

May 1986

Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 1986)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw>



Part of the Social Work Commons, and the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation

(1986) "Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare Vol. 13, No. 2 (June 1986)," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 13: Iss. 2, Article 1.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.1745>

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol13/iss2/1>

This Complete Issue is brought to you by the Western Michigan University School of Social Work. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare



Vol. XIII No. 2

Jun 1986

The JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE is published by the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, Incorporated, University of Connecticut, School of Social Work, West Hartford, Connecticut. Copyright 1985, Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, Inc.

Editor: Robert D. Leighninger, Jr., Center for Human Services, Western Michigan University. The editorial office is jointly sponsored by the Department of Sociology and the School of Social Work of Western Michigan University.

Book Review Editors: Shimon Gottschalk and Bruce Thyer, School of Social Work, Florida State University.

Editorial Consultants:

David Joslyn
Ronald Kramer
Nathaniel McCaslin

Lewis Walker
Marion Wijnberg

Associate Editors:

Mimi Abramovitz
Paul Adams
Thomas Briggs
John J. Cardwell
Ben Carniol
Harris Chaiklin
Susan Chandler
Pranab Chatterjee
Mary Jo Deegan
Alejandro Garcia
David G. Gil
Gale Goldberg
Shimon Gottschalk
Robert Green
Charles Guzzetta
Margaret Hartford
John Herrick
David Hollister
Joe Hudson
Elizabeth Huttman
Charles F. Jones
Terry Jones
Larry Jordan
Frank Kastelic
Stuart A. Kirk
Jordon Kosberg

Robert Kronick
Timothy Lause
Leslie Leighninger
Philip Lichtenberg
Murray Meld
Henry Meyer
Joe Miller
Kristine Nelson
Larry Northwood
Edward J. Pawlak
Dennis Peck
Felice Purlmutter
Jonathan Rabinowitz
Dan Rubenstein
Jennifer Shirmer
Elfriede Schlesinger
Ralph Segalman
Eunice Shatz
Arthur Shostak
David R. Simon
Bruce Thyer
Danny H. Thompson
John E. Tropman
John Williamson
James Wolk

The JOURNAL was originated by members of the Division of Sociology and Social Welfare, Society for the Study of Social Problems but has no official affiliation with that organization.

Cover: Charlotte Goroff

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare

Volume XIII

June 1986

No.2

Table of Contents

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out"; The Love Paradigm
As Antidote
NORMAN N. GOROFF pp. 197

Determinants of Knowledge About Social
Security: A Study of Nonremarried Widows
Caring For Children
MARTHA N. OZAWA
WILLIAM T. ALPERT pp. 209

Income Tax and Inequality: What Constitutes
Welfare State Expenditure?
GORDON W. TERNOWETSKY PP. 237

Factors Contributing to Coalition
Maintenance
MARIA ROBERTS-DeGENNARO pp. 248

On the Dialectics of Social Theory and
Action: A Synthesis of Six Models of
Community Engagement
DREW HYMAN pp. 265

Role-Set Diversity: Benefits or Strain?
MARILYN GAIL MORGAN
ALFRED DEMARIS pp. 287

Retirees As Technoguides: A New Role As
Shapers And Makers of The Future
ARTHUR B. SHOSTAK pp. 306

Administrative Offices of Aging in State
Bureaucracies: Agency Location and
Organization Effectiveness
BARRIE BLUNT
SCOTT INGRAM pp. 318

The Yorkville Emergency Alliance: One
Community's Response To The Federal Budget
Reductions
MICHAEL J. SMITH pp. 332

Welfare Fair Hearings and Client Advocacy: A
Role for Social Workers
JAN L. HAGEN pp. 348

Prison Education
JOSEPH DEHAR pp. 366

Assessing Social Agency Functions: A Model
ELIZABETH W. LINDSEY
JOHN S. WODARSKI
KRISTYN S. GREAVES pp. 385

Homelessness: Residual, Institutional and
Communal Solutions
RON E. ROBERTS
THOMAS KEEFE pp. 400

The Latent Functions fo Welfare and Need-
Satisfaction of the Disadvantaged
ZEEV BEN-SIRA pp. 418

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" The Love Paradigm as Antidote

Norman N. Goroff

The phenomena, "burn-out," contains all of the factors of disappointment, disillusionment, fatigue, hopelessness, and powerlessness that a person experiences when coming face-to-face with the inherent contradictions between a desire to help fellow human beings and the structural demands and limitations of a social service enterprise wherein control is the central concern.

The resulting reactions are not symptomatic of an individual deficiency, but are appropriate to an intense conflict between the idealism involved in "altruistic helping" and the reality of an enterprise that may give lip service to the ideal of helping, but in practice is largely concerned with exercising social control over those who seek help.

The role of the social services as institutions of social control has been described by Goroff (1974) (1983) Cloward and Piven (1971) Mandell (1975) and others. Power exists when there are sanctions available to use in enforcing decisions. The capacity to grant or withhold financial aid unless the person lives up to "standards," the capacity to go to court to enforce decisions, the capacity to declare a person mentally incompetent, are sanctions available in bureaucratically organized social service institutions.

The organizational structure of most social service institutions contribute a great deal to the generation of feelings that have been designated "burn-out." The hierarchially organized staffing pattern wherein authority flows from the top down, communicates disrespect for all others below the top. As Buber (1972) notes, a power relationship is disrespectful to both the powerful and the powerless, because it does not affirm the essential dignity of the person involved in the relationship. To be told that one is "not good enough" by those on top of the pyramid, is to be assaulted. Being assaulted is not conducive to the development of a sense of purpose to help others. It rather creates a tension that frequently results in the person's erecting protective barriers. Hierarchially structured organizations encourage the development of a strong sense of competition. Competition is inherent in a system where many want to obtain the limited re-

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

wards of promotion. This competition tends to create individuals who disassociate from one another, and therefore do not nurture one another as persons to persons. The sense considerable tensions. It is important to note that within an organization based on the power paradigm, the staff structure is received as rational, efficient and natural.

Much has been written concerning the professional in bureaucratic organizations (Goroff, 1969). The essential point to recognize is that there are inherent value conflicts and that each person attempts to resolve their conflicts.

Frequently these conflicts are irresolvable within the formal organization. The pattern of control is ingrained in the formal relationships. Professionals act on the basis of their best judgment and these actions are not automatically reviewable by others. In most bureaucratic social service organizations, the actions of persons on each level are automatically reviewable by those on the level above. Although the actions and decisions may not be reviewed, the fact that they are subject to review, places the individual in a precarious position. The feeling that someone is always looking over their shoulder may cause considerable tensions.

One possible solution to the conflict is for the development of an informal organization within the confines of the formal organization which will be based on a different set of assumptions.

An informal organization based on the Love paradigm can contribute much to the people involved to counteract the negative aspects of the hierarchical structured organization. Relationships based on caring and respect provides an essential nurturing that all human beings need.

The Love paradigm defines relationships among persons that are based upon caring, respecting, responding and understanding one another. They are egalitarian relationships which recognize the existence of many differences among persons while affirming that all have equal integrity and dignity. The relationship is characterized as an I-Thou rather than an I-IT or It-It (Buber, 1971).

To counteract the isolation and aloneness that is experienced in a competitive situation, persons share with one another their experiences with others and receive the comments of their colleagues. The consultation thus offered is recognized for what it

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

is, sharing of viewpoints in which the person is responsible for incorporating that which makes sense to him/her. It differs from traditional supervision in that the "authority of position" is replaced by reciprocal influence.

When the possibility of establishing an informal mutual-nurturing groups among the staff is not available, such a group needs to be developed outside the work place. All human beings require nurturing, the recognition that one's existence is important to other persons, that one has become part of the others' life and world life and that they have become part of yours.

It is most important that the person not allow others to define them. In power relations, the attempt to define a person, and thus control them, is one of the ways that dominance is obtained.

A worker who objected to a supervisor's suggestion, which in reality was an order, was accused of having "problems with authority" and advised to seek help. If the worker accepted that definition, the person would have succumbed to the dominance of supervisor's role. In the human service field, the use of "diagnostic" statements in order to avoid dealing with the substantive issues is a frequent ploy in the "game of dominance." In another situation, a person who was forced to participate in an event which caused considerable and unnecessary pain, told the supervisor that (s)he was angry for being subjected to an avoidably painful situation. The supervisor suggested the worker talk to someone about "difficulty in dealing with anger." The situation was discussed with faculty advisor who noted that the anger was an appropriate response.

The attempt to impose definitions of persons is part of the hierarchially structured bureaucratic organization. It is important that one attempts to transcend the definitions and accept themselves as being and becoming, complete and the best that they can be "on this day." If people can transcend the negating communications received from the work-place, the unrealistic expectations that are implied will not cause unnecessary pressure and pain.

The definitions that others attempt to impose on persons are not only "psychologically-based diagnostic statements" but also include goals which are to be achieved. The expectation that "child protection workers" ought to be able to prevent deaths from child abuse is clearly stated in the question of "why did

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

the worker not prevent this death?" There are many illustrations of attempts to create unrealistic expectations for human service workers. These expectations, when accepted by the human service workers, have two very important consequences. On a personal level, the worker can never meet these unrealistic expectations and is thus "never good enough." Being "never good enough" is a constant assault on oneself, and contributes to the disillusionment that is part of "burn-out." The second consequence is to divert attention away from our social world, how we organize our lives together and how we socially sanction violence in human affairs, and place responsibility on the individual human service worker and the organization, who have failed to prevent that violence.

In the Love paradigm, there is no attempt to dominate or control others. There is an acceptance that each person is responsible for themselves and accepting their responsibility to others. In the Power paradigm there is an assumption that the human service worker is responsible for those who seek help. Assuming responsibility for others is dehumanizing in that it turns the "other" into an object, a "thing" whereby one can demonstrate personal skill if the "thing" performs as one wills or conversely a personal incapacity will be highlighted if there is a failure to perform. When one is responsible for another, one needs to control the other to assure the outcome. Since in reality, it is virtually impossible to predict or control the outcome, an assumption of responsibility for others is paramount to placing oneself in a situation where the end result can be disappointment, anger and disillusionment; i.e. "burn-out."

We are collectively responsible for the social creation of situations that cause human beings pain and despair. We are collectively responsible to change those situations. We are not responsible for what other people do within their situation.

We may laugh with persons and share their joy; we may cry with persons and share their pain; but we take no credit for their joy nor blame for their pain unless it is the consequence of something we personally have done.

Within the Love paradigm, persons are responsible to one another rather than for one another. The relationship between persons is an end and not a means towards another end. Authentic relationships require persons granting to each other a share

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

in their being. It does not depend upon one person letting go before the other. We recognize that individuals have the inherent right to respond to another's attempt to influence them in any way they see fit. It is important to note, however, that persons do not have the right to impose avoidable pain on others. Responding to one another as persons reaffirms that each has dignity and integrity. It is a relationship in which persons care for one another and hence nurture one another. This is an essential aspect of providing people with the ingredients necessary to prevent personal disillusionment and disappointment. While one may feel indignant at the injustice that persons experience, indignation and anger are different from disappointment and disillusionment which are debilitating emotions. Indignation and anger may be invigorating emotions, stimulant to action.

Within the parameters of the Power paradigm, help flows from the worker to those seeking help. The relationship is asymmetrical, with the human service worker in the giving position and the person seeking help in the receiving position. A consequence of this type of relationship is to make it professionally unsuitable for the worker to accept any nurturing for the person seeking help. Otherwise the worker will be accused of "meeting one's own needs" clearly implying that the worker is to be "selfless." This is an unrealistic expectation for the worker, but it is consistent with the Power paradigm's requirement that the person seeking help feel obligated to the worker. Help within the Power paradigm is not offered "tax-free," rather the recipient is expected to conform to the agency's definition of what is considered appropriate behavior.

Within the Love paradigm, the relationship between the worker and the person receiving help is a reciprocal one in which each person cares, respects, responds and tries to understand the other. This is the essence of a mutually-nurturing relationship. Although the worker does make professional knowledge and skill available to the person seeking help, it does not prevent them from nurturing one another. This does not constitute "unprofessional" behavior on the part of the worker, rather it is a most humanly appropriate response to accept the nurturing offered by those who come for help. The ability and readiness to accept such nurturing from all with whom one becomes involved is an important antidote to their feeling "burned-out."

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

Many human service workers are frequently involved almost exclusively with people who are experiencing considerable pain and despair. The enormity of the problems that people experience do create pressures for the workers. There are times when it feels as if the total world takes on the image of enormous pain. The overload of situations in which people are in distress, coupled with the worker's acceptance of responsibility for them, at times results in a feeling of helplessness. One response to these feelings of helplessness may be to blame "the victim" for their pain by adopting an "individual deficiency explanation" for their troubles. This shifts the burden of responsibility from the worker to the person. Responsibility is defined in this situation as "blaming" rather than being responsive. The worker may tend to "shut down" feelings, becoming numb to the pain of others.

Within the Love paradigm, the worker assumes responsibility to the person and not for the person. The pain and despair that persons experience are viewed as being the result of how we collectively organize our lives together. There is also the recognition that the range of options available to people are not equally distributed throughout the population and that the existence of limited options is unjust. The worker may attempt to help the person think through their options at this particular point and try to make choices that would reduce the pain and despair. Frequently, as Viktor Frankl has noted, most of the pain we humans experience is a result of spiritual distress, an existential vacuum — a meaninglessness in living. The worker, by caring, respecting, understanding and responding to the person, reaffirms the person as having dignity and thereby brings meaning into the relationship and to the person. This provides the basis for the person to continue the process of seeking meaning in the events of one's life. For the worker, instead of feeling overwhelmed and helpless because of the large numbers of people in pain with whom he/she is in contact, there is the sadness and joy that comes from becoming involved in the life and world of other persons. Instead of "blaming the victim" there is a helping responsiveness. Workers do not service people, they become part of each other's world and together make their history. "We do not cure people or make people better. We share a human experience with the person with faith that, if we exchange love only for love and trust for trust, we will contribute to each other, an essential component of the hu-

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

man experience – that of nurturing and being nurtured" (Goroff 1983).

The awareness of the enormity of the injustices we human beings have collectively created causing so many of our fellow human beings such great pain and despair and the sense of powerlessness that persons feel to affect this situation, frequently results in a concentration on the therapeutic orientation. If we cannot change the social world, we may seek to change the individual. We seek to concentrate on helping individuals because we define it as apolitical, and as a fulfillment of the ideal of helping our fellow human beings.

It is important to help fellow human beings, but it is not an apolitical act. The framework one uses in defining the situation has significant political implications. A framework which locates the pain that persons experience as a personal deficiency is a conservative approach. Implicit within this framework is that all is well with how we have organized our lives together; the source of people's pain is located in their failure to resolve a previous conflict, or to adequately negotiate a previous stage of development, or an inability to deal with authority or with anger, and so forth.

A framework which recognizes that although the pain persons experience is felt within themselves but the cause or source of that pain is because of how we collectively have organized our lives together, is a radical approach. Radical in the sense of a considerable departure from the traditional.

The recognition that relationships with persons wherein we seek to help them can be defined as political activity is important in coming to grips with the reality of our participation in the constant creation and recreation of the social world. We need to "own" our position on the basis of our commitment to a philosophy and not try to avoid it on the basis of performing an apolitical therapeutic act (Goroff 1981).

The important factor to consider is that we create the social world through our actions and interactions. It is also true that social change is ubiquitous. The question we face is whether our attempts to influence the direction of change towards a humane world is by overt action. We recognize that social change is a process, a series of events, over time, and not a single event. We participate in the continual creation of the social world and as

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

such we do have the capacity to affect a variety of situations.

In the Power paradigm, social change is seen as resulting from conflict between countervailing power groups. There is a conceptualization of pluralistic groups competing with one another for advantages. Unless one belongs to one of these groups, it is assumed that it is highly unlikely that one can affect the social world. The abstract sociology that reifies society, frequently results in persons feeling despair about the probability of creating a humane society.

The sociology that derives from the Love paradigm is concerned with the ways that persons affirm one another as having dignity and integrity. It clearly recognizes that human beings create the social world through their actions and interactions and strive to create a humane world for human beings and other living things. It reflects the difference between "knowledge for manipulation" and "understanding for creating," between the illusion of "value free" and the clear commitment to humane values, between a sociology that supposedly describes what exists and provides a rationale for it and a sociology that has a vision of what ought to be, a humane world, and provides a guide to help create it. We see ourselves as actors rather than reactors, as participants in the process of humanizing the social world. We have a time perspective that recognizes process and thereby prevents a sense of powerlessness from developing when a focus is placed on immediate results.

The factor of expectations plays an important part in the development of disappointment. When one is imbued with the importance of one's profession, and believes the extravagant claims that are made, there is a great probability for disappointment. The claims that social services could cure poverty during the 1960 War on Poverty resulted in great expectations and equally, great disillusionment. The claim that we can stop child abuse is equally fallacious. We need to recognize that we do not possess such powers and that only if we become a non-threatening part of each family's world can we even begin to have an impact that is noncoercive. We cannot cure people or make them better. We can attempt to control them. We can become "soft cops" and "benevolent helpers" who torment those people who seek help because we are doing it "for their own good" (C.R. Lewis, 1970).

Our expectations need to recognize that the people we are

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

working with have an inherent right, as persons with dignity, to make their own decisions. Within the broader context of the social world, we need to see ourselves as actors who help create the world.

Probably one of the more insidious causes of disillusionment and disappointment is the institutional requirement to maintain records. Recording has become a fetish which creates the illusion of work being performed without the substance of work, i.e., helping people. Recording may present ethical problems when one considers that the persons requiring help had not given the institution permission to create a record of their problems. It is an invasion of privacy and a violation of trust for the worker to maintain a "case record." Studies have demonstrated that in excess of fifty percent of a worker's time is devoted to recording and supervisory conferences related to persons seeking help, whereas only about forty percent of the worker's time is devoted to direct contact with those persons.

Accumulating information can be an aspect of control. One needs only to recognize how much information is available on people and how this information is frequently used to deny persons their rights, to control and to subjugate them. For human service workers, a conflict may present itself between their desires to be helpful to those who need help and the requirements of the institution for detailed recording in order to be able to graphically justify their existence and demonstrate how "effectively" and "efficiently" they "service" their "population in need." For some workers, case-recording is demanded of them in terms of continued employment, thus placing them in a situation that has been defined as being "between the rock and the hard place." If they don't write records they may lose their jobs. If they do write records, they don't have enough time to be involved with those seeking help.

It is obvious that record-keeping is an integral part of the Power paradigm. Within the Love paradigm, there is no need for such record keeping. We recognize the interrelationship of people, that we are all constantly being and becoming, i.e. changing. Putting down on paper the views of one person of a particular event, i.e. a conversation represents neither where the other was at that time nor where they may be when next the people come together.

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

The best one can say about any record is that it is an abstraction from life and hence is fiction. It might serve the same bureaucratic function if the organization engages a person who enjoys writing this form of fiction, has a flair for it and can fill in the spaces in "case-records" while the human service workers spend their time with those people needing their help. It should be essential that the persons about whom the "records" are written have given their permission and have both the opportunity to see everything in those records and the right to delete, change or amend anything they so not agree with.

The human service workers' sense of their own personal inadequacy has a significant impact on "burn-out." Much of the theories, knowledge and relationships among people in a competitive culture is designed to create and support the sense that the individual is not good enough. This situation has been elaborated at length in an article "The Social Construction of the Feeling of Personal Inadequacy; An Aspect of Social Control" (Goroff 1984). The central theme of that essay is that feelings of person inadequacy, which frequently are translated by the person into feeling of self-depreciation, are encouraged and supported by much of social science theories. A consequence of feeling "one is not good enough" is to accept as "natural" the current unequal organizational structure of rights, privileges and obligations. Those on "top" have a right to be there because they are superior to those on the "bottom." Within the context of comparison and self-evaluation, the individual will never be "good enough" because there will always be someone who will have more of some "thing". An acceptance of oneself as not good enough combined with the other factors discussed in this essay cannot help but cause the person considerable pain, disappointment, disillusionment and dissatisfaction, i.e. "burn-out."

It is not sufficient simply to feel adequate. The feeling of adequacy needs to be viewed within a framework of a value orientation which affirms the value of life and the inherent right of all people to live in dignity and with integrity. The very process of self-evaluation, however one views oneself, may be seen as an alienating act. Nevertheless, if a choice must be made, it must be for a sense of adequacy which reaffirms the person's dignity and integrity and has a commitment to Love.

If we can come to a point of feeling complete without eval-

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

uative or comparative components, then we will have overcome the feelings of alienation. This situation is summarized in the Hasidic statement:

"If I am I, because I am I,
And you are you because you are you,
then I am I, and you are you.
However, if I am I because you are you,
and you are you because I am I
then I am not I and you are not you."

It may help overcome feelings of despair if we are able to accept the reality that being involved in the process of creating a humane world provides one with personal meaning in life as well as reflecting a commitment to the values inherent in the Love paradigm. We need a vision of a utopia; "a good place" (a place with social and distributive justice for all human beings). "Utopianism's aim is to change the world not to offer a recreational escape from it." (DeMaria 1982).

Bibliography

- Buber, Martin *I and Thou*, translated by Walter Kaufman, N. Y. Scribners, 1971.
- Buber, Martin *Knowledge of Man*, edited by Maurice Friedman, N. Y. Harper-Row, 1972.
- Cloward, Richard & Piven, Frances Fox *Regulating the Poor: The Function of Public Relief*, N. Y. Pantheon, 1971.
- DeMaria, William "The Dreaming and the Doing: Utopian Foundation of Social Action," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* Vol. 9, No. 2, 1982.
- Goroff, Norman "Organizational Analysis: Bureaucracy and the Profession with Reference to Social Work," mimeo, available from author, 1969.
- Goroff, Norman "Social Welfare as Coercive Social Control," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1974.
- Goroff, Norman "Humanism and Social Work: Paradoxes, Problems, and Promises," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1981.
- Goroff, Norman "The Existential Approach to Group Formation and Group Purpose In Social Group Work" in *Proceedings of 1982 Symposium on Social Work with Groups*, Edited by

The Anatomy of "Burn-Out;" ...

- Norma Lang, University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Goroff, Norman "The Social Construction of the Feeling of Personal Inadequacy: An Aspect of Social Control," *Humanity and Society* Vol. 8, No. 2, 1984. In print.
- Lewis, C.S. *God in the Dock*, ed. by Walter Hooper, "A Humanitarian Theory of Punishment." Grand Rapid, Minn., Eardmans, 1970.
- Mandell, Betty Reid *Welfare in America*. Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.

**DETERMINANTS OF KNOWLEDGE
ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY: A STUDY OF
NONREMARIED WIDOWS CARING FOR CHILDREN**

Martha N. Ozawa, Ph.D.

George Warren Brown School of Social Work
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

and

William T. Alpert, Ph.D.
Department of Economics
The University of Connecticut-Stamford Branch
Stamford, Connecticut 06903

ABSTRACT

Social security beneficiaries and the general public alike are concerned about the financial solvency of the social security program. But how much do they know about how the system works? This study analyzes the determinants of knowledge about social security among nonremarried widows having children under their care. It builds a research model based on the economic theory of rational decision making. Using ordinary least squares regression estimation techniques, the level of knowledge about specific social security provisions is regressed on family income, implicit tax rate, number of children, human capital variables, and other demographic and locational variables. The findings support the economic theory applied to this study. Widows who gain more by knowing social security provisions indeed know more about them than those who gain less.

For months before Congress enacted the Social Security Amendments of 1983 many Americans had been concerned

about an impending financial collapse in social security. Since the social security system is complex, they must have been concerned about the program knowing very little about exactly how the system works. Many politicians too must have been in such a situation. Thus, an interesting question can be raised: How much do people know about social security?

The Social Security Administration (SSA) has recently pursued this question. Using data from the 1978 Survey of Survivor Families with Children, SSA conducted a study that produced descriptive statistics on the level of knowledge that nonremarried widows, remarried widows, and widowers have about social security (Abbott, 1973).

It seems pertinent for policymakers to study how much social security beneficiaries know about social security. For one thing, since social security is an important source of income for many surviving families, economists theorize that many beneficiaries may base their economic actions on what they know about it. In addition, legislators pass laws regarding social security, assuming that beneficiaries respond to such new laws. Thus, knowledge about social security potentially is an important factor influencing the daily lives of social security beneficiaries. Yet, very little study has been devoted to the whole question of how much social security beneficiaries know about the workings of the social security program (Abbott, 1983; Peter D. Hart Associates, 1979).

RELATED STUDIES

Earlier studies related—albeit indirectly—to the present study look at the effect of knowledge on the behavior of those receiving transfer payments. For example, a study by Coe shows that a family receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is more likely to apply for food stamps than a family not receiving AFDC (Coe, 1977). His findings imply that AFDC families acquire knowledge about the food stamp program through their AFDC experience and, using that knowledge, proceed to apply for food stamps. In a study on characteristics of the elderly who contact a social security office to apply for Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Ozawa (1980) finds that the elderly who have received

social counseling services are more likely to contact a social security office to inquire about SSI. This finding implies that when the elderly receive social counseling services, they acquire knowledge about SSI, which leads them to contact the social security office. Further, it is a well-proven fact that retirees limit the amount of earnings in order to escape reduction of benefits, implying that knowledge about social security influences beneficiaries' behavior (Reno, 1976).

The present study extends SSA's recent research effort. Using the same data file, it attempts to assess the extent to which widows' characteristics have a bearing on their level of knowledge about social security (Abbott, 1983). Focusing on nonremarried widows, this study investigates the determinants of social security knowledge in a more systematic, detailed, and analytical fashion than the SSA survey did. It includes numerous, additional variables that capture more detailed information regarding family income, family backgrounds, widows' human capital, demographic backgrounds, and location of residence.

The SSA study presented cross tabulations of knowledge in relation to various independent variables taken one at a time; the present study uses regression estimation techniques instead. Applying these techniques, the study attempts to measure the net effect of each independent variable in the regression model. Furthermore, this study develops composite indices of knowledge covering several areas of social security provisions and all areas combined. In contrast, the SSA study deals with each questionnaire item separately. The use of indices enables researchers to put research questions in a somewhat broader perspective.

The major objective of this study, then, is to provide more systematic information for answering the following question: How much do nonremarried widows know about the way the social security program works and what makes some of them more knowledgeable about this than other widows? Nonremarried widows are chosen as the focus of this study because they depend heavily on social security as a source of income and therefore may have more at stake in knowing about it.¹

FRAMEWORK

Traditional economic theory about rational decision making is applied in building a model for this study. This theory asserts that beneficiaries acquire knowledge about social security—like any other economic good—in order to maximize utility. Three phenomena are involved in the theory: income effects, price effects, and the effect of opportunity costs of forgone benefits. According to the theory, individuals having a high, normal expected income demand more of all goods, including knowledge about social security. On the other hand, individuals who have to pay a higher price for acquiring knowledge are less likely to invest their resources for acquiring it than those who pay a lower price. Finally, individuals who face greater opportunity costs of forgone benefits because of ignorance have a greater incentive to acquire knowledge than those facing less of such costs (Stigler, 1961). We shall build a research model using family income, the number of children, the implicit tax rate on earnings, and human capital variables that reflect these theoretical constructs. Other demographic and locational variables will also be included as controls.

On the basis of this theory, we can expect family income to be positively related to widows' knowledge about social security. We can disaggregate income into three parts and thus consider three income variables: social security benefits for the survivor family, the widow's own earnings, and other family income, which includes children's earnings, rent, dividends, and interest. It should be noted, however, that the widow's wage rate is a more appropriate measure of normal expected income than her actual earnings (which may be influenced by the earnings test, hours worked, and other transitory factors). Therefore, we will use the widow's wage rate as a component of family income instead of her actual earnings. But it is hard to predict which way the widow's wage rate is related to her knowledge. Wages, unlike other types of income, not only create income effects but also price effects. That is, on the one hand, high-wage widows are expected to acquire more knowledge than low-wage widows because high wages mean more income; on the other hand, high-wage widows have to pay a higher price for acquiring knowledge because their time is more valuable than that of

low-wage widows. Thus, the question of how the widow's wage rate affects her knowledge is empirical in nature.

The number of children potentially has both price effects and the effect of opportunity costs of forgone benefits on the knowledge level among widows. On the one hand, widows caring for a large number of children value their time at home more than their time spent elsewhere. Thus time spent for acquiring knowledge about social security is relatively costly for them. On the other hand, since such women expect larger amounts of family benefits than do widows with fewer children, they potentially forgo larger benefits if they remain ignorant of the program. Thus, widows in this case have a greater stake in knowing about the program.

One also needs to be aware of the effects of specific social security provisions. When widows have more than 2 children, for instance, it is likely that their family will receive maximum family benefits regardless of how much they earn.² Conversely, if there is only one child, widows' earnings potentially result in benefit reductions. Thus, it is plausible that widows with more children know more about the provision of maximum family benefits than widows with fewer children. It is plausible as well that widows with fewer children know more about the earnings test than those with many children. At any rate, because the number of children is expected to influence the knowledge level in many directions, it is difficult to predict which way this variable is related to a widow's knowledge about social security.

For the purposes of this study, children will be considered in three age brackets: (a) the number of children younger than age 18, (b) the number between 18 and 21, and (c) the number older than 21. Differentiating children according to age brackets seems important since social security treats them differently.³

The age of the youngest child is expected to make a difference in the widow's knowledge about social security. Widows whose youngest child is still of tender age may have to spend more time on child care. This increases the price of the widow's time at home in relation to time spent for other purposes, including acquisition of knowledge about the program. Thus, we expect the age of the youngest child to be inversely related to the widow's knowledge level.

The opportunity costs of forgone benefits because of ignorance are involved in the implicit tax rate that many working widows are subjected to. In 1977 widows could earn up to \$3,000 without having their benefits reduced. If they earned more than this amount, their benefits were cut at the rate of \$1 for each \$2 of excess earnings in the same year. Thus, not knowing about this specific provision would result in a forgone opportunity to maximize their social security benefits, reduce hours of work, or both. The higher the implicit tax rate on earnings, the greater the forgone opportunity costs of not knowing about the program. Therefore, we expect widows subjected to higher implicit tax rates to have a greater incentive to acquire knowledge about the program than other widows.

Also, we infer from economic theory that widows with more human capital are more efficient in acquiring knowledge than those with less. By human capital, we mean, for the purposes of this study, age, education, labor market experience, and health. Widows with more human capital can acquire a given amount of knowledge at a lower price (cost) than those with less human capital. Thus we hypothesize that human capital variables are positively related to program knowledge. For instance, better educated widows can understand more readily what the publications on social security mean to them, and thus pay a lower price for acquiring knowledge than do less educated widows. This line of reasoning applies also to the other human capital variables mentioned above. We shall consider these human capital variables in this study, since human capital theorists agree that they constitute vital components of human capital (Becker, 1964; Mincer, 1973; Mincer, 1974; Sorenson, 1975; Kalacheck and Raines, 1976).

For the purposes of this study, labor market experience among widows can be compartmentalized into three phases: work experience before marriage to the deceased husband, work experience during that marriage, and work experience after the husband's death. Work experience is disaggregated for two reasons: First, the knowledge level may be related to the vantage point of work experience. Second, only earnings after the husband's death potentially results in a reduction of benefits that widows' families are nominally entitled to, which in turn may be related to the knowledge levels of

widows (Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Sandall and Shapiro, 1978).

In addition to years of education, it seems relevant to consider whether the widow was in school at the time of the survey. Being exposed to contemporary education might heighten a widow's awareness about social security, other things being equal.⁴

Further, we hypothesize that being healthy is directly related to the level of knowledge. It is known that healthy people are more productive in the labor market. Given this fact, we expect healthy widows to acquire knowledge at a lower cost than unhealthy ones. Similar arguments can be made about age, which we hypothesize is inversely related to knowledge.

We have so far discussed a conceptual framework built around the economic theory of rational decision making. However, other variables may affect the level of knowledge about social security. For example, length of time since the husband's death may be positively related to the level of knowledge. The longer the survivor's family receives social security benefits, the longer the widow's exposure to the program and thus the more knowledge about it. Location of residence may also have some bearing on the knowledge level. Rural living, compared with urban, may facilitate development of closer relationships and therefore more communication among widows and between widows and other residents, resulting in widows' greater knowledge about social security. Similarly, living in different regions may have different effects on the level of knowledge, although it is hard to predict a priori which region is most positively related to the level of knowledge. Race, too, may have some influence; varying lifestyles and value systems of white and nonwhite families may have different effects on knowledge about social security. Also, a variable that captures varying marital status of the currently nonremarried widows will be considered as a control. There may be a difference in the level of knowledge between widows who stayed nonremarried since their husband's death and widows who remarried and then became nonremarried once again due to divorce or separation from their new husband.

Independent and control variables discussed here are presented with their definitions in Appendix 1.

METHODOLOGY

Variables Further Defined

In the 1978 survey, SSA asked respondents 10 specific questions regarding the Survivors Insurance component of the social security program. The questions fall into four areas: (a) the provisions of children's benefits (4 items); (b) the provision of widows' benefits (3 items); (c) the maximum family benefit rule (1 item); and (d) the provision of earnings test (2 items). The questions and their correct answers are shown in Appendix 2.

For the purpose of this study, the proportion of correct answers in each area was obtained. In this way, we developed 4 dependent variables, covering the four specific areas of knowledge. We developed an additional dependent variable, covering all questions taken as a whole—that is, the proportion of correct answers involving all 10 questions. In contrast, SSA dealt with each question separately (Abbott, 1983).

The implicit tax rate and the widow's wage rate require further explanation. Under social security, widows who earned less than \$3,000 in 1977 could keep their benefits without reduction. Therefore, up to this point, the implicit tax rate was zero. When earnings exceeded \$3,000, benefits were reduced at the rate of \$1 for each \$2 of excess earnings, resulting in an implicit tax rate of 50 percent. But the implicit tax rate became zero once again when earnings over \$3,000 reached twice the amount of the benefit, so that no benefits were received. For the purposes of this study, therefore, a tax rate of zero or 0.5 was assigned to widows, depending on their earnings.⁵

Wage rates were expressed as hourly wages. To those widows who did not work in 1978, the value of zero was assigned. Of all widows under study, 40 percent did not work. All other independent variables are straightforward.

Source of Data

As noted, this study used data from the 1978 Survey of Survivor Families with Children, collected by SSA (Hastings and Springer, 1980). This survey updated a previous SSA survey (Palmore, Stanley, and Cormier, (1966). The 1978 survey included families headed by nonremarried widows, and

for the first time, those headed by remarried widows and those headed by nonremarried or remarried widowers as well. All families had at least one child age 18 or younger and were receiving survivors' benefits at the time of the survey. The survey data were merged with the social security program data to produce a sample of 5,752 widows and widowers. Income data apply to 1977; non-income data to 1978.⁶

The present study selected widows who were not married at the time of the survey. Some, however, had remarried after their husband's death and later were divorced or separated from their new husband. After excluding persons for whom data were missing, the sample data size for the present study became 3,438.

Statistical Method

In order to measure the strength of each independent variable's effect in determining the dependent variables, controlling for the effects of other variables, the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression estimation technique was used.⁷ The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used for computer programming.

FINDINGS

Level of Knowledge

The mean proportions of correct answers and their standard deviations covering the various areas of questions are shown in Table 1.

All questions taken together, widows seem to have a relatively high level of knowledge about social security. On the average, they answered correctly 62 percent of the questions. Among the areas investigated, these widows seem to have a particularly high level of knowledge on how children's benefits are provided. In this area, the average proportion of correct answers is 82 percent. However, in other areas their average level of knowledge appears drastically lower: 50 percent in questions dealing with how widows' benefits are provided; 48 percent in questions involving the earnings test, and 42 percent in the question involving the maximum family benefit rule. In general, these findings are consistent with those in the SSA study. Readers

TABLE 1
Mean Proportions and Standard Deviations
of Correct Answers

	<u>Mean Proportion</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Questions regarding children's benefits	0.82	0.22
Questions regarding widows'benefits	0.50	0.25
Questions regarding maximum benefits	0.42	0.49
Questions regarding the earnings test	0.48	0.28
All questions combined	0.62	0.18

interested in finding the level of knowledge about each specific question should consult that study (Abbott, 1983).

Regression Results

Table 2 presents the results from five separate OLS regressions. Each column shows coefficients of independent and control variables in determining the proportion of correct answers to questions: first, children's benefits; second, widow's benefits; third, the maximum family benefit rule; fourth, the earnings test; and fifth, all questions taken together.

Income-related Variables: Generally, income-related variables appear to have strong influence on widows' knowledge about social security. First, the amount of social security benefits (SS\$FAM) is positively, and statistically significantly, related to knowledge in all areas of concern. The directions of the coefficients are all as expected. High-benefit recipients seem to know particularly well how the earnings test works. All questions considered together, widows with high levels of benefits tend to know more about social security.

Other income (OTHINC) is also related to the widows' level of knowledge. In all areas except that concerning children's benefits, the relationships between other income and the dependent variables are statistically significant. The directions of relationship are positive, as expected, in all areas. Again, as in the case of SS\$FAM, OTHINC is strongly related to overall knowledge about social security. Widows who command a large amount of OTHINC know more about social security than others do.

However, the wage rate (WAGE) is not related to knowledge about social security, although the directions of relationship are as predicted in all areas. This may indeed show that this variable exerts on the dependent variables both the income effect and the price effect, which offset each other, with the former slightly outweighing the latter. That is, the wage rate measures not only a widow's own normal income but also the value of her time. Thus, on the one hand, high-wage widows demand more knowledge because they have more income; on the other hand, they use less time for acquiring program knowledge because their time is expensive.

TABLE 2
REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY
("t" ratios in parentheses)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables: Knowledge Regarding Provisions of				
	Children's Benefits	Widows' Benefits	Maximum Family Benefits	The Earnings Test	All Questions Combined
SS\$FAM	0.0000043* (2.36)	0.0000106** (4.98)	0.0000185*** (4.45)	0.0000169*** (7.20)	0.0000101*** (7.11)
OTHINC	0.00000011 (1.52)	0.00000020* (2.31)	0.0000071*** (4.06)	0.0000025** (2.86)	0.0000023*** (3.84)
WAGE	0.0007438 (1.06)	0.0001558 (0.19)	0.0023861 (1.51)	0.0014632 (1.65)	0.0008755 (1.62)
TAX	0.0149143 (0.77)	0.0612302** (2.77)	0.0762232 (1.76)	0.0158190 (0.65)	0.0351209* (2.37)
NUMLT18	0.0020531 (0.56)	-0.0163173*** (3.94)	0.0084534 (1.04)	-0.0186159*** (4.08)	-0.0069517* (2.49)
NUM1821	0.0106485* (2.03)	-0.0103180 (1.72)	0.0361031** (3.08)	-0.0195860** (2.96)	0.0008571 (0.21)
NUMGE22	-0.0024815 (0.35)	0.0052684 (0.64)	0.0144892 (0.91)	-0.0143474 (1.60)	-0.0008326 (0.15)
AGEVG77	0.0001123 (1.10)	0.0001878 (1.60)	-0.0001024 (0.44)	-0.0000397 (0.30)	0.0000831 (1.05)

(Table 2 Continued)

PREMAREX	-0.0006836 (0.64)	0.0016061 (1.31)	-0.0009254 (0.38)	0.0004218 (0.31)	0.0002001 (0.24)
MAREX	0.0014652** (2.64)	0.0003160 (0.49)	0.0014356 (1.15)	0.0003828 (0.54)	0.0009010* (2.10)
POSTEX	0.0012032 (0.87)	0.0011966 (0.75)	0.0074814* (2.41)	0.0011147 (0.63)	0.0018114 (1.70)
EDUCATN	0.0092379*** (6.30)	0.0024456 (1.45)	0.0223414*** (6.79)	0.0121281*** (6.55)	0.0090886*** (8.04)
INSCHOOL	-0.0287556 (1.24)	0.0169936 (0.64)	0.0772157 (1.49)	0.0001050 (0.0036)	0.0013384 (0.75)
HEALTH	-0.0080413 (0.64)	-0.0154245 (1.07)	0.0241887 (0.86)	-0.0196167 (1.24)	-0.0093483 (0.97)
AGE	-0.0002108 (0.36)	-0.0008263 (1.24)	0.0015500 (1.19)	0.0003076 (0.42)	-0.0001156 (0.25)
WHITE	0.0474005*** (5.04)	0.0538321*** (5.00)	0.0302848 (1.43)	0.0855330*** (7.21)	0.0552449*** (7.63)
DURATN	0.0003307*** (3.33)	0.0003954*** (3.47)	0.0001984 (0.89)	0.0004006*** (3.19)	0.0003509*** (4.58)
URBAN	-0.0161857* (1.95)	-0.0327582*** (3.45)	0.0158606 (0.85)	0.0030209 (0.28)	-0.0141115* (2.21)
RD1	-0.0188497 (1.84)	-0.0034848 (0.29)	0.0627882** (2.74)	-0.0092782 (0.72)	-0.0041621 (0.52)
RD2	-0.0029993 (0.30)	-0.0142764 (1.27)	0.0456816* (2.08)	-0.0024781 (0.20)	-0.0014101 (0.18)

(Table 2 Continued)

RD4	-0.0161025 (1.32)	-0.0404232** (2.89)	0.0044288 (0.16)	-0.0540906*** (3.52)	-0.0289432** (3.08)
CURSD	0.0105395 (0.93)	-0.0060649 (0.46)	0.0219347 (0.86)	-0.0416897** (2.91)	-0.0037481 (0.43)
CONSTANT	0.6228804	0.4027825	-0.1646607	0.1915816	0.3918372
R ²	0.04593	0.05533	0.06052	0.09857	0.11465
F	7.47299***	9.09141***	9.99986***	16.97362***	20.10084***
N	3,438	3,438	3,438	3,438	3,438

* significant at the 0.05 level.

** significant at the 0.01 level.

*** significant at the 0.001 level.

Implicit Tax Rate (TAX): We hypothesized that widows subjected to the earnings test—that is, those whose benefits were reduced because of excess earnings—would have a higher stake in knowing how social security works because they would face greater forgone opportunity costs of not knowing social security provisions. When all questions are considered, the coefficient of TAX is positive and statistically significant, confirming our hypothesis. However, when we focus on specific areas, statistical significance is obtained in only one area, although all coefficients are positive as expected. The implicit tax rate exerts a significant effect on widows' knowledge about how their own benefits are provided but not about other aspects of social security.

Why does TAX make difference in knowledge only in this particular area? We can explain the situation as follows: Under social security, widows' earnings in excess of the exempted amount result in a reduction in their own benefits but not in their children's benefits. Thus, widows subjected to the earnings test were more aware of rules and regulations regarding their own benefits than about other aspects of social security. On the other hand, it is somewhat puzzling that the implicit tax rate is not related to their knowledge about the earnings test itself. We expected that widows subjected to the earnings test would know more about it.

Number of Children: Variables regarding the number of children appear to be related to knowledge about social security in a complex way. First, the number of children under age 18 (NUMLT18) is significantly and negatively related to widows' knowledge about how widows' benefits are provided and how the earnings test works. On the other hand, NUMLT18 is related to widows' knowledge in other areas in the opposite direction, albeit without statistical significance.

The number of children age 18 through 21 (NUMLT1821) is related to widows' knowledge in all 4 specific areas in the same directions as those observed when the dependent variables were regressed on NUMLT18. But the level of statistical significance differs.

The number of children age 22 and over (NUME22) seems to have nothing to do with widows' knowledge about social security. Statistical significance is not achieved in any of the areas of knowledge, and the coefficients have differing

signs. We will henceforth ignore this variable in our discussion.

What can we make of the complex relationship between the number of children and widows' knowledge about social security? We explain the situation in two ways: first, by examining the significance level of coefficients; second, by looking at the pattern of relationship between independent and dependent variables in specific areas of concern, ignoring statistical significance.

Earlier, we hypothesized that both the price effect and the effect of forgone benefits are involved in the number of children and that these effects counteract each other. The preponderance of statistically significant, negative coefficients involving NUMLT18 seems to indicate that in this variable the price effect outweighs the effect of forgone opportunity costs. That is, widows with many young children (those in the age bracket of one to 18) find it more valuable to spend their time in caring for the children than in acquiring knowledge about social security, even though more children mean more benefits. On the other hand, the preponderance of statistically significant, positive coefficients involving NUM1821 seems to indicate that the reverse is true for this age bracket. That is, widows with several children in this age bracket no longer need to spend as much time and energy caring for them as might be needed to care for young children, and therefore are willing or able to invest their time in acquiring knowledge, because more children mean more benefits.

Next, we attempt to explain the pattern of relationship between the number of children and the dependent variables in specific areas of concern. By observing how NUMLT18 and NUM1821 are related to the four specific areas of knowledge, ignoring the coefficients' statistical significance, we can offer the following explanation. First, we observe a negative relationship between the number of children and widows' knowledge about the earnings test. In a family with only a few children—for example, one child—the widow's earnings potentially result in a reduction in family benefits. Thus, such families may have a high opportunity cost of ignorance. On the other hand, in a family with many children, the widow's earnings would not result in a reduction in family benefits. The family simply continues to receive the

maximum family benefit. Thus, we can surmise that widows with fewer children would have more at stake in knowing how the earnings test works, and therefore would try to be more knowledgeable about it.

On the other hand, the number of children would exert a positive effect on widows' knowledge about the maximum family benefit rule. Families with a larger number of children (more than two) would receive only the maximum family benefit, which is less than the sum of benefits for all eligible family members. Thus, we can expect that widows with many children would be exposed to this provision and therefore would have a greater opportunity and interest in knowing about it. This is exactly what the coefficients of NUMLT18 and NUM1821 seem to indicate.

An inverse relationship is observed between the number of children and widows' knowledge about how widows' benefits are provided. All three questions used to develop a knowledge index in this area deal with the relationship between children's benefits and widows' benefits. Under the law, widows are entitled to their benefits only when they have children in their care. When children's benefits terminate, widows' benefits also terminate. Widows can resume receiving benefits in their own right as aged widows when they reach 60. Thus, we can surmise that a larger number of children ensures greater stability of benefits for widows. Conversely, a smaller number of children would heighten concern about widows' benefits being terminated some day, resulting in widows' greater stake in understanding the provisions of widows' benefits. Perhaps, this is why the coefficients of these variables are negative. That is, the smaller the number of children in either age bracket, the greater the level of the widow's knowledge about the provisions of widows' benefits: here again the potential opportunity costs of ignorance are high.

On the other hand, the direction of relationship between the number of children and widows' knowledge about children's benefits is positive. All four questions in this area deal strictly with children's benefits. Thus, we can surmise that a larger number of children translate into a widow's not only wanting to understand the provisions but also being more extensively exposed to the workings of social security. More children mean more benefits, subject to the maximum family

benefit ceiling; frequent dealings with the Social Security Administration lower the price of acquiring program knowledge.

The age of the youngest child (AGEYG77) was included in the regression to measure the price of widows' time. This variable appears to have no bearing on widows' knowledge level about social security. Statistical significance is not achieved in any area.

Human Capital Variables: First, with regard to work experience, we observe that all of the signs of the coefficients of work experience during marriage (MAREX) and after the husband's death (POSTEX) are positive as expected. Statistical significance is achieved only sporadically, however. Note also that the signs of the coefficients of work experience before marriage (PREMAREX) differ depending on the areas of knowledge about social security, with no statistical significance in any area. We might tentatively interpret as follows: The number of years of work experience before marriage to the deceased husband has little to do with widows' extent of knowledge about social security. However, there is some indication that the number of years of work, either during the marriage or after the husband's death, is positively related to the knowledge level among widows.

There is no question that education (EDUCATN) is a strong determinant of knowledge about social security. Observe the strong relationship between the number of years of schooling and the knowledge level in all areas, except the provision of widows' benefits. As hypothesized, the more educated widows are, the greater their knowledge in all areas except that dealing with widows' benefits. These findings indicate that more educated widows are more productive in acquiring knowledge, given the same price and opportunity costs, than less educated widows. This certainly is consistent with economic theory.

On the other hand, the variable capturing current school attendance (INSCHOOL) is not a significant determinant of knowledge. However, all signs of the coefficients for this variable are as expected except in the regression involving the provisions of children's benefits. The relatively weak effect of this variable may stem from the fact that it not only measures a widow's human capital but also captures the

price of acquiring knowledge. Widows attending school should feel that it is more costly to spend their time acquiring knowledge about social security than those not in school. Perhaps because of these two opposing forces at work in the same variable, statistical significance is not attained in any area.

Health status (HEALTH) is another variable measuring widows' human capital. None of its coefficients, however, is statistically significant, indicating that health status is not related to the level of knowledge about social security. The widow's age (AGE) as a human capital variable is not a significant determinant of knowledge about social security, either.

Control Variables: The control variables that emerge as consistently strong determinants of knowledge about social security are race (WHITE) and duration of time since the death of the husband (DURATN). Being white is positively related to the knowledge level in all aspects of social security. Statistical significance is achieved in all areas except the one dealing with the maximum family benefit rule. In general, we can say that white widows know significantly more about social security than nonwhite widows.

Duration of time since the husband's death is another strong determinant of knowledge about social security. Statistical significance is achieved in all areas except the one involving the maximum family benefit rule, and the directions of the coefficients are as expected in all areas. Widows who have spent more years since their husband's death indeed know more about how social security works than do widows who have spent fewer years.

Another control variable of interest is urban vs. rural residence (URBAN). Notice that there are two statistically significant coefficients with negative signs. This indicates that widows living in the rural areas know more about social security than do widows living in urban areas. However, two coefficients are not significant, and indeed have positive signs. With these two sets of internal forces working against each other, the coefficient for all of the questions taken together (see column 5) is negative and statistically significant at the .05 level. Thus, we tentatively conclude that rural widows appear to know more about certain aspects of social security than do urban widows.

Region seems to make a difference in the knowledge level. We observe that, compared with widows in the South, those in the West (RD4) are less knowledgeable about social security. The level of Western widows' knowledge is significantly lower in two specific areas and also when all questions are considered as a whole. In one area only, RD4 is positively related to the knowledge level but without statistical significance.

Comparing widows in Northeastern (RD1) and North Central (RD2) with Southern widows, we observe that the former are significantly more knowledgeable about the maximum family benefit rule than the latter. In all other areas, however, no statistical significance is achieved and the coefficients of these variables are negative. Thus, region of residence makes some difference in widows' knowledge, although it is difficult to explain why.

Whether widows were separated or divorced (CURSD) at the time of survey seems to have a statistically significant difference in knowledge about one aspect of social security—the earnings test. Those who were either separated or divorced at the time of the survey knew significantly less about how the earnings test works. It is hard to explain why, however.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In general, nonremarried widows have a surprisingly high level of knowledge about social security. Their average proportion of correct answers is 62 percent. However, their level of knowledge varies depending on the specific area of knowledge. They tend to know the provisions regarding benefits for surviving children particularly well. They know least about the maximum family benefit rule.

Findings from this study validate the economic theory of rational decision making. Major findings in support of this theory are summarized below:

1. High-income widows demand and therefore acquire more knowledge about social security—like any other normal good—than low-income widows.

2. Widows who pay a higher price for acquiring knowledge acquire less knowledge about social security than those who pay a lower price. For example, widows who have

to take care of many children of minor age are less knowledgeable about the program than their counterparts even though more children mean larger family benefits, subject to the family maximum benefit rule.

3. Widows facing greater forgone opportunity costs of not knowing specific provisions indeed know more about them than widows not facing such a predicament. For instance, widows with a smaller number of children need to be more aware of possible cuts in family benefits because of widows' earnings than widows with more children. Widows in such a predicament indeed know more about specific provisions of the earnings test. Conversely, widows with a larger number of children know more about the maximum family benefit rule than those with fewer children, because the former are more likely to be affected by this rule than the latter. All this indicates that widows facing certain issues indeed know about social security provisions specifically related to such issues.

4. Widows with greater human capital know more about social security provisions because they can acquire a given amount of knowledge for a lower price than those with less human capital. For instance, women who are more educated are more efficient in acquiring knowledge about social security and therefore know more about the program than the less educated. Furthermore, directions of coefficients regarding work experience and health status (though statistical significance is rarely achieved), seem to further support the argument that human capital positively affects the level of knowledge about social security.

In addition to the findings specifically related to the economic model developed in this study, two control variables stand out as important determinants of knowledge: race and length of time since the husband's death. The finding about race indicates that white widows know more about the program than nonwhite widows, although the reason remains to be discovered. The finding about the effect of time elapsed since the husband's death indicates that widows get more experienced as time passes in understanding social security provisions and as a result become more knowledgeable about them than recent widows.

None of the findings in this study contradict those of the SSA study. However, our findings do indeed extend and

clarify the SSA findings about beneficiaries' knowledge of how social security works; they also present an enlightened view of why some beneficiaries know more than others. This study provides more precise information on the extent to which independent variables determine nonremarried widows' knowledge level regarding social security. For instance, the SSA study reports that length of time since the husband's death does not affect overall social security knowledge, although it does affect knowledge about some specific questions (Abbott, 1983). Our study, by using regression estimation techniques, succeeds in capturing the net effect of this variable—which emerges as a strong determinant of knowledge, not only in specific areas but in all areas combined. The same statement can be made about the finding in regard to the relationship between the number of children and the knowledge level; the use of regression techniques reveal the relationship more clearly than does the SSA crosstab approach.

Although our study is limited to nonremarried widows caring for children, the findings should be important for policy makers because social security is a major source of income for this groups of survivor families and because what they know—or don't know—about it affects their daily lives.

FOOTNOTES

1. For families of nonremarried widows, social security benefits in 1977 constituted 45 percent of their total money income. This compared with 22 percent for remarried widows' families, 15 percent for nonremarried widowers' families, and 11 percent for remarried widowers' families. The data source is the same as for the present study.
2. Under social security, each survivor is nominally entitled to benefits equivalent to 75 percent of the Primary Insurance Amount (PIA, the basic benefit for the insured worker if the worker retires at age 65 or is disabled). However, when there are more than two survivors, the surviving family faces the maximum family benefit rule. Under this rule, the sum of all survivors' benefits in the family may not be more than 1.5 to 1.88 times the PIA, depending on the deceased worker's prior earnings

level. Therefore, when there are more than two surviving children, the widow's earnings do not affect the amount of social security benefits that her family receives.

3. In 1978 when the survey was taken, children under age 18 could receive benefits with no restriction. Those between 18 and 21 could receive benefits only if they were full-time students. Those older than 21 could not receive benefits unless they were disabled and the disability started before they reached age 22. Their benefits terminate upon marriage regardless of their age.
4. Of all nonremarried widows under study, 3 percent were attending school at the time of the survey.
5. Recall, however, that at the time of the survey widows were asked about the exempt amount effective as of 1978. Therefore, the right answer to the question regarding the earnings test was \$3,240; but the exempt amount of \$3,000, which was effective in 1977, was used by the author to assess whether these widows were subjected to the earnings test in 1977.
6. The sampling frame consisted of an area probability design conducted in three stages. First, the 99 primary sampling units in SSA's contractor's national design. Next, the choice of ZIP codes within the primary sampling units was made with probability proportional to size. Finally, cases within the specified sampling units were selected from a social security list of eligible cases. In order for the sample to represent properly across the nation the universe of survivor families with children, the sample was weighted to adjust for nonresponse and for universe cell size. Thus, the sample used in the survey represented a universe of 910,000 survivor families with children on social security. Among them were 605,000 families of currently nonremarried widows; 183,000 families of currently remarried widows; 52,000 families of currently nonremarried widowers; and 70,000 families of currently remarried widowers.
7. Logistic regression estimation techniques are particularly appropriate to use when the dependent variable takes the form of proportion, as was the case in this study. We used both statistical procedures (logistic

and OLS regression techniques) and obtained almost identical results. Since OLS regression results are more comprehensible than logistic regression results, we report the former in this paper.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, J. Knowledge of social security: Survivor families with children. Social Security Bulletin, December 1983, 46, 3-13.
- Becker, G. W. Human Capital. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964.
- Coe, R. D. Participation in the food stamp program among the poverty population. In Five Thousand American Families: Patterns of Economic Progress. Vol. VII. G. J. Duncan and J. N. Morgan (eds.). Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Institute of Social Research, 1977, 249-271.
- Hastings, R. I. K. and Springer, P. B. Preliminary findings from the 1978 survey of survivor families with children. Research and Statistics Note, No. 12. Washington, D.C.: Social Security Administration, November 1980.
- Kalacheck, E. and Raines, F. The structure of wage differences among mature male workers. Journal of Human Resources, 1976, 11, 484-506.
- Mincer, J. Distribution of labor income: A survey. Journal of Economic Literature, 1973, 8, 1-26.
- _____. Schooling, Experience, and Earnings. Columbia University Press, 1974.
- _____. and Polachek, S. Family investment in human capital: Earnings of women. Journal of Political Economy, 1974, 82, S76-S108.
- Ozawa, M. N. Who seeks SSI? An empirical study of the determinants of seeking SSI payments among the low-income elderly. Final report to the Administration on Aging, Grant No. 90-AR-2076/01, 1980.
- Palmore, E., Stanley, G. L., and Cormier, R. H. Widows with Children under Social Security: The 1963 National Survey of Widows with Children under OASDHI. Washington, D.C.: Social Security Administration, 1966.
- Peter D. Hart Associates, Inc. A Nationwide Survey of Attitudes Toward Social Security. Washington, D.C.: The National Commission on Social Security, 1979.

- Reno, V. Retirement patterns of men. In Reaching Retirement Age: Findings from a Survey of Newly Entitled Workers, 1968-1970. Research Report No. 47. Washington, D.C.: Social Security Administration, 1976.
- Sandall, S. and D. Shapiro. The theory of human capital and the earnings of women: A re-examination of the evidence. Journal of Human Resources, 1978, 13, 103-117.
- Sorenson, A. B. Growth in occupational achievement: Social mobility or investment in human capital. In Social Indicator Models. K. C. Land and S. Spilerman (eds.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975, 355-360.
- Stigler, G. J. The economics of information. Journal of Political Economy, 1961, 69, 312-225.

APPENDIX 1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES USED IN THE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Independent Variables

Income Variables

SS\$FAM	Annual social security benefits for the surviving family.
OTHINC	Income other than social security benefits and the widow's own earnings.
WAGE	The widow's hourly wage rate. If the widow did not work at the time of survey, the value of zero is assigned.

Variables Capturing the Price Effect and the Effect of Forgone Opportunity Costs

TAX	Implicit tax rate resulting from being subjected to the earnings test: 0.5, if subjected; zero, otherwise.
NUMLT18	Number of children age under 18.

NUM1821	Number of children age 18 through 21.
NUMGE22	Number of children age 22 or older.
AGEYG77	Age of the youngest child in 1977.

Human Capital Variables

PREMAREX	Number of years of work experience before marriage to the the deceased husband.
MAREX	Number of years of work experience during marriage to the deceased husband.
POSTEX	Number of years of work experience after the death of husband.
EDUCATN	Number of years of schooling
INSCHOOL	School attendance at the time of survey: One, if in school; zero otherwise.
HEALTH	Having health problems: One, if widow assessed her health as poor; zero, otherwise.
AGE	The widow's age in 1978.

Control Variables

WHITE	Race: One, if white; zeor, otherwise.
DURATN	Number of years elapsed since the death of husband.
URBAN	Urban vs. rural residence: One, if the widow lived in an urban area: zero, otherwise.

RD1	Region of residence: One, if the widow lived in the Northeastern region; zero, otherwise.
RD2	Region of residence: One, if the widow lived in the North Central region; zero, otherwise.
RD4	Region of residence: One, if the widow lived in the Western region; zero, otherwise
CURSD	Current marital status: One, if divorced or separated at the time of survey; zero, otherwise.

Note that South is dropped from the regression. This means that all other regions are compared with South.

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONS USED TO DEVELOP THE SOCIAL SECURITY INDEX (correct answers in parentheses)

Because of (NAME OF DECEASED)'s Social Security coverage, your family now gets benefits. For each of the following questions about these benefits, please answer yes, no, or not sure.

Regarding benefits for children

1. If that child is no longer enrolled in school, would that child's benefits continue past the 18th birthday? (No)
2. When the youngest child receiving benefits reaches age 18, could the widow still receive mother's benefits? (No)
3. If something happened to (one of your children/your child) while still young, and this child became disabled and couldn't work, could this child keep getting Social Security as an adult? (Yes)

4. If a child marries before age 20, would his/her benefits continue? (No)

Regarding benefits for widows

1. If a widow herself remarried while her children were still young, could eligibility for her own benefits as a mother continue? (No)
2. If a widow were to remarry, would her children's benefits continue? (Yes)
3. A widow can also receive benefits when she reaches a certain age, even if she has no young children. At what age do you think you can first receive these aged widow benefits? (60)

Regarding the maximum family benefit rule

1. Is there a maximum amount Social Security will pay to a family, no matter how many family members there are? (Yes)

Regarding the earnings test

1. Can the benefits that a widow receives ever be affected by the money she receives from work? (Yes)
2. What is the maximum yearly amount a person can earn and still not affect their benefits? (\$3,240 in 1978. Note: For the purpose of this study, a margin of error up to 5 percent on either side of \$3,240 is allowed. Thus amounts ranging from \$3,078 to \$3,402 are considered to be correct responses.)

INCOME TAX AND INEQUALITY: WHAT CONSTITUTES WELFARE STATE EXPENDITURE?

by
Gordon W. Ternowetsky
Social Administration Research Unit
Faculty of Social Work
University of Regina

ABSTRACT

This paper examines 1981 taxation returns for the Province of Saskatchewan and Canada as a whole. The analysis examined the extent to which legal tax breaks benefit the rich and act to reinforce income inequality. The question of what constitutes government social spending is also raised. It is argued that tax breaks are a form of social expenditure that result in a tremendous drain on government revenue. The findings show that if progressive taxation was enforced, even for the few very rich Canadians (those earning over \$200,000 a year), governments in 1981 would have an extra 1.1 billion dollars available for other social programs.

Introduction

At the close of the 1984 federal election campaign, the leaders of the three mainline political parties had achieved something of a consensus. All agreed on the need for reform of the Canadian Income Tax Act. Each leader put forth an election platform that promised to change a taxation system that permitted some of the richest people in Canada to pay little or no personal income tax.

One difficulty with the tax debate witnessed in the 1984 election is that it was somewhat truncated. All we really learned was that some of the rich pay little or no tax. Other crucial corners of personal taxation in Canada were left uncovered. For example, what is equally problematic is that legal tax breaks both reinforce income inequality

and produce a tremendous strain on government revenue. These outcomes, although perhaps implied, were not dealt with directly in the election debates on income tax.

One purpose of this paper is to explore these latter issues in order to provide information that will permit Canadians to engage in an informed political debate on the taxation choices open to us. Revenue Canada taxation statistics for 1981 will be compared for Saskatchewan and Canada as a whole to evaluate the impact of tax breaks on inequality and foregone government revenue.

A further aim of this paper is to raise the question of what constitutes government social spending? Too often the issue of social welfare expenditures is limited to outlays on income support and related services for the poor and those in need (Ternowetsky, 1984; Jamorizik, 1983, 1984). By focussing on taxation benefits, this paper aims to broaden the scope of the expenditure debate. It will bring under scrutiny an inequitable system of government social spending where 'the benefits get larger the richer you are' (NAPO, 1984:30).

Social Welfare and Hidden Welfare

The theme of fiscal responsibility in social spending currently being witnessed in Canada is somewhat misleading. It directs the gaze of policy priorities and cut-back scenarios to either universal entitlements or to more selective welfare programs targetted for the poor. What tend to be missed out are programs and policies that annually transfer huge sums of money to the affluent in Canadian society. One of the most lucrative areas of transfer payments that are hidden and of prime benefit to the rich, comes in the form of the subsidies and allowable deductions they gain through the personal taxation system.

At tax time, most of us look forward to utilizing legal tax breaks in order to enhance our own personal income. It is not the reasonable income gains that result from the deductions claimed by most people that are worrisome. The problem is that it is the judicious use of these allowances that, in 1981, permitted 239 Canadians with incomes exceeding \$250,000 to avoid paying personal income tax.

Research on personal taxation exemptions is rather limited in Canada and nearly non-existent in Saskatchewan. Two important national studies are the National Council of Welfare's *Hidden Welfare System* (1976) and the *Hidden Welfare System Revisited* (1979). These reports probe the workings of tax exemptions and document

several avenues through which federal and provincial governments end up transferring income to the wealthy through the "spending side of taxation." These benefits are available in any array of some five personal exemptions, twenty tax sheltered deductions and four tax credits. While these deductions are for all tax payers, the National Council of Welfare finds that benefits are skewed to high income earners because high incomes are required before people can qualify for tax benefits.

Not only do the rich, in disproportionate amounts, enhance their own personal income through tax breaks, but these personal gains also represent a substantial revenue loss to governments through what the National Council of Welfare and others (Kesselman, 1977; Maslove, 1978) call government "tax expenditures." They are expenditures because "by not collecting the full tax" the shortfall in government revenue would be the same if the government had first collected the full tax and then transferred this amount back to the individual. The National Council of Welfare (1976:13) outlines this argument in the following way:

The government would have ended up with the same net revenue and the taxpayer with the same net income. Furthermore the government accounts would have shown that it had spent [an expenditure]. However, because the subsidy is accomplished through an exemption from taxes, it never appears as a government expenditure.

In the *Welfare System Revisited* (1979:4) this position is expanded:

Just because the Tax Act disguises its spending as tax deductions, no one should be deceived into thinking that tax expenditures are anything other than real spending - every bit as real, in fact ... as direct spending which attracts so much attention.

The total costs associated with these expenditures are enormous yet they are difficult to identify completely. It is estimated that in 1974 the revenue loss of only one-third of the available tax expenditure programs was \$6.4 billion (NCW 1976:16). By 1976 this third of the available tax expenditures cost \$7.1 billion, \$800 million dollars more than the federal deficit. By 1979 the money lost through tax expenditures was \$13.8 billion - 81 percent of the total tax revenue for that year (NAPO, 1984).

Personal taxation is, in theory, progressive, as it is based on the ability to pay. Marginal tax rates increase as the tax payees' income goes up. Again, in theory, Canadian income tax is designed to redistribute income by altering the share of income going to different segments of the population.

Numerous studies of the post-World War II distribution of Canadian incomes show, however, that over time taxation has had little impact on income inequality (Ross, 1980; Nordah, 1981; Gillepsie, 1980; Love and Wolfson, 1976; Drover and Moscovitch, 1981; Johnson, 1974, 1977, 1979). Periods of sustained growth up to the 70s did not result in any marked re-distribution of incomes. Nor did Trudeau's "just society" or the "Orange Paper" on income security in 70s lead to greater income equality. No matter what data sources are used, the findings are clear and consistent. The richest 20 percent of earners continue to gain a greater share of the income than the lowest 60 percent. The income that has been lost by the top earners seems to be redistributed amongst groups of other high earners. As noted in other advanced industrial economies, the post-war redistribution that takes place is horizontal (from the rich to the well-off) rather than vertical (the rich to the poor) (Ternowetsky, 1981, 1979; Smolensky, Pommerhne and Dalrymple, 1977; Wedderburn, 1972).

A major reason for the Canadian tax system's failure to redistribute income is that progressivity is eroded by tax expenditures. This message was clear in the 1966 Report of the Royal Commission on Taxation (the Carter Commission). The Commission concluded that the tax expenditure system makes a mockery out of the theoretical ideal of progressivity. "[T]ax concessions are always inequitable, are frequently inefficient, and tend to distort the allocation of resources and erode the tax base" (quoted in Young, 1981:230).

Recent findings of the National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO, 1984) demonstrate the regressive impact of tax breaks. Without tax breaks, those earning over \$200,000 have a marginal tax rate around 43 percent. With tax expenditures, however, this group's actual tax rate reduces to a rate which is only slightly higher than the average tax paid by those earning between 25-30 thousand dollars a year.

However, even with tax expenditures, some progressivity is maintained until we reach the reported income bracket of over \$200,000. The group which gets the most back through government tax transfers are the very rich, those with incomes above \$200,000. Government revenue that is lost through tax expenditure is clearly income that is channelled directly to those who already have high incomes. Foregone

tax expenditure revenue is as the National Council of Welfare (1979) argues, "welfare for the rich."

A similar conclusion can be drawn when the distributional impact of tax expenditures are looked at. In 1974 those earning under \$5,000 received an average tax expenditure benefit of \$243. Middle income earners attained \$788 while those earning above \$50,000 acquired tax expenditure benefits of nearly \$4,000 (NCW, 1976:17). In terms of decile shares, the top 10 percent of earners gained 36.1 percent of all tax benefits which represented an average tax expenditure of \$2,068. The fifth (middle) decile attained 6.5 percent which equalled an average benefit of \$372. The poorest 10 percent of income recipients did not receive any tax savings or percentage of the tax expenditures in that year. All of these findings suggest that fiscal welfare in Canada is welfare that disproportionately serves to enhance the economic well-being of the rich.

In 1984 the Saskatchewan government introduced a package of "welfare reforms." A major purpose of these reforms was to make welfare less attractive. Benefits for single unemployed employables were cut by \$185 to \$345 a month and a volunteer work for welfare program was initiated. The categorical approach to assistance and the work-fare program appeared to contravene the cost-sharing guidelines of the Canadian Assistance Plan. Still, these reforms were enacted, seemingly with Ottawa's approval. This is important because spending on programs for low income groups is willingly being scrutinized, curtailed and rolled back while fiscal welfare, or hidden welfare for the rich continues to thrive. One example is the planned 1984-85 federal budget increase in tax sheltered Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP) contributions. Tax breaks of this type clearly favour the wealthy. For example, in 1979, 60 percent of those earning over \$50,000 qualified for RRSP tax concessions. Approximately 23 percent of those earning less than this amount obtained RRSP tax breaks. People with incomes below \$10,000 acquired only 1.7 percent of all the RRSP tax benefits in 1981 (McQuaig, 1984:12). The recent NAPO study (1984) also shows that the dollar value of tax expenditure benefits is not only increasing in size, but that tax expenditure programs are proliferating.

Some preliminary findings indicate that the situation is not dissimilar in Saskatchewan. Several trends can be identified (Ternowetsky, 1984). First, there has been a jump in tax expenditure concessions available for Saskatchewan residents. There were fewer tax shelters in 1970 when only 4 people earning over \$25,000 escaped paying tax. By 1981, the number increased to 1,541 or 1.5 percent of those with

incomes that exceed \$25,000. A related trend is that, with the institutionalization of tax breaks, the percentage paying no tax at all tends to increase. Amongst the most affluent in Saskatchewan the chance of not paying any personal income tax goes up after an income threshold of \$40,000 is surpassed. Also, by 1981, there were 5 Saskatchewan residents earning over \$200,000 that did not pay any personal income tax (Ternowetsky, 1984).

Table 1 looks at tax expenditures in another way. It shows the number of people obtaining income through tax expenditure transfers, the average value of the transfer for each income group, and the amount of government revenue that is lost to each income category through tax expenditures. These taxation data are for Canadian and Saskatchewan returns for 1981. (Included in these expenditures are the sum of all allowable deductions, tax credits and personal exemptions reported in Revenue Canada taxation statistics.)

Several uniformities can be drawn from the comparisons in Table 1. First, there are relatively few earners with reported incomes above \$30 thousand in Canada and Saskatchewan. As incomes increase past \$30 thousand, the number of earners drops markedly. Another pattern emerges in the total tax expenditure column. These data point to the spending side of taxation, or the revenue that is lost to governments through tax expenditures. Income earners in Saskatchewan and Canada which attain the highest gross tax expenditure dollar are in the \$15-20 thousand income group. In the nation as a whole, \$4.6 billion is transferred to this category. Some \$175 million is received by this group in Saskatchewan. At this level of analysis it could be argued that those that gain the most assistance through tax break programs consist of low to middle income earners.

The telling impact of tax expenditures is, however, most apparent in the column which presents the average tax benefit per person within each income range. As incomes go up, cash transfers through tax expenditures increase. However, in both Canada and Saskatchewan there are two noticeable jumps in these average benefits. These occur after incomes of \$100 thousand dollars are exceeded. Before this threshold is reached the maximum tax return hovers just above \$8 thousand. Once this is passed, cash transfers to individuals earning up to \$200 thousand jump by 131 percent in Canada and 153 percent in Saskatchewan. The average tax returns are \$19,870 and \$20,830 respectively.

Even this substantial increase is paled by the tax expenditure dollars that go to the very rich (those with incomes above \$200

TABLE 1. Tax Expenditures by Income Category for Canada and Saskatchewan, 1981.

Income Category (\$)	CANADA				SASKATCHEWAN			
	Number of People in Income Category	\bar{x} Reported Income Before Tax (\$)	Tax Expenditure Amount (\$) Million	\bar{x} Tax Expenditure per Person	Number of People in Income Category	\bar{x} Reported Income Before Tax (\$)	Tax Expenditure Amount (\$) Million	\bar{x} Tax Expenditure per Person
1 - 1,000	575,736	480	128,759	220	23,940	530	5,580	230
1,000 - 5,000	2,735,602	2,520	1,210,468	440	99,942	2,470	47,130	470
5,000 - 10,000	2,807,769	7,450	2,984,735	1,060	108,286	7,460	114,148	1,050
10,000 - 15,000	2,473,339	12,440	4,152,653	1,680	92,117	12,480	157,845	1,710
15,000 - 20,000	1,987,593	17,382	4,662,550	2,350	73,116	17,420	175,462	2,400
20,000 - 25,000	1,550,674	22,370	4,522,634	2,920	55,332	22,340	163,200	2,950
25,000 - 30,000	1,054,419	27,320	3,719,179	3,530	35,939	27,380	129,615	3,610
30,000 - 35,000	643,167	32,280	2,691,873	4,190	25,070	32,230	107,230	4,280
35,000 - 40,000	375,074	37,270	1,844,815	4,920	16,078	33,340	69,179	4,910
40,000 - 50,000	344,324	4,410	2,029,693	5,890	13,662	44,190	77,795	5,690
50,000 - 100,000	284,840	64,650	2,451,981	8,610	14,265	65,150	117,379	8,230
100,000 - 200,000	45,324	130,420	898,549	19,870	1,768	127,120	36,835	20,830
200,000 and over	9,879	355,000	1,003,917	101,620	241	280,980	20,036	83,140

Source: Revenue Canada Taxation Statistics for Canada. Memo of Saskatchewan statistics obtained from Revenue Canada.

thousand). In Canada this select group gained an average of \$101,620 per person. This represents a tax expenditure growth of some 355 percent above those with income between \$100 and \$200 thousand. The Saskatchewan pattern is similar although less pronounced. The very rich receive some \$83,140 per person, an increase of 299 percent over the tax expenditure incomes attained by those in the preceeding income category.

Foregone government revenue in the form of tax expenditures that are given to the rich and very rich is considerable. Over \$1.9 billion is lost to those with incomes above \$100,000. More than a billion dollars in tax expenditures go to the very rich, with reported pre-tax average incomes of \$355,000. In Saskatchewan 2009 residents with incomes above \$100,000 gain \$56.8 million. The richest 241 people, with an average pre-tax income of some \$280 thousand, get over \$20 million of this lost revenue.

The findings in Table 1 offer additional evidence that tax expenditure transfers are primarily regressive. Personal taxation tends to reinforce and augment existing income inequalities instead of altering the distribution of incomes in Canada. However, in both the national and provincial data sets, this regressiveness is most clearly marked once high incomes are attained. The amount of revenue lost by governments just to the top earners is enormous and indicates that there is a pool of untapped revenue available to governments for its other spending programs.

Conclusion

The transfer system examined in this paper benefits the rich and particularly the very rich. Unlike direct transfers programs targetted to the poor, tax transfers to the rich are seldom subject to political and public scrutiny. One reason for this is that governments do not produce as readily available documentation on tax expenditures as they do for welfare related spending. However, the outcomes of both transfer systems are similar. First, these expenditures enhance the personal income of recipients. Second, both transfer programs place a strain on government revenue. The main differences, however, are that tax expenditures are hidden and most clearly benefit the rich and very rich. Tax expenditures erode the ideal of progressive taxation. They exacerbate existing inequalities that exist in this country because substantial incomes are necessary before people can qualify for income transfers through the tax system. If progressive taxation, only for the rich and very rich, was enforced, governments could augment their

savings and gain additional resources for more progressive and equitable social programs.

REFERENCES

Drover, G. and A. Moscovitch

1981 "Inequality and Social Welfare" in G. Drover and A. Moscovitch (eds.), *Inequality: Essays on the Political Economy of Social Welfare*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gillespie, W.L.

1980 "On the redistribution of income in Canada," in J. Harp and J. Hofley (eds.) *Structured Inequality in Canada*, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

Jamorizik, A.

1984 "The Welfare State: An Instrument of Redistribution or of Inequality," in R. Hooke (ed.), *54th ANZAAS Congress, SWRC Papers*, Social Welfare Research Centre, Sydney: SWRC.

Jamorizik, A.

1983 "The economy, social inequality and the welfare state: Implications for research," in J. Jarrah (ed.), *53rd ANZAAS Congress, SWRC Papers*, Sydney: SWRC.

Johnson, L.

1979 "The Capitalist Labour Market and Income Inequality in Canada," pp. 153-168 in J. Fry, *Economy, Class and Social Reality*, Toronto: Butterworths.

Johnson, L.

1977 "Illusions or realities: Hamilton and Pinard's approach to poverty," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 14,3:341-346.

Johnson, L.

1974 *Poverty in Wealth*, Toronto: New Hogtown Press.

Kesselman, J.R.

1977 "Non-business deductions and tax expenditures in Canada," *Canadian Tax Journal*, XXV, #2:160-179.

- Love, R. and Wolfson, M.C.
 1976 *Income Inequality: Statistical Methodology and Canadian Illustrations*, Statistics Canada.
- Marchak, M. Patricia
 1981 *Ideological Perspectives on Canada*, Second edition, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Maslove, A.
 1978 "The other side of public spending: Tax expenditures in Canada," Paper given at the Conference on Methods & Forums for the Public Evaluation of Government Spending, Ottawa: Carleton University.
- McQuaig, L.
 1984 "Limit on RRSP contributions might be tripled in budget," *The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 14:1,12.
- National Anti-Poverty Organization
 1984 "Canada's Tax System and the Poor," A Background Paper and Pre-Budget Submission to the Minister of Finance.
- National Council of Welfare
 1979 *The Hidden Welfare System Revisited*, Ottawa: National Council of Welfare.
- National Council of Welfare
 1976 *Hidden Welfare System*, Ottawa: The National Council of Welfare.
- Rose, D.
 1980 *The Canadian Fact Book on Income Distribution*, Ottawa: CCSD.
- Smolensky, E.; Pommerehne, W. and Dalrymple, D.
 1977 "Postfisc Inequality: A comparison of the United States and West Germany," Institute for Research on Poverty. Discussion Paper No. 450-77. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- Ternowetsky, G.
 1984 "Welfare for the fox-fur set," *Briarpatch*, 13g 5:26-27.
- Ternowetsky, G.
 1981 "Poverty and Income: Different Approaches to the Meaning and Measurement of Poverty," in Max Grant (ed.), *Readings in Economics*, Melbourne: Hargreen.
- Ternowetsky, G.
 1979 "Taxation statistics and income inequality in Australia: 1955-56 to 1974-75," *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of*

Sociology, 15,2:16-24.

Wedderburn, D.

1972 "Facts and Theories of the Welfare State," in Milton Mankoff (ed.), *The Poverty of Progress*. Sydney: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Young, B.

1981 "Taxation and the capitalist state," pp. 227-48 in G. Drover and A. Moscovitch (eds.), *Inequality: Essays on the Capitalist State*.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO COALITION MAINTENANCE

Maria Roberts-DeGennaro, Ph.D.

School of Social Work
San Diego State University

ABSTRACT

Organizations are building advocacy coalitions as a way of strengthening their survival skills. This article reports on a case study of the factors associated with maintaining an advocacy coalition. The survival of a coalition appears to depend on whether it can insure its member organizations of the payoffs from committing their resources for advocacy purposes.

Human service organizations are operating in a cost-cutting environment. The need to strengthen organizational survival skills is becoming apparent as more cut-back legislation, such as Gramm Rudman, is passed. Consequently, organizations are sharing perceptions, actively organizing, and building cohesive structures. They are building coalitions in order to strengthen their survival skills. Coalitions provide a mechanism through which very separate and diverse organizations can cooperate and work together around a common goal. Yet, each organization can maintain its own identity and autonomy.

Several definitions of coalitions have been suggested in the literature (see Gamson, 1961; Kelley, 1968; Groennings, Kelley and Leiserson, 1970; and Boissevain, 1974). Kelley's (1968, pp. 62-63) definition is probably the most useful in understanding the behavior of a coalition. He defines a coalition as a group of organizational actors who: 1) agree to pursue a common and

articulated goal; 2) pool their relevant resources in pursuit of this goal; 3) engage in conscious communication concerning the goal and the means of obtaining it; and 4) agree on the distribution of the payoff (benefits) received when obtaining the goal.

Studies of coalition behavior have primarily focused on such issues as the size of coalitions, when they occur, who coalesces, the payoffs each organization commands, and the time and processes of bargaining (see Caplow, 1956, 1968; Gamson, 1961, 1964; Riker, 1962; Chertkoff, 1966, 1967; Kelley, 1968; Adrian and Press, 1968; and Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973). Studies of the factors relevant to the termination of continuous coalitions, or alternatively, what perpetuates them are lacking in the literature.

In response to this lack of the literature on coalition maintenance, a case study was conducted in 1981 of the Community Congress of San Diego. The factors associated with maintaining this advocacy coalition were examined. This coalition was formed in 1970 and is one of the oldest successful, continuous coalitions. The key factors examined were whether the member organizations agreed on the domain and ideology of the coalition, the coordination of the coalition's activities, and the quality of the coalition's work.

In order to study coalition maintenance, one needs to establish the point at which a coalition moves from formation to maintenance. The author suggests that once the organizational actors coalesce around an issue(s), mobilize resources, establish a purpose for the coalition, and a leader, for all practical purposes the coalition has been formed. Thus, coalition maintenance is the process of supporting the life of the coalition, in order to keep it from declining and to sustain it against opposing forces.

It is assumed that organizations join a coalition with minimal levels of commitment. It is not until the organizational actors interact that they are able to assess the costs and the payoffs from being a member of the coalition. As a consequence, the process of forming a coalition may have little influence on what happens after the

organizations coalesce. It is assumed that once coalitions are formed, they take on a life of their own (Roberts-DeGennaro, 1985).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF COALITION

During the late 1960's, a small group of alternative human service organizations in San Diego initiated a series of meetings. Discussions focused on the ways in which these organizations could pool their efforts toward improving their power base through political advocacy. After more than a year of such meetings, the group formed a coalition, the Community Congress of San Diego, in 1970.

The organizations that created this coalition initially performed all of its functions from governance to typing. Later, the member organizations decided to acquire funding and support the coalition with an office and a small staff. Over the past several years, staff size increased and staff roles became more diverse. Yet, staff functions were dependent on the leadership directed from the member organizations.

The coalition was successful in its political advocacy efforts. One successful advocacy effort occurred in 1971 when the coalition mobilized community pressure to have the United Way establish a new Demonstration and Development Fund for organizations outside the United Way's traditional membership. In 1974, the coalition and a local minority federation provided the community leadership to persuade the Board of Supervisors and the City Council to allocate revenue sharing funds for human services rather than buildings. In the early 1980's, the coalition developed an approach to analyzing the effects of the proposed budgetary reductions upon the community. The effects of the proposed funding cutbacks on federal, state, and local budgets were documented by the coalition (Community Congress of San Diego, 1981a and b). Local government officials utilized these analyses in their budget deliberations around the allocation of funds for human services.

The services provided by this coalition compli-

mented its political advocacy efforts. In the early 1980's when this study was conducted, the major types of services provided by the coalition were (Community Congress of San Diego, 1981c, p. 5):

1. Grantspersonship and fundraising services including research, information and technical assistance;

2. Publication of two ongoing publications;

3. Education and training, including five major projects focusing on the needs of trainers, administrators, staff developers, and service workers in community organizations, and of managers in socially responsible businesses;

4. Special projects in management, public relations, non-profit law and community economic development;

5. Consortia funding coordination, including proposal writing, management and training for a community anti-crime project involving different member organizations; and

6. Health insurance program for employees in the member organizations.

In 1981, there were 42 member organizations and about 125 individuals that comprised the general membership of Community Congress. The member organizations included senior self-help programs, youth serving programs, women's center, welfare rights group, gay social services, emergency housing services, employment programs, legal centers, community clinics, an environmental group, an alternative school, a public interest research group, a community arts center, socially responsible business enterprises and other organizations.

When an organization desired membership in the coalition in 1981, it submitted a written statement of its goals, objectives, and program activities to the general membership. This statement included the prospective member organization's reason for desiring membership in the coalition. A designated representative from the organization was expected to attend a general membership meeting at which the organization's application for membership was presented. New members were approved by a majority of the members in attendance at a general

membership meeting. If the organization was approved for membership, the organization was required to pay an annual membership fee (Community Congress of San Diego, 1978).

The primary leadership for decision-making and policy development was the coalition's board of directors. The directives of the board were primarily carried out by staff. In addition, the board and general membership provided manpower for important planning committees and task forces, which researched community problems, formulated position papers on program objectives, and created strategies to implement those objectives.

RATIONALE FOR STUDY

In the early 1980's, the member organizations and the Community Congress lost some government grants and received cutbacks in funding from the Community Services Administration. The consolidation of federal categorical programs into state block grants decreased other funding sources for the member organizations and the coalition. Consequently, the coalition was confronted with a challenge to survive, in order to maintain its efforts toward social action (Roberts, 1983).

Other human service organizations were also struggling to survive in this turbulent political and economic environment. In some cases, organizations started initiating mergers with organizations and building organized advocacy groups (Roberts-DeGennaro, 1986a). Because of the successful history and tenure of the Community Congress, it provided a case for studying the factors associated with maintaining a coalition. A case study of coalition maintenance could provide direction to groups forming coalitions or re-building existing coalitions.

Interest in the interaction between organizations and their environments has been evolving since the 1960's. Several issues, e.g., bureaucracy, organizational characteristics, technology, etc., were studied by sociologists conducting organizational research during the 1960's (see March and Simon, 1958; Udy, 1959; Pugh, et.al., 1963,

1968, and 1969; Kahn, et.al., 1964). By the late 1960's, researchers concerned with organizational behavior began to look outside the organization realizing that much of what goes on in an organization is directly or indirectly affected by outside influences of various sorts. Consequently, theories on the interactions between organizational units and their environment emerged (see Emery and Trist, 1965; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967; Zald, 1970a and b; Hall and Clark, 1974; and Meyer, 1978).

The political-economy perspective has been one of the predominant approaches used in analyzing organizations and their environments (see Zald, 1970a and b; Wamsley and Zald, 1973a and b; Benson, et. al., 1973; Benson, 1975). An organization's political-economy is perceived as having internal and external aspects. Analysis of the internal political-economy focuses on the interactions within an organization. Analysis of the external political-economy focuses on the interactions between the organization and its environment. The latter analysis of the external political-economy was conducted in the present study.

Wamsley and Zald (1973a, p. 64) suggest an external political-economy represents the distribution of sentiment and power resources among the member organizations in a coalition, i.e., opposition to or support of the coalition, its goals and programs. The distribution of sentiment and power is a reflection of: 1) the dramaturgy or emotive element among the members; 2) the perceived expertise of the coalition; 3) the degree to which its impact is felt; 4) the breadth (number of groups and individuals affected or interested) of the coalition; 5) the intensity of the members's interest in the coalition; 6) the power resources it can bring to bear in exerting influence; 7) its ability and willingness to use these resources; and 8) the skills of the members in maintaining or building a coalition.

Coalitions are continually seeking an adequate supply of money and authority from the environment to fulfill program requirements, maintain their domain, ensure their flow of resources, and extend

and defend their paradigm or way of doing things (Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967). Organizations join coalitions because they expect to maximize their supply of money and authority through the payoffs from the coalition's advocacy activities. There are costs, however, to organizations from being a member of a coalition. It is assumed that in order for a coalition to survive, the payoffs to the member organizations need to outweigh or at least equal the costs for helping to maintain the coalition.

METHODOLOGY

Using the political-economy perspective, four dimensions were addressed in analyzing the factors associated with coalition maintenance. Benson, et. al. (1973) found that these dimensions critically affected inter-organizational relationships. The dimensions include:

1. Domain consensus. Is there agreement on the role and scope of the coalition?;
2. Ideological consensus. Is there agreement on the appropriate approaches to the tasks performed by the coalition?;
3. Work coordination. Is there agreement on the conduct of articulated activities and programs?; and
4. Evaluation. Is there agreement on the judgment of the quality of work of the coalition?

All of the 42 member organizations which had negotiated a membership agreement with the coalition during 1981 were selected as the study population. The study also included 7 organizations that had negotiated an agreement with the coalition during 1980, but did not renew the agreement in 1981. These latter organizations were included in order to determine if certain conditions affected the non-renewal of membership in the coalition.

The executive directors of the current and past member organizations were the key informants.

These staff members were selected because they were the official representatives that negotiated the membership agreement with the coalition.

A mailed questionnaire with a mix of open and closed-ended questions was administered to the key informants during Fall 1981. Eighty-three percent of the current member organizations and 72 percent of the past member organizations voluntarily responded by completing the questionnaire.

A scoring system was used to determine levels of agreement/congruence on the responses to the questionnaire among the member organizations of the coalition (see Roberts-DeGennaro, 1986b). Comparisons were made across member organizations as to the levels of agreement on each of the four dimensions. Descriptive characteristics of the executive directors and the member organizations were also analyzed.

FINDINGS

Thirty-five of the 42 current member organizations and 5 of the 7 past member organizations participated in the study. A pattern emerged in which all of the four dimensions varied together with similar levels of agreement. This finding suggests that an equilibrium framework existed within the coalition. That is, the relationships among the member organizations in the coalition were suspected to consist of nonconflicting interactions. This type of interchange may be a critical factor in maintaining the coalition.

The services provided by the coalition were ranked by the respondents in terms of their importance. Agreement or disagreement on the importance of these services was assumed to reflect whether the organizations agreed on the role and scope of the coalition's activities. The two most important services or payoffs from maintaining the coalition for the current member organizations were the availability of a health insurance program and information from the coalition's policy/legislative analyzes. These analyzes were used by the coalition in their advocacy efforts. They rated consortia funding coordination as the least important

service.

In contrast, the respondents in the past member organizations considered the health insurance program to be the least important service. They rated consortia funding coordination and the information from the coalition's policy/legislative analyzes as being the most important services. These findings suggest the past member organizations may not have renewed their membership in the coalition because of domain dissensus. That is, the past member organizations are suspected not to have renewed their membership, because of disagreements around the role and scope of the coalition. The past member organizations believed consortia funding coordination should have been the most important coalition service. Whereas, the current member organizations believed this was the least important service.

Over fifty percent (n=19) of the current member organizations indicated their organization became more powerful, as a result of being a member organization in the coalition. In contrast, all of the past member organizations indicated their organization did not become more powerful. Besides disagreeing on the importance of the services provided by the coalition, power was not perceived as a payoff for the past members to renew their membership in the coalition.

Probably the most surprising finding in the study was that about 60 percent of the current (n=21) and past (n=3) member organizations indicated there were no clear expectations of either their organization's or the coalition's role and responsibilities. In addition, about half of these organizations were "uncertain" whether their organization had negotiated a membership agreement with the coalition. Yet, according to the 1978 Bylaws of the Community Congress, a membership agreement was to be completed and signed by both the member organization and the coalition.

Eighty percent (n=28) of the current member organizations indicated they put a medium or low priority on being involved in the coalition's activities. In contrast, 80 percent (n=4) of the past member organizations indicated they had put a

low priority on being involved. The degree of involvement varied from participation on committees or task forces to telephone calls. The current member organizations stated the major reason for their interchange with the coalition was either to request information from the coalition or to provide information to the coalition. About 60 percent (n=21) of the current member organizations reported they had little or no involvement with the board or the committees/task forces of the coalition.

Even though the level of involvement appeared to be minimal, about 80 percent (n=28) of the current member organizations wanted to be informed, at least once a month, of the coalition's activities. About half of the current member organizations believed the coalition kept their organization "very well" informed on specific problems/issues affecting their organization. In contrast, over half of the past member organizations believed the coalition kept their organization "adequately" informed of problems/issues. These findings suggest there was ideological dissensus between the current and past member organizations on how well the membership was informed about political advocacy issues.

The current member organizations wanted to seek more funds from the private sector than the past member organizations. This finding suggests there was disagreement between the current and past member organizations regarding ideology, or the coalition's approach to one of its tasks, namely, its selection of sources to approach for funds.

Sixty percent (n=21) of the current member organizations indicated there were no disagreements or disputes within the coalition between member organizations. Likewise, 80 percent (n=4) of the past member organizations indicated there were no disagreements or disputes. The most common reason for disagreements, if they occurred, was conflict over values and strategies for achieving the coalition's goals. Based on these findings, it is suspected that some conflict does exist within the coalition, but it was not a major reason for the past member organizations to leave the coalition.

About 90 percent of the current (n=31) and past (n=4) member organizations agreed the coalition was a convening mechanism for coordinating the activities of the coalition. The coalition appears to provide an important function to the member organizations by linking the organizations to the community.

In coordinating the activities of the coalition, about a third of the current member organizations indicated they were involved with the coalition staff a few times a year; about a fourth of the current member organizations indicated they were involved with the coalition staff once a month; and another fourth of the current member organizations indicated they were involved with the coalition staff once a week. Therefore, the level of involvement of the member organizations in the coalition varied.

Seventy-five percent (n=26) of the current member organizations suggested the coalition provided an opportunity for their organization to become a leader in the community. In contrast, less than half (n=2) of the past member organizations believed the coalition provided this opportunity. The opportunity for leadership may be a payoff to the member organizations from maintaining the coalition.

The current and past member organizations were asked to rate the coalition's level of performance on several tasks. The task that received above average performance ratings by 75 percent (n=26) of the current and 60 percent (n=3) of the past member organizations was the coalition's ability to communicate information to the members about public budget hearings for political advocacy purposes. As mentioned previously, these organizations rated the policy/legislative analyzes as the second most important service provided by the coalition. The provision of this service, as well as the quality of the service, appear to be important payoffs to the members from maintaining the coalition.

About half (n=17) of the current member organizations also gave above average performance ratings to the coalition's ability to increase

interagency cooperation, such as sharing information or referrals between the member organizations. In contrast, all of the past member organizations gave only average performance ratings to the coalition's ability to increase interagency cooperation.

All of the past member organizations, as compared to 30 percent ($n=11$) of the current member organizations, indicated the performance level of the task of developing strategies for fund-raising by the coalition was only average. Since consortia funding coordination was rated the most important service by the past member organizations, perhaps the performance level of this task was not perceived as a payoff for renewing their membership in the coalition.

DISCUSSION

Maintaining membership in a coalition for any organization involves decision costs (Adrian and Press, 1968). That is, an organization needs to assess the costs to the organization for being a member of the coalition. For example, there are costs related to collecting information and communicating information to the coalition. The payoffs to the organization in receiving information from the coalition about problems/issues affecting the organization must be at least equal to the costs involved in collecting and communicating other information to the coalition. Because information costs are often high, what may be considered apathy on the part of a member organization may represent a rational calculation. The amount of the payoff may be so small as to make it "uneconomic" to be informed. In the present study, many of the past member organizations indicated the coalition only kept their organization adequately informed. It is suspected that the frequency, as well as the quality, of information from a coalition may be significant factors in maintaining a member's interest in the coalition.

Another cost to the member organization is the pressure-of-time costs, since longitudinal factors are associated with coalition maintenance.

Because of workload constraints, organizational actors only have a certain amount of time available to them for interagency participation. As in the present study, most of the current member organizations were giving a medium to low priority of their time to the coalition's activities. If an organization is expected to make a commitment of time to the coalition, for instance by being a member of a committee, the payoff in information or contacts gained from its involvement must be at least equal to the time costs.

It is suspected that a critical factor in maintaining a coalition is the need for a strong central leadership within a coalition. Frey (1974) found in his case histories of seven coalitions that a small inner circle of leaders managed the affairs of each coalition. Likewise, in the present study, only about a fourth of the member organizations appeared to be actively involved in the coalition's activities. Regardless of the size of the coalition, interactions within the coalition will tend to be dominated by a few organizational actors. Therefore, the coalition's work will probably be coordinated by a small group of the member organizations. These findings are consistent with an assumption in organizational theory that most organizations will commit a minimal amount of resources to inter-organizational collaboration.

Coalition management requires imagination, creativity, persuasiveness, and a sense of timing (Prigmore, 1974). Maintaining a coalition is a dynamic process that develops through the linkages between the member organizations and the coalition. It is a process that supports the life of a coalition, in order to keep it from declining and to sustain it against any opposing forces. As in the present study, the coalition provided a convening mechanism for the member organizations that is vital to the maintenance of a coalition.

In conclusion, consensus around a coalition's domain, ideology, coordination efforts, and task performance appears to be important in maintaining a coalition. The survival of a coalition may be dependent on whether it can convince its member organizations of the payoffs from committing

resources for advocacy purposes, especially in times of cutbacks and shifts in funding priorities.

REFERENCES

- Adrian, Charles and Charles Press (1968). "Decision Costs in Coalition Formation." American Political Sciences Review, 62 556:563.
- Benson, J. Kenneth (1975). "The Interorganizational Network as a Political Economy." Administrative Science Quarterly, 20, 229-249.
- Benson, J. Kenneth, Joseph Kunc, Charles Thompson, and David Allen (1973). Coordinating Human Services: A Sociological Study of an Interorganizational Network. Columbia: University of Minnesota.
- Boissevain, Jeremy (1974). Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Boissevain, Jeremy and J. Clyde Mitchell, eds. (1973). Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction. The Hague: Morton and Co., 1973.
- Caplow, Theodore (1956). "A Theory of Coalitions in the Triad." American Sociological Review, 21, 489:493.
- Caplow, Theodore (1968). Two Against One: Coalitions in Triads. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Chertkoff, Jerome (1967). "A Revision of Caplow's Coalition Theory." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 3, 172:177.
- Chertkoff, Jerome (1966). "The Effects of Probability of Future Success on Coalition Formation." Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 2, 265:277.
- Community Congress of San Diego (1981a). Budget Analysis Sourcebook. San Diego: Community Congress.
- Community Congress of San Diego (1981b). Budget Analysis Sourcebook, Vol. II. San Diego: Community Congress.
- Community Congress of San Diego (1981c). 1980 Annual Report. San Diego: Community

- Congress.
- Community Congress of San Diego (1978).
By-Laws of the Community Congress of
San Diego. San Diego: Community
Congress.
- Emery, F. E. and E. L. Trist (1965). "The
Causal Texture of Organizational
Environments." Human Relations, 18, 21:32.
- Frey, Gerald (1974). Coalitions in Community
Planning. Doctoral Disertation. Brandeis
University.
- Gamson, William (1961). "An Experimental Test
of a Theory of Coalition Formation."
American Sociological Review, 26,
565:573.
- Gamson, William (1964). "Experimental Studies
of Coalition Formation." In L. Berkowitz,
ed., Advances in Experimental Social
Psychology. New York: Academic Press, Vol.
1, 81-110.
- Groennings, Sven, E. W. Kelley, and Michael
Leiserson (1970). The Study of Coalition
Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and
Winston.
- Hall, Richard and John Clark (1974).
"Problems in the Study of Inter-
organizational Relationships."
Organizations and Administrative
Sciences, Vol. 5, 45:60.
- Kahn, Robert, et. al. (1964). Organizational
Stress. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Kelley, E. W. (1968). "Techniques of
Studying Coalition Formation." Midwest
Journal of Political Science, 12, 62:84.
- Lawrence, P. and J. Lorsch (1967).
Organization and Environment. Boston:
Graduate School of Business Adminis-
tration, Harvard University.
- March, James and Herbert Simon (1958).
Organizations. New York: John Wiley and
Sons.
- Meyer, Marshall (1978). Environments and
Organizations. California: Jossey-Bass.
- Prigmore, Charles (1974). "Use of the
Coalition in Legislative Action." Social

- Work, 96:102.
- Pugh, D., et. al. (1963). "A Conceptual Scheme for Organizational Analysis." Administrative Science Quarterly, 8, 289-315.
- Pugh, D. et. al. (1968). "Dimensions of Organization Structure." Administrative Science Quarterly, 13, 65:106.
- Pugh, D. et. al. (1969). "The Context of Organization Structures." Administrative Science Quarterly, 14, 91:114.
- Riker, William (1962). The Theory of Political Coalitions. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Roberts-DeGennaro, Maria (1985). Building Advocacy Coalitions in the Human Services. Unpublished manuscript.
- Roberts-DeGennaro, Maria (1986a). "Building Political Advocacy Coalitions." Social Work, forthcoming issue.
- Roberts-DeGennaro, Maria (1986b). "Contracting for Adoption Services for Special Needs Children." In H. Demone and M. Gibelman, eds., Selling Services. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press (in press).
- Roberts, Maria (1983). "Political Advocacy: An Alternative Strategy of Administrative Practice." Social Development Issues, 7, 22:31.
- Thompson, James (1967). Organizations in Action. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Udy, S. H. (1959). "Bureaucracy and Rationality in Weber's Organization Theory." American Sociological Review, 24, 791:795.
- Wamsley, Gary and Mayer Zald (1973a). "The Political Economy of Public Organizations." Public Administrative Review, 24, 62:73.
- Wamsley, Gary and Mayer Zald (1973b). The Political Economy of Public Organizations: A Critique and Approach to the Study of Public Administration. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.
- Yuchtman, Ephraim and Stanley Seashore (1967). "A System Resource Approach to Organizational Effectiveness." American Sociological

Review, 32, 891:903.

Zald, Mayer (1970a). Organizational Change:
The Political Economy of the Y.M.C.A.
Illinois: The University of Chicago.

Zald, Mayer (1970b). "Political Economy: A
Framework for Comparative Analysis." In
M. Zald, ed., Power in Organizations.
Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press,
221:269.

ON THE DIALECTICS OF SOCIAL THEORY AND ACTION: A SYNTHESIS OF SIX MODELS OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Drew Hyman
The Pennsylvania State University

ABSTRACT

Two dominant theoretical perspectives--systems theory and conflict theory--can be seen to underlie major approaches to community intervention. This paper presents a conceptual linkage between models of intervention for planning and organizing as developed by Rothman and elaborated by Stockdale and major sociological theories of society. Two additional models are presented to address issues of management and administration. The six models are integrated into a typology which integrates the conflict and consensus theories of society in relation to the The result is a synthesis of six models for community engagement which is rooted in dialectically opposed theories of society, and which addresses the major functions of any system of organization--planning, organizing/implementation, and management.

Introduction

The inquiry into community intervention models to date has been practice-driven, with theory following the emergence of models in the field rather than vice versa. This paper suggests that two dominant theoretical perspectives which have evolved in Western thought can be seen to underlie major approaches to community intervention, and it presents an approach toward synthesis of models for theory and practice.

Prior to Jack Rothman's (1968) seminal article, the literature and practice of community intervention was directed primarily to community-based grassroots strategies emerging from community development approaches which emphasized educational methods and self-help projects. Rothman notes that in the 1960's a "social action" approach emerged in the civil rights and welfare rights movements associated with Saul Alinsky and the Industrial Areas Foundation, as well as the anti-Vietnam War movement and aspects of community action programs associated with the War on Poverty. Similarly, Perloff (1961) and Morris and Binstock (1966) articulate "social

planning" as an approach to community intervention. Hence Rothman's three models--locality development, social action and social planning. In the mid 1970's, Stockdale (1976) suggested that the social planning model should be bifurcated to reflect differences between more centralized and community-wide planning and community or interest-based "advocacy planning." This paper has four primary objectives: (1) To provide a conceptual linkage between the Rothman/Stockdale models of intervention and major sociological theories of society, (2) To create a typology which integrates the conflict and consensus theories of society in relation to the intervention models for planning and organizing, (3) To present two additional models of intervention which provide a basis for including management and administration in the framework developed herein, and (4) To examine the interrelationships of the models of management and administration to both the theories of society and the models of intervention. The result is a synthesis of six models for community engagement which is rooted in dialectically opposed theories of society, and which addresses major functions of any organization or system--planning, organizing-implementation, and management.

The Consensus And Conflict Theories Of Society

The consensus and conflict perspectives have deep roots in human thought. In Western philosophy and science, fundamental differences between Plato and Aristotle, Rousseau and Hobbes, and Weber and Marx, can be seen to revolve around the question of whether human societies are rooted in rationality, consensus and shared values, or whether they are characterized by subjectivity, conflict and constraint. Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) identifies the dialectical characteristics of the two competing macro-views of society. According to *consensus theory*, social order results from a dominant set of shared values. People create communities to promote common interests and to escape from the "nasty, brutish and short" life of the pre-civilized. This perspective, in turn, leads to an *integration theory of society* which suggests that society is a relatively stable equilibrium based on a consensus of shared values and common patterns of interaction. *Systems theory* tends to be associated with this perspective. The competing approach, *conflict theory*, asserts that social order is based on domination and constraint. Communities result from a survival of the fittest contest wherein the prize to the winners is the right to impose their will on others. This perspective, in turn, leads to a *coercion theory of society* wherein contending forces continually vie for domination and control: conflict and change are ubiquitous.

The theorist points out that these theories represent "two faces of society," and should be viewed as such. Each side focuses on certain aspects of the totality to explain certain phenomena.

Consensus or systems theory asks why societies hang together, and conflict theory asks why they change. Consensus theory tends to focus on the cooperative side of society. By focusing on shared values, voluntary compliance, consensus, and mutual benefit, society appears to be comprised of people who join together in a common venture. The results are integration, stability and equilibrium. The contrasting view of society observes that dissimilar interests and imbalances in power lead to the domination of some by others. This situation creates systems of stratification and hierarchy whereby some individuals and groups can control others, and they extract greater portions of social goods--class, status, power--for themselves. (We note, however, that the conflict theorists are the ones that give hope of change and of breaking out of systemic situations of stagnation, domination and coercion.) By being aware of both of these perspectives, we can approach the questions of change and stability with the understanding that each is but a "face" of the other. Reality reflects each face from the perspective of the viewer.

The following sections explore six strategies, or models, for directing and changing community systems and human services programs. The first four models of change address planning and organizing, and have been articulated previously by Rothman (1968, 1974) and Stockdale (1976), and will simply be summarized here. The last two models are developed herein to extend the previous works to encompass the fields of management and administration. Consideration of ideal types of planning, organizing-implementation, and management, in light of the consensus and conflict theories of society, provides a repertoire of perspectives with which to approach the analysis, development, operation and evaluation of community systems.

Two Models of Organizing And Implementation:

The experience and practice of community development and community organizing are similar to that required for implementation, for they address the *process* of placing new or revised programs or systems in communities. This comparison is based on the fact that it is necessary for those who intend to implement a program or reform (1) to gain the acceptance of those affected, (2) to gain access to those with influence over those affected, or (3) to acquire positions of power and influence themselves. Organizing and implementation involve *setting a program in motion or in place*. "Locality development" and "social action" are the two models of organizing identified by the Rothman/Stockdale typology.

Locality development conforms most closely to the consensus theory of society and is thus associated with traditional community development. It emphasizes self-help and concerted local action by the overall community. Implementation and change is seen as a

matter of communication among leaders and citizens (and planners) to gain an understanding of what needs to be done. Thus, the practitioner serves the *process* of facilitation of communications and interactions among all concerned. As stated by Rothman,

The basic change strategy involves getting a broad cross section of people involved in studying and taking action on their problems. Consensus strategies are employed, involving small-group discussion and fostering communication among community subparts (class, ethnic, and so forth). The practitioner. . . is especially skilled in manipulating and guiding small-group interaction. (Rothman, 1974, 34.)

Locality development thus assumes that the community is comprised of people who share values and orientations, and who subscribe to democratic processes of decision-making and control. President Lyndon Johnson's favorite phrase, "Come let us reason together," typifies this model. The contrasting model, *social action*, also emphasizes grassroots strategies, but it views the community as a hierarchy of privilege and power. The task, therefore, is to confront the community with a show of force to convince the authorities that change is in order. Rothman puts it this way:

The basic change strategy involves crystallizing issues and organizing indigenous populations to take action on their own behalf against enemy targets. Change tactics often include conflict techniques, such as confrontation and direct action--rallies, marches, boycotts (as well as "hard-nosed" bargaining). The practitioner. . . is skilled in the manipulation of mass organizations and political processes. (Rothman, 1974, 35)

The fundamental difference between the two models is clear: consensus vs. conflict. The overall goal of locality development is to enhance the relationship between the community power structure and its citizens. The means to this end is consensus-building through involvement of leaders and citizens in identifying and solving their problems. Consensus-building through small groups leads to increased well-being for the total community. This approach assumes that all parties have, or can come to have, common interests, and any differences are reconcilable through rational discussion and interaction.

The overall goal of social action, on the other hand, is to redress an imbalance of power between dominant and minority groups, and to gain allocations of resources for a segment or disadvantaged group. This model presumes that the power structure will not give up its benefits and privileges willingly. Thus, it is necessary to confront the power structure with a demonstration of

popular power to convince them to change. The social action model is appropriate where a community segment or disadvantaged group is involved. Locality development would be used where the entire community must, or could, be engaged to address a common need or problem. These two "faces" of grassroots action present most clearly the implications of the two theories of society for community practice.

Two Models Of Planning.

The Rothman/Stockdale view of social planning also specifies two models which can be associated with the conflict and consensus theories of society. Planning generally refers to formulation of ideas and/or actions into a scheme to accomplish some goal or objective. As understood in the profession, planning is a rational-technical process which is proactively directed to the design of strategy and tactics for the near or long term future. Planning may vary from a consensus-oriented, highly technical and rational process with full use of computer technology, mathematical models and cost-benefit analysis to conflict-oriented interest-driven planning based on experiential data-gathering and intuitive analysis. The two models of planning which reflect these approaches as identified by Stockdale (1976) are "traditional planning" and "advocacy planning."

Traditional planning conforms most closely to the idealist rational-comprehensive model of policy, and thus is associated with the consensus theory of society. It emphasizes broad goals related to the overall community and seeks to address substantive social problems--health, housing, justice, nutrition, etc. A community-wide plan for recreation or health based on an overall assessment of needs and problems would be typical. Traditional planning is based on the premise that our highly complex and technological postindustrial society requires technical experts to design and to anticipate the future. The contrasting model, *advocacy planning*, also utilizes technical skills and leadership, but tends to focus on subgroup or subcommunity problems--neighborhoods, disadvantaged groups, unserved or underserved segments of the community. Problem-solving is directed to reallocation of resources toward a particular segment or program area. Fact-gathering and analysis are fundamental, and are employed from an activist-advocate perspective. Advocacy planning would thus work for improved recreation, health care, nutrition, or community control of police, for example, in a particular neighborhood, or for a subgroup of the broader community.

Both types of planning tend to employ rational-technical technologies and to perform *task* goals, but from different community perspectives--overall, or subcommunity segment respectively. Advocacy planning, moreover, frequently employs process skills to mobilize affected citizens for support or implementation. The

advocacy planner sees the power structure as a target for action; thus there is a need to develop a power base for campaign or contest interactions with the authorities. Traditional planning, on the other hand, typically occurs within the power structure and is thus characterized by consensus tactics and rational presentation of "facts." Planners of both types rely on needs analysis, fact gathering, identification and evaluation of options and the design of programs and systems. "Let's get the facts and make a rational decision." Traditional planning emphasizes the preparation and presentation of the plan itself. Advocacy planning must focus not only on the plan, but the process of support for and acceptance of the plan by authorities. The former tends to assume that the plan will speak for itself; the latter must be an advocate for and partisan of the plan on behalf of the client group. Traditional planning views the plan as the end product to a much greater extent than advocacy planning which views the plan as a means to the end of redistribution of resources.

Traditional planning is most closely associated with the consensus theory of society, and thus relies on the existing power structure for support and implementation. Advocacy planning, in that it addresses community subgroups or segments, is in a conflict position, and thus requires campaign or contest tactics. The conflict theory of society thus provides the more appropriate perspective for the advocacy planner. It follows then that traditional planners are typically part of the overall community power structure. They are part of the 'machinery' of the authorities. Thus, they are in a *subordinant* relationship with the power structure. Advocacy planners, conversely, are typically part of an organization or subsystem which sees the overall power structure as a target of action. They are in a position which requires *engagement* of the authorities as a target of action. Traditional planners are specialists of the power structure; and advocacy planners are specialists directed to change of the power structure. The former perspective tends to assume a variable sum game (expanding resource base); while the latter would tend to view the political process as a zero sum game where the benefits for one party are usually at the expense of another. The traditional planner assumes that if the overall system is taken care of in a carefully planned, rational manner, then the parts will be taken care of as well. The advocacy planner presumes that competing interests will contend in the arena of action, and that the disadvantaged can influence the distribution of existing (scarce) resources if they are afforded the technical skills of planning. (Stockdale, 1976; Rothman, 1974)

Advocacy planning and traditional planning can thus be said to represent opposite ends of the planning continuum, and they tend to conform to the premises of the consensus and conflict perspectives respectively. A realistic plan will most likely have elements of both. Plans which have been incubated in a city planning department for a

year or more, however, may be completely unfamiliar to both community decision-makers and citizens. Hence there is often a need for the traditional planner to convince others of the feasibility and viability of the proposed course of action. Likewise, advocacy planners may find it useful to present technical data on how the overall community will benefit from her/his proposal.

Two Models Of Management.

Planning and organizing are key aspects of any organization or program. They deal primarily with the identification of possible directions for an organization and bringing people and groups together at the grassroots level for action. The 1970's, however, saw the emergence of social program administration and management as a "primary" field for social practice. It is appropriate, therefore, to complete our examination of approaches to intervention by developing models of management/administration to complement the Rothman/Stockdale typology. In fact, this aspect of organizational life may be most important for it addresses both the overall direction and control of an organization as well as relationships with environmental actors.

Management pervades systems and organizations. It provides the direction and control without which systems would fall apart. According to Simon (1948) management is the art of "getting things done," and "the manner in which the decisions and behavior of [production level] employees are influenced within and by the organization. Selznick (1966) adds that it is the way we "allocate tasks, delegate authority, channel communication, and find some way of co-ordinating all that has been divided up and parceled out." Rogers and McIntire (1983) emphasize "coordinating the collective activities of a group of individuals toward a set of goals." Moore (1982) suggests that "managers are to an organization as the mind is to a person." Mundel (1967), in a more extensive definition, focuses on "the performance of the task of designing, predicting the results of, providing the resources for, and controlling an integrated human-group activity, the related physical facilities and the interrelationships between these two when the activity concerns the creation and distribution of goods or services to meet an external objective." And Vickers' (1964) analogy suggests that "engineers are concerned with physical and chemical reactions, managers are concerned with the interactions of men." Gross (1964) summarizes the field as "getting things done through (or by) others." Management thus involves the direction and control of how the units of a system are organized and how they interact. Management entails both the external and the internal relationships which are vital to the operation of a system.

Such a management process sounds highly rational and scientific. And most of the literature on modern management and public administration follows the rational-comprehensive (consensus) model. Recent studies of both the management of community organizations and large corporations which experienced innovation and growth in a time of recession have led to examination of what successful managers actually do, compared to what the rationalist approach would say they ought to do. (Mayer and Blake, 1981; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Hyman, 1983; and Agor, 1984) This emerging debate in the field provides an opportunity to develop ideal type models in this area to parallel to those of the Rothman/Stockdale typology.

One model will be called the *bureaucratic management*, or the institutional management model--to reflect the consensus theory of society; and the other will be labeled *innovative management*, or the charismatic management model--to reflect the conflict theory of society. ("Innovative management" and "intuitive management" are other terms which are being used in the field, and which are related to the ideas in our second model.) Figure 1 identifies characteristics of the two models using categories similar to those of the Rothman/Stockdale typology. *Bureaucratic management* tends to occur in well-established organizations which are accepted in the community. Emphasis is on dealing with *routine operations and control of ongoing activities*. Thus, budgeting, personnel administration, supply logistics and supervision of line personnel predominate. Professionalism, efficiency and quantity are valued. Change is seen as being incremental, e.g., five percent a year. Operations are based on written regulations and procedures. Administrative and management personnel have well-established roles, and the line-staff distinction is clear. Established relationships with environmental organizations make for relatively "placid" interorganizational interactions.

Innovative management, or charismatic management, is most appropriate for new or changing organizations, and for situations where significant challenges from the environment occur. Emphasis is on goal setting and the control and direction of program or system design. Tactics require acquisitive operations to obtain resources, to develop a constituency, and to *create or reestablish a place in the organizational domain*. Change of the organization and its place in the community is the immediate goal of this model. A more collegial, "flat" organizational structure is typical; and administrative, management and other roles are often blurred and/or staff is multifunctional. More interpersonal, interactive and face-to-face relationships exist. Emphasis is on service to a target group, quality of the product, and perceived effectiveness. Establishment of relationships in the interorganizational domain and securing resources are major challenges. The next several paragraphs extend

Figure 1

Two Models of Management

PRACTICE VARIABLES	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT	MANAGEMENT OF INNOVATION
GOAL CATEGORIES OF COMMUNITY ACTION	Routine procedures and operations; status quo. Maintenance of existing organizational resources (task goals).	Establishment of a place in the organizational domain, or, adaptation to new environmental conditions (task and process goals).
ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PROBLEM CONDITIONS	Organization well established in interorganizational domain. Need to identify inefficient sub-units and problems within the organization.	Organization is not well established, or existence is threatened by other organizations. Need to gain support or acceptance in the interorganizational domain.
BASIC CHANGE STRATEGY	Change internal operations; systems improvement; rational-technical analysis.	Change the environment; systems design; interactive adjustment to environmental conditions, networking.
CHARACTERISTICS CHANGE TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES.	Authoritative direction; bureaucratic control.	Constituency Building; campaign or contest.
SALIENT PRACTITIONER ROLES	Budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems, accounting.	Negotiation (politician), grant and contract management, deemphasis on budgeting, etc. of routine and technical aspects of administration.
MEDIUM OF CHANGE	Manipulation of formal organizations; rational systems analysis concerning sub-units.	Manipulation of community processes and formal organizations; interactional processes concerning environmental actors.
ORIENTATION TOWARD POWER STRUCTURE.	Instrumental--a part of power structure. Power structure as employer.	Contention--power structure as target for acquisition of resources and power.
BOUNDARY OF CONSTITUENCY OR CLIENT SYSTEM.	Total community or community sub-system, or organization as subject.	New or threatened organization, sub-system or segment as constituency or collaborator.
ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING INTERESTS OF COMMUNITY SUB-PARTS.	Dominant interests are supportive. Consensus or competition perspective. Management and/or application of authority is required.	Conflicting interests challenge the organization from within. Need to establish space in the interorganizational domain. Conflict perspective--seeking authority, resources and power.

our discussion of these two models along the lines of the "practice variables" identified by Rothman (1974).

Goal Categories of Community Action. Bureaucratic management conforms most closely to what Van Gigh (1974) calls the "system improvement" approach; and innovative management uses a "systems design" perspective. The former tends to be *introspective*, looking inward for problems in subunits or processes. The emphasis of bureaucratic management is thus on task goals and maintaining the status quo within the broader community system. Organizations characterized by this approach have difficulty in responding to rapid change. Innovative management tends to be *extrospective*, concerned with the role of the organization in the broader community. As such, it is open to questioning its goals and to initiating conflict with community organizations. This strategy is most appropriate for organizations which are faced with major challenges from the environment, and those that desire to create change--both task and process goals are essential.

Assumptions Concerning Community Structure and Problem Conditions. Bureaucratic management is thus most appropriate for organizations which are well-established in the organizational domain. The challenge is to make the organization run more efficiently. The problem focus is on identifying inefficient sub-units and problems within the organization. Innovative management assumes either that the organization is not well established in the interorganizational network, or that its existence is threatened by other organizations. The primary problem focus is externally directed to resource acquisition and either establishing and protecting a place in the organizational domain or adapting to new, challenging environmental conditions.

Basic Change Strategy. The bureaucratic model emphasizes rational-technical analysis and would tend to favor quantitative techniques of systems analysis, cost/benefit evaluations, performance appraisals, management by objectives, and other techniques of internal accountability and organizational fine-tuning. The innovative management model emphasizes change in environmental conditions including both acquisitive activities and establishing legitimacy with other organizations, as well as conflict with external organizations to achieve its goals.

Change Tactics and Techniques. The bureaucratic model depends on heirarchical chain-of-command relationships compared to innovative management which would stress a more "flat" organizational structure and collegial staff relations. Thus the former would characteristically emphasize bureaucratic control, focused inwardly, compared to the latter which, in focusing on its environment, would emphasize constituency-building and other campaign or contest tactics as appropriate.

Salient Practitioner Roles. The former model would emphasize the rational-technical techniques of budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems and accounting. The latter could not do without some skills in the organization to deal with these roles, but would place major emphasis on program design and development, negotiation with community and political elites and networking. One would look for staff skilled in analysis for bureaucratic management, and for integrative and synthesis perspectives for innovative management.

Medium of Change. The bureaucratic model relies primarily on manipulation of formal organizations. Innovative management relies on manipulation of community processes and formal organizations. The former uses rational analytic processes. The latter depends on interactional processes concerning environmental actors.

Orientation to the Power Structure. Consequently, the orientation of the bureaucratic management model to the *power structure* is *instrumental*--the organization is part of the existing power structure and/or is well established in the interorganizational network. While most likely the organization is in a competitive relationship with others, the total community status quo is supported and supportive. This consensus theory situation contrasts sharply with that of innovative management where a new or threatened organization is in *contention* with the status quo for *authority, resources and power*. In the former, we would expect dominant interests to be relatively supportive.

Boundary of Constituency or Client System. The bureaucratic model views its organization as an integral part of the total community. It serves a continuing role in the overall community and is a part of the existing systemic equilibrium. The innovative model views its organization as a sub-system or segment in contention with the broader community, or elements therein.

Assumptions Regarding Interests of Community Sub-Parts. For the bureaucratic model, dominant community interests are supportive. Bureaucratic management can thus focus inward to improve its efficiency in producing products or services. Hence the relationship of this model to the consensus theory of society. In the innovative management model, attention must be given to survival and change--which requires a conflict approach to action.

A recent application of this dialectical approach to management theory and action is included in a recent article by Carroll, Fritschler and Smith (1985) who present a typology of "supply-side" and "demand-side" managers. Their article provides an extended application of the scheme to the Reagan administration. In their typology, supply-side management generally parallels this discussion of bureaucratic management, and demand-side management is similar to the innovative model.

The two management models complete our repertoire of ideal type models of community engagement. *The six models, or approaches to change, provide a basis for a conceptual understanding of the major aspects of policy making and action.* The development and selection of optional courses of action, strategies, provides a proactive basis on which to initiate present actions and to anticipate future decisions. Transformation of a plan from idea to action requires careful consideration of the methods of engagement of both citizens and leaders in a community. Finally, the management of the process requires skill and wisdom in getting things done by, or through, others. Each of the stages--planning, implementation and management--is essential to the continued existence of specific programs and systems, and for the overall network of community systems and human services.

Situational Relativity: Mixing Strategies in The Real World

Strategies are not executed in isolation. And only rarely is the pure form appropriate in real-world situations. Rather, strategies should be "mixed and phased" as appropriate for specific scenarios. Figure 2 presents a refinement of Stockdale's framework for analyzing change strategies at the community level. (Stockdale, 1976) Interrelationships among strategies can be made on both horizontal (left-right) and vertical (up-down) dimensions. This chart allows us to compare relative similarities and differences among the strategies on the several practice variables.

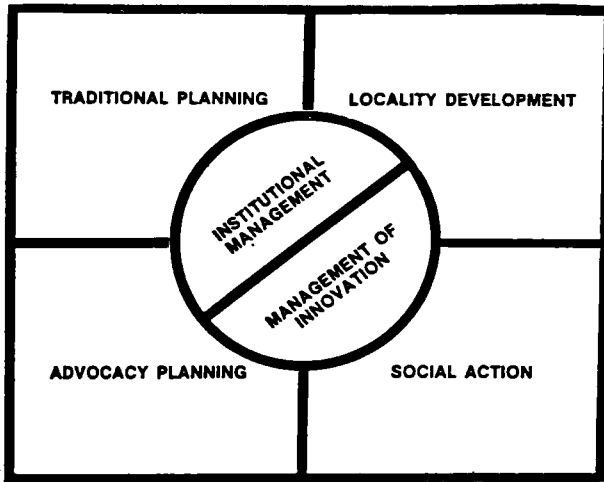
On the *horizontal* dimension, the more rational-technical and task-oriented strategies appear on the left. Institutional (bureaucratic) management and the two planning strategies tend to be technological and office-bound, relying more on analyses, reports, etc., than the other approaches. Locality development, social action and innovative management place more emphasis on community processes and interactions--they can be said to be more interpersonal and community-bound.

On the *vertical* dimension, the strategies depicted at the top of the chart tend to have a consensus-based approach to change and the strategies on the bottom are oriented to the conflict perspective. Thus, social action, advocacy planning and innovative management generally address a community segment or subpopulation, and are most likely to use conflict and contest strategies. Locality development, traditional planning and bureaucratic management tend to view the overall community as their constituency, and, in turn to rely on collaborative strategies.

Now consider the strategies in relation to the policymaking process--the political system. The strategies on the *top* of the chart tend to be most appropriate for use by those in power--the

Figure 2

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG MODELS



authorities--and those who collaborate with the power structure. The strategies on the *bottom* are more appropriate for those not in power but who are seeking change by the authorities, and those who are seeking a role in the power structure. The goal of these latter strategies is to make *effective demands* on the authorities. For example, a city planner may devise a nutrition program for the city health department. He/she works for and presents the plan to the city authorities. A neighborhood planner, however, in working for a specific subarea may prepare a nutrition plan which is directed to convincing the city to alter their plan to provide more or different services to the neighborhood. The former involves a process *within* the power structure to decide what actions to take in the overall community. The latter involves a process *external* to the power structure directed to creating an *input* to the deliberations of the city authorities.

The example above illustrates the differences in focus of the two models, and it raises the issue of boundaries and system levels. Note that if the city planner is preparing a plan to be presented to higher authority--state or federal levels, for example--there is a completely different role: the perspective changes. ("Where you stand depends upon where you sit.") Likewise, a neighborhood planner working with his/her own local funds on a neighborhood plan is in a service allocation, not a resource acquisition role. Focus thus shifts to relationships with the immediate community, rather than convincing an external power structure to support the plan.

The chart also enables us to consider compatibilities between strategies and the possibility of shifting from one to another. *Adjacent strategies*, those that share a common boundary on the chart, can be seen as a continuum of possible actions. In action situations, shifting from one strategy to another may be appropriate. (Stockdale, 1976) An advocacy planner, for example, if successful in convincing the authorities that a plan (for a segment) is good for the entire community, may find the plan transformed into a community-wide "traditional planning" document. Similarly, if a group using locality development as a strategy encounters resistance from the authorities, it may find itself in a social action situation. Understanding these interactions is important for the community practitioner for it establishes a broad range of strategies in his/her repertoire (instead of just six). Most importantly, this discussion emphasizes the interactive nature of community action and change. If strategies are not modified to reflect changing community and environmental conditions, they will rapidly become obsolete and fail.

Note too that the two management strategies are placed on a diagonal to the other four. This arrangement recognizes the fact that bureaucratic, or institutional, management is most generally associated with the more technical and/or total community strategies: locality development, traditional planning and advocacy planning. Recall also that innovative management is appropriate both for new organizations, for those dealing with a segment, and for existing organizations which are facing an external challenge. Thus, a new organization using a locality development strategy would be likely to choose innovative management; and we would expect a shift toward bureaucratic management as the organization becomes established in the community. Similarly, a traditional planning organization using bureaucratic management, when faced with funding cuts from external authorities could be expected to shift to an advocacy planning mode and to utilize innovative management strategies. Note too that social action does not share a boundary with institutional management and traditional planning; and traditional planning does not share a boundary with innovative management and social action. These pairings tend to be unlikely as explained below.

Another principle which is illustrated on Figure 2 is that *nonadjacent strategies*, those on a diagonal across from each other, tend to be *incompatible*. The most conflict-oriented strategy, social action, would tend to be incompatible with the most consensus-oriented strategies--traditional planning and bureaucratic management. While variations across all dimensions of the six models should be available as options for every action situation, it should be recognized that successful mixing and phasing of the nonadjacent approaches is less likely. Likewise, locality development, which uses group, consensus-oriented approaches to the overall community; and advocacy planning, which emphasizes rational-

The chart is arranged in a pyramid which is suggestive of the levels of the policymaking system: community, regime and authorities. *Community* is where needs and problems occur and where the outputs and impacts of policies and programs are felt. Interests are articulated and aggregated at this level; and it is where programs must be implemented. Thus, as indicated in the chart, the organizing and implementation strategies would be most dominant here. At the intermediate level, where the staff planning and administrative roles tend to occur, we find the planning strategies. The development of data to support decisions and options for dealing with problems and needs, for evaluating impact, and for designing new approaches tend to occur at this level. Finally, the authorities are responsible for the overall direction and control of the organization, program or system.

Consider these levels in light of the "system within system" principle. The pyramid can be seen to apply at all levels of a community system: within a specific program, the relationship of a program to the environment, and in the overall community. A neighborhood mental health clinic, for example, might well have grassroots strategies involving consultation and education for local self-help. It would nevertheless need to have planning and management functions performed in the organization. Direct line staff at the street-level would tend to be organizationally at a lower level than staff planners and program managers. The entire organization, however, would be at a "lower" level in the vertical hierarchy of the overall community than a city-level mental health planning agency. The latter, in turn, would be subordinated to the city manager and Council. Constant attention to the boundaries of inquiry and the focal system is necessary to avoid misdirection and misunderstanding. A principle of "*situational relativity*" could be said to apply to this phenomenon: the type of strategy which is most important changes with the situation in the community-organizational hierarchy.

Note too that the strategies are arranged to suggest a continuum at each level. Grassroots *organizing and implementation* strategies range from locality development to pure social action. *Planning* strategies vary from idealized traditional planning to advocacy planning. *Management* strategies span a continuum from an ideal-type bureaucratic management to innovative management.

Any organization has a full range of strategies on which to draw to pursue its goals, and to respond to changing environmental conditions. Consider the situation of a neighborhood group which has the support of some, but not all of the authorities for a community-wide transportation program for the aged. The group could be considered to be in a situation calling for a locality development strategy based on the community-wide character of the issue. On the other hand, there are two segmental characteristics to the constituency (neighborhood and an elderly quasi-group) which would

suggest a social action approach. The organization would be wise to use different tactics in working with neighborhood citizens and proponents of the aged throughout the community than with the opposing authorities and their supporters. The choice of planning and management strategies would be crucial as well. Expenditure of considerable resources for technical planning documents and analytical approaches to management would most likely not be well received by neighborhood residents and the aged who would rather see more action and less bureaucratic obfuscation. City authorities, however, would expect professional presentations and carefully completed documentation. Finding the correct balance among the six strategies is a task for which successful leaders are recognized.

A comparable "mixed strategy" situation would exist in a scenario in which traditional planners in a justice agency find opposition in management circles or among community residents. It would appropriate to consider some advocacy planning practices to work with community groups and to convince the authorities of the validity of the plans. At the highest level, an established organization using a bureaucratic management model might be confronted with opposition in the community or budget cuts from external funding sources; the need to revise its strategy to use some innovative management, and perhaps a bit of advocacy planning is apparent. Mayer and Blake's (1981) study of neighborhood development organizations found that managers who focused inwardly and favored the more technical processes were not as effective in establishing and managing neighborhood organizations where there was intense interorganizational competition for resources. Rather, those managers who employed interpersonal skills and more collegial staff relations, as with the innovative management model, tended to be more successful.

Finally, note that the two sides of the pyramid conform generally to the primary theories of society. The strategies on the left side tend to be consonant with the *consensus theory* and the strategies on the right side conform to the principles of the *conflict theory*. This brings us full circle. We have explored approaches which allow the interrelation of the fundamental paradigms of Western philosophy and social theory to models of action for planning, organizing/implementation, and management. These concepts, processes and models occur in community systems; they are essential to the formulation and implementation of policies to establish, direct and regulate community systems and human services. Continued development of *analytical* knowledge of the application of the models in community settings will provide the basis for the *synthesis* of more complete theories and strategies of community and change.

REFERENCES

- Agor, Weston H. *Intuitive Management: Integrating Left and Right Brain Skills*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, (1984).
- Altshuler, Alan. "The Goals of Comprehensive Planning." in Faludi, op.cit., (1973), 193-210.
- Carroll, James D., A. Lee Fritschler, and Bruce L.R. Smith. "Supply-Side Management in the Reagan Administration." *Public Administration Review*, November/December 1985, pp. 805/814.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, (1959).
- Gross, Bertram M. *Organizations and Their Managing*. N.Y.: The Free Press (1964).
- Hyman, Drew. "A Preventive Approach to Bureaucracy: The Dialectical Organization as a Model for Citizen's Advocacy and Ombudsmen." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*. Volume 12, (October-December 1983).
- Mayer, Neil S. and Jennifer L. Blake. *Keys to the Growth of Neighborhood Development Organizations*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, (1981).
- Moore, Franklin G. *The Management of Organizations*. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, (1982), 6.
- Peters, Thomas J., and Robert H. Waterman. *In Search of Excellence*. N.Y.: Harper and Row, (1982).
- Rogers, Rolf E., and Robert H. McIntire. *Organization and Management Theory*. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, (1983).
- Ross, Murray G. *Community Organization Thory and Practice*. N.Y.: Harper and Row (1955), 61.
- Rothman, Jack. "Three Models of Community Organization Practice." in, Cox, Fred M., John L. Erlich, Jack Rothman and John E. Tropman, eds. *Strategies of Community Organization*. Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc. (1974), 20-36 (the original article was dated 1968).
- Stockdale, Jerry D. "Community Organization Practice: An Elaboration of Rothman's Typology." *Sociology and Social Welfare*, Vol. 3, May 1976, 541-551.
- Van Gigh, John. *Applied General Systems Theory*. N.Y.: Harper and Row, (1974).
- Williams, Walter. *The Implementation Perspective*. Los Angeles: The University of California Press (1980).
- Zastrow, Charles. *The Practice of Social Work*. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press , 1981, p. 422.

PRACTICE VARIABLES	TRADITIONAL PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING
MEDIUM OF CHANGE	Manipulation of data and formal organizations.	Manipulation of data and program support by client population.
ORIENTATION TOWARD POWER STRUCTURE.	Subordinant: power structure as employers and sponsors.	Engagement: power structure as target for action.
BOUNDARY OF CONSTITUENCY OR CLIENT SYSTEM.	Total geographic community, or sub-system as consumers or recipients.	Community segment--attempts to co-opt power structure to client goals.
ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING INTERESTS OF COMMUNITY SUB-PARTS.	Common interests, or reconcilable differences.	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; scarce resources.

Adapted from Rothman (1974), figure 1.1.

figure 2 (continued)

LOCALITY DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL ACTION	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT
Manipulation of small task oriented groups; community meetings.	Manipulation of community groups, mass organizations and political processes.	Manipulation of formal organizations; rational systems analysis concerning sub-units.
Collaboration: leaders and citizens working in a common venture.	Confrontation: power structure as target of action, oppressors to be coerced or overturned.	Instrumental--a part of power structure. Power structure as employer.
Total geographic community as beneficiary and participants.	Community segment as collaborators and participants.	Total community or community sub-system, or organization as subject.
Common interests or reconcilable differences; variable sum game.	Conflicting interests which are not easily reconcilable; zero sum game.	Dominant interests are supportive. Consensus or competition perspective. Management and/or application of authority is required.

MANAGEMENT OF
INNOVATION

Manipulation of
community pro-
cesses and for-
mal organiza-
tions;
interactional
processes con-
cerning environ-
mental actors.

Contention--power
structure as
target for
acquisition of
resources and
power.

New or threat-
ened organiza-
tion, sub-system
or segment as
constituency or
collaborator.

Conflicting
interests chal-
lenge the organ-
ization from
within. Need to
establish space
in the interor-
ganizational
domain. Con-
flict perspec-
tive--seeking
authority,
resources and
power.

Planning Models

PRACTICE VARIABLES	TRADITIONAL PLANNING	ADVOCACY PLANNING
GOAL CATEGORIES OF COMMUNITY ACTION	Problem-solving with regard to broad, substan- tive community problems (task goals).	Problem-solving with regard to sub-community problems, shift- ing of resources (task or process goals).
ASSUMPTIONS CONCERNING COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND PROBLEM CONDITIONS	Substantive over- all social problems: health, housing, income, trans- portation, envi- ronment, etc.	Disadvantaged populations, social injus- tice, inequity, unserved seg- ments in social problem areas.
BASIC CHANGE STRATEGY	Needs analysis and rational- technical pro- gram design for the overall com- munity.	Needs analysis and rational- technical pro- gram design to represent inter- ests of a seg- ment or sub-po- pulation.
CHARACTERISTICS CHANGE TACTICS AND TECHNIQUES.	Consensus. Rational presen- tation of "facts."	Campaign or con- test. Interest- oriented presen- tation of facts.
SALIENT PRACTITIONER ROLES	Fact-gatherer and analyst, program implem- enter, facilita- tor.	Fact-gatherer and analyst, plus organizer, advocate, parti- san.

Figure 4
Is of Community Engagement

Organizing Models		Management
LOCALITY DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL ACTION	BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT
Developing community capacity and integration; self-help (process goals).	Change in power relationships and resource allocations; basic institutional change (task or process goals).	Routine procedures and operations; status quo. Maintenance of existing organizational resources (task goals).
Lack of relationships and democratic problem-solving capacities; static community.	Disadvantaged populations, social injustice, inequity, unserved segments.	Organization well established in interorganizational domain. Need to identify inefficient subunits and problems within the organization.
Involvement of citizens and leaders in identifying and solving their own problems.	Articulation and aggregation of issues, and organization of people to take action against power structure; demands on or take-over of larger system.	Change internal operations; systems improvement; rational-technical analysis.
Consensus building; communication among leaders and citizens; group processes.	Confrontation, direct action, advocacy; conflict or contest.	Authoritative direction; bureaucratic control.
Enabler-catalyst; coordinator; educator for problem-solving and democratic ethics.	Activist, advocate, agitator, broker, negotiator, partisan, politician.	Budgeting, systems analysis, personnel management, information systems, accounting.

it Models

MANAGEMENT OF
INNOVATION

Establishment of a place in the organizational domain, or, adaptation to new environmental conditions (task and process goals).

Organization is not well established, or existence is threatened by other organizations. Need to gain support or acceptance in the interorganizational domain.

Change the environment; systems design; interactive adjustment to environmental conditions, networking.

Constituency Building; campaign or contest.

Negotiation (politician), grant and contract management, deemphasis on budgeting, etc. of routine and technical aspects of administration.

ROLE-SET DIVERSITY: BENEFIT OR STRAIN?

MARILYN GAIL MORGAN
Auburn University

ALFRED DEMARIS
.University of Maryland at Baltimore

ABSTRACT

Most social workers interact with many different types of people in performing their jobs. One view suggests such diversity is beneficial; an opposing view is that this causes job strains. This research indicates a correlation between increased strain and increased role-set diversity only for those age 36-41. Perceived benefits rose with diversity for those in mental health and public welfare settings. For mental health workers, benefits outweighed strains more often as diversity rose. Several areas of job satisfaction were explored for correlation with role-set diversity. There were significant findings by age, years of experience, and agency type. There were no significant correlations for the sample as a whole, indicating that the relationship between role-set diversity and benefits or strains is a much more complex one than has previously been believed.

Researchers investigating job satisfaction and burnout, a related concept, have found it particularly useful to invoke constructs derived from role theory as both explanatory and outcome variables (Brief et al., 1979; Cummings and ElSalmi, 1970; Harrison, 1980; Miles, 1977; Snoek, 1966; Wolfe and Snoek 1962). Briefly, role theory is concerned with the influence upon human behavior of the occupancy of social positions and the enactment of their attendant roles. A social position is an identity that designates a commonly recognized set of persons, e.g., physician,

janitor, athlete, grandmother (Biddle, 1979) while a role is defined to be a set of expectations applied to the incumbent of a particular position by both the incumbent and other persons known as role senders. These are all persons who serve to communicate and enforce the expectations held for a particular role (Brief et al., 1979; Snoek, 1966). The extent of role-set diversity experienced by an individual is defined to be the number of different classes of role senders with whom relationships must be maintained by the incumbent of a specific position (Snoek, 1966).

Of particular relevance to the study of job satisfaction are several constructs which refer to problematic aspects of role enactment. Primary among these is role strain, initially conceptualized by Goode (1960) as the "felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations" (p. 483). Role strain is frequently targeted as both a principal predictor of and a measure of work dissatisfaction (Brief et al., 1979; Harrison, 1980; Miles, 1977; Snoek, 1966). Recent theorists have teased out several subcomponents of role strain, such as role conflict, role ambiguity, and role overload, for the investigation of their independent effects on dissatisfaction. Role conflict is a form of stress generated by the requirement to enact roles that conflict with the individual's value system, or that involve contradictory and conflicting expectations for the individual (Brief et al., 1979). Role ambiguity occurs when individuals confront single or multiple roles that are not clearly articulated in terms of behaviors or performance levels expected (Brief et al., 1979). Role overload is the inability to adequately meet all expectations held for a role in the time allotted (Sieber, 1974).

While theorists are generally in agreement that the above constitute crucial explanatory factors in the investigations of job satisfaction, they are not always in agreement as to how these factors should affect satisfaction. One such construct that has provoked considerable disagreement is role-set diversity, with some maintaining that an increase in this factor is associated only with increased strain (Goode, 1960; Snoek, 1966), and others arguing that whatever strains

are incurred are far outweighed by benefits acquired by virtue of having a multi-faceted role set (Marks, 1977).

In this paper, we attempt to bring some clarification to this controversy by examining the relationship between role-set diversity and various indices of job satisfaction among social workers in direct practice. We feel this population to be one of especial relevance to this issue since social workers must typically interact with a number of different types of people in the performance of their tasks. Therefore, a wide variation in role-set diversity is expected to obtain in this group. Furthermore, researchers interested in the phenomenon of burnout frequently point to social workers as a population that is at high risk for this problem, suggesting, at least tentatively, that the two variables may be related (Harrison, 1980; Larson et al., 1978).

Opposing Views of Role-Set Diversity

The view that a multiplicity of roles is predominantly stressful rather than beneficial is advocated forcefully by Goode (1960) in an early theoretical piece. Goode lists several properties of role incumbency per se which create stress for the individual. First, role demands are frequently required at times or places that are inconvenient for the incumbent and are therefore experienced as burdensome. Second, all individuals take part in many different obligations which are often themselves contradictory or involve conflicts of time, place, or resources for the individual. Third, each role relationship demands several activities or responses, sometimes involving a delicate balance of interpersonal relationships in order to avoid emotional turmoil. For these reasons, the individual typically faces a "wide, distracting, and sometimes conflicting array of role obligations" (p. 485). Goode argues that the individual cannot meet all these demands to the satisfaction of all those in his total role network and hence role strain is a normal occurrence in everyday life.

Since it is obvious that individuals do appear to manage these conflicting demands rather successfully, Goode goes on to describe the various techniques at the individual's disposal which serve to keep role strain at manageable levels so that societal functioning is not disrupted. A critical assumption in Goode's argument is that the individual's reservoir of energy and skills with which to fulfill role demands is finite, and that each additional role depletes some of these resources. Therefore, Goode maintains that expansion of the individual's role system is, in the long run, deleterious to ego since "role strain begins to increase more rapidly with a larger number of roles than do the corresponding role rewards or counterpayments from alter" (p. 487).

An entirely different perspective has been advanced by other theorists who take issue with the view that roles are energy-depleting, as advanced by Goode, and instead focus on the energy-producing and beneficial aspects of multiple roles. Marks (1977) characterizes this latter position to be an energy-expansion theory of activity and group life as opposed to a spending or drain theory. He buttresses these claims by citing the supportive and energy-producing aspect of family roles and by observing that abundant energy is "found" for activities to which we are highly committed, while we are frequently unable to "find" energy to fulfill those roles to which we are not very committed. In sum, he argues that "we need to see the experience of both time and energy as outcomes or products of our role bargains rather than assuming ...that they are already constituted for us as scarcities even before our role bargains are made" (p. 929).

Concurring with this position, Sieber delineates various rewards that accrue to the incumbent of multiple roles. For example, one with a diverse role set is likely to acquire additional rights and privileges with each added role. And in addition to legitimate rights and privileges which adhere to roles, the incumbent frequently finds greater access to noninstitutionalized privileges or perquisites, such as social and business contacts, or access to potential mates. Further, a wide variety of roles serves as a buffer against

failure in any particular role. Additionally, Sieber (1974) argues, multiple roles may enrich the personality and enhance one's self-conception. On balance, then, this perspective suggests that role-set diversity would provide incumbents of positions with more benefits than strains.

Research on the Effects of Role-Set Diversity

Empirical research, to date, on the relationship between role-set diversity and various indices of job well-being fails to provide overwhelming support for either theoretical position. Snoek's study of 596 full-time wage and salary workers revealed a significant association between tension on the job and interaction with a diversified set of role senders. Further, other variables such as gender, education, and size of organization, that were initially related to tension, were found to have no significant effect after role-set diversity and level of supervisory responsibility were controlled (Snoek, 1966). This study, however, has been criticized by others as being an inadequate test of the consequences of role-set diversity in that Snoek only measured tensions experienced on the job without concomitant attention to gratifications (Sieber, 1974). The possibility certainly exists that if respondents were queried regarding such elements as "sense of excitement" or "sense of having a challenging job," such benefits of role-set diversity would predominate over tensions (Sieber, 1974).

The research of Miles (1977) focuses on a factor that is similar to role-set diversity, and which he refers to as "role-set configuration," defined as the "mix of characteristics of role senders within the role set" (p. 22). His findings suggest that aspects of the role-set other than the sheer number of types of role senders are important predictors of the extent of role strain. In particular, organizational distance, or the number of distinct intra- or inter-organizational boundaries which separate focal person and role sender, was found to be positively related to role conflict for persons occupying internal organizational roles, but negatively related to role conflict for those in boundary-spanning roles. Further, the existence of

multiple superiors in the role set was found to be directly related to role ambiguity, particularly for those in internal organizational roles.

Still others have documented a positive effect for role-set diversity. For example, Woodward (1965) found that diversity in role senders did not result in conflict. In one study of 30 supervisors who received direction from five executives, the supervisors were favorable about the situation, voicing satisfaction because they knew everything that was going on in the firm. In another firm with a similar arrangement, she found that most interviewed felt the organization worked well. Cummings and ElSalmi (1970) found role-set diversity to be positively associated with several components of need fulfillment in their study of managerial positions. Managers having highly diversified role sets perceived smaller need fulfillment deficiencies than managers with less diversified role sets. This relationship was particularly pronounced in the higher-level need areas of self-actualization and eliminate autonomy. Role-set diversification was also positively related to need fulfillment and to the perceived possibility of need fulfillment in the future. On the other hand, managers with less diversified role sets perceived greater possibility of fulfillment of needs for security than did those having greater role diversity.

In sum, it would appear that both positive and negative points of view about role diversity have merit, and that evidence can be found to support either position. The present study is an effort to provide a more comprehensive test of these competing viewpoints by including measures of both strains and benefits in exploring the relationship between role-set diversity and job satisfaction. Several outcomes are possible using this expanded approach. It may well be that there is a level of diversity below which there would not exist adequate opportunity for gratifications, but also an upper limit beyond which role strain would outweigh the benefits. Then too, it is possible that benefits and strains offset one another to such an extent that variation in role-set diversity has no overall impact on job satisfaction. Since we wish to

give equal consideration to both theoretical positions outlined at the beginning of this paper, we have elected not to formulate specific research hypotheses, but have decided instead to proceed with a partial replication of the studies by Snoek and Cummings and ElSalmi, examining the impact of role-set diversity upon strains, benefits, and components of need fulfillment among social workers.

METHOD

Sample

Subjects in this study were members of the Alabama Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers. A questionnaire was mailed in January 1985 to 500 members randomly selected. Replies were received from 274 for a response rate of 55 percent. Because burn-out, turnover, and other indicators of job dissatisfaction seem to be greater problems among direct-service workers, we selected only respondents who were in direct practice with clients and were not administrators or supervisors. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of this sample of 125.

Most had an MSW, and it is expected that drawing the sample from NASW members had resulted in an overrepresentation of those with MSW's. Nearly all the sample had either a BSW or MSW. Because of the lack of variability in education, gender, and race, these were not used as variables in the analysis. Responses were analyzed by age, years of experience, and agency type. NASW members might also represent practitioners who are more likely to be satisfied with their work, and the reader is cautioned about generalizing these findings to social workers who are not NASW members.

Measurement of the Dependent Variables

The dependent variables studied included indices of satisfaction such as perceived need importance, perceived need fulfillment, perceived need fulfillment deficiency, and perceived possibility of need fulfillment; strains; benefits; and the balance between strains and benefits. Data on the first four dependent

Table 1. Sample Characteristics.

<u>Years of Experience</u>		
<u>Years</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0-5	33	26.4
6-9	32	25.6
10-12	28	22.4
13 or more	32	25.6

<u>Agency Type</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Medical	34	28
Mental Health*	48	39
Public Welfare	25	20
Other	16	13

* This category includes those working in mental hospitals, mental health sections of other hospitals, other residential mental health facilities, mental health centers, mental health counseling agencies (such as family therapy), or private counseling.

<u>Age</u>			<u>Race</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
22-29	32	26	Black	13	10.4
30-35	34	27	White	112	89.6
36-41	26	21			
42 or older	32	26			

<u>Education</u>			<u>Gender</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>		<u>N</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Social Work Degree	117	93.6	Female	108	86.4
Other	8	6.4	Male	17	13.6

NOTE: Not all categories total 125 due to missing data.

variables were collected using instruments identical to those used by Cummings and ElSalmi (1970), which measured the variables in five need categories: social, security, esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization. The questions in each category were scattered in the section on needs. Respondents were asked four questions on each item in this section: (1) How important is this item to you? (2) How much is there now in your position? (3) How much should there be in your position? (4) What do you think your chances are of attaining the level you desire in your present position? The first scale indicates need importance and the second scale taps need satisfaction. Need fulfillment deficiency was defined as the difference between question (3) and question (2). The last question dealt with the possibility of need satisfaction. Respondents rated the first three questions on a scale from 1 to 7 (with 7 indicating the most). The fourth question was rated on a scale from 0 to 100 percent with 10 percent intervals.

Strain was measured by the Job Related Tension Index (JRT) which Snoek (1966) used in his research. This scale, developed by the Michigan Survey Research Center, consisted of 15 items considered common problems on the job. Respondents were asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 5 (with 5 being the most often), how frequently they felt bothered by each item, and their mean response was calculated. Evidence for the validity of this index as a measure of job dissatisfaction has been provided by a number of studies (Snoek, 1966).

To test for benefits which might be the result of expanded role sets, a list of 15 items was constructed based on suggestions in the literature discussed above as to the rewards of role diversity. Respondents were asked to rate, on a scale from 1 to 5 (with 5 being the most often), how frequently they felt each item. The items were:

1. Feeling that you have things under control.
2. Feeling that you have been successful at some work task.

3. Feeling that your job is interesting.
4. Feeling that you are appreciated or needed.
5. Feeling that you are free to make most of your own decisions about how to do your job.
6. Feeling that what you do is important.
7. Feeling that you have satisfying relationships connected with your work.
8. Feeling that you can get the information you need to do your work.
9. Feeling that you have others to turn to for help in getting your job done.
10. Feeling that you are able to handle persons having different points of view about issues in your work.
11. Feeling that you can adjust well to a variety of situations.
12. Feeling that you have a lot of influence.
13. Feeling that you have many opportunities to be creative in your work.
14. Feeling that others understand the limits on your time and adjust their demands accordingly.
15. Feeling that you can determine your own working pace (within limits).

Balance was defined as the difference between the mean benefit score and the mean strain score.

Measurement of Role-Set Diversity

Role-set diversity was operationalized as the number of types of persons with whom the worker interacts, as Snoek (1966) did in his research. This is

done on the assumption that there is some equivalence in all role relationships with a particular category of person--for example, between social workers and judges. Diversity, therefore, refers to the number of different relationships by type, and not to the number of persons with whom the social worker interacts. However, whereas Snoek only delineated five general classes of role senders, respondents in this study were presented a list of 23 types of role senders and an "other" category. They were asked to check each type of person with whom they interact on a regular basis. This list included clients, client collaterals, supervisors, people you supervise, agency administrators, agency board members, people who provide or might provide funding, co-workers, support staff (typists, receptionists, etc.), news people, volunteers, lawyers, judges, law enforcement personnel, social service personnel in other agencies (including persons who can provide resources), physicians (including psychiatrists), nurses, psychologists, teachers, home care or homemaker personnel, foster parents, adoptive parents, social work students or other students, and others. The total number checked was the role-set diversity score.

In addition to how many classes of role senders the respondent was involved with, Snoek also asked respondents to rate how frequently they interacted with each class and used that frequency in part of his analysis. A pretest of our research was conducted in which we asked for frequencies. However, most told us that they could not even make a good guess since they saw so many people, even when they were asked for frequencies for this week only. We elected to leave frequency out of the final questionnaire due to the apparent unreliability of the information.

RESULTS

Social workers in direct practice are involved with a large number of role senders. The mean role-set diversity score was 13.04. Strain scores had a possible range of 1.0 to 5.0. Respondents' scores ranged from 1.06 to 3.67. These results were not skewed as were Snoek's, who reported over 50 percent with scores below 1.6. In the present study, the mean was 2.29.

The pattern of correlations among role-set diversity and the various outcome variables in the study turned out to be more complex than was anticipated. A number of significant interactions were found by respondent's age, years of experience, and employing agency.

Strain

Whereas Snoek (1966) found strain to increase with an increase in role-set diversity, this study found no significant association between these variables for the sample as a whole ($r = .033$). However, a significant interaction was found with age: for those aged 36-41, which represent about 22 percent of the sample, the correlation of role-set diversity with strain is $.44$ ($p < .03$). There were no significant correlations for other age groups. No significant correlations were found by type of agency or years of experience.

Snoek grouped strain scores into categories: low (1.5 or lower) and high (1.6 or higher). He found an association between role-set diversity and high or low strain scores, significant at the .001 level, with the proportion of respondents in the high strain group rising as role-set diversity increased. We redid the analysis employing a similar regrouping of the data, but found no such relationship. We also grouped strain scores so that approximately half fell in the low group (2.67 or lower). Again there was no significant association.

Benefit

Sieber (1974) argued that an increase in role-set diversity would confer many additional benefits upon the individual. In this study, however, no relationship was found between role-set diversity and benefits for the total sample ($r = .04$). Grouping into high (3.80-5.00) and low (1.00-3.79) benefit scores still resulted in no significant association. However, once again a significant interaction effect was found. Benefit scores were positively correlated with role-set diversity for those working in mental health agencies ($r = .34$, $p < .02$) and those working in public welfare

($r = .41$, $p < .04$). No association was found for those working in medical settings, the only other agency type with sufficient numbers of respondents for analysis.

Benefit-Strain Balance

Since those arguing for the positive effects of role-set diversity have suggested that the balance of benefits versus strains incurred through increased diversity would be on the side of the former, this proposition was subjected to test in the present study. It is noteworthy that benefits predominated over strains in general for this group. For 89 percent of respondents, the balance score indicated that benefits exceeded strains on the job. Again, no correlation was found for the total sample between role-set diversity and raw balance scores ($r = .01$). Scores were further grouped into low and high balance, to see if a dichotomous distribution on this variable would reveal an association with role-set diversity. However, the factors remained unrelated. On the other hand, a significant interaction was found by type of agency in which the respondent worked. Among mental health workers, as role-set diversity increased, the balance score (mean benefit score minus mean strain score) increased ($r = .35$, $p < .02$).

Role-Set Diversity and Need Satisfaction

Cummings and ElSalmi (1970) found an association between role-set diversity and three components of work-need satisfaction: need-fulfillment deficiency, need satisfaction, and perceived possibility of need satisfaction in the current position. Table 2 presents the results, for the current study, of the correlation of need-fulfillment deficiency, need satisfaction, perceived possibility of need satisfaction, and need importance with role-set diversity for selected categories of social work personnel. As before, no significant correlation between role-set diversity and each need component emerged for the sample as a whole. On the other hand, several interesting interactions occurred, for specific need areas, with type of agency in which respondent worked, respondent's age, and respondent's years of experience in the position.

Table 2.
Correlation of Need Fulfillment Deficiency, Need Satisfaction, Possibility of Need Satisfaction, and Need Importance with Role-Set Diversity for Selected Categories of Social Work Personnel.

Need Area	Social Worker Category	Correlation With Role Set Diversity
Need Fulfillment Deficiency		
Overall	Total Sample	.07
Esteem	Age 36-41	-.43*
Autonomy	Age 36-41	-.40*
Overall	0-5 Yrs Exper	-.39*
Autonomy	0-5 Yrs Exper	-.47**
Esteem	0-5 Yrs Exper	-.41*
Possibility of Need Satisfaction		
Overall	Total Sample	.02
Social	Mental Health Wks	.30*
Autonomy	Age 36-41	-.51**
Self-Actualization	Age 36-41	-.42*
Esteem	0-5 Yrs Exper	-.44*
Autonomy	0-5 Yrs Exper	-.49**
Need Satisfaction		
Overall	Total Sample	.03
Social	Age 22-29	.44*
Security	Age 36-41	.51**
Autonomy	Age 36-41	-.47*
Social	10-12 Yrs Exper	.40*
Need Importance		
Security	Age 22-29	.42*
Security	Age 30-35	.39*
Security	Medical Wks	.47**

* p < .05

** p < .01

For example, role-set diversity was negatively related to need-fulfillment deficiency in the areas of esteem ($r = -.43$, $p < .03$) and autonomy ($r = -.40$, $p < .05$) for those aged 36-41. A significant negative correlation was found between role-set diversity and overall need fulfillment deficiency for those having 0-5 years of experience ($r = -.39$, $p < .03$). This relationship was strongest in the area of autonomy ($r = -.47$, $p < .006$) and esteem ($r = -.41$, $p < .02$).

The area of perceived possibility of need fulfillment revealed divergent interactive effects for role-set diversity. Mental health workers tended to perceive a greater possibility of social need satisfaction with an increase in role-set diversity ($r = .30$, $p < .05$). Yet diversity for those age 36-41 was negatively related to perceived possibility of need satisfaction in the areas of autonomy ($r = -.51$, $p < .007$) and self-actualization ($r = -.42$, $p < .04$). Similarly, among those with 0-5 years of experience role-set diversity was negatively associated with perceived possibility of need satisfaction in the areas of esteem ($r = -.44$, $p < .02$) and autonomy ($r = -.49$, $p < .004$).

Mixed effects were also found for role-set diversity on perceived need satisfaction. Among those aged 22-29, role-set diversity was positively related to social need satisfaction ($r = .44$, $p < .02$). A positive relationship also obtained for those aged 36-41 between diversity and the satisfaction of security needs ($r = .51$, $p < .008$). Among those with 10-12 years of experience, diversity was also positively related to the satisfaction of social needs ($r = .40$, $p < .04$). On the other hand, diversity was negatively associated with the satisfaction of the need for autonomy among those aged 36-41 ($r = -.47$, $p < .02$).

Contrary to the findings of Cummings and ElSalmi, we found role-set diversity to be positively related to need importance only when specific sample subgroups were examined. For example, the importance of security needs rose with role-set diversity for those aged 22-29 ($r = .42$, $p < .02$), for those aged 30-35 ($r = .39$, $p < .03$), and for those working in medical settings ($r = .47$, $p < .004$).

DISCUSSION

In this study, the authors were unable to replicate any of the findings of either Snoek or Cummings and ElSalmi for the sample as a whole. Thus, role-set diversity appears not to be a general predictor of benefits, strains, or need satisfaction among this particular sample of social workers. It was hoped that measuring benefits as well as tensions attached to positions would enable us to examine whether the balance of these elements would be affected by role-set diversity. However, no relationship between balance scores and diversity was found for the total sample.

What does emerge, on the other hand, is the rather important finding that role-set diversity demonstrates varying effects upon these outcome variables, depending upon the characteristics of the worker. For example, those working in mental health agencies and in public welfare seem largely to benefit from a more-diversified role set, with diversity being positively related to benefits perceived on the job for both types of workers. Mental health workers were further characterized by an increase in the perceived possibility that their social needs would be satisfied in the current position and by benefits increasingly outweighing strains, with an increase in role-set diversity. Since no detrimental effects of role-set diversity were found for these groups, it would appear that an expanded role set is beneficial for mental health and public welfare workers.

Among workers in medical settings, the importance of security needs rose with role-set diversity. No immediate explanation comes to mind for this. We would suggest, however, that workers in medical settings may have several "bosses," since their work must meet requirements of the hospital administrators, physicians, supervisors, clients, and collaterals. This may lead to feelings of vulnerability and a desire for greater security in the job. In a similar vein, Miles (1977) found the existence of multiple superiors in the role set to be associated with role ambiguity.

Experience on the job emerged as an important mediator of the influence of diversity upon the outcome variables. For those with 0-5 years of experience, need-fulfillment deficiency generally and autonomy and esteem need-fulfillment deficiencies specifically decreased as role-set diversity increased. This suggests that providing newer workers with assignments which provide for more role-set diversity might increase job satisfaction in these critical early years. On the other hand, perceived possibility of need satisfaction in the areas of esteem and autonomy fell as role-set diversity increased. This might be because they are likely to encounter more situations in which they do not have sufficient experience to work independently and competently. They might then need to appeal for help. If such appeals are treated negatively, it would be reasonable that these workers would view the situation as having less potential for satisfying esteem and autonomy needs.

In regard to age, those 22-35 attached more importance to security needs as role-set diversity increased. These workers are most likely to be rearing children, and thus security needs might be more important to them. They also might be somewhat more vulnerable to role overload, so that their desire for security would increase with the additional burdens of an expanded role set. This age group also found more satisfaction of social needs as role-set diversity increased. This is probably due to the fact that these younger workers are more likely to be engaged in establishing themselves as social workers and welcome the additional contacts provided by a multifaceted role set.

Role-set diversity proved to be an especially influential factor for the 36-41 age group. Strain increased with role-set diversity. Perceived possibility of fulfillment of autonomy and self-actualization needs, as well as the satisfaction of autonomy needs all decreased as diversity increased. Why diversity has such a negative effect on this particular age group is not immediately apparent, although developmental literature does suggest that this is a particularly stressful period of adult life. As such, it may also

be a time when workers are especially vulnerable to the kind of role overload that could result from an excess of role responsibilities. On the positive side, however, security need satisfaction rose with role-set diversity, while need-fulfillment deficiency in the areas of esteem, self-actualization, and autonomy decreased.

Both the present study and that of Miles, in which the impact of role-set configuration upon role conflict and ambiguity was found to depend upon other characteristics of the position, indicate that a simplistic model attributing a uniform influence for role-set diversity upon job satisfaction is no longer adequate to account for the research findings. Future research should be directed toward the examination of which specific kinds of positions are affected in which specific kinds of ways by variation in role-set diversity. It will also be of interest to explore the ways in which workers negotiate with role senders for levels of expectations and demands that are acceptable to them, thus preventing strain from occurring when complex role sets are undertaken. Only by recognizing the complexity inherent in multifaceted roles can future research resolve the controversy over this issue.

REFERENCES

- Biddle, Bruce J.
1979 Role Theory: Expectations, Identities, and Behaviors. New York: Academic Press.
- Brief, Arthur P., Mary Van Sell, Ramon J. Aldag, and Nancy Melone
1979 "Anticipatory socialization and role stress among registered nurses." Journal of Health and Social Behavior 20: 161-166.

- Cummings, Larry and Aly ElSalmi
1970 "The impact of role diversity, job level, and organizational size on managerial satisfaction." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 15: 1-10.
- Goode, William J.
1960 "A theory of role strain." *American Sociological Review* 25: 483.
- Harrison, David
1980 "Role strain and burnout in child-protective service workers." *Social Service Review* (March): 31-44.
- Larson, Charles, David Gilbertson, and Judith Powell
1978 "Therapist Burnout: Perspectives on a critical issue." *Social Casework* 59: 536-565.
- Marks, Stephen
1977 "Multiple roles and role strain: Some notes on human energy, time and commitment." *American Sociological Review* 42: 921-936.
- Miles, Robert H.
1977 "Role-set configuration as a predictor of role conflict and ambiguity in complex organizations." *Sociometry* 1(40): 21-34.
- Sieber, Sam
1974 "Toward a theory of role accumulation." *American Sociological Review* 39: 567-578.
- Snoek, J. Diedrick
1966 "Role strain in diversified role sets." *The American Journal of Sociology* 71: 363-372.
- Wolfe, Donald M. and J. Diedrick Snoek
1962 "A study of tensions and adjustment under role conflict." *Journal of Social Issues* 18: 102-121.
- Woodward, Joan
1965 *Industrial Organization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

RETIREEES AS TECHNOGUIDES:
A NEW ROLE AS
SHAPERS AND MAKERS
OF THE
FUTURE

Arthur B. Shostak, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology
Drexel University
Dept. of Psychology and Sociology
Phila., PA 19104

Retirees nowadays serve in many out-of-the-home roles that make astute use of their maturity, their discretion time, and their flexibility about compensation: Large numbers help as paid or voluntary aides in day care centers, health fairs, home health care, hospice programs, nursing homes, and the vital like.

A brand new role that might appeal to many would have them learn and practice the craft of technology assessment and the process of technology diffusion: With these tools retirees could serve as technoguides, or paid or voluntary aides in the testing, evaluating, and adapting of new products and services to the needs of older Americans.

Background. During my on-going study of life in a large, well-established, and well-managed Florida retirement community, I have been struck over and again by missed (technological) opportunities. The condo apartments of the 23,000 residents, for example, are wired for emergency alarm systems that could rapidly

summon police, fire, or medical aid. But the systems have never been installed, and few residents seem to know why, or can explain why the life-protecting infrastructure was installed to begin with.

Similarly, the condo apartments in this sunbelt development make no use of active or passive solar technology. Instead, old-fashioned reliance is placed on large, noisy, and expensive air-conditioners and fans, much as if nothing useful had been learned in the past decade about heat pumps, photovoltaics, hot-water assist systems, solar collectors, solar greenhouse space conditioning, or the dynamic like. Even the community pools located every block or two go without solar aid, though this is the most common (and economically advisable) use being made of this technology elsewhere in the region.

As I tour other retirement communities around the country, I note the total absence of somewhat more venturesome, but no less promising technologies like-

community fish tanks, for the raising of edible fish like Phillipine carp and other species;

community vegetable gardens, for experiments with new seeds and aides to tillage yield;

community bartering systems, based in computer record keeping, and devoted to the swapping of desirable goods and services;

community electronic bulletin boards, based in home computer and modern use, and devoted to the rapid exchange and storage of valued

messages; and-

community hydroponics stations, for the raising of vine-clinging vegetables year-round in a soil-less, chemical-and-water solution.

Other cutting-edge ventures, including a storefront studio used for the video recording of oral histories by retirees, come quickly to mind.

Technological Concerns. Despite the seeming neglect in retirement communities of cutting-edge items the AARP has a 1,308-person telephone survey (1981-1983) that confirms keen interest older persons have in new technologies. Indeed, the head of the Association's Institute of Lifetime Learning boasts that "our research suggests older people are not far behind everyone else in the use of technology."¹

Specifically, the survey found a rise from 16% in '81 to 26% in '83 in the use of automatic bank-teller machines, and the use of home computers by 27% of persons over the age of 45. Not surprisingly, the phone interviews led the AARP to conclude that if a new gadget or process was provided with "a specific beneficial function they could directly relate to, older people will use it."²

At the same time, however, the AARP noted with rue that new technology applications for the elderly are often poorly publicized, and therefore, little used. Particularly invisible, much to the regret of concerned parties, are such frontier innovations as a voice-activated robotic arm that can grasp things from

nearby surfaces for bedridden persons, and a "ropet" that scuttles protectively up to a door at the sound of an intruder and attempts to frighten off the law-breaker (while phoning the police).³

Along with technologies of direct aid to retirees are gadgets and gimmicks through which retirees can directly aid others - and enjoy themselves at the same time. Typical is the ability of retirees to review the new computer software now being used in major companies to help those over 50 prepare for retirement. This software contains many basic and hidden assumptions about spending needs and practices of those over 65, assumptions that gray-haired technoguides could help validate or challenge and correct.

Similarly, retirees could assess and help improve our use of nonexhaustible fuel technologies (biomass, geothermal, photovoltaic, wave, wind, and wood). For as the founder of the Gray Panthers, Maggie Kuhn, insists, her generation (those born in the early 1900s), having been part of more changes than any other, "are the ones who must be advocates for...safe, renewable sources of energy."⁴

Finally, given the leadership of Florida in clarifying desirable roles for retirees it is vital that more and more of them be drawn into the on-going public policy process now weighing the construction of America's first high-speed (250 mph) magnetic levitation train. Organizations of the elderly lobbied on behalf of a state bill authorizing a Tampa-Orlando-Miami route, and a Florida oversight committee in 1985 was exploring the award of a franchise for a 1995 completion date.

However, with costs of Japanese and German hardware running about \$3-million a car and \$30-million per mile for track, Florida taxpayers are understandably hesitant.⁵ And this is exactly where statewide clubs of senior technoguides could come in to study the pros and cons of the Mag Lev, and help Floridians make the best possible choice in this vital matter.

Technoguides: Role and Goals. As I see it at this early point in the concept's formation, the retirees who choose to serve as technoguides would operate much like the staff of the 50-year old Consumer's Union: they would purchase cutting-edge technologies in the open market (home robots, year-round hydroponics stations, state-of-the-art heat pumps, solar panels, wind mills, and the exciting like), test their purchases in exacting ways, and advise older Americans and businesses alike about the merits and drawbacks of gee-whiz, Buck Rodgers' paraphernalia. Unlike CU, which focuses on more conventional mass market products of an everyday variety, the technoguides would hone in on the newest, latest, least tried-and-proven products and services of relevance primarily to older persons, and thereafter, to society-at-large.

Technoguides would finally applaud or deplore test items as they chose, taking care, however, to accompany negative assessments with clear guidance for the improvement of the futuristic product or service. Certain members of their group would study technology assessment, environmental impact assessment, and social impact assessment, and strive to adapt key concepts, models, and methodologies of these fast-improving fields to informed use by eager retirees.⁶

Technoguides would seek to involve the largest possible number of their peers in the testing process - the better to help raise futures - consciousness among older persons. Surveys and mini-usage tests could be conducted in mall plazas where oldsters congregate, along with senior centers and retirement village clubhouses. A network of technoguide clubs across the nation could coordinate their testing to use the same or similar surveys or mini-usage exercises, thereby upgrading the validity and usefulness of the findings.

Technoguide clubs could reach out to nearly community colleges and 4-year universities for help with the more esoteric aspects of state-of-the-art items under review. Both students and faculty intrigued by advances in home robotics, the "intelligent" electronic home, the basement (edible) fish culture option, and so on, might welcome a chance to collaborate with bright and energetic retirees, strong in available time and mature insights into product and service possibilities.

Technoguide Implementation. Given the apparent absence of new technologies from retirement communities, and the seeming interest of certain older people in such technologies, an unrealized opportunity would seem to exist to bring these two related matters together - for the good of retirees in particular and the nation in general.

Models for implementation exist, albeit without the acclaim they merit. Typical of meritorious pioneering in this connection is the Cable TV committee of the AARP chapter in Bethesda, Maryland. Formed in 1984 in anticipation of the arrival of this television option in the community, the committee set out to create special

cable programs of direct relevance to older persons. Committee members divided into areas of personal interest, with some pursuing the technical side of production, including camera work and editing, while others focused on planning TV programs and writing scripts. All learned how to systematically assess and rigorously evaluate cable TV offerings, thereby enhancing their role as constructive TV critics and users, a major technoguide option for active retirees.

Another model exists in Florida, Missouri, and Vermont where the state operates unique "barter" programs for senior volunteers. A state-operated computerized system maintains a registry of the names, skills, and interest of retirees who volunteer home-care services to their frail or disabled peers. These volunteers earn service credits that either they or their spouse can redeem later if they need free in-home services for themselves. Such a barter system, appropriately hailed now as an overdue social invention, could be expanded in nature to include service rendered as a technoguide club member, which service might also qualify one for home-care of similarly precious services in the years to come.

A third model is available in the operation of Title V of the 1969 Older Americans Act. Better known as the Senior Community Service Employment Program, it provides part-time work for unemployed, low-income persons 55 and over by enabling them to perform useful and necessary jobs in their communities (over 65,000 older men and women in 1985 worked on Title V funds at day care centers, hospitals, job placement offices, legal service offices, libraries, and senior centers). Eligibility for this popular cost-effective program could

be expanded to include retirees who work as full-fledged technoguides.

Still another model is available in the small, but growing number of computer user clubs by and for seniors. Early in 1985 about 250,000 retirees were thought to have personal computers in their homes, and research has found many actually enjoy doing programming, along with word processing, database management, and the use of electronic spreadsheets. A typical users' club in Menlo Park, Ca., requires prospective members to complete 12 of 24 lessons it offers, prizes the many new friendships members form among themselves, and boasts of new links forged by members with computer-using grandchildren. Above all, as a leading computer magazine in 1984 put it, "the new group of computer zealots are dispelling the myth that people stop functioning and lose their usefulness once they grow old."⁷

Finally, the proposed technoguide clubs could draw implementation and operational lessons of merit from the longstanding example of consulting firms of retired executives who aid needy organizational clients for little or no fee. Typical is the Executive Service Corps of the Delaware Valley, a nonprofit organization that lines up retired business leaders as consultants for "do good" outfits unable to meet the fees asked by major consulting firms. Part of the National Executive Service Corps, which has independent affiliates from coast-to-coast, the ESC could help a technoguide club organize itself (and probably provide many new members, as well).

With the possible backing, then, of the second-largest association in America (the 13-million member AARP), and with relevant advice available from Consumers Union, the Council of Better Business Bureaus of America, the National Executive Service Corps, and the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, a 50-state network of technoguide clubs of future-shaping retirees beckons as both an achievable and a desirable prospect.

Limitations. Skeptics are quick to question the ability of older persons to "get up to speed" where esoteric cutting-edge technologies are concerned. Cynics, in turn, predict companies whose new products or service are zinged will demean the capacity of laymen in their dodderage to usefully assess state-of-the-art wonders. As well, even supporters of the idea worry about the capacity of non-specialists to rapidly and effectively master the craft of product and service evaluation, a complex, multidisciplinary matter that gets more quantifiable and computer-reliant all the time. Finally, both doubters and backers alike agree that only a very small number of retirees will (initially) be intrigued enough to give this idea a chance, and the clubs are unlikely, therefore, to soon match their possibly great impact with a comparably impressive enrollment.

In rebuttal, proponents insist an adequate cadre of dedicated retirees can master the arcane challenge of any futuristic gadget worth the effort. They are not fazed or intimidated by the prospect of a backlash from an offended manufacturer, as they expect this to be offset by their offer of advice to help "debug" the early version of innovations. They are confident the craft of evaluation can be studied, practiced, and mastered, especially if cross-generational alliances are forged

with campus and off-campus practioners. And while they expect very few initial recruits, they believe the PR and media coverage their technoguide clubs are likely to win will help 240,000,000 Americans gain a better-than-ever impression of "with-it!" retirees - the small membership of the clubs notwithstanding.

Summary. When I reflect on the possible contribution of retirees to the technology assessment process, I am reminded of the advice offered by a 30-year old Smithsonian folklorist who specializes in collecting oral histories from elderly retirees especially good at aging: "We shouldn't be thinking of old people just in terms of Social Security and what they need, but as a matter of what old people can do for the rest of us."⁸

Similarly, I recall that Arnold Toynbee, at 82, co-authored a book, Surviving the Future, that sought deliberately to counter the natural tendency of the aged to dwell primarily on the past. (Toynbee urged experiments with "farming" the sea and learning how to prepare food made from domesticated plankton.) His good friend, Bertrand Russell, when in his late 80's, urged oldsters to never stop caring about possible happenings beyond their own lifespan.⁹ And more recently, 94-year old active journalist and writer George Seldes took time from working on his 21st book to lambast the concept of (idle) retirement as "the dirtiest word in the language."¹⁰

As technoguides, older persons could draw on decades on hard-earned insights to help us separate the wheat from the chaff where cutting-edge gadgets,

gimmicks, and processes are concerned. Much like the test pilots of The Right Stuff they could provide invaluable feedback on early models or prototypes of innovations for seniors or society-at-large, in keeping with the Toynbee-Russell concept of cross-generation caring. And, in remaining as engaged and productive as Gilbert Seldes, they could boost their sense of usefulness, their self-esteem, and their learning quotient in a life-prolonging and life-enhancing way. Above all, as technoguides the retirees could model a "power-to-the-people," demystifying, and constructive approach to new technology as valuable as any legacy imaginable.¹¹

Footnotes

- 1) Dennis La Buda, as quoted in "Elderly Embrace New Technologies," Modern Maturity, October-November, 1984. p. 17.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) See in this connection, the testimony of K.G. Engelhardt in the proceedings of the House Select Committee on Aging, Hearing, "High Technology and Its Benefits for an Aging Population," Rush Office Building, Wash., D.C., May 22, 1984. (Comm. Publ. No. 98-459).
- 4) As quoted in Next, May/June 1981. P. 44.
- 5) John Hillkirk, "Magnetized Trains Attract Interest," USA Today, May 21, 1985. p. 4-B.

- 6) Useful in this connection is the 1984 report, Technology and Aging in America, Wash., D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (Office of Technology Assessment).
- 7) Kathy Chin, "The Elderly Learn to Computer," Infoworld, May 7, 1984. p. 28.
- 8) Marjorie Hunt, as quoted in Francis X. Clines, "Documenting the Art of Surviving." N.Y. Times, April 26, 1985. p. A-18.
- 9) See in this connection, Alexander Lipski. "Toynbee's Frantic Quest for Survival." Journal of Religion & Aging, 1, 1, Fall, 1984. p. 47-61.
- 10) As quoted in Vic Sussman, "Thoughts that Altered the World." USA Today, May 3, 1985. p. 5-D.
- 11) See in this connection, "Retirees as 'Technoguides': On the Case for Technological Stewardship by Older Americans," available from me on request (Art Shostak, Drexel Univ., Dept. of Psychology & Sociology, Philadelphia, PA 19104).

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES OF AGING IN STATE
BUREAUCRACIES: AGENCY LOCATION AND
ORGANIZATION EFFECTIVENESS

BARRIE BLUNT
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

SCOTT INGRAM
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

This study considers the effects of state level reorganization on organizational access to the governor and state legislature, its ability to coordinate service delivery, its access to budgetary funds and resources, and its visibility and prestige. The findings are based on a nation-wide survey of all State Aging Units. Conclusions suggest that reorganizing an Aging Unit does have an impact on the aforementioned variables.

INTRODUCTION

The increase of elderly citizens in the United States is perhaps the most dramatic demographic trend of the past 100 years. With this growth in number and proportion of older persons comes additional demands on our national and state governments. Congress, in 1965, attempted to address this need by passing the Older Americans Act. Since the establishment of the Act, each state has developed a focal point for aging within its organizational hierarchy. These State Units vary widely in size, structure and location within state government.

The location of an Aging Unit within a state's organizational hierarchy has been considered to be an important factor in determining the Units ability to fulfill the provisions of the Older Americans Act. For this reason, many states have attempted to relocate their Aging Unit to enhance its ability to effectively deliver services. These reorganizations are often supported by a number of interested legislators, citizens and advocacy groups; however, just as often they fail to receive approval by the legislature as a whole. One reason for this reluctance is that questions of reorganization are often accompanied by broad questions concerning programmatic success. Because such questions are difficult to answer (Garnett, 1981), the door is open for observers to describe reorganizations as failures (March and Olson, 1983). Unfortunately, empirical analysis is not only deficient, it is essentially nonexistent (Salamon, 1981).

The question to be considered in this brief study is whether reorganization actually has some effects. More specifically, the inquiry attempts to determine whether reorganizing an Aging Unit to a higher location within state government results in an increase in the Units access to the governor and state legislature, its visibility and prestige, its access to budgetary funds and resources, and its ability to develop and coordinate service delivery. The study also provides descriptive information about aging organizations across the nation.

EFFECTS OF A UNIT'S LOCATION

In developing a Model State Statute for State Aging Units, Legal Research and Services for the Elderly (LRSE) point out

effects of agency location within state government. They state:

An agency's location can directly affect its access to the Governor, legislature, and other key decision makers in the State, its visibility and prestige, its access to funds and resources, and its ability to develop and coordinate service delivery. (LRSE, 1980)

This conclusion has been corroborated by Szanton (1981) who suggests that the creation of a new department or agency may give a new priority organizational embodiment. He indicates that structural change may create advocates, bring under single direction related programs that were previously separated, improve effectiveness, and finally, enhance the structures ability to increase finding.

Interestingly, the Congressional Subcommittee on Human Services of the House Select Committee on Aging favors a more decentralized approach. They indicate that a state should merely serve as a pass-through agency for federal money and that "both policy planning or administration and service delivery will prove more effective when handled at local levels." (Committee Report, 1980, p. 63). On the surface, this perspective appears to be inconsistent with the more autonomous structure previously outlined. However, as has clearly been the case in the area of Community Mental Health, both an autonomous unit and a decentralized system can co-exist nicely. In Community Mental Health, enabling legislation mandated community involvement in the development of an integrated system of community based services.¹ Regardless of the fact that many states had autonomous mental health

departments, this plan worked to insure agency responsiveness² and avoid unwarranted program and administrative duplication.³ In essence, community planning bodies would consider needs and develop proposals for a mental health system unique to the population being served. The services would thus be provided through an integrated community planning system under the guidance and administrative authority of a higher level supervisory structure; thus, autonomy and decentralization under the same agency umbrella.

In general, while reorganizing State Aging Units to a higher status has the potential of increasing the Unit's effectiveness in several areas, such reorganizations are not contingent upon the centralization of planning and the subsequent removal of citizen involvement. In other words - regardless of the level of decentralization - budgetary allocations, access to policy makers, prestige and visibility, and effectiveness of service delivery may all be affected by the simple location of the Aging Unit.

SAMPLE

Toward the goal of determining whether reorganizing an Aging Unit to a higher location within state government actually results in an increase in the Units effectiveness, a nation-wide survey of State Aging Units was conducted. Forty-six states responded to the survey making the response rate 92 percent. Of those states responding, 23 have reorganized since their original formation to a higher location within their state's organizational hierarchy. All but two of the reorganizations have performed a consolidating function by reducing the number of organizations which provide services for the elderly.

FINDINGS

Table 1 indicates that about one-half of all states have located their Aging Units within a larger agency or department. The next most common structure (used by approximately one-quarter of the states) is that of a cabinet-level department. The remaining states utilize a separate commission or office for their Aging Unit.

As illustrated in Table 2, of the states surveyed which have reorganized, the most frequent change has been from a Unit located within a larger agency to a cabinet-level department. Regardless of the previous structure, almost one-half have reorganized their Aging Unit to be a part of a larger agency. Generally, these Units are a part of a Human Services Department. It is also interesting to note that almost one-half of the states cite the governor as being the strongest advocate for reorganization (note Table 3). Interest groups have also played a significant role in advocating a change in an Aging Unit's organizational location.

Perhaps most central to this report, each state that experienced reorganization was asked what effects the reorganization had on their access to state budgetary funds and resources, on their access to the governor and the state legislature, on their visibility and prestige, and on their organization's ability to develop and coordinate service delivery. Table 4 indicates that almost all states report an increase in each of the above areas. One state, however, reports that the reorganization actually decreased its abilities in all but one area. This may be explained by the fact that this state was one of two in which reorganization did not perform a consolidating function as much as it gave a

different organization responsibility over services to the elderly.

In essence, the findings presented in Table 4 suggest that relocation of an Aging Unit to a higher and more autonomous level do result in an increase in the Unit's effectiveness in several areas. It is important to note, however, that these changes do not depend on the removal of administrative and service planning from community structures. Conversely, it is quite conceivable that an independent state Aging Unit would design its organizational system in such a manner to allow maximum citizen participation in all aspects of programmatic planning.

CONCLUSIONS

Reorganizing State Units on Aging to a higher organizational status appears to have many benefits. An increased budget should expand services for the elderly. A Unit's ability to develop and coordinate service delivery should enhance autonomy, and greater access to the governor and state legislature should enhance policy development. Increased visibility and prestige should facilitate program implementation.

While additional research is undoubtedly needed to further understand the effects of organizational location on a Unit's effectiveness in meeting the needs of the elderly, the results of this research should provide useful information for those interested in the effects of elevating a Unit's organizational status. Whether such a reorganization does or does not occur, it is clear that the population of elderly citizens in the U.S. will continue to increase in number and proportion. This increase will result in additional demands on both state

and national governments to the needs of this group. The search for more effective means of meeting these needs extends far beyond the organizational location of a State Unit on Aging; yet, understanding the effects of location is one step along the road to developing beneficial policies for our older population.

FOOTNOTES

1

Note Mental Health Systems Act, 1980, Sec. 101; Community Mental Health Extension Act of 1978, Sec. 201; Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1975, Sec. 201 and for related discussion on this subject note Yin, 1979; Tucker, 1980; Gilbert and Specht, 1974; Morrow, 1975.

2

For related discussion on this subject note Reilinger and McClintock, 1981; Redburn, 1977; Council of State Governments, 1974; Project Share, 1979; Polivka et. al., 1981; Hooyman, 1976; Parrucci, 1977.

3

For related discussion note Bloom, 1977; Jeger and Slotnick, 1982; Fawcett, et. al., 1982; Wandersman, et. al., 1982.

REFERENCES

Bloom, Bernard L. Community Mental Health. Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1977. pp. 1-5.

Community Mental Health Centers Amendments of 1975. Pub. L. No. 94-63, 92 Stat. 308, July 29, 1975, Sec. 201.

Community Mental Health Extension Act of 1978. Pub. L. No. 95-622, 92 Stat. 3412, Nov. 9, 1978, Sec. 201.

Council of State Governments. Human Services Integration: State Functions in Implementation. Lexington, Kentucky, Author, 1974.

Fawcett, Stephen B., R. Kay Fletcher, R. Mark Mathews, Paula L. Whang, Tom Seekins, Louise M. Nielsen. "Designing Behavioral Technologies with Community Self-Help Organizations." in Abraham M. Jeger and Robert S. Slotnick (eds.) Community Mental Health and Behavioral-Ecology. New York: Plenum Press, 1982. p. 296.

Garnett, James L. Reorganizing State Government: The Executive Branch. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981.

Gilbert, Neil and Harry Specht. Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974. Chapter 5.

Hooyman, Nancy R. "The Practice Implications in Interorganizational Theory for Services for Integration." Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare. 3:5 (May 1976). pp. 558-564.

Jeger, Abraham M. and Robert S. Slotnick. "Community Mental Health: Toward a Behavioral-Ecological Perspective." In Mental Health and Behavioral-Ecology. New York: Plenum Press, 1982. pp. 22-23, 66-67, 73-74.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olson. "Organizing Political Life: What Administrative Reorganization Tells Us About Government." American Political Science Review. 77 (June 1983) pp. 281-296.

Mental Health Systems Act. Pub. L. No. 96-398, 94 Stat. 1564, Oct. 7, 1980. Sec. 101.

Morrow, William L. Public Administration: Politics and the Political System. New York: Random House, Inc., 1975. pp. 29-3

Parrucci, Dennis J. "Planned Change in the Mon Valley: Implementing Services Integration at the Programmatic Level." Evaluation. Vol. 4, 1977. pp. 99-103.

Polivka, Larry, Allen W. Imershein, John W. White, and Lawrence E. Stivers. "Human Service Reorganization and Its Effects: A Preliminary Assessment of Florida's Services Integration Experiment". Public Administration Review. 41:3 (May-June 1981). pp. 359-365.

Project Share. "Dimensions of Services Integration." Human Services. Monograph Series No. 13, April 1979.

Redburn, F. Stevens. "On Human Services Integration." Public Administration Review. Vol. 37 (May-June 1977). pp. 264-268.

Reilinger, Elizabeth G. and Charles C. McClintock. "New Directions for Human Service Planning." Southern Review of Public Administration. 4:4, March 1981. pp. 407-424.

Salamon, Lester M. "The Question of Goals." Federal Reorganization: What Have We Learned? pp. 58-84. Peter Szanton, Ed. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1981.

- Szanton, Peter. "So You Want to Reorganize the Government?" Federal Reorganization: What Have We Learned? pp. 1-24. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1981.
- Tucker, David J. "Coordination and Citizen Participation." Social Service Review. 54:1, 1980. pp. 13-30.
- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Aging. Future Directions for Aging Policy: A Human Service Model. Report. 96th Congress., 2nd Session, May 1980. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Special Committee on Aging. State Office on Aging: History and Statutory Authority. Information Paper. 96th Congress., 2nd Session., December 1980. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980.
- Wandersman, Abraham, Dawne Kimbrell, John C. Wadsworth, Myers DeRossett, Jr., George Livingston, Harold, Braitwaite. "Assessing Citizen Participation in a Community Mental Health Center." In Abraham M. Jeger and Robert S. Slotnick(eds.) Community Mental Health and Behavioral-Ecology. New York: Plenum Press, 1982. pp. 373-387.
- Yin, Robert K. "Decentralization of Government Agencies." American Behavioral Scientist. 22:5, 1979. pp. 525-536.

TABLE 1

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF STATE AGING UNITS

RE	NO. OF STATES
<hr/>	
-Level Department	13
cated Within a Larger Agency	26
e Commission	8
e Office	3

Okla. House of Representatives Report, Oct 25, 1983

TABLE 2

STRUCTURAL CHANGES RESULTING FROM REORGANIZATIONS*

NEW STRUCTURE				
	CABINET- LEVEL	UNIT LOCATED WITHIN A LARGER AGENCY	SEPARATE COMMISSION	SEPARATE OFFICE
LEVEL				
ATED	8			1
ENCY				
ON	1	2		
		3	1	
ERN- OUNCIL			1	
		2		
NT		1		
		1		

*Each cell contains the number of states per change

TABLE 3
STRONGEST ADVOCATE FOR REORGANIZATION

	PERCENT	NUMBER
Legislature	9	2
Business	48	11
Groups	26	6
Individuals	9	2
None	9	2

TABLE 4

EFFECTS OF REORGANIZATION ON STATE UNITS ON AGING

	PERCENT INCREASED	PERCENT DECREASED	PERCENT NO CHANGE
STATE			
FUNDS	91	4	4
SOURCES	(n=21)	(n=1)	(n=1)
GOVERNOR	91	0	9
	(n=21)	(n=0)	(n=2)
STATE	87	4	9
PRE	(n=20)	(n=1)	(n=2)
TY	96	4	0
	(n=22)	(n=1)	(n=0)
	96	4	0
	(n=22)	(n=1)	(n=0)
TO DEVELOP			
MINUTE	91	4	4
DELIVERY	(n=21)	(n=1)	(n=1)

THE YORKVILLE EMERGENCY ALLIANCE:
ONE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO THE
FEDERAL BUDGET REDUCTIONS

Michael J. Smith, D.S.W.
Hunter College School of Social Work

ABSTRACT

A case study of one community's response to the Reagan budget cutbacks reveals the strengths and weaknesses of local voluntary initiatives for funding social services and replacing federal funds. The development and growth of the Yorkville Emergency Alliance is described as a private initiative of citizens living in a wealthy area of New York City. In about one and a half years, this group of residents raised over a quarter of a million dollars to attempt to replace federal funding reductions for the social services.

If one had to characterize the last five years in the history of Social Welfare in this country in only three words, they would be "federal budget reductions." For example, in 1982, the federal budget for the next year called for a 46 percent reduction in training and employment programs, a 19 percent reduction in food stamps, 18 percent reductions in AFDC and social services block grants, a 10 percent reduction in Medicaid, and a nine percent reduction in child nutrition programs.¹ Reductions in basic entitlement programs plus the continued effects of the recession on the poor, made the need for food, shelter, and emergency financial assistance very visible social

problems. Both the extreme changes in the federal budget and the need to focus on the immediate needs of the poor were instigators to a new spirit of community action which was identified as developing in this country in the early 1980's.

....new coalitions and campaigns have been forming around economic issues on the national, state, and local levelsand new organizations are springing up at the community level.²

Such social action took place in a community known as Yorkville in New York City. A group of residents from this wealthy community took collective social action as a response to federal budget cutbacks beginning in October, 1981. They formed a new organization known as the Yorkville Emergency Alliance. In only one year's time, by October, 1982, this community group had raised two hundred thousand dollars, initiated new food programs that served over 800 free meals per week to the poor, and promoted a new awareness of the problems of the poor in over 30 churches and synagogues. Members of the Alliance organized a Board of Directors and an Executive Board of over 32 influential community members. They formed seven working Committees and distributed funds to local social agencies to try and ease the effects of federal cutbacks locally.

The leaders of the movement defined Yorkville as Community District 8 which extends from East 59th street to East 96th Street and from Central Park to the East River. While Yorkville is one of the most affluent areas in New York, there were approximately four thousand people living on AFDC or SSI around the time of the budget reductions. However, this was only about two

percent of the over 200,000 families living in this community. It is an area of marked contrasts. For example, in one Census Tract from 77th to 84th Street between Fifth and Park Avenues, the median family income based on the 1980 Census was \$70,243, while only two blocks away there were over 250 people receiving AFDC, SSI or Medicaid.³ There were over ten food programs serving the poor in this neighborhood in 1981. One board member of the Alliance talked about the poor who lived or came to this neighborhood:

Some people might look at what we want to do and say 'Why does that neighborhood need help?' Well we've got people looking for food in dumpsters from the Park to the River and the elderly need help. There is the notion that charity begins at home. Right here.

Part of the plan of the federal budget reductions was that local voluntary fund-raising efforts would replace federal dollars to ease the effects on the Poor. To determine the strengths and weaknesses of new local initiatives such as the Alliance, an observational study was initiated. The major purpose of the research was to track the efforts of the Alliance to determine the feasibility of such voluntary initiatives. The planners of the Alliance hired the researcher to conduct this case study as they themselves were interested in its short-term and long-term impact.

There were a number of general research questions which were investigated. How did the Alliance develop? Which tactics and policies lead to its growth and development? How might clergy from local churches and synagogues, local residents, and human

service professionals develop a network of concerned citizens, engage in social action and develop an ad hoc organizational framework? What implications do such local initiatives have for periods when substantial funding reductions are being implemented? What implications do local efforts have for the future of voluntary funding of social services more generally?

During the first year and a half of the Alliance's growth, the researcher directly observed almost every major meeting and reviewed the Alliance's written documents and letters to determine the major tactics and strategies being used, and talked formally and informally to key members of Alliance. As the study developed, it became obvious that there was a need to document how informal relationships among leaders of the Alliance were being utilized to achieve its goals. A descriptive history of the Alliance's growth will now be presented to answer the major research questions.

The First Stage: The Alliance is Initiated

The idea which became the Yorkville Emergency Alliance was initiated in an almost casual manner on September 30, 1981. It began with a conversation between the Pastor of a well-known Church in Yorkville and the Executive Director of one of the largest social agencies in the area. Both were concerned about the effects of the federal budget reductions on the poor and the elderly in their neighborhood. Their conversation took place during a break in a meeting they were both attending. They decided to "get some people together to do something."

Within the next two months, prominent

clergy in the area, key community leaders, and social agency executives were solicited for their support to "do something" about the loss of funds. The scope and intent of what they would do was outlined by the central clergyperson who had the original idea and became the major leader of the group.

We wanted to form an interfaith, interchurch informal coalition or alliance. We wanted it to be apolitical. We wanted to raise funds and distribute them to ongoing programs in Yorkville to make up for the federal cutbacks as they were felt. We wanted it to be inter-agency. We wanted to disperse funds through existing agencies rather than run the programs ourselves. We did not want to create another bureaucracy.

Most important, we wanted to keep it simple. One, there was a problem. Two, something had to be done. Three, someone had to do it. Four, we chose to be that someone.

During this first month, the initial group had at least two meetings a week to discuss what they would do. The group received a small grant from the clergyperson's church to hire a staff person. October 26 was the first formal meeting of the group that decided to call itself the Yorkville Emergency Alliance. Within one month after the initial idea was discussed, twenty prominent people in the community had been involved in the Alliance's work. There were three clergypersons, eight members of the central Pastor's Church, six social agency executives, and three members of the local Civic Council. In the words of the Pastor:

We started with the people we knew. We started small. We went in two directions -- we met with and organized social agency heads in Yorkville and the clergy.

A formal statement of the functions of the Alliance was written during this time. Those involved hoped to prevent or ease the budget cutbacks through:

1. Providing a network of communication and cooperation between human service agencies, churches and other community groups. Linking the needs of the agencies and the clients they serve with the resources of the churches and other community organizations.
2. Mobilizing human volunteer and financial resources to alleviate pain, provide hope and show that someone cared.
3. To work closely with other coordinating agencies and Community Boards.
4. To set up a fund from private and corporate contributions which would be used by the agencies to help individuals and groups in need.

The Second Stage: The Number of Churches is Expanded and Functions are Allocated

Regular meetings of the Alliance continued at 8:30 A.M. every Monday morning in the meeting room of the central church. An operating philosophy developed during this second stage:

1. Make a conscious effort to keep the Alliance simple.
2. Do not overanalyze the situation.
3. Make a push for funds.
4. Have funds flowing in and out quickly.
5. Do not become a bureaucracy or spend a lot of funds on administration or staff.

A major effort was made to expand the number of churches and synagogues involved during this time. On November 11, a letter was mailed to all clergy in the area to obtain the support of additional clergy. On November 17, a small meeting of clergy was organized and the original group of three was expanded to thirteen. The critical role of clergy was explained in the literature sent to the churches.

The Clergy of our Churches and Temples are key to our effort. We, more than any other group, are in touch with the largest number of people on a regular basis. We need to share information and ideas -- convene as a group -- and determine how best we can work to alleviate some of the pain and be a beacon of hope in our community.

The leadership role of clergy was critical in a number of respects. The clergy provided sanction and power to the Alliance. Clergy had access to influential people with knowledge and expertise. For example, as various functions were spelled out experts such as a lawyer, public relations and fund-

raising consultants were asked to assist the Alliance. Clergy had access to community leaders to serve on a Board of Directors. The clergy was also critical in stimulating community awareness about the budget cutbacks. Panel discussions were held in the community to stimulate awareness about the effects of the reductions. The Alliance found that the community was not knowledgeable about social service and entitlement programs in general. These programs had to be explained before the average citizen could comprehend what the effects of the cutbacks might be.

Internal Functions of the Alliance

The key internal functions identified by members of the Alliance were legal advice, fund-raising, grant allocation, and the documentation of need. Substantial legal advice was needed before the Alliance could raise funds to accomplish its mission. The Alliance's lawyer indicated that the group would have to secure tax-exempt status by incorporating as a non-profit organization in New York State. This was an unanticipated problem if new, local initiatives were to replace federal funds with private sources. The Alliance tried to speed up this process by obtaining assistance from the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives.

I called Mr. H. several times at the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. My call was returned by Mr. J., an assistant to Mr. H.

In response to my question as to what the Task Force provided to groups such as ours, he said that the sole function of the Task Force was to

collect information about what private groups are doing in local communities. He stated that he had no general mandate to facilitate, for example, the obtaining of a federal tax exemption for a charitable organization.....The Task Force may decide to give awards or to identify certain initiatives to private action or impediments toward such action.

It took one whole year for the Alliance to gain tax exempt status. For that whole year, funds had to be channeled through another organization. This was only one legal matter that required special expertise. The Alliance also had to register with the Secretary of the State of New York as a corporation intending to solicit funds; obtain a consent from every person whose name was used by the Alliance in soliciting funds; disclose in all reports that no annual report was on file in New York State; purchase liability insurance for the Directors and Officers of the Alliance; and, seek consultation from a C.P.A. to insure the Alliance conformed to accepted accounting standards. All of these activities had to be accomplished if a local initiative was to be successful.

Fund-raising was a central activity of the Alliance. The goal set for the first year was \$1.5 million. Private solicitations of wealthy individuals by those involved in the Alliance was the most successful method of fund-raising. Board members of the Alliance were asked if they believed in the Alliance to "sell it, call on your peers and use your credit."

We aim to help our community and the people in it survive. We will give 100%

of the money raised back to the community.

By the end of 1982, \$205,000 had been raised by the Alliance through personal contacts by members of the Alliance. About half of that amount came from grants from Churches and Foundations and half came from gifts from individuals. By the Summer of 1983, in just over a year and a half, almost one quarter of a million dollars had been raised.

To assist with the fund-raising effort, the leaders of the Alliance set up a Needs Committee of social agency executives and community residents to document how the federal cutbacks were affecting the area. A key finding of those working on the Needs Committee was that documentation of the loss of federal funds was a very difficult thing to do. For one thing, public and voluntary agency budgets in New York City did not suffer drastic reductions in the period from 1980 to 1983.⁴ Upto June, 1982, the effects of the President's Block Grant Program were not felt in the Yorkville agencies. This presented an interesting dilemma to the Alliance. Media interest, publicity, and local concern about the federal cutbacks were highest at the time when local effects were not evident.

The local effects were mainly in two areas - in entitlements programs such as the Food Stamp Program and in employment and training programs. The agencies did not have comprehensive information about the effects of Food Stamp reductions. They had information on a case-by-case basis for clients they served. Yorkville did have one youth employment agency which did suffer a \$125,000 cut in October, 1981.

During this time, the community's awareness of an increase of poor people on the streets of a generally wealthy community such as Yorkville meant that homelessness, poverty, and hunger were more productive themes for fund-raising. To fight hunger in the area, the Needs Committee helped develop a plan for a Soup Kitchen to be developed in Yorkville.

One individual made a \$10,000 gift to the Alliance toward the Soup Kitchen, if the group matched it with another \$10,000. The \$20,000 grant was given to a Food Program in Yorkville that sponsored the Soup Kitchen. In the first few months, from 50 to 100 people were expected at the food program. However, within the first two weeks over 200 meals per day were being served. Members of the Alliance were especially pleased about their role in the Soup Kitchen. "Our efforts have come alive with the development and success of the Soup Kitchen." Hunger was documented with the success of the Soup Kitchen. Leaders of the Alliance recognized hunger as a fundamental, less controversial and clearcut need.

The Alliance set up a special Grants Committee to allocate funds to local agency programs. Even though local agencies did not experience major cutbacks in funds early on, many of the grants given by the Alliance still did not fully make up for the professional positions that were defunded. For example, in August, 1982, \$46,900 were given out to agencies in \$5,000 allotments. In one agency, \$5,000 was used to hire a part-time case-aide position previously held by a full-time CETA worker. In the Youth Employment Agency, a \$5,000 grant was used to fund a small part of a program formerly

funded by the Department of Education for \$122,563. In November, 1982, \$5,000 was given to one agency to replace the funding of a staff person in a drug program that was cutback by over \$40,000.

Although the Alliance wished to remain non-bureaucratic, leaders still needed to develop criteria for allocating funds to agencies. Two criteria were used to allocate funds; grants would only be made to established agencies and only if the agency could show it was requesting money to replace a federal cutback. However, during the grants process, the criteria changed somewhat. For example, what do you do if an agency did not lose federal funds but gives some financial help to those who have lost Food Stamps? By May, 1983, priority was given first to proposals that related to food, shelter, and emergency assistance. Second were grants given to replace federal cutbacks, and third, funding was also given to new and worthy programs that did not have funding reductions.

Leaders of the Alliance did show spontaneity and flexibility in their grants allocation process. For example, a grant was made to the Soup Kitchen at a time when grants were only being given to existing agency programs. Also, as a result of the Board's concern for the immediate needs of people being served by the agencies, \$12,000 was given out to eight local agencies to replenish their emergency funds outside of the grants allocation process.

Public Events

Leaders of the Alliance used public events to rally community concern about the budget cutbacks and the needs of the poor.

The most successful public event was the Clergy Exchange Weekend held on October 16-17, 1982. Clergy and other members of the Alliance spoke at one another's churches and synagogues about the work of the Alliance. Thirty-one churches and synagogues participated. This event gained tremendous visibility for the Alliance in only two days. A request was made for funds and volunteers to assist in the Alliance's work.

In the Clergy Exchange Weekend, the power and visibility of the clergy was used to its fullest. The Alliance's message clearly overlapped with a religious message. For instance, in the text of one sermon:

.....(We) are involved in an interfaith, grassroots movement of caring called the Yorkville Emergency Alliance..... Its only reason for being is to be a catalyst, a network of communication and cooperation among existing human service agencies -- a mobilizer of people and money -- an alliance of religious and other institutions and individuals who wish to respond to human need in these difficult times.....

.....Isiah reminds us 'Share your food and open your houses to the homeless poor. Give clothes to those have nothing to wear and do not refuse to help your own relatives'these poor and near poor and working poor are our relatives! They live among us -- even though we may not see them.

The primary purpose of the Weekend was to gain public visibility and attract members. Cash donations were requested in only some of the churches and much less funding was received through this event than

through specific solicitations to individuals and foundations.

Implications of the Yorkville Experience as a Private Initiative

The Yorkville Emergency Alliance is definitely one of the most heartening examples of a local private initiative to develop as a result of the funding cutbacks. The Alliance was able to raise over \$200,000 in about one year, and distributed funds to food programs and agencies in Yorkville.

There were definite stages to the Alliance's growth. Initially, a few key clergy and social agency executives were involved. They developed slogans for the new association, an operating philosophy, and an agenda for what needed to be done. Informal contacts among these community leaders was all that was needed. Then, in a second stage, the power and sanction of the clergy was utilized to widen the scope of membership toward other churches and to enlist the support and participation of people who had expertise in legal matters, fund-raising, and public relations. As the Alliance developed and raised money, expertise was needed to carry out internal and external functions.

What lead to the Alliance's growth? The charismatic leadership of the Pastor of one well-known Church was critical. This person had contacts with leaders of the religious community and other community leaders. He also had personal connections with wealthy individuals who could be approached for funds and participation. His style of leadership and simple presentation of the issues ("We are that someone") was extremely useful in presenting the crisis to others. The clergy in general was critical in providing power,

expertise and legitimation to the Alliance.

Closer examination of the Alliance, however, reveals the blatant shortcomings of reliance on local, private initiatives to replace federal funds. The most serious shortcoming of the Alliance is its lack of generalizability. The Alliance's fund-raising could only have been successful in a wealthy community. Organizations such as the Alliance have not developed as a general way of curtailing the effects of cutbacks in lower income areas of New York City or throughout the country. The Alliance could not make financial commitments to agencies outside of their area, and often the funds given out to local agencies did not make up for budget cutbacks even in the early days of federal reductions. Support for the development of the Alliance was not forthcoming from the federal government at a time when additional expertise and assistance could have aided the organization's growth.

Serious question must also be raised about the long-range impact of an organization which depends primarily on voluntary, charismatic leadership. For example, much of the Alliance's growth was restricted when the central clergyman moved away from the New York City area. The Alliance's fund-raising was never as successful as it was in the first year when publicity about the cutbacks was at its highest, and members were especially enthusiastic about the new movement. At times, leaders were considering the possibility that they were developing a new mechanism for social service funding, but the reality never approached that ideal.

Was the Alliance successful in replacing federal funds with private money? This

controversial, political question was perhaps best answered by the President of the Alliance.

Are we filling the gap and performing more efficiently than programs funded by the federal government? We are trying to be non-partisan and apolitical..... We've had some success, but you can't replace CETA workers or provide low-cost housing to the poor. Maybe we can feed some people one meal for two or four days a week, but this doesn't replace what the federal government should be doing.

FOOTNOTES

1. The New York Times, February 14, 1982, p.13.

2. The New York Times, May 16, 1982, p.1.

3. Selected Poverty Indicators by Tract, 1980 Census, New York City Planning Department, pp. 29-30; Public Assistance and Income Support Data by Census Tract, October, 1981, Human Resources Administration.

4. Grossman, David A., "Recent Trends and Near Term Prospects for New York City's Nonprofit Sector," paper presented at Hunter College Conference on Survival Skills in the 80's, February 1, 1983.

WELFARE FAIR HEARINGS AND CLIENT ADVOCACY:
A ROLE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

Jan L. Hagen, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
School of Social Welfare
Nelson A. Rockefeller College of
Public Affairs and Policy
State University of New York at Albany

ABSTRACT

As a legally mandated grievance mechanism, welfare fair hearings provide a formal recourse for applicants and recipients of welfare dissatisfied with agency decisions. Fair hearings may be viewed as an example of one agency's attempt to foster fairness and to control administrative discretion. However, as a mechanism for redressing grievances, welfare fair hearings have a number of severe limitations. Social workers practicing with potential and actual recipients of public welfare are in a position to reduce these limitations through client advocacy.

Advocacy, a concept social work borrowed from the legal profession, includes advancing the client's cause through the presentation of facts and arguments. Securing benefits to which the client is legally entitled is often the goal of these advocacy efforts.¹ One arena for case advocacy frequently overlooked by social workers is the administrative grievance machinery established by agencies charged with dispensing governmental benefits. These agencies have placed considerable reliance on the development of adjudicatory procedures to insure administrative justice. A variety of adjudicatory procedures have been developed by government

agencies including ombudsmen, civilian review boards, investigative tribunals, and fair hearings. Social work practitioners in family service agencies, public social services, and mental health agencies may encounter these diverse adjudicatory procedures as they and their clients draw on environmental resources and entitlements.

Considerable attention has been directed in the last several years to the appeals procedure for disability claims administered by the Social Security Administration in its programs of Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income. As a non-adversarial model of conflict resolution, this appeals process is an investigative one conducted by an administrative law judge.² Fair hearings represent another model of grievance mechanism. To disseminate information about adjudicatory procedures generally and welfare fair hearings specifically, this article discusses welfare fair hearings as one example of grievance mechanisms. Findings from an observational study on hearings which outline the hearing format and process are presented. Social work activities which may be undertaken to address limitations of the hearing as a mechanism for redressing client grievances within public welfare agencies are delineated.

WELFARE FAIR HEARINGS

As a legally mandated grievance mechanism, welfare fair hearings provide a formal recourse for applicants and recipients of welfare who are dissatisfied with agency decisions. A wide variety of issues may be raised on appeal. In general, issues may be of two types: questions about the level of benefit and questions about program exclusion. The level of benefit may be appealed if it has been reduced, if a benefit level is insufficient, or if a

request for supplemental aid has been denied. Appeals related to program exclusion involve termination from a program or denial of program eligibility.³ In bringing appeals on these questions, challenges to an agency decision may be based on 1) facts and the application of standards to those facts, 2) the meaning of a regulation, a statute, or constitutional provisions, or 3) a challenge to the wisdom of a particular policy.⁴

For example, a client may appeal the agency's decision to deny a particular medical or dental service which was requested. A more complex appeal would be to challenge a denial of AFDC benefits to a mother who has joint custody of the children. In this instance, a decision would be made about the provision of parental care in relation to the AFDC program requirement that a child be not only financially needy but also deprived of parental support or care to be eligible for the program. Because the federal regulations do not specifically address children who are in joint custody, states have had to develop their own policies and in some instances, the arena for policy development has been welfare fair hearings.⁵ Thus, not only may individuals benefit by gaining or recovering benefits, but also agency policy may be established through the fair hearing mechanism or a subsequent court appeal. For individual clients, the gain may be substantial and while estimates on the likelihood of winning an appeal vary, a recent Massachusetts study found that more than half of the appeals were decided in the client's favor.⁶

As the examples illustrate, decisions about program benefits often involve professional opinions or judgements based on the available facts. The regulations and procedures allow for some discretion in their application to specific situations.

Thus, fair hearings may be viewed as an example of one agency's attempt to foster fairness and to control administrative discretion. Unlike some other grievance mechanisms, welfare fair hearings are trial-type hearings and are based on the adversarial model of conflict resolution. This model assumes that a fair and truthful decision will be reached when the two opposing parties openly present their views before an impartial, passive decision maker. Through this contest, it is assumed that the truth will emerge and the values of accuracy and fairness will be served.

For public welfare claims, however, concerns are raised about the client's ability to function effectively as an equal adversary in the contest and about the passivity of the decision maker. In addition to understanding a complex system and its regulations, clients must be willing to risk confronting those directly involved in determining their benefits.⁷ Although the adversary model assumes an impartial, passive decision-maker, the decision-maker in welfare adjudications is charged with correctly implementing the program and must seek needed information if it is not presented.⁸ In fulfilling this role, the decision-maker becomes an investigator and compromises the adversary model.⁹

Furthermore, welfare fair hearings are not required for every agency action which is adverse to the client. The client must specifically request a fair hearing by either notifying his or her eligibility worker or the state welfare department. A rather consistent research finding has been that clients are either not informed about their right to appeal or have forgotten.¹⁰ Obviously, lack of awareness about their rights to fair hearings is a serious impairment to the clients' effective use of the adversary process. Additionally, it has been established that the rate of the appeal

is very low. The Massachusetts study noted earlier estimated an appeal rate of one percent in the AFDC program.¹¹ This also works against assuring accuracy and fairness within the welfare system¹² and has led several studies to conclude that welfare hearings have severe limitations as a mechanism for redressing grievance.¹³

PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS

Although fair hearings were required for all public assistance titles in the Social Security Act of 1935, it was not until the 1970 U.S. Supreme Court decision in Goldberg v. Kelly¹⁴ that the procedural due process safeguards for welfare hearings were clearly delineated. The Court held that welfare recipients had a right to an evidentiary hearing prior to the termination of welfare benefits. To insure due process, the Court required certain procedural safeguards: timely and adequate notice which specifies the reasons for a proposed agency action; an opportunity to confront and cross-examine adverse witnesses; an opportunity to present evidence and argument orally; the right to retain counsel; and an impartial decision maker whose conclusions must rest on legal rules and the evidence presented at the hearing.¹⁵ An opportunity for fair hearings must be provided by the states for federally funded public assistance programs and the hearings must comply with the due process procedures delineated in Goldberg and further specified in the federal regulations.

A previously reported study¹⁶ on the clients' use of due process procedures found that petitioners were represented by counsel, predominately legal aid attorneys, in 41 percent of the hearings. In 39 percent of the hearings, petitioners represented themselves. Petitioners with as well as without attorney representation used the procedural safeguards for the

presentation of evidence, including witnesses. However, petitioners without attorney representation were not as likely to cross-examine adverse witnesses or to present a closing argument advancing their cases. These findings support the contention that petitioners without legal representation were either unable or unwilling to use the available procedural safeguards of cross-examination and argument which are perhaps the most adversarial components of the hearing process. The availability of a legal representative thus enhanced the petitioner's use of the procedural safeguards. The study concluded that welfare fair hearings do appear to serve adequately petitioners with legal representation, either an attorney or a paralegal.

HEARING FORMAT AND PROCESS

In addition to the difficulties in the area of procedural safeguards, there are limitations imposed on welfare fair hearings by the format and process of the hearing itself. To provide a context for this discussion, a description of the format and process for the hearings is presented. Based on observations of sixty-six welfare fair hearings, the data for this study were collected using a pretested, structured instrument as well as supplemental field notes. The observed hearings were state level welfare hearings held in spring, 1981, in Hennepin County (Minneapolis), Minnesota. All Minnesota state level hearings follow the same procedure regardless of the welfare program upon which the appeal is based. As state level hearings, the procedures followed were those outlined in the federal regulations.¹⁷ The observed hearings were conducted by two separate referees, both professional social workers with extensive experience in the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare. Although limited by the size and urban

location of the sample, the findings further the information available about the fair hearing process.¹⁸

Clients were informed of their right to appeal an agency decision on the back of the notice sent by the agency which informed the client of the proposed agency action. This notice of the right to appeal clearly stated the client's right to an "appeal hearing" and that the client, legal counsel, friend, or other spokesman "will be permitted to present any facts or information relating to the proposed action." Procedures for initiating the appeal were outlined. The notice also highlighted potential consequences to the client: "If you lose this appeal, Federal Law permits the County Welfare Department to recover any overpayment made which occurs with this continuation of the grant." If they initiated an appeal, they received, prior to the hearing, written information about the hearing process from the state agency. This information described the hearing as a "fact-finding, adversary proceeding in which the petitioner and representatives of the state and county agencies attempt to determine what the petitioner's situation is and what mandatory policies and laws are applicable...". The procedures followed by the referees in conducting the hearings were described as well.

Prior to the hearing, petitioners also received a notice of an appeal. In addition to giving details about the time and place of the hearing, the notice of appeal instructed petitioners to be prepared to present evidence bearing on their cases. Additionally, a summary of the facts and the rationale used by the agency in arriving at its decision were enclosed. The applicable public assistance manual procedures, regulations, or statutes may be cited by the agency as justification for its decision. These may become complex as illustrated by

the federal regulation regarding deprivation of parental support or care due to continued absence of the parent from the home. Continued absence exists when:

the parent is out of the home, the nature of the absence is such as either to interrupt or to terminate the parent's functioning as a provider of maintenance, physical care, or guidance for the child, and the known or indefinite duration of the absence precludes counting on the parent's performance of the function of planning for the present support or care of the child. If these conditions exist, the parents may be absent for any reason, and may have left only recently or some time previously...¹⁹

Although the styles of referees varied, the general format for the hearings was similar. The referee, after noting who was in attendance and in what capacity, started the tape recording which provided the official transcript of the hearing should one be needed in subsequent court actions. Testimony, taken under oath, was presented first by the agency and included a summary of issues and basis for the agency's action. Upon completion of agency testimony, the petitioner or his/her representative was offered the opportunity to cross-examine the agency representatives. Unlike most counties in Minneapolis, the Hennepin County public welfare agency was usually represented at the hearings by the county advocate, a professional social worker whose primary function was to represent the county agency and defend its action in welfare appeals. Of the 66 appeals observed, 41 (62 percent) were in relation to county agency decisions in programs such as AFDC and general assistance. For appeals involving county decisions, the most frequent witnesses were the financial worker and the financial

supervisor involved in making the decision. They were present at 36 (88 percent) of the hearings involving county decisions. Of the remaining five cases, social service workers were present as county witnesses in three cases and in two cases, no witnesses were available due to administrative error. The remaining appeals involved state agency decisions in programs such as Medical Assistance and state agency personnel were present to represent the state agency and to defend its action. This individual from the state agency was, with one exception, the only witness as well.

Following the cross-examination of the agency representatives, the petitioner was given the opportunity to present or have presented his/her case and any supporting evidence including presentations by witnesses and written documents. In addition to legal representation (41 percent) and self-representation (39 percent) at the hearing, petitioners were represented by paralegals (14 percent), friends or family members (3 percent), and a social worker (1 percent). As might be anticipated, representatives for petitioners were more often rated as highly effective (48 percent, n=19) than petitioners acting on their own behalf (23 percent, n=6). In 14 (21 percent) of the hearings, petitioners had witnesses present oral evidence. A friend or family member served as a witness in 12 percent (n=8) of the hearings; medical personnel in 5 percent (n=3); social workers in 3 percent (n=2); and others such as teachers and psychologists in 8 percent (n=5) of the hearings. Petitioners and/or their witnesses were then cross-examined by the agency representative. Finally, closing arguments were presented; first, by the agency representative and then by the petitioner or his/her representative. The referee then closed the hearing and, at a later date, prepared a written report of the hearing and his recommendations.

Although there were a number of expectations to this format, one of the most noteworthy was the asking of questions by the referee of the parties to the hearings. This questioning was usually done just before the closing arguments and involved further clarification and elaboration of the points raised at the hearing. At times, questioning also occurred throughout the hearing. This questioning by the referees occurred more frequently when the petitioner did not have a legal representative and had given a very brief statement about his or her case. It is also interesting to note that, at times, the petitioner's case was also clarified through cross-examination of the self-represented petitioner by the agency representative.

HEARING LIMITATIONS

These observations of the hearing process point out several further limitations of welfare fair hearings. The first concerns the documents which petitioners receive prior to the hearing. The document explaining the hearing format is a relatively detailed, somewhat technical explanation of the process. For some petitioners, this document might be difficult to understand and, therefore, intimidating. The accompanying document that describes the action taken against the petitioner and the basis for that action is often highly technical and includes citations from the public assistance manuals and state or federal regulations. Such a document might appear to make an appeal futile and result in a petitioner's not following through on an appeal. Although there may be a variety of explanations, in this study about one-third of the petitioners did not attend their hearings.

A second limitation in the hearing process concerns petitioners who are self-represented. The relevance and

effectiveness of presentations for the petitioners were highly variable but were clearly separated on the basis of legal representation and self-representation. Self-represented petitioners tended to be less effective and less relevant in their presentations. Although petitioners generally were able to present factual information, they were disorganized in those presentations. These petitioners often appeared somewhat confused by the format of the hearing and, in general, were unable to use the available procedural safeguards or to clearly advance their cases without some help. Frequently help was forthcoming through direct questioning by the referees or cross examination by the agency representative and, thus, the petitioner's case was elaborated and clarified. In such instances, however, the adversarial model is compromised. The agency representative no longer function as an adversary to the petitioner and the decision maker is no longer passive. Additionally, although this informal procedure may facilitate the accuracy and fairness of a hearing outcome, it rests entirely on the astuteness and goodwill of the referee and the agency representative. This procedure, although admirable, is insufficient to properly insure a fair hearing for self-represented petitioners.

Petitioners who represented themselves also were unable to engage in a truly adversarial contest. Petitioners infrequently used the available procedural safeguards of cross-examination and the presentation of arguments. Additionally, they were unable to challenge agency decisions on the basis of the rules and regulations. The ability to address the rationale for the agency's adverse action demands some understanding of and familiarity with welfare law and regulations. For this function in the decision-making process, self-represented

petitioners were dependent upon the hearing referee.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

In all observed hearings, the required procedural safeguards built into the hearing process by the Goldberg decision and the federal regulations did appear to be implemented adequately by the agencies involved in the study. In fact, the Minnesota state level hearings may be particularly noteworthy for the careful attention given to providing petitioners with an opportunity to challenge agency decisions in a forum that is unhurried and respectful of the petitioner. Nonetheless, the observations of the hearings point out several limitations of this method for redressing client grievances. Social workers practicing with potential and actual recipients of public welfare are in a position to reduce some of these limitations.

One concern about welfare appeals which is raised repeatedly is the low rate of appeal. This is particularly noteworthy given an estimated high rate of error in public welfare. Social workers are often in a position to help a client faced with an adverse agency action to decide whether to appeal that decision. Having some support in reaching this decision as well as in initiating the process for the appeal may help reduce the barriers involved in confronting the agency and its representatives who provide the benefits. Once a request for an appeal has been made, the worker can assist the client in locating legal services. Establishing linkages with legal aid services as a resource for clients would be particularly beneficial. Based on hearing observations, legal aid personnel, both the attorneys and the paralegals, are very familiar with the welfare hearing format, welfare law, and applicable federal regulations.

If legal assistance is unwanted or unavailable, social workers are also in a position to help clients prepare to represent themselves. This could be done by preparing clients for the adversarial format of the hearing. Just knowing what is to occur when may help clients to more effectively present evidence and arguments advancing their cases. In addition, clients can be assisted in thinking through and organizing what it is they wish to present at the hearing. Techniques such as behavioral rehearsal or role playing would be particularly helpful in preparing clients for hearings. An additional task in helping clients prepare for the hearing is to obtain, or help clients obtain, needed documentation including information from the agency files and from the agency's manuals specifying eligibility criteria and policies. Support at this point, before the hearing itself, may help reduce the number of clients who fail to follow through on their appeals.

A little braver stance for the social worker would be to actually represent the client during the hearing, if the client wants this. Although few social workers were involved in the hearings observed, those who did accompany clients to the hearing most often came to support the client before and after, rather than during, the hearing. The social workers appeared extremely hesitant to become involved in the hearing itself -- they were not even willing to present supplemental information as witnesses for the client. Although welfare regulations are complex, and at times mystifying, a clear presentation of the client's case and thoughtful questioning of the agency's rationale for action would facilitate the likelihood of fair and just hearing outcomes. As exemplified by the referees and the county advocate, one need not be an attorney to function effectively within the format of welfare fair hearings.

Although no longer responsible for determining financial assistance, social workers in public welfare regulate the dispensing of material services such as day care, chore services, and homemaker services. The procedural safeguards listed in Goldberg v. Kelly apply to these services as well. The social worker is responsible for being informed about the clients' rights and for following carefully the required procedures including giving adequate notice for any termination and informing the client of the right to appeal any agency decision. It can be anticipated that the worker's professional judgment as to who is eligible for such services as day-care for children with special needs will probably come under increasing scrutiny as social services are brought into compliance with the federal regulations. The general impression obtained during the study was that social workers, unlike the eligibility workers, either were not well informed or chose to ignore the client's legal rights in providing some of the personal social services.

Social workers frequently function in an in-service training capacity in public welfare organizations. By designing and implementing in-service training programs related to the fair hearing mechanism for social workers as well as for financial workers, in-service training coordinators could greatly increase the workers' knowledge about the appeals process and its procedures. In addition to general information about client's rights, specific attention could be given to functioning as the client's advocate, providing appropriate referrals for legal assistance, and preparing clients to function effectively as their own advocates in the adversarial proceedings. Although the type of techniques and knowledge might vary, this type of in-service training appears

appropriate for both social workers and financial workers.

In the educational domain, content on grievance mechanisms might be included in courses on law and social work as well as social policy. The field practicum is an additional arena in which students can be taught about the implications of social policy and the methods for facilitating their clients' use of available grievance machinery. A recent example of integrating students' experiences in the field with the dimensions of social policy was Project Fair Play. This project, conducted under the auspices of Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, attempted to familiarize students and agency personnel with welfare fair hearings and to train students to function as advocates on behalf of their clients.²⁰

CONCLUSION

Welfare fair hearings appear to function adequately for petitioners with legal representation, particularly if that representation is from legal aid services. For self-represented petitioners, however, the hearings have a number of severe limitations such as the client's willingness or ability to function as an adversary and the compromising of the decision-maker's passivity in his attempts to gather information at the hearings. Through brokerage, education, and advocacy, social workers serving actual and potential recipients of public welfare are in a position to reduce the impact of these limitations upon the hearing process and thus facilitate the rendering of a fair and accurate hearing decision. Although other mechanisms for considering client grievances may vary in terms of the specific procedures and formats, social workers need to consider these forms of recourse as an appropriate arena for advocacy efforts.

NOTES

1. Beulah R. Compton and Burt Galaway, Social Work Processes, Revised Edition (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1979): 342-3.

2. For a discussion of social security disability claims, see, for example, Shirley L. Zimmerman, "Families and Economic Policies: An Instrumental Perspective," Social Casework 66 (September 1985): 424-431.

3. Ronald P. Hammer and Joseph M. Hartely, "Procedural Due Process and the Welfare Recipient: A Statistical Study of AFDC Fair Hearings in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Law Review (1978): 188-9.

4. Laura Cooper, "Goldberg's Forgotten Footnote: Is There a Due Process Right to a Hearing Prior to the Termination of Welfare Benefits When the Only Issue Raised is a Question of Law?" Minnesota Law Review (July 1980): 1178-9.

5. George Hoshino and Jan L. Hagen, "AFDC Eligibility and Joint Custody: A Study of the States' Policies and Procedures," National Conference of Social Welfare, March 1984. But also see Michael Lipsky, "Bureaucratic Disentitlement in Social Welfare Programs," Social Service Review 58 (March 1984): 3-27, at p. 15 who indicates that successful appeals have "no significant impact because fair hearings do not establish precedents for future decisions. Moreover, fair-hearing decisions in welfare are not published or publicized."

6. Lipsky, "Bureaucratic Disentitlement," p. 15.

7. Joel F. Handler, "Controlling Official Behavior in Welfare Administration," in Jacobs ten Brock, ed., The Law of the Poor

(San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 170-71; and Leonard S. Rubenstein, "Procedure Due Process and the Limits of the Adversary System," Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review 11 (Winter 1976): 69.

8. Jerry L. Mashaw, "The Management Side of Due Process: Some Theoretical and Litigation Notes on the Assurance of Accuracy, Fairness and Timeliness in the Adjudication of Social Welfare Claims," Cornell Law Review 59 (June 1974): p. 779.

9. Jeffrey L. Jowell, Law and Bureaucracy: Administrative Discretion and the Limits of Legal Action (Fort Washington, N.Y.: Dunellen Publishing Co., 1975): 60-1.

10. See Scott Briar, "Welfare From Below: Recipients' View of the Public Welfare System," in Jacob ten Brock, ed., The Law of the Poor (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 46-61; Joel F. Handler, "Justice for the Welfare Recipient: Fair Hearings on AFDC - The Wisconsin Experiment," Social Service Review 43 (March 1969): 12-34; and Jowell, Law and Bureaucracy.

11. Lipsky, "Bureaucratic Disentitlement," p. 15.

12. Mashaw, "Management Side," p. 785.

13. See, for example, Briar, "Welfare From Below"; Handler, "Justice for the Welfare Recipient"; Jowell, Law and Bureaucracy; Linda W. Ross, "The Fair Hearing as an Adjudicative Mechanism in Welfare Administration: An Analysis of Procedural Policy," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1976); and Beatrice I. Valcan, "Fair Hearings in the Public Assistance Programs of the New York City Department of

Welfare," (D.S.W. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1972).

14. 397 U.S. 254 (1970).

15. 397 U.S. at 267-71.

16. Jan L. Hagen, "Justice for the Welfare Recipient: Another Look at Welfare Fair Hearings," Social Service Review 57 (June 1983): 177-195.

17. 45 C.F.R. 205.10 (1980) delineated the federal regulations governing welfare fair hearings at the time this study was conducted. No substantive changes have been made in these regulations in the interim.

18. Further specification of the study methods may be found in Jan L. Hagen, "Justice for the Welfare Recipient," and Jan L. Hagen, "Due Process and Welfare Appeals," Social Work Research and Abstracts 19 (Fall 1983): 3-8.

19. 45 C.F.R. 233.90 (c) (1) (iii)(1982).

20. Further information may be obtained from Project Fair Play, Human Services Design Laboratory, School of Applied Social Sciences and School of Law, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

PRISON EDUCATION

Joseph Behar

Dowling College

ABSTRACT

College level education is provided by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice to inmates on site at the Riker's Island Correctional Facility in New York City. This undergraduate satellite program is examined in relation to the opportunities for de-institutionalization, re-socialization, and possible effects on "prisonization." The conditions and potential of "education behind bars" for rehabilitation, student development, and personal reorientation are discussed through an analysis of the emergence of an innovative instructional environment not directly controlled by the official nor subcultural systems of the institution. In this context, the educational uses of the "sociological imagination" become part of a critical social process.

"The world is a ghetto. Full of violence
in the streets
And death is a fear, that all men must
meet
But if life were a thing that money could
buy, the poor
people could not live and the damn rich
would not die. The World is a Ghetto!"

(Riker's Island student's Christmas card)

Prisons and Inmates:

It is questionable whether anyone can say what the function of our prison system really is. Keeping people behind bars removes them temporarily from the streets and is thought to be unpleasant and punishing. "Doing time" is more likely to be boring, depressing, and quietly infuriating. Our prisoners when released feel unjustly punished, abused by a corrupt system, and repay us for our efforts with a 70% recidivist rate. Prisons do not rehabilitate; do not deter; and punish inconsistently and unjustly. Most prisons are administered in violation of state regulations. Overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, staff corruption, drug and sexual abuse, physical violence, and exploitation of everyday facts of life.

For sociologists, the prison represents a formal organization. The prison is identified as organized by an official administrative formalization of rules and regimented activities. Similarly, an informal infrastructure of emergent norms and adaptations primarily developed by an inmate subculture has also been identified. Together these two social systems operate to maintain institutional order, a degree of inmate security, and facilitate everyday activities. This "total institution" approach recognizes the exercise of social limits and controls on a variety of work, recreation, domestic, and personal activities that make life within a prison manageable, predictable, and occasionally rewarding.

Typically, the separate functioning or subtle interaction of these two systems is marked by patterns of activity that involve the distribution of official and unofficial rewards and makes possible the "marketing" and purchasing of commodities and contraband in the token economy of the institution. Similarly, inmates within prison develop information exchange networks, various social

stratifications and subgroup formations, and establish methods for the rationalization of violence, penalty, and revenge.

While these systems do produce a certain stability and order, explosive conflict and crisis within the total institution of the prison are chronic. At best, conditions of prison life are merely tolerable; at worst, they are destructively repressive and violent. In any case, imprisonment is totally ineffective in any long range benefit in reducing crime, and the prison is a failure by any measure.

At Riker's Island, a "jail" facility maintained by the New York City Department of Corrections, formal and informal systems operate generally consistent with the sociologist's model. While this is primarily a short term and detention facility, inmate initiatives are particularly strong and officials controls are generally lax. The male population is primarily black and young with Hispanics forming a sizable minority. Whites are exceptional. The female population, also black and Hispanic, includes a higher percentage of whites. Most of the prisoners are serving a "bullet," one year or less, and are not viewed as dangerous, hardened criminals. Long term sentenced male prisoners awaiting transfer upstate are segregated from short-termers and detainees. While violence may erupt in response to inter-personal conflicts, sustained rioting and collectively organized violence are infrequent. As one inmate stated, "In reality, Riker's Island is just a very boring jail with the majority of people serving time for petty offenses."

Sociologically, the boring routines of prison life make up the processes of institutionalization and indicate the integration of the prisoner into the formal and informal social control systems. Consistent adaptation is the key to survival. Individuals incarcerated learn to play

"prisoner" roles and internalize "prisoner" expectations. The official administrative system directly controls and punishes, while inmate subcultures are equally although more subtly coercive and restricting. In effect, both systems encourage and support a conditioning socialization, "prisonization," that emphasizes the institutional realities of incarceration. The official sanctioning of criminality and the subcultural modification and rationalization of prisoner status create a closed system which severely restricts an individual's attempt at maintaining or developing non-institutional self-conceptions and roles.

Theoretically, we seek alternatives to the negative impact of institutionalization. De-institutionalization, as an attempt to reduce an inmate's prisonization, takes many forms, and may include frequent and open visitation rights, vocational placement in the community, the use of parole, week-end furloughs, and other non-imprisonment strategies such as probation and diversion. Short-circuiting of the penal process. For reasons that may be considered practical or otherwise unknown, these options for de-institutionalization are generally not exercised at Riker's Island. One notable exception involves an undergraduate education program organized, staffed, and co-directed by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice of the City University of New York.

The Riker's Island Program

This program was established to provide inmates capable college level course work with the opportunity to pursue a limited but standard undergraduate curriculum. Two ten week semesters are offered each year approximating the Fall/Spring college calendar. Classes are held Monday through

Thursday evenings and students are given the option to choose one to four courses for a maximum of 12 tuition free credits each term. There is some attempt to distinguish skills courses from introductory and advanced courses, and the course offerings in English, the social sciences, and the humanities form a pool of 12 three credit courses.

While students must qualify academically for the program, many of the students have not been in a college classroom previously and some do not hold a high school degree. Others have completed some undergraduate work and occasionally college graduates may attend. Typically, most inmates will be in place at Riker's Island only long enough to take advantage of one semester's course offerings, and the attrition rate during each semester is high due to transfers, work schedule changes, releases, and for other reasons.

Four patterns of inmate involvement may be identified based on my seven semesters experience as an instructor in the program. Approximately one-fourth of the students enrolled in any particular class will drop out within the first three weeks. Another fourth of the students will leave during the sixth to tenth week, while doing satisfactory work but not actually finishing the course. Most of these students withdraw for unavoidable reasons not related to academic accomplishment. A small minority, very few in most cases, attend regularly for the ten weeks, theoretically complete the course, but are seriously deficient in basic skills. Finally, approximately one-fourth of the students complete all course work, attend regularly, and represent the academic "success" of the program.

While we lack a clear understanding of the specific backgrounds of the students, the reasons for their successes or failures, and, of course, a systematic study of the relation

of the program to recidivism, the John Jay "College Behind Bars" does provide a unique opportunity for the inmates to experience an academic and social world that is not directly influenced by the official nor subcultural systems of the institution. The values and expectations of this world are considerably removed from "inside" realities and develop a set of conditions that are more like the "outside" than any other socially structured experience within the prison.

Most of the people working in this program would acknowledge that the primary goal is to educate students. Rehabilitation, while desirable, is generally undefined and unexpected as a program goal. The guiding rationale for instructors involves the developing of students in an unusual situation where the excitement and exchange of education when realized can be extremely rewarding and redeeming. With students considerably "disadvantaged" by poverty and race within the established educational system, their accomplishments, interest, and enthusiasm in the program are remarkable. Again, conventional notions of who is able to learn and what conditions are necessary for satisfactory performance are contradicted by these inmate/students as they engage instructors in effective, knowledgeable, and challenging dialogues. But rather than focus on the quality of this educational experience, we may ask how such positive experience is produced, how does it relate to de-institutionalization, and what are the practical implications and consequences of prisoner education.

Structurally, in terms of the institution's set of social roles and norms, the instructors represent the only outside agents who meet consistently with inmates and who do not serve nor reinforce the official administration or inmate subculture. Indeed, instructors, as outsiders, are forced to

create their own set of relations with student/prisoners and cannot rely on administrative policing for the organization and development of classroom activity. Similarly, the instructor is not part of the inmate subculture in any distinct or consistent way. In a very real respect, the instructors and the program are non-institutionalized outsiders operating in the relatively free and open context of a conventional academic class. The rules and restrictions that operate in the classroom are typically flexible, modified by the participants, and frequently innovative as they may be in college classrooms generally.

As the instructor understands his/her mission as education, penalty and rehabilitation are removed from the situational context, and an emergent, non-institutional set of activities and norms are developed around the classroom experience. The fact of the co-educational nature of this experience, a very exceptional occasion when males and females may interact together in a conventionally unrestrained and casual manner, significantly supports the non-institutional character of the experience. Equally, that education and credit are being provided, unconnected to the lock-step reward system of the official administration and unanticipated and unrequested by the inmate subculture, places the college in a favorable non-institutional limbo.

Observations on De-Institutionalization

What may be of most interest in this relatively non-institutional set of interactions is to examine the kinds of experiences that may develop when prisoners become students and meet teachers in the co-educational classroom. Indeed, we may hypothesize that the "conditioning" of

de-institutionalization may be rehabilitative, or, more simply put, exposing and supporting people in conventional experiences may encourage them to adopt conventional self-definitions and identities and project further conventional adaptations.

It is not so much that you can teach an individual non-criminal strategies in effecting rehabilitation, i.e. changed behavior, but rather that you may provide an experiential set of social cues, incentives, logics, interactions, values, and processes that make certain adaptations useful, possible, and enjoyable. The college classroom experience, because it is so removed from the practical exigencies of the institution and because it does not resonate with an inmate subculture, operates as an existential and situational real world of intellectual choices and non-criminal, conventional adaptations.

This classroom provides the opportunity for student/inmates to experience student roles, social interactions with the opposite sex, and maintain non-coercive communication with non-supervisory adults. All of this serves as a reminder of the non-institutional possibilities of the outside world, and, more than as a reminder, students function in a segment of this world and learn to succeed in an academic setting. The social meaningfulness of this process of de-institutionalization becomes quite explicit when student/inmates begin to identify with the program and use its resources to escape tedious prison routines, insulate themselves from the negative impact of their peers, and accomplish a real world activity that is legitimate, crediting, and frequently enlightening.

Aside from the situational context of conventional role-modeling, the intellectual processes of education, as critical learning and rational assessment, may also be assumed to support de-institutionalization.

Particularly in sociology and criminology classes, discussions revolving around social problems give students an opportunity to report analytically and relatively objectively on a variety of social situations. When these discussions turn to the students' awarenesses of the realities of inmate subcultures and prison institutionalization, we may suspect that the critical approach of objective analysis, rewarded and encouraged in the academic forum of the classroom, may lead some student/inmates to question established personal and cognitive commitments within the institution. And as student/inmates are encouraged to become open analysts of the social organization of violence, control, repression, and power, might we not expect that in developing this awareness of the structural necessity "to talk the talk and walk the walk" there may be some retreat from full identification with prisonization.

For example, in explicating and demonstrating knowledge of "inside" institutional realities, students discuss and analyze emergent language codes and traditional prison argot that are symbolic of a way of life that is secretive, conning, and intimidating. Similarly, hierarchies of privilege reflecting systems of dominance and subordination are explained in detail defining various forms of structured inequality, while the workings of the prison's complex political economies are addressed with reference to the general values of inmate subcultures. And perhaps most dramatically, the strategies of personal survival, involving psychological and sociological adjustment, are expressed with keen insight into the exigencies of adaptation in potentially threatening environments. While we cannot claim that all of the elements of this developing "sociological imagination" will always be effective in transforming the private

troubles of prisonization into a more politically viable understanding of the structures of repression and "deviance," sociological knowledge is not infrequently associated with alienation from negative institutionalized control systems. Simply put, there is advantage in the open discussion of the recidivist traps of institutionalization.

In sociology classes, assignments include readings from: James Baldwin's "Letter to Angela Davis," Dick Gregory's "Nigger," Ocar Lewis' La Vida, Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice, Peri Thomas' Down these Mean Streets, The Autobiography of Malcom X, Sykes and Messinger's "The Male Inmate Social System," Philip Zimbardo's "Pathology of Imprisonment," Herbert Gans' "The Uses of Poverty: The Poor Pay All," R.M. Kanter's "How the Top is Different," and C. Wright Mills' The Sociological Imagination.

One assignments based upon a critical reading of N. Pileggi's popular journalism article in New York Magazine, "Inside Rikers Island," asked students to evaluate and discuss the validity of the report. During classroom discussion, students clearly indicated that they could not believe the article since they could point out a series of distortions. In a written essay, one student stated:

"In this article he [the author] portrayed things in a very sensational manner....From the opening paragraph about shot-gun toting guards which do not exist all the way to making the East River safe to swim, he does not have anything described correctly. ...Our author does not really understand the boredom and monotony of day-to-day living here. I do not think the Correctional Officers feel uneasy because of the

prisoners not being locked up all the time, as a matter of fact, they are very relaxed--to the point of being lazy. Also they do not openly condone drugs--naturally there are some available, but only through a lot of sneaking and conniving. The C.Os. try to stop them and will write you up if they catch you...

"Now we come to the point about our visitors. Naturally the majority of drugs brought in come through the visits--but still maybe one out of twenty visitors may be bringing a little something--and then the amount has to be relatively small. He makes all our parents and loved ones look like a bunch of drug smugglers. And nobody sits on the 101 bus bagging up their balloons!

"About the only truth in the article lies in the question about trials. The inmates are represented poorly and sometimes do not even know who their lawyer is, let alone talk with him. They wait for months and months for two minutes in court to be told that their case is postponed again and again. In conclusion I just wish to state that this place is a bit crowded, very boring but not any more dangerous than other jails, probably less. But it is jail and as such what can you expect."

There was a great deal of interest in this article as it purported to report on an experience which the student/inmate lived. Officers as well as students avidly debated various points and observations made by the author. Interestingly, it became apparent

that officers needed the opportunity to discuss their social experiences within the prison and they too would appreciate the opportunity for a more formal arena to vent their sociological imaginations. The following semesters did see the development of an on-site educational program developed by John Jay for officers interested in continuing or pursuing a college education. Instructors who became friendly with the officers recognized this need and believed that a joint program in which inmates and officers attended class together would be an innovative experiment in educational dialogue. Of course, from a more sociological point of view, one wonders how the boundaries of the two social systems would be tested in the common arena of the academic classroom. And even more speculatively, would it ever be possible to breakdown the barriers of these two institutional systems in a way that might allow for a constructive officer-student/inmate culture to develop within the walls of the prison?

In relation to analyses of the inside reality of the prison subculture, studies of the specialized language, argot, and other patterns of behavior were always very important to the students. Of course, here the students were the instructors and the process of discovery of common frames of reference was facilitated by the classroom experience. In sociology classes, students were encourage to observe their own "subculture" and discover ethnographic materials. They reported on the differential status values of "sneakers," the importance of the cigarette token economy, and the use of "maytags," (inmates who provide services to other inmates under a variety of "contracts"). The social bases of power and reputation were discussed in relation to the skillful workings of the "system" made identifiable by selectively tailored prison

clothes, favorable work assignments, and privileged dormitory placement.

One student in a letter received by an instructor combines a personal initiative in presenting a gift with an important sociological observation on the development of an aspect of the inmate culture:

"I'm enclosing the Freedom booties for you and I hope you and your family enjoy them. Just a little history so you know how it became a trend here at Rikers. When I first came a friend of mine was making a pair of slippers for her friends. I wanted to know how to do the stitch to make a pair. So I figured at the time I would just make a small one to make sure I got the stitch right. Well it wound up this small and when I showed the girls they wanted to wear them around their necks. It seemed when someone wore them to court they 'walked,' and went home. A discussion about it came up in Mr. Ridgeway's class and he named them Freedom booties. Since January I haven't made a large pair of slippers yet."

And while these discussions of inmate subculture and prison authority may be particularly developed in sociology and criminology courses, other avenues of de-institutionalization are made possible by the program. Many student/inmates become quite involved in the academic requisites of grading, reporting, testing, homework, etc. These interests and materials support integration in the student role and may be used symbolically in representing an elevated status. Books, folders, and papers are

displayed and set off student/inmates from other inmates. While it is difficult to determine, there is some indication that a student/inmate subculture or reference group develops during each semester, and that in the dormitory facilities and on the cell floors, "readers" of academic materials are noticeably distinct and uninvolved in the problematics of inmate "recreation."

Upon successful completion of the program, students are encouraged to continue their education on the "outside." Riker's Island students who are successful in transferring to the John Jay College of Criminal Justice may take part in a "Linkers" program that was designed to facilitate and counsel the transition to undergraduate status at the college. Former Riker's Island students, currently enrolled at John Jay, served as counselors and perhaps role models. Evidence suggests that several students did utilize this avenue, although program cutbacks reduced this resource to informal status and follow-up survey and evaluation have not occurred.

There is additional indication that students do transfer credits earned at the Riker's Island facility to other colleges, especially those affiliated with the City University system. While many students if not a majority may not finish the program, and others who do complete the ten week courses and receive credit, cannot be expected to continue in college programs, there is evidence that students returning to the "street" do have more incentive to return to work or other school programs. Instructors receive letters from released students discussing such plans and activities and are requested to write letters of recommendation. Students' letters often contain positive comments on the Riker's Island program and express gratitude for the instruction.

One student wrote:

"I will be going home with the hopes and intentions of continuing my college education. I thank you very much for the books you sent me. I have found them to be very interesting and I am sure they will be of great help in my studies. The book, Society as It Is by Glen Gaviglio and David Raye, is one of the books that I really enjoy because most of the articles I can relate to, and others stimulate my thinking as to what my position in society should be.

"I believe an understanding of the social order is very important for anyone who expects to succeed in his career."

Yet we may ask, can students be expected to hold on to their new awareness or maintain a general student attitude after release? While no formal measures of evaluation exist, many academic experiences in the sociology curriculum, such as the social analysis of prison life, the development of prison dictionaries of inmate argot, and other structural studies, certainly provide for a stepping away from full identification and submersion in the inmate subculture. And under conditions of stress and conflict, where the conditions of race, class, and power are socially problematic, introductions to the "sociological imagination" were often dramatic, revealing, and significant in awakening students to uses of social inquiry. With this formal knowledge and a relatively critical set of intellectual tools legitimated in both "course credit" and personal development, students acquired a foundation for the examination of important social differences and convenient mystifications. It would appear that at least one direct consequence of the

socialization provided by the inmate educational program was to encourage and support student participation in conventional institutional experiences. Here, the emphasis returns to school, work, and perhaps family life.

Proposals for Research and Development

Given the potentially explosive conditions of our prisons, the wasting away of lives in non-rehabilitative activities, and the apparent utility of education, it makes sense to explore more fully the positive indications of the Riker's Island college program. Primarily, we note that there is only a minimum number of students involved. Perhaps, on the average, 150 men and women are recruited and enrolled out of a potential student body of at least 1,000 if not more. The numbers and kinds of courses are limited and the infrequency of the program, 20 weeks out of a possible 52 weeks, is also restricting. More courses, more terms, and more instructors would help to develop the program extensively and intensively. Under these conditions of expanded adequacy, a better opportunity to measure and evaluate the educational impact of the program would be available. Obviously, all of this educational interest would be enormously enhanced if we could develop a methodological demonstration of the reduction in recidivism as related to participation in the program. Follow-up studies might focus on: 1) do these students continue their education; 2) how is the program related to employment opportunities; 3) what characterizes the successful students who complete course work; and 4) is there a recidivist rate drop attributable to the program.

While in existence for 10 years, the Riker's Island program is still something of an experiment. Its reputation within the prison is well established and quite positive. Yet, administrative development, shared by the Department of Corrections and John Jay College, is modest, with budget cuts always threatened and institutional commitment not always at optimum realization. Inmates, instructors, associated correctional officers, and immediate college supervisory personnel generally all agree that the program is exceptionally worthwhile, unusually effective, and maintained with good morale. Under these conditions and with the potential for upgrading, the college behind bars at Riker's Island would most probably be very responsive to program expansion and systematic evaluation.

Finally, the words of one student may express the urgency for education "behind bars" in ways which go beyond the formal values of the academic classroom:

"Jails in the city are significant because they show that the only people being deprived are Third World people. No education, no jobs, no allocation of funds, no decent housing and the means with which we gain the ends more than likely will end with no freedom.

"We have to be able to raise a conscious and constructive attitude as individuals before we can raise an all together social consciousness to fight this dilemma we're in. Because if things continue as they are, we are destined for annihilation, incarceration and plain and simple genocide."

References

- Clemmer, Donald.
The Prison Community.
New York: Rinehart, 1940.
(esp. 294-320.)
- Goffman, Erving.
"Characteristics of Total Institutions:
The Inmate
Ward."
Symposium on Preventive and Social
Psychiatry.
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958.
- Haskell, Martin R. and Lewis Yablonsky.
Juvenile Delinquency
Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing
Company, 1974.
(esp. 538-540).
- Irwin, John
The Felon
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1970.
- McCorkle, L.W. and R. Korn.
"Resocialization Within Walls."
The Annals of the Academy of Political
and Social Science
(May, 1954), 88.
- Pileggi, Nicholas.
"Inside Rikers Island."
New York Magazine: June 8, 1981, 24-29.
- Sykes, Gresham M.
"The Corrupt Authority and
Rehabilitation."
Social Forces 34 (December, 1956),
257-262.

- Sykes, Gresham M. and Sheldon Messinger.
"The Inmate System."
R. Cloward, et al. (eds.): Theoretical
Studies in Social Organization
of the Prison, 5-19.
New York: Social Research Council, 1960.
- Wilson, James Q.
Thinking About Crime.
New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

ASSESSING SOCIAL AGENCY FUNCTIONS: A MODEL

Elizabeth W. Lindsey, M.S.W.
Research Associate
Research Center
School of Social Work
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30602

John S. Wodarski, Ph.D.
Director, Research Center
School of Social Work
and
Fellow, Center for Family Research
Institute for Behavioral Research
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30602

Kristyn S. Greaves, M.S.W.
Social Worker
Psychiatric Institute of Atlanta
811 Juniper Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Preparation of this manuscript was facilitated through a special projects grant funded through the Office of the Vice President of Research, University of Georgia Research Foundation; awards by the National Institute of Mental Health, Social Work Education Branch, MH13753 and MH17208; Georgia Department of Human Resources contract #427-93-20871; and a grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation.

ABSTRACT

The assessment of general agency functions is the focus of this manuscript. Initially inventories that may be utilized in the assessment of the relevance and quality of services provided are reviewed. Next, cost benefit analysis is addressed in terms of helping social workers esti-

mate the cost of services provided. The manuscript concludes with a discussion of the issues involved in general agency assessment.

In the recent decade, substantial attention has been paid to the effectiveness of social work services. Research in this area has centered mostly around the effectiveness of casework (Fischer, 1973; Wodarski & Bagarozzi, 1979). With the growing emphasis on agency accountability, administrators are becoming increasingly concerned about documenting the quality of overall agency function. Thus, while the controversy about the effectiveness of casework continues in academic circles and in journals, agencies are shifting the focus of their concerns to program and overall agency evaluation. Many agencies, as a result, are becoming "self-evaluating," that is, agencies are taking the initiative in developing and carrying through on evaluation efforts which provide administrators and staff with information on efficiency and effectiveness in meeting stated goals.

Comprehensive agency evaluation is multifaceted, necessitating the inclusion of data from a variety of sources. Certainly the specification and measurement of program objectives is of primary concern, and this issue has been widely addressed in the literature (Brody & Krailo, 1978; Wodarski, 1981). Performance appraisal of staff is also important for overall agency evaluation and is receiving increasing attention (Wiehe, 1980). Specific worker procedures that can be evaluated have been ascertained (Wodarski, 1980). There has also been increasing interest in evaluating organizational climate and staff opinion about various aspects of the agency.

Two pertinent aspects of agency evaluation, consumer perceptions of services and cost analyses necessary for both planning and evaluative purposes, have not received as much attention. Traditionally, consumer evaluation of services has frequently been neglected, although this data source becomes more important as clients or potential clients are added to agency boards and planning committees (Prager, 1980). Likewise, another aspect of evaluation which has become increasingly important during

the 1980's but which is often overlooked relates to the cost of services. With shrinking budgets and reductions in staff it is essential that services be delivered as efficiently and effectively as possible.

The purpose of this article is to stimulate thinking on the part of agency administrators and evaluators about how consumer evaluation and cost analysis strategies can be used in their agencies to improve the quality of services offered clients. Specific approaches to consumer evaluation and cost analysis are described as is the importance of this information to the self-evaluating agency.

CONSUMER EVALUATION

Most human service organizations recognize the need for and benefit of receiving feedback from consumers of their services. Social work as a profession has tended to emphasize the importance of client input into the treatment process (Warfel, Maloney, & Blase, 1981). Nevertheless, such direct feedback is often considered "soft" data and the use of client self-reports have been quite controversial in assessing actual impact of treatment.

In the area of overall agency function, client perceptions are quite important. Even clients who are not able to accurately describe the effect of agency intervention in terms of behaviors changed or improved can testify as to how helpful they felt staff to be, how they felt they were treated, and whether or not they were satisfied with the services received. The incongruence, however, between staff and client perceptions of the impact of services has been well documented (Damkot, Pandiani, & Gordon, 1983; Giordano, 1977; Prager, 1980). In the face of the wide gap in perceptions, it is important that information from clients be used to modify agency and staff practices which have a negative impact on clients. Warfel, Maloney and Blase (1981) describe general guidelines for developing an effective and practical feedback system. Recognizing the potential problems of low reliability and validity of such measures, they differentiate between the use of consumer evaluation for purposes of evaluating services versus the use

of such information sources for conducting research. Interestingly, these authors cite a companion study which indicates that scores on their consumer evaluation report were related to more objective measures of program effectiveness.

Several inventories have been developed which assess general agency functioning from a consumer perspective. The inventories described here were chosen because they are efficient, i.e., they are not overly time-consuming in terms of administrative, financial or human costs, and they can be used as is or easily modified for use in any human service agency.

Inventories

Reid and Gundlach (1983) developed a 34-item "Consumer Satisfaction Scale" to assess client attitudes toward three aspects of service delivery. The "relevance" scale (11 items) determines the extent to which a service corresponds to the client's perception of his or her problem or need; the "impact" scale (10 items) addresses the extent to which the service reduces the problem as experienced by the client; and the "gratification" scale (13 items) measures the extent to which the service process enhances the client's self-esteem and contributes to a sense of power and integrity. The "Consumer Satisfaction Scale" may be utilized with clients of adolescent age and older.

Three somewhat briefer instruments also address consumer satisfaction. The "Client Follow-Up Questionnaire" (24 items) measures the extent to which clients perceive services received from an agency as helpful or not (Beck & Jones, 1973). The 8-item "Client Satisfaction Questionnaire" (Larsen, Attkisson, & Hargreaves, 1978) also measures client perceptions of the helpfulness of services received from the agency. "Tell-It-Like-It-Was" (Tillman, cited in Hagedorn, Beck, Neubert, & Werlin, 1976) is also an adequate, short (9 item) questionnaire focusing on overall client satisfaction with the agency and with treatment by staff. This instrument includes a client self-assessment of changes resulting from treatment. Each of these three questionnaires can be used with males and females ranging in age from adolescent

through adult. In addition to using these questionnaires individually to assess perceptions of specific clients, responses from groups of clients can be tabulated and analyzed to determine overall client perceptions of the agency.

Another method for determining client perceptions of changes as a result of treatment is to collect data before and after treatment. Millar, Hatry and Koss (1977) have developed an illustrative set of questions for monitoring outcomes from mental health clients. This 10-part questionnaire is intended to measure indicators of client attributes before and after receipt of social services. It is designed to be used in a structured interview with a representative sample of clients drawn on a yearly basis. The instrument would be administered at or near the time service begins for a client and again at some point after the client has received service. The authors do not consider the questionnaire to be in final form and recommend modification by users. The questionnaire can be used by trained interviewers (preferably not direct service workers who know the individual client) with any client, male or female, age adolescent through adult. If modified for use in a mail survey, only clients who can read will be able to respond. Not all 10 parts of the questionnaire are necessarily applicable for every agency or client. Areas reviewed are economic self-support (18 items), physical health (5 items), mental stress (18 items), alcohol and drug abuse (12 items), family strength (23 items), child problems (18 items), client satisfaction (12 items), and amenities of care in institutions (18 items).

One indicator of the effectiveness of agency function is the extent to which other human service providers in the community are aware of and value the agency's services. While other service providers are not direct consumers of services, they may be thought of as indirect consumers since they are often responsible for referrals and for working with the same clients. Windle (1979) cites a 14-item questionnaire that was developed to be used in interviews with personnel in various community agencies to assess their awareness of and satisfaction with the agency conducting the survey. This instrument is designed specifically for community mental health cen-

ters and would have to be modified slightly to fit other human service agencies.

This questionnaire can be used in interviews with staff at all levels of human service programs. The interview schedule can be tabulated and analyzed to identify patterns of community awareness and satisfaction with particular aspects of the agency and related to the overall function of the agency.

A major concern of the self-evaluating agency is the extent to which it adequately reaches citizens who are in need of its services. One approach to obtaining this information is to conduct a community survey of unmet needs. Millar, Hatry and Koss (1977) have designed a 17-item questionnaire which will provide estimates on the number of citizens who perceive themselves as having a social service related problem, but who have either not sought help or have sought help and not received it, especially for reasons that the state, county, or agency has at least partial responsibility for trying to alleviate. It is suggested that such a survey be conducted on an annual basis. If administered in a personal interview, the questionnaire can be used by trained interviewers with any citizen of the appropriate governmental or catchment area, male or female, age adolescent to adult. If used in a mail survey, only those citizens who can read will be able to respond.

A scoring code is provided in the "Answer Module" which will enable the evaluator to tabulate results either by hand or by computer. The resulting information will indicate areas of unmet needs for social services within the community or area studied (Millar, Hatry, & Koss, 1977). Due to the cost and complexity of conducting this type of survey, it may be more efficient to modify the instrument to address a range of problems identified by more than one agency. If this is done, costs and staff time can be shared by all agencies involved.

In addition to concern for consumer and community perceptions of the agency and its functions, the self-evaluating human service agency must also be concerned with program costs.

COST ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

Cost analysis has gained increasing attention as an important aspect of program evaluation. In addition to being concerned with the extent to which social service programs define and meet measurable objectives, evaluators must also be concerned with the costs of such programs. Even before the current economic recession, there was increased pressure on social work administrators to be "accountable". Gross describes two elements of accountability as the need for social workers to "exhibit that what they do is effective, i.e., that social workers are able to achieve socially valued goals, and that these goals are realized efficiently, i.e., in the cheapest way possible" (1980, p. 31).

With cutbacks in federal funds for social services and the shift of responsibility for many programs to the states, agency administrators will increasingly be concerned with issues of cost in order to begin new programs, to maintain existing levels of funding, and in many cases, to retain any level of funding at all. Administrators need information related to program costs as well as program outcomes in order to compete successfully for scarce resources. They also need such information in order to make hard decisions about internal programming, that is, what programs to retain and which to terminate or modify. Cost benefit analysis, a tool which has been adapted from the fields of business and economics, has been cited as useful in facilitating such decision making (Levin, 1983).

Cost benefit analysis is a process through which program costs and effects (benefits) are identified and quantified. Both costs and benefits are expressed in dollar amounts and then compared. If benefits exceed costs the program is considered worthy of funding, assuming no limitation of funds. Where there is a limitation of funds, a cost benefit analysis can indicate where the most impact can be gotten for the dollar. Thus, cost benefit analysis can be used to establish funding priorities. According to Stokey and Zeckhauser the fundamental rule of cost benefit criteria is "In any choice situation, select the alternative that produces the greatest net benefit" (1978, p. 137). Thus cost benefit analysis is concerned with maxi-

mizing marginal gain for marginal input.

Cost benefit analysis procedures were originally developed for use in decision making regarding defense expenditures and other government programs, e.g., land use and construction of dams. Therefore, the procedures are based on assumptions that are not necessarily valid when applied to social service programs. Cost benefit analysis assumes that all costs and benefits of a program can be identified and, once identified, that monetary values can then be assigned. The difficulty of assigning dollar values to social service program outcomes, such as reduced child abuse, reduced recidivism for juvenile offenders, and improved quality of life for the elderly, is obvious. Social service programs often attempt to create changes which are not amenable to measurement by existing technology. One method of valuing benefits is to assign a value based on what the benefit would bring on the open market or what people would be willing to pay for such a service (Andrieu, 1977). These techniques are not universally applicable to benefits of social service programs, however, since there is no open market commodity equivalent to many social services benefits. Certain benefits are associated with services related to social control functions (e.g., protective services, court services) which involve clients who often are involuntary and would be unwilling to pay anything for a service they do not want in the first place. The true consumers of such social control functions are members of the community at large. Trying to determine a value based on the open market or the communities' willingness to pay for such services is a difficult task.

While there is general agreement about the difficulty of assigning monetary value to the benefits of social programs, Gross (1980) finds that program costs may also be difficult to identify and evaluate in monetary terms. McKay and Baxter (1980) describe the difficulties involved in trying to identify all costs associated with clients served by Titles XIX, II, and IV-A programs. Such difficulties arise from unavailability of necessary cost data and the tendency for individual agencies or programs to identify only costs borne specifically by their organizations. Thus the absence of a good data base and the prevalence of overlapping program jurisdictions and ser-

vices create difficulties in accurately identifying and quantifying all related costs. Because of problems inherent in the application of cost benefit analysis procedures to social service programs, a related technique, cost effectiveness analysis, has been developed and used much more prevalently.

Cost effectiveness analysis differs from cost benefit analysis in that it requires that monetary value be assigned to program costs but not to program impacts or benefits. The assumption behind this approach is that program objectives are based on society's willingness or desire to achieve certain goals. Thus decision-making is focused, not on which objective to work toward, but on identifying which program alternative will help meet the already identified objective in the most efficient way. Cost effectiveness analysis cannot help establish program priorities but can help "find the most efficient way of obtaining priorities established by some other means" (Buxbaum, 1981). Benefits, while not measured in dollar terms, are specified in some nonmonetary unit, i.e., number of foster care children returned to their biological families, recidivism rates. Cost effectiveness analysis allows one to determine how many units of benefits are associated with alternative program approaches to reaching the same objectives.

While cost effectiveness analysis does solve the problem of assigning monetary value to intangible benefits such as emotional well-being, changed behavior, and quality of life, there remain many unresolved methodological issues which complicate the cost effectiveness analysis process. The necessity of determining all relevant costs is a problem for agencies or programs which are not currently keeping records on staff utilization and program expenditures in ways that correspond to program objectives. Even if all cost data were available, there remains a controversy over the most appropriate method of comparing the costs of different program alternatives. While this is not necessarily an issue in an after-the-fact program evaluation, it is a critical issue for planning. Another critical issue is how to choose between programs with differential secondary impacts. If two programs meet a socially desirable objective, and one costs less than the other, yet the more expensive program has

additional positive aspects when compared with the effects of the less expensive program, which program does the decision-maker choose to fund?

While it is important to realize the limitations of cost effectiveness analysis of social welfare programs, there is nevertheless value in following such a procedure when planning or evaluating programs. Stokey and Zeckhauser believe that even when it is impossible to carry out a detailed quantitative analysis, "thinking about the way such an analysis might be carried out forces policy makers to think hard about categories of benefits and costs, to define their expectations about outputs, and to pay attention to the tradeoffs that are explicit in their decision" (1978, p. 135). With increasing competition for scarce dollars for social welfare programs, the information provided by cost effective analysis can be useful to administrators both in their own decision-making as well as in their efforts to influence the legislative process.

DISCUSSION

An assessment of how well an agency functions will be influenced, if not largely determined, by who performs the assessment and its focus. Many social agency evaluations are primarily concerned with numbers of service units delivered, numbers of clients served, dollars spent, and other data which are both objective and easily quantifiable. Such data sources, while important, do not tell the entire story.

A self-evaluating agency that wants a comprehensive picture of how effectively the agency is meeting its goals must attend to many different perspectives when conducting an overall agency evaluation, not to just one or two perspectives. One must look at how the agency is viewed by clients, staff, other community service providers, and key community members. One must look at costs. One must look at service effectiveness.

Consumer opinions about effectiveness of service can be used in conjunction with other data to modify programs. Feedback about client perceptions of treatment by agency staff can be used to alter practices or procedures which create negative feelings. To fail to take into ac-

count consumer perspectives is to perpetuate a paternalistic view that the agency knows what is best for clients regardless of what they think, or, even worse, that the agency really does not care what clients think. Client opinions are important to the agency for more than one reason. How the client views the agency can have an effect on worker-client relationships and on service outcomes. Dissatisfaction of clients can result in the creation of a negative public image of the agency as clients talk with friends, family, service providers, and other key people in the community.

Perhaps at the other end of the assessment spectrum is the focus on cost effectiveness. Even the most positive consumer evaluation will not ensure an agency's survival if it is not attuned to cost factors. While some services are mandated and must be delivered regardless of the cost benefit ratio (if one could actually be computed), recognition of high service costs can lead to a search for new ways to improve efficiency without sacrificing effectiveness. An example of how this has been done in recent years is the increasing use of groups as a method to provide some services which were previously delivered on an individual basis. Many social workers are very uncomfortable with cost analysis and see it as a way for administrators or "finance people" to justify instituting less expensive services which are not necessarily as effective as those which cost more. Certainly this is a potential hazard of cost analysis. High cost services will be scrutinized more closely than more low cost services. Despite this hazard, cost analysis can provide valuable information when it is used as a part of a comprehensive agency evaluation which also looks at other data.

Evaluation of service effectiveness has been an ongoing problem for social agencies. Criteria for assessment of service effectiveness are difficult to establish. Such criteria are often tied to theories of human behavior which are either explicitly or implicitly used as a rationale for various intervention approaches and programs. Many of these theories have yet to be systematically evaluated as to their relationship to practice effectiveness. Perhaps the one criteria which can be used universally is the extent to which utilization of a specific theory and

its practice implications produces desired outcomes in client behaviors (Fischer, 1971, 1978; Wodarski, 1979; Wodarski & Feldman, 1973). However, even when such a criteria can be specified, problems of measurement arise.

Efforts have been made to develop measures to assess client outcomes which may be related to service provision (i.e., Hudson, 1982). While many practitioners are using these and similar measures on an individual basis with clients, few agencies have instituted such procedures as a means of evaluating overall agency effectiveness. This area of agency effectiveness as measured by outcomes of service provision will require continuing attention and additional research in the future. Without such documentation, it will be difficult for administrators to justify high cost programs or services in times of resource scarcity.

Increasing emphasis on agency evaluation will necessitate that schools of social work develop curricula which address multiple aspects of agency assessment from a practical point of view. Evaluation skills must be taught which will enable future graduates to develop and implement various types of assessment. Continuing education and in-service training programs can be developed which will develop these competencies in persons already occupying agency positions.

A comprehensive agency evaluation must encompass many different perspectives and foci. It must also utilize data from various sources including consumers, workers, community service providers, as well as information from the accounting department. The agency which engages in these differing types of assessment can, over a period of time, develop a holistic view of overall agency functioning, which identifies both areas of weakness and strength.

REFERENCES

Andrieu, M. (1977). Benefit cost evaluation. In L. Rutman (Ed.), Evaluation research methods: A basic guide. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.

Beck, D., & Jones, M. A. (1973). Progress on family problems: A nationwide study of clients' and counselors' views on family agency services. New York: Family Service Association of America.

Brody, R., & Krailo, H. (1978). An approach to reviewing the effectiveness of programs. Social Work, 23 (3), 226-232.

Buxbaum, C. B. (1981). Cost benefit analysis: The mystique versus the reality. Social Service Review, 55 (3), 453-471.

Damkot, D. K., Pandiani, J. A., & Gordon, L. R. (1983). Development, implementation, and findings of a continuing client satisfaction survey. Community Mental Health Journal, 19 (4), 265-278.

Fischer, J. (1971). A framework for the analysis and comparison of clinical theories of induced change. Social Service Review, 45 (4), 440-454.

Fischer, J. (1973). Is casework effective? A review. Social Work, 18 (1), 5-20.

Fischer, J. (1978). Effective casework practice. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Giordano, P. (1977). The client's perspective in agency evaluation. Social Work, 22 (1), 34-40.

Gross, A. M. (1980). Appropriate cost reporting: An indispensable link to accountability. Administration in Social Work, 4 (3), 31-41.

Hagedorn, H. J., Beck, K. J., Neubert, S. F., & Werlin, S. H. (1976). A working manual of simple program evaluation techniques for community mental health centers [DHEW Publication No. (ADM) 76-404]. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Hudson, W. W. (1982). The clinical measurement package: A field manual. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press.

Larsen, D. L., Attkisson, C. C., & Hargreaves, W. A.

(1978). Salt Lake Community Mental Health Center consumer satisfaction inventory. In C. Attkisson & A. Brokowski (Eds.), Evaluation of human service programs. New York: Academic Press.

Levin, H. M. (1983). Cost effectiveness: A primer. In New perspectives in evaluation (Vol. 4). Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.

McKay, A., & Baxter, E. H. (1980). Title XIX, Title XX and Catch XXII: Cost analysis and social program evaluation. Administration in Social Work, 4 (3), 23-30.

Millar, A., Hatry, H., & Koss, M. (1977). Monitoring the outcomes of social services: Preliminary suggestions (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Prager, E. (1980). Evaluation in mental health: Enter the consumer. Social Work Research and Abstracts, 16 (2), 5-10.

Reid, P. N., & Gundlach, J. H. (1983). A scale for the measurement of consumer satisfaction with social services. Journal of Social Service Research, 7 (1), 37-54.

Stokey, E., & Zeckhauser, R. (1978). A primer for policy analysis. New York: W. Norton and Co., Inc.

Warfel, D. J., Maloney, D. M., & Blase, K. (1981). Consumer feedback in human service programs. Social Work, 26 (2), 151-156.

Wiehe, V. R. (1980). Current practices in performance appraisal. Administration in Social Work, 4 (3), 1-11.

Windle, C. (Ed.). (1979). Reporting program evaluations: Two sample mental health center annual evaluation reports [DHEW Publication No. (ADM) 79-607]. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wodarski, J. S. (1979). Requisites for the establishment, implementation and evaluation of social work treatment programs. Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 6 (3), 339-361.

Wodarski, J. S. (1980). Requisites for the establishment and implementation of competency based agency practice. Arete, 6 (1), 17-28.

Wodarski, J. S. (1981). The role of research in clinical practice. Baltimore, MD: University Park Press.

Wodarski, J. S., & Bagarozzi, D. (1979). A curriculum to train behavioral social workers. The Behavior Therapist, 2 (2), 19-21.

Wodarski, J. S., & Feldman, R. A. (1973). The research practicum: A beginning formulation of process and educational objectives. International Social Work, 16 (4), 42-48.

HOMELESSNESS:
RESIDUAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND COMMUNAL
SOLUTIONS

Ron E. Roberts
Department of Sociology
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

Thomas Keefe
Department of Social Work
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

ABSTRACT

Drawing upon demographic data and ethnographic interviews conducted by the authors, the article addresses the question, "Who are the homeless?" It identifies five kinds of homeless people and the sources of the homeless populations in the social structure. It then addresses residual and institutional policy solutions and draws on the efforts of the homeless themselves to advance a collective solution to their problems.

"What we have found in the country,
and maybe we're more aware of it now, is
one problem that we've had, even in the
best of times, and that is the people who
are sleeping on the grates, the people who
are homeless you might say by choice."

Ronald Reagan, 1984

In this article we will address the choices for the homeless in America. These are the immediate choices of individuals to sleep on grates or freeze to risk mugging in shelters or accept the personal abuse of a mate or the impersonal abuse of a state mental hospital. They are also the collective choices of the homeless and the societal choices of what must be done

to repair the ruptures that the homeless represent in social, political and economic systems. Such choices must be made in light of as much information as we can bring to bear on the alternatives.

We hope to contribute to informed choices by adding to the ongoing study of the homeless in the United States which dates from the 1920's studies in Social Pathology at the University of Chicago (Bahr: 1970). Since the displacement of large numbers of people is concomitant with the advent of industrial capitalism it is not surprising that a plethora of tracts attempting to understand the plight of the homeless were put forth in one way or another by such diverse nineteenth century thinkers as Thomas Paine, Lorentz Von Stein, and Henry Mayhew. More contemporary authors who have contributed to the awareness of the problem are, Howard Becker (1963) with his studies of deviancy in the early 1960's, Ann Marie Rousseau with, Shopping Bag Ladies (1981) and Ellen Baxter and Kim Hopper with, Private Lives, Public Spaces (1981). Mass circulation magazine articles such as the Newsweek cover story (January, 1984) have contributed to current public concern.

Our descriptions and the basis of our proposed solutions are demographic and ethnographic data gathered in interviews conducted from January to March of 1984. One of the authors (Roberts) taped ethnographic interviews with 37 homeless individuals in San Antonio and Brownsville, Texas; Phoenix, Arizona; Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Santa Barbara and Sacramento, California. The interviews were focused on the day-to-day routine of the homeless informants rather than on their life histories. Informants were found with the aid of social service agencies, or individuals who work with the poor such as lawyers and ministers. Some of the informants were simply found by happenstance. All informants were guaranteed anonymity and were paid for their interviews. The interviews cited in this article are given from informants in Santa Barbara and Sacramento, California. The ethnographic interviews are based on the techniques of Spradley (1979) which are designed to elicit the world view of the informant along with information about his or her cultural scene and daily routines. Spradley's method of interviewing seems particularly useful since he used it with such great effectiveness in gaining information concerning the lives of tramps in Seattle (1970). Today the

homeless include not only the traditionally recognized tramps but other large categories of relatively recent homeless people.

Who are the Homeless?

It is not easily acknowledged by many in American communities that homeless people do exist in large numbers in nearly every state of the Union. In fact, it is only the sheer numbers of homeless people and their rapid increase which has forced the American public to take note of this tragic phenomenon.

From our observations and interviews, five kinds of homeless people add up to the great majority of those living in the streets. First are those suffering from alcoholism and the results of alcohol use. Second are the chronically mentally disordered. Third are the new poor, especially those thrown out of work by the de-industrialization of frost-belt cities and have moved to sunbelt cities where they have few friends or relatives to help in their search for work. Fourth are those low income people who have been evicted from apartments or homes due to their inability to pay rent or house payments. Low income elderly and the chronically unemployed are most vulnerable to this problem. Fifth are the single parent women, who having been separated or divorced, are unable to meet house payments or rent and who must therefore depend on friends and family for shelter. These women typically move from place to place living off friends or relatives for a few weeks at a time. It is possible also to find these individuals living in automobiles or campers until they "get a break" or some institutional help.

The explosion of the number of these homeless people living in and around city streets is the result of the confluence of political decisions and policies and social trends in American society. In addition to our categorical observations, these political, policy, and social sources of homelessness tell us who are the homeless are and which they are homeless in broad outline. Let us look at two examples.

The Unemployed

Recent political decisions essentially drafted industrial wage workers, minorities, and women as inflation fighters in monetary policies that drove

unemployment over ten percent for all workers (Bureau of Labor statistics, 1983). Such a policy generated thousands of homeless people and conditions for creating more. For example, for these unemployed, insurance benefits have expired. The mortgage or rent has come past due. The tolerance of relatives has worn thin and the decision to migrate to sunbelt prosperity has ended in a tent on the bank of a western river.

The Mentally Disordered

The chronic mentally disordered make up one third to one half of the homeless (Fustero, 1984). By mentally disordered we mean people who have been diagnosed as having a mental disease and who have been processed as patients in mental health institutions. These people are not readily distinguished from other homeless people. They wear the common clothes of poverty and on quick glance behave outwardly very much like others. Most are persons who have been diagnosed as schizophrenic. Yet they mimic closely the behavior of the chronic alcoholics with whom they mingle. The term, "alcoholic schizophrenic," is used to designate the chronic mental patient who lives on the street and appears no different from the chronic alcoholic.

How these chronically mentally disordered people come to frequent the streets of our major cities is a conundrum with origins in recent social policy - a policy that defeats the intent of efforts to "deinstitutionalize" the chronic mental patients.

"Asylums" were run with minimization of costs as a primary administrative objective. Under such conditions, rehabilitation was subordinated to warehousing of society's non-criminal undesirables. Hence, not only was manageability of patients a goal but so was cultivation and retention of patients who were capable of doing maintenance work for the institutions. Conditions in the institutions were largely poor and dehumanizing (For a history and analysis of mental institutions see Scull, 1979, and Rothman, 1971).

The reforms of the late 50's and 60's fostered by social scientists and the Kennedy mental health initiatives attempted to develop alternative mental health services that would make the need for the large, centralized institution obsolete. The most powerful of these reforms was a policy that provided federal financial incentives for the states to discharge their

chronic mental patients to the community and to treat mental patients in their own communities through the new community mental health centers. New forms of psychotherapeutic drugs, legal decisions mandating the "least restrictive setting" for treatment of mental patients (Price and Smith, 1983), and a "can do" attitude on the part of the mental health professions brought about wholesale deinstitutionalization. From 1955 to 1975 the number of patients per year institutionalized dropped from 559,000 to 215,000 (Price and Smith, 1983). The problem, of course, was what to do with the patients who were chronically ill and no longer institutionalized--of between 1.7 and 1.4 million chronic mentally disordered, 900,000 are in some kind of institution (Goldman, Gattozzi, and Taube, 1981). Ideally, they could function in their communities with the help of psychotherapeutic drugs and contacts with therapists. Recent policy has nonetheless undermined the original ideals.

Medicaid, Medicare, and Supplemental Social Security Income provide for patients and the disabled who are poor, aged, or chronically disabled (Price and Smith, 1983). The system of benefits provides incentives for states to discharge their patients to other facilities which can claim federal dollars for part of their care. These alternatives, however, can include nursing homes, which house 750,000 chronic patients, and halfway houses. Neither setting is required to provide mental health services. Often the residence is merely a place to sleep. Moreover, mental hospitalization benefits are limited in time and patients discharged must wait thirty days to apply for renewed benefits. Finally, many of the chronically disordered were severed from the life line of their Social Security benefits by the Reagan administration, having to reapply to secure their source of support. Chronic mental patients, who often are unaware of their own identities, the time of day, or their locations can easily get lost from their "benefit determined residence." Further they often lack the wherewithal to monitor their sources of income and reapply for lost benefits. Brief contact each month with their physicians at the local mental health center may provide medication which then may or may not be taken as prescribed.

Thus, liberated from the back wards of state mental hospitals, the chronic mentally disordered have fallen through the carelessly woven network or recent mental health policy on to the streets of our cities where they join the rituals and destitution of other homeless people.

People Surviving

Together political decisions, policies and trends generate a national population of homeless widely estimated at 250,000 to 2,000,000 (Alter, 1984, p. 21).

These parameters, and the preceding categories and examples, take on more meaning if we look at self-descriptions and survival experiences of some of the individuals that make up the homeless population. The following was gleaned from the ethnographic interviews taken in the Spring of 1984.

Three informants interviewed in Sacramento typify in some sense the varieties of marginality and misfortune which coverage to produce homelessness. Charlie, 26 years old, was unemployed for several months in San Diego. On impulse he left his wife and children to hitchhike to Northern California. He had been on the streets four months at the time of the interview. "I left the car with her (his wife). I got ripped off on my way up her (to Sacramento) at a rest stop, from my wallet and everything I owned. With no ID, I can't get assistance. With no housing I can't get a job, with no job I can't get no housing. I didn't know where to turn."

Derrick, a 46 year old unemployed steel worker from Ohio had found work in Montana but was laid off during the winter months. He had injured himself with frostbite hitchhiking to California. He vows he will never live in a cold climate again because "when you've got nothing out there (in a cold climate) you freeze your ass and that's all there is to it." He had saved for four months to buy his camping tent. He, like the rest of his confreres, had been averaging one meal a day for the past several months. "You go over here to a dumpster at Burger King or McDonalds and get yourself something to eat. That's what you used to do and now they've got them all locked up. It's a \$500 fine or 90 days. Hell, we was saving them money." "Dumpster diving" is only one of the survival skills that become a part of an individual's struggle on the street.

Sam M., or "Mex" as he was called, was a career man in the Army. He had served in Vietnam and began to do heavy drinking at that time. After eight years of active duty his drinking had driven him out of the army. At the time of the interview he claimed he had not had a drink for four years. "Mex" confirmed the idea that coping with homelessness requires reciprocal relationships. Such relationships form a basis for survival and are reinforced by punishment for violation of their reciprocal nature. He described life on the bank of the American River in this way,

You've got to have a buddy, for one thing. If you lay here on the American River, you've got to sleep with one eye open and one hand on your knife in your bag. People would just as soon kick your head in as to look at you. And you've got enough adversities . . . I picked up a guy a couple months ago. He was about 22 and he couldn't make it on the street. I was showing him how to make it, just to survive. I caught him going through my bag when I was down at the river washin' up. When I left him, he wasn't moving. It's just the survival of the asphalt jungle. Cause I know one thing he's got a broken hand and a couple of broken ribs. I just packed up my stuff and left. It might sound barbaric but its just a matter of survival.

For the young and able on the streets, tight loyalties and reciprocal aid exist between partners. When the norms of reciprocity are broken, broken bones may follow. Still this minimal cooperation may be the only buffer the homeless have since they are in the main rootless and without supportive kin.

In the Social Darwinian world of American City Streets in 1984, street people survive by their individual efforts and brief, tenuous, reciprocal relationships rather than by graciousness of the society at large. Washington D.C. has 100 beds for an estimated 20,000 homeless (Alter, et al., 1984). Soup kitchens and food banks are similarly overwhelmed and understaffed with regard to the homeless. Thus in the Reagan years, homeless people sleep on heating grates under newspapers, in boxes, and telephone booths, in plastic tents, in parks, on roadsides and riverbanks. They panhandle, raid garbage dumpsters, do day work

when possible, involve themselves in petty thievery, sell plasma at blood banks (this is difficult to do recently), receive food from church or whatever else one must do to survive.

It is difficult to know what percentage of the homeless would be able to functioning in the mainstream of American society if given the chance. Clearly the cognitively impaired, the emotionally disturbed, and the chronic alcoholic have hampered ability to function at a basic level of social intercourse. Still, there are vast numbers of homeless who lack only the social and economic connections to function in the social world. What then is to be the response to the homeless?

Social Responses to the Homeless

When one begins to think about solutions to homelessness, it is necessary to refer to the examples presented earlier and consider the basic needs of the individual. The current sporadic and insufficient residual response would provide temporary shelter, food, aid in finding work, and help with the various day-to-day dilemmas minimally dysfunctional individuals face in reestablishing themselves in the workplace and neighborhood. For those with alcohol related problem and/or a degree of mental dysfunction, the social solutions are more complex. Institutional responses that track and sustain those who cannot sustain themselves are required. But residual and institutional responses may be supplemented with collective action and communal solutions among the homeless themselves. Let us look at each level of response in turn.

Suppression and Succor

Social policy toward the homeless has fluctuated nearly as much as the economic vagaries which contribute to the causes of homelessness itself. In the 19th century Europe and America we view varying mixes of repression and charity, with the former usually dominant as fear of transients lessens the sympathetic impulse of the public. It might be argued that the response of the public today is in large part a reflection of the 18th and 19 century view of the homeless of earlier periods. We can characterize these views as

denial of the problem, sympathy of momentary nature, middle class resentment and the like.

The residual approaches serve their traditional function of policing the deviants and alleviating their emergency distress as an act of charity (Romanyshtyne, 1971). Mark Stern in "The Emergence of the Homeless as a Public Problem," points to the "gift" quality of the residual approach to the homeless. When needs are met in an immediate and face to face way as in charity approaches, then the superior status of the giver and the inferiority and stigma of the recipient are affirmed (Stern, 1984). Equally affirmed, we might add, are the conditions of the economic status quo. The problem is not with the system but with its victims.

The suppression of the homeless ranges widely from attempts to deal with the homeless in a relatively humane fashion to areas where the homeless are treated with official contempt and, in effect, homelessness is defined in vagrancy laws and similar laws as a crime.

Federal responsibility for the homeless has thus far been confined to proposals for shelter provision. A Brookings institution study proposed 1.7 million housing units by 1990 (Alter, 1984, p. 23). In 1984, a Democratic party bill in the House Appropriations Committee would have put \$60 million into shelters for the homeless. Taking the lowest estimate of the homeless population this would amount to 67 cents per day per homeless person. The bill was opposed by the Reagan administration as too expensive (Washington Post, May 5, 1984). It is clear that the homeless will not do well to look for an end to their misery from the U.S. Government. Never-the-less, institutional reforms that would help alleviate the suffering seem obvious.

Economic Policy and Care for the Sick

The federal government and the states take some institutional responsibility for the mentally ill. As discussed earlier, the problem lies in follow up support and treatment for the deinstitutionalized. State-federal cooperation on care for the chronically mentally disordered and substance abusers requires planful appropriation and distribution of funding to insure that the incentive is to provide follow-up care rather than to simply unload patients. The Callahan decision in New York, in effect, held both the city and

the state responsible for providing food and shelter for the homeless (Stern, 1984).

Sometimes pressure for economic change will generate institutional reforms on the part of those in power in order to secure the status quo. Goals for change in the interest of the homeless might include:

1. A guaranteed adequate annual income. An old liberal idea, the population-stabilizing and market-generating capacity of this economic "reform" would have appeal for those concerned with the increasing social disorder which increasingly frequent and severe cycles of unemployment generate.
2. Federal work projects with guaranteed minimum wages in areas of high economic displacement. A lot of socially necessary work needs doing from railroad repair, to water purification plants, to waste cleanup, to manufacture of solar energy devices. Construction jobs would be naturally targeted to federal housing for the homeless and pay a union wage scale.
3. Federal wage supplements to employers willing to hire the indigent.
4. The creation of "urban safe places" for the transient which would encompass few restraints on the homeless but would provide minimal shelter, food and protective services.

Organization for Needs

However effective the residual and institutional reforms, the "primary prevention" of homelessness lies in bringing economic change that precludes many of the conditions of homelessness. Such change can come about by the organized communal efforts of the homeless and their natural allies. But is this a starry-eyed notion or a possibility? We will examine the potential for organized efforts of the homeless themselves based upon our ethnographic data.

For many years, the homeless in the Sacramento area have camped on the banks of the American River. In January of 1984, six of the homeless decided to organize a tent city on the state capital grounds to protest the lack of facilities for the homeless in the

areas as well as the harassment of the group by the police. "The biggest thing" Charlie K., one of the organizers, told me

"is when you sleep on the river bank -- you wake up you're as tired as when you went to sleep. At first crack of a twig you wake up -- it's a matter of survival. Drop in centers are not safe. There's not control there. Just like the mission. They cut a guy's head and took his shirt off him. There ain't no safe place."

The first effort to start the encampment failed because the organizer, Tiny, a 350 pound giant who had collected money for the communal group, left his tent in the middle of the night for parts unknown, money in hand. In spite of this setback however, the homeless regrouped, formed the United Street People's Association and made plans to camp on the Capital lawn. State authorities reluctantly gave their approval to the group with the disclaimer that the homeless would have to provide portable toilets sufficient to the group so as not to use the facilities in the office building. After a week of fund raising the homeless people had arranged for and paid for two "port-a-potties." They had also taken responsibility for keeping order in the camp. Some politicians, reporters, church people and state police were sympathetic to the demands of the homeless. Tents and sheets of plastic were put up to protect the 50 homeless people against the rain and cold. Clothes lines were set up holding large cardboard signs with message such as "Streets are not safe for sleeping", "United Street people -- Here to stay", "Poverty Resistance." Other cardboard signs contained the addresses and phone numbers of Food Closets, Missions, and places to receive used clothing.

Sam M., one of the organizers of the tent city, talked about his motivation for participation.

"Somebody's got to make a stand. There's roughly 80,000 homeless in California . . . This has been going on so long. This ain't but a drop in the bucket. There's 50 people on the (American) river for every person you see here. They're scared--- tired of rejection. They just give up." (What happens when they give up?) "They hit the wine bottle to where they can't do nothin'. Just like me. That's what got me into this situation in the first place. I haven't touched a bottle in 6

years. We've got people trying to get in the Halfway House. That's filled up."

Sam M. describes the dilemma the group faced after losing their money to Tiny.

"The hardest thing to do is to keep people from giving up. I know I'm gonna make it out there because I have for so many years (4). We was on the verge of leaving but we said we'll give it more time. There is some of them out here who can't make it. If it wasn't for them, I would be in San Diego."

Les R., another organizer for the group, had been a homeless person for 2 years. He was the spokesman for the group to the media and had obtained a degree from a California University. When I interviewed him, three weeks into the encampment, he was quite upbeat about the groups prospects.

"It's the people who have been down and now are up that will help us. They know what it is and that is where we get our collective strength. Listen, with this group and the rules we have set up and with us taking turns patrolling it, the violence has been cut down 100 percent. I know we have cut down drinking by 40 percent and drug use is down and we not only care about each other here but we make the outside world understand what's coming down. With people like those teenagers in that tent, to the old timers like me, we've got to say hey, it's time to stop ripping each other off and get something worth while started here. If we maintain it (the Camp), they don't have a reason to make us leave it. We have to keep it clean and well organized."

However, on February 12, 1984, the Los Angeles Times reported that "A group of about 40 campers who have been sleeping in a tent city on the Capital lawn for three weeks to dramatize a plea for more state aid for the homeless pulled up stakes as ordered by state officials" . . . a spokesman for the campers said they may seek another permit in the future depending on what else happens as a result of the tent city."

I had asked Sam M. what would happen if the homeless were removed from the Capital grounds.

"Well, we will try to keep this thing going, you know, down at the river if we have to. All we need

is a place and some few resources. I know we can do the rest of it, which is make a safe place out of it. That bill they have in Congress now for emergency shelter would only provide about 60 cents per person per night. We could do it on that and just a place to stay. We learned that we could do it."

I had heard that the homeless had reestablished their tent city near the American River but I was unable to contact them.

Despite Sam M.'s enthusiasm, communities for the homeless run by the homeless do seem to face overwhelming obstacles. Nevertheless, the homeless do seem ready when possible to organize and confront the middle class world with their plight. On March 7, 1984 one hundred homeless people bearing flowers and the names of the dead on crosses marched through Los Angeles Skid Row in memory of the homeless who have died. One of the groups sponsoring the memorial was the Poor Peoples Committee which is composed of the formerly homeless. Again the idea of the poor helping the poor comes into bold relief.

Between Los Angeles and Sacramento lies the pleasant beach city of Santa Barbara and it too has a share of homeless people. Here also is organizing coming from the homeless themselves. It is roughly estimated that there is a homeless population of 1500 in the city and the number of emergency beds for the population is 100 (Homeless Peoples Newsletter, February 1984).

Nancy M. one of our informants in the Santa Barbara area is an exceptional individual in several ways. She is a second generation homeless person. She is blond, in her thirties, about six feet tall with hands which show the results of a great deal of manual labor. She delivers several hundred Los Angeles Times a day for a steady income. She has a nine year old son and another child on the way. She lives in the back of a beat up camper. "I'm a fortunate homeless person because I haven't lost my job and my salary is \$600 a month. I pay \$100 per month on my camper and when that is done I will have equity built up."

Nancy also knows nearly all the homeless in the city and spends a good deal of her time supporting their efforts to improve their lot. Moreover she is one of the founders of the Homeless Peoples Association

and editor of the Homeless Peoples Newsletter. She routinely lobbies the mayor, chief of police and other authorities in behalf of the homeless.

Nancy concurs with the Sacramento homeless in several ways.

"People are afraid here. They feel safer on the streets than in a shelter. You'd have to have a shelter that's totally different . . . Middle class people think that homeless people are bugs. It's their fault, they're bad. Why don't they get a job . . . Five officers in Santa Cruz got caught playing Russian Roulette with street people. They would hand cuff them, put a spent bullet in their gun. The guys were on their knees just begging for their lives, (what happened then?) They got fired. There is a hatred for the transient and homeless."

Nancy M. does appear to have the ability to draw the street people of the city together, to form alliances with other concerned people and to generate a sense of community within the homeless population. The homeless in Santa Barbara tend to congregate around a gigantic tree, the Morton Bay Fig, in a small park. Here Nancy and a friend circulate copies of the Homeless Peoples newsletter. This costs about \$40 per month to produce and the funds of this are raised by Nancy and others.

The Homeless Peoples Association which consists of street people and those living in their vehicles is centered around the fig tree and its environs. The H.P.A. motto is "We want to be off the streets as much as you want us off the streets" and it's long term goals are communal in nature. They are attempting to get city ordinances changed which provide fines or arrest for those sleeping in their cars. They also work to establish a park or property where the homeless can gather without fear of violence by criminals or the police. They also provide emotional and legal support for the homeless, emergency food and a day job service at no cost.

Much of this effort toward community has come from Nancy M.

"I see some really neat progress in some things. My boyfriend and I put an ad in the paper once a week. (That's all we can afford). It's for cleaning, painting etc for \$5 per hour labor. It's

only a day's job but it sounds good to the guys. It puts money in their pockets and they can treat themselves. You can see the difference in these guys. They feel good earning a little money. They say aw, I don't have to work. If I was in their position, I'd be saying the same thing. Because the reason I'm not working is I don't like to work. They say that when they're depressed. That's the psychology of it. I know the hardship of those hooked on booze or drugs but a lot of single men don't take either."

When Nancy's communal effort run her afoul of the local powers that be,

"I'll go to the city council and try to do something and the jungle (where the homeless congregate) will be raided by the police. One time they said, you can thank your friend Nancy for this one. Just what I need, you know . . . I'm really good friends with the rest of the street people. They've lived in my camper. We do dumpster diving, you know garbage diving. We do some feeding. We make the best stews you can imagine."

Nancy's vision is a free environment for the well functioning homeless. For those with special problems such as emotional disturbance or alcohol problems, small violence free shelters should be put in place. For those who simply need a change of clothes, a job and shelter, there should be uncrowded public space. Like the homeless in Northern California, Nancy is committed to the idea that homeless people can run their own communities with some resources from the outside world. In fact, the trust and charismatic nature of Nancy makes her uniquely qualified to work on communal ventures with other street people. The homeless in Santa Barbara are fortunate in that they do have financial support for advocacy work as well as socially concerned lawyers who contribute time to legal disputations concerning the homeless.

Although Nancy continues to have dreams of her own such as owning a mobile home, she with several other homeless people in Santa Barbara are committed to creating a community of the dispossessed. "It cost me \$40 to put out the newsletter but I think we are connecting up with other street people. I don't know how much work I'm doing but if I keep talking I guess it helps. Yelling, even."

Even with all her energy, Nancy realizes that the creation of a "safe place" for the homeless, organized from the bottom up, represents a long struggle. For Nancy's friends the organization, the face to face meetings at the Fig tree, and the cooperation are coming into place. It is no accident that the communal ethic for all its difficulties becomes a reality during the Reagan years when personal survival becomes problematic or even impossible through personal efforts. "The transformation therefore occurs when impossibility itself becomes impossible, or when the synthetic event reveals that the impossibility of change is an impossibility of life" (Sartre; 1976).

Finally, there is the material problem of "place." In a word, where are the homeless to be allowed to do community experiments? Our interviews show that a significant segment of the homeless have the ideological commitment and organizing skills to make a worthy attempt at community building. Yet these skills and commitments are a chimera if they are not allowed to take shape in a safe place. A "place" for the homeless is always contingent on community good will and more importantly, upon financial resources. This then is a political problem dealing with government at all levels and it is a government which (in 1984) is not favorably disposed to "maximum community participation."

Conclusion

The homeless in America are symptomatic of the decay of the social and economic system as it lurches from boom to bust in quickening strides. The human casualties can only become more visible, more desperate, more numerous but not inevitably more powerless if, as we have observed and suggested in this paper, they are more organized in their own behalf. Fundamental structural change in the service of people and their basic needs seems more remote now than in the past. Yet, through cooperative energy, people can dramatize their plight and make demands upon the more fortunate.

As several of the homeless informants pointed out, cooperation to some degree is necessary for survival on the streets. It is clear that a more satisfactory solution to the problem of the homeless will require cooperation between those with leadership potential

among the street people and those middle class institutions with access to money and resources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alter, Jonathan et al., "Homeless in America," Newsweek, January 2, 1984, pp. 20-29.

Bahr, Howard M., (Ed.) Disaffiliated Man, (Toronto University of Toronto, 1970).

Baxter, Ellen & Kim Hooper, Private Lives, Public Spaces: Homeless Adults on the Streets of New York City (New York: Community Service Society, 1981).

Becker, Howard S., Outsiders, (New York: Free Press, 1963).

Bureau of Labor Statistics News, United States Dept. of Labor, December 14, 1982; January 18, 1983.

Fustero, Stephen, "Home on the Street," Psychology Today, February 1984, 58.

Goldman, Howard H., Antoinette A. Gattazzi, Carl A. Taube, "Defining and Counting the Chronically Mentally Ill," Hospital and Community Psychiatry, (Vol. 32, No. 1, January 1981), pp. 21-27.

Homeless Peoples Newsletter (February 1984).

Lernoux, Penny, The Cry of the People, revised edition (London: Penquin, 1980) carries a description the base communities created by priests such as Ernesto Cardinal.

Los Angeles Times, February 12, 1984, p.

Mechanic, David, Mental Health and Social Policy. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1980).

Newsweek, January 2, 1984, pgs. 18-29.

- Price, Richard and Sallie S. Smith, "Two Decades of Reform in the Mental Health System (1963-1983)," In Edward Seidman (Ed.) Handbook of Social Intervention, (California: Sage, 1983), pp. 408-437.
- Rathman, David J., The Discovery of the Asylum, (Boston: Little Brown, 1971).
- Roberts, Ron E., The New Communes: Coming Together in America, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall 1971).
- Romanyshyn, John M., Social Welfare: Charity to Justice (New York: Random House, Inc., 1971).
- Rosenthal, Rob, "Homeless Peoples Project," (of Santa Barbara) Interim Report #1 and 12. (June 1983, January 1984).
- Rousseau, Ann Marie, Shopping Bag Ladies: (Homeless Women Speak About their Lives (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981).
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, Critique of Dialectical Reason, (Translated by Alan Sheridan-Smith) (London: Verso Editions, 1976).
- Scully, Andrew T., Museums of Madness, (New York: St. Martins, 1979).
- Segal, Steven, et al, "Falling Through the Cracks: Mental Disorder and Social margin in a Young Vagrant Population," Social Problems, (Vol. 24, no. 3: Feb. 1977), 387-400.
- Spradley, James P. The Ethnographic Interview (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979).
- Stern, Mark J., "The Emergence of the Homeless as a Public Problem," Social Service Review, (June, 1984), pp. 291-301.
- Turnball, Colin, The Mountain People, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).

THE LATENT FUNCTIONS OF WELFARE
AND NEED-SATISFACTION OF THE DISADVANTAGED*

Zeev Ben-Sira

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem: School of Social
Work, Jerusalem and University of Washington: School
of Social Work, Seattle

ABSTRACT

In a study carried out among a representative sample of Jewish Israeli adults, a paradigm of need-satisfaction by direct welfare assistance has been developed and, to a great extent, empirically supported. Multivariate analysis revealed that, despite the fact that it is recognized as indispensable in facilitating basic living conditions, direct welfare assistance, whatever its kind, predicts frustration rather than need-satisfaction. The data ascertain that attributing to the welfare assistance the latent functions of preserving consumers' inferiority and of pursuing the agencies' and the welfare workers' interests rather than those of the consumers, constitute a major factor in the resulting feeling of frustration. Dependence, a sense of deprivation, and the attribution of these latent functions, rather than need-satisfaction beyond those of facilitating basic living conditions, are greatly predicted by receiving direct welfare assistance.

*This paper is based on a research project on "interethnic relations in the Israeli Jewish society: Identification, Alienation and Integrative Mechanisms," funded by a grant from the Israeli National Council of Research and Development, and carried out in the framework of the Israeli Institute of Applied Social Research. My gratitude is expressed to the Council whose funding made this study possible, and for their permission to use the data. I am particularly indebted to Haya Gratch from the IIASR for her indispensable assistance and help in editing the paper.

INTRODUCTION

Recent evidence from studies on the readjustment of individuals who suffered a traumatic loss (disability or bereavement) suggests that assistance from a rehabilitation agency predicts dependence on that agency, rather than psychosocial readjustment (Ben-Sira 1981; 1983a; Smith and Midanik 1980). Dependence, in turn, was found to be extremely detrimental to the achievement of intervention's goals, eventually resulting in maladjustment (Albrecht and Higgins 1977; Ben-Sira 1981; 1983a; Cull and Hardy 1973; Goldin et al. 1972; Stotsky 1963). It has been suggested to view this outcome as a consequence of the needy person's sense of inferiority and powerlessness (due to his/her resource deficiency) vis-a-vis professionals or bureaucrats who control indispensable resources (e.g., Blau 1969:22; Freidson 1972:72-80). Yet resource-deficiency, by definition, is the motive for turning to professional intervention--an intervention evidently having the overt goal of enhancing the needy individual's coping capacity. How, then, can the obvious resource inequality in the professional-client interaction lead to the consequence of maladjustment--a consequence which contradicts the overt goal of the intervention? There are allusions that inherent in the professional intervention are factors which latently counteract its overt goals. Among these were mentioned the "increasing bureaucratization of the public welfare organization inevitably [leading] to a reduction in... humanitarianism" (Wright et al. 1983:166-167); monopolization of "esoteric" professional expertise reflecting a growing aggregation of power in the hands of the professionals (Elliott 1972:112-114; Jackson 1970:2; Johnson 1972:51); and an ideology assuming the "superiority of specialized knowledge and expertise [and] well-defined role distance between practitioner and client" (Wright et al. 1983:149). Under these circumstances, chances are that authority maintenance and power enhancement may eventually become a predominant, though latent goal in professional activity (Goffman 1968:73-88; Perrow 1969:70-72)--presumably being a reward for the professional (e.g., Doob 1983:85, 150). As for consumers, there seems to be awareness of this trend, finding expression in growing distrust in the

aims of the professionals, giving rise to questions as to whose interests are actually being served and who ultimately is the beneficiary of the services--the professional or the consumer (e.g., Betz and O'Connell 1983; Burnham 1982; Cihlar 1979). Consumerist activities (Haug 1976; Haug and Lavin 1981; Haug and Sussman 1969) or ideologies such as the Movement for Independent Living (De Jong 1981; 1979) reflect the public's response to the latent aims which professionals presumably pursue.

However, the crucial question for the issue at hand is to what extent is the awareness of needy consumers of these latent functions detrimental to their need-satisfaction. Elucidating the eventual deleterious consequences of attributing such latent functions to welfare agencies seems of particular importance when recipients of welfare assistance are concerned. This segment of society which is the most deficient of resources (Blau 1973:233) is by definition also the least capable of responding to such latent functions. For this group, a feeling of being an object toward whom "the professional is anxious to demonstrate...his/her power and authority" (Wright et al. 1983:56) may deepen the feeling of deprivation by society which deliberately perpetuates their inferiority, i.e., powerlessness, its extreme result being alienation from that society (Schwartz 1973:211).

Interestingly, despite the fact that the ultimate goal of welfare assistance is need-satisfaction of the needy, systematic empirical investigation of consumers' assessments was confined to satisfaction with the service, rather than satisfaction of their needs. Thus, for instance, a recent study which developed and empirically validated scales of welfare-consumer satisfaction, was confined to satisfaction with the social workers' attitudes and behavior (Reid and Gundlach 1983). Also earlier studies on consumer assessments confined their investigation to the relationship between social worker and client (Beck and Jones 1971) or to feeling of deprivation by service (Timms and Mayer 1971).

The aim of this study is to elucidate the extent to which the welfare recipients' inclination to attribute to the helping professionals the latent goal of promoting their self-interests through their helping

the needy may result in the welfare recipients' frustration rather than need-satisfaction.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Consumers' need-satisfaction

Alienation is evidently the most commonly referred to ultimate consequence of societal deprivation (Seeman 1971; 1959), implying expressions at both the social and individual level (Taviss 1969). The former implies perceiving the social system oppressive and incompatible with desires, and a feeling estrangement from it; in other words, perceiving society as hostile and punishing rather than gratifying. The latter implies an ultimate feeling of incapability of controlling one's own activities.

I posit that resolution of alienation, which, by inference from Merton's (1965:139-160) classic typology of adaptation implies successful integration into society, be conceived as the ultimate need-satisfaction.

Factors promoting need-satisfaction

What, then, are the factors that facilitate a needy individual's reintegration into society, i.e., achieving need-satisfaction? Following recent developments in the study of stress and coping (Antonovsky 1979; Ben-Sira 1981; 1983a), enhancing a needy person's sense of coping capacity would constitute the first step toward reintegration into society. In fact, this goal essentially coincides with the ultimate attributes of welfare services, as suggested by Reid and Gundlach (1983), i.e., enhancement of the welfare recipient's self-esteem and sense of power. Coping capacity by definition implies achieving the desired results in return for one's effort--namely, in terms of classic exchange theory, getting from society rewards proportional to one's investment hence promoting a feeling of society being basically just (Homans 1961:234-242). That, in turn, would lead to perceiving welfare assistance as essentially aimed at the recipient's benefit; in other words, perceiving welfare as pursuing its manifest functions. Under these circumstances, welfare assistance may have the

potential of promoting need-satisfaction of welfare recipients. In the form of a testable hypothesis, it is suggested that:

- (1) Welfare assistance → coping capacity → social justice → perception of manifest functions of welfare → societal reintegration.

Frustration: A consequence of the perception of welfare's latent functions

However, contrary to the overt goals, chances are that receiving welfare assistance will result in perpetuating dependence on that assistance--implying inability to cope with demands by means of own resources. Dependence, despite the assistance, may lead recipients to interpret their condition as being a consequence of deliberate deprivation aimed at perpetuating their inferiority.^{*} Promoting the interests of the power-holders (Blau 1973:234-5) may serve them as an expedient explanation for perpetuating the recipients' inferiority--an explanation greatly conforming with the earlier delineated distrust in the professionals' aims (e.g., Betz and O'Connell 1983). Thus, welfare assistance may be suspected to fulfill latent functions for the "benefactor's" benefit. Perceiving welfare assistance as fulfilling such latent functions may ultimately result, as pointed out earlier (Schwartz 1973) in alienation from society. The consequence, then, is frustration, rather than need-satisfaction. Thus, it is hypothesized that:

*For instance, allocation of monetary assistance ("resource compensation") instead of engaging in laborious efforts of motivating the recipient toward integration into productive life ("resource enhancement") may initially seem to satisfy the recipient, but at the same time perpetuate his/her dependence (Ben-Sira 1983b). In the long run, however, the welfare worker may be blamed for having allocated compensation with the deliberate intention of perpetuating the recipient's inferior condition, for his own benefit.

- (2) Welfare assistance → dependence → sense of deprivation → perception of latent functions → alienation (i.e., frustration).

Thus, direct compensation may have two contradictory consequences, as reflected schematically in Figure 1. Considering, however, the conditions under which each outcome may be achieved, it follows from our line of reasoning that chances for such assistance to result in frustration (its ultimate expression being alienation) are greater than in need-satisfaction (namely, reintegration).

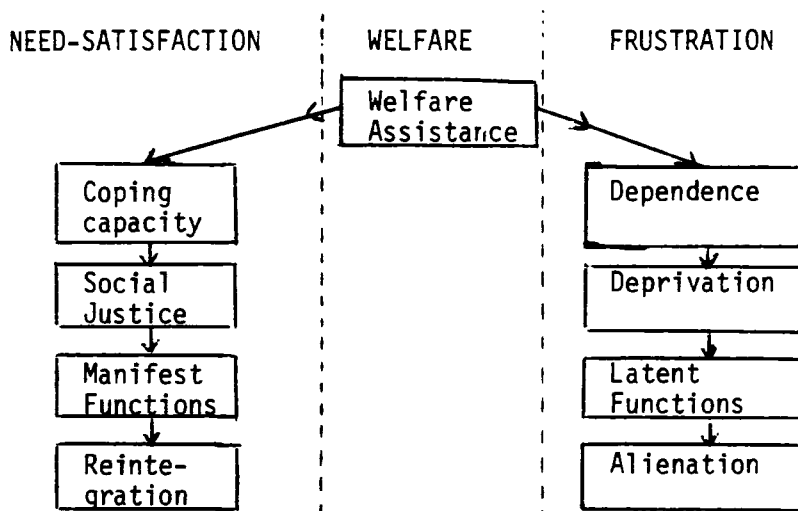


Figure 1: Schematic portrayal of hypothesized paradigm of need-satisfaction/frustration by welfare assistance

METHOD

Sample and fieldwork

A representative random sample (Appendix A) of Israel Jewish adults (aged 20+) (N=1179) drawn systematically from the Israeli voting register, was investigated by means of a closed questionnaire presented to them by interviewers in the respondents' homes during July-August 1982.

Measures

(a) Welfare assistance: Any direct assistance received from welfare services by respondent or spouse as a consequence of resource insufficiency for coping with fundamental needs of existence was conceptualized as "welfare assistance."* A list of assistance items was presented to respondents asking whether they or their spouse have received or are receiving such assistance. Items were classified into three types, and grouped into three compound measures: (i) material compensation for disability or loss of breadwinner (4 items); (ii) material compensation for neediness (e.g., general monetary assistance, unemployment allowance, allowance for dependent relatives (5 items); (iii) non-material assistance (e.g., assistance for problematic children such as special education, instruction in parenting and placement in foster homes, instruction in housekeeping - (5 items). Extent of assistance was measured by the number of assistance items received.

(b) Dependence: Following Rotter (1966), dependence was conceptualized as "external locus of control," implying one's life being controlled by others--hence being dependent on others for satisfying one's daily needs. A composite measure, based on Rotter's (1966) Index of Locus of Control was constructed. The measure intends to identify the extent of internal vs. external locus of control. The items comprising the scale were: (1) Not having control over things that happen to me; (2) Feeling of being pushed around; (3) I can do just anything I really set my mind to do; (4) Inclined to feel that I am a failure; (5) One the whole I am satisfied with myself; (6) Feel useless at times; (7) Feel helpless to deal with problems of life; (8) What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me; (9) I feel that I am a person of value, at least as an equal to others;

*Payments which are universally allocated independent from the recipient's economic condition (e.g., children-allowance, birth-allowance) were not included in the concept of "welfare assistance."

(10) There is little I can do to change many of the important things in life.

After rearranging the categories so that all eight are in the same direction, the items formed a Guttman scale. (C.O.R. .80 which though relative weak still gives some confidence of relating to the same content universe.)

(c) Coping capacity was defined as the needy person's ability to meet the basic demands of existence: one item focused on the extent to which welfare assistance provided the basic means for existence (1. To a very great extent... 6. Not at all). A second question asked whether the recipient's present economic condition enabled him/her to meet the family's needs. (1. Definitely sufficient for meeting all the needs... 4. Not sufficient for meeting most of the family's needs). The first item indicated resource compensation, while the second reflected the outcome of resource enhancement (Ben-Sira 1983b).

(d) Latent functions: A composite measure comprising seven statements was intended to elucidate the extent to which respondents perceived goals of welfare as satisfying aims other than those of the needy person. The items were as follows (factor analysis ascertained that items related to the same underlying factor. Factor loading of items indicated in parentheses): 1. enhancing bureaucrat's power (.58); 2. making the recipient dependent on the professional (.64); 3. calming down the poor rather than helping them (.63); 4. helping those who have influence with politicians (favoritism) (.59); 5. widening intergroup gap by giving money instead of helping find a job (.51); 6. causing social injustice through unjust distribution of resources (.52); 7. helping mainly the troublemakers in order to avoid trouble for themselves (.66). (1. Definitely agree... 6. Definitely disagree).

(e) Manifest functions: A composite measure comprising two items (included in the same battery of items as the latent functions) was intended to elucidate the extent to which respondents perceived the goals of welfare as predominantly helping the needy. The items were: 1. predominantly to help the disadvantaged to live a decent life; 2. to promote social justice by transferring some resources from the

rich to the need (1. Definitely agree... 6. Definitely disagree).

(f) Sense of deprivation: One question asked about the extent to which the respondent felt being deprived by society. (1. Very often... 5. Never).

(g) Social justice: One question was intended to elucidate whether the Israeli society is perceived as just. (1. To a very great extent... 5. Not at all, no social justice at all).

(h) Alienation. A composite measure comprising six items based on the commonly used alienation scale (e.g., Seeman 1971; 1959; Schwartz 1973) was modified to conform to Israeli conditions. The following six statements were posed to respondents: (1) Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself; (2) In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse and not better; (3) It is hardly fair to bring children into the world, with the way things look for the future; (4) Party membership is more important than talents in order to achieve something; (5) Having the right connections is more important than talents in order to achieve something; (6) Anybody with a talent can progress in this country (order of categories of this item was changed in the course of computation). (1. Strongly agree... 6. Strongly disagree). The responses to the six items, after dichotomization, formed a Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility (C.O.R.) of .79--which though relatively weak, still alludes to their relating to the same content universe. The score of 1 represented highest level of alienation, and 5 the lowest.

(i) Societal integration was measured by a composite measure comprising two items: Feeling at home in Israel (1. To a great extent... 5. Not at all), and ability to adjust to the situation (1. Certain he/she will adjust... 4. Certain he/she is unable to adjust).

Data analysis

(a) Correlations: In accordance with the aim of the study, which is to elucidate the extent to which the variables are predictive of need-satisfaction or frustration of the recipients of welfare assistance, the strength of the relationship among the items was

deemed an appropriate indicator of their predictive power. A weak monotonicity correlation coefficient (r_2)--which is especially appropriate in conditions such as ours where linearity is not assumed--was used (Guttman and Levy 1975; Rave 1978). The formula for r_2 is as follows: Given n pairs of observations of numerical variables (x,y) , x_i, y_i ($i = 1,2,\dots,n$), then

$$r_2 = \frac{\sum_{h=1}^n \sum_{i=1}^n (x_h - x_i)(y_h - y_i)}{\sum_{h=1}^n \sum_{i=1}^n |x_h - x_i| |y_h - y_i|}$$

(b) Smallest Space Analysis (SSA): The rationale underlying the hypothesized paradigm (Figure 1) requires a definite "consequential" order among the variables--an order being determined by the relative proximity of each variable in relation to all others. For the purpose of this study, "proximity" is defined, according to Guttman (1966) (Elizur 1970:58) by the strength of the intercorrelations among the variables: the stronger the correlation between a pair of variables, the closer they are. Thus, empirical support to the hypothesized paradigm requires technique that facilitates inferring conclusions from the overall structure produced by the interrelationships among all the variables in a multivariate content universe. Such a technique should enable a simultaneous perception of the predictive power of such variable vis-a-vis all the other variables, thus enabling to arrive at conclusions regarding the usefulness of each of the hypotheses (1 or 2) in predicting need-satisfaction and frustration, hence resulting in an empirical verification of the suggested paradigm in Figure 1. A practical technique is Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) (Ben-Sira and Guttman 1971; Bloombaum 1970), which is a graphic display of the interrelationships among the variables, reflecting the relation of each variable vis-a-vis all the others. In the SSA technique, the computer locates the variables as points on a map according to the strength of the correlations among them: the stronger the positive correlation between two variables, the smaller the distance between the points representing

them; the weaker the positive correlation (or the stronger the negative correlation) between two variables the greater the distance between the points representing them. The extent of accuracy to which the spatial distances on the map reflect the actual relationships is expressed by the Coefficient of Alienation (COA): the smaller the coefficient of alienation the more accurate the fit. A coefficient of .15 is considered a relatively accurate fit (Brown 1985).

Conclusions are derived from the entire structure reflecting the relative proximity among all variables and not merely from specific pairwise relations. (For an extensive discussion on the value of this method and illustration of its application, see Canter 1985; Guttman 1981:36,43; Borg 1981).

RESULTS

The structure of need-satisfaction

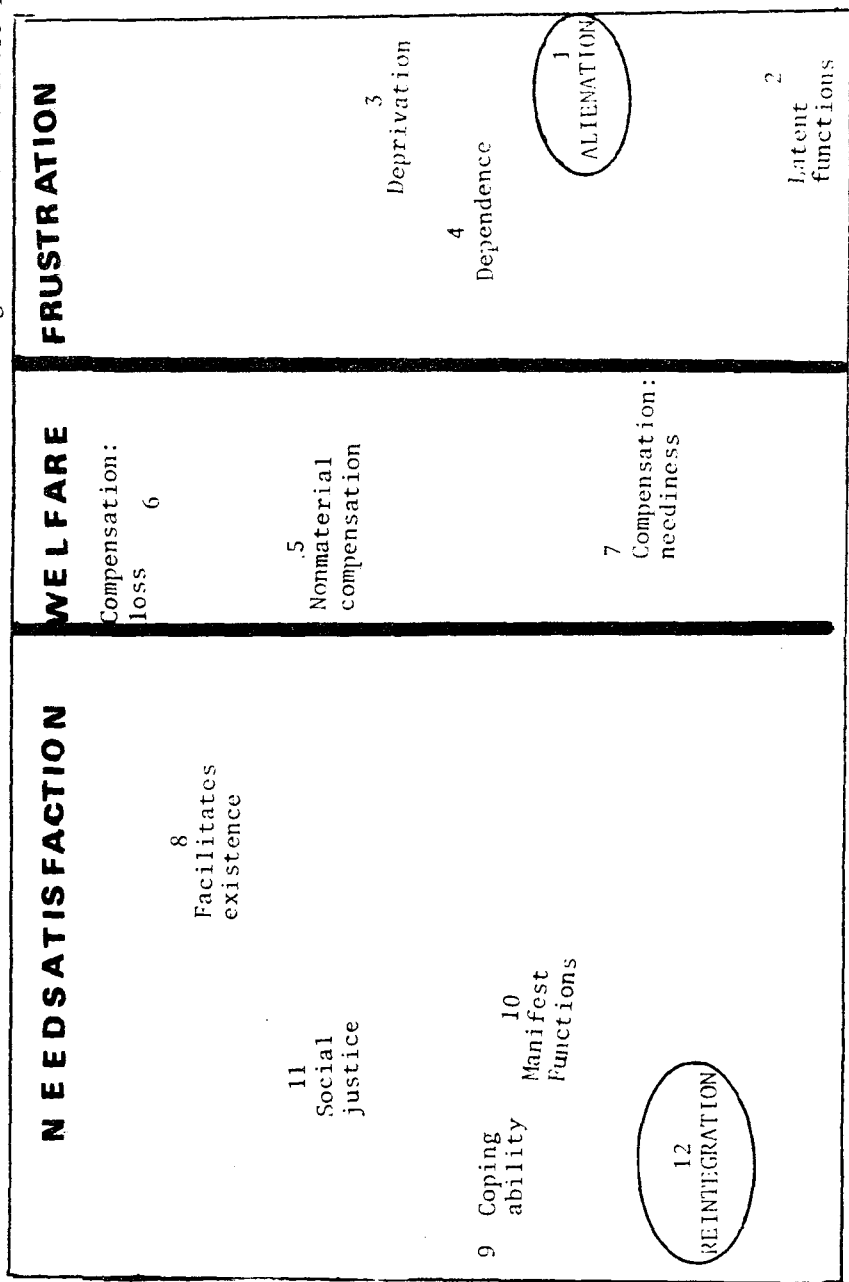
The SSA-1 (Figure 2), which displays graphically the interrelations among the variables on the basis of the coefficients in Table 1, reveals a structure which in general terms greatly supports the hypothesized pattern, highlighting in particular that welfare compensation predicts better frustration than need-satisfaction. This conclusion is inferred from the location of the variables on the SSA map (Figure 2): on the extreme right is located the variable indicating alienation (Var.1), on the extreme left integration (Var.12). The farther an item is to the right (i.e., closer to alienation), the greater its power to predict (i.e., the stronger its correlation with) alienation; the farther an item is to the left (closer to integration), the greater its power to predict integration.

The location of the variables according to their interrelationships forms three areas: moving from right to left, the area on the right (hence close to the alienation item) comprises items indicating the frustrating consequences of welfare assistance. Following close to it is the area comprising items denoting getting welfare compensation, followed by the third area which includes the rather scattered items of need-satisfaction. The location of the variables on

Matrix of Intercorrelations (r_{22}) among Welfare Assistance, Need-satisfaction and Frustration Variables
(Total Population N = 1179)

Variable	FRUSTRATION				WELFARE				NEED-SATISFACTION			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Frustration	1	--										
	2	.63	--									
	3	.48	.27	--								
	4	.40	.15	.45	--							
Welfare assistance	5	.10	.06	.20	.20	--						
	6	.14	-.01	.20	.07	.56	--					
	7	.12	.16	.08	.11	.34	.09	--				
Need-satisfaction	8	-.03	-.17	.00	.05	.43	.63	.18	--			
	9	-.41	-.34	-.39	-.29	-.26	-.25	-.17	-.03	--		
	10	-.05	-.16	-.07	.06	-.02	-.06	.04	.15	.13	--	
	11	-.40	-.29	-.35	-.15	-.12	-.07	-.16	.04	.32	.21	
	12	-.36	-.28	-.33	-.39	-.07	-.16	-.10	-.06	.39	.08	
											.33	

Figure 2. Empirical structure of the paradigm of needsatisfaction by welfare assistance
(Smallest Space Analysis--SSA--of the intercorrelations among variables for Table 1)



Coefficient of Alienation = 0.108

the map clearly shows the greater proximity of welfare assistance to the frustration items than to need-satisfaction items, thus supporting the hypothesized frustrating consequences of welfare compensation.

As hypothesized (Hyp. 2), receiving welfare assistance predicts dependence (external locus of control), which in turn predicts a sense of deprivation, leading to a perception of welfare as fulfilling latent functions, eventually resulting in alienation (i.e., frustration). On the other hand, receiving assistance, though relatively close to the variable of providing basic existence needs, it is quite far from the other variables of need-satisfaction, namely, coping ability, perceiving society as just, perceiving welfare's manifest functions and ultimately leading to societal integration, thus refuting hypothesis 1.

However, an inspection of the correlation coefficients (Table 1) reveals some noteworthy deviances. First, though "latent functions," as hypothesized, is the most strongly correlated item with alienation ($r_2 = .63$), contrary to our expectation, deprivation and dependence are more strongly correlated with alienation than with latent functions (correlations = .48 and .40 respectively). Second, though welfare, as hypothesized, reveals an overall positive relationship with the frustration variables, and negative association (except for one item--see below) with the satisfaction variables, most of the coefficients are rather weak. The only salient deviance from the hypothesized pattern is the strong positive correlations of welfare assistance with the items relating to assistance in providing basic subsistence needs (correlations = .18, .63, and .43). The latter item, however, is distinct from all other satisfaction items. Thus, though assistance does help in meeting basic needs, it seems unable to go beyond that, namely, to lead to a sense of integration into society. In fact, the pattern of negative (though very weak) association with all other need-satisfaction items is noteworthy, requiring further prying into the interrelationships, as will be done in the next section.

Type of compensation, need-satisfaction and frustration

Up to now, the data referred to the population as a whole, highlighting the general effect of receiving welfare. The next step in investigating the veracity of the proposed paradigm, requires exploring the interrelationships among the frustration and need-satisfaction variables among recipients of each type of compensation.

First, as shown in Tables 2, 3, and 4, the overall consistency in the pattern of intercorrelations among recipients of each type of compensation is striking. Interestingly, however, the strongest correlation between attribution of latent functions and alienation is among recipients of nonmaterial assistance ($r_2 = .71$) and of compensation for neediness (.66); the weakest among recipients of compensations for loss (.52). Second, in all types of assistance, perceiving welfare as fulfilling latent functions is negatively correlated with need-satisfaction - (loss: -.26; neediness: -.37; nonmaterial: -.27). Thus, perceiving welfare's latent function is contradictory to need-satisfaction, particularly among those who receive nonmaterial* assistance and compensation for neediness.

At this stage, the correlations of perceiving welfare assistance as providing basic means for existence (item 5) with all other variables is noteworthy. On the one hand, whatever the type of assistance, perceiving assistance as providing basic needs both weakens perception of welfare's latent function and strengthens perception of manifest functions. This pattern is particularly strong among recipients of nonmaterial assistance (correlation with latent functions = -.38; with manifest functions = +.39). On the other hand, its correlations with dependence and alienation can hardly lead to conclusions regarding both alleviation of dependence and enhancement of need-satisfaction (correlation of basic

*It should be recalled that nonmaterial assistance includes, among other things, instruction in parenting and household activities, placement of children in foster homes, etc., i.e., assistance that involves a great deal of interaction with social workers.

Table 2

Matrix of Intercorrelations (r^2) among Need-satisfaction and Frustration Variables:
Recipients of Welfare Assistance for Loss Only (N=226)

Variable	FRUSTRATION				NEED-SATISFACTION			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>Frustration</u>								
ALIENATION	1	--						
Latent Functions	2	.52	--					
Deprivation	3	.44	.20	--				
Dependence	4	.35	.22	.45	--			
<u>Need-satisfaction</u>								
Provides existence	5	-.08	-.12	-.22	-.01	--		
Coping ability	6	-.41	-.31	-.47	-.40	.07	--	
Manifest functions	7	.01	-.09	.06	.07	.22	.05	--
Social justice	8	-.26	-.11	-.29	.06	.19	.20	.25
REINTEGRATION	9	-.45	-.26	-.50	-.53	-.23	.46	-.03
								.35

Table 3
Matrix of Intercorrelations (r_{ij}) among Need-satisfaction and Frustration Variables:
Recipients of Welfare Assistance for Neediness Only (N=363)

Variable	FRUSTRATION				NEED-SATISFACTION			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>Frustration</u>								
ALIENATION	1	--						
Latent Functions	2	.66	--					
Deprivation	3	.54	.19	--				
Dependence	4	.52	.18	.53	--			
<u>Need-satisfaction</u>								
Provides existence	5	-.15	-.26	-.11	-.09	--		
Coping ability	6	-.39	-.34	-.39	-.28	-.01	--	
Manifest functions	7	-.05	-.05	-.10	-.03	.12	.10	--
Social justice	8	-.40	-.36	-.44	-.20	.08	.30	.32
REINTEGRATION	9	-.40	-.37	-.34	-.46	.01	.35	.02
							.02	.39

Table 4

Matrix of Intercorrelations (r^2) among Need-satisfaction and Frustration Variables:
Recipients of Nonmaterial Assistance Only (N=103)

Variable	FRUSTRATION				NEED-SATISFACTION			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>Frustration</u>								
ALIENATION	1	--						
Latent Functions	2	.71	--					
Deprivation	3	.37	.14	--				
Dependence	4	.33	.02	.53	--			
<u>Need-satisfaction</u>								
Provides existence	5	.00	-.38	-.04	.22	--		
Coping ability	6	-.56	-.35	-.56	-.46	.28	--	
Manifest functions	7	.03	-.25	.09	.13	.39	.17	--
Social justice	8	-.29	-.47	-.49	-.12	-.04	.30	.09
REINTEGRATION	9	-.45	-.27	-.03	-.36	-.26	.38	.01
								.15

needs with alienation = .00 and with dependence = +.22 among recipients of nonmaterial assistance; -.08 and -.01 respectively among recipients of assistance for loss; -.15 and -.09 among recipients of assistance for neediness).

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

The central question this study attempted to investigate was the extent to which direct assistance from public welfare services will result in alienation (the ultimate expression of frustration) rather than in reintegration (the ultimate expression of need-satisfaction). The rationale underlying the hypothesized paradigm of need-satisfaction/frustration was that implicit in the acceptance of welfare assistance lies dependence on a resource-controlling (i.e., powerful) agent. Continuous dependence on a powerful agent may lead to a sense of being deliberately deprived by providers who are suspected of serving their own interest rather than that of the recipient and interpreted as a pursuit of the latent aim of maintaining the recipient's inferior position.

The structure of the intercorrelations among the variables supported the hypothesized paradigm according to which receiving direct public welfare assistance does not necessarily lead to need-satisfaction. Whatever the type, welfare assistance is close to (i.e., correlated with) each of the frustration variables, which among themselves are intercorrelated, located remote from the need-satisfaction end of the continuum.

Considering the multivariate nature of the content universe of welfare-assistance-consequences, the conclusion from the interrelated constellation of the variables is that direct welfare compensation assistance has greater chances of resulting in frustration rather than need-satisfaction. Perceiving welfare assistance as fulfilling latent functions aimed predominantly at maintaining the recipient's inferior position, fulfills in this respect a central role. The specifically strong relationship between perception of latent functions and alienation among recipients of nonmaterial assistance serves as additional support of our line of reasoning, in view of the close interaction between the consumer and the social worker character-

izing this type of assistance, an interaction which renders professional dominance particularly salient.

How, then, can we understand the apparently contradictory finding that recognition of welfare as providing basic existence, though negatively correlated with latent functions, does not predict need-satisfaction (reintegration) nor alleviation of alienation--alienation being strongly correlated with latent functions? I believe that this finding highlights the cross-pressures to which recipients of welfare are exposed. On the one hand, they are in need of welfare aid for their basic existence; on the other hand, receiving such help implies dependence and consequently does not alleviate their alienation. Attributing latent functions to welfare may thus serve as a defense mechanism (displacement) against these cross-pressures, yet hardly results in need-satisfaction.

These conclusions, however, should be considered with caution, in light of several weaknesses. First, the study is unable to ascertain causality. In this respect, however, the present study does not differ from any other field study in the social sciences which has to use personal interviews for data collection (controlled experiments which allow for establishing causality are evidently irrelevant for the present type of study). Ascertaining causality merely by data analysis methods is seriously questioned today (Guttman 1977).

In light of these limitations, some confidence regarding the direction of the prediction may be obtained from the time sequence: whereas the report about receiving welfare compensations relates to a continuous process from the past to the present, the respondents' condition regarding alienation, attribution of latent functions, and sense of deprivation, relate to the present.

It could be argued, of course, that alienated people tend more than others to apply for welfare. But even so, the data indicate at least that welfare compensation fails to alleviate these feelings, and strengthens the attribution of latent functions. Even if attributing latent functions does not only determine alienation but also is determined by it, the strong correlation between these variables may mean that an

alienated person is very much inclined to blame welfare for his condition.

These findings bring up the question that has been raised in a recent paper (Ben-Sira 1983b) regarding the limits of the efficacy of welfare assistance as a resource compensation, and the efforts that should be devoted to resource enhancement activities. The earlier delineated cross-pressures seem to illustrate this point: on the one hand, direct assistance may be regarded as providing for basic living needs, but in the long run it may lead to feelings of deprivation, with its deleterious consequence. Of course, welfare assistance is concerned with the most underprivileged, who evidently lack the most basic resources. The question, however, is whether efforts are being made to identify and determine these limits, and therefrom start the laborious efforts of resource enhancement activities.

Thus, the study may at least draw attention to some of the deleterious consequences of welfare activities.

The earlier discussed inability of this study to establish causality imposes, of course, serious limitations upon these conclusions. However, the fact that the results conform greatly with those obtained for other needy populations (Ben-Sira 1981; 1983a; Smith and Midanik 1980), together with the earlier discussed time sequence, may give support to our conclusions. The weak correlations that were found between the assistance items and the other items could be considered as an additional weakness. However, as indicated earlier, it is not the specific pairwise relations that lead to our conclusions, but rather the entire structure (as determined by the relative position of each variable vis-a-vis all the others) that support the hypothesized paradigm. In other words, it is the overall pattern that should be considered. The consistent pattern of the relationships in all types of assistance that were investigated, as shown in Tables 2-4, may give confidence that these relationships are not merely by chance. (Consistency of the pattern of interrelationships evidently constitute a more reliable indicator of the meaningfulness of the relationships than statistical tests of significance, the validity of which is seriously questioned today--cf. Guttman 1977:94-96.)

The fact that this study is confined to the Israeli society, is doubtlessly a limitation on the external validity of the findings for other societies. Further research is needed for validating the paradigm in other cultural contexts. However, I think that the study may provide insights regarding the eventual deleterious consequences that welfare may have. The close association between alienation and attributing latent functions (whatever the direction of the prediction) may allude to the possible importance of the social workers' behavior toward clients and sensitivity to their needs, conforming with Wright et al. (1983:168) who urge "welfare workers... to revive a humanistic orientation in the welfare bureaucracy [and]...at least...to increase their level of sensitivity and awareness of cultural differences between themselves and their clients."

REFERENCES

- Albrecht, G. I., and P. C. Higgins
1977 "Rehabilitation success: The interrelationship of multiple criteria." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 18:36-65.
- Antonovsky, A.
1979 *Health, Stress and Coping*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Beck, D. F., and M. A. Jones
1973 *Progress on Family Problems: A Nationwide Study on Clients and Counselors' Views on Family Agency Services*. New York: Family Service Association.
- Ben-Sira, Z.
1981 "The structure of readjustment of the disabled: An additional perspective on rehabilitation." *Social Science and Medicine* 15A:565-581.
- 1983a "Loss, stress and readjustment." *Social Science and Medicine* 17:1619-1632.
- 1983b "Societal integration of the disabled: Power struggle or enhancement of individual coping capacities." *Social Science and Medicine* 17: 1011-1014.

- Ben-Sira, Z., and L. Guttman
1971 A Facet Theoretical Approach to Research.
Jerusalem: Israel Institute of Applied
Social Research.
- Betz, M., and L. O'Connell.
1983 "Changing doctor-patient relationships and
the rise in concern for accountability."
Social Problems 31:84-95.
- Blau, P. M.
1969 Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York:
Wiley.
1973 "Orientation toward clients in a public
welfare agency." Pp. 229-244 in E. Katz and
B. Danet (eds.), Bureaucracy and the Public.
New York: Basic Books.
- Blau, P., and R. Scott
1970. Formal Organizations. London: Routledge &
Kegan Paul.
- Brown, J.
1985 "An introduction to the uses of facet
theory." Pp. 17-57 in D. Canter (ed.), Facet
Theory: Approaches to Social Research.
New York: Springer.
- Bloombaum, M.
1970 "Doing smallest space analysis." Journal of
Conflict Resolution 14:409-416.
- Borg, I.
1981 Multidimensional Data Representations: When
and Why. Ann Arbor, MI: Mathesis.
- Burnham, J. C.
1981 "American medicines' golden age: What
happened to it." Science 215:1475-1478.
- Canter, D. (ed.)
1985 Facet Theory: Approaches to Social Research.
New York: Springer.
- Catrice-Lorey, A.
1973 "Social Security and its relation with
beneficiaries: The problem of bureaucracy in
public administration." Pp. 245-256 in
E. Katz and B. Danet (eds.), Bureaucracy and
the Public. New York: Basic Books.
- Cihlar, C.
1974 "Consumer views." Hospitals 48:183-191.

- Cull, J. G., and R. E. Hardy.
 1973 "Understanding the psychological aspect of disability." Pp. 97-111 in J. G. Cull and R. E. Hardy (eds.), *Understanding Disability for Rehabilitation Services*. Springfield, IL: Thomas.
- De Jong, G.
 1979 *The Movement for Independent Living: Origins, Ideology and Implications for Disability Research*. Michigan: Michigan State University.
 1981 *Environmental Accessibility and Independent Living Outcomes: Directions for Disability Policy and Research*. Michigan: Michigan State University.
- Doob, L. W.
 1983 *Personality, Power and Authority*. London: Greenwood.
- Elliot, P.
 1972 *The Sociology of Professions*. London: MacMillan.
- Elizur, D.
 1970 *Adapting to Innovation*. Jerusalem: Academic Press.
- Freidson, E.
 1972 *Profession of Medicine*. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Goffman, E.
 1968 *Asylums*. Middlesex, England: Penguin.
- Goldin, G. S., S. L. Perry, R. S. Margolin, and B. A. Stotsky
 1972 *Dependence and Its Implications for Rehabilitation*. Lexington, MA: Heath.
- Guttman, L.
 1966 "Order analysis of correlation matrices." Pp. 444-458 in R. B. Cattell (ed.), *Handbook of Multivariate Experimental Psychology*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.
 1977 "What is not what in statistics." *The Statistician* 26:81-107.
- Guttman, L., and S. Levy
 1975 "Structure and dynamics of worries." *Sociometry* 38:448-473.

- Haug, M. R.
1976 "The erosion of professional authority: A cross cultural inquiry in the case of the physician." *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 54:83-105.
- Haug, M. R., and B. Lavin
1981 "Practitioner or patient - who's in charge." *Journal of Health and Social Research* 22:212-229.
- Haug, M. R., and M. G. Sussman
1969 "Professional autonomy and the revolt of the client." *Social Problems* 17:153-161.
- Homans, G. C.
1961 *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Jackson, J. A.
1970 "Professions and professionalization." Pp. 3-15 in J. A. Jackson (ed.), *Professions and Professionalization*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, T. J.
1972 *Professions and Power*. MacMillan.
- Merton, R. K.
1965 *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.
- Perrow, C.
1969 "The analysis of goals in complex organizations." Pp. 65-79 in A. Etzioni (ed.), *Readings on Modern Organization*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Rave, A.
1978 "Finding periodic patterns in time series with monotonic trend: A new technique." Pp. 371-390 in S. Shye (ed.), *Theory Construction and Data Analysis in the Behavioral Sciences*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Reid, N. P., and J. H. Gundlach.
1983 "A scale for the measurement of consumer satisfaction with social services." *Journal of Social Services Research* 7(1):37-54.
- Rotter, J. B.
1966 "Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcements." *Psychological Monographs* 80:1-28.

- Schwartz, D. C.
 1973 Political Alienation and Political Behavior. Chicago: Aldine.
- Seeman, M.
 1959 "On the meaning of alienation." American Sociological Review 24:783.
 1972 "Alienation and engagement." Pp. 467-527 in A. Campbell and P. E. Converse (eds.), The Human Meaning of Social Change. New York: Russell-Sage.
- Smith, R. T., and L. Midanik
 1980 "The effect of social resources on recovery and perceived sense of control among disabled." Sociology of Health and Illness 2:48-63.
- Stotsky, B. A.
 1963 "Social psychological factors in dependency." Rehabilitation Record 4:8-9.
- Taviss, I.
 1969 "Changes in the forms of alienation: The 1900's vs. the 1950's." American Sociological Review 34(1):46-57.
- Timms, N., and J. Mayer
 1971 The Client Speaks. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Williams, G. H.
 1983 "The movement for independent living: An evaluation and critique." Social Science and Medicine 17:1003-1010.
- Wright, R., D. Salleby, T. Watts, and P. Lecco
 1983 Transcultural Perceptions in Human Services. Springfield, IL: Thomas.

APPENDIX A

Sample Characteristics

The sample was drawn systematically from the Israeli voting register, which is the relatively most reliable updated listing of the Israeli population. The sample is representative of the heterogeneous character of the Israeli, Jewish, urban, adult (age 20+) population: 39% were Israeli born (15% of North African or Asian origin, 24% of European or American origin or second generation Israelis), and 61% were born abroad (24% in a North African or Asian country, 37% in Europe or America). 80% of the latter immigrated after the establishment of the State of Israel (in 1948), 40% in the years 1948-1954, and only 15% after 1968. Less than a quarter (22%) had no, some or complete elementary schooling, 19% some high school, 28% completed high school, 31% studied 13 years or more (12% completed university): 46% were male, 54% female. 19% had experience in receiving welfare assistance as compensation for loss, 31% for neediness, 9% for nonmaterial assistance.

Manuscripts should be sent to:

Robert D. Leighninger, Jr.
School of Social Work OR Department of Sociology
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Mi. 49008

Please submit three copies. Manuscripts are reviewed anonymously; please omit names and affiliations from the title page and make any internal self-reference in the third person. Manuscripts will not be returned. Reviewing normally takes 45-60 days but can take longer in the case of split recommendations. Authors should feel free to write or call the editor if they feel an undue amount of time has elapsed.

The Journal welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare institutions, policies, or problems from a sociological perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

Books for review should be sent to:

Shimon Gottschalk
School of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida.

Subscriptions to the Journal may be obtained by writing to:

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare
University of Connecticut
School of Social Work
1800 Asylum Avenue
West Hartford, Ct. 06117

Volume XII (1985)	Individual in U. S.	\$15
	Individual outside U. S.	20
	Institution in U. S.	25
	Institution outside U. S.	30
	Student in U. S.	12

Individual issues and back issues are available.
Price on request.

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

1800 ASYLUM AVENUE

WEST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06117

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
HARTFORD, CT
PERMIT #5050