

SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS of CLIENTS

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SOCIAL WORKERS' PERCEPTIONS of CLIENTS

—A Study of the Caseload of a Social Agency

By

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Introduction

THIS MONOGRAPH EXAMINES THE CHARACTERISTICS of casework clients as they are perceived by caseworkers. It is based on data for new clients who came to a large social agency over a four-month period. From information supplied by caseworkers on an extensive schedule, we have selected those items considered relevant for the description of clients with personal or family problems. Similarly, we have included in the study only those clients for whom casework was deemed appropriate. Three different categories of clients are examined: female clients, unmarried mothers, and male clients. For each category, we summarize the descriptive data so that the different groups can be compared. The central emphasis of the monograph is, however, on discovering and exposing underlying dimensions along which the characteristics of clients are perceived by the caseworkers. The dimensions are examined through factor analyses, in parallel, for the three groups of clients. Implications are drawn from the way the qualities of these sets of clients are perceived. The implications lead us to consider, in the final chapter, some of the specific problems involved in studies of caseloads and clients. We consider concrete problems because there are already many general discussions in the literature of social work on the need for research and on the factors that tend to impede it.¹

¹ Representative of such literature are the following: Beck, D. F., "Research Relevant to Casework Treatment of Children: Current Research and Study Problems," *Social Casework*, vol. 39, February-March, 1958, pp. 105-113; *Idem*, "Potential Approaches to Research in the Family Service Field," *Social Casework*, vol. 40, July, 1959, pp. 385-393; Blenkner, M., "Obstacles to Evaluative Research in Casework," *Social Casework*, vol. 31, February and March, 1950, pp. 54-60, 97-105; French, D. G., *An Approach to Measuring Results in Social Work*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952; Greenwood, E., "Social Work Research: The Role of the Schools," *Social Service Review*, vol. 32, June, 1958, pp. 152-166; Maas, H. S., and M. Wolins, "Concepts and Methods in Social Work Research" in *New Directions in Social Work*, edited by C. Kasius, Harper and Bros., New York, 1954, pp. 215-237; Witmer, H. L., "Some Principles of Research in Social Case Work," *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, vol. 13, September, 1942, pp. 1-12.

Systematic research in casework is concerned with three general questions: Who presents what kinds of problems for help? What do caseworkers do when they try to help clients? What is accomplished through their efforts? The last of these places emphasis on evaluative research; effectiveness is examined in terms of criteria derived from specific goals. The second question points to the specification of methods and procedures through which effective action is expected; this calls for descriptive research, the report of what is going on, the establishment of empirical regularities. This monograph is not directly concerned with evaluation or description of casework services. It focuses on the first question and it gives special attention to the way in which caseworkers perceive clients, since this is the most widely used channel of information about clients. By careful examination of such information we seek to point to some of the limitations that result from filtering the characteristics of clients through the perceptions and judgments of caseworkers and to make explicit the possibility for more direct study of clients. The characteristics of clients and how they are perceived necessarily bear an important relationship to the services offered and to the effects of the services.

This monograph is presented in the hope that it will contribute to the cumulative scientific information about casework clients but it is not offered as a model. It is, rather, a context in which this aspect of social work research may be examined and questions of strategy for future research discussed.

Acknowledgments

In this report the authors use data that were made available from a survey of the caseload of the Family and Childrens Service, Pittsburgh, a large and highly respected social agency. The contributions of the agency and its staff, and of the Howard Heinz Endowment which financed the survey, have been acknowledged in two reports by David Fanshel, published when he was research director of the agency. We also acknowledge with

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E. F. B., D. F., AND H. J. M.

1. The Caseload of the Agency

TO STUDY THE CASELOAD OF A SOCIAL AGENCY, one must first ask who the clients are. To answer this apparently simple question, one must find answers to many other questions. In what kind of community is the agency found? What kind of agency is it? Who are the persons who know about the agency? Who come to it? Who are accepted as clients? In Chapter 3 we discuss such questions in order to make explicit some of the problems of research on the casework enterprise. In this chapter and the next we present a specific account of a single study. This chapter describes the agency setting for the study, indicates the source of data, and provides descriptive statistics about the clients considered to be the relevant caseload of the agency for casework services. In Chapter 2 we analyze the data in terms of more general categories of description, and focus on the structure of perceptions by caseworkers of their clients.

The Agency Setting and the General Survey

The Family and Childrens Service of Pittsburgh is the principal nonsectarian casework agency serving the Pittsburgh-Allegheny County area of southwestern Pennsylvania. The agency provides general family service as well as such specialized programs as service to unmarried mothers, foster care for children, adoption placement, and homemaker service. At the time of the study, the agency operated through four district offices and the professional staff consisted of 60 persons with graduate social work training. In addition, there were facilities for psychological testing and psychiatric consultation as a regular part of the

agency's operations. The agency is affiliated with the Family Service Association of America and the Child Welfare League of America. Its major source of support comes from the Community Chest.

As part of a research program instituted at the agency a general survey was conducted of long-term cases (open for six or more months) in active status on February 1, 1956, and of new cases that came to the agency during the subsequent four months. The survey was designed to meet several concurrent needs within the agency. It was felt that a broad-scale study of the caseload was necessary for administrative planning purposes. Because the agency is large, it was thought desirable to make available to the staff data on the social and personal characteristics of clients as these related to the types of problems presented by clients, the number of interviews sustained by the clients, and the number of referrals made to other agencies. While information from the staff had heretofore been used when specific problems arose, it was gathered in an informal way without standardized data collection procedures followed by systematic analysis. The agency also believed that the survey could identify problems that would require more focused study.

The development of an 18-page questionnaire was the result of consultation of the research director, the administrative staff, and a special committee of seven caseworkers. Tentative questions were formulated by the research director after reading a number of case reports, mainly intake interviews. Questions were drafted that concerned both administrative matters and more specific problems of casework with the clients. An effort was made to embody in the questionnaire those cues that seemed to determine the caseworker's view of a client as reflected in the case record. The committee of practitioners participated in pre-testing and revising the questionnaire. Unanimous opinion favored a precoded schedule rather than one with open-ended questions.

The schedule contained two sections. The first, the Intake Section, was to be filled out by the caseworkers after the first face-to-face interview with each new client coming to the agency

during the four-month survey period. The section contained such information as:

Social background characteristics of the client (race, age, occupation, marital status, family composition, income)

Identification of members of family receiving casework attention

Referral or information source

Client's presenting problem and expectations

Client's prior contact with the agency

Caseworker's estimate of social problems faced by client

Caseworker's estimate of psychological factors operating in situation

Caseworker's estimate of client's capacities to use casework help

The disposition of the case at end of the first interview

The second section of the questionnaire was designed to provide information concerning the case from the opening to closing. This included such information as:

The basis for termination

Focus of casework treatment (for example, problems)

Treatment techniques utilized

Goals of the caseworker

Changes as seen by the caseworker

Caseworker's estimate of the client's vulnerability to further difficulties

Use of specific agency services (for example, homemaker, child placement)

Referrals to other agencies

If more than one interview was required, usually the intake caseworker did not continue with the case; it was assigned to another caseworker. The questionnaire and research procedures were discussed in personal meetings with each caseworker following trial use of the instrument. Also he received written instructions and participated in group meetings. Each schedule was sent to the research director after the intake interview, to be checked for omissions and inconsistencies. The forms were then

returned to the case record until the termination date of the survey. For those cases still active after the closing date of the study, caseworkers were asked to fill in the closing sections of the schedule by making projections about the future course of the case, based upon current information about the client.

A report of the survey of 538 new cases has been presented elsewhere,¹ and some of the findings have been separately analyzed.² These reports were based on the entire survey population. The present study, however, is based on a portion of the new cases selected for the more restricted purpose of systematically examining the way in which caseworkers perceive specified categories of clients for whom casework service was deemed pertinent.

Selection of Cases for the Present Study

Our interest centered on the manner in which caseworkers have characterized their clients by using the ratings and other descriptive or interpretive information obtained in the survey. We therefore selected a sample of clients for whom we assumed such information to be particularly relevant. That sample, in general, consists of persons coming to the agency with personal or family problems for which casework help would seem to be appropriate. This kind of help places upon the caseworker the task of accurately appraising the personal and family characteristics of the clients. In other words, we have defined our sample with reference to the assumed pertinence of the caseworker's observations to the clients' problems. This is not to gainsay, however, the fact that considerable diagnostic skill may be required in assisting individuals to overcome problems related to specific environmental situations whose etiology may or may not be rooted in personality shortcomings.

Following this principle, we have excluded from our analysis clients who came to the agency seeking employment or legal

¹ Fanshel, David, *An Overview of One Agency's Casework Operation*. Family and Childrens Service, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1958, mimeographed. Copies of the schedules are found in the Appendix.

² Fanshel, David, "A Study of Caseworkers' Perceptions of Their Clients," *Social Casework*, vol. 38, December, 1958, pp. 543-551.

advice, or homemaker service, as well as those who applied to adopt a child, or were seeking substitute care of their children. Such clients were excluded on the ground that their personal characteristics are less pertinent to subsequent service from the agency than is the case for those persons who sought help primarily for personal and family problems through face-to-face casework. Put another way, the focus was on clients for whom assessment by caseworkers is a central requirement for the service they are to receive, whether or not the clients perceive their problems in this way.

The survey population was further reduced for our study by the elimination of clients for other reasons. The small number of Jewish clients was dropped from our sample, leaving only Protestant and Catholic families. Arbitrarily, we have classified as Catholic any case where one adult member of the family was Catholic and we have included also the very few families identified as Russian Orthodox. Religion, for the purposes of our analysis, therefore means Protestant or Catholic. A few cases were eliminated in which the "primary client" was a child, an ancillary member of the family, or a nonfamily member of the household.

For some persons coming to the agency, intake interviewers reported that casework services were not appropriate and such cases were eliminated from our sample. Similarly, those cases that were closed because some other service was deemed more appropriate were excluded. Clients withdrawing during the intake interview, cases closed after the interview by mutual decision of client and caseworker or by decision of the caseworker to terminate, persons seeking consultation only or those immediately referred to another source of service, and cases in which changed circumstances made continuation inappropriate or impossible were omitted from the sample. In sum, only those cases were retained where the client and caseworker planned to continue with casework service, including those in which the client failed to keep the next appointment or to call for another appointment as planned. A few additional cases were omitted from the sample used in our analysis because vital information was not recorded on the research schedules.

Some of the criteria of selection and omission that have been enumerated overlap; therefore many of the cases were eliminated for several reasons. After the selection was completed 331 cases constituted the sample for our analysis. These may be generally described as new, adult, primary clients, Protestant and Catholic, for whom casework was deemed the appropriate service, and who continued or intended to continue with casework beyond the intake interview.

Three Categories of Clients

The sample could be reasonably analyzed as a single caseload. However, it was judged sufficiently large to permit certain gross, qualitative distinctions between clients prior to analysis of caseworker ratings and other observations. We have made separate and parallel analyses of (a) adult female clients, (b) clients who are unmarried mothers, and (c) adult male clients.

It is obvious that male and female clients who come to a social agency have somewhat different personal characteristics and would be perceived differently by the caseworkers. Men and women who come to a social agency will reflect the different situations called for by their sex in our society. Furthermore, different sorts of problems can be expected to impel men and women to seek help, and caseworkers may emphasize different problems for each. The fact that most caseworkers are themselves women is an additional reason to assume that men will be perceived differently from women as clients. Likewise, men and women may be expected to respond differently in the casework situation. The reason for separate analysis of male and female clients is not only the truism that men and women differ. The question is whether such socially meaningful differences will result in different modes of perception by caseworkers as reflected in the ratings they make of personal characteristics.

On the basis of obvious, common-sense grounds, we have separated clients who are unmarried mothers from other clients for our analysis. Pregnancy out of wedlock is a distinctive condition with particular kinds of practical problems to be met, so that it is justifiable to place this group of clients in a separate category.

One could expect unmarried mothers who come to a social agency to be somewhat different from other female clients with respect to age, employment experience, and maturity, and their situation is likely to involve different problems. Moreover, with respect to this research, caseworkers faced with serving the distinctive needs of unmarried mothers for shelter, medical attention, decisions about the baby, and related problems, might respond to them with a special set of expectations that would influence the ratings of personal characteristics.

Of the 331 cases in the sample selected for this special study, 213 are adult female clients, 59 are unmarried mothers, and 59 are adult male clients. Each of these sets of cases (referred to as females, unmarried mothers, and males) has been separately analyzed.

Comparison of Three Categories of Clients

From the extensive schedule of information and ratings provided by the intake and continuing caseworkers, 40 variables were selected as particularly meaningful for this analysis. Here we present the distribution of the three categories of clients according to the variables. The variables are grouped logically, and each group of variables is discussed separately.

Prognostic Indicators. Variable 1 is the only direct prognostic statement among the 40 variables. According to responses at intake, 42 per cent of the female clients were viewed as having somewhat or very unpromising potentialities of resolving their problems through casework. (See Table 1.) The proportion of

TABLE 1. PROGNOSIS AT INTAKE

Variable	Females		Unmarried mothers		Males	
	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
1. Potentialities of resolving client's problems through casework help as seen at intake:						
Very promising	7	3	2	3	4	7
Somewhat promising	43	20	8	14	12	20
Even chance or insufficient evidence	74	35	16	27	14	24
Somewhat unpromising	53	25	22	37	16	27
Very unpromising	36	17	11	19	13	22
Total	213	100	59	100	59	100

unmarried mothers with negative prognosis was higher, 56 per cent, but the difference did not quite satisfy a test of statistical significance.¹ The proportion for the male clients is intermediate.

Background Factors. The variables grouped under the category of background characteristics are indicated in Table 2. Since each of the three categories of clients is homogeneous in regard to sex, this variable is not included. Similarly, unmarried mothers are homogeneous as a category in regard to family status, and thus the variable is not relevant for them. A substitute variable was provided and is discussed in the appropriate section.

Among the female clients, 42 per cent were married. A somewhat smaller percentage of male clients were married, but the difference was not statistically significant.

In all three categories of clients the majority are 35 years of age or younger. As would be expected, unmarried mothers are younger than other female clients, with 64 per cent of unmarried mothers 25 years of age or younger, in contrast to only 13 per cent for the other female clients. The modal age category for the female clients occurs in the group from 31 to 35, while the modal category for the male clients occurs in the group from 26 to 30. Comparison of the proportion of cases in either of these age groups, or for the inclusive group 30 years of age or under, indicates a statistically significant difference. While this difference is suggestive, it should be viewed cautiously because of the relatively small number of cases involved for the male clients.

The proportion of Negroes among the unmarried mothers is somewhat higher than for other female clients, but the difference does not achieve statistical significance in these data. The finding, however, is in accord with other knowledge concerning social background factors of unmarried mothers. The proportion of Negroes among the male clients appears to be somewhat smaller than for female clients, but the difference is not statistically significant.

¹ Statistical significance in this monograph refers to the appropriate test at the .05 level for a symmetric test. In general, the normative data for the unmarried mothers are compared to those for (other) female clients, and the latter are compared to male clients. Comparison of unmarried mothers to male clients does not have equal conceptual value.

TABLE 2. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Variables	Females		Unmarried mothers		Males	
	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
2. Family status:						
Married (including common law)	90	42	-	-	20	34
Unmarried, divorced, widowed, and other	123	58	-	-	39	66
3. Age of primary client:						
Under 20 years	5	2	17	29	3	5
20 to 25	24	11	21	35	6	10
26 to 30	38	18	9	15	19	32
31 to 35 (plus unknown)	71	34	7	12	9	15
36 to 40	31	15	4	7	11	19
41 to 45	22	10	1	2	5	9
46 to 50	9	4	-	-	2	3
51 to 55	4	2	-	-	3	5
55 and over	9	4	-	-	1	2
4. Race:						
White	160	75	38	64	49	83
Negro	53	25	21	36	10	17
5. Religion:						
Protestant	151	71	49	83	42	71
Catholic	62	29	10	17	17	29
6. Education:						
4 years of elementary school or less	-	-	1	2	-	-
5 to 6 years of elementary school	2	1	-	-	3	5
7 years of elementary school	2	1	2	4	1	2
8 years of elementary school (plus unknown)	102	48	13	22	30	51
1 to 3 years of high school	36	17	21	35	4	7
4 years of high school	47	22	21	35	12	20
1 to 3 years of college	13	6	1	2	3	5
4 years of college	7	3	-	-	2	3
Postgraduate	4	2	-	-	4	7
7. Occupation (for married persons, the occupation of the spouse used if higher):						
Professional, technical, etc.	15	7	-	-	7	12
Farm managers, farmers, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Managers, officials, proprietors	1	1	-	-	2	3
Clerical workers	22	10	5	9	4	7
Sales workers (Plus unknown)	10	5	2	3	7	12
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	24	11	-	-	6	10
Operative, etc.	45	21	-	-	11	19
Private household workers	20	9	2	3	2	3
Service workers except above, laborers except farm and mine, and unemployed	76	36	50	85	20	34
Total (for each variable)	213	100	59	100	59	100

The proportion of Protestants among unmarried mothers is somewhat higher than for other female clients, but the difference does not achieve statistical significance. The association would be expected on the basis of the known association of the Protestant denominations with the Negro classification. No differences are apparent for the comparison of female and male clients.

In regard to education, the unmarried mothers appear to have a higher proportion that have at least been to high school than do the other female clients. Such a difference is likely to be due to age differences, which in turn reflect generation differences in education, with the more recent generation having more education. The distribution by education for female and male clients appears to be relatively similar.

The vast majority of unmarried mothers (85 per cent) fall into a single occupational group, designated as "Service workers except above, laborers except farm and mine, and unemployed." It is fairly obvious that this is due to the particular conditions associated with such clients. Many have never worked because of their age and others have barely had an opportunity to become part of the labor force. There is some validity to the classification for unmarried mothers, however, since occupations of lower socioeconomic status are frequently reported for the families of this group of clients. The distributions of female and male clients are again relatively similar for this variable.

Judgments About the Client's Background and Problem. Some background information, including the items indicated above, may be recorded arbitrarily and objectively, and indeed may be checked through independent sources. The variables included in the present group (8-12) also refer to background or experience of the client, but for these variables some interpretation is required by the caseworker in making a classification. (See Table 3.)

Variable 8 concerns the classification of problems as involving either personal (psychological) or interpersonal (social) components as contrasted to those that are more situationally defined, often related to economic difficulties or other concomitants of low socioeconomic status. Because priority in the classification was

TABLE 3. JUDGMENTS ABOUT CLIENT'S BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM

Variables	Females		Unmarried mothers		Males	
	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
8. Problem (priority given to personal when problem is multiple):						
Problems that are personal or interpersonal in kind	134	63	-	-	34	58
Problems that are situational, economic, etc.	79	37	-	-	25	42
9. Characterization of long-time (childhood) deprivation:						
In economic circumstances:						
Considerable	23	11	10	17	7	12
Moderate	28	13	17	29	3	5
Little or none, or no information	162	76	32	54	49	83
10. Characterization of long-time (childhood) deprivation:						
Family pathology: alcoholism, criminality, suicide, prostitution, mental illness or retardation						
Considerable	18	8	8	14	6	10
Moderate	8	4	2	3	-	-
Little or none, or no information	187	88	49	83	53	90
11. Characterization of long-time (childhood) deprivation:						
In broken family: death, desertion, separation:						
Considerable	42	20	21	35	7	12
Moderate	14	6	8	14	2	3
Little or none, or no information	157	74	30	51	50	85
12. Impressions of client's <i>mental health status</i> at Intake:						
Generally asymptomatic, "normal," insufficient information, or not indicated	82	37	16	27	25	42
Any mention of a mental disorder	131	63	43	73	34	58
Total (for each variable)	213	100	59	100	59	100

given when a personal or interpersonal component was present, it was decided that it would not be meaningful to utilize the category for the unmarried mothers. Thus, a substitute variable discussed below was provided for the unmarried mothers. The comparison of female and male clients does not indicate gross

differences in the proportion with personal or interpersonal problems, and according to the classification used for the variable a majority of clients had personal or interpersonal problems. When interpreting this finding it should be recalled that many persons with situational problems for whom casework was not deemed appropriate were screened out of the study. Nevertheless, approximately 40 per cent of these clients were deemed to present situational problems. This is a fact of some interest because of the frequent assertion that casework in private agencies tends to focus on psychological rather than situational problems.

Variables 9, 10, and 11 involve the evaluation of the social conditions to which the client was exposed during childhood on a long-term basis. A slightly larger proportion of female clients than male clients appears to be rated as having moderate or considerable deprivation for the three variables, but none of the differences achieves the statistical significance level. Substantial and statistically significant differences occur, however, in two of the comparisons of unmarried mothers with other female clients. Of the unmarried mothers, 46 per cent were rated as having moderate or considerable economic deprivation in contrast to 24 per cent for the other female clients. Similarly, 49 per cent of the unmarried mothers were rated as having moderate or considerable deprivation in regard to a broken home, whereas only 26 per cent of the other females were so rated.

Variable 12 refers specifically to the inclusion of *any* mention of a mental disorder for the client in the assessment of the caseworker. As seen in Table 3, some mention of such a disorder occurred for a majority in each of the three categories of clients. Although the unmarried mothers impressed the caseworkers as having such a disturbance somewhat more often than the other female clients, the difference is not statistically significant in these data.

Personality Ratings. The largest category of variables in this study (variables 13-34) consists of descriptive *personality ratings* providing a "profile of client" by the intake caseworkers. For these 22 characteristics, the caseworkers were asked to indicate whether the statements were likely to be accurate or inaccurate

in describing the client, or whether they felt there was insufficient evidence to make an evaluation of the client. These ratings, therefore, constitute most directly the way in which the caseworkers perceived their clients and, hence, reflect a combination of perceptual and descriptive data. In the absence of other independent measures of personal characteristics, there is no way of determining the extent to which these ratings are valid descriptions of client personality. The ratings constitute, however, very much the kind of clinical judgment that caseworkers attempt in assessing clients for diagnostic purposes. Our analysis in the next chapter is directly concerned with the organization of such perceptions and the relationship that they have to other characteristics of clients and to some subsequent, relevant outcomes.

Because a more detailed analysis with special reference to personality ratings follows, they are not discussed in detail here and the data on the variables are given in Appendix 1. It is useful, however, to examine the distribution of responses on these variables. An overall impression from an inspection of the ratings suggests a favorable evaluation of the majority of the clients, with an apparent tendency for the caseworkers to rate their female clients somewhat more favorably than the unmarried mothers and male clients. The most noticeable reversal of the generally favorable description of female clients is for a cluster of ratings (variables 23, 32, 34) suggesting that female clients may be seen as especially resisting involvement in the personal kind of discussion expected in the casework relationship, and for a related cluster of ratings (variables 19, 24, 31) suggesting that these clients are concomitantly seen as resistant to changing.

Outcome Variables. The last category of information included among the 40 variables has implication for the outcome of the case (variables 35-40, and variables 2a and 8a for unmarried mothers). The variables are of two types: continuance in casework (variable 35, total number of in-person interviews), and terminal ratings by caseworkers who carried the case subsequent to intake.

As might be expected on the basis of the nature of the problem, a statistically significant greater percentage of unmarried mothers

than of other female clients were interviewed five or more times. There appears to be a larger proportion of male clients than female clients with five or more interviews, but this difference does not satisfy the statistical significance requirement.

TABLE 4. OUTCOME VARIABLES

Variables	Females		Unmarried mothers		Males	
	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
35. Total number of in-person interviews (office and field):						
One	76	36	9	15	17	29
Two	36	17	6	10	10	17
Three	24	11	8	14	6	10
Four	18	8	3	5	2	3
Five or more	59	28	33	56	24	41
36. While this case has been active, has any change taken place in the client's situation in relationship with family?						
Much improvement	8	4	-	-	1	2
Some improvement	35	16	10	17	11	19
Situation the same, irrelevant or unknown	160	75	47	80	44	74
Some or much deterioration	10	5	2	3	3	5
37. Degree of insight shown by client at termination in regard to own role in creation of the problem which brought her/him to the agency:						
Very high	4	2	-	-	-	-
High	4	2	2	3	2	3
Moderate	41	19	10	17	6	10
Low (other and unknown)	138	65	29	49	42	72
Very low	26	12	18	31	9	15
38. Impressions of client's <i>mental health</i> status at termination:						
Generally asymptomatic, "normal," insufficient information or not indicated	41	19	16	27	18	31
Any mention of a mental disorder	172	81	43	73	41	69
39. What is your estimate of the likelihood of client and/or family becoming or remaining a cause of community concern <i>re</i> chronic economic dependency?						
Very vulnerable	31	15	8	13	9	15
Vulnerable	43	20	14	24	11	19
Slightly vulnerable or insufficient evidence or not relevant	81	38	17	29	23	39
Not vulnerable	58	27	20	34	16	27

TABLE 4. OUTCOME VARIABLES (Continued)

Variables	Females		Unmarried mothers		Males	
	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
40. What is your estimate of the likelihood of client and/or family becoming or remaining a cause of community concern <i>re</i> severe family disruption?						
Very vulnerable	38	18	2	3	16	27
Vulnerable	62	29	13	22	20	34
Slightly vulnerable or insufficient evidence or not relevant	96	45	28	48	22	37
Not vulnerable	17	8	16	27	1	2
2a. <i>For unmarried mothers</i>						
What is your estimate of the likelihood of client and/or family becoming or remaining a cause of community concern <i>re</i> criminal or delinquent behavior?						
Very vulnerable			1	2		
Vulnerable			11	19		
Slightly vulnerable or insufficient evidence or not relevant			24	40		
Not vulnerable			23	39		
8a. <i>For unmarried mothers</i>						
What is your estimate of the likelihood of client and/or family becoming or remaining a cause of community concern <i>re</i> continued pattern of self-destructive behavior?						
Very vulnerable			7	12		
Vulnerable			27	46		
Slightly vulnerable or insufficient evidence or not relevant			23	39		
Not vulnerable			2	3		
Total (for each variable)	213	100	59	100	59	100

Variable 36 focused on improvement of relationships between the client and his family. The distributions of evaluations for the three categories of clients are quite similar, and for the vast majority the family situation was judged the same (or irrelevant to the case or unknown). Among the clients for whom change was noted, 17 to 21 per cent were rated as improved, while 3 to 5 per cent were rated as deteriorated. It should be remembered that

this question refers to change in the client that may or may not be due to casework intervention, and, therefore, should not be interpreted as an indicator of casework or agency effectiveness.

One of the important emphases in casework is on the development of insight by the client in regard to his difficulties. Variable 37 asked for an evaluation of the client in this regard at termination. Male and female clients appear to have quite similar distributions on these ratings. Unmarried mothers differed significantly from the other female clients in regard to the percentage in the very low insight group, with 31 per cent among the former as compared to 12 per cent in the latter. Only a very small percentage (3 or 4 per cent) of each of the three categories of clients was rated as having a high or very high insight into the problem that brought them to the agency.

Variable 38 is basically the same as variable 12, except that one is at the termination of the case while the other is at intake. Comparing the two sets of information, it is seen that although the percentage with any mention of a mental disorder (73 per cent) is the same for unmarried mothers at intake and termination, the percentage so identified is higher at termination for both the female clients (81 compared to 63 per cent) and the male clients (69 compared to 58 per cent). Comparison of the intake with the terminal information on this category cannot be assumed to indicate real changes (which would be in the undesired direction for the male and female clients). The higher percentage of clients reported suffering such disorders at termination may, of course, be a function of the increased knowledge available to the caseworker after several interviews. It is possible that certain types of clients will not reveal behavior in the first interview that is indicative of mental disturbance. Because both the intake and terminal judgments of this variable bear little relationship to terminal information (as may be seen by referring to the tables of Appendix 3), we are led to conclude that the category itself is too vague and inclusive to have much diagnostic meaning.

Variables 39 and 40, and 2a and 8a for unmarried mothers, may be viewed as outcome variables for this analysis, but they constitute prognoses for the future. In regard to economic dependency, distributions for the three categories of clients are

relatively similar. From 34 to 37 per cent of cases are viewed as vulnerable or very vulnerable to chronic economic dependency.

With reference to severe family disruption, it is of some interest that the unmarried mothers have a statistically significant smaller percentage in the group rated very vulnerable than do the other female clients. Male clients appear to be somewhat more frequently rated vulnerable or very vulnerable than female clients, but the difference does not satisfy the significance criterion.

Additional information was available for the unmarried mothers as substitute items where other information was not relevant. Variables 2a and 8a were included as two items of strategic prognostic importance at the termination of a case. Table 4 indicates that 21 per cent of unmarried mothers are rated vulnerable or very vulnerable in regard to the likelihood of their becoming or remaining a cause of community concern in terms of criminal or delinquent behavior, and a substantially larger percentage (58 per cent) is seen as presenting potential problems in terms of a continued pattern of self-destructive behavior. In the perception of caseworkers making terminal ratings, thus, hostile or destructive tendencies among unmarried mothers are viewed as inner rather than outer directed.

In summary, in this chapter we have indicated how from the wide array of contacts of the agency a more restricted group of relevant cases was delineated. These were divided into three gross, qualitative classes: females, unmarried mothers, and males. From the extensive panel of information that was collected on these cases, 40 items were selected for the special purposes of this study. The items fall generally into five classes: prognostic indicators, background characteristics, judgments about the client's background and problem, personality ratings, and outcome variables. These items have been presented briefly in order to indicate the similarities and differences between the female clients and the unmarried mothers, and between the female clients and the male clients. Of equal interest, however, is the information about the distribution of responses on the items themselves. Interpretation and discussion of the findings has been minimal because a more intensive analysis of the data follows in Chapter 2.

2. The Structure of Perceived Characteristics of Clients

IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHAPTER to discuss the personality characteristics of the three categories of clients—females, unmarried mothers, and males—as perceived and described by the caseworkers on the 40 variables previously indicated. Our objective was to explore the structural principles, or underlying dimensions, that seem to operate as the caseworkers look at their clients for the first time, and to relate these perceptions to information about the backgrounds of the clients and about their status at the terminal contact with the agency. In order to do this, analysis of the data for each set of clients was carried out separately through intercorrelation of all variables, and subsequent factor analysis of the correlation matrices.¹

The structure of perceived characteristics is presented separately for each category of clients. First, the dimensions that appear from the factor analysis are described. Then, relationships that appear between certain of the variables are discussed. Finally, after each of the categories of clients has been considered, the similarities and differences between the structures for the three sets of clients are examined.

*The Factor Structure for Female Client Data*²

The most inclusive dimension that the caseworkers used when viewing their female clients is composed of a large number of

¹ A technical note on the factor analyses is included as Appendix 2 of this monograph. Suffice it to say here that this analysis permits us to identify underlying dimensions or factors that account for the interrelationships among a complex of variables such as occurs in this study. The factor loading of a given item is an indication of the extent to which that item is characterized by a specific dimension or factor.

² The matrix of intercorrelations for the female data is presented in Appendix 3, Table A; the rotated factor loadings are presented in Appendix 3, Table D.

An indication of statistical significance is available from the known distribution

caseworker ratings at intake of the personal characteristics of the clients, based on the descriptive terms that make up the client profile (variables 13-34). The only variables in this first factor that are not personality ratings are variables 1 and 12, having to do with the potentialities at intake of resolving clients' problems through casework help and the impression of the caseworker at intake with respect to the mental health status of the client.

Factor Ia*

Variable	Loading
27. Described as <i>not</i> showing zest	(-) .73
19. Described as lacking optimism	.70
22. Described as <i>not</i> energetic	(-) .68
30. Described as <i>not</i> liking people	(-) .63
20. Described as wrapped up in self	.60
16. Described as lacking a sense of humor	.58
14. Described as a paranoid	.55
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-) .51
15. Described as a social isolate	.48
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs	.48
26. Described as tending to repel people	.48
18. Described as <i>not</i> able to verbalize feelings	(-) .45
29. Described as poorly organized	.45
32. Described as <i>not</i> articulate	(-) .45
17. Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-) .43
25. Described as <i>not</i> intelligent	(-) .37
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-) .37
33. Described as seeming older than age	.36
12. Mental disorder indicated at intake	(-) .33

* The variables in each of these factor listings have been stated for appropriate interpretation. The original sign of the variable in the factor table is indicated in parentheses when the meaning of a variable has been reversed. Only variables with loadings of .30 or greater have been listed.

of the product moment coefficient when the correlation in the population for two normal variables is zero. For 65 degrees of freedom (corresponding to the unmarried mothers and the males), the coefficient would fall between $-.24$ and $.24$ in about 95 per cent of cases in repeated random sampling. For 200 degrees of freedom (corresponding to the female data), the inclusive limits would be $-.14$ and $.14$. It would be expected, therefore, that 5 per cent of the correlation coefficients would be outside the indicated limits on a basis of chance distribution. The 5 per cent level is chosen as one arbitrary standard of classifying coefficients that may be judged unlikely to have occurred by chance.

The ratings that cluster into this factor suggest, as one pole of the dimension, a person seen to be apathetic and discouraged, unable to cope with problems, unconfident, not having the energy, morale, or capacity to function successfully, nor even, perhaps, to use help. The positive pole of the dimension suggests characteristics of personal competence, energy, and effectiveness of interpersonal functioning. It is not surprising that persons perceived at the negative pole of the dimension are rated as unpromising prospects for casework help and, conversely, those at the positive end, as potentially promising. Nor is it surprising that the poles of the factor are associated with judgments as to the mental health status of the client.

It is of some interest to consider what such a factor may mean in the total context of caseworker perceptions. Of the 22 personality ratings, 17 are sufficiently involved in this factor to satisfy our criterion of a factor loading of not less than .30. Thus, most of the personality descriptions that were available to the caseworkers are used as parts of a global assessment and with limited indication of diagnostic discriminations among these terms as the clients are first perceived. The general perception is that the clients are overwhelmed, discouraged rather than that they appear to exhibit distinctive personality characteristics. It may be unrealistic to expect caseworkers to make more discriminating assessments after one interview. Insofar as personality characteristics are deemed to relate to the problems for which the clients sought help and to the casework treatment offered to them, however, the use of a single dimension for viewing them may be a serious limitation.

Of equal importance in interpreting the implication of this factor is the fact that caseworkers fail to associate background characteristics with their perception of personal characteristics. The caseworkers were apparently uninfluenced in their ratings by the previous histories of the clients as noted in other variables, or they saw no relationship between such variables and the personality characteristics they identified. Race, educational level, a history of economic and family deprivation, and similar variables therefore do not appear in this factor with meaningful weight.

A judgment that casework would be potentially helpful is found in this factor with a relatively large loading. This suggests that the caseworker's confidence that he can help and his perception of the self-confidence of the client are related. Whether the prognostic judgment arises from the perception of personal characteristics of the client or vice versa cannot be determined from this analysis. The question is an important one for research in view of the possible relationship between the optimism of the caseworker and the treatment efforts that he may make.¹

As was the case with background variables, outcome variables are not meaningfully identified with this factor in our data. Thus, the number of interviews and the various terminal ratings are unaffected by the perceptions of client personality at intake. It is difficult to reconcile this finding with a theory of casework that places emphasis on the relationship of personality dynamics to treatment and to the manner of meeting problems dealt with in casework.

This factor appears, in conclusion, to suggest that caseworkers perceive the personality characteristics of their female clients as an independent dimension.

Factor IIa

Variable	Loading
39. Vulnerable to chronic economic dependency	.63
7. Low status occupation	(-) .56
2. Married	.45
4. Negro	(-) .45
8. Situational problem	(-) .36
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-) .33
40. Vulnerable to severe family disruption	.33
6. Little education	.32

A second factor in the data for female clients appears to define a dimension of socioeconomic status, suggesting that social class indicators tend to be differentiated from personality ratings and associated with assessments of potentialities of casework help and

¹ The relationship between therapists' attitudes, especially optimism, and the course of therapy is considered in Chance, E., *Families in Treatment*, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1959, chap. 8.

of economic and family vulnerability. This is the only factor in which race appears with any but a negligible involvement. The negative pole of the factor describes a lower-class, Negro housewife presenting situational (perhaps economic or health) troubles and judged likely to continue with these problems at the termination of the case. The converse picture for the positive pole of the factor suggests the middle-class, white woman, unmarried or no longer married, who seems economically stable and for whom casework help with some personal problem seems promising. The absence of personality rating variables from this factor suggests that when caseworkers meet clients for whom they notice socioeconomic status characteristics, they are likely to describe a type without resort to more personal traits.

Factor IIIa		
Variable		Loading
24.	Described as showing strong dependency needs	.42
17.	Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-) .38
32.	Described as <i>not</i> articulate	(-) .34
29.	Described as poorly organized	.30

Factor IIIa in the female data, with relatively low loadings, suggests a secondary, but independent, way of viewing clients in terms of the ratings at intake of personal characteristics. All the variables in this factor also appear in Factor Ia and seem to describe, on the one side, a dependent, ineffective client. Conversely, the independent, self-managing client is suggested by the other side of the factor. This factor is not clearly defined but does suggest an additional way in which caseworkers perceive clients at intake.

Factor IVa		
Variable		Loading
10.	Deprivation in family pathology considerable	.39
6.	Little education	.37
9.	Economic deprivation considerable	.37
13.	Described as ingratiating	.36
23.	Described as <i>not</i> compartmentalizing problems	(-) .34
7.	High status occupation	.32

An interpretation of Factor IVa is tenuous because the loadings are low and generally uniform. The factor portrays a client of deprived personal background, possibly accepting the caseworker's characterization of her situation (described as ingratiating and as not compartmentalizing problems) but superficially accepting suggestions for help. The association of high status occupations with this factor appears to be inconsistent with the other variables and may be a consequence of the fact that the occupational status of married female clients was determined by the occupation of the husband.

Factor Va

Variable	Loading
21. Described as <i>not</i> mild-mannered	(-) .46
11. Deprivation in broken family considerable	.43
12. Mental disorder indicated at intake	(-) .36
22. Described as energetic	.31
40. Vulnerable to severe family disruption	.31
20. Described as wrapped up in self	.30

In Factor Va the female client is described as not being mild-mannered; as being energetic, wrapped up in self with prior and continuing family disruption and some mental health problem noted at intake. A tentative characterization of this factor suggests the somewhat belligerent, unstable, self-centered client, or conversely, the mild and accepting one. This factor is not clearly defined and interpretation of it must be carefully qualified.

Factor VIa

Variable	Loading
35. Few interviews	.54
37. Little insight shown by client at termination	(-) .54
36. Relationship with family rated deteriorated	(-) .53
38. Mental disorder indicated at termination	(-) .36
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-) .31
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-) .30
6. Little education	.30

Terminal ratings characterize Factor VIa for the female clients. This factor is defined by ratings at termination of little

insight, deteriorated family relationships, and observed mental health disorder. Furthermore, few casework interviews are associated with this factor together with the prognostic rating at intake that potentialities for casework help were unpromising. Of particular note is the fact that the only personality rating associated with this factor is variable 31, described as not motivated to change, whereas more general personal descriptions contained in the intake ratings do not appear with any force in this factor.

Interpretation of this factor must take into account the fact that its variables largely are determined independently of the intake caseworker, either by history of the case with the agency (number of interviews) or by terminal ratings of a different caseworker, which is the converse of that found for Factor Ia. Little of what the intake interviewers see concerning their female clients appears to be related to caseworkers' judgments about the clients at termination. This is of note with respect, for example, to such ratings as mental health status at intake and independent rating of the variable at termination. The correlation between the two ratings, while statistically significant, is quite small (.15).

Because this factor contains most of the outcome variables, it may be examined in terms of prognostic indicators from the intake observations. There are weak loadings for ratings of motivation to change and potentialities of casework being helpful, but education is about equally loaded. Thus, one may predict the number of casework interviews and the terminal ratings as well by knowing the education of the female client as from any intake variable available, and the correlation between education and these terminal variables is relatively small. (Education and number of interviews, $r = .22$; education and terminal rating of insight shown by client, $r = .23$; education and relationship with family rated at termination, $r = .20$. See Table A, Appendix 3.)

The association between number of interviews and judgment at intake of potentiality for resolving client's problems through casework help might be interpreted as an indication that clients with an unfavorable prognosis at intake are less likely to receive attention. On the other hand, this association could be interpreted to mean that clients with poor prognosis are less likely to

avail themselves of casework help and appear for interviews. In either case, the result might be realistic and lead to efficient use of time with clients for whom the intake caseworker sees some promise, or it might reflect a tendency to accept client resistance without especially aggressive attempts to give help. As previously noted, the extent to which initial appraisal constitutes reliable prognosis or affects subsequent caseworker activity is a problem for further investigation.

If we examine the total factor structure for the female clients, rather than consider each factor separately, a number of comments are pertinent. In Table D, Appendix 3, categories of variables have been separated so that one may more readily identify whether a factor is loaded most heavily (variables with loadings of .30 or greater are italicized) with variables of one or another type of information.

The most obvious feature of the factor structure is the relative failure of the different categories of information to overlap, indicating that the strongest interrelationships among variables are within the same kind of informational category. Thus, Factor Ia is almost exclusively composed of intake rating variables, whereas Factor IIa is primarily defined by background variables, and Factor VIa contains for the most part outcome variables. This suggests that the different classes of information employed by caseworkers to characterize the clients bear little relation to one another and do not appear to fit together either as a comprehensive diagnostic or prognostic picture. Intake personality ratings bear little relationship to background characteristics, and neither of these types of information relates very much to outcome. In other words, the caseload of female adult clients tends to be compartmentalized according to whether the caseworker is reporting personality ratings of the clients, background characteristics, or outcome or terminal ratings. It cannot be assumed that personality characteristics and social and situational background factors are, in fact, unrelated to one another and to the subsequent development of the case in casework contact. What is suggested is that further study is necessary to discover how background, personality, and the outcome of casework treatment are related.

The Factor Structure for Unmarried Mother Data¹

Factor Ib is the largest factor, involving primarily intake personality ratings. As was the case with the female data, these ratings describe the apathetic, overwhelmed, ineffective, poorly

Factor Ib		
Variable		Loading
27. Described as <i>not</i> showing zest	(-)	.82
19. Described as lacking optimism		.69
30. Described as <i>not</i> liking people	(-)	.68
16. Described as lacking a sense of humor		.66
22. Described as <i>not</i> energetic	(-)	.63
32. Described as <i>not</i> articulate	(-)	.62
15. Described as a social isolate		.53
20. Described as wrapped up in self		.52
18. Described as <i>not</i> able to verbalize feelings	(-)	.47
21. Described as mild-mannered		.47
26. Described as tending to repel people		.47
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-)	.46
34. Described as <i>not</i> candid about faults	(-)	.45
29. Described as poorly organized		.44
25. Described as <i>not</i> intelligent	(-)	.40
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-)	.39
17. Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-)	.37
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs		.34
14. Described as a paranoid		.32
3. Older	(-)	.31

functioning client on one side of the dimension and the buoyant, self-managing client on the other. The potentialities for help through casework are rated unpromising for the former and promising for the latter, with older age somewhat related to the more positive pole of the factor. The marked intercorrelation of so many personality ratings in this factor lends support to the conclusion that it represents a global appraisal of the client with limited discrimination of special personality characteristics that might relate to different backgrounds or to subsequent outcomes.

¹ The matrix of intercorrelations for the unmarried mother data is presented in Appendix 3, Table B; the rotated factor loadings are presented in Appendix 3, Table E.

Variable	Factor IIb	Loading
39. Vulnerable to chronic economic dependency		.83
2a. Vulnerable to delinquent behavior		.81
29. Described as poorly organized		.57
37. Little insight shown by client at termination	(-)	.51
3. Older	(-)	.43
6. Little education		.43
35. Few interviews		.43
8a. Vulnerable to self-destructive behavior		.41
25. Described as <i>not</i> intelligent	(-)	.39
36. Relationship with family rated deteriorated	(-)	.36
13. Described as ingratiating		.35
40. Vulnerable to severe family disruption		.33
26. Described as tending to repel people		.31

The variables associated with terminal judgments or outcome dominate Factor IIb for unmarried mother clients. Clients are seen as vulnerable to economic and family problems at termination, as well as showing little insight at termination in regard to their own role in the creation of the problem that brought them to the agency. They were also judged to be vulnerable to delinquent and to self-destructive behavior. Few, rather than many, casework interviews are also associated with the other variables of this factor. The other pole of this dimension portrays the unmarried mother client with positive and promising outcomes as judged at termination, having had relatively many casework interviews and considered not vulnerable to delinquent or self-destructive behavior.

Associated with the outcome variables that dominate this factor are a number of intake personality ratings and it is of interest to examine them more directly. In order of the magnitude of their loadings, these variables are described for the negative pole as poorly organized, as not intelligent, as ingratiating, and as tending to repel people. Seeming poorly organized is the strongest of these variables, and taken with the other ratings, suggests a not very bright, unattractive, perhaps immature person, distracted but tending superficially to try to please persons in formal positions of authority, such as teachers and caseworkers and parents. For such a constellation of characteristics the ap-

praisal at termination is dismal and the likelihood of having many interviews or getting much from them is relatively small. Conversely, well-organized, attractive, bright, and relatively independent girls are likely to have many casework interviews and be rated positively at termination by caseworkers.

Except for age, the only background variable of some weight in this factor is education. In the absence of usual indicators of socioeconomic status for this set of clients (unmarried mothers, being typically young, have not established an occupational position and father's occupation was unavailable in our data), education might be taken as a socioeconomic status variable. Little education is associated with the negative pole of the factor.

Variable	Factor IIIb	Loading
23. Described as compartmentalizing problems		.64
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs		.52
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-)	.45
34. Described as <i>not</i> candid about faults	(-)	.43
28. Described as disguising hostility		.42
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-)	.36
40. Vulnerable to severe family disruption		.36
32. Described as <i>not</i> articulate	(-)	.33
20. Described as wrapped up in self		.33
5. Catholic	(-)	.32

Factor IIIb, composed primarily of a selection of variables from intake personality ratings, seems to describe a meaningful client type not unfamiliar to social agencies that deal with unmarried mothers. At one end of the continuum, this factor presents a girl focused on her immediate problem, unwilling to reveal much of herself, resistant to casework help, yet dependent rather than resourceful in her present situation. Caseworkers judged potentialities for casework help as unpromising for such clients and a terminal judgment of vulnerability to severe family disruption confirmed the unpromising future for them. Being Catholic is associated, with a relatively low loading, with this complex of variables. It is possible to speculate that unmarried mothers who are Catholic and come to a non-Catholic agency are or may be

seen as using the services instrumentally to take care of the practical problems they face as unmarried mothers without being willing to become involved in casework relationships of a more intense sort. Other analyses of unmarried mother clients suggest that such girls tend to keep their babies rather than surrender them for adoption.¹

Factor IVb	
Variable	Loading
11. Deprivation in broken family considerable	.65
9. Economic deprivation considerable	.48
8a. Vulnerable to self-destructive behavior	.30
14. Described as a paranoid	.30
21. Described as <i>not</i> mild-mannered	(-) .30

Although only a few variables with relatively low loadings define Factor IVb, its meaning seems interpretable in terms of the intake judgments that are included. Thus, unmarried mothers who show high measures on the variables of this factor might be described as resentful and intrapunitive, and coming from pathological family and economic backgrounds. In fact, the predominance of variable 11, which involves the observation of childhood deprivation in family broken through death, desertion, divorce, or separation, suggests that the personality characteristics associated in this factor may be a product of deprived life history.

Factor Vb	
Variable	Loading
21. Described as mild-mannered	.43
22. Described as <i>not</i> energetic	(-) .42
12. Mental health status at intake normal	.41
14. Described as <i>not</i> a paranoid	(-) .41
4. Negro	(-) .40
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs	.34
33. Described as <i>not</i> seeming older than age	(-) .32
30. Described as liking people	.31

¹ See Meyer, H. J., W. Jones, and E. F. Borgatta, "The Decision by Unmarried Mothers to Keep or Surrender Their Babies," *Social Work*, vol. 1, April, 1956, pp. 103-109; Meyer, H. J., E. F. Borgatta, and D. Fanshel, "Unwed Mothers' Decisions About Their Babies: An Interim Replication Study," *Child Welfare*, vol. 38, February 1959, pp. 1-6.

Clients who might be described by the cluster of variables that constitute Factor Vb for the unmarried mothers can be characterized as somewhat phlegmatic, friendly, psychologically normal, Negro girls, unsuspicious and willing to depend on others for direction. This is almost a stereotyped portrait of the southern Negro girl, for whom pregnancy out of wedlock is seen to be less a function of personality difficulties than a normal, if unfortunate, event. From analyses made elsewhere, southern Negro girls might be expected to keep their babies. The more forceful, energetic, resentful, and independent white girl who is described by this constellation of variables at the other pole of the factor is likely to be perceived as having a mental health problem at intake. The loadings for all of the variables are relatively small in this factor, but taken together they tend to suggest that a somewhat conventional Negro-white dimension is applied to unmarried mothers by the caseworkers.

Factor Vlb		
Variable		Loading
15.	Described as a social isolate	.48
8a.	Vulnerable to self-destructive behavior	.41
18.	Described as able to verbalize feelings	.33
26.	Described as <i>not</i> tending to repel people	(-) .33
10.	Deprivation in family pathology considerable	.30

Factor Vlb is not clearly interpretable, the variables suggesting a fairly accessible, attractive client from a deprived family background, judged likely to continue self-destructive behavior and described as a social isolate. Perhaps such a client tends to separate herself from her peers and from her broken family at the same time that she attracts and relates to persons who contribute to what the caseworkers saw as a self-destructive pattern of behavior.

Looking at the factor structure for the unmarried mother data as a whole (see Table E, Appendix 3), we may note that the first factor contains most of the personality ratings and few other variables. The comments made about the factor structure of the female data are applicable here and need not be repeated. Except

for Factor IIb, the total factor structure reflects the association of caseworker perceptions within, rather than among, the categories of information they were asked to use.

Factor IIb, however, differs from the other factors by associating together variables describing personality, client background, and outcome. To be sure, seven of the 13 variables achieving the interpretation level of .30 loading are outcome variables and, therefore, the factor structure for unmarried mother data might be said to contain an "outcome factor," as the female data did. But in this case there is at least an evident tendency for a psychosocial perception of the client at intake to be related to subsequent observations about her.

The other factors identified in the unmarried mother data seem to represent distinctive ways in which clinically coherent types are perceived. Because they are composed of selected variables that also compose the dominant factor (Factor Ib) describing personality, these additional factors suggest that the caseworkers are somewhat more differentiated in their perceptions of the unmarried mother clients than they were in their perceptions of adult, female clients.

The Factor Structure for Male Client Data¹

The dominant factor for the male data, like that for female and unmarried mother data, is primarily composed of the personality characteristics described at intake. In the male data, however, the arrangement of variables, in terms of the magnitudes of their loadings, is suggestive of withdrawal and self-centeredness along with apathy and lack of confidence. At the negative pole, the factor describes the stubborn, perhaps schizoid type, defeatism accompanied by ineffective relationships to others; at the positive pole, outgoing, friendly, and confident traits are indicated. With this pattern of personality characteristics, the potentiality of promising help from casework is seen as markedly associated. Likewise, caseworkers include in this perspective a judgment of the mental health status of their male clients.

¹ The matrix of intercorrelations for the male data is presented in Appendix 3, Table C; the rotated factor loadings are presented in Appendix 3, Table F.

The background variables that enter this factor—occupational status and a history of economic deprivation—point to personal, rather than social class considerations.

Factor Ic		
Variable		Loading
30. Described as <i>not</i> liking people	(-)	.77
20. Described as wrapped up in self		.74
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-)	.67
22. Described as <i>not</i> energetic	(-)	.67
38. Mental disorder indicated at termination	(-)	.62
19. Described as lacking optimism		.54
27. Described as <i>not</i> showing zest	(-)	.54
7. Low status occupation	(-)	.47
12. Mental disorder indicated at intake	(-)	.47
26. Described as tending to repel people		.41
16. Described as lacking a sense of humor		.40
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-)	.40
17. Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-)	.39
23. Described as compartmentalizing problems		.37
35. Few interviews		.36
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs		.35
29. Described as poorly organized		.35
18. Described as able to verbalize feelings		.32
21. Described as <i>not</i> mild-mannered	(-)	.31
9. Economic deprivation considerable		.30

The syndrome of personal characteristics making up Factor Ic, unlike that for adult female or unmarried mother data, is associated with two outcome variables: a rating of mental health at termination and, less strongly, the number of interviews with the client. These associations are consistent with the personality ratings and in the expected direction. On the whole, the factor appears to represent a meaningful, operative dimension for perceiving clients.

The ratings that cluster to dominate Factor IIc for the male data suggest a somewhat suspicious, disorganized, distant man with little humor and little capacity for independent handling of his problems. Having little education and coming from a broken family, the client characterized by the variables of this factor is

Factor IIc		
Variable		Loading
14. Described as a paranoid		.68
39. Vulnerable to chronic economic dependency		.66
6. Little education		.59
17. Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-)	.47
15. Described as a social isolate		.45
29. Described as poorly organized		.45
10. Deprivation in family pathology considerable		.39
16. Described as lacking a sense of humor		.39
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs		.37
13. Described as ingratiating		.30

judged at termination to be vulnerable to continuing chronic economic dependency. The other side of this factor describes the outgoing, relatively independent, better educated man.

Factor IIIc		
Variable		Loading
34. Described as <i>not</i> candid about faults	(-)	.53
19. Described as lacking optimism		.42
10. Deprivation in family pathology little or none	(-)	.36
27. Described as <i>not</i> showing zest	(-)	.35
21. Described as mild-mannered		.34
8. Situational problem	(-)	.33
23. Described as compartmentalizing problems		.31
3. Younger		.30
5. Protestant		.30

The definition of Factor IIIc for the male data is not immediately apparent. In one aspect it suggests passivity-activity as a theme. Thus, lacking optimism, not showing zest, and described as mild-mannered support this meaning. Another aspect suggests secretiveness, unwillingness to expose one's self, as indicated by variables showing lack of candor about faults and compartmentalization of problems. These two themes are not necessarily inconsistent and may be related to the background variables that occur in this factor: little family pathology, younger age, and Protestant religion. The additional variable in the factor relates to the definition of the client's problem as situational rather than

personal or interpersonal. The complex as a whole might well describe what caseworkers perceive as the characteristics of fairly well-off, younger men clients in some trouble that has brought them to a social agency.

Factor IVc		
Variable		Loading
11. Deprivation in broken family considerable		.69
9. Economic deprivation considerable		.62
36. Relationship with family rated improved		.50
10. Deprivation in family pathology considerable		.40
8. Personal problem		.32
33. Described as seeming older than age		.32
3. Younger		.31
7. High status occupation		.31
28. Described as disguising hostility		.31
16. Described as lacking a sense of humor		.30
40. Vulnerable to severe family disruption		.30

Family deprivation and vulnerability to continued family disruption, even though the relationship with the family is rated improved at termination, seem to be the dominant meanings associated with Factor IVc for the male data. These are related to a description of the client as seeming older than his actual age, as disguising hostility, and as lacking a sense of humor, suggesting a somewhat grim, sullen young man. The association of high occupational status with this factor seems to suggest that when younger male clients present family problems, they tend to be of higher socioeconomic status; conversely, of course, the older male clients coming to the agency but not for family problems would be associated with lower socioeconomic status according to this description.

Seven of the variables included in Factor Vc for interpretation are personality ratings at intake. They describe, at the negative pole of the factor, the less intelligent, bewildered, mild-mannered, and dependent Negro client with a personal or interpersonal problem, who is little motivated to change. Potentiality of being helped by casework is judged at intake to be unpromising. It is of

interest that this picture of a somewhat confused, isolated man is associated (with relatively low loading, however) with a judgment at termination by the caseworker that he has shown a relatively high degree of insight in regard to his own role in the creation of the problem that brought him to the agency. This factor does not seem to describe the stereotype of the fairly helpless, dependent, Negro man who is in a morass of situational problems, such as unemployment, eviction, and ill-health. Rather the factor points to a Negro man whose low performance capacity may have involved him in some personal or interpersonal difficulties about which, despite the poor prognosis for benefit from casework, he has gained some insight.

Factor Vc

Variable	Loading
25. Described as <i>not</i> intelligent	(-) .56
4. Negro	(-) .49
31. Described as <i>not</i> motivated to change	(-) .48
29. Described as poorly organized	.41
1. Potentialities of casework help unpromising	(-) .38
21. Described as mild-mannered	.37
15. Described as a social isolate	.36
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs	.34
8. Personal problem	.32
17. Described as <i>not</i> taking on responsibility easily	(-) .32
37. Much insight shown by client at termination	.30

The converse of this portrait shows the relatively intelligent, white man, motivated to change, well organized, independent and responsible, even aggressive, and involved in some situational problem, but showing relatively little insight at termination into his own role in the problem that brought him to the agency. This seems to be less plausible than the opposite pole: the man who is unmotivated to change, has poor prognosis at intake with respect to the benefits of casework, but shows somewhat more insight at termination into his own role in his problem. A superficially cooperative client is suggested, one perhaps encouraged by his wife or someone else to come to the agency, but a client covertly

resistant to casework help, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. At best, this factor must be interpreted with extreme caution and further examination of its meaning must await replication studies.

Variable	Factor VIc	Loading
24. Described as showing strong dependency needs		.41
36. Relationship with family rated deteriorated		(-) .38
13. Described as ingratiating		.37
33. Described as <i>not</i> seeming older than age		(-) .34
35. Few interviews		.34
7. High status occupation		.33

The variables included in Factor VIc, all having relatively small loadings, do not make a consistent, meaningful pattern and any interpretation would be extremely tenuous. At most, it is suggested that some negative ratings accompanied by high status occupation, are associated with few casework interviews for the male clients.

In contrast to the factor analyses of the female and unmarried mother data, the factor structure of the male data, viewed as a whole, does not differentiate factors so exclusively in terms of the different types of information represented by the 40 variables. Thus, there are no factors that are almost exclusively defined by intake ratings, or by background characteristics, or by terminal ratings. Except for Factor VIc, a background variable is included in each factor. Similarly, every factor but IIIc contains at least one outcome variable. Every factor (except VIc) includes a variable with .30 loading or greater appraising the client's earlier life situation. Thus, one may suggest that in viewing adult male clients the caseworkers make use of a wider range of information as they organize their perceptions and observations along the several dimensions identified as factors.

The total factor structure is dominated for the male data, as for the female and unmarried mother data, by the personality ratings. Factor Ic is primarily composed of these variables but they appear in all the other factors as well. This suggests that there is

more discriminating use of these variables to describe the male clients than the female or the unmarried mother clients. Caseworkers' perceptions of male clients are somewhat less global than those they form of other clients. They distinguish more types of personality and more kinds of backgrounds and outcomes for the male clients. If this is a correct conclusion, it is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the greater differentiation of male clients, especially in view of the fact that caseworkers are usually women and might, therefore, be expected to be more sensitive to subtle differences between types of female clients. However, male clients may be perceived as varied because, in fact, they may vary more than females in the sources of their problems and the circumstances that bring them to social agencies. The need for research to explore such possibilities is evident and we shall discuss the problem further in Chapter 3.

Comparison of the Three Factor Structures

We may now examine the three factor structures comparatively in order to see how the perceived characteristics of adult female, unmarried mother, and male clients differ and resemble each other. Except for the variables 2a and 8a in the unmarried mother data, the same categories for description were used by the caseworkers for all clients. Therefore, the parallel analysis of such information permits us to ask whether a consistent frame of reference is being applied or a different one adapted to each of the three categorical distinctions we have made within the caseload. It is to be expected that men and women and unmarried mothers who are clients of a social agency will differ; the question is whether they differ along common dimensions of analysis or in the organization of these dimensions. We have used the parallel factor analyses to suggest underlying, typical clusterings of observations and thus to permit a comparison of the three sets of clients in terms of the meanings that may be inferred.

We shall examine, first, the way in which the inventory of personality ratings was used at intake and then consider similarities and differences among the three factor structures with respect to the other types of information.

Personality Ratings. If there is a common framework applied to all casework clients for diagnostic or descriptive purposes, it should be in the area of information about clients as persons. That is, we might expect that all clients (whether men, women, or unmarried mothers) would be assessed and characterized with respect to personality features. This is in keeping with the professional training of caseworkers who are taught that a psychosocial diagnosis is prerequisite to treatment and evaluation. It is also in keeping with the common sense requirement that one must take into account the kind of person he wants to influence before he can expect to be effective in influencing him. The widespread emphasis on psychological components in the problems faced by people is, furthermore, another reason to expect a common frame of reference to be used. Indeed, the inventory of descriptive terms provided for the caseworkers in this study as the content of their ratings is an attempt to draw together a set of behavioral attributes or personality characteristics that caseworkers might be expected to recognize in their clients. This is similar to the attempt to state dimensions of personality.

For all sets of clients the strongest and most well-defined factor (Factors Ia, Ib, and Ic) is constituted from the ratings of the client personality profile. Of the 22 variables in this profile, 12 achieving the level of .30 or greater are found in common for all three sets of clients and 17 are common to two sets (Factors Ia and Ib). With one exception, the direction (sign) of the loading for all variables found in common for the sets is the same. Furthermore, three of the five variables with largest loadings in each set are common to the other sets and the overlap for such variables is four out of five between Factors Ia and Ib.

The large number of common variables constitute a dimension that may be described as vigorous, outgoing, effective self-management at the positive pole and unenergetic, overwhelmed, withdrawn at the negative pole. It would thus appear that the caseworkers applied this framework widely for the assessment of the personal characteristics of all their clients.

There are a number of differences between the sets of clients on this predominantly common factor. In rating females and unmar-

ried mothers, the caseworkers appear to be more sensitive to variables suggesting capacity to relate to others (variable 15, described as a social isolate; variable 32, described as articulate; and variable 25, described as intelligent) than in rating male clients. Consistent with this difference, the rating on variable 33, seeming older than age, is found in the female data structure for this factor and not in the other two structures. For unmarried mothers only, the rating on variable 34, described as candid about faults, is found with a moderately large loading. Variable 21, described as mild-mannered, has a moderate loading for unmarried mothers and a relatively small loading (.31) for male clients.

The prognostic rating at intake of the potentialities of resolving the client's problem through casework (variable 1) appears in common for the three sets with relatively large loadings. Whatever type of client is before them, caseworkers associate this prognostic judgment with their ratings of personality. Similarly, for female and male clients, caseworkers' impressions with respect to the mental health status of the client are related to personality ratings.

The absence of background characteristics and outcome variables from this common factor has been previously noted and it is reemphasized here. The background variables that do appear are age (variable 3) for unmarried mothers, occupational status (variable 7) and long-term economic deprivation (variable 9) for male clients. No terminal ratings are associated with this factor in the data for female clients or for unmarried mothers. For male clients, the factor includes two such variables: number of interviews (variable 35) and an impression with respect to the mental health status of the client at termination (variable 38).

Because Factor I for each set of clients represents apparently the same dimension, it is possible to compare the adult female, unmarried mother, and male data on this dimension with reference to the negative and positive poles of the factor. It is of some interest to ask whether the caseworkers, viewing these sets of clients at intake, see them as the same or different in terms of common traits of personality. We may make a comparison on the

basis of the five personality ratings that have loadings of .50 or greater in all three sets of data (variables 19, 20, 22, 27, and 30).

If we align the directions of these variables arbitrarily and assign scores of -1 for an unfavorable rating, 0 for the neutral category and 1 for a favorable rating, we may construct a short scale for Factor 1 ranging from -5 to 5. Using this scale for the three sets of data, it is found that on the average the female clients receive the most favorable ratings (1.60), the male clients the next (1.05), and the unwed mothers the least favorable ratings (.63). Stated another way, 59.6 per cent of the ratings for female clients were favorable, 51.2 per cent were favorable for the males, and 45.4 per cent were favorable for the unmarried mothers. Accepting a favorable direction as some indication of greater personal competence, deemed pertinent to the client's situation, the caseworkers perceived greatest strength among female clients, least among unwed mothers, with male clients occupying an intermediate position. This appraisal, based on personality variables, is similar to the rating caseworkers made of the potentiality of resolving client's problems through casework help as seen at intake (variable 1). On this variable, 43 per cent of the female clients, 49 per cent of the males, and 56 per cent of the unwed mothers were rated as having very unpromising or somewhat unpromising potentialities for help through casework. It seems reasonable to conclude from such evidence that the caseworkers view the three sets of clients in this order with reference to effecting personal changes in them.

One additional factor based primarily on personality ratings at intake appears less clearly in common among the three sets of clients but it warrants comment. In the factor structures of the female and male data, one factor suggests a dependency-independency dimension involving personality ratings, and associated in the male data with some background and situational variables. There is no corresponding factor for unmarried mothers. Factor IIIa is defined entirely by four ratings (variables 24, 17, 32, and 29): described as showing strong dependency needs, as not taking on responsibility easily, as not articulate, and as being poorly organized. Three of these variables (24, 17, and

29) also appear in Factor Vc for the male data, although in the latter some other, but consistent, ratings occur with greater loadings: for example, variable 25, described as not intelligent; variable 31, described as not motivated to change; variable 21, described as mild-mannered; and variable 15, described as a social isolate. For the male data, this factor also includes race (variable 4) and nature of the client's presenting problem (variable 8, personal or interpersonal problem vs. situational problem) as well as the prognostic appraisal at intake (variable 1) with respect to potentialities of benefiting from casework. A small loading with respect to insight shown by client at termination (variable 37) also appears.

The overlap between these factors is not great but it is enough to suggest that a secondary rating dimension concerning dependency may be operative for the adult clients. Variables suggesting dependency are scattered among the several factors in the analysis of unmarried mothers.

Other Common Factors. The only other factor that appears to be common for the three sets of clients suggests a dimension describing a life history of deprivation and family pathology on the one side and adequate family and economic background on the other side (Factors IV, a, b, and c for female, unmarried mother, and male data). The overlap of variables is not great but each factor viewed as a whole gives a similar impression. The factor does not describe socioeconomic status in the usual sense of social class position. The implication is rather of deprivation or pathology in economic conditions and in family life.

Adult female clients and unmarried mothers share an additional factor in common, although again the factors are not identical. Most of the terminal ratings together with number of casework interviews appear in Factor VIa for the female data and in Factor IIb for unmarried mother data. For the females, these terminal variables dominate the factor whereas they are associated with a number of personality ratings for unmarried mothers. In each, amount of education appears as a background variable, and age is also included in the factor for unmarried mothers. We may interpret this "terminal rating factor" as an

indication that for adult females and for unmarried mothers, the caseworkers' assessments at termination are relatively independent of characteristics of the clients noted at intake, including the battery of personality ratings provided.

Differences Between the Factor Structures. Differences are more evident than similarities when the factor structures for the three sets of clients are compared. Except for the major personality rating factor and the less prominent ones suggesting dependency and deprivation, little basis appears for referring to the three structures together. Although further replications are necessary before we can make more than very tentative conclusions, these data show different constellations of characteristics perceived for the different sets of clients. Uniqueness of the individual client should be reflected in the particular way in which he appears on some common dimensions and not by revealing different ways of categorizing him from other clients. The development of appropriate typology, or categories, is a difficult but necessary requirement if diagnosis is to be related to treatment and, in turn, to achievement of desired results. The next chapter discusses this problem more generally.

3. Studying the Caseload and the Casework Enterprise

CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS about the character of basic knowledge useful for casework underlie the kind of analysis of the caseload of a social agency that has been presented. Furthermore, certain directions are implied for the strategy of future research. This chapter exposes both the assumptions and the directions that are only implicit in the analytical approach used in this study. We first discuss the process of client selection in the context of the community and the social agency. Then, we consider appropriate approaches to describing clients as individuals. Finally, we relate our approach to some other research in casework and offer some suggestions for future developments.

The Caseload as a Sample

From the viewpoint of administrative utility, it is not necessary to justify the study of the characteristics of agency caseloads. Those who sponsor the work of social agencies by lending financial support, those who determine policies by serving as trustees or directors, and those who administer the operations of the agencies all must have information about the recipients of service in order to make responsible decisions. These decisions involve examining which needs of the community are being served, and at what cost. In a broader context, operating statistics are often the basis for soliciting support for services in the competition for limited funds to serve social welfare needs.

The caseload of an agency constitutes a sample drawn from the general population by self-selective processes that ordinarily are but poorly known. For certain classes of information there are

considerable statistical data available about the general population for even very small political and geographical units. Much of the data come from the United States census, which gathers background and experience information on the population, but this information is often limited in utility because the census occurs only once in a decade. Additional information is available from the sources of regularized registration, producing data commonly known as "vital statistics," and focusing primarily on births, marriages, and deaths. There are many other sources of registration information, and many sources of statistics that become available from reporting agencies such as hospital statistics, tax statistics, police statistics, school attendance, library readership, and so forth. While there has been an increasing trend toward special surveys, little is known about other characteristics of the general population, for example, in terms of personality characteristics or qualities of social relations in the family. The information that is available about these social psychological aspects of the population stems most frequently from more limited surveys or from particular samples.

Thus, only a limited amount of information may be available about some of the characteristics that are considered very relevant for casework. The more subtle social psychological characteristics that are the important concern of the caseworker as a diagnostician may be but little known, and much of the information may be intuitively based. Some knowledge of these characteristics in the population from which the caseload arises is important to provide a standard both for the agency and for the social worker. How detailed this information need be is a moot question, but the objectives of most social agencies, including many publicly supported ones, certainly require information about personality characteristics and social attitudes of the population. Although there may be general agreement on the undesirability of extreme cases and on what constitutes unacceptable or pathological behavior, there is less agreement on what constitutes more desirable behavior when dealing with less extreme cases. Certainly in this context any model of desirable behavior must be compared with the existing behavior of the general population in

order to examine how the model, representing the profession's or the practitioner's values, differs from the behavioral and social norms of the community.

This situation is not, to be sure, unique for the social work profession. Even in matters of health when there is substantial agreement in official and professional views, ameliorative objectives have to be considered against the background of the community values. For example, at what point do case-finding procedures for certain types of maladies become an invasion of individual privacy? At what point does public apathy about a malady that has a low incidence and contributes only slightly to the death rate come in conflict with the zealous activity of an organization interested in controlling the malady? At what point do other values in the community conflict with the objectives of agencies trying to reduce the automotive accident rate? In these cases there may be agreement on what is desirable, and also a recognition that certain changes will lead to consequences in the intended direction, but the behavior patterns of the community in the more general context of values become implicated and place a limit on the objectives of the agencies or groups that would foster the particular desirable change.

The situation is not so clear-cut in dealing with questions of desirable personality or desirable family relations in the social work area. What is desirable is not easily agreed upon; the attributes of the population are not well known; the interplay of relevant values is relatively unexplored; and the efficacy of the proposed interventions is not demonstrated. Thus, it is to be expected that an important focus of research in social work will center on the examination of characteristics of the population that are relevant in the casework enterprise. These may serve as a reference point for understanding the caseload to set standards of desirable or acceptable behavior and to test assumptions about people in casework.

In any community in which social agencies operate there are many different factors that determine who comes to an agency. It is easy to imagine that there may be many more persons who could come to agencies for services than do, and an important

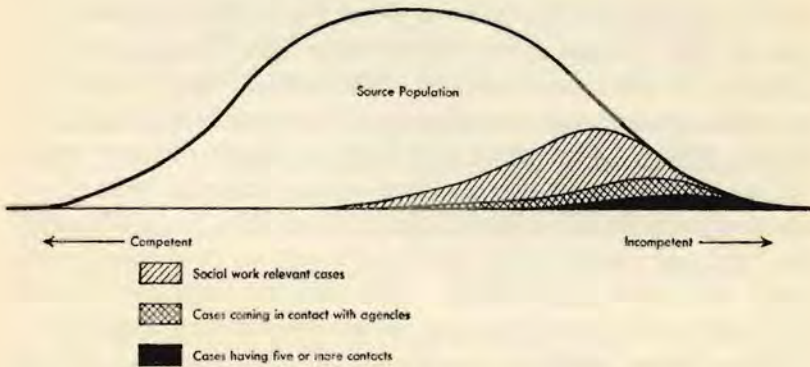
research task is to examine the differences between those who do and do not come. Perhaps certain groups use informal procedures to take care of certain kinds of problems so that persons from these groups do not approach an agency. Ignorance, misinformation, folklore, or custom may inhibit particular groups or individuals from using an agency. For example, the popular image of the social worker as a woman might deter male clients from seeking help because it is not considered masculine to ask a woman for help. Before a person in need arrives for help, he must first know that help is available, and then he must feel that he is a candidate for such help. Providing necessary information about available social services through formal or informal channels appears almost as an accidental procedure in most communities. Referral sources are many, including the various government and voluntary agencies, schools, doctors, lawyers, ministers, and others in the community. In short, very little is known about which of the persons who are in trouble—whether it is economic, social, or psychological—are the ones who arrive at social agencies for help. This is an obvious problem to which research should contribute, but relatively little systematic study has been undertaken.¹

Such comments about the selective procedures that may operate in the general population are graphically summarized in the accompanying diagram. From the general population as a source, a subsample may be designated for whom any or all types of social work help are relevant. With respect to any concept of competence (or normalcy), a broad range of persons in the general population may be included among those in need of help, but it is to be expected that the probability of coming in contact with an agency is some function of position toward the negative extreme. Finally, the probability of becoming a casework client

¹ Only the following studies were found in our search of the literature: Koos, E. L., *Families in Trouble*, Kings Crown Press, New York, 1946, especially pp. 79-90; Reed, E. F., "Families Served by Group-Work Agencies in a Deteriorated Area Compared with the General Population of That Area," *Social Service Review*, vol. 28, December, 1954, pp. 412-423; Vincent, C. E., "The Unwed Mother and Sampling Bias," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 19, October, 1954, pp. 562-567. More information is available about recipients in the public assistance programs, especially those in which there is federal participation.

(say, having at least five contacts with an agency) is also a function of extremeness toward the negative pole. How inclusive the clientele of an agency will be is, in part, a function of its objectives. For example, an agency with preventive objectives may seek to encompass a more normal segment of the population in its program. These functions are, of course, all related and the diagram merely indicates the molar view of the selective process. Since the selective processes are many and complex, the convergent selective forces may initially be viewed as producing smooth distributions, as indicated in the diagram.

SELECTIVE PROCEDURES THAT MAY OPERATE IN THE GENERAL POPULATION



Receptivity of Agencies as a Selective Factor

Beginning with the appearance of a client at a social agency, there may be *formal* policies, differing among agencies, that affect the character of those accepted as clients. For example, most clients applying for financial help may be routinely referred to a public assistance agency if they are eligible for such help. Little is known about the *informal* mechanisms by which some clients may be encouraged to continue at the agency while others are sent elsewhere, and this process is further complicated by the fact that clients often have several problems rather than a single one.

Once at the agency, additional factors may operate in a selective way. The accident of meeting one caseworker rather than another may be a factor, but there are probably more general factors as well. The age, sex, race, ethnic background, appearance, class, religion, education, and other characteristics of the clients may in subtle or obvious ways make some more than others attractive to the caseworkers no matter how well trained to norms of professional objectivity. The characteristics of the client may tend to make him incompatible with an image held by the caseworker of "a client." Conversely, the selective process may be viewed as it operates from the point of view of the client to reject the caseworker or "show resistance to" treatment.¹

Because "contact" is an interactional phenomenon and because it occurs within the context of a set of social systems, the actual operation of the selective process is likely to be complex indeed. The factors operating to make one client unlikely to continue in the agency services while another may be met and retained with unusual enthusiasm and success offer another direction for research in the social work field that should be productive.²

It is apparent that the study of agency receptivity is closely interwoven with the study of clients more directly. Differentiation between categories of clients with respect to the ways they enter into contact and interact with the social agency could be very relevant both to the agency as an organization with responsibilities toward people in need, and also to caseworkers who are responsible for helping them.

Some descriptive information along this line is available, but systematic reporting is meager. An example of one fairly well-documented and recurrent fact is that only one out of every four or five clients approaching a family casework agency will sustain

¹ See Polansky, N., and J. Kounin, "Clients' Reactions to Initial Interviews," *Human Relations*, vol. 9, August, 1956, pp. 237-264.

² The caseload as a product of selection is briefly discussed in Meyer, H. J., and E. F. Borgatta, "Evaluating a Rehabilitation Program for Post-Hospital Mental Patients," *Public Health Reports*, vol. 73, July, 1958, pp. 650-656. A comparison of the caseload of an agency with the "target population" it sought to reach and examination of selective factors related to evaluation of effectiveness are found in Meyer, H. J., and E. F. Borgatta, *An Experiment in Mental Patient Rehabilitation*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1959.

five or more in-person interviews.¹ The differentiation of clients who continue in contact with an agency from those who discontinue in terms of their social, psychological, and situational characteristics is, however, less well established although systematic attention to this problem is increasing.² The systematic study of the characteristics of clients in a caseload to provide a basis for developing typologies congruent with the need for psychosocial diagnosis, treatment planning, and evaluation has hardly begun even though there has been early and recent recognition of the importance of such study.³

Describing the Client

The direct study of clients in casework involves not only who the clients are after the selective processes have brought them into casework and what their actual characteristics are as persons, but also how they may be viewed by the caseworkers who seek to

¹ Kogan reports that 76 per cent of new cases in one study at Community Service Society, New York, and 72 per cent in another closed before reaching a fifth in-person interview. He also cites a memorandum by Ann W. Shyne reporting that in 11 West Coast agencies, of approximately 5,800 cases closed from March through August, 1954, 81 per cent did not receive a fifth interview. Kogan, L. S., "The Short-Term Case in a Family Agency," *Social Casework*, vol. 38, May, 1957, p. 232. Similar findings have been reported for Family and Childrens Service, Pittsburgh, in Fanshel, D., "A Study of Caseworkers' Perceptions of Their Clients," *op. cit.*, p. 548.

² See the review of 17 studies (some unpublished) by Shyne, A. W., "What Research Tells Us About Short-Term Cases in Family Agencies," *Social Casework*, vol. 38, May, 1957, pp. 223-231. Especially to be noted are: Blenkner, M., "Predictive Factors in the Initial Interview in Family Casework," *Social Service Review*, vol. 28, March, 1954, pp. 65-73; Ripple, L., "Factors Associated with Continuance in Casework Service," *Social Work*, vol. 2, January, 1957, pp. 87-94; Kogan, L. S., "The Short-Term Case in a Family Agency," *Social Casework*, vol. 38, May, June, July, 1957, pp. 231-238, 296-302, 366-374.

³ Mary Richmond discusses the systematic gathering of information necessary for social diagnosis by the use of "questionnaires," that is, "queries which, when gone over by the social caseworker with a particular case in mind, may bring to his attention, out of the many presented, a possible four or five that may contain suggestive leads." In order to deal with variations in clients and find appropriate methods of meeting problems, Mary Richmond suggests that, by asking himself such questions, the caseworker is "merely doing more formally, in fact, what he is forced to do all the time, for social diagnosis moves forward by calling up before the mind one possible explanation after another, one alternative after another, before putting each to the test." Richmond, M., *Social Diagnosis*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1917, pp. 373-374.

See also: Greenwood, E., "Social Science and Social Work: A Theory of Their Relationship," *op. cit.*; Selby, L. G., "Typologies for Caseworkers: Some Considerations and Problems," *Social Service Review*, vol. 32, December, 1958, pp. 341-349.

serve them. The description of perceived characteristics of clients has been the direct concern of this monograph.

The caseworker needs an accurate description of the clients in his caseload for a number of reasons. In the first place, a knowledge of the caseload allows comparison to general information about nonclient populations, thus providing some understanding of what constitutes pathological conditions in the community. Furthermore, it is important to describe the client and his situation clearly and accurately in order to be able to assess changes that may occur during the course of his contact with the agency, whether through normal processes or through deliberate intervention of the caseworker. Perhaps most important of all, the caseworker needs to know more than the unique characteristics of each client to appraise accurately the circumstances that created his problems and the forces that brought him to the agency.

Knowledge about types of clients is essential to identify those for whom special knowledge or theories of practice have developed. Eaton has stated this fact very cogently: "No case is so unique that its analysis, diagnosis, and treatment cannot benefit from being planned in the light of knowledge derived from cases of a similar category. Few will disagree with this theory in principle, but in practice many find it difficult to accept. It requires that there be less emphasis on feeling and more on thinking, less on hunching and more on disciplined study."¹ Social workers frequently assert that their attention must be directed to the individual case and they sometimes deny, therefore, the necessity or utility of generalizations about types of individuals, families, or groups. However, the very concept of diagnosis implies the identification of those characteristics in the individual situation that place it within a class about which certain general statements as to etiology and prognosis can be made. Greenwood has made this point a basic recommendation for social work research.²

¹ Eaton, J. W., "Science, 'Art,' and Uncertainty in Social Work," *Social Work*, vol. 3, July, 1958, p. 10.

² Greenwood, E., "Social Science and Social Work: A Theory of Their Relationship," *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Among caseworkers, notions about diagnostic personality types frequently are derived from psychoanalytic theories. These may be modified through experience obtained in practice or transmitted through the complex structures of school and agency. The use of a statement, for example, that a mother is "overprotective of her child" helps to place her in a category for which generalized diagnostic knowledge is believed to exist and for which certain treatment efforts are believed to be more efficacious than others. Precision of diagnostic typing is often lacking but the process of generalization nevertheless occurs.

The bases for diagnosis are often vague, but it is a gross error if this lack of precision is justified as essential to the clinician's art. The more precise the content of observations, the greater the probability of reliable diagnostic classification, of communicable information about the client, and of selection of appropriate treatment. Art supplements skill in clinical diagnosis when the experience and sensitivity of the diagnostician permit him to recognize additional or idiosyncratic features of the particular client that are relevant to a more subtle or less well-known set of generalizations. The "art" is in recognizing special contexts or special sets of relationships about which some knowledge is available. The art of clinical diagnosis is, in essence, the ability to estimate how characteristic of a type the client is and to extend the typology in a consistent and coherent way.

Types of Information About the Client

Against the background of such assertions about the need to describe types of casework clients, we may suggest some of the kinds of information that may be relevant. In considering categories of information about the individual, our classification for purposes of discussion may be made in terms of a logical arrangement of content or on the basis of the ways in which the information is gathered. We shall use the former in this discussion and make reference on occasion to different procedures for obtaining the information. A simple classification of information about clients will be used: (a) background information, (b) attitudinal or covert behavior information, and (c) manifest behavior information.

(a) Under *background information* one would include factual data with respect to age, race, sex, religion, and marital status. These involve ascribed characteristics of the individual as well as indications of experience such as the number of years completed in school and whether the person was reared primarily in a rural or urban environment. For the most part, such information is available from the client or his family directly and also often is easily verified. This may be viewed as an objective type of information that is relatively easy to obtain, and generally such information is found embedded in the case record.

Objective recording of background and experience information is fostered through the utilization of face sheets in case records, although in practice several problems arise in the use of such face sheets. For example, sometimes the data collected in the agency are not viewed by the practitioners as relevant for the casework services that are being provided, but only as information for agency statistics. Such attitudes do not make for objective and complete recording. These attitudes may be related to the fact that face sheets often are developed out of peculiar circumstances and may have questionable utility in any event. The agency as well as the social workers may not look upon the face sheet as a very important document, and indeed in some cases it may not be. In short, the face sheet may actually serve on occasion to forestall the type of data recording that it is supposed to guarantee. The possibility of disuse or misuse of the face sheet should not lead to the other extreme, that of not having standardized procedures for obtaining background and experience information. Without standardization, specific items of information often are missing from records and comparability of cases is reduced. In addition, locating information may be difficult. If coding has been avoided by not having standardized categories to begin with, any comparative or statistical use, or even meaningful communication about the case, will require some sort of retroactive coding or standardization. This may come at a time when only the more diffuse and inclusive case recordings are available from which to derive essentially objective facts. The objection that direct and precoded categories for providing

standardized information place limits on the caseworker's capacity to make sensitive observations is an argument that misses the point entirely. No limitation is put on an abundance of additional observations, impressions, and recordings about the client and the casework process.

With respect to obtaining background and experience information, we would stress the desirability of standardized categories but, beyond this, of standardized categories that are developed from a research base that will yield knowledge about *which* categories are important to observe in the context of the objectives and procedures of casework treatment. Information required for agency administrative statistics may, in fact, be minimal, obtained in a few minutes of an interview or from a clerical procedure at intake using forms or questionnaires. When more detailed information about the characteristics of the individual is to be gathered, on the assumption that it is relevant to the casework process, hypotheses implicit in the inquiry are imputed and these may be susceptible of test in a broad program of descriptive research. As we have indicated before, the study of differences between clients with respect to background and experience characteristics may lead to an understanding of deviant, or pathological, types in the community. Categorization of individuals on the basis of these characteristics may also lead to objective and accessible prognostic indicators.

(b) The second class of information about clients consists of information concerning *attitudinal or covert behavior*. The client must reveal some of the information in this category directly if it is to be obtained at all. Although there are external manifestations of certain types of feelings, others are not directly observable. Thus, much information about emotions, motivations, and self-image must be sought directly from the client. At the level of opinions, attitudes, and values as the covert expressions of personality, there has been a considerable development of standardized questionnaires. The variety of tests is quite impressive and they range from adjective checklists indicative of the moods of individuals to factor analytically based personality inventories that have as many as 16 subtests. Some tests have been developed that

correspond largely to concepts in clinically based personality theory. Others center on specialized concepts presumed to have overriding importance in the organization of personality, such as authoritarianism or manifest anxiety, which have received attention in recent times. Still others have been developed on systematic observational principles.

Because so much emphasis in casework is oriented to the personality and its organization, it is particularly striking that the routine use of any of the standardized personality inventories is rare.¹ In general, the social work profession has been reluctant to inject such instruments into the intake and diagnostic procedures. Balanced against the fact that cooperation of clients in developing a casework relationship is not an automatic consequence of the initial contact, hesitancy in placing barriers between the caseworker and the client is understandable. However, the extent to which the use of standard diagnostic instruments would impede the establishment of a casework relationship is an empirical question on which research is required, rather than a conclusion to be accepted, because it may seem reasonable in the light of some theory of the nature of the initial and continuing contact between client and caseworker. It has been reported by some who have used questionnaires and other information-gathering devices at intake or at early stages of contact and in follow-up studies that such inquiries are often considered proper forms of attention by clients.² In fact, such attention may be favorably viewed even after the clients no longer use the service. At the point of first contact with the client, there is no reason to expect that the utilization of standard tests should cause hostility or resentment when applied to relevant categories of clients any more than such

¹ It is our impression that even for that small proportion of clients for whom a "psychological workup," that is, testing, is obtained, preference is given to projective tests and intelligence tests rather than to objective personality inventories. The only such test that seems to be used with relative frequency in such testing is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI).

² See: Mudd, E. H., and H. B. Froscher, "Effects on Casework of Obtaining Research Material," *Social Casework*, vol. 31, January, 1950, pp. 11-17; Kogan, L. S., "The Electrical Recording of Social Casework Interviews," *Social Casework*, vol. 31, November, 1950, pp. 371-378; Wasser, E., "The Caseworker as Research Interviewer in Follow-up Studies," *Social Casework*, vol. 38, October, 1957, pp. 423-430.

negative behaviors should be expected because of diagnostic procedures used in any other professional area. Similarly, there is no reason to assume that those clients who would hesitate to respond to standard tests would continue in the casework process in any event. Furthermore, it must be noted that on occasion caseworkers do not hesitate to subject their clients to other examinations such as those of physicians, psychologists, and psychiatrists.

In the sense of treating the client rather than the particular presenting problem, much of the diagnostic effort of the caseworker must be seen as devoted to uncovering information about the attitudes and covert behavior of the client. It may very well be that much of the information that is sought is at a depth that cannot be elicited through questionnaires. Further, it may be that clients are not aware of their emotions, motives, and attitudes on many important issues or problems. In these cases, certainly, developing a casework relationship and probing at depth may reveal important kinds of information that would otherwise not be available. While there is no implication that intensive probing of the characteristics of the clients should be curtailed, this approach should be placed in context with others that are available. Through the utilization of standardized questionnaires, particularly those that are factor analytically based like the Cattell 16 Personality Factor Inventory or the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, provision is made to guarantee that certain aspects of the client are examined in summary form. The possibility thereby arises of considering the profile of characteristics of the clients on the various subtests, so that more rather than less information is available in summary form for the diagnostician. The objectification involved also tends to provide a corrective to over-response by the diagnostician to the unique characteristics of the individual; that is, diagnostic attention is given to regularities that identify the individual among his fellow clients as well as to idiosyncrasies that distinguish him from all others. While individuals often can be characterized by certain overriding traits, the problem is not to identify the individual as such but to identify him in terms of an orderly set of classifications of all

individuals that are important to specific treatment hypotheses or to some more general theory of personality. The danger in over-responding to unique characteristics is that it becomes a naming procedure rather than a classification procedure.

(c) *Manifest behavior* is the third category of information to which we have referred. By manifest behavior in this context we mean behavior as viewed by the external observer although, of course, the individual who is the subject of observation is often an accurate judge of how he is or has been behaving. Several classes of outside observer can be noted. The observer may be, indeed, the specialist in observation trained to use some scheme for categorizing types of information that he observes, for example, interaction process analysis. Or he may be a rater or judge who views the individual in some standard, planned situation or throughout some period of direct contact, and who then evaluates the individual on some criteria. This type of observation characterizes, in part, the way in which the caseworker constitutes the observer when presenting a report on the client at a case conference. Peer associates of the client may also be viewed as external observers and their judgments are often taken as criterion information to check against other assessments of individual characteristics.

In all external observation of manifest behavior, or behavioral characteristics of individuals, the essential, but often implicit, mode of observation makes use of ratings or rankings or both.

In the casework situation the client directly tells the caseworker many things about himself but he is also behaving in interaction with the caseworker in ways that tell the caseworker other things. The caseworker thus gathers information not only about the content of statements of the client but about how he reveals them in interaction. This is direct observation and categorization of manifest behavior whether or not the caseworker recognizes it as such. It would be in the interest of maximizing the utility of such observations if they were related to some systematic set of categories descriptive of interaction that were known to be related to the diagnostic and therapeutic interests of the caseworker.

In this brief discussion of three categories of information about individuals we have not emphasized the interrelatedness of the

categories, although this must be quite obvious. Who a person is must be related to the kinds of feelings and attitudes he has, and these in turn must be related to how he behaves. The three categories of information are not altogether mutually exclusive even by definition. They are used heuristically to facilitate inclusiveness of perspective when viewing variables to describe individuals. In examining kinds of information about the client, we also suggest that there are different ways of getting the information, and that there has been some hesitancy for the social work profession to move in the direction of standardization or objectification of the data-gathering procedures. One distinction we have emphasized is that between self-report data from the client and data mediated through the perception of the caseworker. We observe that dependence has been primarily on the latter; and even in this case there has been a preference for intuitive, impressionistic observations rather than standardized observation by such means as schedules, tests, and rating forms.

The Status of Research on Casework Clients

While systematic descriptive and evaluative research in social casework is relatively undeveloped, several studies focusing on the description of clients, using ratings and judgments, have been reported. Substantive contributions to the analysis of the characteristics of clients have originated in the Institute of Welfare Research of the Community Service Society of New York. These studies have centered on the problem of describing and measuring what constitutes "movement," or change, in the client under casework treatment.¹ By use of highly standardized judgment procedures, significant correlations were achieved between the ratings of different judges rating the same case records. A field test of the *movement scale* further demonstrated a high level of agreement between caseworkers making ratings on their own cases and those made by independent judges.² One is impressed

¹ Hunt, J. McV., and L. S. Kogan, *Measuring Results in Social Casework: A Manual Judging Movement*. Family Service Association of America, New York, 1950.

² Hunt, J. McV., Blenkner, M., and Kogan, L. S., *Testing Results in Social Casework: A Field Test of the Movement Scale*. Family Service Association of America, New York, 1950.

by the great care and thoroughness with which these projects were conceived and executed.

Another major approach to describing casework processes is found in the work of Lillian Ripple and her colleagues at the Research Center of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. In this broadly conceived study of motivation, capacity, and opportunity, persistence of clients in their contact with agencies along with certain aspects of the problem of movement have been central points of interest.¹ Here, too, judgments by experienced caseworkers have been utilized to secure measures of the key variables using case records especially prepared to include full recording.

We refer to these studies here not because they consider the central problems of "movement" or of "continuance" but rather because in the course of these researches some information about the characteristics of clients has been developed and, more directly, because they represent an important approach developed during the past decade to the sources of data for social work research. Methodological questions on which our viewpoint is apparent in the discussion in this chapter can be posed directly: What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of obtaining formalized ratings on precoded instruments by caseworkers who have had direct access to the clients, as is the case in the study presented here? What might be the advantages and disadvantages of having the clients provide data directly?

It is possible that the decision to study movement by using judges not directly involved in the cases was a decision of necessity at the time when the Community Service Society studies were initiated. The existing receptivity of the profession of social work to research in casework made it nearly impossible to obtain information about clients by direct tests or interviews other than casework interviews. Therefore, dependence upon the casework record may have been the necessary rather than the preferred

¹ Ripple, L., "Motivation, Capacity, and Opportunity as Related to the Use of Casework Service: Theoretical Base and Plan of Study," *Social Service Review*, vol. 29, June, 1955, pp. 172-193; *Idem*, "Factors Associated with Continuance in Casework Service," *op. cit.*

choice of the researchers. That this is so is suggested by comments of Hunt at a recent conference:

What I have said . . . shows that it is impossible to test the reliability of clinical judgments by having various clinicians judge a set of written documents such as we used in testing the reliability of the Movement Scale. I am not saying it is useless to use such written documents as case summaries for this purpose, but I am saying that the usefulness is limited to determining whether the various judges have the same concept of the variable. Such a procedure does not tell us whether the various judges would see the same quality or the same degree of a characteristic in a group of clients on the basis of their own observation of those clients. . . .¹

It is also of interest to note that some of the recent research at Community Service Society has moved away from the use of case records to that of obtaining impressions from caseworkers who have had direct contact with clients. Kogan makes the following comment regarding this decision:

After careful consideration, it was decided that, for the present study, evidence about the client and the casework process would be obtained directly from the worker who served the case rather than from judges working with either electrical recordings or elaborated case records. A major objection to using judgments made by the worker on the case is, of course, that such judgments cannot be tested for reliability and validity unless, for example, verbatim recording is done or observers are present during the interview. Researchers have made a strong issue of striving for high reliability of judges independently reading the same case records. But such reliability is of little consequence unless it can be assumed that the record is a valid representation of the transaction between client and worker. This assumption is merely being made explicit in this study. In any case, the worker should often be able to furnish opinions that cannot be provided by case readers in the absence of pertinent recorded material.²

There are several other advantages that might be mentioned in support of the direct use of caseworkers for observational data

¹ Hunt, J. McV., "On the Judgment of Social Workers as a Source of Information in Social Work Research" in *Use of Judgments as Data in Social Work Research*. National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1959, p. 47.

² Kogan, L. S., "The Short-Term Case in a Family Agency," *op. cit.*, p. 233.

about what occurs in the caseworker-client interaction: (a) *Economy and sample size:* The Movement Scale studies have had to rely on samples that have been relatively small in size. This tends to make the results that emerge from such studies somewhat tenuous insofar as characterizing overall caseloads is concerned. Aside from limiting the value of the results, having judges read records is a time-consuming and hence costly procedure. (b) *Prediction:* Even though bias may be operating in shaping the judgments of the caseworker because of direct involvement in the case, these observations can be linked to objectively established events. Purity of judgments in the sense of interjudge reliability is important information, but if it can be established that judgments of untested reliability made by the caseworker have some degree of validity as predictors of independently observed consequences, then the caseworkers' judgments *must* have been reliable at least to the extent of variance involved in the demonstrated relationship. In addition, it should be recognized that interjudge comparison is only one method of ascertaining reliability. Information about reliability obtained from more rigorous procedures, including independent test-retest and independent interjudge reliability tests, can contribute to knowledge of the limitations of the measures, particularly when one is trying to find out how strong a demonstrated relationship is or whether a relationship that was not found could have been found if more reliable measures were available.

In our examination of the literature we have thus far found no research on casework clients that goes beyond the report of caseworkers as indicated by Kogan. The obvious next step is to couple with such caseworker ratings the direct responses of clients on standardized tests and questionnaires, to observe systematically the clients in the casework setting and other interactive settings, and to examine the relationship of all these observations of clients both to professional judgments of important outcomes of casework help and to objective measures of such outcomes. It is our conviction that these next steps will inevitably be taken and that a progressive part of the social work profession is ready to take them.

General Conclusions and Suggestions for Research

Our first emphasis in this chapter has been on describing the source, population, and the selective processes that may intervene in the formation of the agency's caseload. This is necessary in part in order to locate the social agency in the community from which it derives both its status and its clients, and to which ultimately its standards must refer. As a second point of emphasis, we have stressed that in describing individuals who are the clients of social agencies, the description must be related to the objectives and services of the agency. On the one hand, data must be collected for the ordinary administrative operation of the agency, and on the other hand, data must be collected that are deemed relevant to the therapeutic aims of the professional staff. In this context, the requirements of research demand clarity and arbitrariness of categorization, and the purpose of descriptive research may be viewed as that of developing a parsimonious set of categories that encompass the relevant content for the decisions required to render professional services. Ultimately, such clarification is necessary to maintain the services themselves. Assessment and evaluation, both in terms of diagnosing the condition of the client and also in asserting that changes have occurred, are convincing and useful in direct relationship to their dependence on objective rather than intuitive procedures.

There can be little quarrel with a mandate for the objectification of diagnostic and evaluation procedures. In the social work area in particular, there has been a tendency to anticipate that such objectification could not be successfully carried out. There has been frequent reference to the variety of clients that comes to a social agency. Admitting the vagueness of diagnostic categories, the distinction between treating the problem and treating the client, and the difficulties of specifying treatment objectives, these complications do not demonstrate the impossibility of objectifying diagnostic and evaluation procedures. They make it all the more necessary.

One aim should be the parsimonious description of the regularities that are encountered in the casework enterprise. The descriptive task is relatively easy to conceptualize, although there

will be many difficulties in carrying it through. The general research questions are not foreign to the social and psychological disciplines. Who are the clients who come to the attention of the social agencies? How are they perceived by the caseworkers? What are the goals of the social agencies and of the professional social workers? What *is done* to the clients? What *can be* done to the clients? How do the clients change in response to given procedures? These, we assert, are researchable questions, and they are important questions for studying the casework enterprise. Certainly there are many other questions that are relevant and important, but those mentioned can hardly be neglected.

Where research should proceed is not a problem when the field is as open as it is in social work. However, wisdom and propriety are called for. It is appropriate to seek help from the experience of others. In describing the client, for example, even locating the inclusive universe of personality and behavioral descriptive characteristics is a challenge to researchers. For example, as Ripple has pointed out, "Essentially, here, the question is that of finding some 'population' of items. I know no way in which such a 'population' can be defined other than to specify the relevant theory, deduce from it the dimensions to be covered, and then select the specific 'signs' (items) to be used as measures."¹ The problem is, of course, even more difficult than this statement implies. Specifying the relevant theory is hardly a simple matter in an area where there are many theories, and where they tend to be speculative rather than empirically based. In this case, obviously, one must not rely only on the content of theory in social work, but must rely as well on theories of personality and behavior that occur within a broad and inclusive field in the social and psychological sciences. As we have suggested in our brief discussion of factors to be considered in the description of persons, developments in these sciences do include a substantial area to which attention has been given in terms of test development.

It must be remarked that no panacea will be found in the more general field of study of personality and behavioral characteris-

¹ Ripple, L., "Plans for Obtaining Judgment Data" in *Use of Judgments as Data in Social Work Research*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

tics. In the study of personality inventories, for example, there is a cumulative experience in the delineation and development of discriminating tests.¹ But, while more inclusive and more efficient tests are developing at a given level (for example, self-reporting personality inventories, like the Cattell 16 Personality Factor Test), the actual relationship of such tests to patterns of behavior as measured more directly, such as by peer rankings and ratings, peer judgments, observer judgments, clinical impressions, or specific performance tests, has yet to be charted. Indeed, it may be said that the validation problem in any of these social psychological areas continues to provide an open field for research.

The validation of personality inventories is a difficult problem, but it may be suggested that the current status of several of the available inventories warrants serious consideration by diagnosticians. Stated with candor, the question that presents itself to diagnosticians in the social and psychological areas is as follows: Do the known limitations of personality inventories warrant their disregard in favor of more subtle or indirect tests that generally have even less demonstrated validity (projective tests) or in favor of falling back on less systematic and more intuitive impressions of clinicians?

Our reference to personality inventories here should by no means be interpreted as a suggestion that these be substituted for existing diagnostic procedures in social casework. The suggestion is rather that personality inventories be viewed as one means for systematically and objectively getting at an important panel of information that is relevant and important to the diagnostic problem. We have already implied that there is a difference between personality inventory data and the behavior of the individual when we have pointed to the problems of validation. Furthermore, there is a difference between the person as revealed in these personality inventories, or in any self-report, and the way in which the community views him. Thus, the development of measures of the individual from the point of view of the community, that is, of external observers, must be emphasized.

¹See, for example, French, J. W., *The Description of Personality Measures in Terms of Rotated Factors*. Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N. J., 1953.

Here, again, we may point to the broad research literature in the social and psychological sciences and find considerable knowledge. But here also there is much direct experience in the social work profession.

The work that has been done at Community Service Society in the study of the components of movement can, in large measure, be identified directly as part of the problem of the external description of the client. Any study of "movement" must specify a movement of what. The "*what*" in this case consists of ratings made by caseworkers. Much effort in these studies has been devoted to demonstrating that judgments can be reliably made, rather than to developing the parsimonious but inclusive set of categories required for useful judgment of characteristics of clients. As has been indicated, the direction of this research is shifting to the question of describing who the client is. On the one hand, there has been a shift from studying case records toward studying the clients directly, and on the other hand, attention has been directed to the condition of the client whose movement is being judged.

Previous studies at the Institute of Welfare Research utilizing the *Movement Scale* have indicated that it is a highly reliable instrument for standardizing judgment of the over-all change that occurs in a client and his situation during his receipt of casework service. One limitation in this instrument is that it provides only a quantitative index of change from opening to closing of the case, with no information furnished with respect to the level of the client's adjustment at opening or at closing.¹

In their study of the 12 components of the Movement Scale,² Shyne and Kogan report a factor analysis in which four discernible factors are identified as: (a) psychological competence, (b) social effectiveness in primary groups, (c) social effectiveness in secondary groups, and (d) material competence. The factors that can be derived from a factor analysis are limited, of course,

¹ Shyne, A. W., and L. S. Kogan, "A Study of Components of Movement," *Social Casework*, vol. 39, June, 1958, p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 333-342, and also Shyne, A. W., and L. S. Kogan, *A Study of Components of Movement*. Institute of Welfare Research, Community Service Society, October, 1957, mimeographed.

by the original panel of items included in the study which in this case depended heavily on concepts and theories in casework. The factor analysis, it must be emphasized, located four factors among the components of movement, indicating that there are four independent qualities about the clients that are reliably discriminated by caseworkers. Thus, there should be four panels of descriptive variables that may be refined and improved to facilitate the classification of clients. One must remember, however, that these discriminations have been made in evaluating records, not in evaluating clients. Nonetheless, this study clearly shows that formalization of procedures is possible and it should lead to more objective description. The analysis also indicated that, although independent content was discernible, the ratings tended in general to be highly correlated. Shyne and Kogan examine the differences between the opening and closing status of clients as rated on the components of movement, and this provides information about the criterion that is being utilized (movement) in the sense of establishing reliability and establishing its meaning somewhat more specifically. This is quite different, however, from understanding the factors involved in such shifts, as they relate to background characteristics, personality characteristics (as measured by an inventory, for example), or casework experience.

In the research we have reported in this monograph, a large number of initial rating categories were available, and the categories were, as in the Shyne-Kogan study, constructed after an analysis of case records, thus presumably reflecting categories considered of practical importance to casework. While some independent content has been located among the personality ratings, as we viewed them through analysis of three different types of clients, only one common, consistent dimension seemed to be defined. Because this study also included other information, we are forced to raise several questions about the adequacy of categories for personality ratings of clients derived merely from casework concepts and materials. Assessment on the single, consistent dimension does not appear to be related to other information about the clients available in the study. This may be a consequence of the actual lack of relationship between personality

characteristics of clients, their backgrounds and subsequent observations of them at termination, but it is unlikely that this would be the case. Earlier life history and behavior must be assumed to have some relationship to personality. It is more likely that the fairly unitary dimension that is used for these ratings is too gross to detect relevant aspects of personality that might be more closely related to background and outcome. An obvious conclusion is that multi-dimensional descriptions of personality (such as attempted in available personality inventories, mentioned earlier) should be used.

As more is learned about the use of stable dimensions in interaction situations as measures of personality, this approach to describing personality should likewise be explored. Depending on the judgments of observers of interaction, or of participants in interaction, this approach may be particularly fruitful for describing clients in casework and relating their characteristics revealed in this setting to treatment efforts and outcomes.¹

Although this chapter, and indeed the whole monograph, has been concerned primarily with the problem of describing the characteristics of the client, the intention is not to reinforce any assumption that understanding the casework enterprise can be achieved exclusively by such study. Many important outcomes of casework service may depend less on understanding and effecting changes in clients as persons and more on understanding and effecting changes in their social environmental situations. For such understanding, knowledge about families, peer associations, community institutions, and many forces and obstacles will be necessary. The professional skills required to change such factors may implicate the agency as an organization and, indeed, the

¹ For some potentially promising developments in this approach to personality-interaction see, for example; Carter, L. F., "Recording and Evaluating the Performance of Individuals as Members of Small Groups," *Personnel Psychology*, vol. 7, Winter, 1954, pp. 477-484; Borgatta, E. F., L. S. Cottrell, Jr., and J. H. Mann, "The Spectrum of Individual Interaction Characteristics: An Inter-Dimensional Analysis," *Psychological Reports*, vol. 4, June, 1958, pp. 279-317 (Monograph Supplement 4); Borgatta, E. F., "Rankings and Self-Assessments: Some Behavioral Characteristics in Replication Studies," *Journal of Social Psychology*, in press. Research relating personality variables based on factored tests to interaction in small groups is examined in Mann, R. D., "A Review of the Relationships Between Personality and Performance in Small Groups," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 56, July, 1959, pp. 241-270.

whole complex of social welfare and civic institutions in the community. Such efforts will engage social workers other than caseworkers, as well as persons from other professions and from other segments of community life.

Such an overwhelming prospect should not minimize the importance of the more narrowly conceived function of individualized casework, which must always remain an important approach to helping people with problems. We merely recognize that casework occurs in a wider context. Within casework the generalized description of clients for diagnostic and evaluative purposes must proceed, we believe, along some of the lines discussed in this monograph. We have stressed the fact that research with this purpose has been relatively scarce even though it would seem to be at the core of professional casework. Although we have recognized both the limitations and the problems of studying the casework enterprise, the emphatic conclusion from our study is that detailed and systematic descriptive research in this area will be productive for the profession.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

PERSONALITY RATING DATA

FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING VARIABLES the instructions to the case-workers were to indicate whether the statement was likely to be accurate or inaccurate in describing the client, or whether they felt there was insufficient evidence to make an evaluation of the client. In this table "Yes" means that the statement was judged to describe the client accurately; "No" means not accurate for the client; and "0" means insufficient evidence.

Variable	Rating	FEMALES		UNMARRIED MOTHERS		Males	
		Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
13. Client tends to be ingratiating.	Yes	36	17	6	10	13	22
	0	15	7	1	2	4	7
	No	162	76	52	88	42	71
14. There appears to be a paranoid element in client's thinking.	Yes	33	16	5	8	9	15
	0	20	9	5	8	13	22
	No	160	75	49	84	37	63
15. Client tends to be a social isolate.	Yes	33	16	11	19	8	14
	0	22	10	7	12	9	15
	No	158	74	41	69	42	71
16. Client tends to lack a sense of humor.	Yes	39	18	18	30	15	25
	0	61	29	13	22	14	24
	No	113	53	28	48	30	51
17. Client seems to take on responsibility easily.	Yes	105	49	20	34	23	39
	0	34	16	10	17	13	22
	No	74	35	29	49	23	39
18. Client is able to verbalize his/her feelings.	Yes	147	69	20	34	41	69
	0	9	4	3	5	4	7
	No	57	27	36	61	14	24
19. Client seems defeated by life; lacks optimism.	Yes	64	30	13	22	16	27
	0	14	7	8	14	8	14
	No	135	63	38	64	35	59
20. Client seems wrapped up in himself/herself.	Yes	68	32	26	44	23	39
	0	23	11	17	29	10	17
	No	122	57	16	27	26	44
21. Client appears to be a mild-mannered person.	Yes	119	56	39	66	34	58
	0	17	8	4	7	3	5
	No	77	36	16	27	22	37

Variable	Rating	FEMALES		UNMARRIED MOTHERS		Males	
		Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent	Number of cases	Per cent
22. Client seems to be very energetic.	Yes	104	49	18	31	26	44
	0	34	16	9	15	12	20
	No	75	35	32	54	21	36
23. Client tends to compartmentalize problems (unrelated to overall pattern of adaptation).	Yes	107	50	36	61	28	47
	0	36	17	15	25	14	24
	No	70	33	8	14	17	29
24. Client shows fairly strong dependency needs.	Yes	133	62	49	83	35	60
	0	21	10	3	5	6	10
	No	59	28	7	12	18	30
25. Client appears to be of at least average intelligence.	Yes	193	91	46	78	53	90
	0	4	2	3	5	1	2
	No	16	7	10	17	5	8
26. Client tends to repel people with whom he/she comes in contact.	Yes	28	13	4	7	10	17
	0	5	2	9	15	2	3
	No	180	85	46	78	47	80
27. Client shows a good level of zest for living.	Yes	129	60	27	46	33	56
	0	25	12	15	25	8	14
	No	59	28	17	29	18	30
28. Client tends to disguise hostility.	Yes	97	46	43	73	23	39
	0	30	14	9	15	13	22
	No	86	40	7	12	23	39
29. Client appears poorly organized in living habits.	Yes	54	25	19	32	20	34
	0	29	14	9	15	12	20
	No	130	61	31	53	27	46
30. Client basically seems to like people.	Yes	145	68	35	60	31	52
	0	39	18	15	25	17	29
	No	29	14	9	15	11	19
31. Client seems highly motivated to change his/her present style of living.	Yes	65	30	7	12	18	30
	0	36	17	9	15	15	25
	No	112	53	43	73	26	45
32. Client tends to be articulate.	Yes	173	81	30	50	48	81
	0	5	2	1	2	1	2
	No	35	17	28	48	10	17
33. Client seems older than his/her age.	Yes	60	28	10	17	16	27
	0	13	6	5	8	1	2
	No	140	66	44	75	42	71
34. Client seems very candid about personal faults.	Yes	54	25	12	20	17	29
	0	41	19	9	15	14	24
	No	118	56	38	65	28	47
Total (for each variable)		213	100	59	100	59	100

Appendix 2

TECHNICAL NOTE: A COMMENT ON THE FACTOR ANALYSES FOR THIS STUDY

OUR PURPOSE in utilizing the technique of factor analysis in this study has been to help organize the way the many intercorrelations among the variables are viewed. In theory, a factor analysis locates the underlying structure of relationships in a panel of variables. In the pages that follow we will describe briefly our procedures and discuss some of the limitations and problems involved in the approach used.

The 40 variables selected for analysis were intercorrelated, using the product-moment correlation coefficient. The correlation matrices appear as Tables A, B, and C. The magnitudes of many of the correlations are small, although a considerable number of them achieve the level of statistical significance (.05) adopted for this study. The most obvious clusterings of significant correlations are found among the caseworker ratings at intake of personal characteristics of clients (variables 13-34). This is to be expected because a number of descriptive terms offered as the framework for the "client profile" are obviously overlapping and others have similar connotations. One value of further analysis of the intercorrelations of these ratings, through a procedure such as factor analysis, is the possibility of deriving a more parsimonious set of dimensions that may be used to include almost as much information about the client personalities as is included in the 22 different items.

Each correlation matrix was factor analyzed by the complete centroid method and six factors were retained from each matrix for rotation by the Quartimax method. The orthogonal rotated factor structures and communalities are presented in Tables D, E, and F.

With relatively small correlations, the factor loadings are not particularly large. We may suggest a number of reasons why this is the case. First, any variable that taps a relatively unique quality will not, of course, appear in the correlation matrices with a strong relationship to other variables, and it is likely to have a small loading in a factor analysis. By definition, such a variable does not have much common factor involvement. In this analysis we are interested primarily in those variables that are associated with other variables; the unique or distinctive can be of historical or descriptive interest, but it cannot serve to facilitate classification or lead to generalized statements of relationship.

At the same time, in exploring a panel of variables that is thought to be practically or theoretically relevant, discovering the unique or unrelated variable may be important. On the one hand, it may call attention to neglected variables of which the unique variable serves as indicator. On the other hand, it makes it possible to discard false theory relating variables and consequently to explore additional possibilities.

A second reason why correlations and factor loadings may be small is that the items used for the variables may not be reliable measures. This may in part be due to the inconsistency of individual raters. Furthermore, when ratings are used, as in this study, the large number of observers may not share a common frame of reference with respect to what they are rating, and they may therefore be inconsistent among themselves with respect to either the nature of the quality involved or the evaluation of the person to be rated. Although in the collection of the data used in this study careful attention was given to providing definitions and instructions to the caseworkers who supplied the information, no special training for consistency was provided and reliability tests were not carried out. Therefore, the correlations are likely to be depressed, and thus underestimated. If the error tends to be random, however, the clustering of related variables in the factor analysis should still appear, although with smaller loadings than would be the case with greater reliability.

Another characteristic of the data that serves to depress the correlations and, therefore, the loadings in the factor analysis stems from the gross categories that are used for the variables. Variables that are dichotomized and trichotomized tend to be underestimated in the product-moment correlation coefficient in comparison to more extended distributions. When the marginal distributions of dichotomies are markedly unequal, as is the case with many of the variables used in this study, the *maximum* correlation coefficient that can occur is attenuated and can be substantially less than 1. As an artifact, thus, relationships that exist are correspondingly reduced. For trichotomies and those variables with additional categories the restriction is diminished, but it still obtains for all sets of data offered in gross discrete categories.

These limitations are suggested to encourage care in examining the factor analyses. Such limitations are, however, by no means peculiar to the data of this study but are, indeed, frequent in extensive surveys. Given due recognition, such limitations need not prevent us from obtaining considerable information when examining the structure of relationships that appears.

Communalities for many of the variables (indicated by the h^2 column of Tables D, E, and F) are relatively low. This is particularly the case for the female data (Table D). The communality is an expression of the amount of involvement of the variable in the common factor structure. For only 5 variables in the factor analysis of female data is as much as 50 per cent of the variance accounted for in the six factors. More of the total variance of the correlation matrices is accounted for in the factor analyses of unmarried mother and male data. For 14 of the 40 variables in the unmarried mother analysis, and for 15 of the 40 variables in the male analysis, the six factors retained account for 50 per cent or more of the variance.

Although the factor analyses by no means express all the relationships found in the intercorrelation matrices, they ordinarily summarize the stronger relationships fairly well and permit us to interpret the factors with some confidence. For purposes of defining the factors, we have arbitrarily selected the variables for each factor that have loadings of .30 or greater. This is not a "significance level" in the usual statistical sense, since significance tests for factor loadings are not available for the particular procedures we have used.

A distinction between the use of factor analysis to help organize relationships among variables rather than to locate underlying dimensions should be made. There has been an unfortunate and sometimes naive expectation of invariance in factorial structure associated with the concept of underlying dimensions, and often this has been coupled with controversies about the assumptions of factor analysis. At a practical level, as a help in organizing the relationships among the variables, most of the controversial questions are not relevant. If artifacts tend to underestimate relationships, as is probable in the indicated ways above, there should be some confidence in the findings that do occur. It may be that some relationships are lost when refined methods are not used, but it can also be said that those that remain visible do so in spite of limiting circumstances.

Our use of the factor analysis approach in this study is obviously productive, if only to indicate the single large common factor that permeates the ratings. In terms of a global interpretation of what we have done, the parallel analyses indicate that a general rating factor exists in all three sets of data, but then there is little else to tie the three sets of data together. The last statement, it should be *emphasized*, indicates that the same organization of variables does not exist for the three sets of subjects except for the general rating factor. This calls for reex-

amination of theories and assumptions about behavior and also requires a reexamination of assumptions about what the rater actually does.

In a sense, it is not necessary to justify utilizing factor analysis in this study. What can be said is that any panel of data deserves to be viewed with the assistance of whatever numerical and statistical devices are available. The fact that findings were not clearer, or the structure of relationships among variables more pronounced, or striking, or replicative, is not something that is a shortcoming of the technique used. Whatever the technique, the findings depend on the data.

It is worth stressing some of the possible clear-cut findings through the use of factor analysis. First and foremost, it serves as a means of organizing the intercorrelations among variables. As such, it helps locate the orthogonal or independent areas of content that are involved. If the data are ratings, it makes it possible to indicate in how many different ways ratings are reliably made, and which of the ways involves a substantial amount of variance in the universe of rating categories that is used. This in turn should lead to the development of more focused categories for rating, that is, better tests. On the other hand, if there are several factors involved, obviously people must be described by profile scores. The factor or dimension is a variable, and people are distributed on it and can be differentiated through it, but at the same time they are also distributed on the other dimensions. At this level, factor analysis is directed toward the problem of classification.

It is perfectly possible, however, to utilize factor analysis in other ways. For example, it is possible to include variables of different types with the expectation that one may be utilized to predict or even understand the other. Thus, for example, prior personality measures included in a matrix along with outcome measures could give quite direct answers about the consequences of a given stimulus on different types of persons. Put another way to provide an oversimplified example, if (a) broken home, (b) despondency, and (c) suicide were perfectly correlated and were the only variables in a matrix, there would be only one factor. But personality and social structures are not so simple, and, thus, in a larger matrix we would expect to find that different (independent) outcomes are related to different precursors. We would expect that the outcomes, precursors, and the relationships between them could be classified, and for such problems of classification the factor analytic approach merely serves as an aid.

Appendix 3

CORRELATION MATRICES AND FACTOR TABLES

TABLE A
Correlation Matrix, Female Data, N=213

Vari- able	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	-																			
2.	-07	-																		
3.	01	-06	-																	
4.	12	-17	-07	-																
5.	06	13	-04	-35	-															
6.	-22	02	-10	-16	-07	-														
7.	24	-27	-04	25	01	-46	-													
8.	03	-35	00	19	-04	-10	24	-												
9.	-22	04	16	-16	07	13	-18	-02	-											
10.	-20	04	02	00	-06	10	-18	-03	45	-										
11.	-18	05	15	-10	-01	07	-15	11	40	33	-									
12.	33	-09	-08	-06	08	-02	-03	01	-17	-17	-13	-								
13.	-08	04	-09	-01	-02	07	-08	-18	14	19	05	-10	-							
14.	-37	06	-03	07	-04	-02	-06	-02	10	12	19	-24	25	-						
15.	-20	-03	-06	06	-08	-05	00	13	07	08	08	-18	08	40	-					
16.	-27	15	-07	08	-02	14	-15	02	15	17	06	-18	07	28	30	-				
17.	33	-21	-05	-02	05	-08	18	09	-05	-12	-13	22	-18	-26	-04	-31	-			
18.	31	-17	00	13	-03	-07	14	18	-15	-12	-09	14	-19	-18	-17	-17	22	-		
19.	-38	13	-02	00	-07	14	-18	-03	04	24	10	-32	06	34	41	37	-28	-23	-	
20.	-39	11	-01	08	-11	-07	-02	02	15	21	16	-36	21	40	31	39	-30	-19	44	-
21.	18	-01	-01	-05	09	03	01	-08	-04	-05	-17	11	07	-14	-05	03	08	-10	08	-14
22.	30	-18	08	13	01	-02	15	07	-07	-17	-01	09	-14	-22	-18	-33	37	33	-50	-29
23.	-26	06	04	-03	-04	-01	-03	-03	03	04	-05	-02	-10	-04	08	00	-14	-03	16	16
24.	-31	17	22	01	-07	01	-17	00	16	21	09	-20	20	28	17	23	-51	-15	31	40
25.	18	-08	05	01	09	-18	07	-05	-16	-32	-11	13	-20	-26	-16	-18	18	17	-18	-21
26.	-18	05	-14	02	-08	-04	-06	12	05	14	07	-17	17	43	28	37	-18	-14	27	27
27.	32	-16	03	-03	09	-08	13	11	-17	-23	-13	20	-18	-39	-36	-42	32	25	-63	-41
28.	-09	00	00	-03	-11	-04	-02	-06	08	10	-11	-02	11	07	-03	13	-06	-28	21	14
29.	-42	07	03	-10	-11	11	-14	-04	11	11	12	-11	15	41	20	17	-38	-25	29	28
30.	34	-15	11	03	03	03	11	-02	-11	-15	-19	21	-10	-44	-43	-45	23	24	-42	-47
31.	44	-03	16	01	02	-15	04	02	-12	-12	-05	16	-06	-15	-17	-19	20	23	-27	-26
32.	28	-11	-10	11	-04	-02	04	07	-15	-18	-01	12	-09	-18	-15	-28	26	47	-19	-22
33.	-16	03	05	-11	01	04	-13	-11	11	11	06	-06	13	22	17	21	-04	-09	36	10
34.	16	-12	05	10	-03	01	12	11	-02	-10	-03	06	10	-08	-12	-20	10	16	-11	-13
35.	-14	-02	-17	05	-04	22	-04	-03	00	05	-01	09	03	-03	02	02	-02	-03	01	-03
36.	17	-11	03	-03	00	-20	20	16	01	-01	05	-10	-01	-15	-02	04	06	08	-11	01
37.	22	04	01	-03	06	-23	10	14	-10	-18	-01	-01	-22	-17	-07	-07	06	09	-08	-12
38.	19	-08	07	-16	02	02	-02	-02	01	-05	-04	15	13	-06	-05	-04	11	-01	-12	-07
39.	-30	32	06	-23	09	23	-42	-31	12	04	11	-11	13	11	02	09	-25	-25	17	16
40.	-33	13	-01	06	-03	18	-21	05	08	02	10	-26	09	12	05	06	-23	-08	13	23

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE A
Correlation Matrix, Female Data, N=213

21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	Variable
																				1.
																				2.
																				3.
																				4.
																				5.
																				6.
																				7.
																				8.
																				9.
																				10.
																				11.
																				12.
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																				15.
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																				17.
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																				31.
																				32.
																				33.
																				34.
																				35.
																				36.
																				37.
																				38.
																				39.
																				40.

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE B
Correlation Matrix, Unmarried Mother Data, N=59

Variable	1	2a	3	4	5	6	7	8a	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	-																			
2a.	-.24	-																		
3.	.16	-.28	-																	
4.	.12	-.34	-.02	-																
5.	-.02	-.04	.01	-.24	-															
6.	-.08	.48	-.23	-.13	.12	-														
7.	.22	-.24	-.09	.17	-.09	.03	-													
8a.	-.04	.34	-.15	.09	-.09	.24	-.19	-												
9.	-.08	.38	.01	-.23	.20	-.04	-.22	.20	-											
10.	-.22	.31	.03	-.08	-.13	.32	-.01	.17	.25	-										
11.	-.10	.04	.07	-.09	.22	-.01	-.19	.28	.50	.18	-									
12.	.24	-.06	.09	-.34	.17	-.13	.01	-.29	.00	-.16	.02	-								
13.	-.20	.28	-.09	-.20	-.24	-.04	-.08	-.07	.09	.05	-.13	-.12	-							
14.	-.24	.27	-.27	-.04	-.04	.15	-.09	.39	.17	.06	.04	-.26	-.04	-						
15.	-.05	.03	-.25	.28	-.01	.15	-.12	.20	-.01	.04	-.06	-.09	-.08	.02	-					
16.	-.29	.18	-.16	-.02	.02	.20	-.04	.15	.14	.09	.16	-.10	-.22	.31	.35	-				
17.	.34	-.36	.02	.14	-.01	-.13	.16	-.27	-.16	-.16	-.23	.17	-.12	-.16	-.09	-.26	-			
18.	.50	-.01	.04	.24	-.16	.02	.12	-.01	-.17	.10	-.12	-.04	-.03	-.10	-.02	-.28	.20	-		
19.	-.39	.23	-.29	-.11	-.06	.18	-.16	.05	.06	-.02	-.02	-.12	.00	.28	.36	.40	-.22	-.28	-	
20.	-.46	.03	-.07	.10	-.10	.14	-.25	.34	-.04	.20	.13	-.09	-.06	.24	.29	.24	-.25	-.34	.46	-
21.	-.21	.00	-.08	-.03	-.06	-.06	-.07	-.06	-.01	-.08	-.09	-.01	.18	-.22	.41	.09	-.28	-.34	.29	.23
22.	.34	-.19	.04	.04	-.04	-.17	.19	-.22	.05	.04	.09	.08	-.09	-.10	-.34	-.32	.51	.29	-.30	-.32
23.	-.43	.06	-.08	.07	-.26	-.12	-.10	.22	.06	.14	-.12	-.20	.24	.14	.05	.03	-.09	-.45	.17	.38
24.	-.21	.14	.10	-.04	-.19	.01	-.16	.16	.07	-.04	.10	-.04	.12	.13	.09	.19	-.48	-.34	.14	.21
25.	.19	-.31	.33	.06	.02	-.32	.13	-.08	.11	-.11	.11	.00	-.12	-.20	-.12	-.33	.26	.09	-.32	-.12
26.	-.46	.18	-.39	-.02	.06	.10	-.11	.14	.15	.05	.18	-.09	.04	.29	.12	.19	-.36	-.31	.37	.21
27.	.36	-.18	.22	.12	.05	-.19	.23	-.23	-.10	-.15	-.07	.05	.04	-.29	-.49	-.58	.42	.35	-.64	-.55
28.	.00	-.15	.07	.06	-.25	-.31	-.02	.19	-.07	-.05	.02	-.17	.10	-.06	-.13	.01	-.02	-.19	-.15	.13
29.	-.27	.53	-.18	-.16	-.17	.34	-.26	.48	.20	.14	.16	-.05	.28	.24	.14	.26	-.46	-.28	.31	.35
30.	.22	-.13	.15	-.13	.09	-.18	.14	-.16	-.07	-.06	-.08	.25	.12	-.48	-.43	-.62	.18	.23	-.51	-.27
31.	.32	-.04	.01	-.09	.19	-.03	.25	-.01	-.08	.11	-.15	.10	-.11	-.08	-.14	-.32	.02	.25	-.23	-.31
32.	.51	-.17	.09	.10	.02	-.07	.00	-.24	-.10	.03	-.11	.13	.04	-.13	-.15	-.39	.36	.58	-.32	-.35
33.	.03	-.14	-.22	.09	.01	-.05	-.01	.01	.01	-.12	.07	-.14	.16	.28	.05	.06	-.03	-.05	.14	-.03
34.	.25	.00	-.02	-.11	.16	-.04	.04	-.23	.03	-.02	-.15	.21	.19	-.27	-.03	-.40	.25	.29	-.12	-.42
35.	-.19	.39	-.29	-.11	-.08	.30	-.17	.12	-.05	-.10	-.01	.08	.12	.04	.03	.07	-.21	-.10	.14	.07
36.	.01	-.28	.15	-.09	.04	-.26	-.10	-.18	.00	.03	.10	.07	.00	.00	-.05	.02	.04	.11	-.18	.05
37.	.18	-.44	.23	-.02	.08	-.13	-.02	-.25	-.10	.01	-.11	.05	-.27	-.18	.11	.08	.11	.11	.06	.04
38.	-.12	-.06	-.06	.06	.17	.13	.11	-.24	-.10	.06	-.02	.06	.05	-.07	.06	-.15	-.05	-.12	-.07	.00
39.	-.09	.72	-.45	-.25	.07	.40	-.21	.54	.29	.09	.06	-.06	.29	.26	.13	.07	-.27	-.05	.14	.07
40.	-.15	.28	-.14	.11	-.05	.15	-.18	.48	.07	.14	.17	-.06	.12	.17	.20	.10	-.38	-.02	.01	.25

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE B
Correlation Matrix, Unmarried Mother Data, N=59

21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	Variable
																				1.
																				2a.
																				3.
																				4.
																				5.
																				6.
																				7.
																				8a.
																				9.
																				10.
																				11.
																				12.
																				13.
																				14.
																				15.
																				16.
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																				27.
																				28.
																				29.
																				30.
																				31.
																				32.
																				33.
																				34.
																				35.
																				36.
																				37.
																				38.
																				39.
																				40.

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE C
Correlation Matrix, Male Data, N=59

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	-																			
2.	.04	-																		
3.	-.24	-.09	-																	
4.	.08	-.15	-.07	-																
5.	.11	-.10	.10	-.29	-															
6.	-.11	.12	-.04	-.05	-.24	-														
7.	.28	-.27	-.02	.25	-.06	-.41	-													
8.	-.35	-.11	.25	.07	-.09	-.28	.07	-												
9.	-.39	.01	.17	.06	-.06	.16	-.16	.11	-											
10.	-.27	.00	.04	.15	-.16	.13	-.15	.18	.36	-										
11.	-.32	-.08	.17	.19	.03	.21	.00	-.01	.71	.46	-									
12.	.40	-.11	-.06	.11	.17	.11	.12	-.17	-.22	-.29	-.15	-								
13.	.05	-.05	.18	-.16	.16	.08	-.16	-.22	.10	.06	.18	.01	-							
14.	-.21	.02	.05	.08	-.05	.03	-.06	-.04	.14	-.09	.06	-.15	.09	-						
15.	-.23	-.02	.14	.14	-.04	-.13	.00	.12	-.11	-.20	-.17	-.12	-.19	.38	-					
16.	-.46	.05	.07	.03	-.06	.11	-.23	.15	.35	.17	.31	-.40	.14	.46	.35	-				
17.	.57	.08	-.29	.05	-.13	-.09	.37	-.12	-.20	-.25	-.18	.23	-.12	-.18	-.13	-.32	-			
18.	.21	-.13	-.08	.14	-.14	-.12	.18	-.10	-.26	-.05	-.04	.14	.01	-.27	-.10	-.24	.16	-		
19.	-.46	-.15	.15	-.06	-.06	.24	-.12	.04	.36	.00	.27	-.16	.13	.34	.33	.47	-.44	-.30	-	
20.	-.52	.04	.30	-.08	.05	-.12	.01	.29	.28	.27	.31	-.40	.10	.49	.32	.54	-.42	-.36	.47	-
21.	.30	-.04	-.14	-.14	.18	-.13	.11	-.07	-.17	-.19	-.09	.29	.08	-.25	.07	-.13	.40	.26	.00	-.14
22.	.30	-.03	-.17	.20	-.11	.04	.17	-.03	-.24	.09	-.10	.19	-.04	-.27	-.30	-.41	.24	.33	-.53	-.50
23.	-.34	-.12	.32	.05	-.17	.10	-.10	.15	.23	-.07	.21	-.03	.15	.22	.20	.21	-.20	-.26	.33	.36
24.	-.49	-.23	.36	-.06	.00	.16	-.23	.12	.17	.27	.15	-.31	.30	.20	.10	.30	-.57	-.04	.48	.39
25.	.24	-.02	.02	.25	-.08	-.19	.24	.08	-.04	-.09	.05	.04	-.30	.07	.07	.01	.31	.00	-.16	-.05
26.	-.27	.07	.23	-.02	.17	-.09	-.16	.02	-.01	-.17	.14	.03	-.09	.43	.36	.20	-.30	-.11	.23	.37
27.	.41	.08	-.10	.13	-.07	.04	.16	-.18	-.04	.03	.06	.18	.17	-.23	-.51	-.30	.28	.29	-.55	-.48
28.	-.06	-.16	.09	-.10	.04	-.06	.11	-.04	-.03	.19	.12	-.08	.09	-.13	-.13	.14	-.02	.14	.00	.06
29.	-.56	.10	.24	-.21	.00	.30	-.45	.16	.20	.36	.11	-.08	.13	.10	.16	.33	-.59	-.20	.48	.46
30.	.49	-.08	-.18	-.09	.13	.07	.12	-.20	-.26	-.15	-.18	.33	.05	-.49	-.29	-.50	.37	.33	-.47	-.63
31.	.57	.16	-.25	.14	-.15	.03	.23	-.10	-.23	-.21	-.24	.26	-.21	-.02	-.18	-.31	.41	.16	-.33	-.34
32.	.13	-.14	.01	.15	.00	-.09	-.02	.10	-.07	-.14	-.01	.09	-.14	-.06	.09	.02	.08	.23	-.15	.00
33.	-.21	-.01	.18	-.17	.06	.28	-.16	.04	.30	.04	.26	.00	-.04	.04	.08	.06	.02	-.14	.15	.01
34.	.21	-.10	-.25	.11	-.01	-.22	.09	.13	-.11	.07	-.15	-.01	-.34	-.35	-.23	-.33	.20	.33	-.26	-.21
35.	-.29	.15	.15	-.05	-.19	.19	.04	.01	-.03	-.05	.07	-.05	.04	.24	.09	.11	.00	-.22	.19	.25
36.	.26	-.10	.07	.15	.06	-.18	.20	.08	.01	-.22	-.04	.18	-.28	-.10	.12	-.10	.33	-.06	-.10	-.05
37.	-.21	.10	.20	-.06	-.03	-.22	.14	.29	.16	-.04	.13	-.29	-.10	-.03	.09	.13	.04	.07	.06	.11
38.	.41	-.16	-.14	.10	.10	.04	.04	-.10	.05	.02	.06	.33	-.05	-.37	-.24	.37	.21	.03	-.35	-.37
39.	-.24	.16	.06	.01	-.01	.36	-.43	-.19	.16	.26	.11	-.12	.09	.27	.13	.17	-.38	-.18	.23	.25
40.	-.35	-.23	.31	-.07	-.15	.26	-.11	.15	.25	.19	.10	-.11	.00	.06	.15	.17	-.25	-.27	.31	.22

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE C
Correlation Matrix, Male Data, N = 59

21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	Vari- able
																				1.
																				2.
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																				39.
																				40.

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE D. ORTHOGONAL ROTATED FACTORS, FEMALE DATA
N=213

Variable	Factor						h ²
	Ia	IIa	IIIa	IVa	Va	VIa	
1. Potentialities of casework help promising	-.57	-.33	-.03	.11	-.27	-.30	.54
2. Marital status: married	-.12	.45	-.03	-.04	-.18	-.05	.25
3. Age: younger	-.03	.23	.22	.02	.15	-.07	.13
4. Race: white	-.03	-.45	.02	-.04	.20	.21	.29
5. Religion: Protestant	-.10	.27	-.10	-.05	-.10	-.17	.13
6. Educational status: little education	.01	.32	.03	.37	-.10	.30	.34
7. Occupational status: high	-.15	-.50	.05	.32	.10	-.08	.46
8. Character of problem: personal	-.03	-.36	-.05	-.11	.29	-.08	.24
9. Long-term economic deprivation: considerable	.19	.19	.14	.37	.28	-.10	.32
10. Family pathology: considerable	.29	.05	.14	.39	.25	.03	.32
11. Deprivation in broken home: considerable	.14	.17	.03	.24	.43	-.15	.31
12. Mental health at intake: apparently normal	-.33	-.12	-.06	.07	-.36	.08	.27
<i>Described at intake as:</i>							
13. Ingratiating	.22	-.04	.22	.36	-.04	.05	.23
14. A paranoid	.55	-.05	-.03	.15	.24	.09	.39
15. A social isolate	.48	-.11	-.23	.01	.16	.06	.32
16. Lacking a sense of humor	.58	.04	-.15	.07	.01	.00	.37
17. Taking responsibility easily	-.43	-.20	-.38	.06	-.08	-.05	.38
18. Able to verbalize feelings	-.45	-.23	-.23	-.01	.23	.02	.36
19. Lacking optimism	.70	.05	-.11	-.02	.00	.10	.52
20. Wrapped up in self	.60	.02	.08	-.10	.30	.05	.47
21. Mild-mannered	.05	-.08	-.02	.06	-.46	-.13	.24
22. Energetic	-.68	-.04	-.10	.04	.37	.00	.57
23. Compartmentalizing problems	.16	.14	.13	-.34	.03	.25	.24
24. Showing strong dependency needs	.48	.09	.42	-.07	.18	.04	.45
25. Intelligent	-.37	-.18	.05	-.26	-.10	.07	.25
26. Tending to repel people	.48	-.27	.07	.13	.12	.19	.38
27. Showing zest	-.73	.07	.02	-.17	.07	-.06	.58
28. Disguising hostility	.28	-.10	.20	-.04	-.25	.05	.20
29. Poorly organized	.45	.12	.30	.04	.12	.15	.35
30. Liking people	-.63	-.10	.29	.05	-.21	-.02	.54
31. Motivated to change	-.37	-.06	-.13	.15	.00	-.37	.28
32. Articulate	-.45	-.06	-.34	.03	.16	.07	.35
33. Seeming older than age	.36	.01	-.19	.19	-.07	.02	.21
34. Candid about faults	-.23	-.24	.18	.21	-.01	-.07	.19
35. Number of interviews: few	-.06	.12	.02	.05	.01	.54	.31
36. Family relationship rated: improved	-.01	-.14	.02	-.13	.04	-.53	.32
37. Insight into problem rated: high	-.09	-.04	-.06	-.28	-.05	-.54	.39
38. Mental health at termination: normal	-.05	-.15	.03	.17	-.24	-.36	.24
39. Future economic dependency rated: vulnerable	.17	.63	.11	.10	.02	.04	.45
40. Future family disruption rated: vulnerable	.10	.33	.15	-.04	.37	.22	.29

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE E. ORTHOGONAL ROTATED FACTORS, UNMARRIED
MOTHER DATA, N=59

Variable	Factor						h ²
	Ib	IIb	IIIb	IVb	Vb	VIb	
1. Potentialities of casework help promising	-46	-15	-36	-02	02	20	40
2a. Future delinquent behavior: vulnerable	14	87	14	07	12	10	72
3. Age: younger	-37	-43	20	19	28	02	44
4. Race: white	05	25	04	-14	-40	21	29
5. Religion: Protestant	-03	-02	-32	29	28	-08	27
6. Educational status: little education	25	43	-22	04	04	24	36
7. Occupational status: high	-14	-15	-21	23	-13	00	16
8a. Future self-destructive behavior: vulnerable	20	47	29	30	-18	47	58
9. Long-term economic deprivation: considerable	00	26	14	48	08	-03	32
10. Family pathology: considerable	03	15	12	26	-04	30	20
11. Deprivation in broken home: considerable	-01	07	16	65	03	-04	46
12. Mental health at intake: apparently normal	-16	-05	-25	-01	47	-09	27
<i>Described at intake as:</i>							
13. Ingratiating	-07	35	29	-28	10	-11	31
14. A paranoid	32	25	06	30	-47	-18	46
15. A social isolate	53	-04	-16	-01	-03	48	54
16. Lacking a sense of humor	66	-03	-04	26	-13	-10	53
17. Taking responsibility easily	-37	-27	-27	-28	-26	-03	43
18. Able to verbalize feelings	-47	02	-28	02	-20	33	45
19. Lacking optimism	69	14	-08	-02	-09	-03	51
20. Wrapped up in self	52	-04	33	14	-08	20	45
21. Mild-mannered	47	-15	23	-30	43	14	59
22. Energetic	-63	-11	-16	-02	-42	01	61
23. Compartmentalizing problems	25	02	64	-26	-11	-01	55
24. Showing strong dependency needs	34	02	52	02	34	-06	51
25. Intelligent	-40	-39	14	01	-14	15	37
26. Tending to repel people	47	37	-10	13	-03	-33	45
27. Showing zest	-82	-15	01	11	-13	-08	73
28. Disguising hostility	-02	-21	42	-06	-15	03	25
29. Poorly organized	44	57	25	14	20	-01	64
30. Liking people	-68	-01	07	-24	37	05	62
31. Motivated to change	-39	12	-45	04	03	11	38
32. Articulate	-62	-02	-33	04	-26	14	58
33. Seeming older than age	13	03	-14	14	-32	-26	23
34. Candid about faults	-45	05	-43	17	11	10	44
35. Number of interviews: few	17	43	01	-18	13	-07	27
36. Family relationship rated: improved	-10	-36	05	25	10	-05	22
37. Insight into problem rated: high	09	-57	-26	13	06	08	36
38. Mental health at termination: normal	09	-06	-14	-03	22	-11	09
39. Future economic dependency rated: vulnerable	18	83	04	07	06	11	74
40. Future family disruption rated: vulnerable	08	33	36	26	-08	22	37

Note: Decimal point omitted.

TABLE F. ORTHOGONAL ROTATED FACTORS, MALE DATA
N = 59

Variable	Factor						h ²
	Ic	IIc	IIIc	IVc	Vc	VIc	
1. Potentialities of casework help promising	-.67	-.21	.09	-.27	-.38	-.01	.72
2. Marital status: married	.06	.28	-.18	-.27	.05	-.15	.21
3. Age: younger	-.03	.02	.30	.31	.17	.18	.25
4. Race: white	.18	-.01	-.08	.17	-.49	.03	.31
5. Religion: Protestant	-.19	-.05	.30	-.03	.24	.01	.19
6. Educational status: little education	-.02	.59	.16	.08	-.08	-.27	.46
7. Occupational status: high	-.47	-.09	-.16	.31	.03	.33	.46
8. Character of problem: personal	.14	-.08	-.33	.32	.32	-.01	.34
9. Long-term economic deprivation: considerable	.30	.24	-.01	.62	.01	-.29	.62
10. Family pathology: considerable	.11	.39	-.36	.40	.10	.02	.46
11. Deprivation in broken home: considerable	.16	.26	.06	.69	-.14	.00	.59
12. Mental health at intake: apparently normal	-.47	-.02	.28	-.13	-.19	-.09	.36
<i>Described at intake as:</i>							
13. Ingratiating	-.08	.30	.28	.10	.16	.37	.35
14. A paranoid	.15	.68	.17	.16	-.01	.10	.55
15. A social isolate	-.03	.45	.10	.19	.36	-.12	.39
16. Lacking a sense of humor	.40	.39	.09	.30	.16	-.03	.44
17. Taking responsibility easily	-.39	-.47	-.01	-.11	-.32	-.09	.50
18. Able to verbalize feelings	.32	.23	-.05	.12	.20	.20	.25
19. Lacking optimism	.54	.20	.42	.09	.13	-.05	.54
20. Wrapped up in self	.74	.02	.16	.17	.04	.13	.62
21. Mild-mannered	-.31	-.03	.34	.05	.37	-.15	.37
22. Energetic	-.67	.17	.22	.01	-.27	-.17	.63
23. Compartmentalizing problems	.37	.10	.31	.21	-.01	.14	.31
24. Showing strong dependency needs	.35	.37	.15	.18	.34	.41	.60
25. Intelligent	.03	.22	.16	.28	-.56	.09	.48
26. Tending to repel people	.41	.02	.24	-.13	-.10	-.02	.25
27. Showing zest	-.54	.15	-.35	.11	-.22	.20	.54
28. Disguising hostility	-.13	-.12	.04	.31	.16	.22	.20
29. Poorly organized	.35	.45	.05	.13	.41	-.17	.54
30. Liking people	-.77	-.05	.04	-.07	.15	.03	.63
31. Motivated to change	-.40	.18	-.13	-.25	-.48	-.09	.51
32. Articulate	-.08	-.22	-.01	.04	-.14	-.15	.10
33. Seeming older than age	.14	-.04	.24	.32	.14	-.34	.32
34. Candid about faults	-.26	-.18	-.53	-.12	.01	-.16	.42
35. Number of interviews: few	.36	.05	.16	-.01	-.03	.34	.27
36. Family relationship rated: improved	-.14	.05	.09	.50	.18	-.38	.46
37. Insight into problem rated: high	.28	-.23	-.24	.26	.30	.03	.35
38. Mental health at termination: normal	-.62	-.03	.07	.25	-.13	-.26	.54
39. Future economic dependency rated: vulnerable	.25	.66	.01	-.18	.03	-.15	.55
40. Future family disruption rated: vulnerable	.20	.18	.16	.30	.22	-.10	.25

Note: Decimal point omitted.



