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The SRV JOURNAL

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

WE BELIEVE THAT SOCIAL ROLE VALORIZATION (SRV), when well applied, has potential to help societally devalued people to gain greater access to the good things of life & to be spared at least some negative effects of social devaluation.

Toward this end, the purposes of this journal include: 1) disseminating information about SRV; 2) informing readers of the relevance of SRV in addressing the devaluation of people in society generally & in human services particularly; 3) fostering, extending & deepening dialogue about, & understanding of, SRV; & 4) encouraging the application of SRV as well as SRV-related research.

We intend the information provided in this journal to be of use to: family, friends, advocates, direct care workers, managers, trainers, educators, researchers & others in relationship with or serving formally or informally upon devalued people in order to provide more valued life conditions as well as more relevant & coherent service.

The SRV Journal is published under the auspices of the SRV Implementation Project (SRVIP). The mission of the SRVIP is to: confront social devaluation in all its forms, including the deathmaking of vulnerable people; support positive action consistent with SRV; & promote the work of the formulator of SRV, Prof. Wolf Wolfensberger.[†]

EDITORIAL POLICY

INFORMED & OPEN DISCUSSIONS OF SRV, & even constructive debates about it, help to promote its dissemination & application. We encourage people with a range of experience with SRV to submit items for consideration of publication. We hope those with much experience in teaching or implementing SRV, as well as those just beginning to learn about it, will contribute to the *Journal*.

We encourage readers & writers in a variety of roles & from a variety of human service backgrounds to subscribe & to contribute. We expect that writers who submit items will have at least a basic understanding of SRV, gained for example by attendance at a multi-day SRV workshop, by studying relevant resources (see page 5 of this journal), or both.

We are particularly interested in receiving submissions from family members, friends & servers of devalued people who are trying to put the ideas of SRV into practice, even if they do not consider themselves as 'writers.' Members of our editorial boards will be available to help contributors with articles accepted for publication.

INFORMATION FOR SUBMISSIONS

WE WELCOME WELL-REASONED, CLEARLY-WRITTEN submissions. Language used should be clear & descriptive. We encourage the use of ordinary grammar & vocabulary that a typical reader would understand. The *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* is one easily available general style guide. Academic authors should follow the standards of their field. We will not accept items simultaneously submitted elsewhere for publication or previously electronically posted or distributed.

Submissions are reviewed by members of the editorial board, the editorial advisory board, or external referees. Our double-blind peer review policy is available on request.

Examples of submission topics include but are not limited to: SRV as relevant to a variety of human services; descriptions & analyses of social devaluation & wounding; descriptions & analyses of the impact(s) of valued roles; illustrations of particular SRV themes; research into & development of SRV theory & its themes; critique of SRV; analysis of new developments from an SRV perspective; success stories, as well as struggles & lessons learned, in trying to implement SRV; interviews; reflection & opinion pieces; news analyses from an SRV perspective; book or movie reviews & notices from an SRV perspective.

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TYPEFACE

Main text is set in Adobe Garamond Pro & headlines in Myriad Pro, both designed by Robert Slimbach.

A Brief Description of Social Role Valorization

From the Editor

IN EVERY ISSUE we print a few brief descriptions of SRV. This by no means replaces more thorough explanations of SRV, but does set a helpful framework for the content of this journal.

The following is from: Wolfensberger, W. (2013). *A brief introduction to Social Role Valorization: A high-order concept for addressing the plight of societally devalued people, and for structuring human services* (4th ed.). Plantagenet, ON: Valor Press, p. 81.

... in order for people to be treated well by others, it is very important that they be seen as occupying valued roles, because otherwise, things are apt to go ill with them. Further, the greater the number of valued roles a person, group or class occupies, or the more valued the roles that such a party occupies, the more likely it is that the party will be accorded those good things of life that others are in a position to accord, or to withhold.

The following is from: SRV Council [North American Social Role Valorization Development, Training & Safeguarding Council] (2004). A proposed definition of Social Role Valorization, with various background materials and elaborations. *SRV-VRS: The International Social Role Valorization*

Journal/La Revue Internationale de la Valorisation des Rôles Sociaux, 5(1&2), p. 85.

SRV is a systematic way of dealing with the facts of social perception and evaluation, so as to enhance the roles of people who are apt to be devalued, by upgrading their competencies and social image in the eyes of others.

The following is from: Wolfensberger, W. (2000). A brief overview of Social Role Valorization. *Mental Retardation*, 38(2), p. 105.

The key premise of SRV is that people's welfare depends extensively on the social roles they occupy: People who fill roles that are positively valued by others will generally be afforded by the latter the good things of life, but people who fill roles that are devalued by others will typically get badly treated by them. This implies that in the case of people whose life situations are very bad, and whose bad situations are bound up with occupancy of devalued roles, then if the social roles they are seen as occupying can somehow be upgraded in the eyes of perceivers, their life conditions will usually improve, and often dramatically so.

If you know someone who would be interested in reading
The SRV Journal, send us their name & address
& we'll mail them a complimentary issue.

A Brief Introduction to Social Role Valorization:

A high-order concept for addressing the plight of societally devalued people, and for structuring human services (*4th expanded edition*)

by Wolf Wolfensberger, PhD

“A long-held rationale of those of us who teach SRV Theory is that the material helps students to see the world from the perspectives of those who receive services and supports, rather than the service provider. Time and again, we hear students describe this as the single most important aspect of taking an SRV Theory course. They talk about how they now have new, or different, eyes with which to see and understand their world. Many describe the realization that *they* first had to change in order for them to address the issues and problems of the people they were assigned to teach or help. When they changed their perceptions of another person, they then changed their expectations of this person, along with their ideas of what the person actually needs and how to effectively address these needs” (from the foreword by Zana Marie Lutfiyya, PhD and Thomas Neville, PhD).



A Brief Introduction to Social Role Valorization

**A high-order concept for addressing
the plight of societally devalued people,
and for structuring human services**
4TH EXPANDED EDITION

Wolf Wolfensberger

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Resources to Learn about Social Role Valorization

From the Editor

- **A brief introduction to Social Role Valorization**, 4th expanded ed. Wolf Wolfensberger. (2013). (Available from the Valor Institute at 613.673.3583)
- **PASSING: A tool for analyzing service quality according to Social Role Valorization criteria. Ratings manual**, 3rd (rev.) ed. Wolf Wolfensberger & Susan Thomas. (2007). (Available from the Valor Institute at 613.673.3583)
- **A quarter-century of normalization and Social Role Valorization: Evolution and impact**. Ed. by R. Flynn & R. Lemay. (1999). Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. (Available from the Training Institute at 315.443.5257)
- **A brief overview of Social Role Valorization**. Wolf Wolfensberger. (2000). *Mental Retardation*, 38(2), 105-123. (Available from the Training Institute at 315.443.5257)
- **An overview of Social Role Valorization theory**. Joe Osburn. (2006). *The SRV Journal*, 1(1), 4-13. (Available at http://srvip.org/about_articles.php)
- **Some of the universal ‘good things of life’ which the implementation of Social Role Valorization can be expected to make more accessible to devalued people**. Wolf Wolfensberger, Susan Thomas & Guy Caruso. (1996). *SRV/VRS: The International Social Role Valorization Journal/La Revue Internationale de la Valorisation des Rôles Sociaux*, 2(2), 12-14. (Available at http://srvip.org/about_articles.php)
- **Social Role Valorization and the English experience**. David Race. (1999). London: Whiting & Birch.
- **The SRV Implementation Project website, including a training calendar** www.srvip.org
- **SRVIP Google calendar** http://www.srvip.org/workshops_schedule.php#
- **Blog of The SRV Implementation Project** blog.srvip.org
- **Twitter feed** @srvtraining
- **Abstracts of major articles published in *The SRV Journal*** <https://srvjournalabstracts.wordpress.com/>
- **Social Role Valorization web page (Australia)** <http://www.socialrolevalorization.com/>
- **SRV in Action newsletter (published by Values in Action Association) (Australia)** viaainc@gmail.com
- **Southern Ontario Training Group (Canada)** <http://www.srv-sotg.ca/>
- **Alberta Safeguards Foundation (Canada)** <http://absafeguards.org/>
- **A ‘History of Human Services’ course taught by W. Wolfensberger & S. Thomas (DVD set)** purchase online at <http://wolfwolfensberger.com/> or call the Training Institute at 315.443.5257
- **Video of Dr. Wolfensberger teaching on the dilemmas of serving for pay** <http://disabilities.temple.edu/media/ds/>

Some Limitations of, & Constraints on, Social Role Valorization

Susan Thomas & Joe Osburn

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The following article of necessity discusses some things that go above and beyond SRV, because they constitute limits or constraints upon SRV implementation, and therefore need consideration. Any analysis of the limits of a theory must look above that theory. Many of the meta-SRV issues noted in this article reflect material from two workshops originally developed by Dr. Wolf Wolfensberger; namely, 'How to function with personal moral coherency in a disfunctional world' and 'Crafting a coherent stance on the sanctity of all human life.' The authors of this article make clear distinctions between these various domains. However, as Thomas and Osburn point out: "[T]here is no need to agree with our judgment about the current state of values in Western societies in order to see that SRV implementers have to make judgments about how they value the values of a particular reference culture, and how—if at all—to capitalize on these." I strongly encourage readers to take such distinctions and judgments seriously, and to think through for themselves fundamental questions raised by the authors.*

Article Outline

Introduction and Background

Limitations or Constraints Inherent in SRV Itself
Certain Limitations That SRV Shares With All Theories or Schemes That Are Empirical/Scientific in Nature

SRV Can Only Be as Good as Its (Empirical) Knowledge Base

SRV is Constrained by the Constructs on Which It Depends

SRV Can Never be Complete or Free of Contradictions, and Some Role-Valorizing Measures May Conflict with Each Other

SRV Raises Supra-Empirical ("Religious") Questions, but Cannot Answer Them, and It Demands Values for Its Application

SRV is a Complex and Multi-Faceted Scheme, and is Not Easy to Fully Grasp and Implement
The Relationship Between SRV Measures and Predicted Outcomes is Only Probabilistic

SRV is Only Relevant Where There is a Social Context, i.e., Other People

Theoretically Attainable SRV Benefits Are Both Linked to, but Also Constrained by, What is Valued in the Social Context of the Reference Culture

Limitations or Constraints That Are Not Inherent in SRV, but Are Created by Factors Outside It

Measures That Are Role-Valorizing for One Party May Clash with the Interests, Welfare, and/or "Rights" of Another Party

Any Social Context is Only Able to Convey What It Has to Convey

SRV Measures Will Effect Societal Change, but Other Measures Are Also Needed to Change Society

There May be Practical Obstacles That Limit What SRV Can Do

Limitations or Constraints That Are a Mixture of Inherent in SRV Itself, and Contributed to by Circumstances Outside of SRV

No Scheme Will Ever Overcome All Adversity, or All Human Failings

Some People's Wounds Will Defeat All SRV Efforts

Conclusion

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Introduction and Background

SOCIAL ROLE VALORIZATION, or SRV, is a human service approach that is universally applicable and of a very high-level. Still, SRV has limitations and constraints—as do all ideas or schemes or approaches to address any problem. We might even say that in a certain sense, especially those schemes that attempt to address the problems of human beings living with one another have limitations, and the empiricism of history provides much testimony to this assertion.

In a very brief article in the December 2010 issue of *The SRV Journal*, entitled “Some Further Thoughts on the Limits and Capabilities of Social Role Valorization,” Professor Wolf Wolfensberger responded to a critique leveled at SRV—that SRV does nothing to ameliorate certain painful afflictions that a party may have—by listing five points, namely: (1) that the developmental model is very powerful to alleviate some afflictions; (2) that many wounds, which SRV does address, are more harmful than any impairment; (3) that positive imaging of a party makes it easier to address that party's afflictions; (4) that occupying valued roles can access some good things of life that make irreducible suffering more bearable; and (5) that some good things of life that come with some valued roles, such as joy, comfort and reconciliation, may alleviate at least people's mental afflictions. Wolfensberger also referenced some coverage of the limitations of SRV that is given in training workshops on SRV.

Specifically, at the end of the standard three- and four-day Introductory SRV workshop (Wolfensberger & Thomas, 2005), some of these limitations of SRV are presented very briefly and summarily. Also, at an Advanced SRV workshop that was given only once (Wolfensberger, 1999), there was a longer presentation of some of these limitations. For both the introductory and advanced presentation modules, the senior author of this article contributed to the teaching material, along with Dr. Wolfensberger, with whom she also conducted the workshops. However, since 1999 we have re-thought and re-organized the teaching material, and it has been over a decade since there has been any substantial presentation of it. Therefore, we have decided to write an article reviewing 14 limits or constraints of SRV at greater length. For this article, we have drawn on the teaching overheads that are briefly shown in the standard Introductory SRV workshop, as well as the notes that were used to present the material at the Advanced SRV workshop; however, we have also revised, added to, and elaborated on those source materials.

Our purpose in presenting the limitations and constraints of SRV is **not** to discourage people from implementing SRV, and from trying to wring from it all that they can in terms of the good things of life for a devalued or at-risk party. Rather, it is to prevent false hopes or illusions about what SRV can accomplish—and for that matter, about what any scheme can accomplish. As well, we hope to demonstrate being analytic, and identifying the strengths and weaknesses of any scheme, or service measure, or treatment, etc.—a discipline that we believe is one of the most important for human service leaders to possess and practice.

We have organized our coverage into three categories: those limitations and constraints that are inherent in SRV and its very nature, those that are created by things beyond SRV, and those few that are a combination of both. We will look first at the inherent ones.

Limitations or Constraints Inherent in SRV Itself

WE CAN IDENTIFY EIGHT LIMITS of SRV that derive from itself—we might say, from the nature of the thing that SRV is.

Certain Limitations That SRV Shares With All Theories or Schemes That Are Empirical/Scientific in Nature

THERE ARE FOUR LIMITATIONS that SRV shares with all empirical/scientific or logical schemes. But in order to appreciate them, we have to understand that all schemes or systems to address human problems (of which SRV is one) can be of two types: (a) ones that are at least potentially within the scope of the methods of empiricism to evaluate and support or refute, and (b) ones that can never even potentially be resolved by the methods of empiricism. As to the first type (a), empirical or scientific methods usually involve observation and experimentation (which may involve manipulations) done in such a way that they can be repeated by others, and the findings or conclusions thereby either verified or shown to be false. The approaches of the second type are above or beyond empiricism, and we sometimes classify them all as forms of “religion,” meaning they are high-order beliefs whose assumptions and claims are beyond the scope of empirical methods to prove, or even disprove or falsify. Religion thusly defined includes all sorts of ideologies, belief systems and worldviews, including materialism, Marxism, constructivism (also called constructionism), and many, many more—almost anything that ends in the syllable -ism—including of course systems that people usually understand narrowly by the term “religion” (Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, etc.). One way of distinguishing the first category from the second is that empiricism describes, whereas religions prescribe; or, empiricism says what is, but religions say what should be.

This distinction is important because, as SRV teaching and writing have tried to emphasize,

SRV is a high-level scheme that is within the realm of empirical science. It states how the social roles that a party occupies are likely to influence or even determine what other people will do to or for that role-occupying party, and it bases its claims on the evidence of much empiricism. SRV does not fall into the category of supra-empirical religions (e.g., see Wolfensberger, 1995, reprinted in 2013).

Assuming that this distinction is understood, we will now look at four limitations of SRV that have to do with its nature as an empirical scientific human service approach.

SRV Can Only Be as Good as Its (Empirical) Knowledge Base

SRV is, and can only be, as solid as the empirical knowledge and hypotheses on which it is based. (Again, this is true of any scheme in the empirical domain.) If the empiricism on which it is based is weak, or even incorrect, then so will be SRV—or at least, so will be those claims and predictions it makes based on that flawed empiricism. Happily, there is a very big body of pretty well-established facts about individual and collective human behavior—primarily from the realm of the social sciences—that do support SRV, including the claims SRV makes for what is likely to contribute to people receiving the bad things of life and what is likely to contribute to their receiving the good things of life. While there is always room for more evidence and even research, it is unlikely that any would yield great surprises for SRV, though research could help to refine the theory and nuance it. Therefore, where further empirical observation and investigation lend support for SRV, this should be noted, and where they challenge some assertion of SRV, this should be also be noted, and the teaching of SRV corrected or at least nuanced. (People who are interested in learning more about the wide range of bodies of empirical/scientific knowledge that SRV draws upon are referred to the chart on pp. 91-94 of Wolfensberger, 2012a, that lists 18 separate fields of inquiry).

However, so that the point does not get lost, there will always be limits to empirical knowledge, and therefore SRV will always be limited by the limits of its empirical bases.

SRV is Constrained by the Constructs on Which It Depends

Related to the fact that SRV can only be as good as its scientific knowledge base is the second limitation or constraint of SRV that derives from its nature as an empirically-rooted approach, namely that SRV is dependent on constructs, such as roles, image, competency and service models, to name just a few of the most important ones. This constraint is also captured by the comment we have sometimes heard that “roles aren’t everything,” and that is true. But when it comes to human beings, staying within the empirical realm pretty much limits us to that which is observable and, to a greater or lesser degree, “measurable.” This implies constructs related to the material body, such as race, and integrity or impairment of the body; to constructs in the social realm such as socio-economic status, and physical presence; and to constructs that are probably a mixture of the two, such as intelligent functioning, perhaps personality—and roles. And, as SRV teaching and writing has posited and emphasized, in everyday life humans do relate to each other via the construct of roles.

Some people would perhaps prefer to invoke and rely on other concepts and constructs, such as those of identity, personhood, humanness or soul. The problems with doing so are several. One is that people would still have to first believe in such things before they would act on them, just as they would have to believe in roles in order to act on those. Secondly, good things about a given party’s identity, personhood, humanness, and soul would still have to be somehow put into the minds of people who are in a position to do things to or for the party, just as SRV teaches that good things about a party’s roles would have to be put into the minds of perceivers. And a third problem

is obvious to anyone in contemporary societies, namely, that the very constructs of personhood, humanness, and soul are seriously contested these days. Many parties deny that there is anything such as an immaterial spiritual dimension to the human (and souls, if they exist, are immaterial); many deny that certain creatures born of human mothers are human; and many deny that certain creatures, even if acknowledged to be human, are persons. (We tackle this issue in great depth in a five-day workshop on “Crafting a coherent stance on the sanctity of all human life,” in which we review the many forms of deathmaking of devalued people.) In contrast, people hardly deny that there are such things as social roles, that other people too obviously “believe” in social roles, and that people act on this construct of roles.

SRV Can Never be Complete or Free of Contradictions, and Some Role-Valorizing Measures May Conflict with Each Other

Let us look at the third limitation of SRV that derives from its identity as an empirical approach. Even within the realm of the empirical, epistemologists (who study whether humans can know anything, and if so, what and how) and the philosophers of science have concluded that all theories and conceptual or logical systems of any scope are both incomplete, and contain internal contradictions. This is as true of SRV as of other schemes, and it means that different SRV measures may sometimes be incompatible with each other, or what we call mutually antagonistic: one measure can be maximized, but doing so will negatively affect another measure, and vice versa. For instance, a common occurrence has been that a measure that can improve a party’s competency at the same time diminishes the party’s image; this has been the problem with many assistive devices for moving, hearing, seeing, etc. The resolution of such issues can be difficult, but goes beyond the scope of this article. However, one general guideline we can offer for resolution is to pursue the measure that is more important and contributes

more to role-valorization, and to compromise, trade off or sacrifice the less important or less powerful role-valorizing measure. The PASSING instrument (Wolfensberger & Thomas, 2007) can be very helpful in identifying which measures are the more important because it assigns different weights to the different ratings, with the rating weights (that have been determined by explicit objective criteria) being reflective of the relative importance of the issue in the rating. Thus, a PASSING rating that carries more weight (that has more points) is—probabilistically, and other things being equal—more important in terms of role-valorization than a rating that carries lesser weight or fewer points.

However, once again, this limitation (of being incomplete and having internal contradictions) is not unique to SRV but besets all schemes of any size or scope.

SRV Raises Supra-Empirical (“Religious”) Questions, but Cannot Answer Them, and It Demands Values for Its Application

The fourth limitation or constraint of SRV that derives from its nature as an empirically-rooted approach is that SRV cannot give answers to supra-empirical questions—nor can any other empirical scheme or theory—even though in the teaching and implementing of SRV, such supra-empirical questions are bound to arise. Supra-empirical questions are some of the biggest and most important questions that people grapple with in life, such as whether there is a God, and if so, what is God’s nature; what is morality, is there a moral code, and where does it come from; why should anyone be positively valued, or for that matter devalued; what is the meaning of such phenomena as social devaluation, stratification and oppression, impairment; what is the meaning of suffering, if any; what is the nature of the human; what constitutes “the good life,” to mention a few.

Let us look just at the question of whether value ought to be accorded to anyone, and if so,

on what basis. Decisions and even convictions that certain persons are of value, and that they are valuable regardless of their social roles, derive from people’s highest-level beliefs, value systems and worldviews, not from empiricism and science. As noted, these highest-level beliefs go beyond the boundaries of SRV. The values held by both individuals and collectivities, including entire societies, come from the domains of religion, philosophy and ultimately untestable, unprovable assumptions about the cosmos.

Thus, SRV cannot be said to mean that people “ought” to be valued and “ought” to be given valued roles. What SRV can say is what happens to people when they are valued and given valued roles, and what happens when they are not. Similarly, SRV cannot be said to mean that devalued people “should” get their rights. The things that SRV can say about rights are how according or withholding certain rights from people will likely reflect on their image, affect their competencies, and shape their social roles and perceived value in the eyes of others. SRV may also be able to explain some reasons why people so often want to delimit the rights of those whom they devalue, namely because having and exercising rights is one of the good things of life and devaluers want to deprive those they devalue of such good things.

Additionally, and for the same reasons, SRV also cannot say that anyone is obligated to do what the people they serve ask for, or even need. Only people’s “religions” can tell them whether what a served party asks for is moral, whether anyone must do something that they consider to be immoral, and if so, why and under what conditions. Similarly, one has to go outside SRV to determine/decide whether one “should” do what people need, and if so, to what extent, under what conditions, etc.

On all sorts of questions having to do with human nature, SRV can say what claims along these lines the evidence of history would support. It can also say what is likely to happen if people try to defeat human nature, or to live in ways that are

not “natural” to human nature. Note that people may do these two things on the basis of their “religions.” But it cannot say, for example, what roles “should” be held by people of one sex and not the other, or by people of some other identity or characteristic, what behaviors “should” be valued or not, etc.

Apart from such supra-empirical issues, SRV also cannot give full or complete answers to other questions that are partially empirical but not entirely. The following ten are examples (and only examples, not an exhaustive list) of such questions:

- a. what are the benefits and limits of personal, unpaid voluntary service, especially in contrast to the benefits and limits of paid formal service engagements;
- b. what is the nature of the constraints that workers in formal, organized, paid human services labor under;
- c. what are the limits of any efforts to address suffering;
- d. what are the limitations of human language;
- e. what are the real sources and nature of all sorts of human problems, conditions, afflictions, and behavior patterns, e.g., are they due to genetics and genetic mutations, biochemical diseases, social influences, childhood experiences;
- f. how to address or resolve certain specific clinical problems and challenges, such as strategies for reducing or eliminating self-destructive behaviors in people who are profoundly retarded;
- g. how to change society and/or its service systems so as to be less devaluing and more social role-valorizing of certain parties;
- h. how advocacy should be conducted, and by whom;
- i. what is the current state of contemporary Western societies, and whether they are becoming more decadent and dysfunctional (more on that later);
- j. what are the dynamics of the economy, which way will the stock market go, and how will all of this affect human services and lowly people.

Of course, as we note in both SRV teaching and writing, values issues and even cosmic issues must be raised and answered in order to understand the reality of the lives of devalued people, and in order to resolve which SRV measures to pursue. We might put it that contact with SRV opens windows for people onto many higher-order issues. Indeed, the experience of SRV teachers has been that SRV workshops and other SRV training actually accomplishes more than even some supra-empirical schemes in getting people to ask value and worldview questions, and then to seek higher-order truths and answers—and these they must seek outside of SRV.

Take, for example, the most common wounds experienced by devalued people, which are usually reviewed in more than three hours of presentation time in a standard introductory SRV workshop, and which are very briefly detailed on pp. 31-44 of the introductory SRV monograph (Wolfensberger, 2013). That devalued people do get wounded in consequence of their being devalued is empirical fact. But once people have learned these empirical realities, they then bring to bear their values in determining which wounds they want to address and will attend to, how they will do so, and what dynamics of wounding they are likely to ignore. For instance, some people focus on the deprivation of autonomy from devalued people, and their separation/segregation from valued society and its experiences. Some people are drawn to address such wounds as relationship discontinuity, insecurities and the lack of natural, unpaid, ongoing relationships with valued people. Some are drawn to serve specific wounded individuals, some to specific groups or classes. Similarly, research often looks at specific technical issues, such as how modeling by peers affects people’s behavior. But researchers do not look as frequently at such issues as how image juxtapositions affect the attitudes of the public and of service workers toward service recipients; or the impact of death and dying role expectancies upon vulnerable persons; or the fact that the overwhelming majority of human service

recipients are and will remain poor, while a goodly percentage of the service workers who make a living from them are and will remain financially better off, particularly those workers far removed from direct service. Clearly, once people are presented with empirical and social science realities, their values then come into play in directing what they do with this information: in weighing SRV issues, in implementing SRV, and in other SRV decision-making, even though values are not part and parcel of SRV, and do not change its tenets. This is tied to the empirical fact—central to SRV—that human beings make near-instantaneous, and often unconscious, evaluations of what they perceive, and such evaluation by its nature entails a value judgment.

While SRV does raise such issues that it does not—indeed, cannot—address, this limitation or constraint does not mean that SRV is not tremendously powerful in bringing about great improvements in the lives of devalued people. We are spelling out this limitation because people have been confused about it, and have thought, spoken, and taught others as if SRV were sufficient to answer all problems of human service, and all the problems that social devaluation wreaks on individuals and on social systems. Another way of putting it is that while SRV draws on so much empiricism and social science, it actually forces people to go into the non-empirical realm, and to do so very explicitly, to clarify their own values and how these will shape what they do with the knowledge provided by SRV. It brings value-based decisions out into the open, rather than letting them be hidden. All this means that if a party wants to use SRV on behalf of some devalued or at-risk person or group, it is incumbent on that party to say so, and why. And, if a party decides not to make use of the scientifically valid knowledge that SRV spells out, then the onus is also on that party to say so, and why—that is, to say what in their “religions” tells them to not employ SRV, or do things that are role-degrading rather than role-valorizing, at least for specific parties in specific instances.

(Of course, a great many religions that are acknowledged as such would in fact endorse many things that are concordant with, or even identical to, role-valorizing measures, for at least some parties.)

Actually, we see this limitation or constraint of SRV as also a strength, and very liberating, because it frees SRV and its implementers from the confusions that beset both the earlier formulations of normalization (which did prescribe that many things “should” or “ought to” be done), as well as proponents of many other schemes who are not clear that they are promoting religions under the cover of social science. How this can be liberating is shown by considering what would happen if SRV were based on a value system. Then, what these values are would have to be explicated. Given the state of value flux and values heterogeneity in contemporary Western societies today (more on that later in this article), this would be difficult to do. Who would be “the Great Who Sayz” who could authoritatively specify what these values are? Also, hardly any two people would likely end up teaching the same SRV, since their values would shape and possibly even distort it, and soon there would be as many SRVs as there are people teaching and writing on it.

On this one limitation or constraint of SRV, see the two chapters on “The Relationship of Social Role Valorization Theory to Worldviews and Values” and “Values Issues and Other Non-Empirical Issues That Are Brought Into Sharp Focus by, or at, Occasions Where Social Role Valorization is Taught or Implemented” in Wolfensberger, 2012a.

SRV is a Complex and Multi-Faceted Scheme, and is Not Easy to Fully Grasp and Implement

ANOTHER LIMITATION of SRV is that it is very complex and multi-faceted. It can be stated fairly simply, but its definition yields a wealth of implications and, as we have explained already, some of these will conflict with others at least at some times. SRV is intellectually demand-

ing to understand, and challenging to implement. Specific elements of SRV may be easy to understand and to convey to others (e.g., how role expectancies are conveyed by the physical environment, that people tend to imitate those with whom they positively identify), but SRV does not lend itself to automated, simplistic application, let alone application based on short, catchy slogans. For one thing, its implementation requires attentiveness and responsiveness to many socio-cultural realities (we will say more about these in the section on “Theoretically Attainable SRV Benefits Are Both Linked to, but Also Constrained by, What is Valued in the Social Context of the Reference Culture”). But many parties yearn for simple and even simplistic schemes.

However, we also see this limitation of SRV as a strength, because complex problems—such as that of social devaluation—require complex solutions, or at least complex forms of address. Simple solutions do not get to the root of a complex problem, and typically get defeated because the complexity of the problem springs surprises that the simplicity is not equipped to anticipate and handle.

The Relationship Between SRV Measures and Predicted Outcomes is Only Probabilistic

ANOTHER SRV LIMITATION is that even if all role-valorizing measures were implemented, and implemented to a near-perfect ideal for a particular party, there is no guarantee that this would bring the good things of life to that party. SRV reports and posits probabilities, and explains how to increase and decrease them. Specifically, SRV says that the chances for positive outcomes (getting the good things of life) are increased by adopting role-valorizing measures, and that the chances for negative outcomes (being wounded) are increased by role-degrading measures.

But there are never any guarantees or certainties that even when a party does get to hold valued roles, that the party will either be valued by oth-

ers, and/or will definitely receive the good things of life. All sorts of complicating factors will play a part in whether that consequence ensues, including how many valued roles the party holds, how positively valued these valued roles are, how prominent and known they are, whether the party also holds any devalued roles, and if so, which ones and how many such devalued roles, whether the competencies the party possesses are seen as fitting to the valued roles and sufficient for successful carrying out of the roles, etc. Also, it is very probable that there are some people who will withhold from a particular party good will, respect, opportunities and other good things of life, no matter how many valued roles that party holds.

So no role-valorizing measures guarantee success. What such measures do is improve or maximize the odds in a party's favor, rather than leaving them stacked against the party.

However, our own religions tell us that it would be foolish to not employ a strategy that betters the chances that a party will enjoy the good things in life just because the strategy only improves the chances but does not guarantee success. (We also believe many gamblers would agree with us on this point, and are quite willing to put our conjecture to an empirical test!)

SRV is Only Relevant Where There is a Social Context, i.e., Other People

AS IS IMPLIED in the concept of social roles, SRV is only relevant in social contexts, meaning where there are other people who can accord or withhold valued roles and the good things of life for a party. Imagine a person shipwrecked alone on an uninhabited island, like the fictional Robinson Crusoe was at first, where there is no one else around either to value or devalue the person, to accord the person valued or devalued roles, and to do or provide anything to or for the person. What will make a difference for the shipwrecked person then are such things as whether he or she has certain qualities and competencies that will enable him or her to survive, and perhaps escape

the island and return to social contexts. Even if the lone shipwrecked person were highly valued by people elsewhere, that may be of no benefit to the person—except perhaps in increasing the likelihood of rescue if rescue is possible.

Perhaps this limitation looks rather academic, in that readers may not be able to imagine many situations in which there is no social context. However, it is worth remembering that each of us ultimately lives and dies with ourselves. For some people, this may be terribly concrete, as in the case of a person in solitary confinement for long periods of time, or even in the case of some homeless people who are total recluses. Unless and until there is a social context for them, any good or bad things that they experience will have other sources, such as accidents of nature, their own thought processes, and possibly their religions.

Theoretically Attainable SRV Benefits Are Both Linked to, but Also Constrained by, What is Valued in the Social Context of the Reference Culture

THE LAST INHERENT LIMITATION of SRV that we will present is that SRV is referenced to the values of whatever is the social context one is trying to address. In other words, SRV can only work with the values that prevail in the reference culture at issue, and thus SRV cannot—and cannot be expected to—achieve more than what these values will support or endorse. In order to understand this limitation, let us note that, as we said, SRV is always employed within a social context, what we sometimes call a “reference culture.” This term refers to the party or parties whose valuation of another party one is interested in affecting or changing. For instance, within a school, there is usually a peer reference culture, and one may want to change the attitudes of the peer culture to value more positively one or two students in the school. There is also a culture of teachers and administrators, and perhaps it is they whose valuation of particular students one is interested in affecting. The reference culture

can range from a very small circle to the entirety of a society.

Whatever is the reference culture, its values will limit what SRV can accomplish within it. For instance, suppose a particular culture places very high value on intellectual competence; in that case, many valued roles in that culture will probably not be available to intellectually impaired people, because chances are high that many of that culture’s valued roles will require good intelligence. However, that same culture may also hold other values that would permit intellectually impaired people to hold other valued roles, perhaps ones that rely more on a physical competency, or on relationship, or on appearance, or on wealth. Similarly, suppose a culture places very high value on physical strength and prowess; in that case, people who are weak, physically handicapped, chronically ill, etc., will have a hard time getting valued role niches in that culture, much harder than they would in a culture that does not place such a high premium on physical strength. However, again, there may be yet other values in that culture that could enable physically limited people to secure valued roles that are not so tied to physical prowess.

The fact that potential SRV benefits are linked to the reference culture is expressed in six ways.

Who can likely benefit from role-valorization in a particular social context. The values held by a particular reference culture will determine what it devalues, who it devalues, to some degree how many such devalued people there are, and who would therefore likely benefit from role-valorizing measures within that culture.

What will need to be done to role-valorize a party in a particular social context. The values of a reference culture will also determine what has to be done in order to role-valorize people within it. For instance, if a reference culture values certain kinds of clothing and body adornments, then people within it could be role-valorized if they wore clothing and body adornments that this

reference culture considers enhancing. Another possible role-valorization strategy in that culture would be to do things that diminish the importance attached to the clothing and body adornments, so that people who have less access to these will be less likely to be devalued in that culture.

How difficult role-valorization of a party will be in a particular social context. Cultural values will also affect how hard it will be to achieve role-valorization of specific people within the culture. For instance, in the culture where certain clothes and body adornments are considered important, a great deal might be done to improve people's personal appearance, and doing so may not be all that difficult. But where height is given much importance, not too much can be done to stretch short people, and even less to shorten those who are too tall—"short of" Procrustean measures, and many people's values would rule those out! The role-valorizing options will be largely limited to using devices and equipment to give the illusion of height to short people, and to trying to reduce the importance the culture gives to height, and exploring other values in that culture to capitalize upon.

The variety of role-valorizing options that are available in a particular social context. Reference cultures will vary in the variety of options they afford for role-valorization. Cultures that tend to be value-homogeneous will have fewer such options than cultures that are value-heterogeneous: in the one, there are simply fewer values to capitalize on, and fewer sub-cultures that hold different values to which one might turn. (But note that while value diversity affords more values to capitalize on for role-valorization, at the same time diversity of population characteristics—including of values held by people within the population—will, at a certain point, strain or even overwhelm the collective assimilation potential for toleration and adaptive assimilation of difference, and this strain eventually harms adaptive social functioning. Thus, diversity cannot be said to be an unmitigated role-valorization blessing.)

Which role-valorizing measures will conflict with each other in a particular social context. The refer-

ence culture will also affect which role-valorizing measures are likely to clash with each other. For instance, in a culture where there is hardly any zoning of areas by function (e.g., one neighborhood zoned for residential usage, another neighborhood zoned for industry), then a service might be located in any one of many different neighborhoods without risking to look out of place. But in a culture where many neighborhoods are strictly zoned, there may be few neighborhoods where a particular kind of service will "fit in"—and yet these few neighborhoods where it fits in may not be neighborhoods that have good access to resources. So a potential clash between access to resources and fitting into a certain type of neighborhood is less likely to arise in one kind of culture, and more likely to arise in another culture.

How justifiable a role-valorization measure is in terms of the implementer's values. Some cultures hold values that an implementer of SRV rejects, or that are even objectively decadent in the sense that the values are destructive of those who hold them and live by them. What does an SRV implementer do when role-valorization in a particular culture appears to mean fostering people into roles and role elements that the implementer considers immoral, or that are even destructive by objective criteria?

As is elaborated in more detail in other contexts, both in writing (e.g., Wolfensberger, 1994) and in teaching events, Western societies are indeed increasingly becoming decadent. They have rejected age-old enduring moral principles—principles that have shown themselves, empirically, to be good for societies; and they have instead *de facto* (even if not fully explicitly) adopted a value system that is materialistic, individualistic, hedonistic, and utilitarian. (Again, we elaborate this in much detail in other teaching contexts, such as the aforementioned five-day workshop on threats to the lives of devalued people, and the seven-day workshop on how to function with personal moral coherency in a disfunctional world.) In this value system, the material realm is treated as the only reality, and

material goods and processes are seen as of highest importance; each individual is exalted as his or her own god, and this legitimizes whatever any individual chooses to do regardless of cost to others; the pursuit of unfettered autonomy and sensualistic pleasure are held up as the highest goods; and the value of anything—including human beings—is judged in terms of how much benefit or pleasure they give to others, and/or how much they cost, and specifically to the particular individual making the judgment.

We said earlier that there is an objective element to declaring value systems decadent, in that decadent values are destructive in a number of ways. They cannot and do not foster a sense of community and of identification among people. They cannot deal with the reality of the inevitability of suffering in every human life. They cannot and do not promote mutual compassion and help, especially in the face of unalleviable suffering. They cannot and do not encourage self-sacrifice by each member of society for the sake of others, including future generations. They cannot and do not afford a place of honor, value or even mere tolerance to people who are afflicted, suffering and whose existence makes demands on others, especially others who are more valued. Instead, such values promote and encourage selfishness, greed, licentiousness and a ruthless disregard for the welfare of others—indeed, they legitimize getting rid of others (if need be, by making them dead) if these others stand in the way of some party's own self-maximization.

If our assessment of the value direction of our society is correct—i.e., if Western societal values truly are becoming increasingly decadent—then what of capitalizing upon its values in order to enable societally devalued people to access valued roles within such a debased culture? Would not any such roles in it be bound to be decadent themselves? In such a culture, will role-valorizing people mean helping them to become selfish individualistic self-maximizers, drug-addicted celebrities, thieving investment brokers and bankers,

crooked politicians, sexually licentious dissolutes, etc.? Will there not be less and less for a dissident from such values to draw upon within that culture for the good of devalued people?

Due to the complexity of SRV, the answer to this question is not a simple “no” or “yes,” but a more nuanced “on the one hand” and “on the other,” as we will now explain.

First, on the one hand, even during a shift from more healthy and adaptive values towards less healthy and adaptive values, people will still continue to adhere—at least for a time, and at least on a verbal, intellectual or even sentimental level—to certain ideals of past values. For instance, in Western societies, there are historic values derived from our Judeo-Christian heritage that are still widely-enough idealized to be able to support some non-decadent valued social roles and life conditions for many devalued groups. For example, many people still believe in being merciful and kind, even at some inconvenience to themselves; in helping people who are less competent; in the importance of hard work; in fellowship among all humans; and so forth. Thus, during this shift, it may be possible for some time for an SRV implementer to continue to appeal to these earlier ideals, even though such values may for all practical purposes be only a memory in the lives of most people in that culture.

Also, while some values in a values-decadent society will generate some valued roles that an SRV implementer might judge morally reprehensible, such as “libertine,” “hedonist,” “materialist,” “idler,” “war merchant,” etc., there may be other values in it that can be drawn upon for roles such as “friend,” “neighbor,” “teacher,” “hard worker.” SRV can still be useful towards the acquisition of these and other roles that an implementer does not find morally reprehensible.

Now comes the “on the other hand” part of the answer to the question whether SRV is relevant in such a culture. Namely, even in the presence of overwhelming value decadence, there are still role-valorizing strategies that could be employed to exert some change on societal values them-

selves. For instance, as competent students of SRV will remember, the role-valorization strategy of enhancing people's social image involves at least eventually changing the perceptions of others towards the persons at issue (including others who are close to and involved in the life of the persons at issue), and this in turn involves changing the bases on which people are accorded low or high value by others. Let us take working to improve the social image of older persons as an example. By juxtaposing older people with positively imaged associations, it is likely that older people would become more positively perceived, meaning in turn that society no longer gives so much importance to such things as youth and vigor, young looks, perfect health, total competence and independence, and productivity. In other words, improving the image of elderly people also results in some value change, even if slight. Similarly, helping mentally competent people to positively identify with mentally impaired ones is likely, over time, to result in at least some change in the societal devaluation and rejection of such impaired persons, devaluation which may have its source in the demands and inconvenience they cause to others.

Our guess is that even in a decadent culture, there will always be some things to do to role-valorize devalued people without offending against all sorts of non-decadent, adaptive or traditional value systems. At least some members in any society can be called to (new) values that would counter the mistreatment of otherwise devalued people.

What all this means is that those who want to ensconce devalued or marginal people into valued social roles need to think about putting into place, and/or defending, values which can accommodate positive role niches for such persons. In some instances, this could mean defending certain values that are still held or that traditionally used to have a strong place in society, or preserving them against deterioration. In other instances, it will mean introducing altogether new values into the society that can enable valued roles for

certain people who would otherwise be devalued. In other words, one may have to try to engineer a value shift either to earlier values that had been rejected and that presumably were positively relevant, or to newer values that are positively relevant. The task for an implementer is to identify what valued roles and role elements are available, achievable, and/or ascribable to a devalued party, **and** that one's values have judged to be good and wholesome, and then do what one can to implement role-valorizing measures within the various constraints of the values of a culture.

Of course, it should always be kept in mind that though an SRV implementer might not value certain roles or want them for him or herself, there may be nothing objectionable about societally devalued people pursuing such roles for themselves. For instance, based on their religion, a person may decide to embrace voluntary poverty and all the role elements that go with that, but this does not mean that people who have been involuntarily poor should be prevented from aspiring to possessions and the role elements that go with that. Similarly, the role of soldier is at least somewhat valued by most people most of the time in most societies, including in most Western societies today. In some, it is highly valued, and even considered a necessary rite of passage, such as in Israel. The soldier role can have many SRV advantages, including that it can be anywhere from somewhat to very competency-enhancing for those who fill it. Indeed, there is much testimony and other evidence to the effect that becoming a soldier saved a person from a life of idleness or criminality. However, some people are opposed to soldiery on moral grounds, and may therefore decide not to support devalued people in pursuing the role of soldier, even though it could have positive SRV impacts on their lives.

By the way, there is no need to agree with our judgment about the current state of values in Western societies in order to see that SRV implementers have to make judgments about how they value the values of a particular reference culture, and how—if at all—to capitalize on these.

Limitations or Constraints That Are Not Inherent in SRV, But Are Created by Factors Outside It

THERE ARE ALSO SOME LIMITATIONS or constraints of SRV that we might say are accidental, rather than inherent. We will now review four of those.

Measures That Are Role-Valorizing for One Party May Clash with the Interests, Welfare, and/or "Rights" of Another Party

EARLIER, WE EXPLAINED that SRV measures on behalf of some party may conflict with each other in specific instances. This point is related but different, namely, sometimes SRV measures on behalf of one party can clash with the interests, welfare or rights of another party. In such clashes, the religions of implementers will *de facto* be invoked to resolve the conflict, i.e., to decide whose interests ought to prevail, how far, and why. In fact, we recommend that in these kinds of situations, the "if this ... then that" considerations for making SRV decisions be reviewed and resolved (see Wolfensberger, 1995, reprinted in 2013), e.g., "if this party's rights or interests are overridden, then what will be the outcome, in the short- and the long-term?"

A good example of this constraint occurs when a party that is currently segregated from valued society might be included in or assimilated into it, but only at the cost of somehow jeopardizing the assimilators or a yet other party, or only at a significant financial price. In such instances, once again, one has to go beyond and "above" SRV (in effect, to religion) to decide whether and how far to pursue the assimilation. For instance, ought a particular student to be integrated into a regular classroom if doing so means the other students will not receive the high quality of academic instruction that they would have received if the student were absent? Or, ought a particular student to be integrated into regular school if doing so eats up so many financial and personnel resources that other students are deprived of things that they need? This particular constraint underlines

one difference between SRV and the ideology (in our terms, religion) of "inclusion" which says that people "ought" to "be included," and which at least on occasion would override the rights or welfare of all parties other than the "included" one.

Keep in mind that SRV defines valued personal social integration and participation as participation by a devalued party in ordinary places and activities of life, with ordinary or even valued persons, where this participation is valued by the parties. Obviously, according to this definition, not everybody at all times can be fully integrated, and nor does SRV teach that everyone can, though some proponents of SRV, and of normalization before it, have mistakenly taught this. Nor does SRV distill down to, or even require, social integration. Much role-valorization can be done even in contexts that are not socially integrated; for example, see the chapter "The Application of Social Role Valorization Principles to Criminal & Other Detentive Settings" in Wolfensberger, 2012a.

Further, servers, service administrators, even entire service systems, may put their own interests (including the interests of powerful industries) above those of the people served, and they are particularly apt to do so when they also hold negative (devaluing) attitudes towards those they serve. And it is a fact that at least a certain proportion of service workers do harbor negative attitudes towards those they serve, and therefore do not want to do things that are of benefit to the people they serve.

Any Social Context is Only Able to Convey What It Has to Convey

THE CAPACITY OF VALUED SOCIAL ROLES to deliver the good things of life is constrained by any limitations on these good things that others have at their disposal to offer or convey. For instance, at times of extremity, such as during warfare, epidemics, or following a natural disaster, the resources of the social context may be exhausted. People may have no possessions left to share,

and may even be so reduced in health, vitality, mentality and emotion that they have little or nothing to offer to others. Even people in valued roles in such contexts may receive very few good things of life; perhaps the only good thing of life that may come to them is a feeling of fellowship in shared suffering.

Further, and relatedly, if there is no shared consensus in a culture on what is right, then passing a law or going to law cannot wring a right out of people who are unwilling to extend it (see Wolfensberger, 2012b, on the many limits of the law).

The reason it is important to explicate this constraint is because people in affluent Western societies have a mind-set that expects endless material goods, including high technology, and cannot imagine a time when they cannot be had, and cannot be given, because they do not exist. Similarly, people in affluent law-based societies have become accustomed to going to law to demand what they want, and seem not to have deeply thought about what law cannot give—and especially what law cannot give in societies that are very reduced due to conditions such as noted above.

SRV Measures Will Effect Societal Change, but Other Measures Are Also Needed to Change Society

AS NOTED ABOVE, SRV measures will change society, as they mitigate negative valuations, enable people to identify with others from whom they might have been distanced, and show that more can be expected of devalued people than previously thought—and that devalued people will rise to the expectations and be more productive, contributive, etc.

However, other social change measures that go beyond SRV are also required to change societies and service systems to be more role-valorizing. Dissemination of ideas, leadership in implementation, modeling and demonstration of innovative programs, systematic messaging via public media,

advocacy of various kinds, perhaps new legislation that enables new kinds of services, are all examples of additional change agency measures that may be needed. Again, it is beyond the scope of this article to review these—we merely point out that it is a limit of SRV that it does not encompass all the social change measures—but we can refer interested parties to a chapter entitled “Issues of Change Agency in the Teaching, Dissemination & Implementation of Social Role Valorization” in Wolfensberger, 2012a.

There May be Practical Obstacles That Limit What SRV Can Do

SRV MAY ALSO BE LIMITED or constrained by whatever practical obstacles there may be in specific instances to implementation of what, in theory, is possible. These obstacles consist largely of the non-programmatic features that receive much coverage in SRV training: things like laws, hiring restrictions or requirements, union rules, funding constraints, lack of technical knowledge, lack of skilled personnel, earlier decisions made by people no longer on the scene but still in effect, political pressures, etc. Such obstacles may exist within or outside of a service. Implementing SRV on more than an occasional or sporadic basis would require changes in many of these non-programmatic features that so often determine what services do, but that contribute to role-degradation rather than role-valorization of the people being served.

About some such obstacles, something may be able to be done; in fact, what might be able to be done is to pursue some of the non-SRV change measures briefly noted under the previous heading, for instance, a law that interferes with role-valorizing measures might be overturned, and a law that enables such measures might be passed. But implementers have to decide whether they want to invest resources in overturning such obstacles, whether the time it will take to do so is worth it, whether they themselves are the right parties to reform these obstacles, etc.

Limitations or Constraints That Are a Mixture of Inherent in SRV Itself, and Contributed to by Circumstances Outside of SRV

THE LAST TWO LIMITATIONS of SRV we will review have both inherent and accidental or outside-of-SRV elements. They both have to do with the fact that some afflictions, devaluations and wounds will not yield even to the best-implemented SRV measures. These limitations are important to review because a mind-set and expectancy has been engendered in contemporary people that all problems can be solved, and that any party (for instance, a government) or any scheme (for instance, SRV) that fails to solve all problems is defective, untrue and should be rejected for one that promises “solutions” for everything.

No Scheme Will Ever Overcome All Adversity, or All Human Failings

PARTIALLY RELATED to several of the limitations covered already is that nature and human beings are such that humankind will always be beset by affliction, social devaluation and wounding. Neither SRV, nor any other scientific enterprise, nor any economic or political system, nor any religion, will ever do away with these things as long as there are humans. Many people would take issue with us on this point, mainly because it challenges some of their “religious” beliefs, yet the empirical evidence for it is massive.

In fact, even on the entirely empirical level, including the long history of humans which has afforded ample opportunity for observation of human behavior in many different cultures over time, there is every reason to conclude that humans find it impossible not to form social stereotypes, and equally impossible not to act—at least occasionally—in accord with their stereotypes, though they may do so very unconsciously. This is another of the painful realities about human nature that we are stuck with and that a wise SRV implementer—or even merely a sane and rational one—has to face, like it or not. It is one more rea-

son why neither SRV, nor any other theoretical schema or high-order belief system, can be expected to once and for all defeat devaluation, or overcome all negative attitudes and negative behavior. The challenge is to find ways of helping people to overcome the baser parts of their nature as much as possible, and to behave in the “least worst” way possible within the confines of their nature. And to that end, SRV can give much guidance.

Also, we must recognize that no matter how positive a society’s values, every society will have devalued people. They may be the same people who are also devalued in a different culture that holds some different values. For instance, one society at one time may devalue the elderly because it places a high value on youth and newness; another society, or that same society at a different time, may devalue the elderly because it values health and beauty, and sees the elderly as sick and unattractive. Similarly, people who are mentally retarded might be devalued in one society that highly values intellectuality; in another society, they may be devalued because a high value is placed on productivity and contribution to the common material welfare, which retarded people are less likely to be able to make. Even in a society where generally adaptive values prevail, there will still be devalued people. Also, let us state very clearly that even if devaluation towards one class is improved, there will be devaluation of others.

Also, given the stratifying nature of all human collectivities, no culture can be expected to embrace values that will provide valued roles for people of every conceivable identity, appearance, level of ability or impairment, racial membership, etc., etc.

We should also note that while SRV can do much to alleviate the wounding that comes from devaluation and is an expression of it, nonetheless SRV is limited in its ability to address all sorts of woundings which are not the expression of devaluation. After all, many wounds are simply an inevitable part of life, and will be visited upon every single person on this earth, even on people who

are highly valued. For instance, many physical impairments come not from devaluation but from accidents; many relationship discontinuities are the result of natural death; people may become poor due to their own unwise decisions and ways of living; etc.

Some People's Wounds Will Defeat All SRV Efforts

A SECOND LIMITATION under this heading is that even in the best of all possible non-utopian societies, there will always be people who are so wounded that even the best efforts to address these wounds will have limited impact, and this regardless whether these efforts are based on SRV, some other empirical scheme, or a religion. Again, this is one of the sad realities of our very imperfect world and human condition.

While we acknowledge this as a limitation, we do not see SRV as defective because it cannot remediate what is irremediable about the human estate. On this issue, it is not SRV but our own religion that clashes with all sorts of other religious schemes that do promise utopian outcomes if only enough people would embrace them. All sorts of materialistic philosophies (Marxism has been a good example), some ideologies of diversity and multi-culturalism, the contemporary materialistic, hedonistic, individualistic value complex we reviewed earlier, and many explicit religions, make false promises of perfection along these lines. Unfortunately, there is no reason to believe that there will ever be an end to such false religions because people are always very happy to hear, believe, and embrace them.

Conclusion

MANY OF THESE CONSTRAINTS we have reviewed have been difficult for even SRV trainers and implementers to accept. People keep wishing, and even pretending, that some day humans will come up with an ingenious solution—and a simple one, at that—to all problems. If they believe this, then when they see

the limits and constraints of SRV, they reject it and go in search of something that will satisfy their desire. Also, and as noted earlier, because SRV is virtually of meta-theory scope, many people keep treating it as if it were a religion, and could answer questions that it cannot. And the reality of human affliction, and especially of the harms that humans do to each other, is so awful that SRV measures have looked puny in comparison. All in all then, some people abandon SRV for what they think are more promising schemes—so often false religions, as noted above, that make false promises—rather than to accept the harsh but liberating truth that our human condition is very imperfect, as are even the best of our creations and inventions.

We want to reiterate something we said at the beginning of this article, namely we have not written it to discourage people from implementing SRV, or from trying to get out of it all that they can in terms of the good things of life for a devalued or at-risk party. But one needs to be realistic about what SRV can and cannot accomplish, which may help one be more appreciative of what it can do even when it is implemented only fragmentarily and on a limited basis. We should use SRV for what it can do, and not throw it out because it does not solve all problems, or because it “only” makes some problems less worse than they were without it. In some circumstances, merely less worse is a real accomplishment. ☺

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A NOTE ON THE WORD ‘RESPITE’

RESPITE IS A FAIRLY COMMON TERM in some human service fields, though with variant meanings, as pointed out in an article in the inaugural issue of this *Journal*: “ ‘Respite’ is a term that at first seems clear but has a number of subtle meanings. It shifts from respite as use of time, to respite as a geographical location ... At a more practical level, Ingram (n.d.) suggests that ‘respite’ refers to short term, temporary care provided to people with disabilities to provide relief to families from the daily routine of caregiving” (from pages 14-15 of Armstrong, J. & Shevellar, L. (2006). Rethinking respite. *The SRV Journal*, 1(1), 14-25).

Respite can be used both as a noun (meaning extension of time, interval of rest, leisure, temporary cessation of labor or suffering) and as a verb (meaning to delay, to relieve by an interval of rest). Its origins come from Latin, through French and Middle English. The Latin roots can mean respect and regard, as well as refuge. These meanings provide some relevant food for thought in terms of SRV implementation. For example, the culturally valued analogue concept within SRV can help to provide direction for respite that is more likely to contribute to positive respect and regard for a devalued person, and his or her family, from others. Also, SRV implementers can consider: how do people with typical and valued social status find ‘respite’? In what ways can ‘respite’ be provided so that it actually is a refuge, rather than a service option that contributes to deindividualization or to the devalued client role?

Source information from the Oxford English Dictionary

Richard & His Roles: An A-typical Experience

Rebekah Hutchinson

Introduction

I GRADUATED from a Developmental Services Worker program in Ontario last year and I have been overwhelmed by the amount of devaluation and wounding I have come across, even in the short time I have been a part of the Developmental Services world. My college placements for the program introduced me to person after person, heavily burdened by devalued roles—and it seemed as though each new person I met had more wounds than the last.

In general, when I think about the lives of men, women and even children I've met who have a developmental disability, one of the first things that comes to mind is how impacted they are by a lack of valued roles—especially when the person is connected to a human service agency. In these cases, where people have grown accustomed to holding mostly devalued roles, the addition of a valued role to their life would have the potential to change their world drastically.

For the purpose of this entry, however, I would like to tell the story of a friend of mine to whom the exact opposite of the above-described scenario occurred.

Richard and His Roles

RICHARD IS A MAN in his early fifties with a developmental disability. His disability is mild, and he is a very hard-working, competent person. He lives on his own, in

an apartment building, and has always worked to earn an income, taking great pride in his role of 'employee.'

My earliest memories of Richard involve playing video games with him in my brother's room, my brother and I laughing until our stomachs hurt due to Richard's response to his own lack of gaming skills. Richard was laughing just as hard as we were, cracking jokes the entire time about his inexperience. But Richard had no problem with us laughing along with him—in fact, I think he enjoyed having such a responsive audience. And when we got carried away with our giggles, Richard just shook his head, wearing a grin on his face. My parents were in the kitchen preparing lunch. It was a Sunday, and Richard had come over after church to share a meal with us. This was not an uncommon occurrence.

My parents know Richard through church, where he holds the valued role of 'member.' Richard is well-liked by his church family. He attends services faithfully and helps with collecting offering and counting those in attendance for the church's records. Another role of Richard's is 'trusted friend,' hence my parents leaving their two young children in a bedroom with him for an hour while they prepared lunch—something they would not have done had they not known Richard's character. But they are strongly aware of his integrity, honesty and loving heart.

I grew up with Richard being a part of our family. He would always, and still always, attends spe-

cial events such as holiday meals, birthday celebrations and super-bowl parties. And I know that Richard has friendships with other valued people that he met through church—friends who share his love of hockey and enjoy the competition of cheering for rival teams. Richard has clearly filled many valued roles—employee, friend, church-member, tenant, supervisor of goofy, hyper children, and the list goes on.

You may have noticed that I haven't mentioned anything about Richard's family. The main reason is that I don't know much about them. I do know that he was close with his mother, who died around ten years ago. But besides that, I only know that Richard tells us his relationships with his siblings aren't great and I don't know that he ever had a father figure. He has also never had a wife or children.

Richard's Employment Experiences

IN ORDER TO CONVEY some of the damage that's been done to Richard's pride as well as to the ratio of his valued roles against his devalued roles, I should first give a brief overview of his employment experiences.

From the time I was old enough to say "Richard" until about five years ago, he worked full-time at a newspaper plant, arranging papers and flyers into their proper order before they were sent out for delivery. He would be able to describe his job there in much better detail than I just did. But due to the plant shutting down, Richard found himself without a job and in great distress, as this had been his source of routine and income for the past 15 years.

But Richard, being the hard-working man that he is, went out, riding the city bus across town, looking for a job to replace the one he'd lost. Before long, he was hired at a grocery store, stocking shelves and transferring loads of shopping carts from the parking lot back to the store-front. Overall, Richard was satisfied with his new job, despite being talked down to by a supervisor who, though he was a co-worker of Richard's, clearly failed to identify with him.

One winter afternoon, as he was pushing a chain of carts through the parking lot, Richard slipped and fell on a patch of ice, seriously hurting his knee. Out of embarrassment, Richard did not inform anyone of what had happened. He finished his shift, later to find out that he had fractured a small bone in his knee and needed a cast. Surely after the incident, some co-worker must have noticed a limp in his step, what with him having a broken bone and all. But not a single person asked if he was okay. What an evidently easy opportunity for interpersonal identification (Wolfensberger, 1998) that was! Everyone has experienced physical pain of some sort, and how hard is it to show a sliver of compassion by merely asking, "Are you alright?" But no one stepped up to the plate. So Richard walked around on a damaged leg—only aggravating the injury further.

When friends of Richard's became aware of what had happened, you can imagine their anger. Some of these friends approached management at the store, bringing up the fact that Richard had been forced to work in unsafe working conditions. The parking lot and walkway had been covered in ice, posing a threat to even the most agile of people, and no one had taken the time to salt or sand the surfaces, or even to explain to Richard that it needed to be done and ask him to do the task. Richard's friends did not get anywhere with management, who were ready to 'cover their butts' at any cost. And when the store also refused to provide compensation for Richard while he was recovering from the injury, Richard's friends strongly encouraged him to find employment elsewhere. So once again, he was without a job.

Over the next couple of years, Richard was in and out of jobs that provided him with minimal shifts and minimal payments. He began receiving financial support from his church and his friends. Richard was thankful for the support and for each job, but was experiencing anxiety on a regular basis as he worried about the unreliability of his income.

It has been a couple of months since Richard worked. More and more potential employers are

turning Richard away, causing him great discouragement. During these couple of months experiencing unemployment, Richard's close friends referred him to an employment service that gave Richard a boost of confidence, as it provided him with the opportunity to learn how to operate a computer and search for information using the internet—skills that Richard had not been taught previously. This boost in confidence, however, would not last long, as it did not result in employment, leading to further discouragement.

The employment service representatives, as well as Richard's friends, had some advice to share with him. They told Richard that there are financial supports available to people through the government—he would just have to make a point of pursuing these supports, at least for the time-being, as he had become a bit more desperate for money. The employment agency referred Richard to a 'doctor' in order for an assessment to be completed. And this is where things got especially rocky for Richard.

The Diagnosis

I HAVE BEEN ABLE to experience Richard's reaction to what happened with the doctor first hand, and I find his response to be, as contradictory as it may sound, both surprising and unsurprising. The description to follow brings us to the state of our present-day Richard.

The doctor has completed an assessment of Richard, and shares this news with him: "You have a handicap." Thinking that Richard will find relief in this statement because it will entitle him to financial assistance, this doctor has it all wrong. Richard is not relieved. He is heart-broken. Despite not being formally trained in Social Role Valorization, or even having an understanding of the terminology, Richard recognizes the damaging effects of being assigned to a devalued role. Even just hearing the words "you're handicapped" has wounded this bright man. He is being subjected to the wound of 'loss of control,' and more specifically, experiencing 'deindividualization'

(Wolfensberger, 1998), as this doctor looks at him and basically says, "You're handicapped. This is the group I am putting you in, and this is how I will identify you."

The reason I say that I find Richard's response surprising is that it shocks me to know that he has lived for fifty plus years with a developmental disability and none of the ever-so-eager 'professionals' in the world have jumped on a labelling opportunity.

I am thankful that Richard went so many years without a label for two reasons. First, because Richard has been able to enjoy so many of the 'good things of life' without restraint—real friends, belonging to a strong community of faith, having meaningful employment (at some points) and "being able to contribute and have his contributions recognized as valuable" (Wolfensberger, Thomas & Caruso, 1996). And secondly, I am thankful because his story proves the incredible influence that roles play in a person's life. Had Richard been labelled with a disability earlier in life (which he probably was at some point, but not with enough certainty that he was aware of it), it is very likely that he would never have gone on to fill the valued roles that he has, as he would have been subjected to the typical treatments of people labelled "disabled"—being congregated, segregated, viewed through negative historical mindsets, and so on (Wolfensberger, 1998).

Conclusion

THE DEVASTATION in Richard's response to being told he has a disability was also not surprising to me. Our western society, as a whole, recognizes the negative stigmas that come along with having any type of disability, and people hope that they and their loved ones will never have to be put in this negatively-viewed category. But the truth is that people already in the 'disabled' category recognize, just as well as their neighbours do, the negative impact this role will have (or probably already has) on their lives.

As Wolfensberger states, “Some devalued people are deeply ashamed of their devalued identity and wish that they could escape it” (2010, p. 58). This is definitely true of my friend Richard. In an effort to help, his friends and community service providers have actually introduced him to the world of hurt that comes along with labels and devaluation. My prayer is that Richard will find a way to stay focused on his valued roles, to continue identifying with valued people, and that as a result, his new devalued roles will diminish in his mind and that in his life, they will play the most minimal role possible. ☺

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From Cranky to Feisty: Difficult, Lonely Old Lady to Interesting, Engaged Elder

Tom Doody

“Nate and Tom from North Quabbin Citizen Advocacy introduced me to Penny. We liked each other right away. Penny’s an independent, feisty 90-year old with a reputation of being tough to deal with. I knew that trying to help her out would be a challenge, but it would also be good.” - Ann, advocate

NORTH QUABBIN CITIZEN ADVOCACY (NQCA) is a Citizen Advocacy program that initiates and supports freely-given relationships between a person in devalued status (the protégé) and a competent local citizen (the advocate). Advocates are encouraged to:

- accept where there has been rejection,
- mentor into community life where there has been segregation and/or isolation,
- advocate for greater opportunity where opportunity has been denied, and
- protect their protégé from harm where there is vulnerability.

A Citizen Advocacy program recruits and orients advocates—mostly before they meet their protégé. If advocate orientation is done well, it communicates positive role expectancies about the protégé. This is done by reporting basic realities of devaluation, using positive image and role communicators, and offering the advocate complementary role expectations for their relationship with the protégé. If this preparation resonates with the prospective advocate, the advocate is well positioned

to make a positive difference in the protégé’s life, including a decrease in devalued roles and more opportunity for valued roles.

Ann, a retired school teacher and community activist, responded positively when NQCA approached her about being an advocate. Her beliefs resonated with what the program offered during her orientation. She entered into the role of advocate with Penny as her protégé based in part on her own beliefs, and in part based on the preparation from the Citizen Advocacy program described above.

Penny is a feisty, straight-talking older woman who lived by herself and didn’t have much support from family or friends. When Nate and Tom (NQCA coordinators) introduced Ann to Penny, the two women chatted some, and soon found that they liked each other. What Ann had been told when being recruited was confirmed as she learned more about the challenges facing Penny. The major issues facing Penny when the two women met included straightening out health insurance, getting needed medical care, handling paperwork, and addressing loneliness.

The dominant roles that Penny held were cranky old lady, marginal neighbor, estranged family member, uninsured sick person, and failing, lonely elder.

Ann and Penny started out by getting to know each other—going out to lunch, doing errands, visiting at each other’s homes, and having lots of good, fun conversation. They also worked on get-

ting Penny needed medical care. Before receiving specialty services, there needed to be clearance from a general practitioner. Before the clearance, the insurance needed to be straightened out. To get the insurance fixed, confusions about the spelling of Penny's last name had to be resolved. After several adventures (including first trips to doctors in a long time), Penny finally underwent minor surgery and the results were good.

As they were getting to know each other, Penny and Ann developed complementary roles as shopping companions, lunch buddies, guests in each other's homes, and new friends. With Ann's support, Penny entered into roles as insured person, respected patient, and friend. Her role as cranky old lady was redefined to being a plain speaker, bluntly honest at times—much like Ann, her advocate, is a plain speaker.

Another whole set of adventures involved shopping. Food shopping was great—Penny and Ann agreed about the kinds of food people should eat. Clothes shopping was another matter—they had disagreements, even arguments, about how to deal with sales people, whether to try things on, and giving clothes away as soon as they got home. It's a good thing that they spoke their minds, got past struggles, and managed to laugh at themselves.

Going shopping together gave Penny a broadened role as shopper. In the grocery store and at meals, her roles as healthy shopper and healthy eater were strengthened and became more public. Her failing, lonely old lady role evolved toward being an engaged, assertive, entertaining shopping companion and an enjoyable friend. Even though she was interacting in the same ways, she was coming to be seen as feisty rather than cranky.

Ann remarked that it's hard to imagine any older person managing all the business of life on their own. There's all the paperwork, transportation issues, and people hassles. There's handling the mail and phone calls, including people looking to scam vulnerable elders. The elderly are just preyed upon so badly. Then there's the loneliness, isolation, and boredom when there's not an active network of family and friends.

The role of incompetent old lady was supplanted by an effective protégé and partner role as Ann and Penny worked together in managing her affairs. The role of victim (to the scammers) was weakened through persistent advice—even pressure—to Penny from her advocate. The role of lonely old lady was diminished—in part through time spent with Ann and Ann's friends, in part by Penny's increased ability to get out on her own, and in part by the regular phone calls between the women.

It was frustrating for Ann because there were so many problems that they couldn't all be resolved. One advocate—any one person—just can't be and do everything a person needs. Ann noted that it's a good thing there are other people and organizations to help out. Neighborly help and services from programs needed to be arranged. To get this done, Ann found that encouragement and support from others—like the workers at NQCA—really helped.

The role of desperate, lonely old lady was again diminished as Ann helped arrange some additional services that assisted Penny to stay in her own apartment. The roles of client and patient were broadened, but in ways that were helpful and did not come to define Penny.

Lots of things got fixed—like health care, shopping, phone access, and scam mail. Penny started knitting again. Ann and Penny had lots of good times together. They communicated with each other on a good level and had great conversations. It was rewarding to them both to know that they lived in a community where there's somebody around for the person in need.

Several of Penny's devalued roles were diminished, reframed or eliminated. Several valued roles were broadened, reintroduced or created. Life was still hard for Penny, but the presence of one advocate, involved in several different ways, made a significant difference.

In the above, we can read the story of two people and their relationship in the regular print. We can read the same story, in a somewhat more abstract way involving roles, in the italics. What these two

women became together and did together is the story of how they met, what they accomplished together, and what they came to mean to each other. Reading the story a second time through the role changes is instructive as a way to more fully understand the role-valorizing impact of their relationship.

Reading about the role changes also serves to exemplify how roles work. The first thing to change was the advocate's understanding of who Penny is. This shaped a far more positive set of role expectancies, and a rejection of several of the stereotypical negative expectations that had come to dominate Penny's life. The positive expectations (and actions derived from them) changed several of Penny's roles, and therefore afforded her opportunities for more of the good things in life, decreased the severity of some of her wounding life experiences, and had a major impact in decreasing her vulnerability.

The changes in Penny's roles also impacted others who came into contact with her. Ann's friends and personal connections got to know Penny largely through her advocate—and of course through Ann's expectations and the roles that she helped to shape for Penny. While Penny hadn't changed much (she was still cranky/feisty), others' responses to her were increasingly positive. Further, other people (like other regulars in the local coffee shop, clerks in local stores, and even doctors) knew that Ann would be there to help Penny if she had trouble—and to help others in working things out if they had a problem with Penny.

Having a friend/advocate, getting practical help, and being in an improved role situation did not make everything right for Penny. She still faced lots of challenges and was very vulnerable. But she was not alone in facing troubles when they came.

This winter, Penny fell and broke her wrist and her leg pretty badly. Ann helped her get needed medical care, visited in the hospital, met with hospital staff, and made contact with Penny's family. With the increased limitations Penny now faced, there was real concern that Penny could no

longer live alone. Ann worked with Penny, family members, and the hospital social worker to figure out what to do. One of Penny's grandsons (who had not been actively involved) wanted Penny to move somewhere near him. Ann brought the grandson and the hospital people together to work on getting Penny a new place to live that was close to family. Ann helped arrange for getting Penny's things moved and closing out her lease on her old apartment.

The last big role change Ann helped bring to Penny was to foster the initial steps in moving from an estranged family member role to that of supported family elder. Distance will make it much harder for Ann to support Penny and her family in deepening their relationships and family roles. Ann plans to use the telephone, and an occasional day-long trip, to preserve her friendship with Penny. Doing this will preserve their complementary roles as caring friends. Ann also plans to be in touch with Penny's family to encourage and support them. It remains to be seen how the more valued roles Ann helped Penny to occupy will translate into her new living situation, including her broadening roles with family. It remains to be seen how well the new living situation will work out in other ways. What is sure is that the diminishment of past devalued roles, and the increase in valued roles, made it likely that Penny will be less vulnerable to bad things happening, and more likely to experience the good things in life. ☺

TOM DOODY has been personally & professionally involved with people who have disabilities for over 40 years. He was a long-term associate of Dr. Wolfensberger & continues to teach his ideas. Tom's other work revolves around relationship building & social integration. As a coordinator with North Quabbin Citizen Advocacy, Tom had the opportunity to recruit & introduce Penny & Ann, & continues to have the honor of providing background support to their relationship.

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Resetting the Mindset by Choosing “Theories” That Help Rather Than Harm

Ray Lemay

Introduction

☞ PEOPLE’S PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIORS are largely controlled by the mind-sets and expectancies they hold. What one party expects that another party is like, or expects will or will not happen, or believes that a party can or cannot do, will strongly influence what the first party will even perceive, what sorts of opportunities it will afford to the other, and so on. For instance, if one has a strong mind-set that a person or class is really subhuman and cannot grow or learn, then evidence that the person or group is actually growing and developing may not even be perceived or believed, and such evidence may therefore not impact on one’s attitudes and behavior” (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 133).

Wolfensberger uses the term “mind-set” in a particular way to describe the state of mind that one has about the capacity of another person leading to the communication of expectations. It is, in a sense, the theory we hold of the other. Though the notion of mind-sets pervades SRV, it is only referenced to explain expectancies of others, and indeed there are few places where SRV spends much time on intra-psychic—or subjective—phenomena. For instance, in his section on how perception is evaluative, Wolfensberger describes a number of “filters” that end up making our perception subjective—and one of these filters is made up of our experiences, beliefs, etc. These are considered objectively, somehow as externalities, but

they are hardly observable directly or measurable; but it is all very much about the observer, rather than the person being observed.

Theories of the other are influenced by much that goes on around the person (devalued or not)—what others say about and to the other person, the opportunities provided or denied, the roles that are occupied, etc. SRV puts the emphasis on the circumstances that lead to and exacerbate devaluation—the adversity, wounds and societal dynamics, etc. However, individual responses to such overwhelming adversity are probabilistic, and one of the factors that should be taken into account, when considering the impact of devaluation and wounding, are people’s self theories—their mind-sets about themselves—that are much more in the subjective realm.

Much is going on in the mind of the devalued person, in our minds and in the minds of other observers. We are all constantly giving meaning to our lives and we all construct self theories that encompass our beliefs about ourselves, others and the world. These theories are (in)formed by the self theories of others (as these self theories get expressed in a variety of behaviors) and by circumstances. For instance, in times of adversity, the “failure set” is the mind-set of an individual who has experienced a lot of what seems to be inescapable adversity and who holds (as we shall see) a negative theory of self. One can however imagine (indeed, we often meet) individuals who

have positive self theories and who are coping successfully with a lot of adversity—such persons seem unlikely to develop a failure set.

Carol Dweck (2000) in her book on “Theories of the Self” provides a cogent and well-documented description of what goes on in our minds and how such theories—our mind-set—come about and their daily impact on our lives. The theories we hold about ourselves and others can do good or ill, lead to good outcomes or bad outcomes. Moreover, and this is key, we can change our minds (and mind-sets), and help change the minds of others. Indeed, the teaching of Social Role Valorization is surely about changing people’s mind-sets.

Self Theories and Personal Development

LIVING UP TO ONE’S POTENTIAL would seem like a universal goal and an elegant way of summing up most of the pedagogic and therapeutic enterprise. Parents (and professionals) get a lot of conflicting advice about how best to encourage learning and developmental progress, and it would seem that some of the “common sense” that prevails today is downright harmful; and it all starts with what goes on in our minds and the minds of people we serve—the ideas we and they formulate and the beliefs we and they hold and communicate have consequences.

Individuals develop systems of beliefs that “organize their world and give meaning to their experiences” (p. xi), what Dweck calls “meaning systems.” This idea has a venerable history in psychology, and Dweck references George Kelly’s (1955) personal constructs theory and A.N. Whitehead’s (1938) interactionist theory, both important players in the development of role and personal identity theories. She adds that Jean Piaget, the famous Swiss developmental psychologist mostly known for his work on cognitive development in children, came to the realization at the end of his life that meaning systems were just as important as cognitive skills in shaping thinking and behavior, and overall personal development.

The path to personal development requires, among other things, successful skill acquisition and performance mastery. However, certain beliefs (or mind-sets) about how best to go about promoting personal development that are widespread amongst parents, teachers and other professionals are at odds with research. It would seem that our tendency to value intelligence (particularly IQ) and give easy praise will most assuredly backfire; Dweck shows that a number of our common beliefs are simply not supported by the evidence:

- High ability does not increase the likelihood of mastering a difficult task;
- School success does not necessarily translate into mastery-oriented qualities;
- Praising a person’s intelligence does not increase the likelihood of mastery;
- Confidence in one’s intelligence does not lead to mastery.

It all comes down to the theories we hold about intelligence and performance, and it would seem that such beliefs override innate ability: the beliefs are more powerful than the actual capacity, and are the un-examined conditions of successful mastery and development. This, we surmise, is particularly critical for individuals who for whatever reason have impaired capacities. Such beliefs will lead a person to persevere and succeed, or quit and fail, and to view developmental challenges in fundamentally different ways: as moments of personal validation or as opportunities for learning and growth.

Dweck presents beliefs about intelligence as polarities on a continuum (pp. 2-4), with people tending to believe either in:

1. A theory of fixed intelligence, an “entity theory” where intelligence is something that we have within us and that we can’t change—our genetic endowment fixed once for all time—fixed entity theorists; or
2. A theory of malleable intelligence, an “incremental theory,” where intelligence can be increased by one’s efforts—incrementalists.

Throughout the book, Dweck provides research examples that highlight that the first theory is fine for coping with easy performance tasks. In elementary school, for instance, both theories seem benign. But when tasks require effort, persistence, and where there is a high likelihood of failure, the fixed theory of intelligence is very likely to lead its adherents to failure.

Though SRV is applicable universally to people who are systematically disadvantaged, it is often closely associated to people with cognitive impairments where intelligence–IQ–is viewed as very important. It is quite possible that in the ‘intellectual developmental disabilities’ field we have perversely put too much importance on IQ and cognitive ability, thus making such constructs into a fixed and unchangeable reality. As we shall see, there is a clear advantage in believing that intelligence and other traits can be changed, i.e., improved.

Helplessness Versus Mastery

IT IS NOT so much about success, but rather how we view failure. Dweck and her many colleagues cited throughout this book identified two distinct reactions to failure: one is helplessness (as described by Seligman [1972] in his seminal work, a construct very close to the “failure set”) where individuals view failures as beyond their control, retreat from the task at hand, and such experiences then affect future performance. People with a fixed view of intelligence are much more likely to feel helpless in the face of failure. For example, high performing individuals who are fixed entity theorists will expect each performance to end in success, and given past successes and past praise about their ability, they will tend to view failure very personally. It will lead such persons to limit risk-taking (failure avoidance) when it comes to performing new tasks. One can imagine that for individuals with limited ability this failure avoidance might lead to a performance paralysis. For fixed entity theorists, failure leads to helplessness and victimhood.

On the other hand, people who hold an incremental theory of ability are more likely to face failure as a necessary stage in the process of development—a learning opportunity, a step towards mastery. Such a mind-set leads individuals to view each failure as a learning opportunity, because the point is not so much demonstrating mastery as it is learning and, in a sense, earning mastery. Such people are less likely to feel helpless.

Observing a young child learning to stand and then walk—with many falls punctuating each attempt—one can appreciate that a robust belief in incremental theories is at the heart of much learning, and that such beliefs are, early on, part of the human make-up. But as we shall see, it is possible to lose the faith.

Performance Versus Learning Goals (Looking Smarter Versus Getting Smarter)

FIXED ENTITY THEORISTS think they are smart and want to look smart. Thus they perform a task for all to see (to earn praise), and cannot abide failure. Incremental theorists posit learning goals in order to master new skills. Failure for the first group leads to helplessness, but for the second it will provoke renewed effort; these are two very different ways of coming into the same activity where the goals are fundamentally different. Citing a series of elegant studies, Dweck shows that it is the person’s theory that predicts (causes) the choice of the goal, and the outcome. Fixed entity theorists want to show what they have, whereas incrementalists choose to try something that will be a challenge and increase the likelihood of short-term failure.

Some children “feel smart” when they demonstrate intelligence and show that they can easily accomplish something, whereas others “feel smart” when they do something difficult. Easy praise and praising intelligence leads children to the wrong theory of intelligence.

Such self-theories of intelligence:

- predict differences in achievement (particularly when facing a challenging task) and over the long run;

- elicit high or low levels of effort;
- predict self-esteem, loss and depressive reactions to negative events.

Theories of intelligence are changeable, as shown in stereotype threat studies of African-Americans (Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 2002), where teaching an incremental theory will help individuals overcome the threat of the stereotype of racially linked low performance—the broadly held theory that African-Americans are less intelligent than other racial groups; the stereotype is so powerful that it leads African-Americans to perform less well in testing situations. But a bit of teaching about the malleability of intelligence can counteract the effect of the stereotype. It is good for individuals to believe that they can be smarter than they think they are (or than other people tell them they are). It is instructive that personal theories can trump strongly and broadly held stereotypes.

Having confidence in one's abilities and experiencing success are again not enough to ensure long-term success. It comes back to how a person explains to him/herself (one's ongoing conversation with one's self—one's stream of consciousness) such success, and the type of evidence that is marshaled to support such confidence. Confidence in one's intelligence is a good predictor of success if the task is not difficult, but in the face of difficulty such confidence is fragile. These differences start showing up when schooling becomes more technically difficult, especially in middle and high school. If the self-explanation ends up being "this is the way I am," then the person is likely to end up as a passive victim of circumstances, rather than as an active agent of self-change and self-development.

It is not, however, a question of whether a self theory is true or false, but whether it is positive or negative, useful or harmful. Indeed, what is the "truth" about intelligence or personality? There is little doubt that they are determined by a combination of endowment (nature) and experience (nurture). There is not much to be done about na-

ture, thus it is best—most useful—to hold a robust belief about the malleability of such entities; that nurture can have a dramatic impact. That is the point of the developmental model—the human being, even an individual with important impairments, is a remarkably adaptive organism—individuals develop and can change. So when an individual who seems cognitively limited, presents challenges or is not doing well, do we dwell on nature—the fixed entity—or do we exploit nurture, and provide the opportunities and circumstances for positive development? Which belief or mind-set will be the most useful? Which belief will lead to the most creativity, effort and persistence?

What is Intelligence and IQ?

MANY PEOPLE START with the belief that intelligence is innate—a fixed entity. This, Dweck suggests, was not a belief held by the originator of IQ testing, Alfred Binet, who designed the IQ test to determine who was not benefitting from schooling. His purpose was to identify kids who needed help to thrive. Binet was an incrementalist. The appropriate theory to hold is that intelligence is a combination of ability and effort, but mostly effort. The American inventor, Thomas Edison, suggested that genius was 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration. Dweck points out that what intelligence is, is a hotly debated subject and that it is difficult to define. Dweck suggests that a better question is: "What is the most useful way of thinking about intelligence and what are the consequences of adoption of one view over another?" (p. 63).

To the question "can we measure intellectual potential?" (p. 60), the author answers a resounding no; and this is quite consistent with SRV assumptions concerning the developmental model. We can try to predict future performance (not potential) but even then the margins of error are large even for academic success; intelligence is useless to predict life success. Indeed, SRV teaches that we can glimpse an individual's potential when its life circumstances are optimal—and we should

now add, if that person holds an incrementalist theory of ability.

J.R. Flynn in 2007, a big name in intelligence testing, wrote a very accessible article on the IQ controversy that ends up suggesting that IQ is never a measure of potential (not a fixed entity) but rather a measure of realized intelligence that is very much dependent on opportunity; better opportunities and we can all become smarter—that is something worth believing in. So it would seem that for intelligence at least (as measured by I.Q.), a malleable theory is not only more useful, it is quite likely true.

Fixed or Malleable Personality?

IT SEEMS THAT this fixed versus malleable mind-set (theory) is not only applicable to intelligence but also to personality. Thus, a fixed theory of personality ('I'm born that way') leads to helplessness in difficult or novel social situations, with social failure leading to depression. This applies to ourselves and also to the theories we hold about other people. People with fixed entity theories will tend to judge and label others quickly, and will be unlikely to revise such judgments. Fixed entity theorists tend to believe that a single incident reveals a person's underlying character.

It is intriguing to apply such concepts to the growing trend of labeling an individual's problem (of behavior, thought or emotion) with diagnoses that tend to be viewed as fixed entities by many if not most professionals and by the clients-patients themselves. What is the likelihood of change when overwhelmingly we accept such labels as chronic diseases? Fixed or entity theories cannot be developmental because they are inured to the idea of developmental failure; that is the way such and such (read diagnostic label) is, and always will be. Indeed, Dweck demonstrates that our beliefs about the potential of ourselves and others to change predicts our own change and the likelihood of offering opportunities for change to others. Entity theorists give up on themselves and on others. I cannot help but recall a number of

discussions I've had with child welfare and mental health professionals about children with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder (FASD) and other problems (Addictions, ODD and Tourette's come to mind). Children and youth diagnosed with FASD are viewed as damaged for life—the intra-uterine experience of alcohol setting in cement once and forever a damaged intelligence and problems of self-regulation. There is much here that resembles the fundamental attribution error, where trait factors are overvalued and situational factors are ignored or discounted. It is worth noting that much research puts the lie to the pessimistic (fixed entity) claims about the potential of children with FASD (Jacobson *et al.*, 2004; Olson *et al.*, 2009), where development is much more affected by parental lifestyle and competence after birth than alcohol-induced intrauterine trauma. It was the same story for the so-called "crack-baby" epidemic in the 1990s (Okie, 2009); these children ended up doing very well, and as a group were statistically indistinguishable from the general population.

It would seem that incremental theories based as they are on a view that intelligence and other personal traits are malleable fits reality much better, because contrary to what entity theory would predict, much of the research shows that people can change their theories of self, and can also overcome developmental and life challenges and achieve successful lives, even after past adversity and failure. On the nature-nurture debate, self theories are on the side of nurture, along with child development researchers such as Jerome Kagan (2000) and Urie Bronfenbrenner (2005). There is no denying nature, but theories of self are yet another epi-genetic factor that greatly influences development.

The Origins of Self Theories

CHILDREN DEVELOP SELF THEORIES very early on. The feedback of adults (parents and teachers) lays the foundation for such theories, and such feedback likely comes

from the adults' own implicit theories. The way in which we praise and criticize will shape how children view themselves and their developmental progress. Praising (or criticizing) a child's traits (beauty, intelligence, goodness, etc.) sets the child up to believe that his good performance is inevitable and not really in his or her control, but rather simply how the child is, and their fortuitous genetic endowment. Feedback that focuses on strategy and effort, on the other hand, leads children to view themselves as agents of change, and that the performance per se is less important than the judicious choices and efforts that are deployed. This holds true for intellectual tasks as well as for displaying required behaviours. Children who receive strategy-focused feedback are more likely to display self-control and self-regulation. Children who receive global praise or trait-related praise tend to develop a contingent feeling of self-worth, that their self-worth is conditional on their continued success. In the face of failure such positive self-appraisal is shattered—such children expect rejection when they fail.

Praising intelligence (“you’re really smart”) will backfire. Dweck points out that we often misinterpret the Pygmalion effect studies (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), concluding that they support praising intelligence when in fact they are about creating theories of positive change in the minds of teachers who were told, in the experimental condition, that the children in their classes were “likely to bloom.” With the belief of change planted in their minds, teachers proceeded to provide these children with enriched opportunities and conditions for learning and development. On average, the IQs of these children increased significantly—again, proof of the malleability of IQ. One of the striking features of this research is how the expectations of one party (in this case teachers) can have a determining impact on another party, the students. I cannot but help reflect on the fact that “likely to bloom” (LTB) is an unlikely diagnosis that could never rival in seriousness with such well established destroyers of the

future as FASD, ODD, ADD, ADHD, ID, ASD, *ad nauseam*.

Effort praise seems quite prosaic and even mundane, and yet as Dweck shows it is a more appropriate and fulsome form of praise:

But effort and strategy praise when given in the right way can be highly appreciative of a child's accomplishments. If a child paints a lovely picture we can ask about and admire how he or she selected the colors, formed the images, or created textures. If a child solves a series of difficult math problems, we can ask with admiration what strategies she or he used and we can admire the concentration that went into it. If children write wonderful stories, we can ask them with admiration how they came up with the interesting characters and story line. We can ask them how they made certain decisions at different points, and we can speculate with them about what might happen next.

In many ways, this kind of “process” discussion is much more appreciative of what the child has done than person praise. Person praise essentially ignores the essence, the true merit, of what was accomplished, and appreciates the work only as a reflection of some ability.

What about times when there is no effort to praise? A student has done something quickly, easily, and perfectly. This is really a time when we are sorely tempted to give intelligence praise. But instead, as I suggested earlier, we should apologize to the student for wasting his or her time with something that was not challenging enough to learn anything from. We should not make easy successes into the pinnacle of accomplishment and we should not be teaching our children that low-effort products are what they should be most proud of. We should direct them into more profitable activities where their time will be better invested. (p. 121)

Praising intelligence and personal traits are to be avoided, but will not do any damage if the person on the receiving end holds firm to their personal theory of incremental growth.

Self-esteem

DWECK POINTS OUT that self-esteem is a problematic concept. The self-esteem movement requires adults to provide ego-boosting feedback and orchestrate easy successes, where positives are exaggerated and failures are sugar-coated; this form of self-esteem requires that we distort reality and even lie. It is, however “a recipe for anger, bitterness, and self-doubt when the world doesn’t fall over itself trying to make them feel good the way parents and teachers did” (p. 128). Moreover, such children are cast into competing for a finite amount of self-esteem; and are in competition not to be better but against others to be the best. With entity theory there are winners and losers.

Entity theorists feel good about themselves when they do things quickly, effortlessly and error-free. Incremental theorists feel good about themselves when they are trying hard, have mastered something independently, or are helping someone else. Thus there are two very different types of self-esteem that are related to the two theories of intelligence and success.

The Purpose of Self Theories

REFERENCING George Kelly’s Personal Construct Theory, Dweck points out “that one of the primary functions of belief systems is to give us the sense that we can predict what will happen” (p. 132). As the author points out a bit further on (p. 151), entity theories are simple-minded and comfortable. However, when the predictions turn out to be erroneous, and failure ensues, the self pays dearly. Incremental theorists make provisional predictions where they are active shapers of the outcome. Entity theorists view themselves as passive and reactive (victims when things go awry), but incremental theorists have agentic views

of themselves (they are active agents) and failure is viewed as a challenge to surmount. An incrementalist theory of development seems to be a requirement for the successful exercise of one’s free will, self-regulation and deployment of autonomy. The developmentally inspired prediction that I need to make is not that I’ll succeed, but rather that I will learn from the experience and try (try) again.

Linking Self Theories to Other Theories and Approaches, Especially Self-efficacy

DWECK SUGGESTS that her approach is within the broad “social cognitive theory” especially concerning how people set up meaning systems. There are resemblances with a variety of “attribution theories,” including Seligman’s work on explanatory styles (how we explain events to ourselves) and learned optimism (Seligman, 1993).

The most striking overlap might be with “self-efficacy theory” (Bandura, 1998; Maddux, 2002), where a person’s mind-set plays an important role in mastering new competencies, and in personal development generally.

Self-efficacy beliefs are my beliefs about what I am capable of doing. Self-efficacy is not self-esteem... A self-efficacy belief, simply put, is the belief that I can perform the behavior that produces the outcome. Self-efficacy is not a personality trait. Most conceptions of competence and control—including self-esteem, locus of control, optimism, hope, hardiness, and learned resourcefulness—are conceived as traits or traitlike. Self-efficacy is defined and measured not as a trait but as beliefs about the ability to coordinate skills and abilities to attain desired goals in particular domains and circumstances. (Maddux, 2002, p. 278)

Self-efficacy is not a genetically endowed trait. Instead, self-efficacy beliefs develop over time and through experience. (Maddux, 2002, p. 279)

Thus a person's beliefs are malleable or not and can lead to self-efficacy or self-inefficacy. Bandura makes the point that optimistic beliefs of efficacy lead to persistence, which is essential when one considers how much rejection and difficulty one must face in one's life. The author argues that overestimating one's capabilities is of great value as it increases people's aspirations and striving. Indeed, it is this constant overestimating of one's capabilities that most probably leads to human development, i.e., improving competence demands taking on the risk of trying to do things that one has not done before. Personal development is assuredly about mastering one new skill after another: attempting a new task that one has not done before is based at least in part on one's previous successes.

If people experience only easy successes they come to expect quick results and are easily discouraged by failure. A resilient sense of efficacy requires experience in overcoming obstacles through perseverant effort. Some setbacks and difficulties in human pursuits serve a useful purpose in teaching that success usually requires sustained effort. After people become convinced they have what it takes to succeed, they persevere in the face of adversity and quickly rebound from setbacks. By sticking it out through tough times, they emerge stronger from adversity. (Bandura, 1998, pp. 2-3)

Bandura (1998) describes five sources of self-efficacy as including:

1. Experience: Being competent in certain situations, achieving success and having mastery experiences all lead to people believing that they have personal self-efficacy. Bandura suggests that what is needed is a resilient sense of self-efficacy where one is led to overcome obstacles through perseverance. This means that a person has experienced success, not cheaply, but through effort.

2. Vicarious experiences: By seeing models that have a perceived similarity to the person achieve

success in certain situations. "Through their behavior and expressed ways of thinking, competent models transmit knowledge and teach observers effective skills and strategies for managing environmental demands. Acquisition of better means raises perceived self-efficacy" (Bandura, 1998, p. 3).

3. Social persuasion including verbal persuasion, where one is encouraged and persuaded to mobilize greater effort, particularly when one harbors self-doubts. Bandura suggests that it's easier to discourage through verbal persuasion than to encourage.

4. Comparison: It's important for persons to measure their effectiveness based on personal improvement rather than on some form of social standard. Self-efficacy beliefs are about personal growth.

5. Mood, affect and emotional states also increase or diminish a person's perceived self-efficacy. "It is not the sheer intensity of emotional and physical reactions that is important but rather how they are perceived and interpreted" (Bandura, 1998, p. 3).

Self Theories and SRV

THE CONCEPT of self theories is also congruent with SRV and its suggestion that adversity (wounds) can lead to a failure set; it is worth isolating and considering the person's self theory as a factor to address through intervention. For people labeled developmentally disabled or, for that matter, most other diagnostic categories (think FASD again), it is likely that the development of entity theories is normative, given the low expectations that overwhelmingly accompany such diagnoses, thus becoming an additional wounding experience.

There is also considerable overlap with SRV's position on developmental potential and its emphasis on developmental growth, rather than achievement per se, and with the emphasis in SRV on contextual circumstances as inhibitors or promoters of personal development. SRV's espousal of the expectancy construct about the

remarkable gains that individuals can achieve is also congruent. Moreover, SRV's goal of enhancing and multiplying valued social roles in order to maximize access to well being (good things of life) makes clear that the person will likely develop and blossom when the contextual circumstances have been improved. Moreover, this is all quite consistent with resilience theory (Clarke & Clarke, 2000) and its emphasis on a return to positive developmental trajectory when adversity and negative contextual circumstances are ended.

What is Missing?

DWECK MAKES NO CLAIMS as to the comprehensiveness of her theory. It doesn't explain all the sources of developmental success or failure. One important factor that is not discussed, except in a very indirect way, is the influence of context and opportunity. Obviously the "others" feedback is part of the context, but context is much broader and must include other tangible sources such as (dis)advantage, poverty, lack of social support, the presence of developmental challenges and opportunities, and much else. The presence (or absence) of the "good things of life" (Wolfensberger, Thomas & Caruso, 1996) or objective well-being, are the necessary preconditions for positive development and flourishing. Social devaluation (Wolfensberger, 2013), a contextual factor of some import for members of marginalized groups, leads to social exclusion and a marked diminishment of well-being that significantly reduce opportunities for development, and create negative stereotypes that produce self-fulfilling prophecies of failure.

A person perceived by society to be of low value is then apt to be treated in ways which reflect this perception: the person is apt to be afforded low quality housing, poor schooling or no education at all, low paying and low-prestige employment (if employment at all), and health care of poor quality. Many other people will want to be

apart from, rather than associated with, the person. The person who is the object of devaluation will thus be rejected, separated and excluded. And all sorts of good things which are enjoyed by valued persons will be withheld from, or taken from, a devalued person, including supportive relationships, respect, autonomy and participation in the activities of valued persons. (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 22)

Social Role Valorization theory also posits the concept of mind-sets as fundamental and in a way that calls to mind self theories, or theories of the other.

Mind-sets and expectancies related to potential for growth and development that are consistent with SRV are: that all people, no matter how impaired or oppressed, have a capacity for growth and change; and that this capacity is much greater than most people realize, than is evident from a person's current life conditions and functioning, and than is elicited from the vast majority of people by their life circumstances. A related mind-set is that it is more adaptive to assume—until shown otherwise—that a person can learn, can be taught, can do something, than to start off with the assumption that a person cannot perform or learn something. (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 134)

Dweck partially addresses this in her discussion of stereotype threat for African-Americans (see above), where research has shown that a deliberate strategy of teaching a contrary (incrementalist) theory of development can lead to better outcomes. But it is likely that it is not only the theory but also the concomitant opportunities that must be present to ensure the effect. For the members of many marginalized groups—who are dependent on others for access to developmental opportunities—such circumstances are still not present, and

devaluation and social prejudice continue to prevent people from achieving their potential, and indeed increases the likelihood of developmental failure and poor life outcomes. Thinking of children and youth in the care of the state who are labeled with one of the familiar diagnoses of gloom, such as FASD, reminds me of that card-carrying entity theorist, Inspector Javert—in *Les Misérables*—and his relentless pursuit of Jean Valjean because “once a thief always a thief.” The human service system also has its relentless Inspector Javerts who relentlessly diagnose and label, and thus convince an individual and the people around that he or she cannot grow, learn and change. Obviously the theory inspires action and intervention, and such ideas have consequences.

Self Theories and Human Service Reform

FIXED ENTITY THEORISTS would tend to be stuck with the status quo. Indeed, it is worthy of mention that many of the great reformers of human service practice held incrementalist beliefs and viewed marginalized groups as malleable and underachieving their potential. Certainly that was the case of the Quaker, William Tuke (1732-1822), with his Moral Treatment and his charting of the remarkable developmental progress of individuals who had previously been locked up, and for Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) who around the same time unchained “les aliénés de la Salpêtrière.” The famous work of Jean-Marc Gaspard Itard (1774-1838) with Victor, the wild boy of Aveyron, was based on an abiding belief that the boy, who had been long abandoned in the wild, could learn to talk and read, and behave appropriately in social settings, which led to much pedagogic experimentation. Edouard Séguin (1812-1880), the French physician, who later emigrated to the USA and founded what is now the American Association for Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (AAIDD), was Itard’s student and further refined and developed Itard’s systematic teaching strategies for people with developmental disabilities.

Maria Montessori (1870-1952), the education reformer, who was much influenced by the work of both Itard and Séguin, first worked with children with intellectual disabilities, became convinced that children could do much more and better, and went on to apply her revolutionary approaches to engaging students (her scientific pedagogy) to children and youth generally. Upon returning from his tour of Scandinavian services in the 1960s, and his own experiences in Nebraska, Wolfensberger (1972) became convinced that activation and normalization could lead to individuals achieving great developmental gains in mobility, skills and intelligence:

I found it remarkable that the Scandinavians could achieve so much ambulation, mobility, and normalization even without the application of operant conditioning which we have come to look upon as our only or major tool in improving the competence of the severely impaired. Furthermore, while much work is done with children, the Scandinavians, like ourselves, have only begun to exploit the plasticity of early childhood for developmental purposes.

These observations have led me to conclude that even the Scandinavians are nowhere near the limit of what can be achieved. Therefore, I have formulated a bold—perhaps foolhardy—challenge to ourselves: to perceive and embrace a concept of activation which includes as a major goal the virtually total abolition of immobility, and to a large extent also nonambulation, of the profoundly retarded and multiply handicapped.

Furthermore, I feel that the facts justify the conclusion that the service system which will combine operant shaping techniques, activation, normalization, and intensive emphasis upon the young (age 0-6) impaired child will see successes of a degree beyond our power to conceptualize at this

time. Among these successes will also be the prevention of intellectual retardation in many severely cerebral palsied children; and the raising of intellectual functioning of many young retarded children by one, two, and perhaps even more levels (a level having a range of about 15-16 IQ points). (p. 127)

Indeed, I recall hearing, at a United Nations' conference in 1994, the Swedish physician and reformer, Karl Grunewald (see Grunewald, 1969), present population data for Sweden that showed convincingly that since the introduction of Normalization in the 1960s, the cohort of people earlier identified as "mildly intellectually disabled" were no longer distinguishable in the population data, and that other groups had also seen their IQ scores rise significantly.

To promote change, you have to start with an abiding belief in the malleability—the changeability—of intelligence, personality, people and systems, otherwise why try and especially why persist in the face of the inevitable obstacles?

Conclusion

THERE IS A RICH RESEARCH and theory base for many of Wolfensberger's contentions about mind-sets and expectancies. SRV's original contribution to this literature concerns social devaluation and how it should be considered as a factor in exacerbating the effects of mind-sets. Mainstream research seems to emphasize the importance of the mind-sets of service recipients, rather than those of observers, but Dweck's self theories construct is congruent with SRV, and fills in an important gap in understanding the dynamic aspects of mind-sets and expectancies. Moreover, self theories are an important factor in the development of personal agency, a subject that could use more development in SRV theory. Self theories have broad applicability in our service work with all vulnerable clients, our management of human resources and, of course, in our personal lives.

When serving individuals with disability or disadvantage, it is quite possible that many human service practices and programs are predicated on a fixed entity theory of inability and dependence. Keeping in mind "if this, then that" thinking (Wolfensberger, 1995), if the people we serve are not doing well, progressing developmentally, or indeed flourishing, then we should examine our mind-sets and theirs. Taking up and competently performing social roles requires, at the outset, that we believe that an individual has the potential, and that with practice and support will be able to achieve the roles, and that failures along the way are merely the necessary and expected challenges of developing and growing.

Here, in conclusion, are just a few action implications that come from these ideas:

Personal Implications

1. We should practice mindfulness (consciousness) and examine our own thought processes and mind-sets—our ideas and theories have consequences for ourselves and for others.

2. We must take seriously the importance of feedback, how we provide it to others and interpret it when we ourselves receive feedback.

3. We must, each and every one of us, consciously work at developing an incrementalist theory of personal development that views all of our traits as malleable, and where growth and mastery are expected.

4. When we are paralyzed by failure, or depressed, we must examine our deep-rooted assumptions about our abilities and potential, and if we have defaulted to fixed entity beliefs, we dispute them strenuously.

5. We should construct theories that are essentially useful in promoting development and flourishing and give voice to these in our interactions with people who surround us and the people we care about and for.

Intervention Implications

1. We should practice mindfulness (consciousness) and examine our own thought processes and

mind-sets, and the assumptions upon which our service programs and practices are based; our ideas and theories have consequences for ourselves and for others.

2. Negative prognoses, and much of the medical model-inspired diagnostic enterprise, have a pernicious effect on the mind-sets of all parties involved, and we should systematically reject pessimistic mind-sets in regards to outcomes. Of course, this does not mean that we should adopt magical thinking, but we must provide everyone involved with a rationale and the resolve to try and try again.

3. We must take seriously the importance of feedback, especially how we convey feedback to others, and how we then enhance opportunities for positive development.

4. We must deliberately adopt incrementalist (developmental) perspectives about all the people we serve.

5. We should firmly believe in the possibility of personal growth and development for all: everyone can change—everyone can do well, and we must never be surprised by the remarkable gains that individuals can achieve, even individuals with profound cognitive impairments and advanced dementia. ♡

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RAY LEMAY is the former editor of *SRV/VRS: The International Social Role Valorization Journal/La Revue Internationale de la Valorisation des Rôles Sociaux*.

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Lemay, R. (2015). Resetting the mindset by choosing “theories” that help rather than harm. *The SRV Journal*, 10(1), 30–42.

APPEAR: OBSERVING, RECORDING & ADDRESSING PERSONAL PHYSICAL APPEARANCE BY MEANS OF THE APPEAR TOOL

a publication by Wolf Wolfensberger[†]

PERSONAL APPEARANCE (including so-called 'self-presentation') is certainly one of the most immediate, and often also one of the most powerful, influences on how a person will be perceived and interpreted by others, and in turn, on how others will respond to and treat the person. Personal appearance is also one of the domains of social imagery, which is a big component of Social Role Valorization (SRV): the more observers positively value a person's appearance, the more likely they are to afford that person opportunities to fill valued roles, and thereby access to the good things in life. Unfortunately, the appearance of many members of societally marginal or devalued classes is far from enhancing, or is even outright repellent to many people, and increases the risk that bad things get done to them, or that good things are withheld from them.

This 2009 book explains all this. APPEAR is an acronym for **A Personal Physical Appearance Evaluation And Record**. It documents the powerful influence of personal appearance on attitudes, social valuation and social interactions. The book explains the many components of personal appearance and the ways in which these features can be changed for better or worse. It also includes a very detailed checklist, called the APPEAR tool, which identifies over **200 separate elements** of personal physical appearance, so that one can review a person's appearance features from head to toe, noting which are positive, which are neutral, which are negative—all this with a view to perhaps trying to improve selected aspects of a person's appearance about which something can actually be done. The book also explains how such an appearance review, or appearance 'audit,' would be done.

The book contains a sample APPEAR checklist at the back, and comes with three separate checklist booklets ready for use in conducting an individual appearance audit. Additional checklists may be ordered separately (see order form on next page).

Reading the book, and especially using the APPEAR tool, can be useful as a consciousness-raiser about the importance of appearance, and in pointing out areas for possible appearance improvement. An appearance audit using APPEAR can be conducted by a person's service workers, advocates, family members and even by some people for themselves. It could be very useful in individual service and futures-planning sessions, and in getting a person ready for a new activity, role or engagement (for instance, before entering school or going on a job interview).

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On a Role

Marc Tumeinski

Introduction

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE of this ongoing column is to explore the key concept of social roles: in regard to (a) learning and teaching about roles, (b) assessing role dynamics (as in PASSING), and (c) working to help societally devalued people to acquire and maintain socially valued roles, with an eye towards greater access to the ‘good things of life’ (Wolfensberger, Thomas & Caruso, 1996).

A careful reading and analysis of a 2014 article by Martin *et al.* about typical young people’s transitions into specific adult roles can help to underscore the ongoing relevance of Social Role Valorization (SRV) theory—including its potential links with contemporary research—and to highlight several SRV-relevant implementation strategies. The article, entitled “The timing of entry into adult roles and changes in trajectories of problem behaviors during the transition to adulthood,” was published in the journal *Developmental Psychology* in 2014. The research described in the article may also prove useful in teaching others about SRV.

The research involved people with typical social status but has potential implications for people of devalued social status, as this column tries to demonstrate. While the article describes a single study, and thus is necessarily circumscribed in scope, its implications and lessons are relevant to many of the theoretical constructs underlying SRV. For basic details of the research study and

methodology, please see the note at the end of this column.

The article authors describe a study of timing concerning entry into adult roles related to marriage, parenthood and employment. In SRV theory, these adult roles may be understood as big roles with a broad bandwidth, and thus with a greater potential impact for opening the door to the ‘good things of life’ (Wolfensberger, 2013, pp. 51-52; Wolfensberger, Thomas & Caruso, 1996; cf. Tumeinski, On a role, December 2011; Tumeinski, On a role, June 2013). Note as well the focus on two role domains described in SRV; namely, relationship and occupation (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 50). The focus on multiple roles related to marriage, parenthood and work is consistent with other studies that describe entry into adulthood as a process of transitioning into a cluster of adult roles (e.g., Hartmann & Swartz, 2006).

This question of timing of role entry might profitably be contextualized within the SRV concept of the culturally valued analogue (Wolfensberger & Thomas, 2007, pp. 30-31). When do people normatively take on a particular societally valued role? At what ages do adults typically get married within a particular culture? When do adults normatively begin full-time work in a specific society? Cultural norms provide a guideline for when such role transitions typically occur, at least within a range of normative ages (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2474; cf. Tumeinski, On a role, 2014).

The authors note that the transition period from adolescence to young adulthood has the potential to be a time during which challenging adolescent behaviors can escalate into even more seriously problematic behaviors. What do the authors propose in terms of addressing the possibility of escalation, and what SRV lessons can we derive from this study? For SRV purposes, this point might be broadened beyond the question of age-specific negative conduct in typical adolescents to consider the common behavioral response patterns to certain wounds and clusters of wounds, that is, the problematic ways that some devalued people of any age can act in response to their social devaluation and wounding. A frequently asked question in many human services is how to respond to problematic patterns of behavior.

The basic hypothesis of the study is that relatively earlier and successful transition into adult marriage and work roles will likely correlate with a disruption, reduction or outright elimination of

problematic behaviors typically associated with adolescence and young adulthood, such as drug use, risky driving practices, vandalism, theft, etc. (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2473). This research focus ties in with the SRV description of a social role as incorporating patterns of behavior (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 45). By studying the question ‘when do young adults typically get married?’, this hypothesis also touches on the concept of age-appropriateness discussed in SRV and PASSING (Wolfensberger & Thomas, 2007, p. 29).

The authors categorize the results of their study depending on when a person married: at a younger age, around the mean age, and older than the average age. It should be understood, however, that these three categories all fall within a range of typical ages for marriage based on cultural norms in the relevant society. Generally, the results reported in the article note that those who married earlier than the average age, though still within the norm, stopped problematic behaviors earlier

Invitation to Write Book, Film & Article Reviews

From the Editor

I ENCOURAGE OUR READERS to submit reviews to *The SRV Journal* of current films, books and articles. For people who are studying SRV, looking for everyday examples can help deepen one’s understanding. For people who are teaching SRV, learning from and using contemporary examples from the media in one’s teaching can be very instructive for audiences. For people who are implementing SRV, contemporary examples can provide fruitful ideas to learn from. Some books and articles mention SRV specifically; others do not but are still relevant to SRV. Both are good subjects for reviewing. We have written guidelines for writing book and film reviews. If you would like to get a copy of either set of guidelines, please let me know at:

Marc Tumeinski
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(Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2480). Those who married around the mean age similarly demonstrated an effective reduction of socially deviant behavior (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2480). Additionally, taking on a role of wife or husband closer to the mean age was found to powerfully decrease negative behaviors even more quickly and effectively than those who married earlier than the average. The authors posit that this greater effectiveness may be in part because such role incumbents are more prepared for and committed to the new role, when they marry closer to the mean age (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2474). Those who married later than mean age often continued to escalate in problem behaviors right up until marriage. However, even later marriage showed rapid decline in typical negative behaviors associated with young adulthood (Martin *et al.*, 2014, pp. 2475, 2480). Overall, taking on the new valued role of wife or husband, anytime within the typical age range, did correlate with a reduction or elimination of problematic behaviors associated with adolescence and young adulthood. Once again, this idea of a typical age range is consistent with the SRV concept of the culturally valued analogue.

The results of this study relate to one of the role goals described by Wolfensberger in the SRV monograph, that is, entry into new valued roles (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 113). Rather than focusing mechanistically on (negative) behavior, the results of this paper imply that it is better to focus more fundamentally on adding a new societally valued role, such as employee, wife or husband. Acquiring and internalizing new valued social roles, particularly big ones with a broad bandwidth, can help to change or replace problematic ways of behaving. This is a core insight of SRV theory, teaching and implementation. It also confronts the widespread fixation on behavior and behaviorism in certain human service fields.

The authors were clear that taking on marriage and family roles should not be understood as simplistically causing a reduction or elimination of problematic behaviors. Rather, they point to

a correlation that expresses itself over time. This caution is consistent with the SRV understanding of roles as complex social realities. Roles are comprised of societal patterns of responsibilities, behaviors, expectations and privileges. They are linked with social status and impact on personal identity. Roles are rooted in social groupings, including primary and secondary social systems, and society in general (Wolfensberger, 2013, pp. 45, 103-105). We can thus identify particular roles within each role domain that tend to have valued social status throughout society, and thus are likely to open the door to greater access to the 'good things of life' available in that society—although the value of particular roles can vary somewhat within certain subcultures and social systems (cf. Wolfensberger, Thomas & Caruso, 1996). Such careful societal analysis is key to understanding and implementing SRV.

Compared with marriage and parenthood roles, the research found that entry into adult, full-time work roles did not result in similar decreases in problematic behaviors (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2482). Thus, according to this study, the role domain of relationship had a greater potential to make positive change than the role domain of productivity and employment, at least for those moving from adolescence to adulthood. The authors hypothesized that this may be due to the quality of work that young adults typically find, i.e., that low paying, insecure or tedious jobs may not contribute as much to disrupting problematic behaviors. Work roles that are satisfying, stable and well-compensated may do better at such disruption (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2482). This is an example of the SRV strategy of 'bending over backwards' to support the most valued roles possible (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 153-156). In terms of SRV implementation, this conclusion may also provide some guidance when considering which role domain or domains to focus on with a particular person or group.

Why did entry into marriage, parent and work roles make a positive difference? The authors pos-

it several reasons (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2474), many of which are consistent with SRV, including that:

- such roles bring strong expectations of positive social behavior
- they impose certain obligations which are incompatible with problematic behavior
- these roles change the typical daily routine of role incumbents, leaving less time for socially deviant or problem behavior
- more time is likely spent in positive interactions with positive role models

I would add that sociologist Robert Merton's concept of anticipatory socialization (1968) may also contribute to the positive differences associated with acquiring adult valued roles. In other words, those who desire to enter a particular role may begin to change behavior accordingly, in anticipation of and even prior to acquiring the role. Further, the authors prudently note that it can take time to fully enter into and internalize a new role (Martin *et al.*, 2014, p. 2481). In terms of SRV implementation, this is a useful reminder.

Other Potential Connections with SRV

THE FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH ARTICLE and study was fairly delimited, in line with its research scope and methodology. For SRV purposes, therefore, it may be fruitful to consider potentially broader relevance to SRV. The potential links to and implications for SRV teaching, theory development and implementation go beyond the role domains of relationships, specifically marriage in the cited research, and of occupation. Historically, it is clear that not all or even a majority of adults with significant intellectual impairments have taken on the role of wife or husband, for example. Additionally, full employment, particularly in full-time jobs with positive social value and equal benefits, is something that so many adults with impairments still have not had. These two examples are merely meant to be illustrative, since an exploration of the processes of societal devaluation that

have contributed to both gaps (in marriage and employment) goes beyond the scope of this column. (Note that devaluation is likely only one of the factors that have contributed to these observable gaps.) Nor is this caution meant to minimize the potential societal value of such valued roles.

Without losing sight of the power of valued roles within the domains of relationship and employment, those who are applying SRV can consider the points discussed in the cited research study more broadly. Some examples follow.

In what ways might the above conclusions have relevance to the other role domains, such as relationships other than marriage, residence, leisure, civic identity, cultus/values, and culture (Wolfensberger, 2013, p. 50)? What valued roles in each domain are age-specific? For role domains other than relationship and work, what is the range of typical ages for acquiring specific, relevant roles? When do adults in a particular society typically take on the role of apartment tenant? How about the role of homeowner? At what ages do adults in a specific culture normatively acquire the role of museum member or of member of a local religious congregation? What is the range of possible entry ages: younger, mean, and older? Under what circumstances might it be potentially beneficial to work towards entry into a valued role on the earlier end of the spectrum? What are the potential benefits and consequences of moving into a valued role on the later end? And so on. For those who are teaching about SRV, and/or trying to implement it, such additional considerations can be helpful. I encourage readers of *The SRV Journal* to submit articles to the *Journal* on this and related topics. ☺

Background of Study

The study took place from 1989 through 2010, and included 451 study participants from largely rural areas within a single state in the US. The study participants were from European-American backgrounds, and largely lower middle-class to middle-class economic circumstances. The study

began when participants were 12 years old. All participants had to initially be living with both parents and have at least one sibling. While study results did vary between female and male participants, the basic trends were consistent, and thus I did not separate these out for the purposes of this column focused on social roles.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: My thanks to Joe Osburn for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this column.

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- 6b Various Beliefs That Played a Role in Menacization (4:59)
- 6c Human Service Assumptions Based in Materialism (14:18)
- 6d Further Menacization Through "Treatments" Based on Punishments (31:23)
- 6e Regimentation and the Use of Military Imagery (17:07)
- 7a Historical Lines of Influence in the Perversion of Western Human Services (14:51)
- 7b Core Realities, Strategies and Defining Characteristics of Contemporary Services (31:21)
- 7c Some Conclusions (10:53)

REVIEWS MORE

ROMANIA'S ABANDONED CHILDREN: DEPRIVATION, BRAIN DEVELOPMENT, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOVERY. By C. NELSON, N. FOX & C. ZEANAH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014. **REVIEW AVAILABLE ONLINE @ www.srvip.org**

Reviewed by Thomas Malcomson

THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK is the Budapest Early Intervention Program (BEIP) aimed at studying the impact on children placed in Romanian state run institutions, and the placement of some of those children in foster homes, in comparison with children raised within their family of birth. Social Role Valorization (SRV) is not mentioned once in the book, but much of the work relates to SRV, either as further evidence for the basic social science underlying the theory or in regards to the normalizing power of a family life.

Institutional rearing of children was established under communist rule in post-World War II Romania. The state held that it could raise children more effectively than families, though this false belief was aimed more at increasing the available workforce than meeting the needs of children. With the fall of communism, the Romanian economy collapsed and many families abandoned children they could not support to the state. This resulted in overcrowding in the institutions, and the desperate and degrading conditions that followed. International adoptions, hesitatingly allowed at first, were stopped in 1991, amid financial corruption of the adoption system and fears of child enslavement and sex trafficking. Nine months later, the moratorium was lifted, and a reformed adoption system was created, including international adoptions. This led to more institutionalization of abandoned children. International adoptions were finally outlawed in 2005 as Romania sought entrance into the European Union.

Nelson, Fox and Zeanah approached the Romanian government in 1999 to conduct a study on

the impact of institutional living on the children and the potential benefits of institutionalized children being placed with foster families. The authors began working with Romanians involved with a growing child welfare reform movement within the country in 2000. The book follows a group of 136 children placed in the six institutions of Budapest, and a group of 72 children raised in their own families, residing in the city. None of the children had any detected mental or physical disability or emotion disorder at the time of placement in the institution or at the time of selection as one of the children living with their natural family. The children raised in their birth families were matched for age, birth in the same set of maternity hospitals, and ethnicity with those who were institutionalized. Nelson *et al.* randomly assigned 68 children living in the institution group and placed them in selected foster families while the remaining 68 children stayed in the institution.

The random selection of children to leave or stay in the institution raises ethical concerns. The authors felt it was the only way to test the effects of institutional living and the potential remediation of foster care. Nelson *et al.* assure the reader that they did not block any adoption, foster home placement or return to their family of birth for any of the children in the group randomly selected to remain in the institution. No child placed in a foster home was returned to the institution if their original foster arrangement failed; they were simply placed in another foster home. The testing and assessment of those placed in foster homes was performed in the institution, and the early trips from foster family back to the facility for these appointments provoked signs of great anxiety and distress in the children.

Nelson *et al.* have collected data on a wide range of impacts on the children living in the institution and those placed in foster care as compared

with children raised within their family of birth and never institutionalized. Children raised in institutions had lower IQ scores, poorer executive function (especially in the area of inhibitory control) and memory problems, as well as significant language delays. Children placed into foster care prior to age two made significant recovery in these areas but never matched the level obtained by those reared within their family of origin. Brain size was smaller and neural activity lower in institutionalized children; again, issues improved by early placement in foster care. The same was true with physical growth, motor development, even at the level of cellular growth.

A lengthy chapter (Chapter 10) examined the socio-emotional development of the children. Here, Nelson *et al.* focus on attachment between the children and the adults within their lives. Institutionalized children did not form appropriate emotional or social relationships with their care providers. There were children identified within that group who had no social attachment to any staff member; while many others approached and hugged any adult who appeared within their ward. The authors make it abundantly clear that secure attachment early in life was clearly linked to positive later life outcomes (up to ages 10 to 12). Problems with attachment were correlated with psychopathology. Again, placement in foster care had a positive impact on this issue, even linking social development changes with functional brain improvements. Girls were found to benefit from foster home placement more than boys, developing more secure attachments and having reduced psychopathology. There were no age differences in terms of foster family placement impact, thus children placed after age two were as likely to thrive emotionally and socially from the improved environment as children placed prior to two.

Nelson *et al.* propose a two element developmental perspective. The first is expectant development, in which the infant encounters developmental opportunities that the vast majority of infants have. An example is the interactive, per-

sonal, loving and dependable relationship with their parents. These interactions give the children opportunity to develop relatively secure attachments and emotional stability. Similar common experiences could be found that promote brain development, memory abilities, etc. The second element is experience-dependent development, in which the specific environment the infant or child lives in provides unique opportunities for development. The institutions fail to provide either of these. Placement within a foster family by age two (in most cases) provides opportunities that meet expectant development that is open after that age and experience dependent opportunities that can compensate for what has not been appropriately developed, at least to some degree.

The evidence in this research demonstrates the profoundly negative effect of mind and life wasting activity in the institution. It reveals proof of the failure of relationships in such settings between staff and resident to promote the basic development of the person, let alone the activity and engagement that allows people to thrive. The gains made by children placed within foster families promotes the importance of a nurturing, stable and loving environment for development. Yet, the 'recovered' development will largely never equal that of children raised in their birth families from the first day. The findings of this long-term research place at center the question; what do people (in this case children) need? The findings demonstrate the physical and psychological wounding of people living in institutional settings. The differences found in brain development, cellular growth, language, attachment and memory (to name but a few areas) between institutionalized and non-institutionalized children foreground the wounding experienced by the former.

Part of the project's aim was to assist the Romanians in enhancing their foster care system. In the early 1990s, it was underdeveloped, underfinanced and viewed with suspicion within the country. By 2008, some 30,000 unionized salaried foster parents were recruited. The public pro-

file of foster care had risen substantially. In 2004, Romania had passed a law that banned institutionalizing any child prior to age two, with the exception of those with severe disabilities. The 2008 global economic downturn resulted in a 25% pay cut to the foster parents, which has produced a mass exodus of foster parents from the foster care system. A hiring freeze on new foster parents only adds to the system's problems. These events serve as a reminder of the vulnerability of those held within in a large bureaucratic system subject to economic volatility and state fiscal policy. Nelson *et al.* suggest that a subsidy system (like that in many western countries) would avoid this problem; a questionable solution.

Thirteen tables, thirteen figures and four images help to convey the research data. The list of sources for the authors' research provides the reader with further explorations of the impact of institutionalization. The index is extensive and very useful.

This book could be used in SRV courses as a resource, an extended case study, or as part of a book review assignment. Nelson *et al.* continue to collect data on the children and the system they are following. As the children reach the end of adolescence another lengthy report of their findings would be worth reading.

THOMAS MALCOMSON, PHD, is a professor at George Brown College in Toronto. Co-author of the textbook *Life-Span Development*, he teaches a course on the history of eugenics.

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THE CASE FOR REPARATIONS. By T. COATES. *The Atlantic*, 2:54-57, June 2014. **REVIEW AVAILABLE ONLINE @ www.srvip.org**

Reviewed by Susan Thomas

THIS COVER STORY stirred up a flurry of discussion, interviews, etc. when it came out. It raises the question whether the American nation ought to make monetary reparations for its long history of enslavement, and other oppressions and devaluations, of black people. Exactly to whom these reparations would be paid is not made clear; see further below. The article also raises important questions about the continuing forms that devaluation takes when its more obvious forms are overcome (or pushed underground), and about how to “make up for” long episodes of devaluation. The article makes and documents the following very strong arguments:

1. Not only the era of slavery in the US, but also the period before it, and the more than century-and-a-half after it, are/were built on exploitation of blacks and their labor.

2. Structural injustice and bias against blacks continues to pervade the banking system and housing market, and especially conspires against black home-ownership. This is important because home-ownership is tied to access to good education and to the accretion of wealth, and inhibition of home-ownership therefore inhibits blacks from attaining these other goods.

3. Even if the pathologies of the modern black family were overcome, blacks still face an unfairly steep climb to success, compared to whites.

4. Even programs such as “affirmative action” do not actually address these disparities.

The author concludes that one major motif or theme that has run through the history of blacks in the US is theft against them, sometimes explicit, but also often hidden, even disguised as programs to benefit them. He calls for at least an exploration of the possibility of making financial reparation to blacks for these centuries of oppres-

sion and theft. He says this exploration would be “a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal” because it would force the nation to confront this major aspect of its history and its present (and for that matter, its likely future). Every year for the past 25 years, a congressman from Detroit, Michigan, John Conyers, has introduced a bill in the US House of Representatives to “study slavery and its lingering effects as well as recommendations for ‘appropriate remedies,’” i.e., reparations. The bill has never even gotten to the floor for debate, but Coates suggests that at this point, it is the study and discussion the bill calls for that are needed. The practicalities of what forms reparations would take, how they would be distributed, and to whom, etc., are to Coates—at least so far—less important than the honest examination of these realities.

Coates also references the post-war payment of reparations by Germany to Israel for the Holocaust of the Jews during World War II as a parallel or antecedent. However, such reparations were opposed (even to the point of violence) by some in Israel on the basis that no material compensation could make up for the attempt to exterminate the Jews. Also, we need to remember that Germany had been thoroughly defeated, and was just emerging from being ruled by occupying forces; it is a big question whether America would ever thoroughly and honestly discuss and consider similar reparations, let alone make them, unless and until it is in a similar situation. Given the nature of empires, it is unlikely.

Not mentioned in the article, but another possible parallel, is the recent efforts (sometimes taking the form of lawsuits, as in Canada) to compensate handicapped people and their families for the era of institutionalization and the abuses they suffered from it.

Apart from Coates’ specific recommendation for reparations to and for this particular historically devalued class, readers familiar with the never-ending tragic reality of human devaluation

and oppression might also consider the following more general questions.

One is “what is the purpose that reparatory efforts are supposed to accomplish?” Are they to punish the oppressor and the oppressor’s descendants, if any? Are they to atone for the oppression? Are they to restore to the oppressed what was theirs? Are they to “level the playing field,” i.e., give the (formerly) oppressed the same chances for success enjoyed by the (former) oppressors? Are they to symbolize an acknowledgment by the oppressors that they have done wrong?

Another, and very important question, is “will such efforts accomplish more good than harm, or more harm than good?” And what are the particular harms and goods?

Yet a third is, “do any of these efforts address the problem at its source—in other words, what, if anything, do they do to get at the root of severe and long-term devaluation and alienation between classes of people?”

A fourth possible question, though at a much lower level than the others, is, “to whom would

such reparations go, and how would they be calculated?” For instance, after World War II, it was the state of Israel that received the lion’s share of reparations; very little went to specific persons and families.

Yet more SRV-derived analysis could be brought to a reading of the article, and a consideration of its proposals, such as: what efforts could be made to really increase interpersonal identification between the devaluers and the devalued; what roles do image- and competency-enhancement or degradation play in this continued devaluation; does Coates’ analysis point up limitations of SRV, and if so, what are they?

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Announcing
**Advanced Issues in
Social Role Valorization Theory**



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Social Role Valorization

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About Social Role Valorization (SRV)

Social Role Valorization (SRV), a human service theory based on the principle of normalization, proposes that positively valued social roles are needed for people to attain what Wolfensberger has described as the good things of life (well-being). This is of particular importance for individuals with impairments or otherwise at risk of being socially devalued by others, and therefore of great importance for human services to them.

About the book

The first two chapters explain SRV, and give depth and background to SRV as an empirical theory that is applicable to human services of all kinds, to all sorts of people. The remaining chapters are all revised and expanded versions of presentations that Dr. Wolfensberger had given at previous international SRV conferences. The topics treated in the chapters move from the general (chapters two, three and four) to the more specific (chapters five, six and seven).

The contents of the book are especially useful for people who do, or want to, teach SRV; for SRV researchers; and for those interested in implementing SRV in a systematic way, especially in service fields where SRV is new, not yet known, and not widely—if at all—embraced.

About Wolf Wolfensberger, Ph.D. (1934-2011)

World renowned human service reformer, Professor Wolfensberger (Syracuse University) was involved in the development and dissemination of the principle of normalization and the originator of the program evaluation tools PASS and PASSING, and of a number of service approaches that include SRV and Citizen Advocacy.

Book Chapters

- Foreword
- Preface
- Chapter 1: A brief overview of Social Role Valorization
- Chapter 2: The role of theory in science, and criteria for a definition of Social Role Valorization as an empirically-based theory
- Chapter 3: The hierarchy of propositions of Social Role Valorization, and their empiricity
- Chapter 4: The relationships of Social Role Valorization theory to worldviews and values
- Chapter 5: Values issues and other non-empirical issues that are brought into sharp focus by, or at, occasions where Social Role Valorization is taught or implemented
- Chapter 6: Issues of change agency in the teaching, dissemination and implementation of Social Role Valorization
- Chapter 7: The application of Social Role Valorization principles to criminal and other detentive settings
- Conclusion to the book

Social Role Valorization News & Reviews

Susan Thomas

THE INTENT of this column is five-fold:

(a) Briefly annotate publications that have relevance to Social Role Valorization (SRV). Conceivably, some of these might be reviewed in greater depth in a later issue of this journal. Some of these items may serve as pointers to research relevant to SRV theory.

(b) Present brief sketches of media items that illustrate an SRV issue.

(c) Present vignettes from public life that illustrate or teach something about SRV.

(d) Document certain SRV-related events or publications for the historical record.

(e) By all the above, to illustrate and teach the art and craft of spotting, analyzing and interpreting phenomena that have SRV relevance.

Aside from being instructive to readers, persons who teach SRV will hopefully find many of the items in this column useful in their teaching.

Also, in light of articles by this author and Raymond Lemay in the July 2013 issue of this *Journal*, from here on I plan to have an “implementation corner” in each column, with items that relate specifically to SRV implementation.

The Common “Wounds” That Accompany Devaluation

*It is always good to remind ourselves of the problem that SRV is intended to address, namely social devaluation of certain classes, and all the bad things that happen or get done to these class-

es as a result. The wounding reported on here includes wounding of the body, the mind, and social image, and of various combinations of these.

*In what we can only call just plain meanness, police officers in San Jose, California, who were ordered by city officials to warn about 200 homeless people in “what is likely the nation’s largest homeless encampment” that they would have to evacuate within two days, used their batons to break open makeshift doors to people’s shacks, and knives to cut the walls of their tents (*SPS*, 2 December 2014). In other words, they were not satisfied with politely warning the campers of their imminent eviction, but destroyed their property too, meager as it was. By the way, the article reporting this incident appeared on ... the obituary page.

*In Japan, the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant was badly damaged by an earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011. The clean-up and decontamination of the land around the plant is still going on years later, and actually may never be finished. But contractors for the clean-up work have been recruiting the homeless to do it, at bad pay, for long hours, and with little or no training (Beech, in *Time*, 1 Sept. 2014). Shades of the Love Canal chemical dumping disaster in New York State of 1978-79, and the recommendation that handicapped people should do the clean-up of that mess.

*We find ourselves having to say repeatedly, and mournfully, that devaluation is a true human universal, and even classes who may themselves be the object of devaluation by others will also in their turn devalue other classes. A tragic example is what is happening to albinos in Tanzania. Albinism is a condition that impairs normal skin pigmentation; this results in an exceedingly pale skin, hair and eye color, and hyper-sensitivity to the sun. One can imagine how much this would be a problem in Africa, with its intense sunlight. Unfortunately, on top of the normal devaluation that albinos suffer there—because they are in a very small minority in a dark-skinned population—they are now being targeted for their body parts which are reputed to have magical powers, to ward off disease, bring wealth, increase luck at many ventures, etc. They are attacked and hacked to death, and their body parts sold on a black market (Gettleman, in *New York Times*, 8 June 2008). The very same people who do this to albinos would be those who are done to in another part of the world.

Further to this point, a Jewish student of the Holocaust (the extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis in World War II Germany) wrote this about those who deny the Holocaust: “Holocaust deniers and, for that matter, most prejudiced people are wretched types who are no more important than the dirt we step in on the street. We must, however, clean it off our feet before we drag it into our homes” (cited in *First Things*, November 2005). This language is frighteningly like that used by the Nazis themselves about their victims, and reveals similar depths of devaluation.

*A lawsuit filed in New York State claims that almost 90 percent of reports of abuse of “people with special needs” called into a hotline established for that purpose were never investigated. More than 700,000 calls came in before the hotline’s first year had ended (*SPS*, 2 December 2014). Even assuming that some were crank calls, and that the reported abuse may have been as minimal as name-calling, one can begin to get

an idea of the extensiveness of abuse that devalued people are subject to, considering that this is only one state, and this is only abuse of “people with special needs,” not the elderly, the poor, the homeless, etc.

*Within just one calendar year, there surfaced four separate incidents of service workers in four separate group homes, but in just one locale (upstate New York), having taken advantage of, neglected, stolen from, beaten, and sexually abused handicapped people (*SPS*, 12 October & 28 November 2013; 1 June, 12 June, 23 October & 13 November 2014). The only thing that could make this worse is for these accused, if they are convicted, to be sentenced to work in human services!

*The *Chicago Tribune* reported that the US Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations often gives its seal of approval to medical centers that are riddled with life-threatening problems. Overall, less than one percent of hospitals have been denied accreditation in 17 years, and sometimes they got accredited even when they were in the middle of a crisis of quality and disease control (*AP* in *SPS*, 10 November 2002). Obviously, this is one contributor to the dramatic rise in hospital-inflicted injury and death to patients—who, by definition, enter the hospital in a vulnerable condition.

*We think we remember having reported on this before, but it is worth repeating: there are three times as many mentally disordered people in US jails and prisons as there are in psychiatric hospitals, and many of these with serious disorders (Edwards, 2014). One mother of a middle-aged man “diagnosed with schizophrenia” wrote, in a letter to the newspaper, that in the 39 years since his diagnosis, “he has not achieved any of his dreams of having a job, a girlfriend, close friends or any kind of joy and happiness” (Pringle, in *SPS*, 11 May 2014). Note that she was saying that in all this time

he had not had such important roles as worker, lover or husband, friend.

*One of the biggest contributors to the wounds of physical impairment and functional impairment in the US today is the ongoing wars the country has engaged in since 2001. Seven times as many soldiers come home with serious such impairments (such as loss of limbs, or debilitating anxieties) as have been killed in these wars—not even counting the numbers among the opposing combatants who are killed and impaired, nor the numbers of civilians who are. While the wounds of “our” soldiers (whoever is the “we” in a situation) are not the result of devaluation, the wounds of whoever are the “thems” in warfare most certainly are. And even “our” wounded suffer a loss in social value upon their return home as a result of these impairments.

*We could say many things about the killing of Michael Brown by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014, and the almost continuous protests and debates over this killing since then. But we will limit ourselves here to two.

First: the imagery of police—not military personnel—dressed in military camouflage and carrying military equipment and riding through city streets in military vehicles, including tanks, certainly conveyed the expectancy that their fellow citizens whom they were policing were menaces. It turns out that such might be the scene in many American cities in future, since the US federal government has distributed to local police more than 600 surplus mine-resistant and ambush-protected armored vehicles that were designed to be used in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (e.g., Will, 2014; Breidenbach, 2014). The cities justify their taking such surplus by saying that it may be needed to protect police officers under fire (from whom but their fellow citizens?); but the real, or real-er, reason is that such equipment is glamorous to and desirable to many police forces and

those who run them. Of course, such motivations are likely to be at least partly unconscious. By the way, even some colleges and school districts—yes, that operate elementary and secondary public schools for our children—have been the recipients of such largesse.

Second: commentary on the shooting said that “police overreaction is based less on skin color and more on an even worse, Ebola-level affliction: being poor ... To many in America ... being poor is synonymous with being a criminal” (*Time*, 1 Sept. 2014)—in other words, poverty is equated with filling a menace role.

*Scapegoating is a human universal: whenever humans are faced with fearful circumstances, they find some party to blame, and that party tends to be marginal or outright devalued. During the Black Death in Europe in the 14th century, Jews were often made the scapegoats. In the cholera epidemic in New York in the 1800s, Irish and German immigrants were blamed. It happened again in Dallas, Texas after the revelation that a Liberian immigrant had brought Ebola into the country (he later died from it): the immigrants in the neighborhood have been isolated, taunted and persecuted (*Time*, 20 October 2014).

*From the 1960s to ‘80s, there was a craze, particularly among young girls, of collecting “troll dolls” that had beady eyes and long fuzzy hair of unusual colors (purple, neon green, etc.). A woman in Ohio has opened a small museum called the Troll Hole to house her world-record collection (over 10,000 items related to the craze, including 3,000 dolls). The proprietor also dresses as a Troll Queen, at least for the visitors to her museum. Unfortunately, she is a psychiatric nurse and owns a “dementia care facility,” and she uses the income from the Troll Hole museum to support that operation as well as an “Arts for Alzheimer’s” program that she runs (*SPS*, 28 Sept. 2014).

SRV Implementation Corner

These next items report on measures that can enhance competency or image, or both, and therefore contribute to valued social roles for the competency- or image-enhanced party. We hope they may inspire some thoughtful, not mindless, imitation by readers.

*There are now cruise lines certified as “autism friendly” because they offer certain privileges such as priority check-in for families who have an “autistic” family member traveling with them, dietary options, and certain kinds of shipboard activities that can easily accommodate “autistic” persons (*AAA* magazine, winter 2014). Perhaps airlines, trains, and bus lines might also make special check-in arrangements? However, at the same time, we know of one family that takes cruises frequently, with their handicapped adult son, but who simply travel as and with other vacationers, and with no special shipboard activities targeted for people with impairments.

*As we explained in earlier columns, the current move to abolish sheltered work settings for handicapped people is, we believe, unwise and short-sighted, since it is apt to result in large numbers of idle such persons, and in the mushrooming of “day habilitation” and recreation centers that do not even attempt to create valued adult roles for them. (An editorial in the September 26, 2011 *Syracuse Post-Standard* said sheltered workshops are “more traditional models” that “assume people with disabilities are a monolithic lot with the same needs,” but “segregate people from society.” Traditional, yes; segregating, yes; often congregating together all sorts of “people with disabilities,” yes. But does this mean that some sheltered work settings of some type have no place in addressing the needs of the non-monolithic lot of devalued people?)

Notwithstanding that much more could be done to secure integrated work placements and unpaid but definitely productive adult work roles

(e.g., as regular volunteers—and as also covered in earlier columns), doing so will not meet the needs of all handicapped persons. Therefore, it would be wiser and more far-sighted to also work for and establish settings that are smaller than the majority of sheltered workshops, and therefore less congregating and less negatively-imaged; and to operate them much more according to the culturally valued analogue of work establishments for valued people, be the analogue a shop or store, an artisan workshop, a business office, a factory, etc. A major challenge here will be to find a “market niche” of work that is contributive, and produces a valued product. One example of an image-enhancing work contract at one sheltered workshop is packaging and distributing high-energy snack bars that are marketed especially to hikers, mountain climbers, and others who need high calorie foods to convert into body heat (*SPS*, 29 January 2012, p. B1).

Another sheltered workshop manufactures and distributes vestments worn by clerics in the conduct of church services, as well as baptismal gowns. In fact, the company that made these garments moved its entire operation to the sheltered workshop because it was so impressed with the quality of the workmanship (*SPS*, 19 July 2009, p. B3). Of course, the company could alternatively had hired people out of the sheltered workshop to become its own employees; the article was silent on this.

However, whenever a practice is instituted in a human service in imitation of a culturally normative one, one has to keep track of it in the larger culture and how of its value there may change. For instance, when basket-weaving was introduced into institutions in the 1800s, it was still normatively practiced in the larger society—but the institutions kept their residents at weaving baskets well into the 20th century, even after very few people in the culture any longer knew how to do it, or engaged in it.

*In Kenya, a group of 65 women, all with physical and/or visual impairments, have

formed a dairy company with milk-chilling facilities at its hub. The latter is a great boon in their locale. (And yes, we note that it is a form of “sheltered workshop.”)

*The new technological process called 3-D printing is allowing prosthetic limbs, digits, ears, noses, etc. to be produced at as little as one-fiftieth the price of more conventional prosthetics. This is especially an issue for young people because as they grow, they need multiple replacement prosthetics. The 3-D versions also sometimes have a high-tech look, which is appealing especially to younger people who are enamored of high-tech (several sources, including *Parade*, 12 October 2014).

*One father of a diabetic child is working on a prototype artificial pancreas that can totally replace, or greatly reduce, the need for insulin injections and close watch on diet that characterize the lives of diabetics, and reduce the health problems that accompany diabetes. The device is very small and can be worn under clothing, and is therefore image-protective (Sifferlin, 2015). Of course, a prototype is no guarantee of successful accomplishment, but if it works out, it would be an example of a competency-enhancing piece of equipment.

*Another man whose aged mother fell and ended up in the hospital as a result has been designing and installing a home security system for elderly people that draws on “smart” home technology systems to monitor people’s locations (e.g., are they standing or lying flat on the floor), turn off appliances if they forget to do so, and alert family members far away to problems, including falls (*Parade*, 2 November 2014). While this does constitute a form of surveillance of people, as covered in this column in the previous issue of this *Journal*, it can also help people to maintain their independence and their home-owner role longer, and prevent accidents and injuries that can be the beginning of a downward spiral into debility and death.

*A young woman, whose mother had Parkinson’s for 25 years, invented a brace to correct posture and balance problems that mark Parkinson’s (and can be dangerous). It is worn over the torso but under clothing. It moves the center of balance of the wearer, giving much greater stability. She has founded a company called AbiliLife to manufacture and market this and similar products (Todd, in *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 25 January 2015).

By the way, this item and the previous two show the power of interpersonal identification: in both instances, the inventors are family members of people with an impairing condition, who were moved by the plight of someone dear to them to make something that would address it.

*There have been a number of reports recently on Black Girls Code and similar programs to teach African-American girls and teens how to do computer coding, robotics, design and development of web apps, and similar skills. The idea is that this would be an avenue for them into good-paying work roles when they are adults.

*One strategy of role-valorization is “role-equalization,” in which valued parties adopt a characteristic of a devalued party, thereby reducing the stigma associated with it. Here are three examples.

All members of a group get their hair shaved when one of them loses hair from cancer treatment.

Relatedly, a recent fundraising campaign called “Be Bold, Be Bald!” features people with tight-fitting swim caps that resemble shaven or bald heads. The campaign uses tag lines such as “It’s for my grandma,” or “for my best friend,” thereby drawing upon and reinforcing interpersonal identification with those who have cancer. (Unfortunately, we have to interrupt our commendation of these two examples by noting that there is also a campaign, called the St. Baldrick Foundation, that asks members of the public to have their heads shaved to raise money for cancer research. The name is a combination of Bald and Patrick, and it has picked March 22 as its “feast day” [*Syrac-*

cuse Catholic Sun, 26 March 2009, p. 4]. This calls for an SRV analysis.)

A third example is this vignette: at the western wall of the temple in Jerusalem, also called the Wailing Wall, an aged rabbi was walking with an entourage of five young men. The old man was bent over and limping, and so were his five followers even though they were young and strong. Throughout the history of Judaism, one of the most honored positions for a Jewish man was to be a rabbi's "follower." The role entailed sitting at the rabbi's feet, listening, serving him even in menial tasks, and watching how he acted and then imitating him (*ODB*, 9-11, 2014).

*One school installed an image-protective device in its cafeteria for non-paying students (non-paying, because their lunches are paid for by government subsidy for the poor). The device is a meaningless (i.e., non-functioning) keypad that allows the non-paying students to look like they are charging their lunches to a credit or debit account, just like so many paying students do (*SPS*, 20 November 2011, p. A9). The loss of image that accompanies being "on the dole" is also attested to by some recipients of food aid who were so ashamed about this that they went to stores out of town to use their government-issued cards and vouchers, and would wait until there was no one else in the check-out line so that no one would see them.

*One man is trying to rediscover every former slave dwelling throughout the US still in existence, and to sleep in each of them as well. He says that this has made history come alive for him, and taught him more about what slaves had to endure and overcome—in other words, it has increased his sense of identification with them. He has even slept with shackles on his wrists. Most of these properties are in the south, and those who own them have not always been receptive to his requests for "overnight accommodation." But over time, at least some of the owners have

said they have begun to rethink their attitudes towards racial integration, to which they had previously been opposed (Horwitz, in *Smithsonian*, October 2013). This is an example of an indirect role-valorizing measure on the level of an entire society. (See later in this column for another item on racial integration at present in US society, and attitudes about it.)

Historical Items of Interest

*Devalued people have always been used to clean up other people's garbage (see the earlier item on the Fukushima Daiichi clean-up), or even excrement. However, the practice of engaging devalued people in salvage work got one of its major boosts in the US in 1896, in the Bowery district of New York City. There, Salvation Army teams went door-to-door with pushcarts gathering cast-off items for the homeless men at their shelters to repair. Soon after, paper recycling was added.

*The very instructive historical text, *Salvation in the slums: Evangelical social work, 1865-1920*, by N. Magnuson, was reprinted in 1977. Unfortunately, it was re-issued by the Scarecrow Press of Metuchen, NJ, which certainly does not help the negative image that so many people have of the derelict poor.

*In the 1800s, US prisons developed the discipline of having prisoners walk in a very tight so-called "lockstep" whenever they were in groups, such as in the exercise yard. Men who served even only a few years became so habituated to this step that they continued to walk that way once they were released, and could be identified "on the street anywhere by an old prison guard" (so said Johnson, 1923, p. 123). This is a parallel to the fact that many of the handicapped people deinstitutionalized in the 1970s and later could be identified "on the street anywhere by an old institution attendant," or even just by observant people, by their key-rings full of trinkets and keys, even if the keys were useless.

*As late as 1916, “crippled children” in Baltimore were transported to their public schools by police patrol wagons (Wallin, J.E.W. (1917). *Problems of subnormality*. Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book).

*In the early 20th century, handicapped people released into the community from state institutions were said to be put “on parole,” just like prisoners. In other words, it was a temporary status that they could maintain by keeping their word (i.e., parole) or their promise that they would be on “good behavior.” In the 1920s, the person in charge of the retarded adults put “on parole” in the community from what was called the Syracuse State School for Mental Defectives (in Syracuse, New York) established a “Greek letter society” for “good fellowship and social improvement” for the male and female “parolees,” analogous to a college fraternity or sorority (1926 Annual State School Report).

*Johann Jakob Guggenbühl established on the Abendberg in Switzerland one of the first (1839) modern residential settings for mentally retarded people, specifically those with hypothyroidism or “cretinism,” as it was called. The mountainous location worked because it enabled them to gain iodine, and iodine deprivation is what causes hypothyroidism. At a certain point, Guggenbühl also brought to the institution two intellectually normal but neglected children of one of the servants, which “brought life into the institution” (Kanner, 1959). They changed the expectations held for the grouping, and acted as models to the cretins, encouraging imitation.

*The institution for “defective delinquents” in Napanoch, New York, an arm of the youth reformatory in Elmira, New York, once reported that it had 666 inmates (Garrett, P. W. & McCormick, A.H. [Eds.] [1929]. *Handbook of American prisons and reformatories*. New York: National Society of Penal Information). The number 666 is associated in the Biblical (New Testament) Book of Revela-

tion with the Devil. Considering how many other untruths come out of human services, mightn't the reformatory have fudged its census by one or two to avoid this image?

*Dr. Wolfensberger told us that at one time, there was a German practice that when a physician deemed a patient's condition to be hopeless, the physician would offer the patient a glass of champagne (*The Book of General Ignorance*, 2006). This seems to be a way of conveying bad news that diminishes the negativity thereof, and even lightens it some. He thought that palliative care services could learn a lesson from this.

*Starting in 1945, there was a National Employ the Handicapped Week. By 1988, the whole month of October had become National Disability Employment Awareness Month. Perhaps that is why October is also Roosevelt History Month, as declared by Congress (*Newsweek*, 14 October 1996).

*On January 19, 1963, *The New Yorker* magazine published what was at that time its longest ever book review, namely of the book *The Other America*, Michael Harrington's 1962 work on the “invisible poor” in American society. The book itself had languished in obscurity since its publication the previous year, but the review pulled out facts about the bad health status and health prospects of the poor, their heavy tax burden, and the lack of interest by the rest of society in what happens to the poor who are seen as “boring” because “they never win.” The reviewer wanted to translate dry academic prose and statistics into something that would catch readers' minds and hearts (Lepore, in *Smithsonian*, September 2012). That essay-review is credited even more than the book itself with having launched the US “war on poverty”—a war which, indeed, the poor did not win though some gains were made during the late 1960s and 1970s. We could do with another such war today, though again it would be unwise to engage in it thinking it could be won; rather, it

should be engaged in on the basis that it is a just cause and a good fight.

*Miles, M. (1996). Pakistan's microcephalic chuas of Shah Daulah: Cursed, clamped or cherished? *History of Psychiatry*, 7, 571-589.

Shah Daulah, a Muslim holy man, settled in the early 1600s in the city of Gujrat (once part of India, now in Pakistan). He acquired a reputation for healing, and dealing with wild animals. A Muslim shrine developed there upon his death in the 1670s, and at some unknown later date, people began to bring microcephalic children to the shrine, even from far away. Because of the appearance of some such children, and because of the holy man's reputation with animals, the children were called chuas, meaning rat, but were sometimes also called by the word for mouse.

The chuas were treated well at the shrine, but in time they were trained to beg and rented out to beggar masters, such as traveling fakirs.

The earliest written record of chuas at the shrine dates to 1857. But whether then or in the late 1600s, the shrine was apparently the earliest place on the Indian subcontinent to take in retarded children on a residential basis. Records report from nine to 100 chuas in residence, depending on the date, plus others out on begging assignments.

The Pakistan government took over the shrine in 1969. Soon, chuas were no longer accepted to live there, and by the early 1990s, there were only one or two still there. However, retarded children are still brought to healing shrines in India and Pakistan to this day.

Sadly, retarded people and beggars have become "the usual suspects" in Iraq, and are being "rounded up" by the police to prevent them from being used as bombers, i.e., they get explosives strapped to them and then sent out into crowds (*SPS*, 20 February 2008, p. A15). They are thus suffering the wound of multiple jeopardy. The use of such persons as (largely unknowing) bombers bespeaks an extreme devaluation of retarded people that is actually contrary to Islamic and Arab tradition

that has tended to interpret retarded people as holy innocents and specially favored by God.

*A history of the Bryce (mental) Hospital in Alabama (Alabama Dept. of Mental Health, 2009) claimed that "Bryce launched the 'deinstitutionalization movement ... that swept the nation,'" because the 1972 Wyatt v. Stickney lawsuit forced it to start deinstitutionalizing its own residents. However, deinstitutionalization of mental institutions was already well underway, having begun in the late 1950s with the advent of powerful mind drugs, and continuing with the normalization-based and legal rights-based service reforms of the 1960s onward.

*The process of analyzing who are the people to be served, what are their needs, and how to best address them, was pioneered in PASS assessment conciliations in the 1970s, and later gave rise to "personal futures planning" (PFP), which is essentially the design of a service model but for one individual person. The roots of PFP in the model coherency design process has also been documented in J. O'Brien & C.L. O'Brien (Eds.) (1998), *The little book about person-centered planning*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Inclusion Press.

Some Miscellaneous Items—But, We Think, Very Interesting Ones—In Conclusion

*Jean-Dominique Baubry was a fashion magazine editor who became totally incapacitated by a stroke. In *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly: A Memoir of Life of Death* (1977), he wrote "If I must drool, I might as well drool on cashmere," which underlines both the importance of positive personal appearance, and the conservatism corollary. Unfortunately that book (also made into an award-winning 2007 film) advocates deathmaking, as can be seen in its very title.

*A sad piece by columnist Joe Klein in *Time* (13 October 2014) noted that at least in parts of the US south, blacks are beginning to question the

very value of integration into majority white society, the goal of the civil rights movement of the 1960s to early 70s. Some noted that white people are now making all the money from what used to be black enterprises, including music festivals, banks, insurance companies, newspapers and eateries. Some even said that segregated schools had been better, because the supposedly integrated schools “became sad all-black husks” due to white flight. Integration enabled a lot of the more industrious and intelligent black youngsters—who used to own and operate all-black businesses—to go north and stay there. This migration constitutes, in the words of the southern poet, novelist and social observer Wendell Berry, a form of “human strip-mining” of communities: taking away their best and most productive, and leaving only scarred and unproductive areas behind. (Unfortunately, this is true as well of rural communities and small towns that are or were not predominantly black, and is one of the reasons why there has been a growing economic, education and class divide in the US, with the big cities—and only a handful of them at that—attracting and keeping all the talent that used to be more evenly distributed throughout the land.) As Klein concluded, “The blacks won their revolution, and lost their focus, and inherited a chimera of equality.” Whatever may be the complexity of the causes of this result, it certainly shows that devaluation and its consequences are not easily overcome or even pushed back, and that all sorts of reforms, including human service reforms, can fall anywhere from some to far short of their promise.

And a report on the status of school racial integration 60 years after the landmark US Supreme Court decision that outlawed school racial segregation concluded that “progress ... is being chipped away,” and that what has definitely not changed is that poorer students are receiving a poorer education. Housing patterns play a role in school patterns, because people tend to go to schools in the same area where they live, and housing segregation by race has been “a harder

nut to crack” than school segregation (Hefling & Holland, AP report, in *SPS*, 15 May 2014).

*In Wolfensberger’s *A Brief Introduction to Social Role Valorization: A High-Order Concept for Addressing the Plight of Societally Devalued People, and for Structuring Human Services*, he mentions foot-binding in the Far East, and though it was an intentionally-inflicted crippling deformity, it was highly valued. Here is more about it. The practice is said to have been inspired by a 10th century Chinese court dancer who bound her feet into the shape of a new moon and charmed the emperor with her dance. The most desirable (most valued) was a three-inch foot, called a “golden lotus,” but a foot as big as only five inches or more rendered the woman who had it almost unmarriageable. Eventually, there were efforts to ban the practice, but it had gained an association to ethnic identity, ethnic pride and cultural superiority. Thus, the practice continued for one thousand years (!), and there are still women alive in China today whose feet were bound when they were young (Foreman, in *Smithsonian*, February 2015).

*A sarcastic essay called “How to Write About Africa” (Wainaina, 2005) gave the following advice: “Always use the word ‘Africa’ or ‘Darkness’ or ‘Safari’ in your title.” “If you must include an African, make sure you get one in Masai or Zulu ... dress.” Adults should be shown either in military uniforms holding guns, or with prominent ribs, or with naked breasts. Children should be shown with flies on their faces and enlarged bellies from malnutrition. And be sure to end your writing with a quote from Nelson Mandela (Brooks, 11 May 2014). This advice certainly captures the reality of stereotypes, and how they have come to dominate and shape the mind-sets and expectations of both writers and readers about Africa, especially writers and readers who are not African or otherwise do not know it.

*Goodman, M. (2013). *Eighty days: Nellie Bly and Elizabeth Bisland’s history-making race around*

the world. New York: Ballantine Books. Just as the title says, this is the story of a race to circle the world in less than 80 days (as popularized by Jules Verne's book of that title) between two young female writers in late 1890-early 1891. Here are a few SRV-relevant points—both good and bad—from it.

Nellie Bly wrote, "Dress is a great weapon in the hands of a woman if rightly applied. It is a weapon men lack, so women should make the most of it." However, Goodman notes that "she was greatly disturbed, covering the National Woman Suffrage Convention for *The World* [the newspaper for which she wrote], that the female delegates seemed to be 'neither men nor women.'" She unhesitatingly told Susan B. Anthony that "if women wanted to succeed they had to go out as women. They had to make themselves as pretty and attractive as possible" (p. 16). (I can almost see indignant readers now; keep in mind the time in which she was writing.)

From Goodman's description of the conditions of travel in steerage (pp. 86-88), especially in comparison to those of first- and second-class passengers, it is remarkable that many people survived the voyages—and perhaps they would not have done, had the trips taken any longer.

Here is a very explicit example of interpreting deathmaking as the solution to a problem: in the late 1800s, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that "the railroad men in Omaha have an infallible remedy for the Indian troubles. That remedy is extermination" (p. 105).

By the late 1800s, "Chinese miners were forbidden access to the so-called mother lodes; if they tried to move to a better mine the white workers would as a matter of course beat and rob them, and, for humiliation, cut off their pigtales. The men who committed these offenses were rarely punished, as the Chinese were not allowed to testify in court—nor were they allowed to vote or to obtain citizenship; and though they paid school taxes, their children were denied entry into public schools. It was during this period that a new

phrase entered the American idiom, referring to a remote possibility of success: 'a Chinaman's chance'" (p. 142).

Many of the Chinese who laid the transcontinental railroads were killed or injured in this work, but the exact numbers will never be known, because the Central Pacific Railroad did not keep records of Chinese casualties (p. 143)—an example of the devalued person as non-human, or even not live.

One Republican senator from Maine said the US had as much a right to keep out Chinese immigrants as it had "the right to keep out infectious diseases" (p. 144). Another politician, a representative from Indiana, compared the Chinese to "a cancer in your own country that will eat out its life and destroy it" (p. 145).

How important it is to experience the life conditions of those whom one manages was captured by a magazine for sailors and shipbuilders in 1890: "if every man connected with the management of a steamship had to work one voyage below in the fire-room or the engine-room, they would tell people who shouted for quick passage to go to Davy Jones ... Flesh and blood cannot stand it, and this is a solemn fact." The "shouted for quick passage" referred to calls for speedier ocean voyages, which could only be accomplished by harsher conditions below decks for the stokers who kept the fires going that in turn kept the engines going (p. 266). Few stokers were said to live more than two years after taking the job. They developed, among other things, the same black lung disease as did coal miners (p. 267).

*In the preceding issue of this *Journal*, I ended the column with a hope to be able to end the next one on a more positive note. So here is that more uplifting ending.

Over a period of more than 10 years, the once-famous Boston Celtics star Bob Cousy took care of his wife at home as she became demented, and then eventually died. In such situations, it is difficult to create new valued roles for a person, but

it may be possible to shore up a person's previous valued roles—and doing so can enable the person to still receive and enjoy the good things of life. Here are some of the things Cousy did.

He consistently referred to her as “my bride.”

He set out the newspaper for her to read at the kitchen table each morning, even though eventually she underlined each sentence in every story in black, so that the paper was almost illegible.

She believed that she could still drive, so each year he shipped her station wagon to their winter place in Florida, so that she would see it in the driveway there.

He let her think that she still did all the household chores, even though he did them.

He “planted” artificial flowers in the garden, to make it look like she had continued gardening.

After her death, Cousy also bemoaned the fact that he could no longer take care of her (*Worcester Telegram & Gazette*, 29 Sept. 2013). ❧

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