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A Study of the Attitudes of Michigan Civil Servants toward Regulations on their Political Activity

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A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES
OF MICHIGAN CIVIL SERVANTS
TOWARD REGULATIONS ON THEIR
POLITICAL ACTIVITY

by

Lauri E. Kallio

A Thesis
Submitted to the
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of the
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Lauri Einari Kallio

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Foreword

Pamela Ford,¹ in a study entitled Political Activities and the Public Service, states that restrictions on the political activity of public employees at all levels of government have come under increasing attack in recent years. Although Miss Ford does not concern herself with the reasons behind this fairly recent upsurge of reaction against political activity restrictions, without much doubt, the great increase in the number of people employed at all levels of government, and the increase in union activity and organization among public employees have contributed to it. The advent of a number of "Little Hoover" commissions in the late 1940's, with their recommendations for greater managerial efficiency through establishing increased control of the executive branch over personnel functions -- which were presently being exercised by a relatively independent civil service commission or department² -- has contributed to an erosion of support, at the state level, for a non-political role for the public employee.

The question of what should be the proper political role and

¹Ford, Pamela S., Political Activities and the Public Service, University of California, Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1963. P. 4.

²Bart, Peter and Cummings, Milton Jr., The Transfer of the Kansas State Civil Service Department. ICP Case Series: Number 31, Kansas City: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1956. P. 1.

stance of the public employee has been one which has extracted many man-hours of labor from those who are concerned about the relationship of governmental administration to the political rights of citizens. The very term "political neutrality" is not subject to an easy definition. The most extended meaning of the term would require that the civil servant not only completely abstain from party politics, but that he also completely forsake any personal principles in the performance of his duties. The civil servant, under this conception of "political neutrality," would be, in effect, a "political eunuch."³ Under a more limited definition of "political neutrality," however, there is a recognition that the public employee is not totally immune to political currents and to political questions.⁴ The objectives under this more limited definition are to protect the employee from undue political pressure by his superiors, and to prevent him from engaging in those political activities which might compromise his usefulness in the public service. He is permitted, however, to engage in some political activities, particularly of a non-partisan nature, and to give at least limited expression to his political opinions and convictions.

The question of regulating the political activity of governmental employees poses a fundamental dilemma in a democratic society:

³Carpenter, William Seal, The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952. P. 68.

⁴Kingsley, J. Donald, Representative Bureaucracy. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1944. P. 268.

on the one hand, there is the proposition that "the public interest demands the fullest participation of its citizens in the political process";⁵ on the other hand, "it also demands of its public employees the elimination of political factors in the discharge of their duties."⁶

The very complex subject of political activity restrictions on public employees has been explored in a large body of literature. In Waldo's⁷ The Administrative State, for example, there is an excellent discussion of whether or not the political or policy-determining function can be separated from the administrative function in government. An illuminating treatment of the theoretical implications of restricting the political activity of governmental employees appears in Kingsley's⁸ Representative Bureaucracy. Any number of periodical articles have dealt with the consequences of political activity restrictions on the functioning of a democratic society, as have a substantial number of legal studies.

An interesting overall feature of much of the literature on political activity restrictions is that it has tended to regard the civil servant as an objective fact, not as a subjective entity. It is extremely difficult to find any studies of the attitudes of civil

⁵Ford, op. cit., P. 1.

⁶ibid.

⁷Waldo, Dwight, The Administrative State, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948. P. 14.

⁸Kingsley, op. cit.

servants toward restrictions on their political activity. There has been, in other words, almost no attempt to look at political activity restrictions through the eyes of the civil servant. The object of this study is to examine political activity restrictions from the neglected end: the attitudinal viewpoint of the civil servant.

Stated in brief, this thesis represents a study of how socialization into the Michigan Civil Service affects the attitudes of civil servants toward the political activity restrictions embodied in the Hatch Act and the State of Michigan's political activity regulation, Rule 9. The principal socialization factors used are the number of years of service and the pay level position classification within the Michigan Civil Service. The data were obtained by means of a questionnaire mailed to 1,000 Michigan civil servants.

The socialization of civil servants has not previously been researched according to the best information available. Since it is to be expected that there are common factors operating in the socialization process with respect to any occupation or profession, hypotheses have been sought in the socialization studies conducted among various other occupational groups.

Socialization into a Profession

Socialization refers to the process by which individuals are shaped by their culture;⁹ or put more simply, socialization is the

⁹Merton, Robert K., Reader, George C., and Kendall, Patricia, (Eds.), The Student Physician. Harvard University Press, 1957. P. 290.

process of rendering individuals into social beings.¹⁰

Buerkle,¹¹ in his study of socialization patterns among nurses, distinguishes between particularistic norms, which refer to interaction with particular people, primarily family members, and universalistic norms; in fact, the major part of becoming socialized into a profession is to accept the idea that in all situations the norms of the profession must dominate.¹²

Buerkle¹³ concludes that the "degree of internalization of professional norms and one's feelings of aptness in the situation will be directly related to amount of experience in the field."

One of the norms involved in employment in the Michigan Civil Service is that the employee must accept certain restrictions on his political activity. This particular study may be said to hinge, then, on the question of whether or not acceptance of this norm is directly related to amount of experience and type of position attained in the Michigan Civil Service.

Perhaps the most striking feature about studies of socialization into a profession is that there is seemingly such a strong emphasis on the medical profession. The reasons for this emphasis are not readily apparent; however, it is very likely that the existence

¹⁰loc. cit., P. 289.

¹¹Buerkle, Jack V., "Patterns of Socialization, Role Conflict, and Leadership Among Nurses." Sociology and Social Research, 64, (1959), 100.

¹²ibid.

¹³ibid.

of special medical and nursing schools makes the socialization process there more distinct, and thereby facilitates socialization studies.

Students in medical school and doctors already in practice have both served as populations for socialization studies. One of the earliest was a study of the various stages of a medical career. The study was conducted by Oswald Hall in the late 1940's. Hall¹⁴ identified four stages in a medical career: (1) generating of ambition; (2) gaining admission to the various medical institutions; (3) acquiring, retaining, and improving a clientele; and (4) developing a set of informal relationships with colleagues.

Hall's study underscores the very important roles played by social background and sponsorship by one's colleagues throughout the various stages of a medical career. Social background is a very influential factor in generating the ambition to become a doctor: doctors tend to be recruited from the families of professional people.¹⁵ Social background also was found to be a factor in the selection of doctors for hospital staff positions: Hall¹⁶ noted class and ethnic differentiation in the staffs of some of the major hospitals. In addition to the factor of social background, a doctor's advancement through the various institutions associated with the practice of medicine depends to a great extent on sponsorship by his colleagues.

¹⁴Hall, Oswald, "The Stages of a Medical Career." The American Journal of Sociology, 53 (1948), 327.

¹⁵loc. cit., P. 328.

¹⁶loc. cit., P. 330.

Hall¹⁷ states that the successful practice of medicine involves participation in the hospital system, the hierarchical structure of which dictates that once a doctor has been appointed to one hospital staff, it is very difficult for him to move up in another hospital.¹⁸

The hierarchical structure within the hospital, as Hall¹⁹ defines it, consists of an inner core of specialists who comprise a social group termed the "inner fraternity;" below the specialists are the recruits who will inherit their positions; around the core are the men who practice medicine in a general fashion; and outside the core are the intruders who try to break in. In order for a man to break into the inner core he must have the active assistance of a group of colleagues. Hall²⁰ declares that if "the inner fraternity is the central core of the social organization of the profession, then sponsorship is the major social facet of a medical career."

The conclusion which Hall²¹ arrives at is that medicine is no longer a profession in which each doctor exists apart from every other doctor in scattered enclaves of private practice; rather, it is a highly structured, even hierarchical, organization in which status and social relationships are of great importance. The highly structured and hierarchical nature of the medical profession as described

¹⁷ibid.

¹⁸ibid.

¹⁹loc. cit., P. 335.

²⁰loc. cit., P. 336.

²¹ibid.

by Hall bears certain similarities to the structured and hierarchical nature of the Michigan Civil Service. Advancement in the Michigan Civil Service is through a well-defined hierarchy of positions.

A number of studies have been undertaken of the effects of a medical school education and experience on the attitudes, self-images, and career plans of medical students. Three of these studies are described below. It is important to note that all three of these studies report attitude changes which occurred as the students progressed through medical school from their freshman to their senior years.

A common assumption regarding college freshmen is that they tend to be highly idealistic. In the 1950's a study was conducted at the University of Kansas Medical School on the fate of idealism in medical school. The study involved participant observation of students from the freshman through the senior level.

The study²² revealed that freshmen tend to have highly idealistic notions about devoting their lives to mankind; however, as they progress through school and begin to realize how much there is to learn, they tend to become increasingly cynical.²³ During the third and fourth years, the clinical years, the students tend to become increasingly preoccupied with the technical aspects of cases, and increasingly disassociated from their original idealism.²⁴ As their

²²Becker, Howard S., and Geer, Blanche, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School." American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), 51.

²³loc. cit., P. 52.

²⁴loc. cit., P. 53.

medical school careers come to an end, however, the seniors tend to start thinking more about ethical questions, and a more general, but realistic, idealism comes to the fore again.²⁵

The authors of the study take care to point out that the cynicism which develops tends to be a collective matter: students tend to be more openly idealistic when they are isolated from student culture.²⁶

Closely related in concept to the Kansas Medical School study was the study conducted with the students at three medical schools (Western Reserve, University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell). The study²⁷ was designed to try to determine how a professional self-image develops; the students were interviewed as to whether they thought of themselves as students or doctors. The results indicated that thirty per cent of the students in the first two years of medical school considered themselves primarily as doctors; fifty-nine per cent of the students at the end of their third year considered themselves as doctors.²⁸ Interestingly enough, the study revealed that if their patients tended to regard them as doctors, the students also tended to regard themselves as doctors.²⁹

The effect of medical school experience on students' future

²⁵loc. cit., P. 55.

²⁶loc. cit., P. 54.

²⁷Huntington, Mary Jean, "The Development of a Professional Self-Image." In Merton, op. cit.

²⁸loc. cit., P. 180.

²⁹ibid.

career plans was the subject of a study conducted at Cornell University Medical College. A clear majority of first year students, sixty per cent, indicated they planned to go into general practice; in contrast, only sixteen per cent of fourth year students indicated they planned to go into general practice.³⁰ The results were substantially different regarding specialty practice: only thirty-five per cent of the first year students indicated they planned to go into specialty practice, whereas seventy-four per cent of the fourth year students indicated they planned to go into specialty practice.³¹ The reason advanced by the researchers³² for these results is that interest in specialized practice increases as knowledge of the requirements of various specialties and confidence in their own capacities increase.

The three studies of medical school students can be said to have significance for this particular study of Michigan civil servants due to the fact that all four studies are postulated on the premise that the socialization influences of a common experience engender attitudinal changes in the subjects. In the case of the medical school students, the changes took place over a four year college career; in the case of Michigan civil servants, it is postulated that attitudinal changes can be related to years of service and pay level position attained.

³⁰Kendall, Patricia L., and Selvin, Hanan C., "Tendencies Toward Specialization in Medical Training." In Merton, P. 156.

³¹ibid.

³²loc. cit., P. 174.

Research has also been conducted into what is predominantly the feminine area of the general field of medicine: nursing. Buerkle's study³³ (previously alluded to) was to determine how nurses would resolve universalistic-particularistic (these terms were previously defined) role conflict as they perform as key members of the operating-room team.

The population for the study was composed of students of four-year colleges of nursing, a national sample of operating-room supervisors, and a specially selected group of operating-room supervisors designated as "successful."

The analysis of the study revealed that universalistic solutions were characteristic of nursing personnel of longer tenure and/or higher status.³⁴ In other words, universalistic norms characteristic of the profession tended to be applied with more frequency with each increase in tenure and status.

The findings of the study of operating-room nurses relate very closely to this study of Michigan civil servants since the norms about political activity being socialized in this study are universalistic: i.e. the norms apply to all civil servants.

Not all studies of socialization into a profession have been concerned with the field of medicine, of course. A representative example of studies involving other professions was the study conducted in 1953 and 1954 of the development of authoritarian attitudes among

³³Buerkle, op. cit., P. 102.

³⁴ibid.

Air Force officer cadets. The major hypothesis of the study was that military experience produces authoritarian attitudes.

Although three types of testing devices were used on the cadets, the conclusion of the study was clearly that longer experience in the Air Force did not lead to increased authoritarianism.³⁵ The cadets were clearly more authoritarian than college men of comparable age, but it is suggested by the researchers³⁶ that the cadets had probably been selected from the more authoritarian segments of the population. No measurable increase in authoritarian attitude among the cadets was observed during the one year period of the study.

The fact that a self-selection process was probably in operation in cadet enlistment certainly raises a serious question about the validity of that particular socialization study. If the authoritarian attitude was generally there at the beginning of the period of cadet training, then longer experience in the Air Force may not have led to significantly measurable shifts in authoritarian attitude; furthermore, it should be pointed out that the study attempted to measure changes in authoritarian attitude over a one year period of time -- perhaps this was not a long enough period of time to detect any significant changes in attitude.

It can be readily seen from the study of authoritarian attitude

³⁵Campbell, Donald T., and McCormack, Thelma H., "Military Experience and Attitudes toward Authority." American Journal of Sociology, 62 (1957), 487.

³⁶ibid.

in the military that what is initially seen as a perfectly rational premise does not always hold up under analysis. As Selznick³⁷ has indicated, although formal structures represent "rationally ordered instruments for the achievement of stated goals" they can never conquer the non-rational dimensions of organizational behavior. Much the same can be said of professional norms; even though the professions seek to promote these norms among their members, they must contend with the non-rational elements of man's make-up.

The general conclusion which can be drawn from the foregoing is that all of the studies cited, with the exception of the Air Force study already dealt with, indicate that socialization within a profession plays an important role in determining the general outlook of its members. The studies cited support the conclusion that continued exposure to, and experience within a certain set of professional standards or objectives over a period of time, and status or position attained within that professional framework, have a measurable influence on formation of attitudes toward professional norms or standards.

The development of the hypotheses for this research of Michigan civil servants, and the relationship of the hypotheses to the socialization studies considered in this section are described in the next section.

Development of Hypotheses for This Research

The basic premise of this study is that attitudes toward and

³⁷Selznick, Philip, "Foundations on the Theory of Organization." American Sociological Review, 13 (1948), 25.

about the civil service are altered once a person has entered the civil service; i.e. that a socialization process operates to mold attitudes that are consistent with the philosophy and needs of the service. Specifically, it is assumed that this socialization process in the Michigan Civil Service has a measurable influence on attitudes toward selected political activities embodied in the Federal Hatch Act and Michigan's Civil Service Rule 9. The major hypothesis of the study is that there will be a direct relationship between years of service and acceptance of legal norms concerning the political activities of Michigan civil servants: each increase in the number of years of service, as categorized in the study, will be reflected in a higher mean score on a scale which measures acceptance of legal norms on political activities. Those employees with the highest level of years of service, over fifteen years, will also exhibit the highest level of acceptance of political activity norms; conversely, those employees with the lowest level of years of service, under five years, will exhibit the lowest level of acceptance of political activity norms. Those employees with five through fourteen years of Civil Service employment will have a mean score which will be located between the two extremes.

The second hypothesis of the study is that there will be a direct relationship between pay level position in the Michigan Civil Service and attitude toward legal norms on political activity restrictions. According to the secondary hypothesis, those employees at the highest pay level classification, Ia or above, will have a higher level of acceptance of political activity norms (as measured by mean score),

than will the employees in each of the other two broad pay level classifications. Those employees in the lowest pay level classification, C through A2, will also, in accordance with the hypothesis, have the lowest mean score.

It is postulated, however, that pay level classification will not prove to be as significant a factor in influencing attitude toward legal political activity restrictions as will years of service. The reasoning behind this assumption is that familiarity with, and the necessity to conform to the restrictions over a long period of time, will be more efficacious in developing attitudes of acceptance of the legal norms than will the attainment of a relatively high pay level position. Whatever the merit of this line of reasoning, given the nature of the two hypotheses advanced, the type of civil servant who should be most prone to accept the political activity norms is one with over fifteen years of service and a pay level classification of Ia or above.

Both the major and secondary hypotheses for this study were derived essentially from the results of earlier socialization studies described in the preceding section. Hall's study of the medical profession pointed up the importance of status or position within the hierarchy as a factor in the socialization of the doctor. Hall's findings relate, although not closely perhaps, to the secondary hypothesis of this study. The study conducted on medical students at the University of Kansas Medical School revealed that idealism tends to diminish as the students progress through their medical school careers. The medical school studies of development of a professional

self-image and development of future career plans reveal that distinct changes in both self-image and future career plans take place over the course of a medical school career. Buerkle's study of nurses revealed that both tenure, or length of service, and status, or position attained, tend to lead to increased reliance on universalistic (or professional) solutions to problems.

In summary, the two hypotheses of this study are that length of service and position attained in the Michigan Civil Service have a measurable influence on formation of attitudes toward legal norms on political activities, and these hypotheses are generally supported by earlier socialization studies described.

BRIEF HISTORY OF HATCH ACT AND RULE 9

Explanatory Foreword

All Michigan civil servants are covered by State political activity regulations; in addition to these regulations, a substantial number of Michigan civil servants are covered by the provisions of the Federal Hatch Act. Although there are no precise figures available, the best recent estimate³⁸ is that approximately 14,000 Michigan civil servants are actually covered by Hatch Act regulations.

The State of Michigan's political activity regulations are embodied in Civil Service Rule 9. Each new employee in the Civil Service is provided with a copy of the Commission's Rule booklet, which outlines the political activity regulations. In addition to the booklet, letters and posters explaining the provisions of Rule 9 and the Hatch Act are issued periodically. Many departments also refer specifically to these rules and provisions in their employee handbooks.³⁹

Even though the Hatch Act is far more restrictive in regard to political activity than is Rule 9, there are very close historical parallels in the evolution of the two sets of restrictions. Both sets of restrictions came into existence at about the same point in

³⁸Letter from Milton L. Coe, Assistant Chief of the Research Division, Michigan Department of Civil Service (November 30, 1967).

³⁹ibid.

history, and the impetus for each was the misuse, or alleged misuse, of government employees for political purposes.

This brief history of the Hatch Act and Rule 9 is included so that the reader will better understand the norms to be socialized with which this thesis is concerned. The basic hypothesis of the study is that years of service and pay level position in the Michigan Civil Service will have a relationship to attitudes toward political activity regulations. It seems apparent that a more precise understanding of the provisions of these regulations, how they have been interpreted and enforced, and the circumstances under which they came into being, will make the nature of the thesis more comprehensible to the reader.

Hatch Act History

The Hatch Act, passed in 1939, represented an attempt to drive the last nail into the coffin of the political spoilsman in this country. Use of public employees as political instruments, even though it may have caused some uneasy consciences, was a generally accepted fact of political life in the United States throughout roughly the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It was not until the nation-wide movement for civil service reform which led to the enactment by Congress of the Pendleton Act of 1883, that the merit principle became officially established as the basis for selecting public employees for the national government; this is not, of course, to suggest that the legislative action of 1883 entirely abolished all vestiges of the spoils system in the national government.

In addition to the provisions establishing the duties and functions of the newly-created United States Civil Service Commission, the Pendleton Act of 1883 contained a provision forbidding coercion of any person in the public service to contribute to a political fund, or to render any political service.⁴⁰

The most significant official action taken between the passage of the Pendleton Act and the passage of the Hatch Act was President Theodore Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 642, issued in 1907. President Roosevelt's Order⁴¹ prohibited persons in the competitive classified service from taking an "active part in political management or in political campaigns." The Hatch Act has been characterized⁴² as being essentially an extension of President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 642.

Although the Hatch Act was part of a long struggle for civil service reform, its immediate background was the widespread resentment against alleged exploitation of relief workers by political organizations during the New Deal period.⁴³

The heart and core of the Hatch Act is Section 9(a),⁴⁴ which

⁴⁰Commager, Henry Steele (Ed.), Documents of American History, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958. P. 112.

⁴¹Rose, Henry, "A Critical Look at the Hatch Act," Harvard Law Review, 75 (January, 1962), 510.

⁴²Epstein, Leon D., "Political Sterilization of Civil Servants: the United States and Great Britain." Public Administration Review, 10 (1950), 282.

⁴³Commager, op. cit., P. 598.

⁴⁴loc. cit., P. 599.

makes it unlawful for Federal public employees in the executive branch, or any agency or department thereof, to use their official influence for the "purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the result thereof." Section 9(a)⁴⁵ further states that none of these employees "shall take any active part in political campaigns." All such persons, however, "retain the right to vote as they may choose and to express their opinions on all political subjects and candidates."⁴⁶

The original Hatch Act was amended on July 19, 1940, to extend [in Section 12(a)] similar political activity prohibitions to officers and employees of a State or local agency, whose principal employment is in connection with activities financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United States or by any Federal agency.⁴⁷

Section 12(a) of the Hatch Act does not cover all State and local public employees whose principal employment is in connection with activities financed in whole or in part by the Federal government. Governors, lieutenant governors, mayors, duly elected heads of executive departments who are not classified under a State or municipal merit or civil service system, and officers holding elective offices are specifically exempted;⁴⁸ in addition, the Hatch Act was amended

⁴⁵Epstein, op. cit.

⁴⁶ibid.

⁴⁷Littlefield, Malcolm P., History of Political Activity Restrictions on Federal Employees. United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C. (November, 1965). P. 10.

⁴⁸Irwin, James W., Hatch Act Decisions of the United States Civil Service Commission. United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., 1949, P. 12.

on October 24, 1942, to exempt from the prohibitions of Section 12(a) the personnel of "any educational or research institution, establishment, or system which is supported in whole or in part by any state or political subdivision thereof, or by any Territory or Territorial possession of the United States; or by any recognized religious, philanthropic or cultural organization."⁴⁹

The authority for enforcing the provisions of the Hatch Act has been vested in the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The jurisdictional foundation of the Commission's authority differs somewhat in State cases as compared to Federal cases. Jurisdiction in State cases is exclusively statutory. Section 12(a)⁵⁰ of the Hatch Act vested in the Civil Service Commission authority for the enforcement of the prohibitions described in Section 12(a).

The Commission's jurisdiction in Federal cases rests upon the dual foundation of Section 9 of the Hatch Act and the Civil Service Rules.⁵¹ Section 15⁵² of the Hatch Act, however, elevated to the status of statutory law all civil service rules theretofore promulgated.

Although the Commission has two jurisdictions, the distinction is in reality rather meaningless since the prohibitions to be

⁴⁹loc. cit., P. 50.

⁵⁰loc. cit., P. 13.

⁵¹ibid.

⁵²United States Supreme Court Reports, 91 Law. Ed., Rochester, New York: The Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Co., 1947. P. 800.

enforced in the two instances are really the same.⁵³ When violations of the Hatch Act are alleged, the Commission⁵⁴ typically refers to one of its own publications, Pamphlet 20, as an authoritative source. Pamphlet 20 is essentially a summary of the laws and interpretations of laws which restrict political activity on the part of Federal employees and certain categories of State and local employees.

The Hatch Act has now been in effect for approximately thirty years; during that time it has been extended to many thousands of Federal and State employees. The Hatch Act is still the highest common denominator in determining prohibited political activity in those states which lack a statewide merit system (twenty-two as late as 1962).⁵⁵ The Act imposes an additional set of restrictions on certain categories of public employees in those states which have their own political activity regulations. Michigan is among this latter group of states.

Political Activity Restrictions in Michigan

Within two years after the Hatch Act had imposed political activity restrictions on Federal civil servants, action was undertaken in Michigan to restrict the political activity of the State's civil servants. Although there was no direct connection between the two actions, there was the common element of alleged use of public

⁵³op. cit.

⁵⁴Rose, op. cit., P. 518.

⁵⁵Ford, op. cit.

employees as political instruments.

The proper place to begin in discussing the development of political activity restrictions in Michigan is with the 1936 Report of the Civil Service Study Commission. The five-member Commission was created by Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald on October 14, 1935; its purpose was to survey the existing personnel practices of the State. The stated reason for establishing the Commission was to remedy the "patronage evil"⁵⁶ which had caused a rapid turnover of employees -- by the establishment of a merit system of employment.

The Commission's Report painted a picture of (which the Foreword⁵⁷ to a later Civil Service Commission publication was to describe as) "the shocking evils and inefficiencies of the patronage or spoils system." Most employees appointed in the middle 1930's, according to the Report,⁵⁸ secured their positions through a central patronage office. No person without standing in the successful party would ever be considered by the patronage office; some agencies, however, were allowed to fill positions without regard to political affiliation.⁵⁹ Political assessments based on a certain percentage of an employee's salary was a common practice, with one to two per cent

⁵⁶Report, Michigan Civil Service Study Commission, Lansing, Michigan, 1936. Preface.

⁵⁷A Picture of Patronage in Michigan State Government Prior to 1938 (Consisting of Excerpts from the 1936 Report of the Michigan Civil Service Study Commission). Prepared by the Research and Survey Division of the Michigan State Civil Service Commission, Lansing, Michigan (September 1, 1951). Foreword.

⁵⁸op. cit., P. 20.

⁵⁹loc. cit., P. 21.

being the usual assessment.⁶⁰ The annual turnover rate among all civil servants was twenty-five per cent;⁶¹ however, 80.6 per cent of the Tax Administration employees had worked for one year or less.⁶² Nepotism was a common practice: a questionnaire survey mailed to 11,807 employees revealed that 18.6 per cent of them had one or more relatives in the Service.⁶³

As a result of studying the available data, the Commission⁶⁴ concluded:

"Political considerations are preeminent; nepotism is rampant. Administrators spend an extraordinary and valuable part of their time dealing with patronage problems and then are rewarded for their pains with incompetent employees who owe allegiance and feel responsibility not to the administrators but to the political influence that obtained their jobs for them."

The recommendations of the Commission for remedying the existing abuses were contained in the form of an annotated civil service bill. Section XXII⁶⁵ of the proposed bill provided that in applying the provisions of the act no weight should be given to political or religious considerations. No employee in the classified service would be allowed to solicit or receive political contributions or funds, nor participate in any other type of political activity,

⁶⁰loc. cit., P. 46.

⁶¹loc. cit., P. 52.

⁶²loc. cit., P. 28.

⁶³loc. cit., P. 44.

⁶⁴loc. cit. P. 27.

⁶⁵loc. cit., P. 76.

other than to freely express his views, or vote. The proposed bill⁶⁶ further provided that no one holding public office could use his official influence to secure a job or favor for someone due to political considerations or service rendered.

The principal recommendations of the Civil Service Study Commission were incorporated in Senate Bill No. 1, the model civil service bill, introduced in the 1937 legislative session. The Bill passed, although substantially amended, and in the fall of 1937, Michigan had its first Civil Service Commission.

In 1940, a constitutional amendment designed to give the Civil Service Commission constitutional status, and remove it from direct legislative control, was voted on by the people of Michigan. The amendment was approved by a vote of 766,764 to 709,894;⁶⁷ it became effective on January 1, 1941.

The constitutional amendment,⁶⁸ which added Section 22 to Article VI of the Constitution, removed from the Governor and the Legislature the authority to control the employment, dismissal and salary rates of most State employees. The amendment⁶⁹ provided,

⁶⁶loc. cit., P. 77.

⁶⁷DeWald, Franklin K., "The Merit System in Michigan." Text of a speech made to the State Personnel Officers School (October 1960), 1.

⁶⁸Dunbar, Willis F., Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965. P. 645.

⁶⁹"Political Activity of Classified Employees in the Michigan State Civil Service." Article Number Fourteen, Prepared by Research and Survey Division of the Michigan State Civil Service Commission, 2nd Printing (June 1954), 1.

in essence, that the Civil Service Commission shall "regulate all conditions of employment," and shall "determine by competitive performance exclusively on the basis of merit, efficiency and fitness the qualifications of all candidates for positions." It⁷⁰ also provided that "no person shall be appointed to or promoted in the state civil service who has not been certified as qualified for such appointment or promotion by the commission," and that "no removals from or demotions in the state civil service shall be made for partisan...considerations."

Following the adoption of the constitutional amendment, the Civil Service Commission promulgated Political Activity Rule 9 on October 7, 1941. Rule 9 is the basic foundation for political activity restrictions for Michigan public employees. Section A⁷¹ of Rule 9 provides as follows:

"No employee in the state civil service shall be or become a member of any political party committee formed or authorized under the general election laws of the state, nor shall he be or become a delegate to any state, district or county convention held by any political party in this state, nor shall he be or become a member of any national political party committee or participate as a delegate from this state in any national political party convention."

Rule 9⁷² also prohibits the "levying, solicitation, collection or payment of any type of political assessment in the state service."

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ "Development Rule 9 on Political Activity by State Employees." Reduplicated material by the Michigan Civil Service Commission (February 10, 1961).

⁷² *ibid.*

Under Rule 9⁷³ the penalty for violation of any of the provisions is dismissal.

The original Rule 9 has been modified twice. The principal modification has occurred in the provision regarding candidacy for public office. The original Rule 9⁷⁴ provided that: "No employee in the state civil service shall become a candidate for any elective office without first resigning his position or obtaining a leave of absence without pay for a period of at least three months prior to the election." This provision was modified on October 7, 1954, to read that the civil servant must first obtain a leave of absence before he may become a candidate, and, when the first action is taken to make the candidacy official, he must resign his position.⁷⁵

The other major modification of the original Rule 9 concerns candidacy for non-partisan elective offices. Rule 9⁷⁶ as originally adopted, specified that a leave of absence may be granted for an employee who wanted to become a candidate for any temporary non-partisan elective office, such as a municipal charter revision commission or a state constitutional convention. This provision was subsequently changed in 1954 to provide that the only non-partisan elective offices for which a public employee may run without resigning or obtaining a leave of absence are a municipal charter revision

⁷³ibid.

⁷⁴ibid.

⁷⁵ibid.

⁷⁶ibid.

committee, a state constitutional convention, or a local school board.⁷⁷

The legal basis or foundation of the Michigan Civil Service Commission's authority to issue regulations on political activity is predicated on the constitutional provisions pertaining to the classified state civil service. The 1942 Michigan Supreme Court decision⁷⁸ in the case of *Reed v. Civil Service Commission* (301 Michigan 137) wiped out all previous statutory enactments concerning political activity restrictions in the civil service. The constitutional amendment became the sole authority in the matter.

The Civil Service Commission's authority to make rules concerning permitted and prohibited political activity was not fundamentally affected by the adoption of a new Michigan constitution in 1963. The new constitution continued, in substance, the rigid limitations found in the previous constitution; it did, however, in Section 5 of Article XL,⁷⁹ reduce the Commission's power to a very slight degree by increasing the number of positions which could be exempted from the classified civil service.

Michigan's political activity rules have now been in existence for over a quarter of a century. The last major study of the rules was conducted by the Political Activity Rule Advisory Committee.

⁷⁷ibid.

⁷⁸Personnel Administration in Michigan Government. Staff Report to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, Report No. 9 (February 1951), Pp. 9-24.

⁷⁹Dunbar, op. cit., P. 645.

The Committee consisted of eight members drawn from both major political parties and representing a broad spectrum of society. The Committee⁸⁰ concluded that Rule 9 had stood the test of use and experience, although it did express its collective belief that whether or not a specific act is objectionable depends to a large degree on the type of position the employee occupies. The Committee did not recommend any specific changes in the provisions of Rule 9.

Perhaps the major conclusion which can be drawn from this very brief presentation of the development of political activity rules in Michigan is that there has been very little change in the rules from the time they were first established. There has been no successful legal challenge of significance, and the constitutional foundation has remained fundamentally unaltered. Whether or not the rules are wise, they have proved workable.

Summary

A brief history of the development of rules concerning political activity has been presented in this chapter. Briefly speaking, the Hatch Act prohibits almost all types of partisan political activity, except for the right to vote, make voluntary financial contributions, wear buttons, and use bumper stickers. Rule 9 permits most types of partisan political activity, except for running as a candidate, serving as a party election "challenger," or serving as a delegate

⁸⁰Report. Political Activity Rule Advisory Committee, East Lansing, Michigan (undated), P. 2.

to a state or national political party convention. A more specific listing of these rules is presented in Chapter III.

The Hatch Act and Rule 9 were used as the bases for the questionnaire which was used in the study. The survey, the questionnaire, and the methods of analysis are presented in Chapter III.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The Sample Population

This study of the role of socialization in the development of attitudes toward political activity restrictions is based on a sample of 1,000 Michigan civil servants. There were two principal reasons for basing the study on Michigan civil servants: first, there was the matter of geographical proximity; second, there was the factor of Michigan's over a quarter-century experience with both a merit system and political activity restrictions.

The sample for the study was drawn for the author by the Michigan Department of Civil Service. The Department programmed a computer to select every fortieth name of the first 40,000 of the slightly more than 42,000 classified Michigan civil servants. The names had been arranged alphabetically on a master list.

A total of 1,000 questionnaires were mailed. The questionnaires were mailed on August 10, 1967, with a request that the recipients return them by August 25, 1967. A total of 317 completed, and a small number of uncompleted questionnaires, were returned. The return rate was slightly over thirty-one per cent.

The relatively low rate of return on the questionnaire -- the respondents represented approximately three-quarters of one per cent of the total classified civil servant population -- certainly should reduce the significance which should be assigned to the results of the study. Obviously, the more unrepresentative this very small

percentage of the total civil service population tends to be, the more unreliable become the results of the study as an index of the entire classified civil service.

Some basic data is available which sheds some light as to how representative the respondent sample was of the total population.

According to a recent letter⁸¹ received from the Assistant Chief of the Research Division of the Michigan Department of Civil Service, the percentages of employees by years of service is as follows:

less than 5 years	-	47.6	per cent
5 through 14	"	- 32.3	" "
15 or more	"	- 20.1	" "

Based on those who responded to the questionnaire, the percentages of employees by years of service is as follows:

less than 5 years	-	41.3	per cent
5 through 14	"	- 40.9	" "
15 or more	"	- 17.8	" "

The respondent population varies from the total population at each level for years of service by respective percentages of 6.3, 8.6 and 2.3. The original sample of 1,000 should probably not have varied by more than four per cent from the respective percentages at each level for years of service for the total population. The differences between the respondent population and the total population are greater than chance.

Percentages based on civil service pay level position are also available. The following percentages are based on a Department of

⁸¹Letter from Milton L. Coe, Assistant Chief of the Research Division, Michigan Department of Civil Service (November 30, 1967).

Civil Service publication dated December, 1965:⁸²

C through A2	-	42.4	per cent
A through I	-	29.0	" "
Ia or above	-	28.6	" "

Excluded from these percentages are those civil servants who have a No Level classification.

Based on those who responded to the questionnaire, the percentages of employees by Civil Service level of employment is as follows:

C through A2	-	27.6	per cent
A through I	-	28.3	" "
Ia or above	-	44.0	" "

The percentages given immediately above are exclusive of those civil servants who have a No Level classification. The respective percentages for those in the C through A2 grouping and those in the Ia or above grouping are almost exactly reversed in the two listings: there was a proportionately low percentage of respondents in the C through A2 pay level grouping, when compared to their grouping's percentage of the total Civil Service population, and those in the Ia or above grouping had a disproportionately high percentage of respondents, when compared to the grouping's percentage of the total Civil Service population.

Judging from the available information it can be tentatively and hesitantly stated that the study seemed reasonably representative with regard to years of service, but over-represented the upper pay level positions and under-represented the lower pay level positions.

Other pertinent data regarding how representative the study

⁸² The Employee, The Administrator, and Civil Service in State Government. Michigan Department of Civil Service (December, 1965). P. 9.

was is not readily available. Over thirty-five per cent of the respondents had a college education or more, but whether or not this is an unusually high percentage cannot be definitely ascertained. The Michigan Department of Civil Service does not accumulate data on the basis of level or type of educational attainment. The Department also does not keep master records of the occupational background or prior political activity of the civil servants.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire, itself, consists of two basic parts: the first part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit basic information concerning educational, occupational, and political activity history; the second part of the questionnaire requested the respondents to indicate their attitudes toward twenty-five specifically described political activities.

The design of the items on the questionnaire represents contributions from several sources. The items under Roman numeral I and Roman numeral II were modified from a similar design in a questionnaire used by Bendix⁸³ in his study of higher Federal civil servants; however, the items under major areas of undergraduate and graduate study were based largely on the recommendations of Dr. Robert Batson, former political science professor at Western Michigan University. The design of the items under Roman numeral III was based substantially

⁸³Bendix, Reinhard, Higher Civil Servants in American Society. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1949. Appendix.

on recommendations of the Michigan Department of Civil Service and Dr. Batson. The items under Roman numeral IV represent a substantial modification of Milbrath's⁸⁴ Hierarchy of Political Involvement.

Under Roman numeral III the levels which are presented are indicative of pay level positions. In making the pay level subdivisions, an attempt was made to include, as closely as was possible, the same percentage of civil servants in each pay level subdivision. Based on recent figures, therefore, approximately 41 per cent of the civil servants are classified between pay levels C and A2, approximately 28.4 per cent are classified between pay levels A and I, and approximately 30.6 per cent are classified at pay levels Ia or above.

A relatively small total number of Michigan civil servants are not specifically classified at any level -- this is the reason for including a No Level category.

It is important to emphasize that since Michigan civil servants are not classified according to job or position, the only feasible classification scheme was one based on pay levels.

In the last part of the questionnaire, concerning attitudes toward specific political activities, both restricted and nonrestricted types of activities were included. The goal was to develop a rather thorough listing of types of political activities, without, of course, permitting the list to become unmanageably long. About one-half of the twenty-five items are prohibited by the Hatch Act, but

⁸⁴ Milbrath, Lester W., Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1965.

not by Rule 9; a small number of activities are prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9; only one activity is prohibited solely by Rule 9; and the remainder of the activities are permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9.

The following activities are prohibited by the Hatch Act, but not by Rule 9:

- Serve as an officer in a political club or party
- Actively participate in the formation of a political club
- Serve as an official on a local election board
- Initiate or circulate nomination petitions for political candidates
- Take an active part in arranging a political meeting or rally
- Serve as a campaign manager for a political candidate
- Distribute political campaign literature or material
- Solicit votes for political candidates
- Solicit the sale of political party dinner tickets
- Make a speech before a political meeting or rally
- Take an active part in the political canvass of a district
- Write signed letters to newspapers on political issues.

The following activity is prohibited by Rule 9, but not by the Hatch Act:

- Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a city council.

The following activities are prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9:

- Serve as a party "challenger" for a local or state election
- Run as a candidate for a partisan elective office
- Serve as a delegate to a state political party convention
- Serve as a delegate to a national political party convention.

The following activities are permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9:

- Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a local school board
- Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a municipal charter commission

Serve as a delegate to a state constitutional convention
 Wear partisan political badges and buttons while not on
 government business
 Make voluntary financial contributions to political
 candidates or parties
 Vote in elections.

The following activity is not specifically prohibited or permitted by either the Hatch Act or Rule 9:

Wear partisan political badges and buttons while on government business.

The Response

As was pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, a total of 317 people responded to the questionnaires which were mailed out. The responses to each of the twenty-five attitudinal items on the questionnaire are listed below on a percentage basis. The twenty-five attitudinal items are grouped according to their status under the Hatch Act and Rule 9. Percentages shown are arranged from left to right to correspond to the following order of responses:

- (1) Agree, completely
- (2) Agree, with reservations
- (3) No opinion
- (4) Disagree, with reservations
- (5) Disagree, completely.

Political Activity	Percentage of Response				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<u>Permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9</u>					
Vote in elections	96.8	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.6
Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a local school board	68.5	15.5	4.1	3.5	8.5
Make voluntary financial contributions to political candidates or parties	64.0	14.5	4.1	3.5	13.9

Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a municipal charter commission	56.2	17.7	9.1	6.6	10.4
Display partisan political bumper stickers on private cars while <u>not</u> on government business	58.4	12.6	5.0	8.5	15.5
Wear partisan political badges and buttons while <u>not</u> on government business	54.6	16.1	6.5	5.7	17.0
Serve as a delegate to a state constitutional convention	44.5	19.9	6.0	5.4	24.3
<u>Prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9, or by Rule 9 solely</u>					
Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a city council	55.8	18.0	6.3	4.4	15.5
Serve as a delegate to a national political party convention	28.7	17.0	6.0	6.0	42.3
Serve as a delegate to a state political party convention	28.7	15.8	6.3	6.3	42.9
Serve as a party "challenger" for a local or state election	25.9	13.2	13.6	6.6	40.1
Run as a candidate for a partisan elective office	25.2	12.3	8.5	6.6	47.3
<u>Prohibited by the Hatch Act only</u>					
Serve as an official on a local election board	46.4	23.0	5.7	7.6	17.4
Write signed letters to newspapers on political issues	54.3	16.4	5.7	4.4	19.2
Serve as an officer in a political club or party	29.3	21.5	6.3	6.3	36.3
Actively participate in the formation or organization of a political club	32.2	19.9	6.3	5.4	36.3

Make a speech before a political meeting or rally	28.4	20.8	7.9	9.1	33.8
Take an active part in the political canvass of a district	28.4	21.5	9.5	7.6	33.1
Distribute political campaign literature or material	30.3	20.5	6.3	9.1	33.8
Take an active part in arranging a political meeting or rally	25.6	21.5	6.9	5.7	40.4
Initiate and circulate nominations petitions for political candidates	28.7	20.5	6.3	6.6	37.9
Solicit votes for political candidates	23.3	19.2	7.3	8.8	41.3
Solicit the sale of political party dinner tickets	20.8	17.7	6.9	9.1	45.4
Serve as a campaign manager for a political candidate	19.6	12.9	8.5	7.3	51.7
<u>Not specifically permitted or prohibited by the Hatch Act or Rule 9</u>					
Wear partisan political badges and buttons while on government business	11.0	9.1	8.5	7.6	63.7

It can be seen in looking at the percentage break-downs given above that in the category of activities permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9, with the exception of serving as a delegate to a state constitutional convention, a majority of all respondents agree completely that the activities should be permitted. A substantial majority of all respondents agree completely or with reservations that all the activities in this first category should be permitted. Perhaps the most surprising result in this first category of activities is that almost one-fourth of the respondents disagree

completely that a civil servant should have the right to serve as a delegate to a state constitutional convention.

Regarding those activities prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9 or by Rule 9 solely, there is a remarkable similarity of response except for one activity: running as a candidate for a position on a city council -- over seventy-three per cent of the respondents agree either completely or with reservations that a civil servant should have the right to run for the city council. Fewer than one-half of the respondents agree either completely or with reservations that any of the remaining four activities in the category should be permitted; in contrast, roughly one-half disagree completely or with reservations that the activities should be permitted.

There are twelve activities among the twenty-five which are prohibited solely by the Hatch Act. A rather wide variance is found in the response pattern to these twelve items. A clear majority of respondents agree completely or with reservations that civil servants should be permitted to engage in such activities as serving on a local election board and writing letters to newspapers; a majority or near majority of respondents agree completely or with reservations that a civil servant should have the right to engage in all other Hatch Act-prohibited activities except soliciting votes or sale of dinner tickets, and serving as a campaign manager. These latter three activities are the only activities in this category which a majority of respondents disagree completely or with reservations that they should be permitted.

In regard to the only activity not specifically permitted or

prohibited by either the Hatch Act or Rule 9, a substantial majority of the respondents believe that civil servants should not be allowed to wear partisan political badges and buttons while on government business.

One striking characteristic of the responses to the twenty-five items is that a substantial majority of the respondents agree completely or with reservations that the three specifically designated non-partisan activities should be permitted activities: the percentages of approval range from 73.8 to 84.0. Over sixty-four per cent of the respondents agree completely or with reservations that civil servants should have the right to serve as delegates to a state constitutional convention: a nominally non-partisan activity.

The method of measuring attitudinal responses to the political activities described on the questionnaire is detailed in the following section.

Definition of Guttman Scaling

The type of procedure which was used to measure the attitudinal responses from the questionnaire is the technique known as scale analysis, developed by Guttman and co-workers in the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the War Department, during World War II. Guttman⁸⁵ states that for a "given population of objects, the multivariate frequency distribution of a universe of

⁸⁵Guttman, Louis, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data." American Sociological Review, IX. In Young, Pauling V., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966. P. 361.

attributes will be called a scale if it is possible to derive from the distribution a quantitative variable with which to characterize the objects such that each attribute is a simple function of the quantitative variable." The "population of objects" might refer to the individuals in a given city; the "universe of attributes" might refer to a class of qualitative variables associated with these individuals, such as statements about "attitudes toward Negroes." The quantitative variable that is derived in this manner is called a scale score. The degree to which a particular distribution corresponds to this definition of a scale is measured by a coefficient of reproducibility. This coefficient is defined as the relative frequency with which the classification of the individuals with respect to the variables in the defined universe can be reproduced correctly from their scale scores. A coefficient of reproducibility of .90 or more has become a criterion for stating that a particular universe of attributes forms a scale for a defined population.⁸⁶

Assuming that a defined universe of attributes forms a scale for a defined population of individuals, the individuals can be arranged in a rank order on the scale score in a manner that will be consistent with their rank order on any or all of the variables in the defined universe of attributes.⁸⁷ In other words, the people are ranked from high to low in such a fashion that from a person's rank alone one is able to reproduce his response to each of the items.

⁸⁶loc. cit., P. 362.

⁸⁷ibid.

It is important to emphasize that Guttman scaling technique is designed to measure attitudes along a single dimension. Unidimensionality is the very key to Guttman scaling technique.

Early Attempts to Develop a Guttman Scale

The first step in attempting to develop a Guttman scale for the survey of Michigan civil servants was to define the area of content. One approach was to use all twenty-five of the items in the attitudinal section of the questionnaire. The responses for the twenty-five items were arranged and weighted in the following manner:

- 4 - Agree, completely
- 3 - Agree, with reservations
- 2 - No opinion
- 1 - Disagree, with reservations
- 0 - Disagree, completely

The total score for all respondents was obtained by adding up the weights of the five categories. The total number of responses in each category was as follows: 2,071 responses of 4; 1,272 responses of 3; 503 responses of 2; 520 responses of 1; and 2,377 responses of 0. Multiplication of the total number of respondents by the total number of responses, and division of this multiplicand by the total weighted score of all responses, produced an average scale score of 2.53. The average scale score of 2.53 was used as the cutting point by which to dichotomize the responses. Responses with a weight above 2.53, all 3 and 4 responses, were arbitrarily assigned a value of 1; responses with a weight below 2.53, all 2, 1, and 0 responses, were arbitrarily assigned a value of 0. Dichotomizing the responses permitted the development of a scale which conformed to the following

model (assuming five items for the purpose of illustration):

Item No.	1	2	3	4	5	No. of Respondents
Respondents	1	1	1	1	1	
	0	1	1	1	1	
	0	0	1	1	1	
	0	0	0	1	1	
	0	0	0	0	1	
	0	0	0	0	0	

In the event that all responses conformed to the model presented above (assuming that there was a satisfactory distribution of responses across the whole range of response patterns), then this would be a perfectly reproducible scale. Needless to say, perfect reproducibility is an ideal and is not generally attained in practice.

Attempts to develop a Guttman scale for all the items on the questionnaire not subject to exclusion proved unsuccessful. Two of the items, Item 25 (permitted to vote), and Item 7 (permitted to run for a non-partisan position on a local school board), were agreed to by over eighty-five per cent of the respondents, and therefore were precluded from utilization in the scale by the Guttman criterion that no item should be scaled which is agreed to by over eighty per cent of the respondents.

Item 21 on the questionnaire was excluded due to the fact that it did not meet the Guttman criterion that no item should be scaled which is agreed to by less than twenty per cent of the respondents.⁸⁸ Successive eliminations of the remaining twenty-two items continued to produce too many errors to achieve reproducibility, or the frequency of responses was very unevenly distributed on the scale.

⁸⁸See Appendix C.

Some more rational grouping of items was needed in order to develop a Guttman scale. Rather than indiscriminately eliminating items, the attitudinal items were grouped into three basic categories. The first category consisted of those items which were prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9, and the one item prohibited solely by Rule 9. The second category consisted of all those items prohibited solely by the Hatch Act. The third category consisted of all those items which were permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9. Excluded from these three categories were the three items which did not fit into Guttman's twenty to eighty per cent agree range.

Five items on the questionnaire fit into the category of permitted activities; these were Items 8, 9, 20, 22, and 24. Items 7 and 25 were not included due to the high degree of consensus on them previously indicated. Results of the scale analysis indicated that a high degree of consensus existed on the five items. Over forty per cent of the respondents either agreed completely, or agreed with reservations, that all five indicated activities should be legally permitted; furthermore, when Item 9 is excluded, the number agreeing increases to over fifty per cent. It is also virtually certain that had the word non-partisan been included in Item 9 on the questionnaire, a higher percentage of respondents would have indicated that it should be a legally permitted activity.

In considering each of the five items separately, the number of those responding with a 3 or 4 on the questionnaire ranged from approximately sixty-five per cent for Item 9 through approximately seventy-five per cent for Item 24.

Due to the relatively high degree of consensus on all the permitted activities, no further Guttman scaling on those activities was attempted.

Five items were included in the category of activities prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9, or by Rule 9 only. Item 6 on the questionnaire is the only one of the five activities which is prohibited by Rule 9 solely. Items 4, 5, 10, and 11 on the questionnaire are prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9.

A cutting point was established for the five items by following the same procedure that was followed previously for establishing a cutting point for all twenty-five attitudinal items on the questionnaire. The five response categories were weighted and arranged in the same manner. The average scale score for the five items was 1.45. Contrary to the result obtained using all items on the questionnaire, the cutting point established for the five items necessitated the grouping of the No Opinion category with the two Agree categories; therefore, for scale purposes, the two Agree categories and the No Opinion category were arbitrarily assigned the value of 1, and the two Disagree categories were arbitrarily assigned the value of 0.

A scale of the Guttman type revealed that only two respondents fit into the response pattern 0 0 0 1 1. Elimination of Item 10 and the use of a four-item scale did not improve matters greatly since only eight respondents fit into the pattern 0 0 1 1. Elimination of Item 11 and the retention of Item 10 in a four-item scale produced very similar results. Further attempts to develop a scale

based on activities prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9 were discontinued.

Attempts to develop a scale based on those items prohibited solely by the Hatch Act produced results which were not very satisfactory. Successive eliminations of the original twelve items categorized as being prohibited solely by the Hatch Act tended to produce a scale in which relatively few respondents were located in the middle ranges of the scale. Therefore, even with an eight-item scale only three respondents fit into the 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 response pattern, fewer than ten responded in the 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 1 pattern, and fifteen or fewer were located in at least three other response patterns. Further elimination of items did not substantially improve matters; the conclusion seemed clear that the items prohibited solely by the Hatch Act would not result in a really satisfactory scale.

Development of a Five-Item Guttman Scale

Due to the fact that Guttman scaling did not prove to be feasible on the basis of advance categorization of items, a more pragmatic approach was taken. It was decided to develop a scale based on response percentages totaled from the questionnaire returns. An arbitrary decision was made to develop a five-item scale since previous experience with the political activity items had revealed the great difficulty of developing a scale with a large number of items; conversely, a scale with very few items might not tap the gradations in the attitude being studied.

The five items for the scale were selected from totaled

percentages based on responses to the attitudinal items on the questionnaire. Items 4, 6, 12, 14, and 19 were selected for the five-item scale. The items are arranged, in order, below on the basis of the total number of respondents who either agreed completely or agreed with reservations that the activities should be legally permitted:

Item No. 14 - Serve as a campaign manager for a political candidate	% of Agreement 33.7
Item No. 4 - Serve as a party "challenger" for a local or state election	% of Agreement 42.6
Item No. 12 - Initiate and circulate nominations petitions for political candidates	% of Agreement 47.5
Item No. 19 - Take an active part in the political canvass of a district	% of Agreement 50.0
Item No. 6 - Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a city council	% of Agreement 72.7

Three of the indicated activities are prohibited solely by the Hatch Act, and the other two are prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9. Four of the items refer to activities of a partisan political nature, and the fifth item, although nominally non-partisan, concerns political activity of a very overt nature. Attempts to develop a scale based solely on Rule 9 restrictions proved unsuccessful, as previously pointed out.

In the development of the actual Guttman scale the first step was to establish a cutting point by which to dichotomize the responses (this procedure was previously described). The responses were arranged and weighted in the following manner:

- 4 - Agree, completely
- 3 - Agree, with reservations
- 2 - No opinion
- 1 - Disagree, with reservations
- 0 - Disagree, completely

The total number of responses in each numbered category was as follows: 503 responses of 4, 258 responses of 3, 120 responses of 2, 104 responses of 1, and 561 responses of 0. By multiplying the total number of respondents by the total number of responses, and dividing this multiplicand by the total weighted score of all responses, the average scale score is 1.994. Responses with a weight above 1.994, all 2, 3, and 4 responses were arbitrarily assigned a value of 1; responses below 1.994, all 1 and 0 responses were assigned a value of 0. All No opinion responses were therefore included with the Agree category responses on the scale.

A scale of the Guttman type for the five items appears as follows:

Items	14	4	12	19	6	No. of Respondents
Response	1	1	1	1	1	108
Pattern	0	1	1	1	1	22
	0	0	1	1	1	10
	0	0	0	1	1	15
	0	0	0	0	1	54
	0	0	0	0	0	44
	Total					253

The scale presented above represents perfect scale pattern responses; slightly under eighty per cent of all the respondents returning questionnaires had perfect scale pattern configurations. The scale presented below represents the scale pattern configurations of all respondents after error patterns have been assigned to the scale types which they most closely approximate:

						No. of Respondents	No. of Errors
Items	14	4	12	19	6		
Response	1	1	1	1	1	113	5
Pattern	0	1	1	1	1	37	15
	0	0	1	1	1	21	14
	0	0	0	1	1	21	10
	0	0	0	0	1	74	25
	0	0	0	0	0	<u>51</u>	<u>10</u>
Total:						317	79

The coefficient of reproducibility for the scale is .95, which is well above the .90 which Guttman considers to be the allowable minimum for scaling.

The scale which has been produced according to Guttman criteria is a scale measuring degrees of adherence to a set of restrictions on political activity by Michigan civil servants.

The 113 respondents with a scale score of 1 on each of the five items probably agree that all of the five stipulated political activities should be permitted. The fifty-one respondents with a scale score of 0 probably agree that none of the five stipulated political activities should be permitted. All of the other respondents fall somewhere between these two extremes.

A Guttman scale is usually considered ordinal data. Here, however, the various scale positions represent a count of the number of political activities which the respondent believes the Civil Service should prohibit. Since it is a count, this writer felt it was appropriate to compute mean scale scores for the various categories of the independent variable. These mean scale scores permit a more convenient description of the bivariate tables used to test the hypotheses than would be possible using the percentages reported in the distributions alone.

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

Introduction

The methodology of the study was described in detail in the preceding chapter. Most of the tables included in Chapter IV are bivariate distributions intended to show the relationship between variables having to do with experience gained in the Civil Service or with experience gained prior to entering the Civil Service, and attitudes toward restricting political activity. The remaining tables measure variables concerning experience gained in the Michigan Civil Service controlled by experience gained prior to entering the Civil Service.

The major hypothesis tested in this chapter is that there will be a direct relationship between years of service and acceptance of the legal norms on political activities for civil servants. Stated simply, it means that the longer the period of time that a man has been in the Civil Service, the more inclined he will be to accept the legal norms on political activities.

The secondary hypothesis of the study is that there will be a direct relationship between pay level position and acceptance of the legal norms on political activities. According to this hypothesis, each increase in pay level position will be reflected in a greater degree of acceptance of the legal norms on political activities. Three broad categories of pay level positions were used in the study.

In addition to these hypotheses, other variables tested in this chapter include prior level and type of education, prior occupational background, and prior level of involvement in political activity.

The mean scale scores in the tables measure the degree of acceptance of the legal norms regarding political activities for civil servants. There is a direct relationship between mean scale score and acceptance of the legal norms regarding political activities; a high mean scale score is therefore correlated with a high degree of acceptance of the norms.

Variables Concerning Civil Service Experience

Tables 1, 2, and 3 test variables regarding years of service and pay level position in the Michigan Civil Service.

Table 1 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Years of Service</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Under 5	48.8	8.8	8.8	6.4	16.8	14.0	125	2.65
5 through 14	29.8	14.5	5.6	8.1	25.8	26.1	124	3.34
15 or more	16.7	14.8	5.6	5.6	35.2	22.2	<u>54</u>	3.94
Total								303

The difference in mean scale score between those with under 5 years of service and those with 5 through 14 years of service is .69; the difference in mean scale score between those with 5 through 14 years of service and those with over 15 years of service is .60.

There is an overall difference of 1.29 in mean scale score between those with under 5 years of service and those with over 15 years of service.

It is clear from the results of Table 1 that civil servants with a short period of service have not accepted the legal norms regarding civil servants' political activity to the extent that civil servants with a longer period of service have.

The same general relationship which existed for years of service, exists for the Civil Service pay level variable, although the relationship is not as strong, nor the differences in mean scale score as pronounced. Two interpretations are possible: first, civil servants who object strenuously to restrictions on their political activity leave the service; or, second, they come to accept the legal norms that go with their positions. The latter interpretation is consistent with the socialization hypothesis of this thesis. The former interpretation is not necessarily inconsistent: the civil servant who wishes to participate in political activities proscribed by the Civil Service may leave the Service rather than be socialized into acceptance of its norms.

Table 2 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Pay Level</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
C through A2	49.4	9.4	5.9	4.7	18.8	11.8	85	2.69
A through I	29.5	12.8	10.3	10.3	14.1	23.1	78	3.36
Ia or above	26.5	13.2	5.1	5.9	34.6	14.7	<u>136</u>	3.53
					Total		299	

There is a difference in mean scale score of .65 between those employees in pay levels C through A2, and those employees in pay levels A through I; there is a difference in mean scale score of .17 between those employees in pay levels A through I, and those employees in pay levels Ia or above. Overall, there is a difference in scale score of .84 between those in the lowest pay levels and those in the highest pay levels. These differences suggest that civil servants in the higher pay level categories are more inclined to accept the legal restrictions on political activities than are civil servants in the lower pay level categories.

The same two interpretations which were applied to the results of Table 1 can be applied to the results of Table 2. Either interpretation would be consistent with the socialization hypothesis of this thesis. It must be recognized, however, that socialization in regard to pay level position does not appear to be as significant a factor as is years of service in influencing attitude toward legal norms on political activities.

The results obtained in the measurement of the relationship of the factors of years of service and pay level position to acceptance of the legal norms regarding the political activity of civil servants support the general results obtained in the socialization studies referred to in Chapter 1. The three studies of medical students illustrated the distinct changes in attitudes, self-images, and career plans which took place over the span of a medical school career. The study conducted simultaneously at

three medical schools, for example, revealed clearly that the student's image of himself as a doctor is enhanced by having his patients regard him as a doctor. The study points up the importance of status as a socialization factor. Buerkle's study of nurses found that nurses were more likely to apply universalistic solutions to problems as their years of service and status increased.

It was the general expectation in this thesis that years of service would be more efficacious in determining attitude toward legal norms on political activity than would pay level position. It can be assumed, therefore, that in a comparison table involving these two factors, that mean scale scores would increase with each increase in years of service independently of whichever pay level position was being compared. According to this assumption, therefore, the group of civil servants who fall into the classification of highest years of service and lowest pay level position should have a higher scale score than the group of civil servants who fall into the classification of lowest years of service and highest pay level positions. Furthermore, it is postulated that there will be an increase in scale score with each increase in the categories for pay level positions as controlled by years of service: i.e. the lowest scale score will be found among those civil servants with under 5 years of service and in pay level positions C through A2, and the highest scale score will be found among those civil servants with over 15 years of service and in pay level positions Ia or above.

Table 3 measures scale scores of pay level positions as controlled by years of service.

Table 3 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

Years of Service and Pay Level Position	Low Acceptance			High Acceptance			No.	Mean Scale Score
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
<u>Under 5 years</u>								
C through A2	59.1	9.1	9.1	6.8	9.1	6.8	44	2.18
A through I	30.0	13.3	10.0	3.3	20.0	23.3	30	3.40
Ia or above	47.5	5.0	10.0	7.5	27.5	2.5	40	2.70
<u>5 through 14 years</u>								
C through A2	38.7	12.9	3.2	3.2	32.3	9.7	31	3.06
A through I	31.3	15.6	12.5	15.6	0.0	25.0	32	3.13
Ia or above	24.6	15.8	3.5	7.0	33.3	15.8	57	3.56
<u>15 or more years</u>								
C through A2	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	3	4.00
A through I	15.4	7.7	3.8	3.8	57.7	11.5	26	4.15
Ia or above	5.7	17.1	2.9	5.7	42.9	22.9	<u>35</u>	4.26
Total							298	

It is quite obvious from even a cursory examination of Table 3 that there is, with the exception of one category, a very consistent pattern of an increase in scale score with each increase in the

category for years of service and each subsequent increase in pay level position. There is an overall range of 2.08 in scale score between the category with lowest years of service and lowest pay level positions and the category with highest years of service and highest pay level positions. The controlling factor is clearly years of service, as there is a substantial increase in scale score with each increase in years of service. The increase in scale scores for pay level positions takes place within each category for years of service -- for example, the scale scores for levels C through A2 with 5 through 14, and 15 or more years of service, are higher than the scale score for levels Ia or above with under 5 years of service.

Table 3 illustrates that there is an increased acceptance of the legal norms on political activity with each increase in years of service; also, the results indicate that within each category for years of service, an increased acceptance of the legal norms on political activity is correlated with each advancement in pay level position.

The only break in the pattern established in Table 3 is found in the category with under 5 years of service and in pay levels A through I. Careful examination of this category reveals that it is under-representative of those with a high school education or less; approximately 30%, versus approximately 41% for the entire study; also, it is slightly under-representative of those with four years of college or more: 30% versus 35% for the entire study. Regarding major field of study, the category is over-

representative of those who had an essentially non-specialized educational background (social studies or the humanities): 23%, versus 15% for the entire study. The category has about the same percentage of those with a prior professional occupation as found in the entire study, but is somewhat over-representative of those with a labor background: 23%, versus 17% for the entire study. Finally, the category is slightly over-representative of those who had participated in one or fewer prior political activities: 80%, versus 74% for the entire study.

Analysis of the composition of the pattern-breaking category does not help to explain the deviation in Table 3. Even though the category is somewhat over-representative of groups which had relatively high scale scores -- non-specialized field of study (see Table 5), and participation in one or fewer prior political activities (see Table 7) -- the category is also over-representative of the occupational classification of laborers, who had a relatively low scale score (see Table 6). Furthermore, although the category is under-representative of the respondents with four years of college or more, who had a relatively low scale score (see Table 4), it is also under-representative of those with a high school education or less, who had a relatively high scale score (see Table 4). On balance, the category with under 5 years of service and in pay levels A through I appears to be slightly over-representative of respondents with relatively high scale scores, but not enough to account for the degree of deviation in the pattern established in Table 3.

Summarizing Table 3, the results indicate that socialization through length of service and advancement in pay level positions in the Michigan Civil Service brings about an increased acceptance of the legal norms on political activity.

Variables Concerning Experience Prior to Entering Civil Service

In addition to the provisions eliciting information about Civil Service employment, the questionnaire used in this study was designed to elicit information about the employee's educational, occupational and political activity background. There were two basic purposes for this procedure: the first purpose was to try to determine if there was a positive relationship between the type of educational, occupational, and political activity background of the civil servant, and his attitude toward acceptance of the legal norms regarding political activity; the second purpose was to determine whether or not scale score differentials in attitudes toward legal norms on political activities thought to be attributable to socialization within the Michigan Civil Service were not in fact primarily attributable to socialization factors such as prior education, prior occupation, and prior engagement in political activities.

The next two tables are designed to scale educational factors. Three levels of educational attainment are used in Table 4: (1) those with no college education; (2) those with some college education; and (3) those with what is normally regarded as a full college education or more.

Table 4 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
High School or less	32.8	11.5	6.1	6.1	24.4	19.1	131	3.35
1 to 3 years of college	34.7	12.5	4.2	9.7	19.4	19.4	72	3.25
4 years of college or more	38.7	11.7	9.0	5.4	24.3	10.8	<u>111</u>	2.97
Total							314	

As can be seen from the results of Table 4, those civil servants with the lowest level of education were more inclined to accept the legal norms regarding political activity than were civil servants with a higher level of education. Scale scores decrease .10 and .28 respectively with each increase in level of education. The relationship between level of education and degree of willingness to accept the legal norms is consistent, but it is not very strong.

Provision was made in the questionnaire to secure information concerning the major field of study for each respondent who had college work. Table 5 compares the performance on the political activity items of those respondents whose major educational field of study was primarily non-specialized and non-technical, versus those respondents whose major educational field of study was primarily specialized and technical.

Table 5 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Major Field of Study</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Social studies and the humanities	43.8	12.5	10.4	2.1	12.5	18.8	48	2.83
Medicine, health, engineering, math, and the physical sciences	31.9	12.8	8.5	4.3	29.8	12.8	<u>47</u>	3.26
Total							95	

There is a difference of .43 in scale score between the two comparison groups in Table 5. Those civil servants who had what was essentially a specialized and technical educational background had a higher degree of acceptance of legal norms than did those civil servants who had an essentially non-specialized, non-technical educational background. These results suggest that educational experience which is geared to rule-learning and acquiring very specialized knowledge may have contributed, in this case, to greater receptiveness to rules on political activity.

Directly beneath the educational background items on the questionnaire, provision was made for each respondent to indicate the type of occupation he had previously engaged in, and the number of years he had worked in that type of occupation. Due to the fact that very few respondents indicated employment in

several of the occupational categories included on the questionnaire, the only occupational categories used for scaling purposes were laborers (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), and professionals. The determination as to whether or not a particular occupation should be classified as professional was made by reference to the Edwards' Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States.⁸⁹

The criteria for determining what prior occupational classification an employee was given were: (1) that he have worked at least three years in that occupation; and (2) that he have worked at least two-thirds of his prior occupational experience in that occupation.

Table 6 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Prior Occupation</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
Laborer	38.9	9.3	5.6	7.4	24.1	14.8	54	3.13
Professional	34.6	11.5	3.8	3.8	26.9	19.2	26	3.35
Total							80	

There is a difference of .22 in scale score between the two groups, with professionals showing slightly stronger support for the legal norms than laborers.

⁸⁹Gordon, Milton M., Social Class in American Sociology. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1958. P. 224.

In order to try to determine whether or not prior political activity had a significant effect on attitude toward legal norms on political activities, a section on prior political activity was included in the questionnaire. Based on their responses, the civil servants were placed in two broadly differentiated groups: in one group were those who participated in one or fewer political activities in the past, and in the other group were those who participated in two or more political activities in the past.

Table 7 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured in Percentage

<u>Prior Political Activity</u>	<u>Low Acceptance</u>			<u>High Acceptance</u>			<u>No.</u>	<u>Mean Scale Score</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1 or fewer activities	33.7	12.3	5.9	6.4	22.5	19.3	187	3.29
2 or more activities	38.5	10.8	7.7	6.9	24.6	11.5	<u>130</u>	3.03
Total							317	

The scale score differential between the two groups is .26. The group of civil servants who had participated in two or more political activities was not quite as willing to accept the legal norms as was the group of civil servants who had participated in one or fewer political activities. This result suggests a relationship between prior political activity and degree of willingness to accept present legal norms on political activities; however, the relationship does not appear to be very strong.

In order to provide a clearer, more concise picture of the

results of the first seven tables, a general summary is provided below. Based on the scoring technique used in the study, a higher level of acceptance of the legal norms regarding political activity of civil servants was associated with: high years of service versus low years of service; high pay level position versus low pay level position; low level of education versus high level of education; essentially technical and specialized educational background versus essentially non-technical and non-specialized educational background; occupational background as a professional versus occupational background as a laborer; and low level of prior political activity versus high level of prior political activity. In addition, the results of Table 3 indicate that length of service was a more efficacious socialization factor in relationship to acceptance of the legal norms on political activities than was pay level position.

Variables Concerning Experience in Civil
Service Controlled by Educational, Occupational,
and Prior Political Activity Factors

One purpose of soliciting information regarding the educational, occupational, and political activity background of the civil servants was to develop possible control factors for the two major socialization factors. The tables in this section are designed to measure, on a comparative basis, each background factor with each socialization factor regarding experience within the Michigan Civil Service.

Table 8 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Years of Service</u>	<u>High School or Less</u>	<u>1 to 3 Years of College</u>	<u>4 Years of College or More</u>
Under 5 years	2.76 (42)*	2.74 (34)	2.45 (51)
5 through 14 years	3.42 (59)	3.29 (24)	3.28 (43)
15 or more years	4.00 (23)	4.67 (12)	3.56 (18)

*Number of respondents

Although the general pattern of a decrease in acceptance of legal norms with each increase in educational level holds true -- except for the category of 15 or more years of service with 1 to 3 years of college -- the scale score differentials are only .01, .02, and .13 in three instances. It is quite clear from an examination of Table 8 that an increased acceptance of legal norms on political activities is associated with an increase of years of service irrespective of increases or decreases in the level of education. Not only is there a rather substantial increase in scale score at each educational level with each increase in years of service, but the lowest scale score at each level of years of service is higher than the highest scale score at the next lowest level of years of service.

Educational level was compared with years of service in Table 8; educational level is compared with pay level positions in Table 9.

Table 9 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Pay Level Positions</u>	<u>High School or Less</u>	<u>1 to 3 Years of College</u>	<u>4 Years of College or More</u>
C through A2	2.96 (56)	2.35 (23)	1.50 (6)
A through I	3.33 (36)	3.80 (25)	2.60 (15)
Ia or above	4.16 (32)	3.77 (22)	3.24 (82)

Many of the same conclusions which were drawn for Table 8 may be drawn for Table 9; however, except for the category of A through I pay level positions with 1 to 3 years of college, there is a more definite decrease in scale score with each increase in educational level in Table 9 as compared to Table 8. In addition, although with one exception there is a significant increase in scale score at each level of education with each increase in pay level position, it is not the case (as it was in Table 8) that the lowest scale score at each pay level position is higher than the highest scale score at the next lowest pay level position. Based on the results of Table 9, pay level position is clearly a more significant factor in influencing attitude toward legal norms on political activity than is educational level; however, when correlated with educational level, pay level position would appear to be less significant as a determinant of attitudes than is years of service. The scale score results of Tables 8 and 9 are presented in more concise form in Table 10.

Table 10 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Years of Service and Pay Level Position</u>	<u>High School or Less</u>	<u>1 to 3 Years of College</u>	<u>4 Years of College or More</u>
Under 5 years	2.76	2.74	2.45
5 through 14 years	3.42	3.29	3.28
15 or more years	4.00	4.67	3.56
C through A2	2.96	2.35	1.50
A through I	3.33	3.80	2.60
Ia or above	4.16	3.77	3.24

The second type of educational factor which was used in the study was major field of study. The non-specialized, non-technical type of education was represented by those whose major field of study was social studies or the humanities; the specialized, technical type of education was represented by those whose major field of study was medicine, health, engineering, mathematics, or the physical sciences.

Table 11 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Years of Service</u>	<u>Non-specialized Non-Technical Education</u>	<u>Specialized Technical Education</u>
Under 5 years	2.55 (29)	2.81 (16)
5 through 14 years	3.21 (14)	3.04 (23)
15 years or more	3.80 (5)	4.14 (7)

Scale scores within each category for major field of study in Table 11 increase a minimum of .23 with each increase in years of

service; also, there is an absolute increase in scale score with each increase in years of service, regardless of major field of study. There is no consistent pattern in scale score regarding specialized versus non-specialized major field of study. It should be noted that the small number of respondents with over 15 years of service reduces somewhat the significance of the related scale scores.

Table 12 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Pay Level Positions</u>	<u>Non-specialized Non-technical Education</u>	<u>Specialized Technical Education</u>
C through A2	2.33 (6)	1.33 (6)
A through I	3.70 (10)	2.91 (11)
Ia or above	2.97 (32)	3.85 (26)

There are no completely consistent patterns to be found in Table 12. Scale scores tend to increase with each increase in pay level position; there is, however, one important exception to that pattern -- the scale score for non-specialized major field of study at the level A through I is much higher than the scale score for non-specialized major field of study at the highest pay levels. There are rather substantial scale score differences between the lowest and the highest pay level positions; however, the former scale scores are based on only six respondents for each category for major field of study.

In addition to volunteering information about educational background, the civil servants were requested to furnish information

relative to occupational and political activity background. Due to the limited number of respondents in certain occupational categories, only laborer and professional categories were included in earlier table analysis. Only twenty-six respondents listed occupational backgrounds which Edwards has classified as being professional in nature. In view of the very small total number of respondents who had a prior occupational status of professional, and taking into consideration that only three of those with a prior professional background had over 15 years of service, only one was located in pay level positions C through A2, and only three were located in pay level positions A through I, it was decided not to include occupational category as a control factor in relationship to years of service and pay level positions. It should be noted further that as measured in Table 6 there was a difference of only .13 in scale score between the two occupational classifications compared.

As was indicated earlier, the civil servants were placed in one of two very broad categories regarding their prior political activity: (1) those who had engaged in 1 or fewer activities; and (2) those who had engaged in 2 or more activities. Prior political activity was scaled in Table 7. The scale scores showed that those who had engaged in one or fewer prior political activities were somewhat more inclined to accept the legal norms than were those who had engaged in two or more prior political activities. It was expected that engagement in prior political activity would be related to some extent to a greater degree of unwillingness to accept the legal norms on political activity.

Prior political activity is used as a control variable in each of the next two tables.

Table 13 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Years of Service</u>	<u>1 or Fewer Activities</u>	<u>2 or More Activities</u>
Under 5 years	2.66 (70)	2.64 (55)
5 through 14 years	3.51 (72)	3.10 (52)
15 or more years	3.97 (35)	3.89 (19)

A higher scale score is associated with the smaller degree of prior political activity at all three levels for years of service; however, a substantially higher mean scale score is to be found at each successive increase in the level of years of service regardless of which category of prior political activity is considered. The conclusion which can be drawn from Table 13 is that an increased acceptance of the legal norms on political activities is associated with an increase in the level of years of service irrespective of whichever category of prior political activity is being considered.

Table 14 Acceptance of the Legal Norms Regarding the Political Activity of Civil Servants, as Measured by Mean Scale Score

<u>Pay Level Positions</u>	<u>1 or Fewer Activities</u>	<u>2 or More Activities</u>
C through A2	2.82 (55)	2.47 (30)
A through I	3.63 (43)	2.97 (35)
Ia or above	3.54 (76)	3.55 (60)

The scale scores for Table 14 show that with one notable exception there is an upward trend in mean scale score with each successive

increase in pay level position — the one notable exception is the category of A through I with one or fewer prior political activities. Although the scale scores for the group of civil servants who had engaged in one or fewer political activities is considerably higher in the first two pay level categories, the scale score for those civil servants who had engaged in two or more political activities was slightly higher at the highest pay level positions. It should be noted that almost half of all the civil servants who had engaged in two or more political activities were concentrated in the highest pay level positions.

The general conclusions which can be drawn from the results of Tables 8 through 14 are as follows: (1) without exception, scale scores associated with years of service increased by very substantial margins regardless of the background factor which was being compared; (2) scale scores associated with pay level positions generally increased regardless of the background factor which was being compared, however, there were at least three notable exceptions to this upward trend; and (3) although both years of service and pay level position appear to be controlling factors when paired with any of the three background factors, based on the more clear-cut differentiation in scale scores between levels, and the consistent upward trend in scale scores, years of service can be considered to be the more influential of the two in-Civil Service factors.

In brief summary, scale score analysis for Tables 1 through 14 tends to support both major and secondary hypotheses advanced in this study.

CONCLUSIONS

The Development of the Problem

Political activity rules on government employees have been in effect at the national level (on a general systematic basis) for well over a quarter of a century. Experience with political activity rules at the state level has, in general, been of shorter duration. During the somewhat over a quarter century experience with political activity rules, there has been a rather substantial body of literature compiled. Virtually none of the literature, however, has dealt directly with the attitudinal viewpoint of the government employee in regard to the political activity rules. This particular study of Michigan Civil Service employees was designed to consider the political activity rules from the attitudinal standpoint of the civil servant.

Michigan civil servants were chosen as the subjects of the study for two major reasons: geographical proximity, and the fact that Michigan has had over a quarter century experience with political activity rules.

Questionnaires were sent to a systematic sample of 1,000 civil servants; 317 responses were received. The questionnaire consisted of two main parts: (1) a section designed to elicit information regarding the background and present status within the Civil Service of each respondent; and (2) a section designed to determine the degree of acceptance of each of twenty-five specifically

described political activities.

Two hypotheses were formulated for the study. The major hypothesis was that there would be a positive association between years of service and acceptance of the legal norms on political activity. The secondary hypothesis was that there would be a positive association between pay level position and acceptance of the legal norms on political activity. It was expected that of the two in-Civil Service factors, years of service would be more efficacious in influencing attitude toward the legal norms.

Each respondent was requested to furnish data in regard to his educational, occupational, and political activity background. Bivariate distributions were constructed between each of these background variables and the scale measuring acceptance of the norms regarding political activity; although the degree of association was smaller than for the two in-service variables, it was felt that they should be introduced as control variables to determine whether the association between length of service (or pay level position) and acceptance of the norms is constant for the highly educated as well as the less well educated, for the formerly politically active as well as for the formerly inactive, as so forth.

Although twenty-five political activity items were included on the questionnaire, only the five items which formed a Guttman scale were used as the basis for measuring differences in attitudes toward the legal norms on political activity. The reasons for this procedure were explained in Chapter III.

An evaluation of the results of the study is presented in the

following section.

The Results of the Study

There are several difficulties attendant on interpreting the results of this study. There is first and foremost the question of whether or not the population for the study was representative of the entire Civil Service population. Although questionnaires were sent to a random sample of about two and one-half per cent of Michigan's civil servants, fewer than one third of those contacted actually returned questionnaires. The respondents are representative of the population in regard to years of service, but they are not completely representative in regard to pay level positions. The higher levels of the Civil Service tend to be over-represented and the lower levels under-represented. The over-representation of the upper levels of the Civil Service may have inflated the proportions favoring adherence to a restrictive political activity norm.

Another type of problem involved in interpreting the results of the study is that there have been no previous studies of a similar nature conducted. It is very difficult, therefore, to establish a basis by which to judge the relative significance of increases and decreases in scale scores. Is, for example, a scale score differential of .22 between two factors significant, or is it necessary to have a much wider spread in scale score before the differential can be characterized as being significant? Dr. Helenan Lewis⁹⁰ of

⁹⁰ Undated letter from Dr. Helenan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Western Michigan University.

Western Michigan University has concluded that one can really not do significance tests on the tables used in the study, because of the low rate of return on the mailed questionnaire. Given the limitations described in the paragraphs above, whatever the relative significance of the results of the study, what can be said is that there is a positive correlation between increase in scale score and increase in years of service. This correlation holds true, except for one deviation in Table 3, whether years of service is scaled as a single factor, or whether it is scaled in conjunction with another factor. There are respective increases of .69 and .60 with each increase in years of service when this factor is being scaled independently. When scaled with another factor, each increase in the level for years of service is accompanied by an increase in scale score ranging from .23 to 1.38. With only three exceptions in the four tables involving years of service scaled with another factor, the increase in scale score was at least .46 with each increase in years of service.

It was seen in evaluating Table 3, that except for one category, scale scores increased with each increase in years of service, irrespective of whatever pay level positions were being considered. In Table 3, except for the category of A through I pay levels with under 5 years of service, scale scores within each category for years of service increased with each increase in the category for pay level position; however, the increases tended to be relatively small in three instances: .07, .15, and .11.

Referring back to Table 2 it can be seen that scale scores increased .67 and .17 respectively with each increase in pay level

position. When pay level position is compared with other factors in Tables 3, 9, 12 and 14, there are four instances in which scale score actually decreases with an increase in pay level position. In the remaining instances in which pay level positions are scaled with other factors, scale score increases range from .37 to 1.58 with each increase in pay level position.

Regarding the two hypotheses of this study it can be said that the degree of acceptance of the legal norms on political activity tends to increase with each increase in both years of service and pay level position. Years of service is clearly more efficacious than is pay level position in influencing attitudes toward the legal norms. It has been pointed out that, with only one exception, there was an increase in scale score of at least .23 with each increase in the category for years of service when scaled with another factor. Such was not the case in regard to pay level position. When compared with pay level positions in Table 3, years of service was shown to be the controlling factor in relationship to scale score.

Respondents to the study were asked to volunteer information about their prior educational, occupational, and political activity backgrounds. The reasons for including these other factors were given in Chapter IV.

Scale score measurements of each of these factors involving the background of each respondent were undertaken in Tables 4 through 7. It was found in these tables that there are: (1) a consistent although seemingly not strong relationship between increase in educational level and increase in degree of acceptance of the legal

norms; (2) a higher degree of acceptance of legal norms associated with essentially specialized, technical educational field of study as opposed to essentially non-specialized, non-technical educational field of study; (3) somewhat higher acceptance of the legal norms among those with prior occupational status of professional as opposed to those with prior occupational status of a laborer; and (4) somewhat higher degree of acceptance among those who had engaged in one or fewer prior political activities as opposed to those who had engaged in two or more prior political activities.

The results obtained with regard to the factor of prior occupational status were at variance with what had been expected. It had been expected that greater acceptance of the legal norms would be associated with prior occupation as a laborer versus prior occupation as a professional. This expectation was based on studies of the general population which have shown that increases in occupational status are associated with an increased participation in the political process.

Among occupational categories, professionals have been shown to be the most politically active in surveys conducted by Jensen⁹¹ and Campbell;⁹² Dahl's⁹³ New Haven study revealed that the non-

⁹¹In Milbrath, op. cit., P. 126.

⁹²Campbell, Angus, Converse, Philip E., Miller, Warren E., and Stokes, Donald E., The American Voter, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964. P. 411.

⁹³Dahl, Robert A., Who Governs? New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1961, P. 231.

governmental occupations of city officials were most frequently positioned in the grouping including professionals; and the Elmira study⁹⁴ of opinion leaders found that professionals had the highest percentage of opinion leaders among all occupational groupings. Other studies could be cited which show, for instance, that professionals tend to have the best voting percentage among all occupational groupings.

In addition to survey findings in regard to the professional occupational grouping, Lester Milbrath's⁹⁵ researches have indicated that there is a positive relationship between prior level of political activity and exposure to political stimuli, and present level of involvement in the political process.

The assumption which was made for this study was that those civil servants who had a professional background would be less inclined to accept the legal norms on political activities than would their opposite numbers: semi- and unskilled workers. The fact that the opposite result was found to be the case in regard to prior occupation would suggest that those who had one attitudinal set regarding their own participation in the political process had a distinctly different attitudinal set regarding participation in the political process by governmental employees: i.e. political activism in the past, or belonging to an occupational grouping which was politically

⁹⁴Lane, Robert E., Political Life, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959, P. 91.

⁹⁵Milbrath, op. cit., P. 21.

active, was associated with a greater degree of willingness to support political restrictions on civil servants. It should be pointed out, however, that in regard to the factor of prior occupation, the scale score differential was of the magnitude of .26.

Contrary to the results obtained in regard to prior occupation, the results obtained in reference to level of education conformed to what had been expected from studies of the general population. Studies of the general population have shown that increased level of education is associated with increased involvement in political activity. Lane's⁹⁶ study of voting in the 1948 and 1952 national elections, Campbell and associates'⁹⁷ study of political involvement in the 1952 and 1956 Presidential elections, Woodward and Roper's⁹⁸ Political Activity Index, and numerous other studies reveal that increased involvement in political activity is associated with each increase in educational level. The results of this study of Michigan civil servants show that degree of acceptance of the legal norms on political activity decreases with each increase in the level of education. The relationship is consistent, although possibly not particularly strong.

Scaling of the factors of prior occupation and educational level attained therefore produces mixed results in regard to the

⁹⁶Lane, op. cit., P. 48.

⁹⁷Campbell, The American Voter, P. 479.

⁹⁸Woodward, Julian L., and Roper, Elmo, "Political Activity of American Citizens." American Political Science Review, XLIV (December, 1950), 877.

assumption that prior level of political activity or involvement would be inversely related to degree of acceptance of the legal norms on political activity. The assumption held true in regard to educational level, but the opposite result was obtained in regard to prior occupational status.

The Implications of the Study

This study has several implications relative to the operation of the Michigan Civil Service system, and to governmental administration in general. Three implications are considered in this closing section. These are the implications on: (1) recruitment policy; (2) dissemination of information about the political activity rules; and (3) the nature and form of the political activity rules themselves.

Assuming that acceptance of the legal norms on political activity is a positive goal which is to be encouraged within the Michigan Civil Service, it would seem that the Department's efforts to attract and recruit more highly educated personnel runs directly counter to that policy goal. The study has shown that level of education is inversely related to degree of acceptance of political activity norms. The prospect, based on the results of this study, would seem to be one of a slightly diminished degree of support for the political activity norms as the general educational level of the Civil Service population increases.

Regarding major field of educational specialization, or concentration, the prospect would seem to be that as the operation of state

government becomes more and more technically complex, recruitment of new employees will turn more and more to those who have a highly technical or specialized educational background. Based on the results of this study, it would seem that any shift in recruitment among the college or university educated segment of the population from the non-specialized, non-technical to the specialized, technical would be accompanied by a somewhat higher degree of support for the political activity norms.

Much the same which was said about prior field of educational study can be said about prior occupational status. In the event the increasing complexity of government requires a heavier emphasis on those people with a professionally-orientated background, the results of this study would seem to indicate that there would result a slightly higher acceptance of the legal norms on political activity.

In regard to prior political activity, it would seem that any recruitment policy which has as a concomitant result the development of a higher degree of support for the legal norms on political activity would place stress on the recruitment of those who had been the least politically active in the past. Those who had engaged in one or fewer political activities in the past had a higher scale score than those who had engaged in two or more activities.

A second implication of the study is that it seems to demonstrate that familiarity with the rules on political activity helps develop acceptance of them. Those who should have had the most exposure to the political activity rules -- those with the highest years of service and in the highest pay level positions -- had the highest

degree of acceptance of the legal norms. What this suggests is that the Michigan Department of Civil Service should consider re-evaluating its present policies on informing its employees of the provisions of Michigan's Rule 9 and the Hatch Act. Present procedures call for each new employee to be presented with a handbook which includes an explanation of the political activity rules; department heads also distribute circulars from time to time. Perhaps a more comprehensive and energetic educational program regarding the legal norms on political activity would pay dividends in developing increased acceptance of the political activity rules.

In regard to the provisions of the Hatch Act, it seems quite clear that in the Michigan Civil Service a better procedure should be developed for identifying those employees who come under the coverage of the Hatch Act. It is entirely conceivable that there might be a substantial number of civil servants who do not realize that they are covered by the provisions of the Hatch Act.

The third and most important implication of this study is in regard to the question of what type of political restrictions, if any, should be placed on civil servants. There are basically three broad approaches which can be taken in defining the proper role of the civil servant in regard to political activities: (1) the civil servant should have basically the same rights to participate in political activity as any other citizen; (2) the civil servant should be protected from undue political pressures, but otherwise should be free to engage in political activity; (3) the civil servant should be severely restricted in the type of political activity he may engage in.

The first of these approaches may be said to have been in operation in Michigan prior to the establishment of an independent civil service commission. Government employees were expected to be very active in politics, and often could not get a job if they were not.

The second of the approaches listed contemplates that the chief function of political restrictions is to protect the employee from undue political pressures by superiors. The restrictions therefore take the form of protecting the employee from being forced or required to contribute to the campaign fund of a political candidate or party, to distribute political campaign materials, or to perform other political chores. Under this approach, however, he would be free to perform these actions voluntarily.

The third approach embodies a system of very detailed and comprehensive restrictions on the political activity of civil servants. This third approach is basically the approach provided by the Hatch Act, although the Hatch Act does permit such political activity as voting, making voluntary financial contributions, and engaging in more direct political activity of a non-partisan nature.

The whole question of restricting the political activity of civil servants poses a fundamental dilemma in a democratic society. This dilemma was very concisely summarized by the British Parliamentary Committee in its study of the subject of political neutrality in the British Civil Service. The Committee⁹⁹ pointed out that it

⁹⁹Powell, Norman John, Personnel Administration in Government. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. P. 91.

is desirable in a democratic society "for all citizens to have a voice in the affairs of the State and for as many as possible to play an active part in public life;" on the other hand, "the public interest demands the maintenance of political impartiality in the Civil Service and confidence in that impartiality as an essential part of the structure of Government in this country."

Whether or not the political impartiality which the Committee speaks of can ever be achieved is, of course, a matter open to much doubt. Kingsley¹⁰⁰ has argued that civil servants do not live in ivory towers; they are concerned with political questions and they are sensitive to political currents. He¹⁰¹ further states that able men will be impartial only in respect to trifles, and that the essence of bureaucratic responsibility lies in the strength of the official's commitment to the larger purposes of the State.

A good deal of the controversy which has arisen regarding the restriction of the political activity of civil servants centers on the question of whether or not a distinction can and should be made between the administrative function and the policy-determining function in government. Pfiffner,¹⁰² writing in Public Administration, defines politics' proper sphere as the determination, crystallization, and declaration of the will of the community, and administration's

¹⁰⁰Kingsley, op. cit., P. 268.

¹⁰¹loc. cit., P. 274.

¹⁰²Pfiffner, J. M., Public Administration. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1935. P. 9.

sphere as the carrying into effect of that will. Pfiffner¹⁰³ states that "politics should stick to its policy-determining sphere" and administration should be free from the "blight of political meddling."

Dwight Waldo,¹⁰⁴ in The Administrative State, observes that students of administration had been concerned, until recent years, "with excluding 'democracy' from administration by making the latter unified and hierarchical, and with confining democracy to what is deemed to be its proper sphere, decision on policy."

Implicit in the assumption that the administrative and policy-determining functions can be treated as separate entities is the belief that primary emphasis should be placed on technical expertise and specialization. Waldo¹⁰⁵ states that among many early writers on governmental administrative matters, the term 'experts' was used to connote permanence, training, and specialization while the term 'spoils' was used to connote wickedness and immorality. Another writer,¹⁰⁶ although denying that the combination of politics and administration would be a violation of a principle of government, argued that the reason skilled and permanent administrators should not meddle in politics, and should be free from interference in the details of administration by elected legislative and executive

¹⁰³ibid.

¹⁰⁴Waldo, The Administrative State, P. 14.

¹⁰⁵loc. cit., P. 91.

¹⁰⁶Gulick, Luther, "Politics, Administration, and the New Deal." 169 *Annals* (September, 1933), 63.

officials, is that this division of work makes use of specialization, and "appears to give better results than a system where such a differentiation does not exist."

Not all writers on the subject of governmental administration are willing to accept the premise that policy determination and administration are completely separate functions. One writer¹⁰⁷ on the subject has argued that administrators help to form policy and that politics cannot be completely taken out of administration. This viewpoint is subscribed to by others, including Kingsley.¹⁰⁸

The controversy over whether or not policy-determination and administration can and should be treated as separate functions is really part of a larger question of what degree of control an elected chief executive should have over the personnel who will be in positions to materially influence the fate of his programs. Political appointees who are committed to the chief executive's policy and philosophy greatly facilitate the enactment of his political program; on the other hand, the general public may desire protection from a political machine which is totally committed to the elected chief executive.

The whole question of the effect of political activity restrictions on governmental administration, policy-making, and, more specifically, on the elected chief executive's ability to carry out his program, needs a great deal more concentrated study.

¹⁰⁷ Durham, G. H., "Politics and Administration in Intergovernmental Relations." 207 Annals (January, 1940): 2.

¹⁰⁸ op. cit., P. 275.

Leaving aside those considerations which relate more directly to the operation of the governmental apparatus, it is a fact that political activity restrictions exclude from full participation in political life thousands of well-qualified men and women. The trend in recent years has been toward increased restrictions on the political activity of civil servants, especially with the proliferation of Federal Governmental programs and the resultant extension of the Hatch Act; although the general increase in the number of governmental employees appears to be generating some pressures to ease political activity restrictions.¹⁰⁹ It does not appear likely that the State of Michigan will ever go back to the situation which existed in the 1930's when there were, for all practical purposes, no restrictions on political activity.

Between the extremes of a virtual absence of political activity restrictions and a very comprehensive system of political activity restrictions, there are other approaches which can be explored, however. Previous mention was made of an approach which has as its main purpose the protection of civil servants from undue political pressure by superiors. This approach is in effect in at least one province of Canada. A very novel proposal has been made by the former Executive Director of the National Civil Service League, who¹¹⁰ has suggested that civil servants should be allowed to participate in

¹⁰⁹Ford, op. cit., P. 4.

¹¹⁰Found in "Personnel Opinions" section, Public Personnel Review, 21 (January, 1960), P. 66.

politics on every level of government but their own.

It is unlikely that the State of Michigan could initiate this last proposal since the situation is complicated by the fact that something like one-third of Michigan's civil servants may be covered by provisions of the Hatch Act. It also seems quite unlikely that Michigan would choose to adopt the approach of a political activity regulatory system which was designed to protect the civil servants from political pressures, but gives them full freedom to participate in politics voluntarily. Granted that major changes in the nature of political activity restrictions are unlikely in the State of Michigan, perhaps more modest proposals are in order.

The Michigan Department of Civil Service should evaluate its entire policy in regard to informing its employees of the political activity regulations under which they work. Secondly, the Civil Service clearly needs a much better system of identifying those employees who are covered by the provisions of the Hatch Act. Thirdly, the Michigan Department of Civil Service should initiate a study of the effect of the political regulations on the success of its recruitment efforts, and more broadly, on the efficiency and responsiveness of the governmental administrative apparatus to the general public will.

Although enactment of these proposals would not likely lead to any revolutionary changes in the system of political activity

regulation, they would lead to a better understanding of the impact of political activity regulations on Michigan state government.

Appendix A

Part VI of the U.S. Civil Service Commission's Pamphlet 20 sets forth the political activity restrictions applicable to State or local agency officers and employees. The publication¹¹¹ lists three restrictions which fall within the scope of the Commission's rule or jurisdiction:

"(1) Use of official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or a nomination for office, or affecting the result thereof.

(2) Directly or indirectly coercing, attempting to coerce, commanding, or advising any other such officer or employee to pay, lend, or contribute any part of his salary or compensation or anything else of value to any party, committee, organization, agency, or person for political purposes.

(3) Active participation in political management or in political campaigns."

The third restriction relates to activities which are described in part IV under "Prohibited Activities."

Part IV of Pamphlet 20 describes a wide range of political activities which the Commission has determined to be prohibited under civil service rules adopted prior to the enactment of Section 15 of the Hatch Act. The following is a summarization of the material contained in part IV:¹¹²

Activity by indirection is prohibited. Whatever the employee cannot do personally or directly, he cannot do through an agent, another officer, or another employee. This prohibition includes his wife.

¹¹¹"Political Activity of Federal Officers and Employees." Pamphlet 20, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C. (May 1966), 18.

¹¹²loc. cit., Pp. 10-16.

An employee may not serve as a delegate, alternate, proxy, officer, or employee in any political convention. He may attend as a non-partisan spectator.

An employee may attend a primary meeting, mass convention, caucus, and the like, but he is prohibited from any act beyond the act of voting.

Any action in preparing for, organizing, conducting or addressing a political meeting is prohibited.

Holding the office of precinct committeeman, ward committeeman, and the like, or service on or for any committee of a political party organization is prohibited.

An employee may become a member of a political club and may vote on questions presented, but he may not take an active part in its management or affairs, and he may not represent other members. Membership in a nonpartisan labor union is not prohibited. Membership in nonpartisan organizations having as a primary object the promotion of good government or the local civic welfare is also not prohibited.

An employee may make a voluntary contribution to a regularly constituted political organization, but he may not solicit, receive, disburse, or otherwise handle contributions made for political purposes. Direct or indirect involvement in the sale of dinner tickets of a political party organization is prohibited.

An employee may express an opinion on all political subjects and candidates, but it must be done in such a way as not to constitute taking an active part in political management or in political campaigns.

An employee may wear political badges or buttons, and he may display political posters or pictures; however, he may not distribute campaign literature, badges, or buttons.

An employee may not be connected either editorially or managerially with any newspaper generally known as partisan from a political standpoint. He also may not write for publication or publish any letter or article, signed or unsigned, soliciting votes in favor of or against any political party, candidate, or faction.

The employee's right to vote as he pleases shall not be interfered with; however, he must refrain from any offensive action at primary and regular elections, such as soliciting votes, helping to get out the voters, acting as the accredited checker or challenger of a party, etc.

An employee may not participate in or help organize a political parade.

An employee may sign a nominating petition in behalf of a partisan candidate, but he may not initiate or canvass signatures for such petition.

Candidacy for election to a National, State, county, or municipal office is not permissible. This prohibition extends to the preliminaries leading up to the announcement of formal candidacy. There is a major exception to this rule: an employee elected to a local office by a write-in vote may accept and hold that office provided that he did nothing to encourage or arrange the write-in. This exception was confirmed in an opinion by the Attorney General to the Secretary of the Interior dated April 17, 1940.¹¹³

¹¹³loc. cit., P. 15.

Appendix B

The Michigan Civil Service Commission¹¹⁴ has listed a number of political activities which are prohibited under the Hatch Act but not under Rule 9:

"Soliciting sale of or selling political party dinner tickets and handling political contributions.

Serving as officer of a political club, as member or officer of any of its committees, addressing such a club, or being active in organizing it.

Serving in connection with, preparation for organizing, or conducting a political meeting or rally, addressing such a meeting, or taking any other active part therein except as a spectator.

Engaging in activity at the polls (at primary or regular elections), such as soliciting votes, assisting voters to mark ballots, or transporting voters.

Acting as recorder, checker, watcher, or challenger of any party or faction.

Serving in any position of election officer in which partisanship or partisan-political management may be shown.

Writing for publication or publishing any letter or article signed or unsigned, soliciting votes in favor of or against any political party, candidate, or political issue.

Soliciting others to become candidates for nomination or election.

Distributing campaign literature or material.

Initiating or circulating political petitions, including nomination petitions.

Engaging in political conferences or canvassing a district, or soliciting political support for a party, faction, or candidate."

¹¹⁴Undated mimeographed material from the Michigan Civil Service Commission.

The only major type of political activity which is prohibited by Rule 9, but not by the Hatch Act is becoming a candidate for nomination or election on a non-partisan ballot. Even this restriction in Rule 9 is not absolute: the excepted provisions were described previously.

Appendix C

The percentages of all respondents who agree completely or agree with reservations that each of the twenty-five attitudinal items should constitute permitted activities are indicated below. The items have been placed in three major groupings and ranked in percentage order.

	% of Agreement
Permitted by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9:	
Vote in elections	98.5
Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a local school board	86.6
Make voluntary financial contributions to political candidates or parties	76.7
Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a municipal charter commission	74.3
Display partisan political bumper stickers on private cars while <u>not</u> on government business	71.3
Wear partisan political badges and buttons while <u>not</u> on government business	70.8
Serve as a delegate to a state constitutional convention	64.4
Prohibited by both the Hatch Act and Rule 9, or by Rule 9 solely:	
Run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a city council	72.7
Serve as a delegate to a national political party convention	48.0
Serve as a delegate to a state political party convention	46.5
Serve as a party "challenger" for a local or state election	42.6
Run as a candidate for a partisan elective office	39.6
Prohibited by the Hatch Act only:	
Serve as an official on a local election board	70.8
Write signed letters to newspapers on political issues	69.8

% of Agreement

Serve as an officer in a political club or party	51.8
Actively participate in the formation or organization of a political club	50.5
Make a speech before a political meeting or rally	50.5
Take an active part in the political canvass of a district	50.0
Distribute political campaign literature or material	49.5
Take an active part in arranging a political meeting or rally	49.0
Initiate and circulate nomination petitions for political candidates	47.5
Solicit votes for political candidates	42.6
Solicit the sale of political party dinner tickets	37.1
Serve as a campaign manager for a political candidate	33.7
Not specifically permitted or prohibited by the Hatch Act or Rule 9:	
Wear partisan political badges and buttons while on government business	19.8

Appendix D

Educational, Occupational, and Political History

I. Education (Circle only highest grade attained):

- 1) Grammar and High School, or Preparatory School:

Public _____ Private _____

Grades completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

- 2) College or Technical Institute: 1 2 3 4 5 year(s) completed

Major area of study: (place an X)

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| a) Business | _____ | f) Law | _____ |
| b) Education | _____ | g) Math or Phy. Sciences | _____ |
| c) Engineering | _____ | h) Medicine or Health | _____ |
| d) Humanities | _____ | i) Social Studies (incl. | _____ |
| e) Life Sciences | _____ | Econ. & Psychology) | _____ |
| (Agric., Bio., etc.) | _____ | j) Other (specify) | _____ |

- 3) Graduate Work (Number of years): 1 2 3 4 5 6

Major area of study: (place an X)

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|
| a) Business | _____ | f) Law | _____ |
| b) Education | _____ | g) Math or Phy. Sciences | _____ |
| c) Engineering | _____ | h) Medicine or Health | _____ |
| d) Humanities | _____ | i) Social Studies (incl. | _____ |
| e) Life Sciences | _____ | Econ. & Psychology) | _____ |
| (Agric., Bio., etc.) | _____ | j) Other (specify) | _____ |

II. Occupational History, other than government service. Indicate the number of years worked in the following types of positions.

Total Years

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1) Laborer (unskilled or semi-skilled) | _____ |
| 2) Skilled Laborer (or mechanic) | _____ |
| 3) Clerk or Salesman | _____ |
| 4) Farmer | _____ |
| a) Owner | _____ |
| b) Tenant | _____ |
| 5) Small Business (Sales under \$50,000) | _____ |
| a) Supervisor | _____ |
| b) Executive | _____ |
| c) Owner | _____ |
| 6) Large Business (Sales over \$50,000) | _____ |
| a) Supervisor | _____ |
| b) Executive | _____ |
| c) Owner | _____ |
| 7) Other Profession (specify) | _____ |

III. Career within the Michigan Civil Service. Indicate entry level and present level by placing an X on the appropriate line; for example, if your entry level was C1, you would place an X on the line following Entry Level: C through A2.

<u>Entry Level</u>	<u>Present Level</u>
1) No Level _____	1) No Level _____
2) C through A2 _____	2) C through A2 _____
3) A through I _____	3) A through I _____
4) Ia or above _____	4) Ia or above _____
Total number of Years in the Michigan Civil Service _____	

IV. Prior Political Activity. Indicate the number of times you engaged in each relevant type of political activity before you became a state employee. If you believe you have voted ten times or more, you may indicate with a 10+ in that category.

Political Activity	Number of Times Engaged in Activity
1) Holding an elective public office	_____
2) Holding a political party office	_____
3) Soliciting political funds	_____
4) Delegate to a political convention:	
a) County or district	_____
b) State	_____
c) National	_____
5) Delegate to the State Constitutional Convention	_____
6) Contributing time in a political campaign:	
a) Circulating nomination petitions	_____
b) Serving as a campaign manager	_____
c) Making political speeches	_____
d) Conducting a political canvass	_____
e) Distributing campaign material	_____
7) Attending a political meeting or rally	_____
8) Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate	_____
9) Wearing a political button or putting a sticker on the car	_____
10) Voting in elections	_____

Attitude Questionnaire

This questionnaire is a survey of your attitudes toward designated political activity. This is not an attempt to determine your understanding of Civil Service regulations; it is important that you accurately indicate your personal attitude toward each item.

The questionnaire consists of 25 items. There are five numerals to the left of each item. The numerals represent, or correspond to, the following responses:

4 - Agree completely	1 - Disagree completely
3 - Agree, with reservations	0 - No opinion
2 - Disagree, with reservations	

Circle one numeral before each item. Consider each item prefaced

by the heading: The civil servant in the Michigan Civil Service should be legally permitted to . . . (assume that the political activity indicated by each item could be legally engaged in by the civil servant without the necessity of obtaining special authorization or permission). In the event that you agree completely that the activity should be legally permitted (whether it is or is not legally permitted at the present time is immaterial), circle the 4; if you disagree completely that the activity should be legally permitted, circle the 1.

The civil servant in the Michigan Civil Service should be legally permitted to:

- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as an officer in a political club or party (1)
- 4 3 2 1 0 actively participate in the formation or organization of a political club (2)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as an official on a local election board (3)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as a party "challenger" for a local or state election (4)
- 4 3 2 1 0 run as a candidate for a partisan elective office (5)
- 4 3 2 1 0 run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a city council (6)
- 4 3 2 1 0 run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a local school board (7)
- 4 3 2 1 0 run as a candidate for a non-partisan elective position on a municipal charter commission (8)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as a delegate to a state constitutional convention (9)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as a delegate to a state political party convention (10)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as a delegate to a national political party convention (11)
- 4 3 2 1 0 initiate and circulate nomination petitions for political candidates (12)
- 4 3 2 1 0 take an active part in arranging a political meeting or rally (13)
- 4 3 2 1 0 serve as a campaign manager for a political candidate (14)

- | | | |
|-----------|--|------|
| 4 3 2 1 0 | distribute political campaign literature or material | (15) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | solicit votes for political candidates | (16) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | solicit the sale of political party dinner tickets | (17) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | make a speech before a political meeting or rally | (18) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | take an active part in the political canvass of a district | (19) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | wear partisan political badges and buttons while <u>not</u> on government business | (20) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | wear partisan political badges and buttons while on government business | (21) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | display partisan political bumper stickers on private cars while <u>not</u> on government business | (22) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | write signed letters to newspapers on political issues | (23) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | make voluntary financial contributions to political candidates or parties | (24) |
| 4 3 2 1 0 | vote in elections | (25) |

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN 49001

August 10, 1967

Dear Sir or Madam:

In cooperation with the Institute of Public Affairs at Western Michigan University, and the Michigan Department of Civil Service, I am making a study of the attitudes of Michigan civil servants toward specified types of political activity, as correlated with educational, occupational, and political activity background. Through means of this study, with your help, we hope to enhance our understanding of an important aspect of Michigan state government.

In order not to burden you unduly, we have intentionally structured the questionnaire so that all of the items can be answered with a minimum of writing. Completion of this questionnaire should take only a few minutes of your time. Please return the questionnaire in the enclosed stamped and addressed envelope. I would greatly appreciate the return of the questionnaire by August 25, or as soon after that date as possible.

The questionnaire will be handled anonymously. There is no way in which the responses you make on the questionnaire can be identified with you, personally.

Your help in this study will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Lauri E. Kallio

Lauri E. Kallio

LEK:jm

Enc.



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