

venssferen kan integreren. Deze beschouwing rond de grenzen van het sociologische ligt dan nog een stap verder terug, vergeleken bij de pogingen van Dahrendorf om de verschillende aspecten van de mens bijeen te brengen tot men de mens van de dagelijkse ervaring weer terugkrijgt; een alleen maar samenvoegen van die aspecten, homo sociologicus, homo-economicus etc., brengt echter niet méér dan alleen een schematische en vage mensengestalte. In hoeverre overigens deze theoretische aanzet die geheel in de lijn van de duitse geesteswetenschappelijke traditie ligt, ook inhoudelijk vruchtbaar is, zou moeten blijken door meer concrete gedachten. Hier echter blijven de beschouwingen steken: het concrete blijkt ook thans nog — na de uitweidingen over de nieuwe zakelijke instelling en ondanks de zelfkritiek — bij verschillende auteurs niet het terrein, waar men zich het meeste thuisvoelt. Om zich concreet te kunnen uitdrukken, zonder gevaar van grof te worden en tegelijk algemene lijnen te kunnen trekken, zonder buiten de werkelijkheid te treden, is m.i. een subtielere denkvorm nodig, die wellicht daar kan optreden waar de maatschappelijke groepen, die de intellectuelen opleveren, zich in een langdurig proces geschoold hebben tot deze stijl. Hiertoe behoren dan vooral dat het actief deelnemen aan de meer verfijnde gebieden des levens niet werd afgesloten voor deze burgerij en vervolgens dat een kritische distantie tot deze levensvormen algemeen werd gewaardeerd i.p.v. gewantrouwd. Deze beide voorwaarden schijnen m.i. in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden meer hun kans gekregen te hebben dan in de semi-feodale duitse samenleving.

## **A COMPARISON - DUTCH AND AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS REGARDING BEHAVIOR OF THE CASEWORKER**

by **ALFRED KADUSHIN** and **C. F. WIERINGA**

### **Summary**

The question was raised regarding the applicability of American social work concepts abroad. A study eliciting the American conception of the behavior of the counselor highly motivated to help was replicated in Holland. The Dutch conception of such a person proved to be very similar to that of the American conception. It was noted that both groups studied were University students of middle class background. Using the same instrument with a group of Dutch girls working in a clothing factory indicated that their expectations regarding counselor behavior were different from that of the Dutch middle class student and, consequently, different from that of the American middle class student.

Since World War II American Social Work has been playing host to social workers of the world. American schools of social

work have enrolled a substantial number of students from other countries. American social workers have been invited abroad as teachers and consultants. 1) American social work textbooks, such as G. Hamilton's *Theory and Practice in Social Casework*, have been translated into many languages for the training of social workers in various countries.

The premise implied in these activities is that American social work is an exportable commodity; that what we have learned, and can teach, about working with social agency clients in the United States is applicable to working with social agency clients abroad. The contention has some philosophical, theoretical support.

2) 3) Further, social workers, in a great many countries, who have been directly, or indirectly, influenced by American social work theory and methods, are daily testing the premise, empirically.

There is, perhaps, a somewhat more systematic way of testing the premise. This is the method of replicating an American research project, using nationals of another country as the study group. This is the approach reported here.

In 1955, Thomas, Polonsky and Kounin published a study which attempted to develop a picture of client expectations, and anticipations, regarding the behavior of the potentially helpful person. 4) In effect, it was an attempt to delineate the behavior of the "good" counselors as the client conceived this. The study employed as subjects, a group of American university students (Wayne University) enrolled in sociology courses. In 1955, Worby reported a replication of the Wayne Univ. study using as subjects American middle class white high school students. 5) There was, then, available in the literature, some information regarding the American middle class expectations, and anticipations, regarding the behavior of the counselor with high motivation to help. In 1957, the Wayne Univ. study was replicated in Holland using as subjects a group of sociology students at the University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands.

The substantive importance of the question of a clearer delineation

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1) Murase, K., "Cross Cultural Education: Some Implications for Social Work", *Social Service Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (March, 1959), pg. 43.

2) Howard, D. S., "The Common Care of Social Work in Different Countries", *Social Work Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (October, 1951), pp. 163-171.

3) Kasius, C., "Are Social Work Principles Emerging Internationally?", *Social Casework*, Vol. 34, No. 7 (January 1953), pp. 181-287.

4) Thomas, E., Polansky, N., Kounin, J., "The Expected Behavior of a Potentially Helpful Person", *Human Relations*, Vol. 3 (1955) pp. 165-174. This will be referred to subsequently as the Wayne University Study.

5) Worby, M., "The Adolescents Expectations of How the Potentially Helpful Person Will Act", *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (October, 1955), pp. 19-59.

of client expectancies regarding caseworkers behavior lies in the following considerations. If client expectancies and the caseworker's behavior are congruent, communication between them is facilitated; if they are at variance then communication is, temporarily at least, impeded. Lack of congruence involves, further, some need for education of the client to the actualities of reciprocal role behavior in the casework relationship. As Lennard puts it, "dissimilarities between therapist and patient expectations in given areas, impair the functioning of the therapeutic system. Consequently, mechanisms are set in motion which are aimed at relieving the strain. Basic to these are the therapists attempts at patient socialization" to the therapeutic system 6) 7). This is not to suggest that the caseworker is required to act in line with the way the client expects him to act. The therapeutic value of casework derives, in some measure, from the fact that the caseworker does not act in the way the client anticipates he will act. But as a result of an awareness of client expectations, and anticipations, the caseworker can be more sensitive to, and understanding of, client tension which results from violations of such expectations.

Perhaps of even greater importance is the fact that unless the client perceives the caseworker as motivated to help him, he is not likely to maintain contact with the agency. A clarification of what kinds of worker behavior are perceived by clients as being associated with high motivation to help, is, then, of considerable value.

Various efforts have been made to obtain a picture of client expectancies by psychologists and social workers. Methods employed have involved retrospective examination of records 8) 9), questions directed to clients after contact with an agency but before therapy has started 10) 11), investigations during the

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6) Lennard, H. L., Palmore, E., Hendin, H., *Psychotherapist-Patient Role Conceptions and Initial Interaction*, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, pg. 5, Mimeo. No Date.

7) See also Bordin, E. S., "The Implications of Client Expectations for the Counseling Process", *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, Vol. 2, (Spring 1955), pg. 17.

8) Fanshel, D., *An Overview of One Agency's Casework Operation*, Family and Childrens Service, Pittsburg, Pa., 1958, pp. 208—212.

9) Covner, B. J., "Studies in the Phonographic Recordings of Verbal Material - Written Reports of Interviews", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 28, (1944) pp. 89—98.

10) McGowan, J. F., *Client Anticipations and Expectancies as Related to Initial Interview Performance and Perceptions*, Unpublished, University of Missouri, 1954. ph.d. Thesis.

11) Lennard, H. L., et al, op cite.

course of therapy 12), and follow up interviews with clients. 13) The method employed in the Wayne University Study involved the use of incomplete sentences with potential counselor clients.

#### Procedure

In the Wayne University Study subjects were instructed to imagine that they were faced with a personal problem of some importance. Unable to solve this by themselves they decide to go for help to someone who "by training, experience and profession is qualified to help people with this kind of problem". One half of the group was further instructed to imagine that, upon contact with the counselor, they got a "very definite impression that this person is deeply concerned that you become a happier person in every respect." This group, therefore, imagines themselves in contact with a counselor who has high motivation to help. The second half of the group was instructed to imagine that, upon contact with the counselor, they got a "definite impression that this person is not really interested in you and doesn't care whether you feel any better or not".

This second group, therefore, imagines themselves in contact with a counselor who has low motivation to help. The purpose of the manipulation with reference to the intensity of counselor motivation to help was for the purpose of more clearly delineating the dimensions of behavior associated with high motivation to help as conceived by the respondents.

The central question, explicitly stated in the Wayne University Study, is as follows: "Given a conception of the potential helper's intensity of motivation to help as high, what pattern of expected behavior... is uniformly associated with this conception as compared with a conception that the helper's intensity of motivation to help is low." 14)

Having projected themselves into the prescribed situation the respondents were then asked to complete each of the following ten sentences.

1. As I walked into the office he-she....
2. After I told this person what my problem was he-she....
3. While talking to this person I had the feeling that he-she expected me to....

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<sup>12</sup>) Chance, F., "Mutual Expectations of Patients and Therapists in Individual Treatment", *Human Relations*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1957), pp. 167-177.

<sup>13</sup>) Maas, H., Stein, H., et al, "Socio Cultural Factors in Psychiatric Service for Children — A Collaborative Study in the New York and San Francisco Metropolitan Areas", *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (February, 1955).

<sup>14</sup>) Thomas, E., Polonsky, N., Kounin, J., op cite, pg. 165.

4. When the secretary interrupted to say there was a phone call he-she....
5. When the person was informed that there were others waiting to be seen he-she..
6. When I got off the point a little to bring in things about my total life situation he-she....
7. When I blurted out a remark which sounded stupid he-she..
8. When I had trouble making up my mind he-she....
9. When I hesitantly suggested something that would cause this person considerable effort he-she....

10. When I asked a question about the person's family he-she..

Worby modified the Wayne University Study approach in that she presented her respondents with a definitely structured situation (a story of an adolescent in trouble in school and at home) with which they were expected to identify in answering the incomplete sentences.

The Wayne University Study was replicated in Holland during the period when one of the authors was assigned as Fulbright Lecturer to the Groningen School of Social Work. The series of ten incomplete sentences, and the instructions to respondents, were translated into Dutch by Mr. C. F. Wieringa, a social psychologist and member of the school faculty.

To determine the feasibility of the project with a Dutch population, to assure ourselves that it made sense to Dutch respondents and to clarify the necessity for any adaptation of the procedure we pre-tested the study with the cooperation of 45 students in several beginning casework classes at the School of Social Work. Incidentally, we found this to be a provocative class exercise. Having placed themselves in the position of the client, and having made explicit, to themselves, what they would expect of the worker, the class was able to discuss, with considerable animation, their expectations of themselves as the social worker whom they had imagined.

The pre-test indicated that the project was feasible, that the Dutch translation was clear and unambiguous. It did indicate further, that some interpretation was required beyond the instructional material which prefaced the incomplete sentences. This derived from the fact that the Dutch student group, generally of middle class background, found it difficult to see themselves going to a professional person for help with personal problems. Psychotherapy and counseling, around personal problems, is a more familiar pattern to the American student body than it is to their Dutch counterparts.

Through the help of a faculty member, who taught both at the School of Social Work and the University of Groningen, we were



able to obtain the participation of a group of sociology students at the University of Groningen. 15)

The University is located in the city of Groningen, which has a population of 150,000 and is the principle city in the north east section of Holland. The University was established in 1614 and has an enrollment of approximately 2,000 students. The student group participating in the study consisted of 23 men and 23 women. The age range of the student group was between 19 and 22.

It will be remembered that the study required that one group of respondents imagine themselves in contact with a counselor whose motivation to help was high; a second group was to imagine themselves in contact with a counselor whose motivation to help was low. The high motivation group consisted of 22 respondents; the low motivation group consisted of 24 respondents, a total of 46 students. The Wayne University group consisted of 56 university students. Because of the comparability of the respondents in this study, and those in the Wayne University Study, this latter study rather than the Worby's study with an adolescent group, mentioned above, will be used as the basis for the international comparison of findings. Worby's findings, it might be noted, were in essential agreement with those of Wayne University Study except for some results that are explained on the basis of the special needs of adolescents. The study was introduced and interpreted in English to the student group by the American author of the report. Almost all Dutch university students have a working knowledge of English. This was supplemented, when questions were raised, by further interpretation, in Dutch, by Dr. Saal who was acquainted with the research. Response to the incomplete Dutch sentences were in that language. These were subsequently translated into English by a Dutch university graduate who gave private lessons in English.

In order to maintain consistency, we used the categories formulated in the Wayne University Study with slight adaptations in classifying the response. These were coded independently by two members of the Faculty of the School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin. 16) Since the response to each of the incomplete questions was transcribed to a separate card, the coders were not aware of the pattern of response of any one individual respondent. The coders were not informed of the nature

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<sup>15)</sup> We would like to thank Dr. C. D. Saal, of the University of Groningen, for his help.

<sup>16)</sup> We would like to thank Professor Helen Clarke and Professor Virginia Franks for help with the coding.

of the experimental manipulation of the two groups of respondents.

On the first check, inter-coder reliability ranged from 72 to 84 pct for the ten incomplete sentences. The coders subsequently met and discussed their difficulties. On the second check, inter-coder reliability was above 90 pct agreement for all ten sentences.

## Results

The results indicate that the Dutch conception of the potentially helpful person is similar to the American conception. The Dutch picture of the "good" counselor is that of a person who accepts the client's problem as important, who is anxious to encourage communication, shows a willingness to maintain communication, permits broadening the range of communication, seeks to make the client comfortable and acts to minimize client tension when it arises.

The general picture is strikingly similar to that presented for American respondents by the Wayne University Study. The degree of emphasis is, however, somewhat different. While both the American and Dutch respondents see the "good" counselor as outlined above, American respondents see him as more permissive, less disapproving, than do the Dutch respondents.

To illustrate the similarity in response between Dutch and American respondents we might compare in detail some of the results of the Wayne University Study with the present study.

The incomplete sentence "when I told him what my problem was he-she . . ." was, in effect, a statement of expected counselor behavior regarding communication. By assigning, or failing to assign, importance to the problem the client brings, the counselor either encourages, or discourages, further communication regarding the problem. Both the Dutch student and the American student saw the counselor with high motivation to help, as assigning importance to the problem the client brings. Contrawise, both groups saw the counselor with low motivation as derogating the problem. The contrast between the expected behavior of the high motivated, as against low motivated counselor, was statistically significant for both the Dutch and American group of respondents. (American group  $P < .01$ ; Dutch group  $P = .01$ ). Thus the Dutch student in contact with a counselor highly motivated to help, imagines the counselor saying the following, after the student had told him what his problem was:

"He said that it was a very difficult problem and that we would try to help me out of my difficulty."

"Yes, indeed that is a difficult problem. Lets consider it together."

The counselor with low motivation to help was seen as minimizing the problem. He is imagined as saying the following:

"This is not a question of great importance. It certainly was not a question to worry about. Many people thought it rather interesting to have some problem."

"Well, is that such a problem for you? I would have thought you might solve that yourself."

Two incomplete sentences were designed to test the expected behavior of the counselor with regard to his willingness to maintain communication. The respondent was asked to imagine that the interview was in danger of interruption due to a phone call, or in danger of termination because others were waiting to see the counselor. Like the American students, the Dutch students imagined that when the "good" counselor was told that he was wanted on the phone he would either refuse to take the call or would take the call with apologies and assurances of continued interest in talking with the client. The counselor with low motivation to help would accept the call without apologies and would take advantage of the contingency to attempt to break off communication. (American  $P < .001$ ; Dutch  $P < .01$ )

Similarly the Dutch students, like their American counterparts, imagined that when the counselor was informed that others were waiting to see him he would either refuse to see those waiting or would discontinue the interview reluctantly and definitely encourage another interview.

The counselor with low motivation to help hurried to end the interview and made no attempt to encourage another interview. (American  $P < .001$ ; Dutch  $P < .01$ )

Some illustrative Dutch responses to these incomplete sentences for the group in contact with the highly motivated counselor are as follows:

"He was so engrossed in the problem that he asked the servant to say he was not at home and would they please ring again later so that we might go on."

"He said please ask them to ring me again in an hour; I am busy now."

"I am especially interested in your problem but seeing that there are other people waiting I would propose to you to come back some other time. We will then be able to consider the matter quietly."

Dutch students imagined the low motivated counselor behaving in the following manner:

"It seemed to me as though he was relieved he could leave me a moment. Maybe he thought I might go home in the meantime. Anyhow, he did not leave the call for what it was but went on talking on the phone endlessly."

"He disappeared and stayed away a considerable time. Soon I did not hear him talking on the phone any longer and I got



the impression that he was doing something else in between. Maybe he was having a cup of tea with his wife."

„You'll have to be brief. I've got little time."

One test of the counselor's willingness to encourage communication lies in his reaction to digression. A digression may, conceivable, widen the range of relevant communication. Unless the counselor indicates a tentative readiness to permit digression the area of communication will continue to be more narrowly focused. The incomplete sentence retranslated from the Dutch, to which the students were asked to respond in order to elicit their imagined reaction of the counselor to a digression was stated as follows: "When I got off the point, and spoke of other things he-she...."

For both the American and the Dutch group, the highly motivated counselor is seen as permitting the digression, if only temporarily, significantly more often than the low motivated counselor (American group  $P < .01$ ; Dutch group  $P < .01$ ).

However, fewer of the Dutch students see even the "good" counselor as permitting the digression and more of them see the low motivated counselor as actively discouraging digression than is true for the American group.

Some of the imagined responses of the highly motivated counselor given by Dutch students follow:

"Its all right that you should tell me something else as well; it makes it easier to take in the situation."

"He did not say: "Lets stick to the point", but he tried to get to know me better by means of this (digression) and finally got the conversation back to the original subject."

Some imagined responses of counselors with low motivation follow:

"Stick to the main points. These are the only things that matter here. Just fancy if I had to listen to so much from everybody where would the end be."

"To the point. Time presses."

Another incomplete sentence was designed to test the expected behavior of the "good" counselor in making accessible to the interview additional areas of communication. Respondents were asked to imagine the behavior of the counselor when the client "asked a question about the persons family." Ninety-one pct of the American respondents expected a simple, direct answer where the counselor held high motivation to help. Sixty pct of the Dutch respondents expected such an answer. Fifty-eight pct of American respondents expected that the counselor who had low motivation to help would not answer or would answer grudgingly; a higher percentage of the Dutch respondents, eighty-eight pct, expected such a response from the counselor

with low motivation. Differences between expected responses of high and low motivation counselor, for both American and Dutch respondents, are significant in the same direction. Here once again, however, the Dutch response indicates more restrictiveness than the American response — fewer direct answers on the part of the highly motivated counselor, more refusals on the part of the low motivated counselor.

The following are some of the imagined responses of the highly motivated counselor given by Dutch students to this incomplete sentence stimulus.

"He told me what I asked, provided it was not some delicate question."

"Without the slightest hesitation he told me all I wished to know adding however, that all this only applied to him personally and that I should be careful not to draw any general conclusions from it."

Some imagined responses of counselor with low motivation to help are as follows:

"I think that is rather beside the point. Besides I don't think it necessary to waste my time by telling you part of my own life story."

"These are my private affairs."

Both the Dutch and American respondents see the highly motivated counselor as being understanding of the client's position in a tension provoking situation and acting so as to minimize tension. The incomplete sentence designed to elicit the imagined behavior of the counselor, retranslated from the Dutch, follows: "When I made a stupid remark he-she...." Table I compares American and Dutch responses to this item.

*TABLE I*  
Expected behavior of counselor in response to clients "stupid remark"

Expectation	High Motivated				Low Motivated			
	Dutch		American		Dutch		American	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Tried to minimize embarrassment	9	41	15	47	2	8	2	8
2. Did not react	2	10	10	31	0	0	4	17
3. Indicated Disapproval	6	27	2	6	21	88	14	58
4. Miscel. Other	5	22	5	16	1	4	4	17
TOTAL	22	100	32	100	24	100	24	100

Once again the imagined differences in the behavior of the high motivated and low motivated counselor are statistically significant in the same direction for both the Dutch and American

groups. (American  $P < .01$ , Dutch  $P < .01$ ). The Dutch positive group is, however, somewhat less accepting of the "stupid remark" than is the American group and the Dutch negative group is more disapproving than the American group.

Some of the imagined responses of the highly motivated counselor given by Dutch students follow:

"He did not say anything about it but as though nothing had happened he continued talking."

"He did not brusquely say that I was quite wrong but in a pleasant way he pointed out the illogicality of my argument."

Some of the imagined responses of the low motivated counselor, given by Dutch students follow:

"Do talk sense".

"But Miss, you can't really mean that. I thought students were well informed. I am disappointed in you. Look here, of course it is not the way you said but like this...."

Client expectations regarding counselor behavior around the decision making process was explored in the Wayne University Study through use of the following incomplete sentence, "When I had trouble making up my mind he-she...." In this instance the Dutch retranslation indicates a slight, but not significant, shift. The incomplete sentence used in this study was "When I had difficulty finding the right word he-she.." The sentence explores expectations regarding help in structuring and respect for client autonomy. The categories used in coding responses here were slightly different from, but essentially similar to those used by the Wayne University Study.

Table II compares the results obtained in the Wayne University Study and those obtained in the present study. Categories used in the Wayne University Study are placed in brackets next to the categories used in this study.

TABLE II

Expectation	High Motivated				Low Motivated			
	Dutch		American		Dutch		American	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Helped client to find own solution (Helps structure situation)	14	64	23	72	2	8	5	21
2. Remained neutral	3	13.5	9	28	3	12.5	8	33
3. Pushes client to decide or choose the word for client (pushes client to decide)	3	13.5	0	0	18	75	11	46
4. Miscel. Other	2	9	0	0	1	4	0	0
TOTAL	22	100	32	100	24	100	24	100

Both the American and Dutch students expected the high motivated counselor to help structure the situation significantly more frequently than the low motivated counselor (American  $P < .01$ ; Dutch  $P < .01$ ).

In this situation the Dutch student imagined the high motivated counselor saying some of the following:

"You just tell me what you think. When I was quite at a loss for words he helped me a little."

"He said that I should just quietly think it over and that then I was sure to hit upon the right words."

The low motivated counselor was seen as saying the following:

"Don't hesitate. Hurry up. It isn't as important as all that."

"He interrupted me and formulated my thoughts but not in the way I intended."

In recapitulation then, the results of this study indicate that the Dutch students conception of the behavior of the highly motivated counselor closely parallels the configuration developed in a study of American student responses. The "good" counselor is seen by the client as facilitating communication, striving to maintain communication, ready to widen the area of communication. He helps structure the situation for the client to facilitate decision making by the client rather than forcing, or imposing, a decision. He acts to lower tension when it arises.

The one Dutch word most recurrently used to characterize the behavior of the "good" counselor was the word "rustig" — quiet, tranquil, restful, placid, calm.

The results of the study would argue, then, for the applicability to the Dutch situation, of some of the things American social workers have learned about approaching the client.

The similarity in results may be explained partly on the basis of the fact that the Dutch and American students are, in fact, members of the same cultural community — the world of western civilization. The influences that have shaped American values have also been instrumental in shaping Dutch values. It would be interesting to know the results of a similar study with a group brought up in a non-Christian, non-urbanized, non-industrialized milieu — students at the University of Ghana, for instance.

Homogeneity of the two groups contrasted here was further reinforced by controlling the variable of socio-economic class. It was noted above that both the Dutch and American students were of middle class background.

There is some support for the contention that client expectancies with reference to counselor behavior are different for different socio-economic class groups. Socio-economic class affiliation may indeed be a variable making for sharper differences in expect-

tancies then does the variable of national affiliation. That is, Dutch middle class students may be more like American middle class students in their expectancies with regard to counselor behavior than they are like Dutch lower class respondents.

To test this we attempted to use the same instrument with a group of 22 Dutch factory workers. The respondents were all girls working in a local garment factory. The mean age of the group was 17.5 years. Most of the girls lived in Groningen; however, some lived in small nearby towns such as Bedum, Leek, Marum, Zuidhoorn, etc.

Education is compulsory in the Netherlands until 14 years of age and a permit to work may be obtained at 15. However, an attempt is made to offer additional education. Young factory workers attend classes in the late afternoon or early evening for four hours a week over a period of two years. The leaders of such courses are generally social workers and the content of such courses, for groups of girls, revolve around such topics as home making, child care, marriage, boy-girl relations, leisure time activities, etc. Personality development and the development of social skills are important objectives of such a course. The courses are given under the auspices of the Nationaal Centrum Vorming Bedrijfsjeugd and is sometimes known as Zonnebloem-werk.

Through the cooperation of a social worker leading such a group, we obtained the participation of the group of girls for this study. The social worker, in this instance, also took primary responsibility for interpreting the study to the girls and in answering the questions they raised.

The usual caveats about the use of this kind of technique with a group having limited education were reaffirmed. Sentence completion requires writing skills and verbal skills that imposed unusual demands on the group. Consequently a greater percentage of sentences were either not completed or were completed by using a very short phrase.

The factory girls also had some general difficulty in imagining themselves going to a counselor for help around a personal problem. In the discussion they expressed the feeling that "life is a fight situation and its up to you to fight your way through"; "you are not wanted in life but you are there and you have to press help out of people"; "people are not really interested in helping you."

The greatest difficulty, however, lay in asking one part of the group to imagine themselves going to a counselor who seemed to have little motivation to help them. They matter of factly insisted that if the person was not anxious to help them they would not go to him. The attempt made to get a negative



image of the potentially helpful person had to be abandoned. We have, therefore, only the responses of the group of factory girls who imagined themselves in contact with a counselor highly motivated to help, for comparison with the Dutch student group who projected themselves into a similar situation. A comparison of these two groups indicated that the Dutch factory workers expectancies regarding counselor behavior was, in some respects, different from their Dutch student counterparts. Significantly fewer factory girls saw the counselor as ready to maintain communication when interrupted by a phone call or by a reminder that others were waiting to see him. ( $P < .04$ ), and significantly fewer saw him as ready to share any material regarding his life ( $P < .02$ ). Fewer saw the counselor as accepting of digression, although the differences here are not statistically significant. Fewer expected that the counselor would accept their problem as important and here the differences are almost statistically significant ( $P < .03$  not corrected for continuity;  $P \sim .11$  corrected for continuity).

Despite the fact that the Dutch factory girl's imagined conception of the highly motivated counselor is less "favorable" than the imagined conception of the Dutch student, the factory girl was somewhat less ambivalent about her readiness to accept advice from such a person. Fifty percent of the middle class respondents indicated that they were ready to accept advice of the highly motivated counselor; 76 percent of the working girls gave this response. This was in response to a question about readiness to accept advice from the counselor included on the form, following the ten incomplete sentences. 17)

Apparently the reality of perceived social distance between the Dutch lower class client and the middle class professional person, the counselling person, dictates and accepted lowered importance of the client, and his problem, and an intolerance to any imposition on the counselor's time beyond that absolutely necessary. The same social distance factor acts to make the counselor a relatively more prestigious person for the Dutch lower class client than for the Dutch student and hence his advice carries greater weight for the former group.

This might suggest the probabilities of some socio-economic class bias in the Wayne University Study results. The conception of

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<sup>17)</sup> It may be of interest to note that Worby obtained some similar results in a comparison of her American class adolescent student group and Wayne University older American student group. Both the adolescent and the Dutch factory girls have lower status vis a vis the counselor. For the adolescent this is a function of membership in an age group of relatively lower status than that of the counselor; for the Dutch factory girl this is a function of membership in a socio-economic group of relatively lower status.

the behavior of the highly motivated counselor presented in that study may, in fact, be true only for the middle class client. The difference, however, between the American lower class and middle class client may be in the same direction, but not as intense, as that observed in this study. This is based on our impression that social distance between classes is greater in the Netherlands than in the United States.

#### **MEDEDELING:**

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