. In contrast, only 5 out of 19 (26%) of the counsellors in

autonomous organizations were found to possess either of these degrees. Six of the 19 (31%) of the counsellors located in autonomous organizations were found to hold a Ph.D. (all in psychology) compared to only one case being found in heteronomous organizations, this case being a Ph.D. which comes from a religious-oriented university. Also, 8 counsellors in autonomous settings were found to hold Bachelors degrees. These Bachelors degrees are held by counsellors in small non-profit agencies and are in a wide variety of areas including sociology, anthropology and social work.

TABLE 3.4

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY WORK SETTING

EDUCATION COMPLETED	Count / Col Pct	WORK SETTING: autonomous	WORK SETTING: heteronomous
Bachelor		8	6
		42.1	28.6
M.Ed.		2	11
		10.5	52.4
M.S.W.		3	3
		15.8	14.3
Ph.D.		6	1
		31.6	4.8
	Column Total	19	21
		100	100

When looking at the overall trend related to 'type of education' in the two organizational settings, the general trend is that autonomous organizations are more likely to employ counsellors with somewhat higher educational levels, specifically a Ph.D., while heteronomous bureaucracies tend to employ individuals with vocational-type Master's degrees.

By combining both organizational settings together and looking at gender divisions and types of education, there does not appear to be any notable differences with the exception of who holds Ph.D.s. As Table 3.5 indicates, 41 percent of females hold Bachelors degrees; 45 percent hold a vocational degree (M.Ed.and M.S.W.); and only 14 percent hold Ph.D.s. In short, almost all of the female counsellors interviewed have lower level and vocational-type degrees.

TABLE 3.5

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY GENDER

EDUCATION COMPLETED	Count / Col Pct	GENDER: males	GENDER: females
Bachelor		5 27.8	9 40.9
M.Ed. and M.S.W.		9 50	10 45.4
Ph.D.		4 22.2	3 13.7
	Column Total	18 100	22 100

From Table 3.5 (above) only 27.8 percent of all males hold Bachelors degrees; 50 percent hold vocational degrees, and almost a quarter of all male counsellors interviewed hold Ph.D.s in psychology. When examining the overall gender divisions and the types of education attained by counsellors within both work settings, the data point to a general trend of female counsellors being more likely to possess a Bachelor degree or a degree in a vocation such as social work and education and male counsellors being more likely to possess not only a more advanced degree, but one in an academic discipline.

In heteronomous settings females are more likely to possess a Bachelors level degree and males are more likely to possess a Master's degree; in autonomous organizations women are also more likely than men to hold a Bachelors degree, and male counsellors are more likely than women to possess Ph.D.s. In heteronomous organizations the educational levels tend to peak at the master's level; in autonomous organizations there is a considerable proportion of counsellors holding Ph.D.s.

In summary it can be stated that the data point to autonomous organizations employing counsellors with slightly higher educational levels. Heteronomous settings tend to employ counsellors with vocational oriented degrees. In both settings the majority of counsellors with the highest levels of education tend to be males, and as the following discussion and Table 3.6 indicate, when related to bureaucratic orientation a general trend is evident.

TABLE 3.6

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

DEGREE HELD	MALES & FEMALES			FEMALES			MALES		
	mean	mdn	R	mean	mdn	R	mean	mdn	R
BACHELOR	28	25	22	26	25	22	26	25	1
	(N=14)			(N=9)			(N=5)		
M.Ed. and M.S.W.	19	20	30	21	22	30	24	20	29
	(N=19)			(N=10)			(N=9)		
Ph.D.	19	18	21	18	21	17	20	29	10
	(N=7)			(N=3)			(N=4)		

Overall, counsellors holding Ph.D.s measure levels of bureaucratic orientation which are less than those individuals holding lower level degrees. Individuals with Bachelor and vocational master degrees tend to show levels of bureaucratic orientation which are higher. Female counsellors holding Bachelor and doctoral degrees demonstrated comparable levels of bureaucratic orientation with their male colleagues, which indicates that gender alone is a weak determinant of bureaucratic orientation. In other words, males and females with similar types of degrees tended to demonstrate comparable attitudes within their bureaucracies. This indicates that the degree held by counsellors is a much stronger determinant of bureaucratic orientation than gender or 'years of education.'

POSITION IN THE ORGANIZATION AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

Counsellors hold various positions within organizations. These positions fall into one of three categories: (1) counsellors whose primary position within the organization is to counsel clients in the form of case or group counselling; (2) supervisors who spend a large proportion of their time performing administrative tasks related to both the operation of the organization and the staff; and (3) counsellors who fall into neither category in that their position requires them to spend an approximately equal amount of time counselling and performing other tasks (this latter category is made up entirely of school counsellors). These three groups have been discussed and compared categorically as 'counsellors,' 'supervisors,' and 'school counsellors.' As Table 3.7 indicates, the three positions were compared looking for differences in bureaucratic orientation, but because of the small differences between categories it is problematic to delineate any specific relationship.

TABLE 3.7

POSITION HELD WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION BY BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

POSITION HELD	Count / Col Pct	BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION LOW	MED	HIGH
counsellor		2	10	11
		50.0	52.6	64.7
supervisor		1	4	1
		25.0	21.1	5.8
school counsellor		1	5	5
		25.0	26.3	29.4
Column Total		4	19	17
		10.0	47.5	42.5

There were no differences found between the categories of counsellors and school counsellors. School counsellors (N=11) measured a mean bureaucratic orientation score of 23 with a median of 24 and a range of 29. Counsellors (N=23) measured a mean bureaucratic orientation score of 23, a median of 23 and a range of 32. Individuals holding supervisory positions within organizations (N=6) had a mean bureaucratic orientation score of 20 with a median of 20 and a range of 22. As a group, supervisors exhibited the lowest bureaucratic orientation scores based on measures of central tendency, but there exists only a hint of this difference between supervisors and the rest of the group because of the minimal number of cases. However, the differences in bureaucratic orientation between supervisors and employees is an area which needs further

research.

When controlling for 'time in the organization' it was found that supervisors as a group had the longest periods of time in the organization which supports the previously discussed negative correlation between 'time in the organization' and 'bureaucratic orientation.' It is also apparent that in spite of supervisors spending a large proportion of their time conducting administrative tasks they tend to go against the typified 'bureaucratic personality' (Merton, 1940) associated with administrators. This may be explained by supervisors being structurally located between the actual practitioners and higher authority. For example, a supervisor in a heteronomous setting stated, "...I support colleagues...I want them to know they can discuss all their cases with me...I let them know I appreciate their work...and I stand up for them against the board." School counsellors and counsellors demonstrated comparable levels of bureaucratic orientation with the major factors influencing bureaucratic orientation being the organizational setting and time spent in the organization.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RECRUITMENT AND BUREAUCRATIC ORIENTATION

Time in the organization is a major factor determining bureaucratic attitudes. Therefore, internally recruited counsellors who were found to have spent longer periods of time in the organization than counsellors externally recruited, demonstrated somewhat lower levels of bureaucratic orientation. The proportion of individuals externally and internally recruited

is 68% and 32% respectively. There exists a tendency for heteronomous organizations to recruit employees externally and for autonomous organizations to recruit and promote their employees internally. A reason for this is that a large proportion of counsellors in heteronomous settings tend to stay with their organizations for short periods of time, gain experience, and then move into private practice. Indeed, many of the interviewees are also part-time, self-employed counsellors who spend time at night or on weekends counselling clients. Counsellors in autonomous settings tend to stay with their organization longer. With the exception of school counsellors, the period of counsellors' employment with autonomous organizations was considerably greater than those counsellors in heteronomous organizations -- a difference which may point to variations in job satisfaction between the two settings.

School counsellors, who have demonstrated a high degree of variation on all dimensions, tended to be internally recruited from teaching positions. Indeed, there are only two exceptions to this rule. The stated reasons for this move within the educational system usually centred around an increasing boredom and dissatisfaction with teaching positions over time. Some more idealistically oriented school counsellors claimed to have an intrinsic need to "help" students and feel they are in a better position to do so as a school counsellor. More to the point, however, are the benefits school counsellors receive, including pay, which are well above those received by teachers.

GENERAL TRENDS: A SUMMARY

Although this research entailed a small sample, several tendencies have been identified in the findings which relate to the concept of bureaucratic orientation.

Bureaucratic orientation was found to be influenced by the type of work setting. In autonomous work units which have control over most areas of their day-to-day operations, including selection of employees, job evaluation and operating policy, counsellors tend to be non-conformist to bureaucratic rules and regulations. In heteronomous work units which have little or no control over their operations, counsellors tend to be conformist in nature. This is evidenced by significantly higher levels of subordination to bureaucratic rules and regulations. In addition to bureaucratic orientation being influenced by the structure of the organization, several other factors also influence bureaucratic orientation.

Length of time in the organization significantly affects levels of bureaucratic orientation. Counsellors with more time in the organization tend to be less likely to orient themselves to the bureaucracy. As time in the organization increases, bureaucratic orientation decreases. This trend is evident in both autonomous and heteronomous settings.

Education has also been found to be a factor in determining the bureaucratic orientation of counsellors. Counsellors with more years of post-secondary education tend to have lower bureaucratic orientation. The type of education is also a salient factor. Counsellors with academic degrees tend to demonstrate lower levels

of bureaucratic orientation than counsellors with vocational degrees in social work and education.

The position held within the organization does not appear to be a major determinant of levels of bureaucratic orientation. However, supervisors in autonomous settings demonstrate lower levels of bureaucratic orientation than supervisors in heteronomous settings and supervisors also tend to decrease their bureaucratic orientation over time. Also, counsellors who are employed in the educational system did not show any significant differences from other counsellors located in heteronomous settings.

Female counsellors demonstrated a consistent trend across all the dimensions. In general, they demonstrated higher levels of bureaucratic orientation than male counsellors. They also tend to spend less time in their organizations, have fewer years of post-secondary education, have a higher probability of holding a vocational as opposed to an academic degree, be disproportionately located in highly bureaucratized settings, be less likely to hold a position of authority within their organization and be under-represented in the group of counsellors holding Ph.D.s. When looking at the total picture it would be reasonable to describe women as being marginalized.

CHAPTER 4

OCCUPATIONAL PRACTICE

SPECIALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION

INTRODUCTION

In spite of its inherent conservativism (Blau, 1969:32), the legal-rational model of bureaucracy has proven useful in providing a methodological framework in which to define bureaucratic structures and measure the attitudes promoted within these settings. The legal-rational model is again used to examine the occupational practice of counsellors.

Rules and procedures structure the nature of the work being carried out within bureaucracies. They define a level of standardization and specialization and provide the parameters within which work takes place. The legal-rational model views the bureaucratic organization as a structure of positions and offices. The rules and procedures of the organization define how these offices within the organization should function regardless of the characteristics of the people occupying offices at any particular time. This ideally frees the organization from dependence on the services of particular individuals and ensures continuity over time. For example, when individuals holding positions change, the offices remain, and the expectations and functions associated with the positions provide for organizational stability. This can be accomplished in part through the standardization and specialization of tasks (Abrahamson, 1967:4).

Increasing specialization and standardization in the work people perform are continuous long-term trends documented and

analyzed since the beginnings of sociology (see Ritzer, 1972: 18-29). The classical sociologists all incorporated aspects of standardization and specialization in their analyses of work in society (Spencer, 1896; Weber, 1947; Durkheim, 1964). Consistent with the Weberian position is the view that standardization and specialization are "fostered, encouraged, and nurtured" within bureaucratic settings (Pavalko, 1988:190). In these settings, tasks are broken down and subdivided into the smallest possible unit, which in turn limits the degree of competency required for various positions and the responsibilities that correspond to positions.

Specialization and standardization have been discussed by both classical and contemporary analysts as inextricably entwined concepts resulting from industrialization (see Pavalko, 1988:7-8). In industrial settings such as factory assembly lines for example, these concepts may indeed be connected. However, prior to conducting the interviews the assumption was made that in professional work standardization and specialization need not necessarily be connected.

Drawing on the interview data, this chapter will discuss the occupational practice of counsellors by focusing on the dimensions 'specialization' and 'standardization.' In addition to providing empirical examples of these two concepts, the following analysis indicates the degree to which standardization and specialization are correlated with the attitudes measured through the use of the concept 'bureaucratic orientation' outlined in the previous

chapter.

COUNSELLING IN ORGANIZATIONS: AN OVERVIEW

The experiences of counsellors working in both heteronomous and autonomous settings have several commonalities which counsellors viewed in some instances as advantageous over working in private settings. An important aspect of counselling in bureaucracies, and one which was emphasized by the counsellors interviewed, is that counsellors have available to them interaction with their peers. While counselling itself can be considered a stressful occupation (see Pietrofesa et al., 1984:428), interaction between counsellors alleviates some of the stress. Peer interaction, as a counsellor stated, "promotes self renewal."

Counsellors indicated that having other counsellors available in the work unit for the discussion of cases or for "debriefing" -- which is a once a week session in which counsellors discuss each others' cases -- may alleviate some of the stress built up after seeing a continual stream of clients. Indeed, counsellors in organizations which have a number of co-workers claimed that interaction with other counsellors was one advantage of working in bureaucracies. In addition to reducing stress, peer interaction allows counsellors to share knowledge about the professional literature and current research, various counselling techniques, and in some instances, a review of case ethics. These are facets of counselling in bureaucracies which may not exist in private practice and which, according to many of the counsellors

interviewed, can improve one's counselling skills.

There are, however, disadvantages of working in bureaucracies over and above that of high stress levels. Some counsellors stated that their organization placed a higher priority on ensuring and maintaining a balanced budget than counselling concerns. For example, the number of clients seen by counsellors in some organizations has to be high enough to provide statistical justification for success in procuring public funding. Similarly, many of the counsellors stated that "excess paperwork" was involved, especially in government agencies.

Many of the counsellors interviewed are employed by organizations operated by a board of directors which functions as the organization's governing body. These governing bodies usually consist of individuals who have little or no training in counselling and "who don't know what counselling is about." The individuals who make up a board of directors are responsible for ensuring that the counselling organization meets its mandate. This fact contributes in some instances to counsellors feeling that their decision-making power is limited. Most of the counsellors interviewed across both settings stated that they had to check with supervisors or a board of directors before making any decisions. This results in, as one counsellor stated it, "...never talking to who's calling the shots, and when the shots are called, it is by someone who is not a counsellor."

While these aspects of the work experience are shared in varying degrees by counsellors in both autonomous and heteronomous

settings, when looking at the specific dimensions of standardization and specialization differences are evident between the two settings.

PROFESSIONAL AND BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICE

At the level of the individual, the existence of professional expectations of autonomy and professional frames of reference have led some analysts to assume that professionals employed in bureaucracies will experience socio-psychological tensions. These tensions are derived from differences between the professionals' expectations and the externalised controls of bureaucratic organizations. They are contradictions between the personality of the 'expert' reinforced by the expert's education and loyalty to the professional community and those of the rational bureaucrat. As Freidson and Rhea (1965:107) have pointed out, "the consensus seems to be that professional workers require a kind of autonomy that is antithetical to Weber's model of rational-legal bureaucracy."

These socio-psychological tensions are not necessarily inevitable in counselling. It was found that subordination to rules and regulations among counsellors was positively associated with bureaucratization. Counsellors in highly bureaucratized settings measured relatively higher levels of bureaucratic orientation than those counsellors in autonomous settings. This indicates that counsellors in heteronomous settings have a much stronger commitment to the bureaucratic ideology than those

counsellors in autonomous settings. This may also indicate that because counsellors in autonomous settings have a low commitment and subordination to the bureaucracy, they also have a greater potential for conflict with bureaucratic authority.

Drawing from the theories discussed in Chapter 1, it is reasonable to hypothesize that, if professional-bureaucratic conflict exists, it will be made evident by counsellors in highly bureaucratized settings who demonstrate low levels of commitment to the bureaucracy and who are at the same time being "forced" into taking a highly bureaucratized approach to their counselling which is highly specialized and standardized. Secondly, it is also reasonable to hypothesize that levels of bureaucratization and bureaucratic occupational practice would be positively correlated. Specifically, counsellors in heteronomous settings should demonstrate occupational behaviour which is specialized and standardized to a higher degree than counsellors in autonomous settings.

The previous chapter pointed to a positive association between bureaucratization and bureaucratic orientation. This chapter presents findings indicating a positive association between bureaucratization and specialization and standardization. Due to the consistency between counsellors' attitudes and behaviour no evidence was found to support the existence of professional-bureaucratic conflict taking place in highly bureaucratized settings.

CONCEPTUALIZING OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALIZATION

Counselling within organizations has distanced itself from other services. Counsellors in schools, for example, view themselves as providing a distinct service apart from the teaching process. Fragmented even further, counselling in the schools has been divided into such areas as educational therapy, academic counselling and psychological testing. As counselling services continue to expand and the boundaries of the movement become increasingly delineated, it seems likely that an even more complete division of labour will develop and that new positions will be required to perform these tasks (Corwin and Clark, 1969:204). This proliferation of specialized roles, which has accelerated over the past twenty years, is reflected in both the education undertaken by counsellors and in the actual tasks performed.

Specialization was defined as the degree to which occupational knowledge and practice is limited to a defined area. Information relating to specialization was obtained through the open-ended questions found in Appendix B. Two categories were constructed. The first refers to the specialization of counsellors' expertise determined through education and training. The second refers to the degree of specialization in counsellors' tasks which is associated with the degree of bureaucratization of the work setting. These two dimensions are determined through education, training and by the organization. They are in many ways inter-related as the following discussion indicates.

SPECIALIZATION OF TRAINING

The role which education has played in facilitating occupational specialization has been documented extensively (Larson, 1977; Martin and MacDonell, 1982; Dickinson, 1987; Gaskell, 1987). Relevant to this research is the distinction between vocational training and academic research. Discussing this issue Larson (1977:151) states:

> ...from a phase of the two competing ideals [i.e., vocational versus academic] emerged an eclectic institutional model in which two conceptions of research coexisted, separated by a blurred and imprecise boundary: the graduate school produced scholarly and scientific research as well as academic professionals for institutions of the same type or colleges of lower rank. Despite temptations to become more scholarly and academic the departments of commerce, the schools of engineering, the schools of business administration tended to perfect the skills required by the industrial and business community...research was a public service that originated in a client's need and ended in a client's satisfaction.

As noted in the previous chapter, there is a correlation between bureaucratic orientation and the nature of the degree held. The degrees held by respondents ranged from Bachelors level degrees in a wide variety of areas (including sociology, anthropology and social work) to individuals holding Ph.D.s in psychology. The type of education a counsellor possesses influences the type of organization in which they find employment, which in turn influences the nature of their job, especially, the degree to which counselling services are specialized. It was found that autonomous

settings have a large proportion of employees holding academic degrees whereas heteronomous settings consist of individuals holding vocational-type degrees all in the areas of social work and education. Both categories of organizational setting differ substantively in the degree to which their counselling services are specialized.

My findings indicate that specialization of occupational practice is associated with lower level and vocational-type degrees. Counsellors with social work and education degrees were found to be specialized in one specific area -- drugs and alcohol, sexual abuse, and religious-based "family life" counselling in which all of the client's 'problems' are related back to 'dysfunctional' familial relations. Counsellors with such specialized training and specialized occupational practice were found to be employed in heteronomous settings. One reason for this is that vocational degrees require the student to complete a practicum which entails gaining practical experience. This practical experience involves spending a set period of time (usually six months) in an organization working in a specialized area. The organizations that assume the responsibility to train students through agreements with universities tend to be highly bureaucratic publicly funded agencies. These trainees provide relatively inexpensive labour and many of the agencies subsequently hire them upon completion of their degree. Proportional to these counsellors' minimal experience are the low levels of pay which several counsellors stated they received from their underfunded and

overworked agencies. In this respect, vocational degrees are designed to meet organizational needs over those of the client. In addition to displaying expertise in a highly specialized area, counsellors in heteronomous settings provide services accessible to a non-specific population. In other words, anyone with a specific problem may seek help in most of the heteronomous settings. These counsellors have indicated higher levels of bureaucratic orientation.

In contrast, counsellors who are more general in practice and who claim to deal with "most problems requiring counselling" possess higher levels of education, usually Ph.D.s, and are employed in autonomous settings. A reason for this is that the autonomous organizations participating in this study have a mandate to counsel a specific population. For example, within a university or college setting, counsellors must "theoretically be available to all students, faculty and staff who seek [their] help." These clients come to counsellors with a diversity of problems and issues which can range from academic to drug abuse issues to learning disabilities and problems relating to sexuality. In contrast to counsellors in heteronomous settings, these counsellors must possess the knowledge and skills to deal with problems which are unpredictable and wide ranging. Unlike vocational degrees, academic degrees have a theoretical and abstract grounding which enables the practitioner to deal with a diversity of problems. As a counsellor in an academic setting stated, "I subscribe to the scientist-practitioner model...I teach clients to work out all

possibilities -- not what to do." This is in contrast to a specialized and standardized approach.

Vocational degrees provide counsellors with knowledge applicable to specific problems. In contrast, counsellors with academic degrees have professional knowledge which is separated from practical use and is "organized along logically consistent, rationally conceptualized dimensions" (Abbott, 1988:54). This enables counsellors with academic education to infer from theory to any problem requiring counselling. It was found that most counsellors with academic training and who are located in autonomous settings have, in addition to a broad academic training, a specialized area of expertise. These counsellors have usually conducted research at the graduate level in their areas of expertise, which include such topics as drug addiction, sexual abuse and eating disorders. In spite of their expertise in a specialized area, the counselling they conduct tends to be holistic rather than specialized. In other words, rather than identifying and dealing with a client's specific issue or problem, these counsellors look at "the whole individual." Those counsellors who subscribed to the "whole person philosophy" measured considerably less on the bureaucratic orientation scale.

Paradoxically, the expansion of counselling was facilitated by this "whole person philosophy" (Corwin and Clarke, 1969:217). Congruent with the increasing number of counsellors employed in bureaucratized settings is a decline in this philosophy. Within highly bureaucratized settings, no counsellors assumed

responsibility for helping clients whose problems fell outside of a few defined categories which are determined by the mandate of the organization. For example, an organization which has a mandate to counsel victims of sexual abuse selects clients solely on this basis. Those counsellors who claimed not to offer their services to everyone, but rather to a specific group, for example, students in an educational setting, measured considerably lower levels of bureaucratic orientation.

Several early studies have pointed to occupational specialization being associated with lower job skills and lower educational qualifications (see Ritzer, 1972:18). This is not necessarily the case. Rather, my findings support the premise that specialization is affected by the type of education, which in turn affects the type of organization in which the counsellor is employed. On an attitudinal dimension, counsellors who are highly specialized in their practice measured relatively higher bureaucratic orientation scores than those counsellors specialized to a lesser degree.

SPECIALIZATION OF TASKS

While it was found that the degree of specialization is influenced by both educational and organizational factors, specialization can be further analyzed by looking at ways in which it impacts on the client.

Consistent with the 'trait' approach to the professions, the counselling literature emphasizes that counsellors have a central

responsibility to the welfare of the client and the responsibility to know when and how to refer clients to appropriate resources (Pietrofesa, et al., 1984; Woolfe, et al., 1987). As Corey et al., point out, "it is crucial for [professional counsellors] to know the boundaries of their own competence and to refer clients to other professionals when working with them is beyond their professional training," (1979:114-116). The professional model places counsellors' primary responsibility with the client. However, in many instances counsellors' professional responsibilities are overshadowed by their responsibilities to the organization.

The division of counselling services into distinct specialties and the resulting referral system, which refers an individual from one specialist to another either within the organization or to another organization, contradicts the client-centred "whole person" philosophy. The negative consequences of referral for the client have been identified by a large body of literature which generally argues that the division of services for organizational and administrative convenience does not necessarily correspond with the client's own interests (Saunders, 1991:33). Referral to and from the organization was used as an indicator of the degree to which counsellors' everyday practice is specialized. It was found that the rate and basis for referrals are determined and maintained through rules and regulations (as opposed to professional evaluation) enforced by counsellors. This study indicates that high rates of referral (both to and from the organization) are

positively associated with bureaucratization.

Counsellors employed in autonomous organizations were found to be less willing to refer clients to other organizations. Most of the counsellors interviewed from autonomous settings claimed that they had never referred a client to another counsellor, but advocated the use of "self-help groups to complement the counselling." As these organizations have counsellors with more training, education and length of time as a counsellor, this finding is not surprising. In contrast, counsellors in heteronomous organizations were found to be more willing to refer out, especially if clients have problems which are located outside of the categories used to define and treat problems. For example, a counsellor in an organization which specializes in the area of "family life" indicated that "if there is any hint of drug abuse the client is quickly referred out." Although many of the counsellors employed in heteronomous organizations have received basic education and training in a wide variety of areas and are capable of handling many of the problems which they refer out (drug abuse, for example), it is apparent that the degree to which specialization is inherent in their occupational practice is influenced by the organization's mandate.

In heteronomous work settings, counsellors who measured 'high' on the bureaucratic orientation scale were more willing to refer clients to other services. In other words, an attitudinal subordination to bureaucratic rules and regulations is correlated with a willingness to refer problems out. This further supports

the notion that specialization, as indicated by the process of referral, is dictated by the organization and carried out by the individual practitioner. As heteronomous organizations and counsellors do not deal in a wide variety of problems, referral out is relatively easy to justify verbally to the client. As one counsellor reported, "...I just tell [clients] their needs can be better met elsewhere."

It is interesting to note that heteronomous settings have an average six-to-seven month waiting period prior to the client accessing a counsellor. Therefore, referral from one organization to another is clearly not in keeping with the interests of the client, particularly if their problem requires immediate attention. This aspect was taken into account by many of the counsellors in autonomous settings, but rarely mentioned by counsellors located in more bureaucratized settings. Contradicting organizational policy, a counsellor from an autonomous setting explained: "...the philosophy of the [organization] is short-term counselling which means referring long-term clients [i.e., those with severe problems] and this is an ethical issue...to refer out means waiting lists. Therefore, I continue to see as many long-term clients as possible." A referred client will most likely be sent to other heteronomous settings with limited resources and vocationally trained counsellors.

Counsellors in both types of organizations stated directly that any problem which resembles a "severe psychological or psychiatric disorder" is referred to the appropriate agency. A

counsellor in an autonomous setting stated, "...I do not see clients who I feel need medical treatment, but I follow up and ensure the client receives the help they need." This indicates that in practice counsellors maintain an occupational boundary with psychiatry although at times there may be conflict. For example, a counsellor stated "most of the problems dealt with by psychiatrists through medicine can be dealt with more effectively and successfully through psychotherapy."

In describing aspects of their occupational practice, it became apparent that some counsellors specialize in problems which are social in nature. This was made evident by school counsellors in particular. The problems which many of them deal with in everyday practice can be described as involving the social roles of individuals in relationship to each other and to their society. As one school counsellor described her practice:

> I look at how the student relates to their peers and teachers; I help school children within the school system and how it impacts on their learning; I look at the student's relationship at home, and if necessary, I bring in the family.

It was also made evident that many school counsellors have a clearly delineated practice as illustrated by the following statement, "...pregnancy issues I refer...psychological issues I refer...most of my counselling is crisis [i.e., short term]...there is no way I could get into long term counselling."

Most of the research studies examining bureaucratization and

school counselling all point to a high degree of variance within this population (see Martin and Macdonell, 1982:124-126). Therefore, to present an accurate picture of school counsellors it must be noted that there exists a high degree of variance with regard to referral. Many school counsellors claim to refer out problems which were beyond the mandate which defines the provision of counselling services in schools. These counsellors had higher bureaucratic scores than those relatively few school counsellors who claimed to deal with many of the problems other school counsellors refer. In contrast, 'client-centred' counsellors took careful consideration of the ability of another organization to deal with the referred student, the waiting period which may be involved, the severity of the problem at hand and the age of the student. The time involved in taking such an approach was expressed by one school counsellor, "I see things going downhill because there are more and more problems...plus I am being expected to teach...I am being spread thinner and thinner...the preventative aspect of my job is lost as I spend more and more of my time in crisis management." Ironically, taking a client-centred approach combined with a reluctance to refer clients to other services implies that out of necessity these school counsellors have to provide a highly standardized counselling service in order to accommodate the increasing numbers of students seeking their assistance. This results in school counselling becoming what may be considered more of a 'band aid' solution than any long-term solution. Those counsellors who do refer problems are more

specialized in terms of the problems they deal with and have demonstrated higher levels of bureaucratic orientation. In contrast, my findings indicate that those school counsellors who demonstrated a reluctance to refer clients to outside agencies possess higher levels of education (at least a Master's level degree), a higher number of years as a counsellor, and have spent longer periods of time as a counsellor in their respective organizations than those school counsellors who were more apt to refer clients. This again points to a decline in bureaucratic orientation over time.

Some organizations appeared overly concerned with attaining a high degree of success in their dealings with clients. This can be achieved through specialization -- a fact which was made evident in several heteronomous settings. As one supervisor in a heteronomous setting stated, "we are very selective about taking on cases which ensures us a high success rate." By reducing the probability of "failure," this approach produces organizational statistics which are recorded by each counsellor and which can subsequently be used to paint a favorable picture when applying for public funding. This selective approach also reduces uncertainty by providing a clientele whose problems are both specialized and standardized in nature.

Specialization can also be used by the organization as an effective means to control the number of clients. All of the counsellors who perform highly specialized counselling mentioned "too many clients" as a perceived constraint. Specialization

alleviates this constraint to varying degrees by controlling the number of clients. Many potential clients have problems located within the training which is fundamental to all counselling, but they are referred away from the organization on the basis that "[your] problems are not within our area of specialization...[you] will get better help in another organization." Interview data indicates that this practice is most prevalent in heteronomous settings.

Not only are psychological and psychiatric problems referred out from most heteronomous settings, so also are those clients whose problems warrant long term counselling. In addition, there are time constraints regulating the period of time a counsellor can see a client. For example, a drug addict who seeks help at a drug centre will find that after several visits, time in a one-to-one relationship with the counsellor is terminated, or at the very least, reduced in frequency, regardless of the severity of the problem. The fact that statistics indicate an extremely low recovery rate for drug addiction is irrelevant to the counsellor (see Church, 1991:138). As a counsellor in a drug recovery organization stated, "I see people for six to eight sessions and then follow-up infrequently with groups...my theoretical approach is short term." In contrast, all of the counsellors in autonomous organizations claimed to follow-up clients if necessary for several years. As one counsellor from an autonomous setting emphasized, "short term...long term...it's not an issue."

Findings also indicate that counsellors with longer periods of

time practising tend to be more reluctant to refer out than those counsellors with shorter time practising. This trend is undoubtedly influenced by an awareness of recidivism on the part of the counsellor, which may explain in part lower levels of conformity to bureaucratic rules over time. Several subjects reported "crisis counselling the same individual over a number of years."

It is also worth noting that those counsellors who seemed overly ready to refer problems away from the organization saw counselling as an occupation continuing to undergo expansion and specialization. A high rate of referral from organizations contributes to this process by increasing the demand for counselling services. Other correlates produced by the data include positive associations between a willingness to refer out and (1) low job security, (2) a clearly defined organizational mandate, (3) a high number of tasks performed by the counsellor (other than counselling), and (4) a high proportion of time spent doing administrative tasks.

STANDARDIZATION

Whereas specialization has been defined as the degree to which counsellor's knowledge and practice is limited to a defined area, standardization is defined in terms of the degree to which counsellors assign clients into categories based on clients' problems. Counselling in bureaucracies ranges from the client centred 'whole person' approach in autonomous settings to a high

degree of specialization in heteronomous settings. It is in highly bureaucratized settings that clients are treated as standardized categories rather than individual cases. This in turn enables counsellors to adopt uniform practices when working with clients. Counsellors who measured high on the bureaucratic orientation scale appeared more likely to enforce uniform standards and employ standardized practices when working with clients. Their clients fall into clearly defined categories and are assigned and treated on the basis of the organization's interests, often in opposition to the clients' interests. Clients who cannot be categorized or have more than one problem are often referred to other agencies. Clients with financial means are referred to a private counsellor, often a former colleague who has left the organization and entered into private practice, and those without means are referred to another agency available to the public. One counsellor, for example, claimed, "I treat families, individuals, couples, and groups for issues relating to family life...if there is evidence of substance abuse these people are immediately referred to an appropriate agency." Access to counselling services is not only defined by the counsellor's perception of the client's needs, but also by other social characteristics, such as religion. For example, a counsellor located in a state funded religious-based agency working in the area of "family life" claimed that "even though there are waiting lists, if we know someone is Catholic, we sometimes deal with them first before someone from another denomination."

In heteronomous organizations many of the counsellors claimed to take an approach to counselling which emphasizes efficiency and the categorization of clients. This approach, as a counsellor described it, consists basically of "first identifying the problem, dealing with the problem in the most efficient way, and finding a practical solution." By taking this approach the focus of the counsellor is clearly on the individual's specific problem. This can be contrasted with the approach taken by counsellors in autonomous organizations: "I don't see a problem as a single issue, but rather as part of a whole," stated one counsellor in an autonomous setting. Whereas individuals were categorized based on a specific problem in heteronomous organizations, those counsellors in autonomous organizations emphasized looking at the whole person, i.e., Gestalt therapy.

Other methods indicative of standardization include the use of groups. As one counsellor stated, "it saves time and money so why not deal with people with similar problems in a group." Also, recent developments in the use of short term therapy models and computer and video techniques not only standardize counselling services, but reduce the inter-personal skills required of the counsellor. These techniques place bureaucratic requirements such as client quotas over individualistic counselling -- although clients may be assured, for example, that such methods "may suit [you] better." As clients view the counsellor as an expert who knows best, (Abbott, 1988:325), in most cases it would not be difficult for counsellors to convince them that they 'need' group

therapy, for example, rather than individual counselling.

Regulations play a key role in implementing and maintaining standardized and specialized practices. Theoretically, regulations are designed to improve the efficiency of the organization (Hall, 1987). However, too many regulations can produce inefficiency, and over-conformity to these regulations on the part of the individual may produce a "bureaucratic personality" (Merton, 1940). Several of the counsellors measured exceptionally high bureaucratic orientation scores. In addition to being located in heteronomous settings, these individuals were found to have less than two years in the organization and hold positions characterized by low job security, i.e., short-term contract work.

Regulations also determine the number of clients that counsellors are required to handle and the various tasks to be completed by the counsellor other than counselling. Findings indicate that the number of clients per day and standardization are positively correlated and that variation exists between the two organizational settings. The average number of clients seen per day by counsellors in autonomous organizations was 4 with counsellors spending on average 1.5 hours with each client. In heteronomous organizations the average number of clients seen per day was 6 with an average of 1 hour spent with each client.

The number of tasks performed other than counselling also varies across both organizational settings, which in turn influences the amount of time available for counselling clients on a one-to-one basis. Counsellors in heteronomous settings, in spite

of having a larger case load than their counterparts in autonomous settings, also perform a greater number of tasks in the work setting. These tasks include community prevention workshops usually conducted at night, maintaining client-related statistics and being on call for emergency cases. In autonomous settings, tasks other than counselling were of a much more professional nature. These included activities such as research, training counsellors, and academic writing.

In heteronomous settings, the interview data revealed that in addition to determining how many clients are to be seen in a given period of time, the regulations also specify the proportion of time counsellors are to spend with each client. For example, one counsellor commented "I wouldn't be surprised if we are told in the near future to see a minimum of eight clients per day." Not surprisingly, the bureaucratic structure enforces these levels of standardization. Unlike counsellors in autonomous settings, counsellors in heteronomous settings tend to see clients on a short-term basis and spend less time with the client in each session. Furthermore, their occupational practice is characterized by the categorization and "quick fix" of clients.

ADDITIONAL ASPECTS OF OCCUPATIONAL PRACTICE

Corwin and Clarke (1969) claim that the monopolization of resources and information by counsellors which may be needed by other specialists can be a source of conflict, especially when there are only minor differences in authority between the positions

held by counsellors. The research findings indicate this is not the case with counsellors in St. John's. Most of the counsellors interviewed tended to hold similar lateral positions within each organization, with the exception of the few supervisors who spent a large proportion of their time conducting administrative tasks. All of the counsellors within each organization had access to the same resources such as information and training materials and no evidence was found to support inter-counsellor conflict within organizations.

This research suggests, however, that school counsellors who are characterized as "the middle person" (between the student and the administration, between the student and the teacher and between the student and the parents) have in some instances overruled teachers in the form of providing "strong advice" relating to teacher-administrative issues. School counsellors, it was found, have a high degree of influence over decisions made about the students and advise teachers on how to handle "problem students." This influence is noted in literature related to school counselling, for example, Corwin and Clarke (1969) and Martin and Macdonell (1982). Interestingly, and perhaps due to the "middle" nature of school counsellors, their bureaucratic orientation scores demonstrated the highest variance of any group. This may be due in part to counsellors' structural location as part to the administration and the mediatory nature of their relations between students, teachers, and parents. The highest levels of bureaucratic orientation were measured by school counsellors who

performed no teaching duties, had the lower levels of education (specifically a Bachelor-level degree), less time in the job and expressed a dislike for teaching.

School counsellors perceive themselves as having a more informed insight into students' lives than either the teacher, parents, or administration. They all self-proclaimed their expertise in dealing with students' problems beyond that of parents, teachers, and other administrative personnel and were always ready to advise these people on "what is going on with the student and how to deal with it." Most of the school counsellors stated that they spent a high proportion of their own time dealing with students' problems. For example, one school counsellor claimed that "most weeks I have a crisis to deal with as parents call me at home and I have to drop everything and deal with it no matter what the time...last night it was a suicide attempt by one of our students." This type of contact indicates counsellors' legitimacy and effectiveness to resolve problems as perceived by students and parents.

School counsellors who claimed to deal with many problems clearly located outside of the mandate of school counsellors demonstrated lower levels of bureaucratic orientation, lower levels of time employed within the school system, but longer periods of time as a counsellor. In addition, those school counsellors who claimed to use directive techniques (going in and taking a stand and trying to find out what the problem is and finding a solution in opposition to letting students solve their own problems)

demonstrated higher levels of bureaucratic orientation.

The interview data indicate the general pattern of relationships within organizations to be a positive association between bureaucratization and social integration within the work unit. Those counsellors employed in heteronomous settings who have been identified as highly specialized and standardized stated that they maintain both formal and informal relations with co-workers regardless of their location in the organizational hierarchy. These relations take place both within and outside of the work setting and centre around case consultations (both informal and formal) within the organization and "being emotionally supportive of each other" outside of the organization. For the most part, these counsellors stated that they had "an excellent relationship with co-workers and administrative staff." In contrast, those counsellors located in autonomous settings stated that they maintained formal relations with colleagues within the work setting: several counsellors described these as professional working relations. Most of the interaction within the organization is with clients and relations with colleagues can be described as centering around scheduled formal meetings related to case consultations and research.

SUMMARY

The major finding produced by this research is the consistency between the degree of bureaucratization, the attitudes expressed by counsellors through measurement of the concept 'bureaucratic

orientation' and the occupational practice of counselling in heteronomous settings. Counsellors in heteronomous settings demonstrated higher levels of bureaucratic orientation, which is supported by their highly bureaucratic occupational practice. Counsellors in autonomous settings demonstrated relatively lower levels of bureaucratic orientation, which is reflected in a more 'professional' practice. The theories of professionals in bureaucracies point to highly bureaucratized settings subordinating professionals into bureaucratic roles (Gouldner, 1957; Hall, 1968; Freidson, 1986). The findings from this study indicate this partly to be the case. The consistency between the structure and the attitudes in highly bureaucratized settings can be explained in part by the placing of individuals (through hiring and placement policies) into already bureaucratically constructed offices.

It was also found that education is the major factor in determining and facilitating this placement of counsellors into positions mainly through vocational degree programs taking place in university settings. These programs interrelate with outside agencies arranging placement and in many cases subsequent permanent employment for the individuals that they train. Counsellors with vocational degrees are not only more susceptible to being employed in highly bureaucratized settings, but through this educational process trainees undergo a socialization process making them "fit" their position. This fact is supported by much of the literature relating to social work and counselling used in university courses emphasizing to social workers, for example, "how to work in an

organization" (Richan and Mendelsohn, 1973; Eriksen, 1979). The result of this type of training may be that counsellors are more susceptible to conforming to the bureaucratic ideology.

Many of the interviewees with vocational training demonstrated a lack of cognition of the degree to which their attitudes and practices are in actuality shaped by the organizational setting. This may partly explain some of the contradictory statements expressed by respondents such as "I have lots of autonomy...I do what I'm told." In contrast, individuals highly educated in an academic discipline were found to be located in positions which allow them a high degree of freedom and flexibility to practice their occupation using a client-centered approach. These individuals, while highly cognitive of organizational constraints, maintain a level of practice which is consistent with their academic training and inherent in their conceptualization of professionalism.

This consistency between structure and attitudes in highly bureaucratized settings cannot be placed in opposition to the conflict which much of the literature suggests occurs when professionals are placed in these settings. It was found that individuals in heteronomous settings by and large fail to conform to the 'trait' definition of 'professional.' In fact, their occupation fits the professional model only to the extent that they are members of a professional association. This is reflected by high levels of bureaucratic orientation and in practice by a high degree of standardization and specialization. In fact, it can be

argued that these individuals are not professionals at all. This supports the fact that the concept of 'counselling' is not definitionally exact, but rather can be perceived as an occupational category which in itself can be measured on a bureaucratic-professional continuum.

It was found that small autonomous work units facilitate and encourage occupational behaviour consistent with the 'trait' definition of a profession in spite of the fact that many of them exist as part of a larger bureaucracy. In contrast, heteronomous settings are associated with highly bureaucratic occupational practice. It is suspected that if counsellors in private practice were included in this study they would be located along a bureaucratic-professional continuum in a similar position to those counsellors in autonomous settings.

Other findings produced by this research are the factors significantly associated with the construction of the attitudes intrinsic to counsellors. While the bureaucratic setting was found to be the major factor predicting the degree to which attitudes conform to the bureaucratic model, the length of time spent in the organization and the type of education are also important. Lastly the degree to which women within counselling are marginalized was an unsuspected finding. Based on each dimension measured in this study female counsellors are subordinate to their male counterparts.

CHAPTER 5

CRITIQUE AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section is a critique of the theoretical framework and a feminist critique of bureaucracy. The second section provides concluding statements and outlines directions for further research. Each aspect will be considered in turn.

CRITIQUE

Theoretical Limitations

Two main issues were addressed in this research. The first was to determine whether counsellors employed in bureaucratic settings conform and perpetuate the bureaucratic ideology implicit in these settings. The second was to determine whether some counsellors do in fact reject the bureaucratic ideology and subscribe to a more professional approach. If this rejection and subscription occurs, what factors are involved and how are they reflected in occupational practice? In order to examine this problem three dimensions were considered. First, the bureaucratic structure; second counsellors' attitudinal orientations; and third, counsellors' occupational practice. Each dimension was defined and operationalized within the Weberian-based legal-rational model.

The study of the formal, legal-rational aspects of organizations has been greatly influenced by the theory of bureaucracy put forward by Max Weber (Gerth and Mills, 1980). For Weber, a bureaucracy fitting the legal-rational model represented

the purest form of administration. This model succeeded in becoming the basic analytical and conceptual foundation of modern organizational theory. In spite of subsequent literature describing the dysfunctions and inefficiencies of bureaucracies which exemplified this model (see Blau, 1969; Hall, 1969; Scott, 1981; Fischer and Sirianni 1984) and despite attempts to supply a theoretical alternative, "mainstream [organizational] theory is still fundamentally linked to the assumptions of the rational model" (Fischer and Sirianni, 1984:9).

Criticisms centre around Weber's formulation of bureaucracy as an 'ideal type' which was derived by abstracting the characteristics common to all bureaucracies. No organization empirically fits this model in a perfect way. Rather, organizations vary in the degree to which they correspond to this construct (Blau, 1969:34). This fact became apparent in measuring and categorizing organizations on the basis of their degree of bureaucratization. No organization participating in this study entirely fits the ideal type model and within each of the two categories constructed variation does exist.

A second criticism relates to the fact that by defining bureaucracy based on the ideal type, "all deviations from this model are idiosyncratic and of no interest for the student of organizations" (Blau, 1969:35). This implies that features of bureaucracies which fall outside of this model are excluded from analysis. Specific to this study is the fact that many of the variations within each organization and the degree to which they

vary were systematically overlooked and excluded from measurement as a result of using a Weberian-based typology.

The homogeneity implicit in Weber's definition of bureaucracy led later sociologists to develop a series of characteristics which facilitated the examination of the degree to which organizations conform to the bureaucratic model. In addition to distinguishing between types of bureaucracies, this approach enabled quantifiable correlations between the various characteristics which define a bureaucracy (see Hall, 1968). Significant to this study is the distinction between autonomous and heteronomous bureaucracies.

Professional work takes place in a wide variety of settings. In the United States, Canada and Britain, the traditional distinction is between self-employed and salaried professionals and "it is well known that there has been a sharp decline in [self-employed] professionals in these countries" (Abbott, 1988:125) as well as an increase in salaried employees in bureaucracies. Salaried work takes place in both autonomous and heteronomous bureaucracies (Hall, 1969; Larson, 1977; Rothman, 1984). Grouping the organizations which participated in this study into these two categories contributes to an oversight of the variation unique to and between each organization. Each organization was placed into a category based on the characteristics of the organization. Again it can be argued that a more exacting approach would have been to measure each dimension separately on a quantitative scale. This, however, would entail a much larger sample of organizations than this research employed.

On a micro level Weber saw individual behaviour within bureaucracies in terms of unidirectional causality. Bureaucracies subordinate individuals, even experts, into conforming to legal-rational authority. This approach neglects the effects which individuals may have on bureaucracies.

The effects of post-secondary education on the individual have been discussed extensively by focusing on the process of socialization (see Becker and Geer, 1958:50-56; Simpson, 1967:47-54; Benoit, 1991:72-90). Broadening the issue of post-secondary education to include an examination of the nature and extent of the relationship between organizations and the educational process is an area for further research. The fact that post-secondary educational institutions are increasing the number of vocationally-oriented graduate programs points to linkages between universities and bureaucracies. In the case of social work, for example, the entire training of social workers has been linked to bureaucratic objectives (see Richan and Mendelsohn, 1973:66). Also excluded from this study is counsellors' socialization, which takes place within the organizational context. This topic has only recently emerged as an area for research by occupational sociologists (see Abbott, 1988).

Within the Weberian framework individuals are seen as "rational-purposeful" beings striving for maximum efficiency (Zeitlin, 1973:168). Any deviation from this pattern of behaviour is detrimental to administrative efficiency. This relates back to Parson's criticism that Weber equates the expert with the

bureaucrat (Parsons, 1951). Weber saw professional and bureaucratic behaviour as one and the same, determined not by professional schools or universities, but rather by bureaucracies. Individual professionally-oriented behaviour which deviates from that behaviour proscribed by the bureaucratic legal-rational authority is excluded from Weber's analysis.

The Weberian approach, however, facilitates investigation of the impact which bureaucratic settings have on individuals and their occupational practice. It also allows for systematic analysis at both the structural and individual levels. While the well known criticisms directed towards the use of typologies can be directed at this study, due to the limited number of organizations and individuals which this research involves, it can been seen as an appropriate methodological approach.

Feminist Strategies for Bureaucratic Change

The data collected in this research point to a clear division by gender within the occupation of counselling based on dimensions such as education, length of time in the organization, as well as overall levels of bureaucratic orientation. In addition, there exists a tendency for women to be located in highly bureaucratic settings. These differences have been referred to earlier in this thesis as contributing to the marginalization of women in counselling. Furthermore, my research data indicate these differences to be influenced by bureaucratic structures.

The Weberian model of bureaucracy ignores analysis of

segregation by gender in bureaucracies (Sydie, 1987), and, in the view of some analysts, it is an issue which should be examined through use of a labour force perspective (Braverman, 1974; Smith, 1981; Fox and Fox 1987). Recently, however, feminists have developed an analysis of bureaucracy inclusive of women which focuses on the bureaucratic division of labour.

The role of women in bureaucracies has been discussed recently by Ferguson (1984) and Tong (1989) who, in their feminist critique of women and work, make several key points relevant to this research in advocating changes to the division of labour by sex within bureaucracies. The sexual division of labour has been examined extensively from a variety of perspectives (Hartmann, 1976; Flax, 1981; Young, 1981; Jaggar, 1983), and, according to Tong (1989) a division of labour analysis has the advantage of being more specific than a class analysis. Whereas class analysis views the system of production as a whole, focusing on the means and relations of production, a division of labour analysis pays attention to the individual people who do the producing in society.

Marxist and socialist feminists have called for a restructuring of work which entails the rejection by women of the hierarchical division of labour and a reformulation of the planning and performance of tasks. This requires "creating a situation in which women can both develop themselves and transform the external world" (Ferguson, 1984:205). From the standpoint of women being located in subordinate positions to men within bureaucracies, Ferguson (1984) has developed a socialist theory which attempts to

provide a course of action to be taken by women in order to eliminate their marginal position within bureaucracies.

By looking at feminist groups as an example, Ferguson claims that they frequently pursue goals by adopting a vertical rather than a horizontal division of labour, i.e., dividing the work process into areas within which each individual has responsibility for both the creative and the routine aspects of work tasks (Ferguson, 1984:206). These groups collectively define and periodically re-define those decisions that must be made by the entire group versus those decisions that are to be made by each individual within their own task area. This results in labour being divided in such a way that each member of the group learns skills and is able to develop their own power within a flexible work situation that allows for change over time.

Feminists have advocated the use of vertical (as opposed to horizontal) differentiation in organizational structures as a means to overcome the sexual division of labour in bureaucracies. Ferguson (1984:206) claims, "just as the bureaucratic division of labour creates incompetencies so a vertical division of labour can create ability." According to this view, organizations do not need to dispense with expertise, but can connect it to a different form of power. The expertise possessed by particular individuals in an environment that supports cooperation can be shared with others so as to empower both the individual and the group providing an opportunity both to learn and to teach. In other words, eliminating the bureaucratic model with its hierarchy of authority

can result in power being shared by members within the organization. This in turn can result in an increase in levels of knowledge and skill possessed by women within organizations. Power within organizations, Ferguson claims, "can be redefined as the ability to act with others and to do things that could not be done by individuals alone" (Ferguson, 1984:190).

Problems emerge, however, with the elimination of organizational hierarchy. For example, decision-making is usually time-consuming and often frustrating to some members. The intensity of the interaction often advantages the most verbally skilled members at the expense of those less assertive or vocal and inequalities of ability and/or contribution may surface among members (see Hall, 1987; Hedley, 1992). Objections such as these are dismissed by Ferguson who looked at small feminist groups and their approaches in dealing with similar problems to develop strategies, which she claims, can be adopted by larger bureaucracies. These strategies include periodically changing the chairperson, integrating social and organizational activities and electing one delegate to can' ss less active members. The small size necessary for participatory decision-making requires structures for coordination among the groups. Co-ordination can be achieved by voluntary cooperation and by election of delegates within a federated structure, rather than through hierarchy and control. Although Ferguson does not supply empirical examples of large non-hierarchical organizations, she claims, "we have numerous indications that such organizations are possible" (Ferguson,

1984:190).

Arguably, these recommendations are impractical and simplistic, but, according to Ferguson, they are in fact more cognizant of complexity than bureaucracies can ever be and furthermore, "most admonitions toward practicality translate into an unwillingness to consider any change that is not consistent with existing arrangements, when it is precisely those arrangements that stand in need of change" (Ferguson, 1984:190).

Ferguson claims that the best avenue of resistance to bureaucratic capitalism is the formation of alternative organizations. In counselling, this has been undertaken by the formation of small publicly funded organizations consisting primarily of volunteer feminist and peer counsellors. Ferguson admits, however, this is not an option everyone perceives to be available to them, especially women in large bureaucratic organizations. Women have to resist from where they are and since most women find themselves inside bureaucracies at one time or another, resistance should be directed towards their immediate organizational environment. The resistance that can go on within a bureaucratic setting may be a very limited form of opposition, but understanding its limits is an important aspect to avoid the debilitating disappointment that follows "when ungrounded and unrealistic hopes are raised then dashed" (Ferguson, 1984:198).

Ferguson argues that it is impossible to resist bureaucratic domination by recruiting individual women into bureaucracies or by organizing bureaucratically. In both cases "the voices of

opposition are engulfed and defused" (Ferguson, 1984:187). It is possible, however, to resist bureaucratic domination if a number of people act collectively and in a nonbureaucratic fashion to challenge the form of discourse found in bureaucracies. Since the terms of bureaucratic discourse "mystify politics by shrouding conflict in the pseudo-neutral language of administration, to explicitly politicize its language is to challenge the dominant discursive framework" (Ferguson, 1984:195). As Ferguson claims, bureaucracies are essentially authoritarian systems in that they allow no legitimate opposition from below: "To challenge bureaucracy in the name of the values and goals of feminist discourse is to undermine the chain of command, equalize the participants, subvert the monopoly of information and secrecy of decision-making, and essentially seek to democratize the organization" (Ferguson, 1984:203). This requires a reformulation of the organization's central issues in a language of power and responsibility which makes it possible to name ends and identify goals for which one might take an ethical stand.

This cannot be done by individuals in isolation because they are too vulnerable to organizational retribution and they lack the base of mutual support that gives energy to sentiments of resistance. But a substantial number of people acting together can help to protect and support one another by forming a group that, at its best, can function as a cross between a consciousness-raising group and a union: "A sufficiently large number of voices in opposition can act as a counterforce to bureaucratic power"

(Ferguson, 1984:190).

Ferguson has identified two key points which she claims may eliminate or at the very least reduce the sexual division of labour in bureaucracies. First, at the organizational level, a move towards horizontal differentiation must be undertaken by employees. Unfortunately, empirical studies indicate horizontal differentiation is strongly associated with a high degree of specialization, such as on the assembly line where each worker performs only one or a few repetitive tasks (Hall, 1987:61). In other words, eliminating vertical differentiation will not reduce the division of labour. Secondly, any strategy to increase women's power within bureaucracies must be accomplished collectively from within the organization and in a non-bureaucratic manner. A specific course of action is not discussed by Ferguson.

CONCLUSION

As stated throughout this thesis, a fundamental limitation of this study is the small sample size. This resulted in several categories having extremely low numbers of cases. Ideally, a much larger sample should have been used in order to increase the validity and reliability of the general trends identified in this study. However, as far as being able to generalize to counselling and counsellors in St. John's, Newfoundland, this sample can be considered representative.

The measurement of attitudes took place via a bureaucratic orientation scale which has been defined as "the commitment to the

set of attitudes, values, and behaviours that are characteristically fostered and rewarded in [bureaucracies]" (Gordon, 1970:2) The scale consists of four concepts: self-subordination, rule conformity, traditionalism and impersonalization. A limitation of this scale is that each of these concepts cannot be discussed individually. Rather, the concepts must be added together and discussed as the broader concept of bureaucratic orientation. This eliminates the use of sophisticated data analysis techniques, but due to this study's small sample it is not a major problem.

Future directions for research models specific to counselling in organizations include the systematic examination of the educational processes undertaken by counsellors and the impact not only on the individual, but also on organizational settings. As stated previously, the Weberian model views the impact of bureaucracies on individuals in the form of a macro-to-micro causal model. The linkage between these two levels of analysis should be examined further by using theories which take into account macro-micro linkages -- Giddens' structuration approach, for example. This would allow research on the impact professionals have on their work settings as well as include the Weberian uni-directional causality model.

Another possible area of research is the role of women in counselling. The socialist feminist critique and strategies for change outline ways in which women can overcome, to a certain extent, the pronounced division of labour in bureaucracies. Rather

than focus on feminist groups as an example as did Ferguson, research into women's work in bureaucracies should systematically analyze autonomous settings. Although proportionately fewer women were found to be employed in autonomous settings, their position within the organization was found to be relatively similar to that of men.

Further research should also include a systematic analysis of approaches taken to alleviate actual conflict in autonomous settings. As stated, the research indicated a higher potential for conflict in autonomous settings in which counsellors appear much more consistent with the professional model than in heteronomous settings. The methods that the organization and the counsellors use to overcome and mediate conflict should be subject to further examination.

In spite of the methodological limitations of this study two major points become evident from the data. The first relates to the concept of professionalization, the second to professionalism. Each of these levels of analysis have theoretical significance and implications.

By using a theoretical framework grounded in Weber, it is evident from this study that counselling as an occupation is characterized by a high degree of heterogeneity. This is made evident by the distinctiveness on all dimensions between the counselling which takes place in autonomous settings versus counselling taking place in heteronomous settings. Each work setting was found to have a general pattern of attitudes and

occupational behaviour. With recent attempts to professionalize counselling through the formation of professional associations at both the national and provincial levels, this heterogeneity exists as a barrier preventing counselling from achieving full professional status. As an occupation, counselling has a vast and diffuse area of jurisdiction which in many ways prevents professionalization. There even exists a lack of consensus about the nature of counselling amongst counsellors themselves. For example, one counsellor claimed, "many psychologists see themselves primarily as counsellors and many counsellors see themselves as psychotherapists." In other words, the occupational boundaries and areas of jurisdiction which fundamentally define an occupation are lacking in counselling.

In spite of these factors, the process of professionalization is in its initial stages in several provinces where counsellors' professional associations have been formed -- notably Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. However, even these professional associations have differing membership requirements. British Columbia, for example, requires a Master's level degree and two years practical experience for membership, whereas Alberta requires a Bachelor's degree and one year of experience. It appears that even in the initial attempts to professionalize there exists a lack of consensus.

The second level of analysis is professionalism which relates to individual practice. On this level the actual tasks and attitudinal orientations of counsellors have shown a high degree of

variance. Many counsellors can be considered bureaucrats who conform to rules. They also measure a high degree of subordination to the bureaucratic setting. In contrast, professionalism was evident in many of the counsellors located in autonomous settings. These counsellors demonstrated a high degree of commitment to their profession, employed a client-centred approach to their practice, and were generally consistent with the professional model of occupational practice. Both groups of counsellors were at variance with each other and as a counsellor holding a Ph.D. remarked, "the quality of counselling, not the type of counselling, differs from organization to organization." This remark indicates an intra-occupational awareness of the diversity of the degrees of professionalism.

These two levels of analysis (i.e., the occupational level and the professionalism level) are both inherently fragmented, which is essentially a barrier to the process of professionalization. Indeed, within counselling there exists a hierarchy which ranges from counsellors bureaucratically oriented at one end to highly professional at the other end. Bureaucrats are located in highly bureaucratized settings and professionals in autonomous settings.

This polarization is reflected in the services available to the client. While the expansion of counselling was consensually perceived by all counsellors interviewed, a polarization process has developed not only between the degrees of professionalism and bureaucratization of counsellors, but also in respect to the client. Clients with limited financial means have access to

counsellors who are, for the most part, highly bureaucratically oriented and who work in highly bureaucratized and usually publicly funded settings. In contrast, counsellors who take a client-centred approach and demonstrate a high degree of consistency with the professional model are becoming increasingly inaccessible to clients with limited financial means. The polarization reflected in the degrees of professionalism in counsellors' practice is also evident at the occupational level. A trend reported by most interviewees is the expansion of private counselling services accessible to those individuals with financial means. These counsellors are expanding in numbers while counselling services in public bureaucracies are contracting due to government funding cutbacks.

On a final note, most of the theories discuss professionalization and professionalism as two distinct concepts and processes and there has been little attempt in the literature to combine them into a single model. Admittedly, they have been difficult to separate throughout the course of this study. A synthesis of these two intrinsically entwined processes will assist in the sociological analysis of the changing status of occupations in society.

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APPENDIX A

COUNSELLOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

In most organizations there are differences of opinion as to how the organization should be run or how people should conduct themselves. A number of statements concerning these matters follow. You are asked to give your own personal opinion about each statement.

Specifically, this is what you are asked to do. Examine each statement and using the key provided below, decide on the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Then circle the appropriate response on the line below the statement.

You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements and disagreeing just as strongly with others. In each instance, circle the response that comes closest to representing your own opinion. Be sure you make one choice, and only one choice, for each statement. Please do not skip any items.

KEY: SA-Strongly Agree
A-Agree
U-Undecided
D-Disagree
SD-Strongly disagree

1. Counsellors at higher levels are in the best position to make important decisions for people below them.

SA A U D SD

2. Relationships within an organization should be based on position or level, not on personal considerations.

SA A U D SD

3. In dealing with clients, rules and regulations should be followed exactly.

SA A U D SD

4. A counsellor's expressions of feeling about their organization should conform to those of their peers.

SA A U D SD

5. A counsellors's first real loyalty within the organization should be to her/his superior.

SA A U D SD

6. Formality, based on rank or position, should be maintained by members of an organization.

SA A U D SD

7. A counsellor should avoid taking any action that might be subject to criticism.

SA A U D SD

8. Outsiders who complain about an organization are usually either ignorant of the facts or misinformed.

SA A U D SD

9. In a good organization a counsellor's future career will be pretty well planned out for her/him.

SA A U D SD

10. Counsellors' should think of themselves as members of the organization first, and an individual second.

SA A U D SD

11. Counsellors are better off when the organization provides a complete set of rules to be followed.

SA A U D SD

12. Within an organization, it is unwise to question well-established ways of doing things.

SA A U D SD

13. A supervisor should expect subordinates to carry out orders without question or deviation.

SA A U D SD

14. Within the organization, it is better to maintain formal relationships with other people.

SA A U D SD

15. There is really no place in a small organizational unit for the non-conformist.

SA A U D SD

16. Pins, written commendations, ceremonies, etc. are all signs of a good organization.

SA A U D SD

17. The most important part of a supervisor's job is to see to it that regulations are followed.

SA A U D SD

18. In general, a person's rank or level should determine her/his relationships toward other people.

SA A U D SD

19. Job security is best obtained by learning and following standard work procedures.

SA A U D SD

20. Counsellors should defend the actions of their organization against any criticism by outsiders.

SA A U D SD

21. Counsellors should do things in the exact manner that they think their superior wishes them to be done.

SA A U D SD

22. Within an organization, counsellors should think of themselves as a part in a smoothly running machine.

SA A U D SD

23. It is better to have a complete set of rules than to have to decide things for oneself.

SA A U D SD

24. Length of service in an organization should be given almost as much recognition as level of performance.

SA A U D SD

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Confidentiality:

PREFACE: IMPORTANT FOR THE INTERVIEWER--IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT YOU READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO THE SUBJECT BEFORE YOU BEGIN THE INTERVIEW SESSION AND THAT THE PERSON INTERVIEWED INDICATES BELOW THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY ARE UNDERSTOOD.

To Subject: It is the purpose of this interview to gather data relevant to the practice of counselling/therapy. You have been selected to participate and any information you provide is gratefully acknowledged. Please indicate to the interviewer:

1. Your permission for this interview to take place (YES/NO).

2. Your understanding that this information will be kept anonymous (YES/NO).

PARTICIPANTS NAME:_____

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE:_____

INTERVIEWER SIGNATURE:_____

DATE AND TIME OF INTERVIEW:_____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW:_____

I PERSONAL/SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS (to be completed by interviewer):

SEX_____

LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED_____

EMPLOYING ORGANIZATION_____

II What factors influenced your decision to become a counsellor?

Where did you attend school?

What type of training did you receive to fulfill your present position?

Can you tell me something about your work history -- both paid and volunteer.

What occupational goals did you hold prior to becoming a counsellor?

Can you tell me something about the organizational objectives related to your present job as a counsellor.

What tasks besides the actual counselling do you perform -- administrative duties, for example?

How much time do these tasks involve?

Is there much of your own time spent in work related activities and in preparation for work?

What do you perceive to be your responsibilities to the client?

What responsibilities do you have to your colleagues?

What responsibilities do you perceive exist between you and your organization?

What are some of the major issues affecting the way in which you counsel clients?

Can you give me an example of an issue which a client may come to you for help with and how you would handle it.

On what basis is referral to and from your organization made?

What do you perceive to be some of the constraints placed on your practice by the organization -- financial, time, too many clients, for example.

What do you do to overcome these constraints?

How would you describe your relationship to other professionals?

To the clients?

To the community?

What developments do you see for the profession of counselling in the future?

APPENDIX C

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH EMPLOY COUNSELLORS IN ST. JOHN'S:

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	# OF COUNSELLORS
Adolescent Health Services	2
Drug Dependency Services	3
Anglican Family Life Centre	1
Emmanuel House	8
Family Life Bureau (RC)	4
Kirby House	10
Naomi Centre	6
Dr. Thomas Anderson Centre	3
Unified Family Court	3
United Church Family and Community Services	1
Emmanual House Community Services (Sexual Abuse Division)	1

Avalon Consolidated School Board	27
Roman Catholic School Board	20
Seventh Day Adventist	10
Marine Institute	1
Cabot Institute	3
M.U.N. Counseling Services	7

NOTE: 'Counsellors' are defined in terms of holding a full time paid position as a psychologically orientated counsellor. This excludes individuals who are hired as social workers, psychiatrists, and psychologists. In addition, it excludes volunteer counsellors and counsellors who perform non-psychologically based tasks in areas such as law and finance.

APPENDIX D

To Whom it may Concern,

The purpose of this letter is to ask for your co-operation in a study I am conducting through the Department of Sociology at Memorial University in partial requirement for an M.A. degree. The research concerns counsellors employed in organizational settings.

The objective of this study is to examine the impact of different kinds of organizations on counsellors and counselling from the perspective of counsellors themselves. I feel there exists a need for research in this area; for the most part, both the counselling and sociological literature do not include any systematic investigation.

I am aware that counsellors have an ever-increasing number of demands on their time resulting in minimal time to participate in research projects. However, in order to make this research successful the participation of counsellors is necessary. Your participation would entail a one-hour interview scheduled at your convenience. Issues to be discussed are the education and training of counsellors; decision making; and relationships with peers both inside and outside of the organization. Information provided will remain anonymous, and when complete, findings will be publicly available.

I feel strongly in the value of this project which I think can further knowledge in both counselling and sociology. However, in order to make this project a success your co-operation is needed. Please contact me anytime at the above phone numbers.

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX E

CATEGORY I: Organizations which employ less that eight counsellors and which agreed to participate in this research:

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	NUMBER OF COUNSELLORS
Drug Dependency Services	3
Anglican Family Life Centre	1
Family Life Bureau (RC)	4
Unified Family Court	3
United Church Family and Community Services	1
Emmanual House Community Services (Sexual Abuse Division)	1
Marine Institute	1
Cabot Institute	3
M.U.N. Counseling Services	7
	N=24

CATEGORY 2: Organizations which employ eight or more counsellors:

Avalon Consolidated School Board	27
Emmanuel House	8
Roman Catholic School Board	20
	N=55

NOTE: 'Counsellors' are defined in terms of holding a full time paid position as a psychologically oriented counsellor. This excludes individuals who are hired as social workers, psychiatrists, and psychologists. In addition, it excludes volunteer counsellors and counsellors who perform non-psychologically based tasks in areas such as law and finance.