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VALUES CLARIFICATION THROUGH SCIENCE FICTION

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses the use of science fiction in social work education as a mechanism for values clarification for the student social worker. Both personal opinions and values, and those stereotypes to which we have all been socialized, can be brought to awareness as reality separate from fact or knowledge by discussion of the alternate futures and societies presented in the analogic reality of science fiction. A partial bibliography along with suggestions for use are given, and an informal study of student levels of values, clarified by LeGuin's story "Those Who Walk Away from Omelas," is reported.

Analogic and Values

A major task for the social work educator is that of helping students to clarify their own values about self, the practice of social work, and society in general. It is imperative that such basic ideas and opinions be investigated so that, at the very least, the student will be aware that much of what is "known" about self, life, and others is not fact but value--

...a type of belief centrally located within one's total belief system about how one ought or ought not to behave, or about some end-state of existence worth or not worth attaining (Rokeach, 1968:124).

As educators we are all aware that to question deeply embedded beliefs and values is problematic because of the resistance such probing may cause, and that it is usually ineffective to try to teach values. Because of our own ethics we cannot impose our values on students, nor can we simply direct them to open their minds. Moreover, a confrontation about personal opinions or beliefs about society often will be perceived as an attack on the American way of life, our government's political or economic system, or, worse, an attack on the student him/herself.

The use of science fiction in the social work classroom is one way to help resolve the dilemma. According to Milstead (1974:xii),

To the development of sociological consciousness...science fiction is particularly well-suited...The societies described can generate serious inquiry into the nature of contemporary society.

The situations and societies in science fiction are not threatening to students because they are not "real." Though the students may be puzzled or angry at being required to read fiction as preparation for a career, they apply the ideas to social
work through appropriately led discussion and, in the process, become aware of how
the stories reflect our society. The stories provide a testing ground for inquiry,
and the leap of logic to our time-space is accomplished easily. Moreover, analogi,
 according to Lewis (1972) "fixes" new concepts in the mind quickly and makes the
concepts immediately available for recall and application. Thus science fiction
provides not only the learning experience for a most important issue but the means
to make it useful in future work.

Generally, students choosing social work as a career are from middle-class
white conventional families. They bring to the educational experience a whole
array of stereotypes of social work and societally determined values about other
people and ways of life--ideas they have never had occasion to question. Coming
from a society which is accustomed to labeling, they already "know" social work
terminology--culture of poverty, black matriarchy, welfare cheaters, neurotics, and
so on. With no hesitation they place people in categories and accept as typical
the set of connotations of these diagnostic "boxes." They are idealistic concerning
their capabilities for changing others, and often see clients as raw materials which
they can mold into new patterns. They are naive about the bases of social problems,
and, believing in a benevolent society, are socialized to an "organization is right"
perspective, one often reinforced by the market orientation of many programs of
social work education.

Social work is itself admittedly a value-laden profession, with bases in the
ideas of the morality of work, the labeling process as an appropriate means for
therapeutic diagnosis, conformity to the system, and the benevolence of society and
its welfare institutions (Rein, 1972). These values, unrecognized as such and
carried to extremes, may be detrimental to clients. Another set of values, those
upon which professional ethics are based, include respect for the individual and
for different patterns of life, belief in human worth, individual freedom, and so
forth. This last set requires also that a practitioner's values must not be imposed
upon clients. Taken all together, as values often are when we are unaware of their
existence or the depth to which they influence our lives, the values are often
conflictual, often antithetical, and may cause actions which are inappropriate and/
or harmful to clients. Good social work education demands that the issues and con-
flicts fostered by values must be brought to light, to awareness, so that they may
be dealt with.

Science fiction is a valuable tool for this purpose on at least two levels.
It can help the student differentiate his/her values from what in fact is knowledge,
and it can provide examples for a more objective analysis of society and social
welfare institutions. As Goroff (1977) states

It is in failing to recognize that all social work practice is
political practice that we [fail to recognize] some of the
paradoxes in [social welfare institutions]...these institutions
are designed to provide services so that the existing social
arrangements and social order may be maintained.

The utopias and dystopias of science fiction become powerful analogies with
which to deal with sensitive issues of status quo. The analogic reality provides
the spark which causes students to question what they have learned is reality in
our society.
The Omelas Story

As an example of the use of one such story to bring to awareness both students' lack of differentiation of value from knowledge and the rationalizations we make our society in terms of inequality, I present to my students Ursula LeGuin's "Those Who Walk Away from Omelas" (1975). This four-page story, which students read in class, deals with a utopia where all citizens are happy, productive, and all needs are met. The price for the utopia, however, is one child kept in a dark closet, deprived of even the essentials for its short life, and mistreated by all who see it. The terms of the bargain are clear. If the child is saved, not only will utopia disappear but the evils of the world will fall upon Omelas. Students answer the question "Would you stay or walk away? Why?" In class discussion following the exercise, we deal with such problems as saving the child and having the utopia brought down, and with the rationalizations the people of Omelas, and the people in our society, give for keeping certain people and groups in deprived situations.

There are three perspectives students take. The first is the idealistic view of self and social work. They see the problem as one of child abuse, and would rush to save the child without regard to the rest of the community. They look at social work through rose-colored glasses and work from the heart rather than reason. From the second perspective, they try to deal with the system, to cure the evils of a society which appears to them as conscienceless. They are somewhat more realistic in that they see the necessity of systemic action, but they ignore the political reality which allows no change. They are idealistic about their abilities to produce reformation in a recalcitrant system.

The third perspective is more abstract. Students recognize the story as analogic and see the rationalization of inequalities as pertinent to our society. Comparisons to racism, to poverty, to treatment of disadvantaged groups such as those with physical or mental handicaps or the aged are perceived. More importantly, there is recognition that our society may perpetuate inequalities in the same way as do the citizens of Omelas, and for the same reasons. The leap of logic is made—one cannot live in Omelas without knowing the price that is paid, nor can he/she solve the problem without compromising basic values and principles. By further extrapolation the students see that one cannot work in human services organizations without being aware of the sources and values are often the price of one's own security, and that the maintenance of inequality for certain groups may be the principle involved. They become aware of their own idealism and value stances regarding clients, society, and inequality and see the hard choices they must make in recalcitrant systems in which they will become employed. Finally, they see that there are some compromises one must not make—that one may work in and make use of a system for the benefit of clients, but to forget that inequality is part and parcel of the system is to compromise one's values unforgivably.

An informal study concerning this story was conducted to assess whether exposure to our program of social work education had resulted in values awareness. Two sets of students were given the exercise (an essay on staying or walking away from Omelas). Those students with no exposure to the program (naive students) were about evenly divided among choices of saving the child, changing the community, or walking away, though a plurality would save the child. Students with some
exposure to the program (advanced students) were asked to respond both before and after class discussion of the story. More than half of the advanced group chose the "walk away" perspective at first test, with the percentage rising to nearly two-thirds after class discussion.

Table 1
Perspectives of Naive and Advanced Students

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Save child</th>
<th>Change system</th>
<th>Walk Away</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naive students (N=43)</td>
<td>37.4%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced (N=33)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before discussion</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After discussion</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those students in the naive group come from a variety of academic concentrations, such as home economics and primary education, as well as social work. However, as Table 2 shows, there was not much difference among concentrations except that home economics students were more likely to walk away that were pre-social workers, and that most pre-social workers chose either the first or second perspective. This might indicate a more idealistic bent for the pre-social work group than for others.

Table 2
Perspectives by Concentrations

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Save Child</th>
<th>Change System</th>
<th>Walk Away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Social Work (N=18)</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others, primarily home economics (N=24)</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
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</table>

It seems apparent, then, that the Omelas story serves as an indicator of value perspectives, and that discussion surrounding the dilemma presented by LeGuin helps students to become more aware of the realities of situations they must face in social work practice.

Using Science Fiction as Analogic

The procedures for using science fiction for values clarification will vary with the instructor, with class composition, and with course content. Instructors should be aware that, aside from the purely adventure type of story, science fiction is primarily social criticism--an attempt to emphasize by exaggeration the problems and ills of our society and the values on which those are based. Therefore, almost any good story will provide material for values clarification. However it is used, open class discussion which relates the fictions to our own reality is essential. Students have found different meanings, values, and issues in the stories, and can
ight sparks of imagination and realization for each other. Moreover, imagination is a difficult task for some students, and without well-led class discussion some may simply not get the point at all.

If the instructor is willing to make a week-by-week commitment to discussion, one procedure is to make use of short stories taken from the several good anthologies suggested below. These stories are keyed to specific problems and values with which social workers come into contact. They can be assigned as complementary readings on course topics. Marriage and the Family Through Science Fiction (Clear et al., 1976) has sections on the nature of family organization, alternative family forms, courtship, marriage, and family dissolution. Greenberg et al. (1973). Social Problems through Science Fiction, deal with population problems, race relations, alienation and urban society, drug use and abuse, sexual deviance, education, economics, welfare, poverty, and medical care. Greenberg et al. also have a criminal justice anthology (1977), and Hilstead et al.'s book Sociology Through Science Fiction (1974) has more general stories concerning social class, age, social institutions, population and urban life, and self and society. The Sociology of the Possible, by Richard Ofshe (1970) provides a collection of readings dealing with social possibilities ranging from Plato to modern writers, including science fiction authors. Above the Human Landscape, by McKelvie and Stover (1972), has stories about drugs, urban decay, ecology, generational conflict, sexual identity, individualism versus collectivism, and the technological threat.

For the instructor wanting to test the value of the science fiction approach without such a week-by-week commitment, the assignment of one or two books which supplement regular readings, with class discussions at limited intervals, might be most useful. As one example, in a course on the social welfare institution, one might assign as a regular reading Piven and Cloward's Regulating the Poor (1977). As excellent as this is in providing an understanding of the political and economic bases for welfare, many students will discount it as polemic because it lacks congruence with what they "know" about welfare. Give them in addition the same situation in a far future or alien society—Busby's Rissa Kerqueulen (1977), which depicts a society in which the poor are enslaved by "welfare workers" in service to industrial conglomerates, or Stableford's Realms of Tartarus (1977), where social stratification is portrayed by a two-level society in which those "less than human" have been banished to life underground by the "elite." Students do not "know" these societies, and therefore have no value biases about them. In class discussion, ask what the stories have to do with our society, or with social work. Ask how they compare with Regulating the Poor or other readings on poverty or stratification. From that point the instructor should relate and extrapolate values in the fictional society to our own. Students can compare the analogic social criticism with the reality of their own views and biases.

Among useful books for values clarification are the following, presented in synopses. Topics include mental health care, social stratification, class inequalities, labeling, questions of the worth and uniqueness of every human being, sex role stereotypes, overpopulation, and even the dangers of too great reliance on the systems perspective.

A book highly recommended for its careful attention to the powerlessness of the poor and for the treatment accorded patients in mental hospitals is Marge
Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976). Goffman, in "Moral Career of the Mental Patient" (1961:125-140), describes commitment as due to a situation of contingencies rather than a set of illnesses, and the "funnel of betrayal" by which a person sees successive persons or agents as betraying one into institutionalization. Piercy shows this graphically, a woman betrayed because of her belief in the helping nature of social systems and her own powerlessness in the face of human service professionals. Read along with "Moral Career..." and Perrucci's *Circle of Madness* (1974), Piercy's book helps to demonstrate many values of which social workers should be aware.

The *Realms of Tartarus* (Stableford, 1977), mentioned above, gives us a society stratified into upper and lower realms, and deals with the attendant problems of inequality and the rights versus the obligations of majority society. In this two-level world, conformity from members of both levels is the price of happiness. Where conflict occurs, it can alter the "plan of existence" and throw the world into chaos. The extrapolation shows members of the elite society, who are of human stock, living in a kind of cloud-world surrounding the planet. They have cut all ties from the planet's surface, and have covered it so that the dwellers there have no access to light, to freedom. The dwellers of the lower level are people who have evolved into reasoning and intelligent beings from non-human stock, "men" by their own definition. Stableford takes us through the struggle of these lower-level people to be recognized as humans, to find freedom and light, and the problems of upper level dwellers who cannot understand why these changes are occurring. The story gives us insights to the multitude of ways we rationalize inequality in our society and set others apart because they are different. It demonstrates consideration of what is humanity, or by extrapolation what one must do to be considered an equal participant rather than a "they" in the we-they dichotomy often typical of service organizations (Blau, 1969) and the practice of social work. Finally, because many students have not considered the dangers of social control and conformity, discussion of the story is enlightening as to the power of the government and manipulation of citizens. Falling through a sewer to the underworld in Tartarus is indicative of how we ourselves, or our clients, may fall through our society's trapdoors.

The film *Star Wars* (1977) provides an interesting look at comparative governments. As we recall, in the film there is a rebellion underway against an empire which, through repressive measures, institutes formidable control over personal lives. While this may seem a far cry from social work at first glance, our human history shows that the form of government must influence society's system of social welfare, and the way in which any society provides for its dependents is indicative of social control. Even the most benign governments require standards for dependents which are not demanded of the rest of the population. A case in point, for example, is the set of regulations controlling sexual morality for women on welfare in our own society (Day, 1979). Having had some discussion of social control, students are asked the implications of a government like the Empire for social welfare programs. Some results in discussion are the comparison of the likely tight control of the Empire's system to our public assistance program; economic control of the low wage labor force, as in *Regulating the Poor*; the right to rebel against an unjust system and the activity of the National Welfare Rights Organization; and so forth. A most unexpected comment in our class discussion was that some students saw
Han Solo, the mercenary, as comparable to a social worker, selling his/her services without regard to principle until, in the final analysis, loyalty overcomes greed. Though loyalty to clients may never overcome the need for job security, the point about the mercenary nature of social work may be well taken. It certainly will lead to lively discussion.

Beginning social work students often come to education with stereotypes as to personal deviance of people who will be their clients. That is, they are already attuned to diagnosing and labeling, often according to naive problem definitions. Although they may have heard of the dangers of labeling in terms of self-fulfilling prophecy and loss of self-image to clients, they are beguiled by the ease with which certain appearances lend themselves to categorization. Ray Bradbury's "Messiah" (1978) is a story about labeling. Here we are shown a being who responds to others' perceptions and beliefs to the extent of "becoming" the belief—a son, a daughter, whatever the perceiver needs. Loss of identity and the physiological responses are draining and can be destructive. As Bradbury's story opens, the being has taken refuge in a church, where a priest longing to see Christ returned is serving. He sees the being as Christ resurrected, and the being bleeds from and begins to die from the wounds inflicted during crucifixion. Though the being begs to be freed from the priest's needs and delusions, and though the priest becomes aware of the agony he is causing, he is unable to free the being. In class discussion it becomes evident that even the most caring social workers, if they label, may make clients into images which they believe and which society connotes as symptomatic of various diagnoses. We do see crime, for example, as almost synonymous with broken families, and the poor and black. We see welfare mothers not as women struggling to stretch an inadequate income but in stereotypes as lazy, cheating, promiscuous (Day, 1979).

More importantly, we may react in practice to the stereotypes rather than the reality. Moreover, clients often partake in the image—they become what we see. In mental hospitals, for example, patients act as expected by authorities, often increasing bizarre behavior (Perrucci, 1974). As with the Messiah, as they are perceived so they become.

Philip K. Dick's *The Preserving Machine* (1969) is a set of vignettes about human behavior viewed to greater or lesser degree through a systems perspective. Of particular interest is the title story in which a scientist tries to preserve great works of art by encoding their significant components for reproduction through a kind of computer—for our social work students, read that as treating unique individuals with stock diagnoses. The results when run through the machine are new creatures which are supposed to preserve the beauty of the original. What happens, of course, is that the machine turns out parodies of art, since there is no way in which all elements can be encoded. In class discussion, point out that unique individuals cannot be so encoded either, despite the easy by which we fit them into categories. There are unique and uncodable aspects of creation—spirituality, intelligence, love—which cannot be processed through the bureaucratic machine without losing beauty.

*The World Inside* (Silverberg, 1972) shows a society where overpopulation has treated new forms of belief about sex, sex roles, and human behavior. People live in vastly overcrowded urban monads, where privacy does not exist and individuality, or being different, is so threatening that therapeutic brainwashing or death for the deviant is accepted societal behavior. The major value here is that different
needs require different patterns of life, and that no pattern is wrong or immoral in itself. The story also stresses the danger of lock-step conformity, and can be used to point out that without realizing it we may conform more than we know.

A final selection, Ursula Le Guin's *Left Hand of Darkness* (1976), posits a society in which people become male or female alternatively over their lives because of body chemistry. The story, narrated by a human visitor, brings to light and emphasizes our stereotypes about sex role norms. Perhaps most importantly it demonstrates the qualities of masculinity and femininity present in us all as part of human rather than sexual nature. The book is especially good for clarification of sex role values and would be a good supplementary reading for content of women in social work education.

Conclusion

Hunter and Saleeby have identified an awareness of self and society which they call "transforming knowledge"—that knowledge which... seriously and responsibly urges us to examine some of the basic assumptions of life in our society—the respectable, the permissible, and the familiar, as well as the disreputable (1977:64). There is no question as to the importance of values clarification as a part of social work education, for through such clarification comes the transforming knowledge so essential to self-awareness. When we are aware that some of our most potent beliefs about self and society are centered in values rather than fact, we can become more effective in our helping roles.

Yet we tread on dangerous ground when we seek to accomplish this vital task, for we are working with facets of thought and behavior most integral to self-identity. Using the alternate futures and societies of science fiction as analogic to our own society, we overcome the threat posed by such teaching efforts. Discussion and comparison can lead students to new ideas and more objective analyses of society and its problems. With science fiction, students go beyond the limitations of their accepted reality to question what they have been taught about self, others, and society. Rather than being a theoretical exercise, science fiction becomes a basic and practical method for helping students to attain self-awareness, growth, and their own transforming knowledge.

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MULTIPLE CONSTITUENCIES, DIFFERENTIAL POWER, 
AND THE QUESTION OF EFFECTIVENESS IN 
HUMAN SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS 

Patricia Yancey Martin 
The Florida State University 

ABSTRACT 

A multiple constituencies model of human service organizations identifies twelve interest groups which must be considered when effectiveness questions are raised. The differential power of the interest groups suggests that some groups' preferences are likely to be emphasized over others. The relationship between power inside the organization and that on the outside is analyzed. Recent trends in the growth and militancy of professional associations and employee groups suggest that internal control by senior administrators is increasingly challenged and variable. Future studies of effectiveness in the human services are encouraged to remain sensitive to the effects of constituency interests and power on the establishment and implementation of priorities and goals.

The mandate to human service organizations (HSO's) that they "provide service to clients" (Hasenfeld and English, 1974) is more problematic than appears on the surface. To "provide service," an organization must first survive yet policies and procedures which facilitate survival may contradict a "service" orientation (Glisson and Martin, 1980). Furthermore, service organizations both contain and operate in the midst of multiple constituencies or interest groups which hold conflicting and incompatible expectations regarding their proper role and outputs (Schmidt and Kochan, 1976; Whetten, 1977, 1978). Clients, for example, tend to hold different expectations for a service agency than do agency administrators or the public-at-large (Scott, 1977). With different constituencies expecting, and often demanding, different types of outputs, a question can be raised as to how an organization's success at fulfilling its mandate or goals is to be evaluated or assessed (Blackwell and Bolman, 1977; Keeley, 1978; Kouzes and Mico, 1979).

The aim of the present paper is to present and develop a multiple constituencies model of human service organizations and to analyze its implications for understanding the concept of effectiveness in a social services context. Attention is given to the correlates and consequences of power differentials among the constituent groups with particular emphasis on the implications of such differences for influencing the types of goals which members of the organization are likely to pursue.
The question of effectiveness

There is much debate over an appropriate definition of "effectiveness" as applied to human service organizations (Glisson and Martin, 1980). Nevertheless, two competing models of effectiveness are predominant in the organizational literature (Goodman and Pennings, 1977) and are summarized here for background purposes. These are: (1) the resource model of effectiveness and (2) the goal model of effectiveness. The resource model, best represented in the work of Yuchtman and Seashore (1967), contends that the effective organization is one which is successful at exploiting its environment of scarce resources. The more resources the organization gains, the more "effective" it is judged. In general, the resource model assesses organizational effectiveness on the basis of inputs rather than outputs (cf. Campbell, 1977; Evan, 1976). Although the organization which acquires greater resources can be assumed to have done something in the past to facilitate or justify this acquisition, Yuchtman and Seashore's model fails to deal with "what" this may have been. Additionally, this orientation tends to focus attention on organizational survival rather than on effects or outcomes or, in the case of HSO's, quality of service rendered.

The goal model of effectiveness, in contrast, deals with the extent to which an organization meets or fulfills its intended goals. The emphasis here is on performance or outputs (cf. Campbell, 1977). Concern with achievement of intended goals renders this model compatible with recent emphases on accountability in the public arena (Glisson, 1975). As noted by Scott (1977), a problem arises, however when the question is asked: whose goals? Because a service organization consists of and responds to multiple constituencies, utilization of the goal model of effectiveness must somehow take into account the possibility of conflicting interests and priorities among the various groups (e.g., legislators, administrators, staff, clients, the general public, and so forth; cf. Scott, 1977). Evaluations by one interest group may be the opposite of evaluations by other groups (Friedlander and Pickle, 1968; Mohr, 1973). In regards to manpower agencies, Whetten (1978) reports, for example, that staff members' assessments of their program's effectiveness are completely opposite from those of the programs' central administrators. If the professional staff, that is, perceive their organization as effective, the administrators perceive it as ineffective and vice versa.

Even if there were only a single constituency, furthermore, identification of appropriate goals would remain problematic. Within the administrative cadre of a service organization, there is question whether the proper goals for assessing effectiveness are the ideal (or "stated") goals pronounced by directors at press conferences or before legislative committees (and printed in brochures and annual reports) or whether they are the operative (or "actual") goals which in fact orient the daily routine behavior of administrators and staff alike (cf. Perrow, 1961). Etzioni (1960; 1961) cautions against evaluating organizational effectiveness on the basis of ideal goals alone. Ideal, or stated goals, serve important purposes for the organization in that they influence public opinion, assist in the establishment of a domain, and provide the bases for pursuing funds, qualified staff, and so forth. Realities of the situation, however, may render "ideal" goals as precisely that,
i.e., ideals, whereas the everyday work of the agency remains at a much more limited or mundane level. If there is a schism between stated and operative goals, the question must be posed as to whether the former, the latter, both or neither should be utilized in assessing organizational effectiveness.

Questions such as these indicate the complex nature of the organizational effectiveness concept (cf. Kouzes and Mico, 1979). They suggest the necessity, furthermore, for keeping uppermost in mind the extensive "openness" of human service organizations. The central and significant role played by constituencies outside the "boundaries" of the organization per se cautions against a restricted, intra-organizational focus when studying HSO's (Benson, 1975; Evan, 1976).

**Getting and giving: across the organization's boundary**

As noted by Walmsley and Zald (1973a), public organizations--a category into which the majority of HSO's fall--are particularly vulnerable to the political and economic environments in which they are located. Their public status renders them dependent for resources (particularly for operating funds) on bodies and/or groups lodged outside the organization per se. In comparison to private, profit-making organizations, public organizations have less control over their destiny (Walmsley and Zald, 1973b). Board members of private corporations share directly in the success or failure of the organization they oversee, whereas the fate of legislators is much less dependent on the "success" (or failure) of the agencies which they charter and fund. This is true, in part, because of a lack of consensus as to what effectiveness consists of. In addition, the faddishness of public issues and trends may cause a previously favored organization to be viewed as ineffective as a result of changes in the criteria for assessing effectiveness, e.g., concern may shift from emphasis on growth to emphasis on efficiency.

Extensive vulnerability to extra-organizational factors suggests, therefore, that the HSO which survives is the HSO which pays attention to constituencies, trends and fads beyond its immediate "boundaries" (Benson, 1975). As the subsequent model of organizational structure and linkages indicates, employees of service organizations expend substantial amounts of energy and resources to influence and respond to significant environments. Competition not only for funds but for qualified staff and valued clients characterizes the interorganizational arena in which the typical service organization exists (Evan, 1976). As the ensuing analysis suggests, administrators of HSO's can take little for granted. In a high inflation economy, their future is likely to be characterized by increasing competition for resources, personnel, and clients and by challenges to organizational legitimacy as well (Glisson and Martin, 1980; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

**A multiple constituencies model of human service organizations**

The model shown in Figure 1 depicts the major constituencies of human service organizations as consisting of twelve distinctive groupings (intended as illustrative
Fig. 1--A multiple constituencies model of human service organizations
rather than definitive). Studies of internal organizational structure (e.g., Holland, 1973; Martin and Segal, 1977; Glisson, 1978) typically restrict attention to the four (or five, if clients are included) groups inside the heavy lines implying that the organization consists of these groups only and that linkages between these and other groups can be safely ignored. Although the organization as an accounting unit (Evan, 1976) may consist of only four or five groups, a case can be made that such a view of public organizations is deficient and that the organization's boundary is much less fixed or determinate than such a perspective suggests (cf. Walmsley and Zaid, 1973b; Benson, 1977; Salaman, 1978).

To illustrate, clients are depicted in Figure 1 as potentially an internal as well as external group. The controversy over whether clients served by an organization are legitimately considered as members of the organization is summarized by Bidwell (1970) and hinges on whether the boundary of the organization is properly conceptualized as including clients within it or outside it. Although a welfare agency, general hospital, or public school can not fulfill its mission without clients, it is also true that clients in comparison to employees typically spend less time inside the organization (or in interaction with it) and are less committed to it. (A potential exception to the generalization involving time is recognized in regards to clients of long-term residential organizations such as prisons and mental hospitals.) Whereas the majority opinion among scholars of HSO's is that the inclusion or exclusion of clients as organizational members depends on the nature of the question under investigation (Hall, 1972), Bidwell (1970) argues forcefully that clients are better conceptualized as an extraorganizational constituent group who are served by the organization per se. Such an orientation, he claims, highlights the problematic nature of ongoing client-organization relations and mitigates the tendency to assume that they are static or can be taken for granted.

Boundary questions aside, the model in Figure 1 depicts a number of interest groups whose preferences regarding organizational goals and objectives can be expected to differ. In descending order, the four groups within the heavy lines include: (1) Directors and chief administrators, including their assistants and advisory staff; (2) Middle-managers, including department heads, supervisors, etc.; (3) Direct service providers (e.g., caseworkers, counselors, nurses); and (4) Support (e.g., clerical) and maintenance (e.g., catering and cleaning) staff. Beneath this block of groups, and connected to it by a dashed line, are the clients, the group for whose service-provision the HSO is "officially" established.

Other constituent groups (and/or organizations) shown in Figure 1 as relevant to an understanding of service organizations are of seven types. These are: (1) the general public (including the media, civic groups, private contributors, churches, ordinary citizens, public opinion, etc.); (2) legislative and regulatory bodies (including federal, regional, and state funding and oversight agencies); (3) local funding and regulatory bodies (such as city or county government policies, laws, United Fund standards and funds, etc.); (4) employee unions, professional associations, licensing and accreditation bodies; (5) client referral sources and targets (e.g., other human service organizations; private and public employers, businesses, industries, etc.); (6) the personnel resource pool (including educational and
professional schools, employment agencies, and private citizens available for employment); and (7) organized client-interest groups. Clients are depicted in Figure 1 not merely as individuals to be recruited, served, discharged, and so forth, but also as collectivities (such as welfare rights groups or parents and friends of the retarded) which are organized for purposes of advancing and publicizing various concerns or for lobbying and pressuring HSO's to be more responsive to particular interests or demands (cf. Priven and Cloward, 1977).

Connecting lines are shown in Figure 1 to indicate primary linkages between the groups inside the organization and those on the outside, i.e., across the boundary of the organization (when the latter is conceived of as an accounting unit). Control inside bureaucratically structured organizations—which most HSO's are—is exercised from the top down; that is, power is concentrated in the hands of a few persons at or near the top of the administrative structure (Goldman and Van Houten, 1977). Typically, senior administrators and their lieutenants are "in charge" of the major divisions and departments of the HSO and, from their positions, establish and enforce policies, rules, and procedures for the middle managers, workers, and clients who fall under their purview. Since power among the organization's internal constituent groups is unequally distributed, this has important implications for considerations of effectiveness. The goals and objectives of some groups are likely, that is, to carry more weight than those of others, a consideration which is more fully developed in subsequent analyses.

Middle-managers and supervisors are persons whose place in the (formal) authority/control structure falls somewhere between senior administrators and the workers who provide services directly to clients (i.e., the caseworker, juvenile court counselor, licensed practical nurse). Direct service workers generally have authority over support staff (e.g., clerical workers) and clients only. Individual clients, as the model suggests, have authority over no one except themselves. Involuntarily admitted clients, such as those in prisons or mental hospitals, lack even this minimal authority. Whereas support and maintenance personnel lack, in theory, control over any group other than their own labor, their ability to facilitate or disrupt the activities of other workers plus informal opportunities to influence the experience of staff and clients (e.g., by giving out information, behaving cooperatively or uncooperatively, pleasantly or rudely, etc.) caution against the assumption that their labor and contributions can be taken for granted (Braverman, 1974). In regards to effectiveness questions, therefore, the interests of all internal groups must be considered.

Across the organization's boundary, interactions or exchanges with the general public and with legislative, governmental, and funding/regulatory bodies are shown in Figure 1 as being primarily the purview of organizational directors and chief administrators (Katz and Kahn, 1966). Not only do high level administrators exercise the most power inside the organization, they also represent the organization in dealings with influential groups on the outside as well. The closeness of ties between senior administrators and powerful external constituents is accounted for in part by the nature of the recruitment and hiring process. Selection of chief administrators is typically influenced, and may be determined, by significant resource
controllers outside the organization (Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1977). Persons chosen for such posts are likely therefore to have qualifications, backgrounds, values, and orientations similar to those of the resource controllers themselves (Offe, 1976; Kanter, 1977; Martin, 1980). The consequences of this for the types of priorities and goals endorsed by senior administration versus lower level organizational members are considered in subsequent analyses.

As suggested in Figure 1, the external groups with which middle managers interact primarily are other HSO's and the individuals and organizations comprising the personnel resource pool, e.g., potential employees, professional schools, and employment agencies. Middle-managers, including supervisors, are often charged with establishing ties with other HSO's for securing appropriate staff and clients, finding placements for clients upon discharge, and establishing referral networks for clients whose needs cannot be met by the organization. Direct service workers, however, perform boundary-spanning activities as well (Hasenfeld, 1971). In people-processing organizations (Hasenfeld, 1972), in particular, contacts with and referrals to other agencies may constitute the primary technology of the client-service sub-system. Supervisors, in comparison with direct service workers, are somewhat more likely to interact with professional schools and licensing bodies outside the HSO. Professionally trained workers tend to advance to the supervisory level and people with such training are sought after by professional and licensing programs to supervise their interns or trainees.

Although the task of dealing with individual clients falls primarily to the direct service worker, once client interest groups become organized and vocal, these are likely to be dealt with by middle or senior-level management. To the extent that such groups pose a threat to the organization's legitimacy, e.g., favor in the public media or smooth relations with significant resource controllers, increased attention from the chief administrators of the organization can be expected (Martin, 1980).

The two external constituency groups most fully linked with all four groups of organizational employees are: (1) the personnel resources pool, and (2) employee unions, professional associations, licensing and accreditation bodies (see Figure 1). Employee unions, in particular, are becoming an increasingly significant factor in the operation and functioning of human service organizations (Fendrich, 1977; Johnston, 1978). Growth in union membership in the United States over the past decade can be accounted for almost totally by expansion of unionization in the public service sector (Ayres, 1976). The heightened militancy of both unions and professional associations (cf. Heydebrand, 1977), furthermore, suggests that an accurate understanding of public sector events must take such trends into account.

The omission of lines connecting the external groups in Figure 1 should not be interpreted as suggesting that linkages among them are either absent or irrelevant. Such ties may, in fact, constitute major features of the social and political context within which human service organizations exist (Walmsley and Zald, 1973a; Benson, 1977). Emphasis is given here to ties between internal and external groups, however, in order to highlight the diversity of influences and interest groups which
daily impinge on the HSO and to underscore the organization's extensive ties with its external supersystem and/or environment (Evan, 1976). Once these facts of organizational reality are acknowledged, the task of dealing with issues of effectiveness is clarified (if not simplified). Such a perspective highlights, furthermore, the issues of control and influence and their respective roles in affecting the development and pursuit of organizational goals (cf. Rueschemeyer, 1977).

Differential power of the constituent groups

Whereas documentation of the causes and/or sources of differential power is not the central task of the present analysis (e.g., see Hickson, et al., 1971), consideration of the multiple constituencies model focuses attention on the power and domination implications inherent in it. As noted by Gummer (1978), power and conflict are dimensions of social service organizations too frequently ignored, resulting in a naive and misleading conception of the manner in which organizational priorities, goals, and tasks are established and pursued. The present analysis attempts therefore to redress this imbalance by highlighting the potential for conflict (and the resultant exercise of power and control) which is inherent in a situation characterized by contradictory and competing views of the organization's proper purpose and goals.

Two premises, recently developed and documented in a number of organizational analyses, inform the succeeding analysis.

(1) The form of the internal structure of organizations reflects, in general, the dominant values and priorities of the external society (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McNeil, 1978; Salaman, 1978). In modern western society, the predominant form of organizational structure is a bureaucratic one, a model which entails a generally extensive division of labor, emphasis on technical qualifications of employees, official rules and procedures, and a hierarchical and unequal distribution of power and authority (Hall, 1963). Organizational structures and procedures are "rationalyzed" for purposes of efficient achievement of organizational goals or ends (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1979). The majority of human service organizations, therefore, reflect a bureaucratic format because, in western society, such a model is viewed as the appropriate arrangement for the provision of social, educational, and welfare services. An unequal distribution of power where power is concentrated at the apex of the organizational hierarchy (cf. Goldman and Van Houten, 1977) is therefore not only characteristic of HSO's but is viewed as both legitimate and efficient as well.

(2) The distribution of resources, privilege, and power inside the organization reflects the distribution of resources, privilege, and power in the broader external society (Wolff, 1977; Benson, 1977; Salaman, 1978). Clients served by HSO's are low in power inside the organization in part because they are low in power outside as well (Parsons, 1970). This is particularly the case for the poor, criminally convicted, disabled, uneducated, mentally retarded or ill, and elderly but also for the young (e.g., children in schools) and sick (e.g., ill in hospitals) as well. Some clients, of course, have more resources than others and so receive more
attention and better treatment and service than those with less (cf. Blau, 1964; Martin and Osmond, 1973).

At the advantaged end of the authority ladder, senior administrators in HSO's typically have greater power than middle managers, direct service workers, and other organizational employees not only because of inequalities inherent in the bureaucratic structure (and their advantaged position within it) but also because of their close alliance and ties with powerful figures and groups outside the organization (Salaman, 1979). As noted earlier, resource controllers and elites outside the HSO participate in the process whereby senior administrators are hired. Persons selected, therefore, are likely to have the blessing and support of their selectors and to reflect their biases and preferences as well (cf. Kanter, 1977; Offe, 1976; Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1977). In addition, to the extent that job security or retention depends on placating powerful external individuals or groups, senior administrators are likely to be particularly solicitous of their interests, priorities, and goals.

A number of conclusions are suggested by the foregoing analysis. First is that, other things being equal, the interests and priorities of senior administrators are likely to receive more attention and emphasis inside the organization than are those of middle managers, direct service workers, and other employees, and clients (cf. Goldman and Van Houten, 1977). Second, to the extent that powerful extra-organizational interest groups value quality of client service—e.g., timeliness of response, appropriateness and effectiveness of services—then one can expect such matters to receive emphasis inside the organization as well. Senior administrators are obliged to please external resource controllers and elites, thus the latter's valuation of high quality service is likely to be promoted internally (by administration) as an important goal. Third, to the extent that the external power elite values quantity of clients served or number of services provided, then quantitative goals are likely to be emphasized by the organization's internal administration (cf. Whetten, 1978).

Definitions of the concepts of productivity (e.g., per-worker number of services provided) and efficiency (per-unit cost of services provided) are fairly straightforward and widely agreed upon, whereas much less consensus exists regarding a definition of quality of client service (Glisson and Martin, 1980). For this and other reasons, Scott (1977) suggests that quantity indicators of "effectiveness" are likely to be stressed over quality indicators in social service organizations. Meyer and Rowan (1977) and McNeil (1978) note that quantity-related values (e.g., productivity, efficiency, growth, size) tend to dominate western thought in general and views of organizational success in particular, suggesting that unless other values are strongly invoked, those which impinge on the human service organization from the broader society are likely to entail emphasis on numbers-related criteria.

A fourth conclusion is therefore suggested. Given the nature of the dominant value system of U.S. society and given the location/interests of powerful external constituency groups vis-a-vis the society's stratification systems, external power elites are likely to emphasize quantitative aspects of organizational performance.
over qualitative ones (McNeil, 1978). To the extent that internal administrators are susceptible to pressures from such external groups, the prediction is advanced that the former are likely to place emphasis on quantity of output over quality of output. Support for this position is reported by Whetten (1977; 1978) who observes that central administrators of manpower training programs tend to equate "effectiveness" of the manpower program with the number of job placements made (also see Schmidt and Kochan, 1976).

The foregoing analysis contends that the interests and priorities of senior administrators and, through them, those of powerful external constituency groups (e.g., legislative and regulatory bodies, the mass media, organized client groups), are likely to receive more emphasis, attention, and impetus inside the HSO than are those of lower-level organizational participants. At this point, however, it is important to recall that the administrators of human service organizations are subject to pressures and demands from groups internal to the organization as well as those external to it (Benson, 1977; Whetten, 1978). Additionally, the response of subordinate groups (i.e., in the authority structure) to orders and directives issued by higher administration may or may not consist of compliance (Goldman and Van Houten, 1977; Salaman, 1978). Professionally trained staff, in particular, often show primary allegiance to their profession over the employing organization and are likely to resist pressures to pursue aims or ends considered as improper or inappropriate (Benson, 1973). The recent growth of employee unions in the public sector indicates that manual and clerical employees in addition to the professionals are seeking and gaining a greater voice in determining both the aims and conditions of work (Jenkins, 1973; Tompman, 1976) in social service organizations.

The balance of power among the various internal constituencies is likely therefore to vary from one human service organization to the next. Some HSO's are likely to have a powerful management and weak subordinate staff groups, whereas others may have powerful subordinate groups and, by definition, a weak management. The goals or ends which are actually pursued (i.e., Perrow's operative goals) must therefore be viewed as emergent rather than fixed, resulting from compromises in the face of constantly evolving and ongoing pressures and conflicts (Elger, 1975; Benson, 1977). Whether or not an organization's operative goals are in fact consistent with its mandate or charter is problematic and cannot be taken for granted. It may be the case, in fact, that the interests of none of the constituent groups are completely served by a given social service organization. The actual structure and processes of work may consist of an undesirable yet unavoidable compromise resulting from the failure of any of the parties involved to have sufficient power to impose its priorities on the remainder of the organization (Salaman, 1978). Such an organization may continue to exist although everyone voices dissatisfaction with it and with the way things are organized or done.

The nature of the goals actually pursued by a human service organization at any one time depends therefore on the number and types of constituency groups involved, the interests and aims of each, and the balance of power between and among these groups (Salaman, 1979). Although senior management may have explicit aims or goals in mind for the organization, the limiting factor in their realization is, in the
long run, the willingness of relevant constituent groups to comply, implement, and/or go along.

Conclusions

The multiple constituencies model is an improvement on earlier models of HSO's in that it highlights the extensive openness of service organizations and lays bare their vulnerability to competing interests and influences. As such, it cautions against a simplistic view of organizational effectiveness. Viewed from the multiple constituencies perspective, questions of effectiveness are explicitly revealed as, at least in part, political in nature. Once the questioner asks: effective for whom? in whose interests? and why? the issues of multiple interests, potential conflicts of interest, and the dynamics of power relations are exposed. Additionally, the multiple constituencies model and accompanying analysis caution against an over-rationalized view of the internal structure of HSO's. Models of social service organizations which imply that someone is clearly in charge, that clear, precise, and agreed upon goals are being pursued, and that evaluations of effectiveness are a simple matter of devising measurement instruments for detecting degrees of goal-attainment are invalid and misleading (cf. Blackwell and Bolman, 1977).

Commitment of a service organization to the goal of providing a high quality of services to clients is represented here as both problematic and complex. Dominant values in modern western society are viewed as urging the service organization—and its administration—toward a concern with quantity over quality of services provided. The conclusion is suggested therefore that pursuit of the goal of a high quality of services will require an explicit and conscious commitment by higher administration to this end. The successful implementation of such a program will require senior administrators to marshal support not only from powerful interest groups external to the organization, but also from internal interest groups as well (Hickson, et al., 1971; Hinings, et al., 1974). A consequence of the present analysis, it is hoped, will be a heightened awareness on the part of human service administrators of the centrality of their role in the processes of goal-setting and implementation which, in the long run, are inextricably bound up with effectiveness questions and concerns. Future researchers into effectiveness issues are urged, furthermore, to remain sensitive to multiple constituency interests as these affect the establishment and implementation of priorities and goals.

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THE INFLUENCE OF BUREAUCRATIC FACTORS ON WELFARE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

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ABSTRACT

The authors argue that previous welfare policy research has suffered from its neglect of bureaucratic factors, as well as a tendency to exclude policy-making arenas above and below the state level. Using several measures of organizational structure, administrative professionalism, and within-state need, they attempt to relate these variables to within-state variations in welfare policy implementation. While certain socio-economic conditions were found to be significant determinants of this variation, of greater importance are characteristics of state welfare bureaucracies such as the degree of administrative centralization and the level of professionalism of administrative staff. Their research suggests the need for further refinement of conceptualizations of the policy process and its components, and indicates the potential significance of bureaucratic factors in explaining policy implementation.

While significant advances have occurred in welfare policy research (see Broach, 1975; Tompkins, 1975), several important problems stemming from the orientation of that research still persist.

One is a "monocentric" orientation of much research which defines the parameters of the welfare policy process in such a way that decisions and activities above and below the state level are excluded (see Gregg, 1974; Rose, 1973). The actual mechanics of the system are far more complex, with significant input contributed by the U.S. Congress which can pass or amend pertinent legislation, HEW which translates legislation into administrative regulations, state legislatures which can determine levels of need and maximum payment levels, state welfare administrators who prepare manuals of regulations to insure consistent local implementation, and local agencies or boards which actually administer the program and award benefits. This all suggests a complex system wherein policy is developed, enacted and implemented by various actors playing various roles in different institutions at all levels of government. Obviously, policy constraints can be set throughout this process which influence grant amounts and the general level of service provided to the recipient. Only by an examination of the interdependence of all these systemic components can an accurate portrayal of the welfare policy process be attained (see Steiner, 1966).

A related problem is neglect of the importance of the implementation process to program performance. Welfare policy analyses typically end once variations in legislative decisions (laws) have been explained, and in so doing have ignored the fact that the manner in which statutes are interpreted and applied has a significant impact on the distribution of program benefits (see Stillman, 1977). While this
bureaucratic policy input is usually conceded to have some significance, rarely have attempts been made to subject it to rigorous empirical measurement.

We have no pretensions that the present study in any major way "solves" the problems just discussed. Rather, we attempt here a modest initiative by way of an empirical investigation of the impact of certain bureaucratic factors on welfare policy implementation.

HYPOTHESES

We take this bureaucratic policy role as a given and seek to identify sources of variation in the implementation of welfare policy by the states under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. The state is the appropriate unit of analysis in that state legislatures set eligibility requirements and payment levels under the constraints of Federal policy governing this program.

Agencies wield policy-making power through the administrative process in part by exercising the discretion provided by most statutes. Variations in policy implementation will thus produce different distributional patterns in the delivery of public services. Implementation, then, relates to "the uniformity of policy administration among the eligible population of a politically defined region." (Weed, 1977:113) As statewide eligibility criteria and payment levels for each state's AFDC program are employed by county or district agencies in the administration of the program, variation in policy implementation can be measured in terms of within-state or county-to-county variation in the level and distribution of benefits to potentially eligible persons.

Our two specific measures of administrative equity are: a) within-state variation in the level of average AFDC grants provided in counties of a given state, and; b) within-state variation in the distribution of AFDC benefits to poor persons in the counties of a given state. Similar measures have been employed elsewhere to measure differential policy implementation. (Sharkansky and Hofferbert, 1971, 344-345)

One possible source of variation in the implementation of welfare policy is administrative structure. In some states the state welfare department assumes almost complete control over the delivery of welfare services and county or district agencies function as "branches" of the state department. HEW classifies such welfare systems as "state-administered" as opposed to the classification of other state systems as "state-supervised." (HEW, 1976:vi, ix) Local agencies in state-supervised systems are more autonomous and tend to be perceived more as a department of local government.

HEW bases the designation of state welfare systems on a variety of factors. Our analysis of its classifications indicates that the following characteristics are more important to HEW's designation of a system as "state-administered" or "state-supervised": whether state or local governments must bear some of the costs of the AFDC program and its administration, and; whether a state uses counties or multi-county districts as implementing jurisdictions. We shall examine the general HEW classification and each of its components as structural characteristics which may be related to variation in policy implementation.

Among organizational theorists, centralization of decision making is thought to be a factor which influences the distribution of decisional effects. (Stinch-
combe, 1965) The rationale is that, in centralized decision-making units, power is concentrated in the hands of a few people who make their decisions in relative isolation from local influences. According to this logic, less within-state variation in policy implementation would exist in state-administered systems. Similarly, we might expect the state-supervised systems to exhibit greater variation.

In his study of welfare policy from 1960 to 1970, Randall (1976) found this, in fact, to be the case. He concluded that, "while the degree of centralization does not guarantee either a tolerant or restrictive welfare policy (these are determined by the character of local pressures), . . . decentralized states are more responsive to local pressures." (Randall, 1976:163) Consistent with his research, we propose the following hypothesis:

H1: States with more centralized welfare systems will exhibit less within-state variation in the size of AFDC payments and in the distribution of AFDC benefits.

Another possible source of variation in welfare policy implementation is the level of administrative professionalism in state welfare systems. It is reasonable to assume that state welfare administrators will strive to promote uniformity in the interpretation of state guidelines by the counties. Strict adherence to these guidelines can thus serve as a means to policy control. One possible way to achieve this objective is to promote the idea of "professionalism" in the administrative process, with the expectation being that more professional agencies will subscribe more closely to the spirit and letter of the authoritative guidelines promulgated from above. Professionalism can be operationalized in terms of the educational qualifications of staff. The measure used here is the proportion of state and local personnel holding at least a bachelor's degree (data drawn from HEW, 1973a). The weakness of this particular indicator is that it does not differentiate among bureaucracies with, say, significant numbers of people with Masters of Social Work degrees or even non-degree paraprofessionals. Although in a way it is only a least common denominator, other possibly more sophisticated indicators could not be used due to the lack of complete and reliable data for the fifty states. It should also be noted in defense of this particular measure that it is the one HEW itself uses for the purposes of estimating professionalism. Another way states can promote uniformity in policy administration through professionalism is by providing additional training to agency staff. In this manner, state administrators can familiarize local bureaucrats with the intricacies and purposes of state guidelines, as well as instill in them attitudes supportive of the state perspective on welfare policy implementation. This aspect of professionalism is measured by each state's expenditure per AFDC case for staff training and development (data drawn from HEW, 1973b). Accordingly, we propose a second hypothesis:

H2: More "professionalized" state welfare systems will exhibit less within-state variation in the size of AFDC payments and in the distribution of AFDC benefits.

Our final hypothesis concerns the socioeconomic environments within which state welfare policies are implemented. In one sense it is employed as a check on the other two. We would expect, for example, that allowances would be made for within-state variations in the cost of living in the determination of payment levels. (Joint Economic Committee, 1974:151) This "need-policy linkage" (Sharkansky, 1971) would produce variations in program benefits, and we have operationalized it in
terms of within-state variation in median rental costs. In addition, wealthier counties are likely to contain proportionately fewer potential welfare recipients, and would be capable of supporting those people with higher program benefits. (Sharkansky, 1971) Thus, we have included a variable which measures within-state variation in the proportion of poor families in a state's counties. 5 Consistent with this "environmental-policy linkage" we propose the following:

H2: Within-state variations in cost of living and wealth will produce variations in the size of AFDC payments and in the distribution of AFDC benefits.

State public policy outputs have been shown to be strongly related to general socioeconomic conditions in the states. (Dye, 1976:273-283) Therefore, we shall include in our analysis several commonly employed measures of socioeconomic development-urbanization, per capita income, and median educational level (data drawn from Bureau of the Census, 1972). Our analysis should inform us as to whether similar linkages exist between environmental conditions and policy implementation.

We are aware of the possibility that some of our independent variables might be inter-related. For example, the level of administrative professionalism in a state welfare system might be influenced by the degree of economic development in that state. The finding of such relationships among bureaucratic and environmental factors and variations in policy implementation would beg questions concerning the "true" effects of certain independent variables. Therefore, our analysis will begin with an examination of the bivariate relationships between the two dependent variables measuring policy implementation and the various independent variables measuring organizational structure, administrative professionalism, and socioeconomic conditions. If warranted, we shall proceed to multivariate analyses of the independent effects of our independent variables.

FINDINGS

Three sets of findings are presented in each of the following tables. The first set, labelled "All States," describes relationships between each independent variable and each dependent variable when the welfare systems of all fifty states were analyzed. The second set, labelled "County States," concerns the thirty-five states in which local agency jurisdictions are individual counties. The final set, "District States," pertains to the group of fifteen states in which the jurisdiction of local agencies can include more than one county. Given that we have measured variation in policy implementation in terms of county-to-county variation, this differentiation seems appropriate.6

We find general support for our first hypothesis in the degree and direction of the relationships described by the simple correlation coefficients reported in Table 1.7 Less variation in policy implementation seems to occur in those states which employ centralized welfare systems. This relationship is stronger and more consistent regarding variation in payment levels than in the distribution of benefits. However, among those states in which local agency jurisdictions are districts as opposed to single counties, a strong relationship is observed between the summary measure used by HEW and the distribution of AFDC benefits. Also, it appears that the existence of local boards of welfare in district states is related to within-state variation in the distribution of AFDC benefits.
Table 1

Structural Centralization of State Welfare Systems and Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Characteristics&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation</th>
<th>Distribution of Benefits</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payment Levels</td>
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<td>All States County District States</td>
<td>All States County District States</td>
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<td>NEW Classification:</td>
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<tr>
<td>State-supervised = 0; State-administered = 1</td>
<td>-.25&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; -.44&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; -.17</td>
<td>-.15 -.11 -.49&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>Have Local Welfare Boards With Policy Responsibilities = 0; No Local Boards = 1</td>
<td>-.05 .01 -.22</td>
<td>-.24&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; -.22 -.32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Administrators Appointed by Local Officials = 0; Appointed by State Officials = 1</td>
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<td>-.13 -.06 -.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Government Pays Some Costs = 0; All Costs Paid by State Government = 1</td>
<td>-.25&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; -.44&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; .03</td>
<td>-.15 -.11 -.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility for Decisions of Client Eligibility at Local Level = 0; at Regional or State Level = 1</td>
<td>-.12 -.19 -.20</td>
<td>-.18 -.11 -.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Characteristics are coded as dichotomous variables with the higher value indicating centralization.

<sup>b</sup>Pearson correlation coefficient significant at .05 level.
The strong relationships observed between variation in AFDC payment levels and measures dealing with the power to appoint local administrators and the responsibility for funding are consistent with those pertaining to the HEW classification. Our previous analysis, it will be recalled, indicated that the former two characteristics were key components of the summary measure developed by HEW. Thus HEW's designation of state welfare systems as "state-administered" or "state-supervised" seems to incorporate the structural characteristics which are most relevant to variation in welfare policy implementation. However, the nature of the jurisdictions of local agencies influences the relationships observed between such organizational characteristics and the dependent variables.

The second hypothesis states that higher levels of administrative professionalism will lead to greater uniformity in both the level of AFDC payments and the proportion of poor families receiving aid. The data in Table 2 regarding the proportion of welfare personnel holding at least a bachelor's degree are supportive of that statement, but only regarding county states. This suggests that, in the relatively autonomous local agencies in these thirty-five states, professionalism exerts a strong influence on the degree of variation in policy implementation.

### Table 2

Administrative Professionalism and Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative Professionalism</th>
<th>Payment Levels</th>
<th>Distribution of Benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of Personnel Holding At Least A Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure Per AFDC Case for Staff Training and Development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All States</td>
<td>County States</td>
<td>District States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-.30&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.46&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.52&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.60&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Pearson correlation coefficient significant at .05 level.
The simple correlation coefficients related to our second measure of administrative professionalism, expenditure per AFDC case for staff training and development, strongly contradict the second hypothesis. These data indicate that higher per-case expenditures for training are made in those systems in which there exists greater variation in policy implementation.

Several possible explanations could be offered for this anomaly. One could be that larger shares of these expenditures are devoted to training which is not directly related to eligibility determination in the local agencies. Perhaps the emphasis is on broader training and education such as that required to develop staff for administrative and specialist positions in a system. A second explanation might be that staff training and development is perceived to be a long-run, perhaps remedial, means of professionalization. States with higher levels of policy variation may spend more on training simply because such staff development has been observed to be necessary for reducing this policy variation. Thus, training might be employed as a strategy for improving organizational control. (see Ouchi, 1977)

A final piece of information should be considered in interpreting these findings. Reportedly a bias exists in Federal regulations which tends to encourage non-payment or under-payment rather than over-payment in the delivery of public assistance. (Mendeloff, 1977) If such a bias were reflected in training received by welfare personnel, its impact might be greater in reducing variation in the distribution of benefits than in the level of payments provided to persons already deemed eligible. However, regardless of the accuracy of such speculation, the strong relationships observed here deserve further study.

Our third hypothesis concerns the responsiveness of state welfare systems to within-state variations in need, measured here by county-to-county variation in rental costs and extent of poverty. The findings reported in Table 3 indicate that states tend to respond to internal variation in socioeconomic conditions through variation in the level of AFDC payments provided to welfare recipients. However, this general conclusion must be qualified somewhat. For example, only district states seem to respond to variation in the basic cost of living represented by rental costs. Yet, among all states, variation in degrees of impoverishment among their counties seems to be associated with differential levels of AFDC payments. Only among district states is within-state variation in socioeconomic conditions related to variation in the distribution of benefits. This, as well as the finding that rental costs seem to influence AFDC payments in these states, suggests that, in establishing systems based on districts, these states facilitated responsiveness to local needs.

Median educational level, per capita income, and urbanization are state-aggregate measures of each state's level of socioeconomic development. Consistent with the research mentioned earlier, some of these factors are related to one measure of policy variation—AFDC payment levels. The findings suggest that greater within-state variation in payment levels occurs in more developed states, regardless of the nature of the jurisdictions of local agencies. One explanation might be that those states which tend to provide more liberal welfare benefits, i.e., those which are more developed (Dye, 1978:270-274), also have the resources to respond to variations in local needs. However, this applies primarily to payment levels rather than the distribution of benefits to the poor.

Our analysis has revealed that certain measures in each of our sets of inde-
Table 3

Socioeconomic Conditions and Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socioeconomic Conditions</th>
<th>Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation</th>
<th>Distribution of Benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payment Levels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All States</td>
<td>County States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within-State Variation in Median Rent</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within-State Variation in Proportion of County Families Classified as Poor</td>
<td>.29^a</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Education Level</td>
<td>.47^a</td>
<td>.50^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Capita Income</td>
<td>.27^a</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aPearson correlation coefficient significant at .05 level.

Dependent variables are related to within-state variation in policy implementation. We mentioned before that inter-relations could exist among these variables which would obscure the independent effects of any single predictor of policy variation. Therefore, we proceeded to multiple regression analysis in attempting to sort out these effects.

The first step in each case involving a particular dependent variable and a particular group of states was to limit attention to those independent variables which had exhibited significant bivariate relationships with a particular dependent variable. We then employed a step-wise procedure in which the analysis was terminated when no additional independent variable could have been added which would have had a significant F-value. Although less ambitious than path analysis, this approach is consistent with path-analytic techniques (see Tompkins, 1975) and achieves a similar degree of parsimony.

In three cases, no other independent variable exhibited a significant effect
Table 4

Organizational Structure, Administrative Professionalism, Environmental Conditions, and Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Within-State Variation in Policy Implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Payment Levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Structure:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEW Classification</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Professionalism:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Expenditures</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of Personnel Holding at Least a</td>
<td>-.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic Environment:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within-State Variation in Median Rental</td>
<td>.50^a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Education in State</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R = .70$</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2 = .49$</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F = 10.92$</td>
<td>14.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^aPearson correlation coefficient significant at .05 level; other coefficients are standardized regression coefficients unless otherwise indicated.
on a particular measure of policy variation when controlling for a single independent variable. In the case of payment levels in district states, variation in rental costs seems to be the chief source of variation in payment levels. The distribution of AFDC benefits across all states and among county states seems to be most influenced by administrative professionalism, measured by the proportion of personnel holding at least a bachelor's degree. However, it should be remembered that in each case, few if any other independent variables were strongly related to these dependent variables for these sets of states. Therefore, these data essentially summarize our earlier findings.

The other three cases involve sets of states in which the dependent variables were strongly associated with several independent variables. It is in these cases that the benefits of the multi-variate analyses are realized. In the first case, payment levels across all states seem to be influenced by the structure and level of administrative professionalism of state welfare systems as well as the states' levels of socioeconomic development (measured by median educational level).

The regression solution involving variation in AFDC payment levels in the county states is quite similar to that for all states. However, organizational factors do exhibit somewhat stronger effects and median educational level a somewhat diminished effect relative to the findings across all states. This difference might be a result of the linkage of agency jurisdiction to political boundaries in which well-defined sets of local influences (bureaucratic or otherwise) could more easily affect implementation.

The final solution deals with the distribution of AFDC benefits within district states. Here, organizational structure and training expenditures seem to influence this type of variation in policy implementation most strongly. Again, policy variation is unaffected by socio-economic conditions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our description of the welfare policy process indicated that the range of actors involved in that process produced a complex policy-making system which could only be defined as "polycentric." (see Gregg, 1974) Although the Social Security Act provides a vehicle for the enunciation of Federal welfare policy, state governments retain sufficient discretion to alter substantially the impact of that policy. Also, the reliance on local actors and agencies for implementation of state policy tends to complicate the process even more.

In attempting to elucidate the process by which congressional policy is translated into the services received by people, we have focused on characteristics of welfare bureaucracies in the states as they relate to variations in policy implementation. The findings of this study generally supported our basic contention that bureaucratic factors are important determinants of such variation. Specifically, centralized organizational structure and administrative professionalism (measured by the proportion of total personnel holding at least a bachelor's degree) seem to reduce policy variation in certain state welfare systems. Although within-state variation in AFDC payments is influenced by a state's level of socioeconomic development (measured by median educational level), the effects of bureaucratic factors often appear to be greater.

The impact of bureaucratic characteristics on policy implementation was found to vary according to the particular measure of policy variation being examined as
well as the nature of the jurisdictions of local welfare agencies. For example, organizational centralization and administrative professionalism tended to reduce variation in the level of AFDC payments in county states, but not in district states. Yet, these same characteristics of state welfare bureaucracies seemed to minimize variation in the distribution of AFDC benefits in district states, but not in county states. The only factor which seemed to affect variation in AFDC payments in the district states was need (within-state variation in rental costs).

The differences observed between systems which have counties as the jurisdictions of local agencies and those employing multi-county districts tend to support the argument that characteristics of governmental jurisdictions affect the delivery of public services. (see Oster, 1972) The findings regarding the impact of other administrative and organizational factors also lend credence to the model of policy implementation developed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975).

While some significant findings have thus emerged, the analysis presented is obviously more exploratory than definitive. What is suggested is a rather complex interactive process among factors such as the type of administrative jurisdiction, characteristics of welfare administrators, degree of organizational control and the parameters established by objective socioeconomic conditions. For the state of research to advance in this area, considerable theoretical attention must be focused on sorting out the connections between and among these factors. This analysis also strongly indicates that further refinements to our ability to measure objectively factors such as administrative centralization and professionalism would facilitate subsequent theoretical discussions.

FOOTNOTES

1These data are drawn from the COUNTY AND CITY DATA BOOK (Bureau of the Census, 1972: Table 2) and are based on state reports to HEW which identify the average AFDC grants made in each county (or similar sub-state jurisdiction) in each state. The mean county payment for each state was computed as well as the standard deviation among those payments. The coefficient of variation indicating within-state variation in AFDC payments for each state was then computed as follows:

\[
\frac{\text{standard deviation of county payments in a state}}{\text{mean county payment in a state}} = \text{coefficient of variation}
\]

The coefficients thereby computed for each state were employed as our measure of this type of policy variation. The mean of these coefficients was .103. The degree of variation implied by such a figure can be illustrated by examining one state which exhibited approximately this degree of variation. The coefficient of variation for Florida was found to be .103. Average county payments in that state ranged from $61.00 to $104.00 per month.

2The following indicator was used to describe the distribution of AFDC benefits to potentially eligible persons in each county of each state:

\[
\frac{\text{number of poor families in county}}{\text{AFDC caseload in county}} = \text{distribution of AFDC benefits}
\]
The number of AFDC cases in a county can be best compared to the number of poor families because a "case" corresponds to a family. To measure within-state variation, we computed the mean proportion of poor families served among the counties in a state and the standard deviation associated with that mean and computed the coefficient of variation as follows:

\[
\text{standard deviation of county AFDC distribution in a state} \\
\text{mean county AFDC distribution in a state}
\]

The following excerpt from HEW (1976: ix) details the factors used by HEW in designating welfare systems as "state-administered" or "state-supervised":

Location of the appointing authority for local personnel; local participation in the furnishing of funds for assistance payments and in meeting the costs of local administration, location of responsibility for making investigation and maintaining contact with individuals, by counties or multi-county districts; responsibility of the State agency or the local agency for the decision as to eligibility and amount of payments; and any additional powers vested by law in a local government which affect the total administration of the program.

Using standardized descriptions of each state welfare system (HEW, 1976), each characteristic employed by HEW is making its designations as well as the designations themselves were coded according to the scheme described in the Appendix. With the HEW designation as the dependent variable and the other five factors described in the Appendix as independent variables, we attempted to predict the HEW designations using discriminant analysis. A single function comprised of the above-named factors successfully classified 92 percent of the systems (canonical correlation = .824, chl square = 52.84 which was significant at the .001 level). The standardized coefficients for the three factors were -.62, -.37, and -.25 respectively. Inter-relationships among the independent variables are shown in the Appendix.

Data were drawn from the Bureau of the Census (1972) and coefficients of variation computed in the manner described previously using all counties in each state.

As indicated above, HEW receives reports from the states concerning services provided in each county. This occurs in spite of the administrative arrangements in some states by which one or more counties might comprise the jurisdictions of local agencies. Given that data are not readily available on a district-by-district basis, and that HEW does not deem such reports to be necessary, we decided to proceed with the analysis, but to emphasize the problem in units of analysis.

Since we are, in effect, dealing with a population rather than a random sample, the value of significance tests could be questioned. Thus, they are used primarily as rough indicators of the strength of these relationships.
REFERENCES


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HUMAN SERVICE NEEDS IN RAPIDLY GROWING WESTERN COMMUNITIES: THE WYOMING HUMAN SERVICES PROJECT—ONE RESPONSE

Julie M. Uhlnann
Denver Research Institute
University of Denver
and
John W. Banks
Department of Social Work
University of Wyoming

ABSTRACT

Human service needs in rural, western communities currently experiencing energy-related growth are abundant. This paper describes and critiques a service delivery project designed to address these needs.

INTRODUCTION

Many small, rural communities in Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming are experiencing extremely rapid growth as a result of the development of energy resources. New coal mines, coal-fired power plants, oil and gas rigs, and uranium mines have appeared since 1970 as a response to the energy crisis.

Although the long-range effects of resource development may be beneficial to Western communities, the immediate consequences are disruptive. In particular, the need for human services increases dramatically as communities grow and change.

This paper derives from the authors' experience with the Wyoming Human Services Project, which was designed to mitigate some of the human service needs in energy impacted communities.1 The paper will (1) discuss the salient characteristics of energy impacted Western communities as these characteristics relate to human service needs; (2) describe the Wyoming Human Services Project (WHS) as a program responding to human service needs in these communities; and (3) critique the project as a possible model for other states experiencing similar growth.

THE WESTERN COMMUNITY SUBJECT TO RAPID GROWTH

Overview of the Pre-Impact Community

Communities near energy developments in the West are predominantly small and rural. In 1977, the Region VIII Department of Energy reported that 79.5 percent of the communities in the region2 subject to energy impaction had popula-
tions of less than 5,000, and almost two-thirds had populations of less than 2,000. In addition, most of these small communities are located more than 100 miles from a metropolitan area.

The age distribution in such Western communities is similar to other rural areas. As young adults move to seek employment in urban areas because of the mechanization of agriculture, many pre-impact communities retain a larger proportion of senior citizens and fewer working-age adults than urban areas.

Many pre-impact communities have an inadequate financial base to support public services, including human services, of any kind. The economic base in these communities is agriculture. However, because of the development of agriculture, much of the income that was formerly reinvested in the local economy leaves the community since fewer profits are controlled by local family farmers and ranchers. In addition, the out-migration of working-age adults further reduces the tax base in rural areas.

There are several implications of the above factors for human services delivery in these communities. Pre-impact communities have serious unmet needs for human services because of out-migration and lack of employment opportunities. Proportionately more residents are poor, experience unemployment or underemployment, receive less income, have less formal education, more frequently live in substandard housing, and have more serious health problems than urban residents (Baumheier, Derr, and Gage 1973:5). At the same time, these communities lack the human services resources, such as professional manpower, formal agency structure, and program monies (Uhlmann 1978:26).

Thus, under rapid growth conditions rural communities, in addition to meeting the human service needs of many new residents, with their inadequate tax base, must play "catch-up" to meet the human service needs of the existing population. Moreover, the low population density in rural areas increases costs of services. For example, a social worker who visits a family in a town 30 miles from the agency loses at least one hour to travel, not to mention the cost of the transportation itself.

Changes that Occur During Development

During energy resource development, small communities experience rapid population growth. Because so many of the communities are located far from urban areas, workers may have little choice but to reside in the community on a temporary basis. This population influx causes drastic changes in the community.

The age-structure of the population changes markedly. Many young workers enter the community, while at the same time some senior citizens leave the area because living costs rise as competition for goods and services (such as food and housing) increases. This demographic change to predominantly young rather than old has been observed in four impact communities in Wyoming (Uhlmann, Kibbe, and Throgmorton 1976:12; Uhlmann, Bowery, and Hill 1977:19).

The rate of population growth is also important. An annual rate of growth above 15 percent leads to breakdown in local and regional institutions (Gilmore and Duff 1975:12). Consider, for example, a community that grows from 1,000 to 3,000 in three years, although the absolute population size of 3,000 is not large, it represents 200 percent growth. The human problems that occur in such an environment are numerous.

With regard to social services, total public assistance expenditures are frequently reduced in energy impacted communities. As more jobs develop, especially for males, other poor families (such as female-headed households or retirees on small fixed incomes) leave the community because of high living costs. Some of the public assistance provided in an impacted community is given to applicants, who have come to town drawn by the rumor of employment and high wages, but who are unable to sustain themselves while looking for employment or are without necessary job skills. A dramatic increase in the demand for youth services is also noted by social service agencies in impacted communities. Child abuse, runaways, and school problems demand more and more agency effort. The need for foster homes and temporary shelter for youth, as well as the need for day-care facilities, also increases.

The increasing number of mental health problems in an energy affected community include depressions among women, related to such factors as isolation and lack of amenities and employment opportunities, and rising numbers of male alcoholics. School age children, many of whom live in crowded quarters and attend schools that cannot provide extracurricular activities, have increased behavior disorders and social maladjustments. Newly arrived young adults between the ages of 18 and 26 face mental health problems too because they have few solid interpersonal relationships, cannot easily become involved in recreational and social outlets within the community, and may be involved with substance abuse.

Finally, there is frequently a serious shortage of health care professionals in energy impacted communities. Many of the local physicians are close to retirement age and new physicians are not attracted to these communities because of their isolation and lack of modern medical facilities. Because energy development attracts a young population, new needs for family planning services, maternity care, and OB clinics also develop. Serious industrial accidents can also pose a problem in areas where medical facilities are lacking or transportation to remote facilities is frequently difficult because of bad roads and inclement weather.

Why the Human Problems Occur

In addition to these increased human service problems and needs, there are others in the areas of housing, education, employment, recreation services, local government, and services for senior citizens.

The problems are due to several factors. First, there is simply an increased population. The same problems would arise in any city of comparable size. However, these problems are compounded by the rate at which growth occurs. With rapid growth there is an almost immediate need for expanded human services and facilities. Communities do not have adequate lead time to develop either a financial resource base or the local
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attitudinal support for human services. It may be especially difficult to rally the support of local citizens for human service agencies in rural Western areas because the individualistic ethic is strong and dictates that social, mental, and physical problems should be attended to by one’s family, friends, neighbors, or church. Yet these traditional networks break down rapidly in an impacted community. Human problems in the impacted community are also a result of the changing composition and age structure of the local population. As the proportion of young adults, as well as other transients, in the community increases, they require special human service agency services.

One of the "myths" of development is that the newcomers in energy impacted communities come from different regions of the United States and are predominantly urban. Studies show that most nonlocal workers come from other communities within the same state or from contiguous states and from rural backgrounds (Mountain West Research, publ. 1979; Table 11-4; Uhmann, Robertz, and Hill 1977:19). The human service needs that arise, therefore, are a result of age differences and occupation rather than cultural dissimilarity. For example, a construction worker on a ten hour shift may have the same desire for outdoor recreation as the long-term resident, but his occupational life-style precludes this type of activity and he seeks out bowling alleys, movies, or bars after a long work day.

THE WYOMING HUMAN SERVICES PROJECT

It is clear that increasing human problems in rapidly growing communities in the West leads to a greater need for human services. The WHSP is a program response that was developed at the University of Wyoming in 1975. The program proposed to train and place multidisciplinary teams of human service professionals in three energy impacted Wyoming communities on an annual basis. The program has two components: a training program and a community program.

The training program consists of two three-semester-hour courses plus a summer training program for those selected for community teams. Students are selected for training during their final year of study at either the undergraduate or graduate level and come from a wide range of disciplines such as social work, nursing, law, public administration, planning, anthropology, sociology, recreation, home economics and clinical psychology.

The community teams typically consist of five multidisciplinary members who spend half of their work time as professionals in a human service agency and the remaining half working together on community human services projects. This division of time between agency placement and community team project is a crucial element in the program. Agency experience acquaints the team member with community needs from the perspective of one segment of the total community human service delivery system. Team members then share their experiences with each other to arrive at a holistic, systemic view of human service delivery in the community. Using this systemic perspective, the team designs projects that will address overall community problem areas. Frequently such projects provide services that are not the sole responsibility of any single human service agency in the community. They may, however, improve the capability for human service delivery for a number of agencies.

Over the past four years team members have been given assignments in local government (public administration, city attorney, public information, and law enforcement), public health nursing, recreation, community mental health, police, social services, youth services, senior’s services, family planning, and community education. In many cases team members have undertaken new roles within an established agency organization or have been involved in the initiation of a new human service agency in the community (e.g., family planning). These responses occur because the human service agency structure in rapidly growing small Western communities is typically underdeveloped.

The contributions that team members have made through their agency placements are substantial, but the team projects have also been significant. The WHSP teams have established a planned parenthood clinic, youth emergency services, a drug and alcohol counseling center, a crisis line, a United Way, a discount plan for senior citizens, and more than twenty other services and facilities in the two communities in which they have been placed.

Method of Team Operation

The goal of the WHSP teams is to establish projects and programs in the community that do not depend upon the team for their existence. The community organization method that has proved to be successful in energy impacted communities has been the utilization of locality development procedures which stress local resident initiative, process, and commitment. The specific steps used are the following:

1. A community project is conceptualized by the team with the assistance of their community advisory board (a group composed of a cross-section of local residents). Ideas for projects come from the shared agency experience of team members, needs expressed by local citizens to the team or the advisory board, ideas generated by the team itself, and/or ideas generated by a community needs assessment.

2. After a project is accepted, the team then organizes community persons to spearhead the project. These individuals form a community steering committee that is the decision-making body for the project. The willingness of local citizens to serve on a steering committee is an indication of perceived need and community support and is crucial for the successful establishment of a project.

3. The third step involves the generation of information for the steering committee on various alternative models for the proposed project. Community meetings are then organized to present information on the project to the community at large.

4. The team then locates the necessary funding and other resources necessary to implement the project.

5. Lastly, the WHSP team phases out of the project as it increasingly comes under the direction of the community steering committee. During
attitudinal support for human services. It may be especially difficult to rally the support of local citizens for human service agencies in rural Western areas because the individualistic ethic is strong and dictates social, mental, and physical problems should be attended to by one's family, friends, neighbors, or church. Yet traditional network break down rapidly in an impacted community. Human problems in the impacted community are also a result of the changing composition of the local population. As the proportion of young adults, as well as other transients, in the community increases, they require special human services.

One of the "myths" of development is that the newcomers in energy-impacted communities come from different regions of the United States and are predominately urban. Studies show that most nonlocal workers come from other communities within the same state or from contiguous states and from rural backgrounds. Human problems in the impacted community are also a result of the changing composition of the local population. As the proportion of young adults, as well as other transients, in the community increases, they require special human services.

Over the past four years team members have been given assignments in local government (public administration, city attorney, public information, and law enforcement); public health nursing, recreation, community health centers, human services, youth services, senior's services, family planning, and community education. In many cases team members have undertaken new roles within an established agency organization or have been involved in the initiation of a new human service agency in the community (e.g., family planning). These responses occur because the human service agency structure in rapidly growing small Western communities is typically underdeveloped.

The contributions that team members have made through their agency placements are substantial, but the team projects have also been significant. The WHP's teams have established a planned parenthood clinic, youth emergency services, a drug and alcohol counseling center, a crisis line, a United Way, a discount plan for senior citizens, and more than twenty other services and facilities in the two communities in which they have been placed.

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5. Lastly, the WHP's team phases out of the project as it increasingly comes under the direction of the community steering committee. During
the phase-out, team members sometimes act as consultants. For example, an attorney on the team might be responsible for legal incorporation procedures or tax status work for a newly formed board of directors.

This method of community organization has been successful for two reasons. First, team members act as catalysts to initiate projects that are built on felt needs within the community. The team, therefore, is not perceived as imposing new and unwelcome "outsider" ideas upon the community. It is especially necessary for the team to take this stance in small, culturally homogeneous, Western communities where the individualistic ethic of the traditional indigenous leaders is strong. Second, community persons become involved at the outset so that they "own" the project. Since the program must be sustained after the WHSP teams leave the community, the feeling of local involvement and support is crucial to a project's long-term success.

Case Example

The Powder River Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse is an example of a successful project. The first team placed in Gillette, Wyoming undertook this project to provide a counseling service for substance abusers in the area, at the request of local citizens.

A community steering committee was formed which included many of the members of the original group making the request. Three major community meetings were then organized by the team to provide information to the community at large on substance abuse. The team also located funding and resources for the project. Namely, a trailer was donated anonymously to house the facility and the county commissioners provided land for the trailer and funded the first year's operation. During the year this project was established, one team member was an attorney. He completed the legal incorporation for the steering committee which then became the board of directors of the Powder River Council on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.

Thus, a walk-in counseling center and twenty-four hour call-in center was established for drug and alcohol abusers. While the team played an enabling role, the project is now completely in local control, and the team has phased out.

A CRITIQUE

Positively, the WHSP has accomplished the following: (1) the provision of supplemental staffing for the delivery of additional services in existing agencies; (2) the creation of new, but not necessarily innovative, human service agencies or added programs in existing agencies; (3) the preparation of successive annual cadres of helping service personnel who continue to work in impacted communities after their required time on the project itself; (4) the delivery of an added holistic and systemic planning function for human services which is virtually never available in small, rural communities; and (5) increased visibility for those exacerbated human problems in impacted communities which require additional or new human service delivery programs. For all these accomplishments, the WHSP richly deserves the plaudits it has received since the project began in 1975 (see Brown 1977).

There are, however, several shortcomings in the project. First, the concept of teams of graduates from widely diversified academic disciplines to be developed in the short time period of two courses plus an intensive summer experience raises questions. Can high-level sophisticated skills in planning, community organization, and human service delivery be taught in such a limited time? This question is a critical one because impact communities are especially demanding settings for community planning and organization.

Indirectly, the project also supports the serious professional decertification problem developing in state merit systems. (Decertification pertains to the trend in personnel selection to demigrate professional helping services academic training in favor of "experience equivalencies" which are not always relevant to job descriptions and competencies.) The Wyoming Human Services Project's use of majors from non-helping disciplines (e.g., an anthropologist placed as a social caseworker) is consonant with this serious decertification trend. This use raises similar issues on a smaller scale about the dilution of professional academic training as a prerequisite for professional positions in governmental public services.

With respect to the replicability of this project in other settings, a cost-benefit analysis raises doubts. In particular, the amount of service delivered in a given community is very low relative to the high overhead costs. Administrative direction and supervision of the project has required a high proportion of project funds. Specifically, the faculty and administrative personnel supported by the project almost equal in numbers the team members delivering human services. In part, this high administrative cost is not unusual in an experimental pilot research and demonstration project. The hope was that as the project became refined and streamlined in any replication elsewhere, overhead costs might be reduced.

Related to cost are questions about the composition of the teams. Could the amount and cost of administrative overhead be reduced if the multidisciplinary teams of human services professionals were composed solely of more experienced professionals who were thoroughly grounded in helping services disciplines? Could a purchase-of-service arrangement for a local agency professional to supervise community teams reduce direct costs and provide advantageous combinations of indigenous personnel involvement with on-site supervision of field teams?

The original design of the WHSP had a goal of providing three full teams of not less than five individuals annually in three different communities and with a minimum of administrative staff. During the first five project years, two teams were placed each year. However, during three of the project years only one similar team fielded. Although the number of teams declined in the last years of the project there was no corresponding reduction in administrative staff.

The inability of the WHSP project to meet its goal of fielding three teams each year was clearly related to two factors. First, NIMH federal grant guidelines from the outset precluded the use of federal funds for local team financial support. The restriction burdened the project administrative staff with the difficult, only
the phase-out, team members sometimes act as consultants. For example, an attorney on the team might be responsible for legal incorporation procedures or tax status work for a newly formed board of directors.

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partly successful, task of developing local funding sources. The second factor was the inability of the university as the project sponsor to fulfill its contractual obligation to provide matching funds for the federal funds supplied by NTMII. The university's financial default required the project director and administrative staff, the experience of such an amount of time, not anticipated in the original project proposal, to fund raising efforts, such as promotion of direct financial support for the project in the federal and state executive and legislative branches.

The diversion of effort by the project administrative staff to eliciting financial support had two consequences. The local teams and their community supporters had continuing complaints that the campus administrative staff and faculty failed to provide sufficient administrative and consultative support for local operations above and beyond team funding. In the latter years of the project the understandable need of the project staff to perpetuate their own employment (beyond the five-year project period) by creating a new and alternative project, further diverted administrative attention from the local team efforts.

One other consequence of the local team funding problems was related to the financing of one team whose program was causing the very impact problems to which team efforts were addressed. In that team's community a major issue arose between the power company versus some local residents and some environmental groups related to power company developmental needs and environmental impact on the community. Some team members felt caught in a special interest conflict. Their sympathies lay with the environmentalists and some local residents. However, they believed that their financial support, based in the power company although administered by the local government, placed them in a role of being a public relations ancillary of the company.

Another major issue concerning this project's design and implementation arises from its university sponsorship. Superficially an institution of higher education would seem to be an ideal sponsor for multidisciplinary efforts. However, for such multidisciplinary efforts nationally, and in this project, directly warrant serious questions about higher education sponsorship.

Specifically, the highly fragmented typical departmental organization of universities leads to separatism among the academic disciplines. There are very explicit, specific pressures on faculty members to teach, research and publish narrowly within their own disciplines. Opportunities for tenure, promotion and salary increases are based on departmental parochialism.

Faculty members in this project experienced these provincial factors from the outset. Project directors were immediately advised that they would be removed from the tenure track during the years they served as project administrators. Other faculty members serving on teaching teams for the project courses were very directly pressured by their departmental colleagues to withdraw from the project responsibilities in order that they should devote full time to traditional work exclusively within their own departments. They were admonished that if they failed to do so, they would suffer such sanctions as loss of support for professional advancement within their own departments and disciplines. With a few departmental exceptions, assigned time for specific part-time contributions by the project teaching faculty to team teaching responsibilities were denied. Thus the project faculty, other than the directors, were forced to consider their project assignments as voluntary "overtime" duties.

Reference was made earlier to the inability of the university to supply matching funds for the NTMM federal fund support for the WHSP. This funding problem, together with the departmental centrifugal forces against multidisciplinary cooperation, are not necessarily exclusive to the University of Wyoming. To the extent that they are general within higher education, such problems do raise very clear questions about the desirability of such institutions as sponsors of multidisciplinary efforts.

The consequences of such handicaps were not inconsiderable in this project. From the five-year period just prior to the onset of the project through the third year of the program, the WHSP had four project directors. This administrative turnover presents major problems for consistency and continuity of project administration.

Similarly, not one of the original team of eight multidisciplinary faculty members associated with the project at its outset remained with the project after the third year of the program. By the fourth year the in-house university sponsorship had moved from its wider multidisciplinary base within the Office of the Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, narrowly into the Department of Social Work. As that department assumed dominant administrative direction and teaching assignments, the interdisciplinary teaching of the first years of the project as a major innovation of the WHSP was rapidly lost.

Another prevalent attribute of higher education as a viable sponsor for such a project is the reluctance of some university administrators to become involved with sponsoring direct service programs in human services areas. The tradition, by contrast, for university direct services to agricultural populations through agricultural stations and extension services is well established and accepted. Similarly, direct service projects to corporations in engineering, science and business by universities seems to be relatively unquestioned. However, the operation by universities of direct service projects in the human services arena receives very mixed, questioning support.

What, then, might be alternative sponsors for interdisciplinary projects in human services? Some philanthropic foundations may have wider, less provincial, more supportive intellectual and theoretical assumptions than do universities. Similarly, some federal agencies and state agencies may be less wed to the narrow " turf" problems of university academic departments. Such alternative sponsors undoubtedly might have other negative trade-offs as compared to universities as sponsors. However, some foundations and governmental agencies historically have been more supportive of human services efforts than have universities. The experience, then, of the WHSP suggests that sponsorship outside that of higher education institutions deserves serious consideration.
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On balance, having highlighted a number of concerns about the WHSP, the values of the program outweigh the disadvantages. The fact that local communities, industry, and several governmental agencies evaluate the project positively and support the field teams financially suggests that the project has provided a possible model for human service delivery in energy impacted communities. Similarly, the fact that the WHSP may soon be considered as a forerunner for technical assistance on a regional level also lends support for the project. Finally, the commitment over four years from dozens of faculty, staff, students, and community team members testifies to a felt need for the nuclear ideas of the WHSP: to plan, initiate and deliver services to people in very problematic communities through a process which combines the insights and skills from a variety of relevant disciplines. The perception, admittedly subjective, that the WHSP has, in some measure, achieved that objective is substantial.

In summary, this article has described (1) salient characteristics of energy impacted Western communities as they relate to developing human service needs; (2) the WHSP as an experimental pilot demonstration responding to those needs, and (3) the values and limitations of the WHSP in a critique of the project. Space limitations precluded more specific subtle descriptions in the first two dimensions of the article. The authors recognize also that any critique is subject to the authors' own perspectives and limitations. However, too often human services projects historically have been accepted on faith. Current disinterest of public support, with its consequent restriction of financial resources, requires that more searching analysis of human services programs be encouraged. Such efforts also happen to coincide happily, with the authors' role as academicians in espousing critical inquiry.

NOTES

1 The terminology "energy impacted community" is used to refer to communities that are undergoing rapid population growth as a result of energy resource development in the immediate vicinity.

2 Federal Region VIII encompasses the states of Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

3 Researchers disagree on whether the incidence of specific problems remains the same or whether both the incidence (or rate) of problems increases along with the size of the population. Age-specific and problem-specific factors are crucial variables in this interpretation.

4 Twelve out of 24 team members who have completed their one year community placement have remained in impacted communities working as human service professionals. This is a significant contribution to these communities because of (1) the general lack of such professionals in rural Western communities and (2) the fact that growth in the public service sector of energy impacted communities typically lags at least two years behind growth in basic industry. Such a contribution was one of the goals specified for this project.

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A COMPARISON OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEWS AMONG YOUTHFUL AND AGED PERSONS: AN EMPIRICAL ASSESSMENT OF MARGINALLY DIFFERENTIATED ATTITUDE MEASURES

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ABSTRACT

Four related but marginally differentiated sociological and psychological attitude measures are evaluated through analysis of survey data. Generated from a statewide random sample (N=322), four measures of maladjustment/well-being -- the anomie, alienation, fatalism, and powerlessness scales -- are evaluated as being similar in nature. The moderately high correlations between the scale items comprising the four distinctive conceptual world-views suggest that the scales overlap considerably. The results of an oblique solution factor analysis, however, suggest that the scales being considered may be at least marginally differentiated. Comparisons between distinctive age groups of the sample of adults age 18 to 84 using the one-way analysis of variance suggest that the maladjusted view of the world may be most prevalent among younger and older members of society.

The findings are discussed in the light of implications which pertain to the traditional though somewhat confusing explanations for and analysis of human behavior which have evolved from and around the supposed distinctive conceptualizations of social maladjustment - namely, anomie, alienation and powerlessness. Further, a suggestion to proffer fatalism as an alternative explanation as to the philosophy of life (world-view) existing among the least powerful persons in society is proposed. Finally, this research offers support for the position that fatalistic determinism serves at least in part to explicate the relationships among anomie, alienation and powerlessness.
INTRODUCTION

While increasing numbers of researchers testify to the empirical problems related to working with conceptually distinct but marginally differentiated measures of attitude, with few exceptions (see for example, McClosky and Schaar, 1965; Klemmack, et al., 1974) the measurement of this situation continues to remain unexplored to any great extent. Still the specialty and sociological literature abounds with theoretical statements and empirical evidence which espouse the distinctive importance of anomie, alienation, and powerlessness. Well documented in the sociological literature, these conceptualizations of well-being continue to serve as important focal points and the scales as frequent indices for measurement of social maladjustment.

Within both sociology and psychology, Rotter's (1956) seminal work with the locus of control concept maintains a position of theoretical and empirical eminence. Theoretical variants of Rotter's theme have helped to provide an array of empirical evidence which suggests that a perceived loss of personal control over a social situation may lead to aberrant and sometimes dysfunctional attitudes among the young (Maris, 1969; Ferris and Glenn, 1976), as well as among the elderly (Reid, et al., 1977). As a number of researchers have observed, feelings of helplessness and uselessness especially among minorities (Hendin, 1969; Maris, 1967) and during the life stages of early adulthood or in old age are often the end product of ineffectiveness in one's personal or instrumental life (see for example, Mutran and Burke, 1979).

This locus of control conceptualization, also known as external fatalistic determinism, appears closely related to explanations contained within the powerlessness (Neale and Seehan, 1964), alienation (Olsen, 1969), and the anomie (McCloskey and Schaar, 1965) orientations. All four concepts as they pertain to personal maladjustment have a similar tone because of item overlap and the similarity of items in more than one scale. A number of studies in which the locus of control concept was employed concluded that external control beliefs and attitudes are in fact related to personal maladjustment (Lefcourt, 1976). More specific to elderly persons, Reid, et al. (1977:441), state:

...it may well be that a central effect of the many physical and social changes known to occur is to reduce the sense of control and effectiveness elderly persons may wish to have in their everyday lives. Locus of control refers to the extent to which a
person sees his outcomes...as being contingent upon his own efforts and abilities or as being determined by chance, fate, and powerful others.

This psychological view seems to be closely related to fatalism as this concept is generally treated in the sociological and philosophical literature (for example, Cahn, 1967; Durkheim, 1951; Farris and Glenn, 1976; Fortes, 1959; Mills, 1958; Weber, 1958).

Fatalism is also a world-view (philosophy of life) through which individuals interpret their life chances. Like other images of life, fatalism symbolizes a reality which guides a future expectation that is typically shaped by external forces "known" to be beyond individual control. But as Haydon (1937) noted, the resignation, quietism, and passivity with which the fatalistic attitude has been equated may also be interpreted in terms of the social change process. Consistent with this latter evaluation, more recent views of fatalism place the fatalist in a position of recognizing the potential to be realized through social change (Catton, 1972; Matza, 1964; Peck, 1979; Peck and Bharadwaj, 1980). Rather than posing a barrier to change, fatalists may represent a force instrumental for instigating the social change process.

If the locus of control conceptualization is similar to anomie, alienation, and powerlessness, then logically the fatalism conceptualization should also be found to interface with these three explanations of social maladjustment. One of the focal points of this research was to test for this communality which Rotter (1966) himself may have been aware of because he proposed a theoretical "bridging of the gap" between the alienation and powerlessness orientations with the external fatalistic determinism dimension of the locus of control concept.

In addition to alienation and powerlessness, anomie may also fall within a similar theoretical purview. That is to say, the breakdown of the normative system generates a meaninglessness into the social milieu (anomie), which further promotes an inability among people to adequately deal with social and institutional problems (powerlessness) which in turn, causes one to experience feelings of noninvolvement in and estrangement from society (alienation). It logically follows, then, that a philosophy of life based upon uncertainty and insecurity of the human condition, and an ineffectiveness in which mastery over the environment is undermined, would seriously inhibit the perceived ability to control the outcome of future events.
In light of the above, the purpose of this study is twofold: first, to critically examine the relationship among four related, but marginally differentiated social and psychological concepts and second, to compare the maladjustment/well-being among the various subsample age groups as measured by the anomie, alienation, fatalism and powerlessness attitude scales. If the above indexes of maladjustment do share a communality the statistical relationships should be fairly high. At the same time, if such attitudes do represent important factors in the social and psychological adjustment to the later stages of aging, the oldest age group should have a higher index of maladjustment than would younger age groups. Additionally, if age is a critical variable in the perceptual analysis regarding external as such events affect individuals rather than future outcomes being contingent upon individual efforts and abilities, then, the youngest and oldest members of society should record the highest scores on the maladjustment indexes of anomie, alienation, fatalistic external determinism and powerlessness.

METHODS

The data for this study were obtained from a larger survey research project undertaken in the State of Alabama during the fall of 1978. The majority of the respondents, 174 of 322, were randomly selected from the city of Tuscaloosa; the remaining 158 cases were drawn from throughout the state. Demographically the typical respondent can be characterized as 40.5 years of age, had completed 13.8 years of school, and the thirty-five percent who were employed at the time of the study had a median family income of $13,000. Forty percent (129) of the sample were male, seventy-two percent were white, and sixty percent were married.

The subjects responded to four point Likert scale items ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree which measured four distinctive attitudes. The scale items were from the 9 item index of anomie (McClosky and Scharf, 1965), a 9 item measure for political alienation (Olsen, 1969), a 20 item measure of external fatalistic determinism (Rotter, 1966), and a 12 item measure of powerlessness (Neal and Seeman, 1964).

RESULTS

Three primary statistical techniques were used in the analysis. First, if the supposed distinctive external fatalism, anomie, alienation, and powerlessness scales measured altogether different attitudes, then, the four sets of scale scores would tend to be uncorrelated. The Pearson's Product-Moment correlation coefficient r was used to test for this assumed uniqueness. Second, if the
extent of maladjustment were the same for all age groups, then the means of the summed scores would be equal. A one-way analysis of variance was used to test for any differences between young adults (less than 35 years of age), middle age adults (35–59 years of age), and elderly persons (60 years of age and older). Finally, an oblique factor analysis was used to test for the existent communality among the items of the four distinctive scales and to evaluate the multi-dimensionality of these measures.

The Associations

Table 1 presents the matrix of the Pearson Product-Moment coefficients for the four intercorrelational relationships. The correlation technique tests the hypothesis that the four attitude measures share a common construct. The coefficients reported in Table 1 offer some evidence supportive of the hypothesized relationship between fatalism (IE), anomie, alienation, and powerlessness. Indeed, a fairly strong positive association among all four attitude indexes is found. The data show, first of all, the strongest correlation is between political alienation and powerlessness \((r=.697)\). The weakest intercorrelation reported is that between fatalism (IE) and political alienation \((r=.332)\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>Anomie</th>
<th>Political Alienation</th>
<th>Powerlessness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>IE</td>
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<td>.5317</td>
<td>.6979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(278)</td>
<td>(284)</td>
<td>(287)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anomie</td>
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<td>1.0000</td>
<td>.6147</td>
<td>.6526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(296)</td>
<td>(297)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Alienation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>.6970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(303)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The number of cases for which the coefficient is computed is presented in brackets.

The intercorrelations considered most important suggest that fatalism (IE) is moderately correlated with all three of the attitude measures. The intercorrelations between fatalism and anomie \((r=.618)\), with political alienation \((r=.332)\), and powerlessness \((r=.658)\) provide some additional evidence in support of the first
hypothesis. In other words, a similarity in world-view orientation as measured by the distinctive scale items does point to the suggested interpretive communality. As would be predicted, fairly high relationships between all four attitude indexes are observed.

At this point, it can be concluded that anomie, alienation, and powerlessness tend to be associated with external fatalism. In order to evaluate further the degree to which the sample contributed to this association a distribution of the theoretical quartile scores was created.

Distribution of Quartile Scores

The data reported in Table 2 indicate the distribution of the summated scores for those respondents who completed the entire series of scale items. The theoretical quartiles differ somewhat owing to the total number of items for each scale. The relationship of concern is an inverse one. That is, the higher the anomie, political alienation, powerlessness and fatalism, the lower the summated score. In other words, the degree of extent of anomie, alienation, fatalism and/or powerlessness is inversely related to the summated score of the index items.

Table 2. Distribution of Theoretical Quartile Scores\(^a\)

with Means and Standard Deviations.\(^b\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anomie</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Powerlessness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-15</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>10-17</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(113)</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-29</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>(134)</td>
<td>26-33</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>(145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-36</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>34-40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>(81)</td>
</tr>
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<td>(302)</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td>(294)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Alienation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Internal-External Fatalism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(44)</td>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-22</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>(139)</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>(111)</td>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>(165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-36</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>65-80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td>(309)</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td>(291)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)The Likert Scale responses were assigned weights as follows: 1 = Strongly Agree; 2 = Agree; 3 = Disagree; 4 = Strongly Disagree.

\(^b\)The mean scores and standard deviations for each scale were Anomie: mean = 22.7, S.D. = 5.4; Political Alienation: mean = 21.2, S.D. = 4.9; Powerlessness: mean = 30.4, S.D. = 6.5; Internal-External Fatalism: mean = 52.6, S.D. = 8.9.
The distributions within the two lowest quartile scores are of specific interest for these cell categories report the proportion of persons high and moderately high on anomie (46 percent; mean score 22.7), alienation (59 percent; mean score 21.2), powerlessness (23 percent; mean score 30.4), and fatalism (33 percent; mean score 32.6). Clearly a significant proportion of the entire sample may be reported as fairly high on anomie (46 percent; N=140) and alienation (59 percent; N=183) insofar as political events are concerned. While the latter finding may not be too surprising in the light of many recent political events, it is of some interest that the percentage differences between those high on alienation and those high on anomie (13 percent), powerlessness (36 percent), and fatalism (26 percent) are fairly substantial. The percentage difference for those scoring high on anomie and powerlessness (20 percent) and fatalists (13 percent) is also substantial.

In sum, a fairly large proportion of the sample recorded scores which may be suggested as within a range representing a maladjusted world-view, for all the attitude indices. In order to evaluate further the impact of age as it may contribute to the quartile distribution, a one-way analysis of variance was computed.

The Analysis of Variance

The analysis of variance statistic was chosen to test the hypothesis that there is no difference in the population means and variances from which the three age groups have been sampled. Analysis of variance is useful for testing factors which, because of their unequal cell frequencies, are nonorthogonal in design. In compensating for this limitation, the analysis of variance test may be used when comparisons are important even when the assumption of independent comparisons has not been met.

The data reported in Table 3 look to relationships between four supposedly distinct world-views (attitude) and three age categories. The relationships are non-monotonic, increasing from the youngest age group (\( \leq 34 \)) to the middle age group (35-59) and then decreasing for the oldest age group category (\( \geq 60 \)).

The importance of the mean scores reported in Table 3 may be underscored by reviewing the distribution of the summated scores reported in Table 2. For example, the anomie scale mean score is 20.3 for those 50 or more years of age. Respondents who are high or moderately high on anomie scored in the 9-22 range (S.D.=5.4). The mean score for the locus of control index is 51.6 (S.D.=8.9) for persons 60 years of age or older. Those scoring high or
moderately high on external fatalism scored within a range of 20-49. Again it is important to remember that the relationships between the four world-views or the degree of maladjustment/well-being are inverse to the summated scale score.

Table 3. One-Way Analysis of Variance with Mean Scores by Age-Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Scale</th>
<th>≤ 34</th>
<th>35-59</th>
<th>≥ 60</th>
<th>F-Value</th>
<th>Significance Level *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anomie</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>P &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Alienation</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>P &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The significance levels reported for Anomie, IE and Alienation are conservative.

The data reported in Table 3 indicate that the greatest degree of anomie, fatalism, alienation and powerlessness was experienced by older persons. On the other hand, the younger age group (≤ 34) expressed a greater degree of these traits than did middle age group persons. These findings appear congruent with the statements by Hendin (1969) and Maris (1969) who suggested that youthful members of society are more fatalistic. Our own findings are also consistent with those of Reid, et. al. (1977), who suggested that a low sense of control among elderly persons is related to a low self-concept while Harris and Stokes (1978) equate low self-esteem with low performance levels.

In every instance, the observed relationship is non-monotonic. While the oldest age category mean score suggests a greater maladjustment among members of this group, the young adult age category scored higher on maladjusted than the middle age group on three of the four scales of maladjustment. The lone exception was for anomie where the relationship is negatively skewed.

The F ratios were statistically significant for three of the four scales. Although these findings are open to interpretation since no other supportive data are available to shed further light on their meaning, the three age categories were assigned by taking into consideration levels of occupational and career development which are fairly consistent for most people. Persons less than 35 years of age are generally involved in a period of training for a
first or second career. During the 25-59 age period working persons are generally involved in the development of their careers while those 60 years of age and older have either accomplished their goal(s) or have found personal goals, such as they may be, to be unrealistic and therefore unattainable. Thus it may be fruitful to suggest that a maladjusted world-view may be inversely related to the stage at which one is involved in career progress.

The Factor Analysis

The objective of the final phase of the analysis is to determine whether the operational indicators of the marginally differentiated concepts considered in this paper are sufficiently different to define four separate concepts. To test this hypothesis, the data were factorized using an oblique solution with a modification of Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalue=1.5) (Harmon, 1967), as an index of completeness of factorization. These data support the notion that the measures of world-view, while related to one another, may represent different concepts (see Tables 4 and 5). The correlations among the five factors obtained are modest suggesting that the redundancy factor among items is low. In general, items designed to measure a single concept load on a single factor or have the same pattern of factor loadings across the factors. This further suggests that the operational indicators of the concepts are distinct.

Table 4. Correlations among factors in an oblique factor analysis of four measures of world-view.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Powerlessness</th>
<th>.100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internal-External Fatalism</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anomie</td>
<td>-.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inevitability of War</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Cynicism</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Factor pattern matrix in an oblique factor analysis of four measures of world-view.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Alienation</th>
<th>F1 F2 F3 F4 F5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PA1</td>
<td>.23 .04 -.19  .23 -.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA2</td>
<td>.24 .14 -.16  .19 .08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA3</td>
<td>.42 .15 -.04  -.01 .17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA4</td>
<td>.05 -.09 -.12  .10 .38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA5</td>
<td>.13 .14 -.03  -.07 .60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Alienation</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F3</th>
<th>F4</th>
<th>F5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PA6</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA7</td>
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<td>.07</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA8</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA9</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.50</td>
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<td>Anomie</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>.10</td>
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<td>-.26</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.53</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<td>-.67</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
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<td>A4</td>
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<td>-.04</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
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<td>.19</td>
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<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.22</td>
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<td>.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.03</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.12</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>.06</td>
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<td>-.13</td>
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<td>-.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>-.06</td>
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<td>.11</td>
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<td>-.05</td>
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<td>-.07</td>
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<td>.21</td>
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<td>.17</td>
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</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
These findings are worthy of additional comment. First, a specific factor centering on two items dealing with the inevitability of war emerges. This factor has low correlations with the remaining four suggesting that this is a relatively independent dimension. Second, Olsen's measure of political alienation divides into two factors. The items which he contends measure "political cynicism" load on one factor while those that he contends measure "political futility" load with items designed to measure powerlessness. Thus, while the component of his measure that is designed to measure cynicism is differentiated from the remaining measures, his index of futility is not. Third, the factor which appears to be most closely related to locus of control (factor 2) has a very low correlation with the factor which appears to be most closely linked with political alienation (factor 5). One explanation for this low relationship is that factor 5 may well be a measure of political cynicism rather than political alienation. While "fatalists" may become "cynical," this is not a necessary outcome of a fatalistic world-view.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A primary concern of this study was to examine the relationship between four related but marginally differentiated social and psychological concepts. It was postulated that the external fatalism, anomie, alienation and powerlessness concepts share some common theoretical ground. The moderately high intercorrelations reported suggest the proposed communality. The results of the factor analysis, on the other hand, suggest that some differentiation among these concepts as they are currently measured is possible. It is important to note, however, that the concepts identified through the factor analysis differ somewhat from those initially proposed, and that the factors associated with powerlessness, alienation, internal-external fatalistic determinism, and anomie are correlated with one another.
These data also suggest that a substantial portion of the sample were fatalistic, anomic, politically alienated, and suffered from a sense of powerlessness. Further, a substantial portion of the sample may be evaluated as having experienced that which is generally discussed as a maladjusted world-view. This evaluation is based on the assumption that persons found to exhibit a low level of control over their personal or instrumental life are indeed maladjusted.

When age was controlled, the findings suggest that elderly persons experienced the greatest degree of maladjustment. It may be that as people approach or enter post-retirement years it becomes increasingly difficult to adjust to the social and psychological changes which accompany this transitional period of life. In sum, these results note that the youngest and oldest members experience the greatest degree of anomie, alienation, fatalism and powerlessness. The greater proportion of the sample do not share such world-views, but among those who do the young and the aged appear to be the most vulnerable.

Since those who are older express higher levels of anomie than those who are in the other two age categories, it is possible that the move into retirement may be a transition into which the roles are not well-defined. In light of this finding, it is possible that fatalistic determinism may be a consequence of anomie suggesting that role clarification could be central in changing the world-view of those who are older. For younger persons, on the other hand, this pattern does not appear to apply. That is to say, fatalistic determinism may not be the consequence of anomie, but may be more closely related to political alienation and powerlessness. Thus, while both the younger and the older age categories are fatalistic, the source (and consequently the treatment) may be different.

It may now be suggested that even should these measures of world-view represent different concepts, these data support the thesis that they are also related to one another. This is, in and itself, of some interest in the light of recent indications pertaining to the redundancy between these theoretical concepts.

Among all of the concepts, powerlessness appears to be most closely related to external fatalistic determinism. The former is widely recognized as an important explanatory tool in sociology; whereas, the latter concept has found few advocates among sociologists interested in studies of youth and the elderly. Perhaps the reason for the lack of theoretical interest in fatalism may lie within the sociological domain. That is to say, the dis-
tinctiveness of our own area of purview often precludes making use of ideas from other disciplines. On the other hand, the need for eclectic explanations which pertain to an array of social behavior may also serve as a blinding force much as the trees oftentimes prevent a clear view of the forest. The results of this research should not prove too alarming or discomforting. An effort to work toward integration of two distinctive bodies of literature rather than a reinterpretation of them can now be suggested. Those who are compelled by academic constraint to work only within their own disciplines are not threatened in this regard. On the other hand, those individuals concerned primarily with the problems involved in distinguishing between marginally differentiated attitude measures may begin to feel that some of these constraints can be lessened if not removed entirely.

These findings, as they pertain to fatalism and other maladjusted world-views, are worthy of yet one further comment. Fatalism may become a more important explanatory concept as increasing numbers of people, who because of their present age or status perceive themselves as lacking in the ability to create change, recognize the potential to be realized from such social change. As increasing numbers of individuals become aware, so we may be witnessing the birth of the fatalistic attitude. Anomic, alienated, and powerless individuals may be maladjusted only insofar as such persons do not fit the stereotype of rugged individualism and the doctrine of self-help. Fatalists, on the other hand, may also be maladjusted, but for a different set of reasons. Although fatalists may also be anomic, alienated, and powerless, this is not a necessary outcome of a fatalistic world-view.

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FACTORS INFLUENCING SENATE VOTING PATTERNS ON SOCIAL WORK RELATED LEGISLATION

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Fredericksburg, Virginia

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes several influences on Senate voting patterns on key legislation selected by NASW. Party affiliation, region, ratio of NASW registered social workers to state population, liberal and conservative ideology, and judgment of social work were found to be significantly associated with voting patterns. Results of a questionnaire distributed to each Senator indicate a favorable perception of the field of social work.

The Carter Administration and the 95th and 96th Congresses have demonstrated a conservative trend. Social programs have been reduced in favor of increased military spending, apparently in heed of vocal conservative groups who criticize social program funding as a major cause of inflation (Dewar, 1980; "Social Program Cuts," 1980). In view of the increasingly conservative approach evidenced in federal budget spending priorities and in light of the fact that major social service decisions are made in the political arena, it is important that social workers, in order to have an impact on policy formulation, continue developing greater understanding of political process. Knowledge of legislators' voting behavior is fundamental to understanding and influencing policy decision-making. The central question raised in this article is what factors influence voting behavior.

Political scientists have identified many pressures that influence legislative voting decisions. These pressures emanate from a large number of directions and may be summarized in terms of six types: (1) political parties; (2) members' constituencies; (3) interest groups; (4) members' personal values, preferences and beliefs; (5) the executive branch; and (6) colleagues within the Congress (Froman, 1963; Jackson, 1974; Kingdon, 1973; Turner, 1951). In addition to these pressures, there are always budgetary constraints which may conflict with the policy interests of the Congressman. This study examines some major variables selected from the first four types of influences on Congressional decision-making.
The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) selected ten important pieces of legislation during the 95th Congress and tallied roll call voted of Senators, supporting or opposing the NASW position, in order to assess Senators' compatibility with its philosophy. Although a Senator's voting record is only one of the many components of his political stance, it remains the best single objective indicator of his position on a specific issue and of his general ideological persuasion (Barone, Ujifusa, Matthews, 1977; xv). The authors also examined the perception Senators have of the field of social work through a questionnaire given to each Senator. The questionnaire was designed to determine his attitude toward social work, his general knowledge of the profession, and his judgment as to its importance. Studies focusing on such areas have been used to ascertain the way social work is perceived by the general public (Condie, Hanson, Lang, Moss, Kane, 1978; Kadushin, 1958; Weinberger, 1976; White, 1955), and by other professions (Brennan and Khinduke, 1971; Ferris, 1968; Garrett, 1968; Olsen and Olsen, 1967; Robinson, 1967), but the authors' review of the literature uncovered no study of Senators' views of the profession. The number of times a Senator voted in line with NASW's position was compared with six empirical variables and with responses to the questionnaire to determine if there was a significant association between these variables and the voting patterns of the Senator.

DESIGN

The general plan of the study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are some of the major variables associated with voting patterns of Senators on significant pieces of legislation selected by NASW?

2. How do members of the United States Senate perceive the field of social work, and does this perception have an influence on their voting patterns?

The population under study was the 95th Congress of the United States Senate (100 members), serving in office as of January 1978. One recently appointed Senator was discounted (thereby reducing the population to 99) in that he replaced a deceased Senator who had cast the votes under study. In order to answer the first research question, the population was analyzed in terms of votes cast in line with NASW's position on ten legislative items and in terms of six empirical variables. The second question was investigated by a questionnaire designed to ascertain each Senator's perception of the field of social work. The answers were analyzed in terms of votes cast in line with NASW's stand.

The following six hypotheses were postulated and tested:

Hypothesis 1: Age is associated with voting patterns of Senators on key pieces of legislation selected by NASW.

Hypothesis 2: Party of affiliation (Democrat, Republican) is associated with voting patterns of Senators on key pieces of legislation selected by NASW.
Hypothesis 3: Region represented (Northeast, South, North Central, West) ("Statistical Abstracts", 1978), is associated with voting patterns of Senators on key pieces of legislation selected by NASW.


Hypothesis 5: Liberal (Americans for Democratic Action) (Barone et al., 1977) ratings are associated with voting patterns of Senators on key pieces of legislation selected by NASW.

Hypothesis 6: Conservative (National Taxpayers Union) (Barone et al., 1977) ratings are associated with voting patterns of Senators on key pieces of legislation selected by NASW.

The dependent variable, voting patterns of members of the 95th Congress, was defined as Senate votes cast in line with NASW’s position on ten bills and amendments dealing with the following subjects: revision of the Criminal Code (S.1437), fiscal 1978 supplemental defense appropriations (H.R. 9373), federal funds for abortion (H.R. 9553), loan guarantees for New York City (H.R. 12425), labor law revisions (H.R. 9410), the CETA Program (S.2570), District of Columbia voting representation (F.J. Res. 554), court-ordered busing (S.1753), appropriations for HUD (H.R. 12236), and health planning (S.2410) ("Senate Votes Compiled", 1979).

The questionnaire contained 15 items (summarized in results section). Two items designed to measure attitude focused on the status of the field of social work and licensing regulations for social workers. One item asked if there was a need for more social workers in the Senator’s state. It was assumed that both attitude and knowledge of the Senator would be reflected in his awareness of whether the current number of social workers in each state is sufficient to meet the needs of the population. Knowledge of social work was also ascertained by asking about nine practice settings. It is well known that social workers are employed by public welfare agencies and protective services, but many people are unaware of the numerous diverse settings in which social workers practice ("Social Work Month", 1979). Over 300 professional social workers currently hold political office (Humphreys, 1979: 6), indicating that social workers are not only implementors of social policies but actual decision-makers as well. The Senator’s judgment as to the extent of decision-making authority which should be properly invested in social workers was addressed by three items. To determine if the Senator’s attitude toward, knowledge and judgment of social work had any significant influence on voting patterns, each item was analyzed as an independent variable.

A cover letter and questionnaire were hand-delivered to the office of each Senator. For those Senators failing to respond, a second letter and questionnaire were issued. The cover letter, delivered to the staff Legislative Assistant
responsible for social welfare/work related issues, requested that the Senator personally fill out the questionnaire. However, since studies have found that staff members have a high degree of fundamental agreement with the attitudes and beliefs of their Congress member, as well as with the voting position taken by the Congress member (Kingdon, 1973; 192-197), it was requested that the Legislative Assistant fill out the questionnaire if the Senator was unable to do so.

Fifty-eight completed questionnaires were returned: 9 percent from Senators, 72 percent from Legislative Assistants, and 19 percent from other professional staff members. Seven questionnaires filled out by staff members were, in addition, reviewed by Senators. In order to see if there were differences between the 58 questionnaire respondents and 41 non-respondents in terms of the six empirical variables investigated in this study, Chi Square tests were run. No significant difference was found between Senators responding and those failing to respond to the questionnaire for each of the empirical variables, thus indicating that respondents were representative of the total Senate population in terms of the variables analyzed in this study.

RESULTS

The distributions of the dependent and six empirical independent variables in the population are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Analysis of the six hypotheses found that age is the only variable of the six tested which was not significantly associated with voting patterns of Senators on the ten key pieces of legislation selected by NASW. Analysis of the six hypotheses is as follows:

1. **Age.** The mean age of the Senators is 55.5 years. A Pearson product-moment correlation, \( r = -0.07; p < .26 \) was obtained signifying that age is not significantly associated with how Senators voted on legislation selected by NASW.

2. **Party Affiliation.** A pooled variance estimate for the means of voting patterns by party revealed a significant difference between Democrats (\( X = 6.05 \)) and Republicans (\( X = 3.46 \)), \( t (3.37) = 5.03; d.f. = 97; p < .001 \) signifying that Democrats voted more in line with NASW than Republicans.

3. **Region of the Country.** A one-way analysis of variance of region by voting patterns yielded a significant difference between Senators from the Northeast region (\( X = 7.28 \)), North Central region (\( X = 6.04 \)), West region (\( X = 4.31 \)) and South region (\( X = 3.55 \)) of the United States in terms of voting patterns \( F (3.98) = 10.994; d.f. = 3.95; p < .001 \) signifying that Senators from the Northeast and North Central regions voted more in line with NASW than Senators from the West and South regions.

4. **Ratio of NASW Registered Social Workers to State Population.** The national mean ratio of NASW registered social workers to state population is one social worker to 3,831. A Pearson product-moment correlation, \( r = -0.463; p < .001 \) was obtained showing a significant negative correlation of ratio of social workers per
state capita with voting patterns, indicating that the smaller the difference between number of NASW registered social workers and state population (i.e., higher the ratio of social workers per capita), the more the Senator votes in line with NASW's stand and the larger the difference between the number of NASW registered social workers and state population (i.e., the lower the ratio of social workers per capita), the less the Senator votes in line with NASW's stand.

5. Liberal (Americans for Democratic Action) Ratings. Eighty-three of the 99 Senators were rated by ADA on a scale from 0 to 100 ($X = 51.34$). A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, $r = .80; p < .001$ was obtained showing a significant positive correlation of liberal ideology with voting patterns (i.e., the more liberal the Senator is rated the more he voted in line with NASW's stand).

6. Conservative (National Taxpayers Union) Ratings. Eighty-three of the 99 Senators were rated by NTU on a scale of 0 to 100 ($X = 40.92$). A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, $r = -.67; p < .001$ was obtained showing a significant negative correlation of conservative ideology with voting patterns (i.e., the more conservative the Senator is rated the less he voted in line with NASW's stand).

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of votes cast in agreement with NASW's position on 10 key bills</th>
<th>Number of times Senators voted in agreement with NASW's position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total 99**

Mean = 5.03
# TABLE 2

**DISTRIBUTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN STUDY POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-59</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-80</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Party</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ratio of NASW Social Workers</strong></td>
<td>Per State Population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-2,599</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,600-3,399</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,400-4,999</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-8,999</td>
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<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ADA Ratings</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0 - 26</td>
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<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 75</td>
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<td>79 - 100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>NTU Ratings</strong></td>
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<td>0 - 30</td>
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<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
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<td>31 - 46</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 - 83</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through the use of a 4-way analysis of variance, the authors were able to test for the effects of each of the four independent variables on voting patterns as well as for interaction effects. Three of the independent variables were found to be significant: party ($F = 11.228, p < .01$), region ($F = 3.475, p < .05$), and liberal ratings ($F = 16.256, p < .001$). Ratio of NASW registered social workers to state population was not found to be significant. Of the two- and three-way
interactions, only party by area was significantly related to voting patterns ($F = 3.13$, $p < .05$). In terms of hypotheses tested, the analysis of interaction effects indicated that no important combinations of the independent variables account for more than the independent variables taken singly.

Questionnaire results, shown in Table 3, indicate that generally the majority of Senators (79 percent) have a positive attitude toward social work, considering it a profession. Most Senators seem to have a broad knowledge of settings in which social workers practice. The majority indicated hospitals (95 percent), prisons (95 percent), community action programs (93 percent), schools (86 percent), police departments (51 percent), and armed forces (71 percent) as appropriate places for employment of social workers. Most Senators (62 percent) indicated that the Bureau of the Budget was not an appropriate place for social workers. Senators were split on seeing a mayor's office (59 percent) and private practice in psychotherapy (50 percent) as appropriate social work practice settings. The majority of Senators (90 percent) judged that having an identifiable clientele should not disqualify social workers from making policy decisions regarding social programs in government. Senators were divided in their attitude toward state licensing for social workers: 47 percent of the Senators were in favor of state licensing and 35 percent were opposed. Most comment answers supported leaving licensing up to the states.

The great majority of Senators (76 percent) were of the opinion that trained social workers should play decision-making roles in the Office of Management and Budget determining the budgets for HEW/HUD and other federal social programs. Senators were divided in their judgment as to where social workers' decision-making authority should stop: 48 percent believed this authority should stop at the federal level and 22 percent placed authority at the state and more local levels. Thirty percent of the Senators did not answer the question. As to their knowledge of the need for more social workers in their states, 43 percent indicated there was currently a need for more social workers while 12 percent said there was no need, and 45 percent did not know if there was a need.

In order to see if judgment, knowledge, and attitude of the Senator were associated with voting patterns, a test of analysis of variance was performed on each question. Two of the 15 items, both measuring judgment, were found to be significantly associated with voting patterns of Senators on the ten key bills. One of these items asked, "Should the fact that social workers have an identifiable clientele disqualify social workers from making policy decisions regarding social programs in the Government?" Ninety-nine percent of the respondents answered this question. A pooled variance estimate revealed a significant difference between those who responded yes ($X = 5.13$) and those who responded no ($X = 2.2$) in terms of voting patterns $[F(2.01) = 2.32; d.f. = 55; p < .05]$ indicating that Senators who responded no to the question, voted more in line with NASW's stand, than those responding yes.
TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES (N=58)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Attitude</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work is:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>profession</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para-profession</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>other</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In favor of state licensing for social workers:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>comments</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude and Knowledge</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for more social workers in state:</td>
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<tr>
<td>yes</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
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<td><strong>Knowledge</strong></td>
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<td>Practice settings checked:</td>
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<td>Hospitals</td>
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<td>Prisons</td>
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<td>Community Action Programs</td>
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<td>93</td>
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<td>Schools</td>
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<td>Police Department</td>
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<td>Armed Forces</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<td>Mayor's Office</td>
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<td>Private Practice in Psychotherapy</td>
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<td>Bureau of the Budget</td>
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<td><strong>Judgment</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Identifiable clientele disqualifies social workers from making policy decisions regarding social programs in Government:</td>
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<tr>
<td>yes</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trained social workers are qualified to play decision-making roles in government:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>yes</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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The second item asked, "Where should social workers' decision-making authority stop: local to state level or federal level?" A pooled variance estimate for the 70 percent who answered this question revealed a significant difference between those who felt authority should stop at the local to state level ($\bar{X} = 5.0$) as opposed to the federal level ($\bar{X} = 2.8$), in terms of voting patterns $[t(2.70) = 12.45; \text{d.f.} = 39; p < .001]$. Senators who believe that decision-making authority should stop at the federal level voted more in line with NASW's stand than those who favored the more local to state level. The above analyses of questions indicate that Senators with a more favorable judgment of social work vote more in line with NASW's position. This suggests that a Senator's judgment of social work significantly influences his voting on social work related legislation.

Two additional items were found to be significantly associated with voting patterns slightly over the .05 probability level. One item which measured knowledge asked if schools were an appropriate setting in which social workers practiced. A pooled variance estimate on the 55 percent who responded revealed a significant difference between those who recognized schools as a social work practice setting ($\bar{X} = 5.2$) and those who did not ($\bar{X} = 3$), in terms of voting patterns $[t(1.67) = 1.99; \text{d.f.} = 56; p < .052]$. This indicates that Senators checking schools voted more in line with NASW's stand than those who did not.

The second item which measured both knowledge and attitude asked, "Is there currently a need for more social workers in your state?" There was a 100 percent response to this question. A one-way analysis of variance revealed a significant difference between those Senators answering yes ($\bar{X} = 5.96$), no ($\bar{X} = 4.14$), and do not know ($\bar{X} = 4.19$), in terms of voting patterns $[F(3.17) = 2.99; \text{d.f.} = 2,55; p < .058]$. It is interesting to note that those Senators who said there was a need for more social workers voted more in line with NASW's position than those who did not indicate a need and those who did not know.

**DISCUSSION**

This study has demonstrated that party affiliation, region, ratio of NASW registered social workers to state population, liberal and conservative ideology,
and judgment of social work, each has significantly influenced the way Senators voted on ten pieces of legislation selected by NASW. Age, knowledge and attitude toward social work were found to have no significance in terms of voting patterns. From these findings it can be concluded that Democratic Senators, with a liberal rating from Northeast states with a high ratio of social workers per population, tended to vote in line with NASW's stand on social work related legislation. Republican Senators, with a conservative rating from Southern states with a low ratio of social workers per population, tended to vote least in line with NASW's stand on social work related legislation. Although these results are somewhat predictable, NASW has not analyzed these specific factors, nor were the authors able to find any studies in which these factors were analyzed.

Results of the questionnaire indicate that the majority of Senators have a positive perception of the field of social work. Most of the respondents considered social work to be a profession and were aware that social workers function in a broad range of roles and practice settings. The majority also recognized that trained social workers are qualified to formulate and implement social policy. Recent articles suggest that the general perception of the field of social work is more favorable than in previous years (Alexander, 1979; Bartlett, 1970; Clearfield, 1973; Condie et al., 1978; Meyer and Siegel, 1977). The present study confirms this supposition in that Senators, as representatives of the public, likewise hold a favorable view of social work. The questionnaire results are encouraging for they suggest that social work is currently considered by Senators to be a valuable profession, whose practitioners are qualified to formulate and implement policy decisions. These findings should enhance the self-image of social work as well as encourage social workers to interpret and implement their unique understanding of people in policy decision-making activities.

Although the present study examines only some of the major factors which can be used to understand voting behavior of Senators on issues pertaining to social work, the findings suggest that some of the factors identified play a significant role in determining how Senators vote on social work related legislation. These factors may assist social work political practice by identifying Senators who are more likely than others to be receptive to arguments in favor of or against legislation upon which the social work community has taken a stand. The results suggest that social workers can influence political process in favor of social services by concentrating lobbying efforts where most effective, that is, on liberal Senators from northern states with a high ratio of social workers per population, who have a favorable judgment for the professional decision-making roles of social workers. This being an election year, it would be timely for social workers also to concentrate campaign efforts where they would have the most impact. The factors isolated in this study can be used to identify those candidates who are most likely to vote favorably in the future on social legislation.

On the other hand, some of the factors identified in this study do not play a significant role in determining how Senators vote on legislation pertaining to social work. A common assumption is that older Senators tend to vote more
conservatively on social issues. However, this study found that age does not play a significant role in determining how Senators vote on social work related legislation. It appears that social workers have done a good job in educating Senators about the field of social work. Results show that the majority of Senators are knowledgeable about and have a positive attitude toward social work. However, their knowledge and attitude do not significantly influence their voting behavior. Accordingly, these results suggest that in the future the education of Senators about the field of social work need not be a priority focus.

Complex factors influence legislative voting decisions. This study, by isolating a few of these factors, is an important first step toward more wide-ranging and intensive investigations of a larger number of complex influences. Important factors requiring further study include: composition of the Senator's constituency; number, size and types of social work agencies in each state; the extent of political activism of NASW state chapters; and social issues of primarily state-wide interest.

FOOTNOTES

This article is a revision of a research project which the authors conducted toward their Master of Social Work degrees, May 1979, National Catholic School of Social Service, The Catholic University of America. The authors wish to thank James Rooney, Ph.D. for his assistance.

1 The anti-inflation strategy proposed by Administration and Congressional Budget Committees for fiscal 1981 requires wide-ranging cuts in social programs to accommodate increases in military outlays within the confines of a balance budget. Proposed domestic spending cuts are spread over broad categories of services, affecting primarily spending for social services, employment and income assistance programs.

2 The Americans for Democratic Action rate Senate members on a broad spectrum of issues and the National Taxpayers Union rate members on every spending vote. These political interest groups represent the extremes of liberalism and conservatism, respectively.

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The Political Economy of Unemployment

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Unemployment, as defined by the U.S. Government, is the number of people seeking work who cannot find it during the period of study, usually a month. This definition reflects a neoclassical economic theory which links total employment with aggregate demand. In other words the higher the Gross National Product (GNP) the higher the employment. According to the theory the actual number of people working is the result interaction of this aggregate demand and the number of people willing to work at the going wage rates, i.e., the supply of labor. "Willing to work" is translated in the government definition as "those seeking work." This approach to defining unemployment combines elements of the theories originally put forth in the 1930's by John Maynard Keynes and more classical free market notions as put forth by the likes of Milton Friedman. However, the policy prescriptions which emerge from this definition are distinctly Keynesian.

Keynesian theory and policies have for some time generated criticisms from the right and left. Such criticisms gained strength with the unusual character of the 1974-75 recession and apparent tendencies in 1980. Combinations of high inflation and high unemployment, unpredictable interest rates, and massive fiscal deficits have led to a variety of blasts at Keynesian principles. This paper takes the position that these criticism have always been justified. Persistent allegiance to the Keynesian policy principles are a product of political interests as opposed to objective economic theory.

An effort is made here to construct an analysis more closely
linked with political economic theory and reality. Only from such a construction can the political and economic dynamics of unemploy-
ment can be explained. Legal or administrative definitions emerge from political expediencies, but they fail to give clear indica-
tions of what forces rest behind such definitions. A review of the use of Keynesian policies in terms of full employment objectives should help set the stage for an alternative formulation of a theory of unemployment.

It is quite reasonable to assert that the U.S. economy is characterized by high levels of unemployment. The average annual unemployment rate for 1890-1976 is 7.1 percent, much higher than any typical political or economic definition of full employment (Duboff, 1977). Even when one uses measures which take into account the wide variations in unemployment rates (1.2 percent in 1944 to 24.9 percent in 1933) the results are still significantly higher than full employment definitions. The official political and economic definition of full employment is 4 percent or lower (Council of Economic Advisors, 1962). Since 1890 this level of unemployment has been obtained less than one-third of the time. Since the depression of the 1930's full employment has only been achieved during periods of war (1943-45, 1951-53, 1966-69). A rate of 3 percent has not been achieved since WWII and only three other times prior to 40's (Duboff, 1977).

It is the period since the depression of the 30's that is critical when we consider federal policy prescriptions for full employment. It is during the past 30-35 years in which liberal economists and politicians have felt that they had the appropriate tools for maintaining "full employment and balanced growth." Through the manipulation of monetary and fiscal policies those enacting state power attempted to maintain low unemployment while keeping inflation at a low level. For a number of reasons these tools of liberal political economy, rather than "fine tuning" the
economy, have proven to be not only inadequate but also to contain the seeds of further damage. Outside of the war years mentioned above, unemployment has been consistently above 4 percent, and growing; 4.5 percent average in the 50's, 4.8 percent average in the 60's, and 6.2 percent average in the 70's (through mid 1977). The fact is that public expenditures (federal, state, and local) taxation variations, and money supply policies have failed miserably in achieving anything close to the official full employment level, much less a more serious full employment commitment of less than 4 percent.

In fact, what such policies have managed to do is intensify deep seated tendencies in the economy towards stagnation and disruption. On the one hand such policies have been a necessary political response to these natural tendencies. Without such a response (expansion of public spending) severe political disruption would have emerged some time ago. However, the nature of the response has created a situation in which the economy relies so heavily on government intervention that it would destruct without continuously expanding aid. In 1975 the defense expenditures in the U.S. accounted directly or indirectly for 25 percent of employment. Government payrolls include 15 million civilian workers or approximately 15 percent of the official labor force. This is a 150 percent increase since 1950 (Ginsberg, 1977). The indirect effect on employment of non-defense government programs, such as loan guarantees, contracts, purchases, capital expenditures, etc., can be conservatively estimated at 8 to 15 percent. In other words, government at all levels has an immediate effect on 40 to 50 percent of the U.S. labor force. Even with such an impact employment has failed to approach "full."

An appropriate analogy for the situation is that of a leaking tire. As the tire leaks the government seeks to keep the tire
from collapsing by pumping air into it. But the force of the new air makes the hole bigger and bigger, thus requiring faster pumping. The pumping mechanism for the economy is expansionary but also inflationary. The nature of the expansion, i.e., kinds of jobs created, coupled with the inflation and unemployment puts such expansion on very shaky ground, or rather, with an ever bigger hole to fill. In the final analysis this hole is filled with human suffering.

An alternative analysis of unemployment comes from radical political economy. From this writer's position this framework presents a more complete picture than that offered through Keynesian propositions. A brief description of that framework should set the foundation of a discussion of policy options.

Unemployment is a product of two core features of capitalism; class struggle and capital accumulation. Although these elements can be separated for theoretical discussions, they cannot be separated in reality. They influence each other and work together in such a manner that a narrow focus of analysis on policy will miss a critical element. This, in fact, is one of the weaknesses of Keynesian Theory. It is concerned only with the accumulation process and how a pattern of growth can be maintained within that process. It ignores the political nature of the capital-labor relationship and the role it plays in shaping accumulation.

The class character of capitalism begins with the separation of producers from control over the means of production. There develops a class of owners of the means of production and a class of non-owners. The non-owners, because they must survive, are forced to sell their labor power to the owners for wages and salaries. Because of the "forced" character of this relationship the owners are in a position to appropriate a portion (surplus) of that which is produced from which they attempt to realize pro-
fits. Also because this is a forced relationship (as opposed to a "voluntary" exchange as suggested by liberal economists) it takes on a very political character. The relationship is a power relationship. This is apparent even under liberal assumptions about the capital labor exchange. Given the liberal assumptions of "maximizing" behavior we find capital seeking to maximize profits which requires minimizing costs - which includes wages (that portion of the product paid to labor)-while labor is seeking to maximize its own income (wages). The ensuing struggle over this one of many points of contention between the classes is not merely a market transaction in which maximizers cancel each other out for the benefit of everyone; a la Adam Smith's "invisible hand." It is a power struggle over relative shares of the surplus, i.e., how much will capital be allowed to appropriate versus how much will be paid to labor in wages and salaries. On the side of labor is the power to hold back labor, thus reducing production. On the side of capital is the power to hold back wages and, possibly of more importance, is the power of the state.

The ruling class of any society has the power of the state to control the class struggle in their own interest. The ruling monopoly capitalist class of this era is no exception. The decisions of the state - the U.S. Government and state and local governments - are, in general, decisions which protect the ruling interest of monopoly capitalists. This point is not to suggest that theirs is unbridled power. There are definite limits which are set by the extent of labor to muster its power as well as the strength of national and international resistance and liberation movements. Especially domestically, however, the decisions of the state are such that the dominant relationship of capital over labor is maintained. This dominance not only includes economic policy and labor laws, it is also apparent in social policy.
The second feature of capitalism which shapes the dynamics of unemployment is the capital accumulation process. This process is the central dynamic through which the capital-labor relationship is reproduced. The process begins with the driving force of national and international competition which requires that all capitalists attempt expansion. Expansion brings forth more and more production in an effort to increase the surplus. The capacity of producers to realize a return on such production is limited by the capacity of various units of consumption to purchase such products. In the case of workers or households their capacity to consume is limited by their income, i.e., wages and salaries, which are held in check through the class struggle and market factors. The other significant units of consumption are foreign markets and the state. The capacity of foreign markets to consume the surplus product is limited by the relative strength of U.S. imperialistic forces to force such consumption. Given the highly unreliable character of household and neocolonial consumption patterns, the state becomes increasingly critical in the accumulation process.

The accumulation process is characterized by booms and busts. The booms occur when the drive to expand is the highest. The busts occur when the ability to realize returns on surplus production have ended. At that point profits are squeezed, inventories are high, and production must be cut back. Marginal businesses begin to fold and industries become more concentrated as larger businesses take over the markets of the departing firms. Unemployment rises. Such a rise is generally thought to bring a downward pressure on prices. However, in the monopoly period of capitalism prices are inflexible downward. Therefore, there remains an upward pressure on prices, although less severe.

This process continues until debt has been adequately cleared, discipline restored to workers' wage demands, inventories reduced,
and renewed profit-making conditions restored. At this point expansion can begin anew. Politically the control of capital over labor has been restored by the weakening of labor's relative power through unemployment. Economically the ability of capital to appropriate a larger share of the surplus has improved due to increased competition of unemployed workers for fewer jobs and due to the replacement of people with machines.

Historically this process becomes more and more extreme. The recessions tend to get deeper and thus more difficult to recover from. The deepest bust was the depression of the thirties. As result of that event the ruling powers learned how crucial the state is in resolving the contradictions of the accumulation process. The state plays many important roles in the maintenance of the system. In terms of accumulation, however, its key role is that of absorbing or consuming the surplus product of the private sector. Without this role the system would collapse. This role is played in two basic ways. First the state provides a massive demand for products, especially military hardware. The state, through its purchase contracts and capital contracts, provides reasons for production (and jobs) which would otherwise be unavailable. Second the state directly employs large numbers of people who in general would not be able to be absorbed in the private sector. These people play a vital part in consuming that which is produced in the private sector.

The significance of the state's role in keeping the system from collapsing is indicated by the fact that forty to fifty percent of the workers in the country depend on public expenditure for their jobs (Ginzberg, 1977). This growing role of the state is no accident. It is a direct result of the character of monopoly capitalism which tends toward stagnation. As time goes by the tendency towards system collapse becomes more severe. A casual
observation may never reveal this tendency. However, a close look at the expanding role of the public sector shows the growing weakness of the private sector. The federal government's share of the GNP grew from five percent in 1920's to almost twenty-five percent in 1975 (President's Council of Economic Advisors, 1975). Defense expenditures directly or indirectly account for twenty-five percent of the national employment. (Monthly Review Editors, June 1975) In states like Connecticut and Virginia defense accounts generate approximately fifty percent of the employment.

Capital accumulation forms the economic basis for unemployment while class struggle forms the political basis. Together they generate an ongoing pattern of cyclically rising and falling employment and secularly growing unemployment. In other words, there is general long-term trend towards higher and higher unemployment, even though the rate may rise and fall within short periods. Contemporary high levels of unemployment are generally linked with the above processes and the following concrete conditions and events:

1. Prolonged growth in the 1960's and early 1970's, generated by extensive defense spending on Vietnam and social service expenditures, failed to allow an essential recession to stem inflation;
2. Increasing energy costs, generated by monopoly oil firms manipulation of oil supplies, have quickened the demise of production in the heavily populated Northeast and Midwest;
3. The U.S. Government is consistently choosing policies to fight inflation at the expense of unemployment;
4. Secularly declining productivity in the work force has fed both inflation and unemployment.

The policymaking framework of the government has consistently been geared towards the interest of the ruling class and its
giant corporations. The President's austere budget, the weakened Humphrey-Hawkins bill, the cuts in CETA funding, and cuts in human services funding in general have reflected this direction. The above discussion was designed to point out the reasons behind such directions. It should be clear, however, that drastic alterations in the policy choices are essential if this direction is going to change. An introduction to a framework for such options is described below.

It has become quite evident that the public sector is and will continue to be more than simply the employer of last resort. Unemployment is not only the responsibility of the government in terms of policies to stimulate the economy, but also in terms of direct employment. There is no indication that this direction will or can be changed. In that light it is essential that all government levels begin to make employment, or rather employing, a priority. Funds, then, can be allocated so as to directly employ the maximum number of people. For example, rather than contracting out capital works to firms which hire and fire based on profits, the government could, without the profit motivation, generate more employment with the dual purpose of completing a project and providing employment. Private employers generally employ people only to get a job done. If they could get the job done without them for a lower cost, they would not employ. The objectives of government sponsored projects should make employment equal to the task of the project. This can only be guaranteed on a large scale in the public sector.

It has further become evident that the private sector has become unable to manage critical resources vital to employment. These resources include energy, the environment, and associated technology. The level of government involvement in such areas is, at best, minimal. Further the nature of its involvement fails
to address fundamental contradictions in the relationship between these elements and the capital accumulation process. The nationalization or public ownership of energy resources and utilities could provide a critical mechanism for managing these resources as well as generating employment. Control over technology in many industries, not just energy, could prevent the use of automation to replace workers.

Short of a progressive revolution, these, amongst other options, suggest possibilities within the current state-capital-labor relationship. However, given the tendencies in the move to the right today, to achieve the above may require such a revolution. The tendency today is away from progressive alternatives and towards reactionary positions. This evidences a dim future for the unemployed, potentially unemployed, and their needs. A retreat from or capitulation to this trend, however, will doom the prospects for ever obtaining full and decent employment.

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Introduction

Contemporary observers of the occupation and social fabric contend that individuals as members of families need to assert their rights over their lives and their destinies. That the family and the workplace can be analyzed independently of each other’s existence or the dichotomy between the intrinsic value of work and the importance of non-work time for individuals and firms are both notions that are being considered contemporarily and complementary. This paper reviews the history and societal factors that affect the notion of work and its utility as a focus for social and policy students.

Historical Notions

During the history of civilization, the meaning and function of work has constantly been changing. The evolution of the concept of work—work as a curse, as expiation, as spiritual irrelevance, as means of charity, as a remedy for temptation, as a natural right and duty, as service to God and token of grace, as the means of salvation, as the expression of man’s inherent creativity, as his major obsession—is a history of how men and women have engaged their environment to survive and improve the quality of life.

In ancient Greece, work was seen as the painful price man must pay for the goods of life. The Greek word for work was Penos, meaning sorrow. Life without work was seen as the height of the Golden Age. Manual labor of any kind was viewed as brutalizing to the mind and interfering in thinking of truth and practicing the virtuous life. This view should not be too surprising since all of the manual labor was done by slaves, artisans and craftsmen. The elite were to engage in pure thinking about art, philosophy and politics, since "truth alone was the only worthy concern for the spirit."
In Roman civilization there were but two worthy occupations: agriculture and big business, "especially if either led to an honorable retirement into rural peace as a country gentleman." Any other kind of work was a curse and dishonorable. The accumulation of wealth through one's labor was acceptable as long as it led to the supreme purpose of life: to gain independence of external matters, self-sufficiency and personal satisfaction. To accumulate wealth beyond these purposes was to miss the essence of life.

The Hebrew viewed work as a painful drudgery resulting from the original sin committed by the forefathers. "If man", says the Talmud, "does not find his food like animals and birds but must earn it, that is due to sin". To the Hebrew, work was the price to be paid for the restoration of justice and harmony which was destroyed by original sin. Unlike the Greek and Roman, the Hebrew made a connection between work and religion and viewed work as a man's condemnation for sin.

Early Christians held similar views toward work as did the Hebrews, except they added a benevolent function to work. Although work was the result of original sin and a necessary activity of life, it was also the means by which the more fortunate shared with the less fortunate. Thus work takes on a charitable function. Obviously the teachings of Jesus played an important role in this change of attitude. This shift in attitude toward work also changed the attitude toward wealth: the accumulation of wealth was no longer evil as long as the wealthy gave to the poor; by doing so they could gain God's blessing. Idleness was seen as the road to evil thoughts and action; thus it was the duty of the Christian brother to give work to the unemployed. Those who refused work were expelled from the community. "Work, do not despair;" were words of St. Benedict which influenced the religious and lay communities.

To the early Christians work had no intrinsic meaning; it was a means to an end—salvation, charity, exaltation—and a means of disciplining the soul. Given this belief, it is not surprising that as the church began to organize, work became mandatory for monks; "...work began to be conceived of as ennobling rather than degrading, as a way of serving God." Thus, with the leadership of St. Augustine and St. Benedict early Catholicism dignified work, added a charitable function to it and developed it a step further than the Hebrews.

During the middle ages work became more important for all members of society, but it was still not an end in itself. Work was viewed as a means to something greater: life hereafter. In the early
part of the middle ages. St. Francis of Assisi dictated the function of work. Everyone, especially monks, had an obligation to work to earn the barest essentials and perhaps a little more to be given as alms to the needy. With the passing of time and as the Catholic church became more involved in worldly affairs their views regarding work and profit had to be broadened. St. Thomas Aquinas considered work a natural necessity and believed that workers should receive a just price—enough for the basic necessities—for their labor. Profits were legitimate as long as they were derived from work and not from usury. Now work was dignified and could be performed for a profit. This did not include the men of God (monks) nor did it imply morality from social classes or caste systems. Contemplation was still the highest form of labor. As the centuries passed and economic development increased, capitalistic profit was encouraged while usury was despised.

By the beginning of the twelfth century, a new group, known as the Christian democrats, declared labor as the force behind progress and viewed work as a social duty and divine right. “[E]very well organized society should secure to its members the right to work as a natural consequence of the right to live, and further should grant to those unable to work the right to be cared for by those who do.” Thus, we can trace the 1948 Full Employment Act to the twelfth century.

It was during the Protestant Reformation and the forceful preaching of Luther that earlier ideas about work began to take hold and be expanded. As did earlier Catholic clergy, Luther viewed work as natural, penal and educational. He saw idleness and begging as unnatural. Therefore, all who could work should do so. Those unable to work should be given charity. He viewed the contemplative life of the monks as egotistical and removed from their social responsibility of working with neighbors. For Luther, work was the foundation of any society. He viewed work as an activity not for profit, but for maintenance and service. Work on one’s profession was the best way to serve God.

With this idea Luther swept away all distinction between religious piety and activity in the world, all question of superiority of one to the other. So long as work is done in a spirit of obedience of God and of love one’s neighbor, every variety of labor has equal spiritual dignity, each is the service of God on earth.

By implication, no one type of work was greater than any other in serving God. Work no longer was a mean to an end, to life hereafter. All work, in one’s profession, was the way of serving God.
and consequently all work was dignified.

Unlike Luther, Calvin saw no virtue of justification to work for mere maintenance or to stay within one's born profession or class. On the contrary, Calvin believed it was one's responsibility to seek out the kind of work which would maximize one's return. Thus, for the first time in history, wealth was associated with salvation, godliness, a right, and poverty with ungodliness. According to Calvin, to select a profession or type of work and pursue it vigorously was a religious duty. To be successful in this pursuit, meaning making a profit, was a way of pleasing God. "The greater the profit, the greater the certainty of serving God with one's work." With this new view of work a new image of man developed: hard working, austere, strong willed, profit and production motivated. Work was now sanctioned by religious conviction and became the means by which the Kingdom of God could be realized on earth.

Given the above it is not difficult to see how puritanism, which developed out of Calvinism, goes further in its teachings:

...it is one's duty to extract the greatest possible gain from work; not for love of money, nor to satisfy a thirst for pleasure, but so that more benediction may fall upon the head of the next needy person. Moreover, success (which is proved by profit) is the certain indication that the chosen profession is pleasing to God.

During the Renaissance work was viewed as intrinsically meaningful and creative. It was seen as the means by which personal craftsmanship and ability was demonstrated. The creation of one's mental and intellectual productivity was an intrinsically meaningful process. Thus, work was less associated with religion (though much of it, especially in the arts, had a religious nature) and more with individual ability. The motivation to work for profit and status seemed to be unimportant.

The Age of Reason provided an ethical and logical rationale for work. The attitude of eighteenth century philosophers toward work was divided between returning to the old, simple, natural life and moving ahead toward progress and developing the environment. In the former camp, Rousseau argued for the return to the basics of life. He distrusted work which did not lead in this direction. Work should be an endeavor which provides the essential necessities of life. Luxuries, wealth, money, and commerce were superfluous. The more complicated the work became, he believed, the greater the unhappiness it bred. Thus, he called for the return to the small artisan and farming form of work.
but the majority of writers during this period were for pushing ahead and developing man's ability and its surroundings. Voltaire, Hume, Locke and Adam Smith to mention a few, viewed man's responsibility and task in life to build and create a more comfortable life; and this was accomplished through hard work. They viewed man as being full of ignorance and surviving on bare subsistence. They saw work and science as the answer to the human plight. To these thinkers work was the answer to the betterment of mankind since from it wealth, comfort, progress, and personal meaning resulted. It was Adam Smith who saw human labor as the creator of mass goods for mass consumption. Natural resources, left to themselves, he said, would not create goods, only human labor would. Adam Smith's thinking was influential in establishing work and human labor as the seeds for wealthy nations.

The nineteenth century could be considered as the Golden Age of the development of the work ethic. During this period, work was seen as the essence of all human progress, materially, intellectually, spiritually, and politically. Nature was seen as wild and needing to be tamed, and only man could tame it through hard work by using this intellect. The rewards of work were the joys, strengths and the sense of accomplishment that it provided the individual. "Every one ought to live by his own work; hence the state has a right to insist that every one do work as much as he can; hence the state has the corresponding duty to assure to all its citizens the right to work."

It is through work that man satisfies his needs, said Hegel. Only through work and the utilization of his intellect, said Bergson, can man preserve civilization and raise it to its full potential. Now work had become a duty and essential for maintaining the social structure and developing man's capacities. In Russia, after the revolution, the meaning of work was taking on a less philosophical and personal meaning.

In the philosophy of Marx, work is the central idea, work assumes a metaphysical meaning and importance. Man, the worker, is both cause and effect, both creator and created, determined by environment, but able to alter and adapt environment to suit himself. Work for him (Marx) becomes man's highest dignity and nobility: a religious rite in which priest and victim are one.

Thus, the central difference between socialist and capitalists views concerning work was that the former perceived work to be for the common good and toward a common goal equality among the workers and extinction of exploitation by the ruling class. Work was to be less routine and dehumanizing, better organized and requiring
less time for leisure and a healthier life. The purpose of work was to meet man's basic needs and not for profit, avarice and personal satisfaction.

The capitalistic view concerning work can best be traced to early America. From the beginning of colonial time work in America was glorified and held sacred. Not only did the early settlers bring with them religious sanctions for work and profit, as previously mentioned, but they had to put their beliefs into practice in order to survive in their new environment. Not only did they survive, but they created opportunity for all those who were willing to work hard regardless of sacrifice. They showed that going "from rags to riches" was not only possible, but probable, for those willing to put muscle and brains behind their labor.

With the development of industrialization, capitalism and the accompanying affluence, the earlier glorification of work became a cultural norm to be possessed by all who sought the land of opportunity. Work came to be viewed as intrinsically good and virtuous. Through work man found nobility and, more important in contemporary terms, his self-worth. Modern man no longer sought (salvation) through mastery of his intellect, or through altruism, but through work. Work did not need to be justified through a deity. Work was an independent activity which produced wealth, comfort, economic independence and psychological gratification. The meaning of work in modern America became in many ways the answer to the meaning of life itself; work took on the significance of religion. It follows that anyone who did not work, and was physically able, was considered unworthy, especially if the person was poor.

Contemporary Perspectives

Since the early twentieth century, the meaning and function of work has gone beyond providing the basic subsistence of food, clothing and shelter, and beyond faith. The meaning and function of work has been tied to peoples' contact with reality, psychologically and socially.

Psychologically, it provides a sense of self-esteem through one's mastery of obstacles and environmental forces. Work provides a sense of order and stability and respect which is related to self-esteem. To be working is to have evidence that one is needed, wanted and a part of society. Work plays an important role in shaping one's identity.

Closely related to identity is the concept of self-worth and respect. Through work a person gains some sense of independence (though admittedly little in some jobs), and a sense of accomplish-
ment, productivity and adulthood, what Erik Fromm calls a sense of freedom.

Work in most cases and especially in this society, provides a sense of pride that one is autonomous, and a sense of citizenship; the status of 'being a worker' is at best a necessary condition for respect, not a sufficient condition. Two other conditions are influential in determining the amount of respect to which the worker is 'entitled'. First different kinds of work are associated with different quanta of respect. The second condition has to do with the specific manner in which a given individual performs his work.

Specific studies have attempted to measure the meaning of work among workers of different occupations. Friedman and Havighurst, et al., conducted a series of studies which focused on the meaning of work to workers in five occupations: steelworkers, coal miners, retail salespersons, skilled craftsmen and physicians. The authors were specifically interested in knowing whether workers close to retirement, most of the interviewees were past fifty-five years of age, perceived their work other than in economic terms, and how retirement would affect the workers in the various occupations. Table 1 summarizes the meaning of work among the five occupations studied.

Several interesting factors are clear from Table 1. First, workers in so-called lower skilled occupations (steelworkers and local miners) tended to see their work primarily as a way of earning a living. From their point of view the only reason they worked was an economic one. This, however, was not the case for workers in the skilled and professional occupations. In fact, these workers barely attributed economic gain to their meaning of work. Their meaning of work derived from the satisfaction they received from the purpose of their work, the sense of self-expression, new and challenging experiences and the service they provided to others. In part, this finding should not be too surprising given the working conditions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers and those of skilled and professional workers. It is not clear, however, whether the lower skilled workers are only responding to their current job situation or to work in general. One could suspect, especially in light of other studies, that they were responding to their current job situation.

A second interesting finding is that workers in all five occupations derived relatively the same meaning of work in terms of the
Table I
COMPARISON OF THE FIVE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
ON THE MEANINGS OF WORK
(Relative Percentages Assuming Each Group
To Have Given One Response per Person)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Steelworkers (Unskilled and Semi-Skilled)</th>
<th>Coal Miners</th>
<th>Skilled Craftsmen</th>
<th>Sales People</th>
<th>Physicians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20-23 Over 65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No meaning other than money</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10 11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Routine</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>* 15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. a. Self-respect</td>
<td>16(3,a,b)</td>
<td>18(3,a,15)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Prestige</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect of others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Association</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18 20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. a,b,c. Purposeful activity,</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28 30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-expression, new experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Service to others</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>16+</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of people responding                     | 128                                       | 153         | 242               | 208          | 74         | 39         |

*Not covered in the questionnaire or interview
+ "Work has given me a chance to be useful."
routine their work provided for them and the association, that is, friendships, they established on the job. By routine, workers meant keeping busy, having something to do which organized their time. Besides providing workers with something to do, work provides associations or friendships for workers. As can be seen from Table 1, 15 to 20 percent of the workers in all the occupations stated that work to them meant making and having friendships. While having friendships is not the highest percentage rated in terms of the meaning of work, it is the most consistent percentage rated item by workers across all occupations.

A third interesting finding and perhaps most important, is that at least three-quarters of all the workers derived non-economic meaning from their work; that is, work to three-quarters of all the workers meant more than earning a living, e.g., having something to do, self-respect, prestige, respect of others, friendship, purposeful activity, self expression, new experiences and service to others.

Similar findings have been demonstrated by Morse and Weiss. In a national sample of employed men they set out to explore the meaning and function of work. From a random sample of 401 men in all ranges of occupations they obtained some interesting data. They found that:

(1) "working is more than a means to an end for the vast majority of employed men; (2) a man does not have to be at the age of retirement to be immediately threatened by unemployment to be able to imagine what not working would mean to him; and (3) that working serves other functions than an economic one for men in both middle class and working class occupations, but that the nonmonetary functions served by working are somewhat different in these two broad classifications of occupations."

To learn how important work was to these men, the authors asked the following question. "If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work anyway or not?" Interestingly enough, they found that:

... Eighty percent of the employed men answered they would want to keep on working. It might have been expected that such a question would be considered quite unreal to the respondents. The quality of the response, however, suggested that, while the question was not one for which
they had a steady answer, it was one which they took seriously and could answer personally. Furthermore, the vividness and emotionality of their response to this question indicated that we were tapping an area which was real and meaningful to them...

Changes in these values appear to be on the horizon. According to Yankelovich,\(^{16}\) to a "new breed" of American workers who were born out of the social movement of the '60's, work is less important, especially when it is compared to leisure. When work and leisure were compared as a source of satisfaction, only 1 in 5 chose work. 60% of the respondents said that although they enjoyed work, it was not their major source of satisfaction. Yankelovich elaborates further that to this "new breed", there is no greater source of discomfort than the traditional equation of identity with work roles. In this new value system, the individual says in effect, "I am more than my role. I am myself." When asked which aspects of work were important to them, the respondents stressed "being recognized as an individual person" and the opportunity to be with pleasant people with whom to work. Significantly, these demands came ahead of the desire that work itself be interesting and not routine.

In summary, recent evidence seems to indicate that there is not a radically new work ethic, but that there is increasing dissatisfaction with jobs; that there is a new meaning of work, and that younger workers share a new set of values.

There are many theories which explain this phenomena. One theory explains worker discontent as a result of a "generation gap." Another theory points to our highly mechanistic, technologically based system of organizations which are said to rob people of their human potential. A third school of thought argues that dissatisfaction stems from the fact that American business has failed to provide the kind of work environment needed to satisfy peoples' psychological and social needs.

Sociological Considerations

The historical chapters in our Western Civilization which have elucidated the transformation of an agrarian society into industrial and therefore urbanized one have created an intellectual debate in sociological circles which has lasted down to today. The uniqueness of these historical events to the sociological imagination has been dichotomized into the concepts of "community" and "urban society."
The shift from folk society to feudal society from sacred to secular, from "gemeinschaft" to "geselischaft" have been helpful in appreciating the tremendous forces that have shaped the history of Western Man. In the folk or sacred society characterized by its simplicity or extremely limited specialization (pre-industrial, pre-capitalism), ties of land and blood, relatively smallness and degree of isolation, its infusion traditionalism, rites de passage, and face-to-face contact and clear role definitions gave us a legacy of "a unity of society and personality," and a unity of the individual with society.

The traditional agrarian society did not survive the onslaught of capitalism, urbanism, industrialism, rationalism, bureaucracy. Modernity demystified the world taken for granted, gave us a Galilean versus a Copernican interpretation of the world, and created vocations and avocations. The development of a cash economy meant that indirect interpersonal relations which had prevailed for whole epochs. The cash nexus was a new obtrusive... bond relating people to each other. That bond could be used to measure and evaluate others.

The decline of this societal unity and one's attempts to make meaningful and legitimize the new order of urban society are historical catchwords that synthesize epochs such as: the decline of liberalism, the decline of ideology, the growth of secularism, the rise of bureaucratization of the world, rational/scientism, urbanization are still with us and we have not profoundly studied their total impact or conceptualized their full implications. It is these processes that have so transformed our traditional way of life, forms, and functions, that we today often feel dwarfed by our institutions. Life seems out of control, we lack answers or even the "right" questions to our survival as individuals and members of families and/or voluntary associations. A prime example of this incertitude is the 1980 Presidential Elections in which "a sentimental journey into the past" is being marketed in contrast to the historical power of a "sitting presidency" that recently became disemboweled from the notion of an Imperial Presidency. The alienation of constituents coupled with me-too "ism" presents this loss of identity and thereby, the loss of meaning in a world dominated by mass, class and bureaucracy.

These transitions in a historical or sociological perspective can be exemplified if we look at the work of Max Weber, or reflect upon the role transition of the contemporary woman.

A seminal thinker on large scale organizations, religion, social science methodology, and Marxist shadow-boxer, Weber, in his classic work, "The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism,"
carefully studies the fundamental relationships between religion and the economic and social life in modern culture. Weber develops a focus by which the transition from "sacred/folk" to "secular/urban" society can be seen through values, and he astutely develops the notion that capitalism was an unanticipated consequence of a religious reform movement in history (the "theory of an unanticipated consequences to human social actions").

Weber contends that the rise of mature capitalism was affected by the emergence of Protestant, especially Calvinist, ethics. What Weber found in looking into these religious beliefs was two major elements which stood in contrast to traditional Catholic Theology: 1) an insistence on the importance of a man's calling, which means that a man's primary responsibility was to do his best at whatever station God had assigned him in life; and 2) the rationalization of all in life based on Calvinist's notion of predestination whereby work became a means of dispersing religious doubt by demonstrating to oneself that he was one of the elect.

Wealth was not to be pursued for its own sake or enjoyed. Rather, the world existed to serve the glorification of God and for that purpose alone. Thus the more possessions one had the greater the obligation to be an obedient steward and hold these possessions undiminished for the glory of God by increasing them through relentless effort. A worldly asceticism was at the heart of this ethic which gave a religious sanction to acquisition and the rational use of wealth to create more wealth.

In Weber's view, the Protestant Ethic was one element that served to bring meaning and order to European society during the Reformation and post-Reformation period. What existed was cultural, social and psychological strain of major proportions as European culture was in the midst of being radically transformed. The institutional guidelines of the medieval church were no longer meaningful to many people, and the Protestant Churches as institutions could not provide a universal guidelines for behavior or make sense out of the economic forces that were developing. The agricultural dominance of feudal society was being challenged by the growth of towns and the development of trade and commercial enterprises. People were entering into unchartered territory and the old cultural resources were no longer adequate to provide information on how to behave. There was a loss of orientation and lack of usable models by which to comprehend one's rights and duties. The Protestant ethic was for its believers a clear road map, and that provided a guide for behavior in the midst of a terribly confused and disorganized cultural situation.
The contemporary concern family and its high divorce rate is generally seen as a deteriorating institution rather than a decline of the traditional family which has been functional throughout the centuries. It has in this social history been supported by religion, law and economic sanctions. Industrialism made all members of the family "workers" and created changes in what heretofore were clear and static roles. The male role's authority at home was now shared with his wife, at work with his superiors, and his hold on his children began to decline.

Women, whose domestic role was always sharply clear (therefore no ambiguity) were thrust into factories. The supervision of children became a function of public education. The changing male role with its corollary and the increasing ambiguity of women's roles need to be seen as factors that exemplify the changing structure of the family that is now measured by "the divorce rate". Coping today, making marriage work, etc., is a recognition of the blurriness of the sexual roles, i.e., the masculinizing of the feminine role and the conversely.

One needs to acknowledge that most women work for money; many women have no other source of economic support, but their own work, and increasing numbers support their dependent children through paid work. Even when the burden of making a living falls mainly on the man, the money earned by the woman in most families has proven indispensable to maintaining a standard of living the family considers satisfactory.

Much of the work that women currently do outside their home deflates their self-images. The job of secretary is perhaps symbolic of the status of female employment in this country, both qualitatively and quantitatively. There are nine million secretaries and they compose nearly one-third of the nation's female workforce. The secretary is too often stereotyped disparagingly. In addition, the majority of the worst white-collar jobs probably are held by women: keypunch operators, telephone operators, and clerical workers. Women are also over-represented on assembly lines, among the worst jobs in the economy. The women's movement has focused considerable attention on the role in life, and because of the kinds of dissatisfying jobs women have held traditionally, we can reasonably expect women to be speaking out more forcefully on the quality of working life.

The Survey of Working Conditions has shown that women tend to derive the same satisfaction as men do from the intrinsic rewards of work, when they are available. The Survey also found that women are nearly twice as likely as men to express negative attitudes toward their present jobs. The cause of this dissatisfaction seems
to lie in the discrepancy between women's high expectations about work and the actual low social and economic status of their jobs.

A recent study of the *Quality of Life* shows that college educated women are most happy if they have jobs and less happy if they don't (presumably because they tend to have the most interesting jobs); married women without college educations are not necessarily less happy if they don't have jobs (presumably because of the less interesting jobs available to them).

Most of the literature on work and women deals with upper-class college educated women and is in fact written by them. For the most part, these women work out of choice and at fairly interesting jobs. From these studies, it is concluded that women who work outside the home are more "fulfilled" than are those who do not.

**Conclusion**

We have attempted to review and provide an understanding, if only a limited one, of the meaning of work. If one conclusion can be drawn from this brief review, it is that work and its meaning is a constantly changing phenomenon whose process is consciously being influenced by all forces that shape society. An even more important contemporary policy question is, what should we do with our voluntary and involuntary non-working labor force? We have gone from punishing them, to caring for them, to ignoring them, and recently, we have done all three of these at the same time.
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HELPING THE UNEMPLOYED CLIENT

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Abstract

This paper analyzes ways in which the social work profession can reaffirm its professional service responsibilities to unemployed clients. It is suggested that social work practice should address not just the effects of unemployment but also the jobless condition itself. The human costs of unemployment and their implications for changes in social work assessment and intervention are cited.

Introduction

Delinquency, family violence, depression, stress-related health problems, and withdrawal of the aged are a few of the myriad of issues addressed by social workers. While seemingly disparate, in many cases such problems are linked. Recent research on the effects of unemployment suggests that joblessness and consequent economic insecurity may precipitate a wide range of individual, family, and community problems. Yet the link between unemployment and the problems that clients bring to social service agency doors is not always apparent. In fact, by the time clients seek help, those for whom the original precipitating condition was unemployment may bring as the presenting problem such symptoms as mental illness, ulcers, or child abuse. This paper will analyze this phenomenon and its implications for the social work profession and for the development of innovative social service responses to unemployed clients.

As social workers seek to probe beneath symptoms to uncover the basis of the disorders that prompt clients to seek social work help, some problem sources such as joblessness may not be obvious because of the very nature of the condition. Yet the fact that unemployment is a critical shaper of individual and family functioning is well documented by research from the Depression of the 1930's. Such studies attributed
a number of devastating consequences to unemployment such as suicide, death from physical deprivation, emotional and health disorders, as well as the destruction of interpersonal relationships. In more recent years, however, the impact of unemployment has been somewhat disguised. Relative improvements in the standard of living over that of the 1930's, along with the perceived viability of programs such as public assistance, food stamps, and unemployment benefits lead some to assume that the unemployed are surviving the hardships of modern day joblessness. Moreover, the absence of widespread depression reinforces the likelihood that joblessness is attributed to personal defects rather than system problems.

Unemployment: The source of many clients problems

Recent research on unemployment suggests its strong linkage to spouse and child abuse, suicide, depression, and mental illness; crime, stress-related health disorders such as heart disease, renal disorders and ulcers, maternal and infant mortality, self-depreciation, marital conflict, as well as a reduction in life span. While such research generates important new information about the effects of unemployment on individual and family functioning, it is constrained by designs that do not yield definitive findings about whether unemployment "causes" or is merely strongly associated with the social, emotional, economic, and health problems.

Ideally, research on the effects of unemployment should include longitudinal studies of workers whose functioning is first assessed prior to job loss or the onset of the job search, then during their unemployment, and finally at the time of their reemployment. An exemplary longitudinal study is the research conducted by Kasl and Cobb on the effects of unemployment on workers' blood pressure. Measures of workers' blood pressure were acquired prior to the receipt of news of their lay-off, at periods during their unemployment, and then during their reemployment. This longitudinal research definitively showed the strong relationship between unemployment and increases in blood pressure. Blood pressure immediately rose for these workers upon the news of their impending
lay-offs and plant closure, during their unemployment, and continued to be clinically high until their reemployment at which time it dropped.

Similar longitudinal studies are needed that generate baseline data on personal functioning prior to the onset of unemployment so that its impact can be measured without being confounded by worker problems that existed prior to unemployment. Even so, the very nature of unemployment impedes the design of such longitudinal studies. Making known to workers imminent lay-offs and plant closure plans can be a very uncomfortable process for both employers and employees. In one study conducted by the author, several workers learned of their unemployment by overhearing others talking about it. They, like many victims of lay-offs, were the last to know about their job dislocation and were reluctant for others to find out.

Correlational or single interview studies comprise the majority of sources of recent knowledge on the human costs of unemployment. For example, Harvey M. Brenner has analyzed the degree of association between rises in unemployment and simultaneous increases in such indicators as mental hospital admissions, homicides, suicides, prison admission rates and stress-related health problems. While his correlational analyses may seemingly weaken his findings, this research has helped to shape policy makers' awareness of the human side of unemployment. In fact, limitations in the research designs of many studies of unemployment do not necessarily detract from the importance of the findings. Such designs merely reduce the extent to which causality can be assumed between unemployment and the spectrum of subsequent problems with which the condition is associated.

Social workers are in positions where strong empirical evidence of causation is not an essential prerequisite to innovative problem-solving efforts. In fact, it is often the leadership efforts of social workers that bring to public view the very problems and issues that later evolve into subjects of inquiry for basic research. For example, some time before substantial data bases existed regarding the prevalence of child abuse, social workers were pressing for the development of programs and laws to ensure improved
responses to abused children and their families. The pioneering efforts of welfare rights advocates concerned with the need for fair hearings might not have sparked Supreme Court action mandating such hearings if a substantial database had been required before action was taken. The social work profession is not known to sit on the sidelines when human needs are overlooked just because all the facts are not in. The profession is rooted to decades of advocacy and activism to bring unmet needs and problems to the foreground of public awareness and community responsiveness.

Unemployment: A fundamental issue for social work

It might be expected that a profession concerned about the needs and stresses that lead people to seek services would be at the vanguard of policy and service innovations for the unemployed. While there are notable exceptions, the profession appears to have been relatively detached from unemployment issues. Such uninvolvement can be attributed to several factors. Some might argue that the condition is so organically linked to the economic system that to address unemployment requires the focused attention of the profession on the political and economical structures that permit it to persist. Others may suggest that unemployment is an intractable social problem, which the social work profession lacks the resources to confront. It may be argued that social workers are not trained to fully understand the sources and causes of unemployment and thus are ambivalent about work itself. Furthermore, the animosity generated by forced work schemes for welfare recipients may reinforce the pattern of uninvolve ment. The prevalent, but incorrect, assumption that the unemployed are jobless because of personal deficiency may also exacerbate social work beliefs that therapy is a necessary prerequisite to job acquisition and job security.

The increasing prevalence of unemployment among professionals, including social workers, begins to erode beliefs that joblessness is caused by personal inadequacies. Moreover, fluctuations in the economy and in the demand for services and goods may sharpen the realization that most jobs in both white and blue collar labor markets may be subject to termination
regardless of the personal attributes of the workers who fill them.

Not only is unemployment often viewed as a sign of a troubled person rather than an indication of labor market inadequacies, but the fact that most unemployment is due to an insufficient number of jobs is not well understood.

Implications of unemployment for social service innovations

Neglect of unemployment issues within the profession may result in deficient social work responses to the needs of the unemployed that should compel social service innovations within a number of social service agencies. Research by Fahs-Beck on the use of Family Service Agencies showed that unemployment was the second most frequent "environmental problems" brought to the agency by clients. Yet "environmental problems" such as income, unemployment and housing received less than the average number of hours of attention in interviews as compared to child-related problems, personality adjustment of an adult, family, home management. The actual distribution of agency interview time, by the principal focus of services was five percent for income, housing, unemployment and health even though every one of seven clients brought unemployment problems to the agency. Fahs-Beck explained that in many such cases "the most that the family agency can do for clients as individuals is to refer them to some specialized community resources and, if necessary, to serve as the client's advocate with this resource."

Statements from persons, such as former secretary of HEW Califano, assert that the most pressing problem facing families today is unemployment of the "breadwinner." If this is so, where do families splintered by unemployment seek help? Since such problems do not constitute the core of helping services provided by family service agencies or many other agencies staffed by social workers, where are they addressed?

Some might assume that the expansion in recent years in the employment and training service sector in
our local communities signals a growing support network for the unemployed. This may be true for only a segment of the unemployed since eligibility is contingent on income, residency, age, and other attributes such as being a "displaced homemaker" or a "first-time offender." While critical services are available to eligible individuals representing key target groups such as youth, veterans or ethnic minorities, such categorical approaches similar to those in some of social service programs may result in a fragmented array of service responses. In fact, as these employment and training services evolve in local communities, their planners struggle with the challenges similar to those in the social service sector to build an integrated network of services. Moreover, some employment and training programs are constrained by income eligibility requirements that promote client access only after a precipitous economic skid downward. Thus, some if not many unemployed persons may fall through the cracks, not just of the social service sector, but the employment and training sector as well.

The blame syndrome and help-seeking activities

Many workers whose unemployment is due to job dislocation are able initially to blame the system or their employer at the time of job loss. However, the ensuing weeks of rejection by prospective employers begin to erode their self-image encouraging self-doubts and castigations. Soon the focus of blame changes as the workers, as well as those around them, hold them culpable for their joblessness.13

When pressed into seeking help from social service agencies, unemployed workers may present themselves as compellingly in need of self-growth, improved interpersonal relationships and self-image changes. Some unemployed workers may be convinced that success in acquiring a job is contingent on some personal change. Recasting their condition of unemployment as a problem in emotional functioning, assertive behavior, or marital conflict provides a safety value that temporarily protect them from the harsh realities of their unemployment. Such a redefinition of the situation also promotes the image that the compulsion to change is earnest. Since, in seeking help, they appear to be
actively trying to solve their problems.

There are few recourses open to the unemployed worker who has difficulty finding employment; most do not resort to acts of violence or self-destruction even though their desperation may be profound. Eventually, many unemployed persons may seek help from a social service agency. The point at which they seek help will vary. Some may be prompted by the self-doubts, self-blame and the conviction that if they can change themselves in some way they will be able to acquire a good job. Others may seek help for a wide range of additional problems precipitated by their joblessness. These may include depression and suicidal preoccupation, substance abuse, family conflict or violence, and stress-related problems in functioning. As the effects of unemployment take their toll, some may also be experiencing additional problems of health disorders and financial and social upheaval, and, as a result, may be simultaneously seeking help from several agencies. Another group of unemployed may require help on an involuntary basis; they may have committed a crime or find themselves institutionalized for mental or physical health problems.

Social service responses to the unemployed

Despite the various help seeking pathways into the social service sector, the job-related problems of the unemployed may be disguised by the symptoms they bring as the "presenting problem." In seeking help for interpersonal problems, their hope that self-change will lead to eventual employment, may be reinforced by social service personnel who feel trained and well-equipped to deal with problems in interpersonal functioning. For both the social worker and client, personal changes may be easier to bring about than job acquisition.14 While the unemployed client is able to invest in treatment to work through the problems prompted or related to his or her joblessness, the harsh realities of the jobless condition and its consequences are temporarily dimmed from view. Convinced that job acquisition is contingent on self-change, unemployed clients can stave off accusations from others that they are not really working hard at finding a job.
Helping activities that focus on self-change rather than the job search may also strengthen patterns of denial and optimism that often accompany long-term unemployment. Such patterns were evident in the author's study of unemployed blue collar workers who believed that a good job was right around the corner even after fifteen months of joblessness. Such denial and optimism may place the social worker in a complicated position. On one hand, it may be important to help unemployment clients invest their energies in job-seeking; yet, if jobs are not available in the line of work for which they are looking, some other course may need to be pursued. Often untrained in vocational assessment and employment counseling skills, social workers may be more comfortable focusing primarily on client problems that are amenable to the helping strategies which they can easily pursue. Consequently, "psychological" rather than "employment" resources may be the primary source of help offered to the unemployed client. Moreover, the social worker's definition of the problem may be linked to the services and resources that can be readily marshalled to remedy it.

One must ask, however, whether social work responses to the unemployed should center exclusively on the psychological or mental health needs of the unemployed client or should simultaneously address the employment problems of the client as well. It can be argued that social workers should have several options regarding their response to unemployed clients. For example, if the presenting problem is unemployment, then job acquisition should be a treatment goal. Social workers should be familiar with the job-seeking process and the local labor market and comfortable in their advocacy and support roles for their job-seeking clients. Sustained attention to the job needs of a client may result in either a referral to an employment agency, or if CETA eligible, to a CETA program. More often than not, however, the social worker may even seek to acquire skills in job development, a rather unprecise but growing area of skill acquisition. Also essential is the knowledge of rudimentary job-seeking techniques and tools including "informational interviews," resume writing, effective telephone and personal interview styles and behaviors, and the use of personal acquaintances as sources of information about job openings. It is possible that clients who
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have failed in their job search after attending a job-seeking workshop may have withdrawn and become isolated. Morale building derived from group support of other job-seekers may be as important to this client as the job search tools themselves. Sometimes booster sessions may be necessary (so helpful with other very disciplined tasks such as abstinence from cigarettes, chemical dependencies, or compliance with a weight control program), as motivation may need to be re-instigated.

The social worker must be able to sort out clearly the client's job readiness and work competencies from other problems such as depression, stress-related health problems, violent or drug-related behavior. In cases when the full toll of unemployment has been exacted, its effects may be irreversible. Yet, for many unemployed persons, their problems may disappear when a job is acquired. Findings from research on joblessness among a sample of young and aged workers demonstrated the therapeutic effectiveness of jobs in reducing or eliminating depression, suicidal preoccupation, poor eating and sleeping habits as well as interpersonal conflict and tension.17

More systematic concern with unemployment problems of our clients should result not just in a restructuring of social services but in new leadership roles for social service agencies as well. The watershed of problems stemming from unemployment can be most vividly seen in the clients seeking help at our agency doors. Social workers providing direct services to these clients as well as those in administrative roles should be the first to focus public attention on the human costs of plant closures and the consequent dislocation of workers, and to speak out about mounting unemployment problems among groups of workers. As unemployment increases in local communities, social workers should immediately monitor the consequent demand for social services and advocate for the needs of its victims.

Our profession must reaffirm its concern about unemployment that was once prevalent in its earlier tradition.18 As long as work remains a well-rationed good of society, a privilege rather than an entitlement with enforceable guarantees, the human toll from unemployment will continue to haunt our agencies and
our communities. As the nation enters another recessionary period, the appeal for help by unemployed victims of political attempts to curb inflation will undoubtedly be reflected in rising caseloads of persons whose injuries should not longer be disguised or re-defined.

Footnotes


(continued)


13 Katharine Hooper Briar, *The Effect of Unemployment Workers and Their Families*, op. cit.

14 This pattern was evident in the early stages of the start-up program discussed by the author in *The Effects of Long-Term Unemployment on Workers and Their Families*, op. cit. See Chapter 6.


17 Katharine Briar, Deeky Fiedler, Carol Sheean, Patricia Camps, "The Human Costs of Unemployment for Young, Middle-aged and Aged Workers," *Journal of Sociology and Social Work*.

THE IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT ON YOUNG, MIDDLE-AGED AND AGED WORKERS

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Abstract

This paper presents findings from research on the effects of unemployment on young, middle-aged and aged workers. The therapeutic benefits of work indicated by the elimination and reduction of problems attributed to joblessness by young and aged workers is examined as well. The implications of such findings for human service professions are explored.

Introduction

Unemployment rates are incomplete indicators of the social, emotional and economic toll that envelopes not just victims but their families and entire communities. Moreover, such statistics inadequately portray the full dimensions of the differential impact of unemployment on its victims. For example, the experience of joblessness for the seventeen-year old ethnic minority youth will be quite different from that of the middle-aged engineer with two children in college, or the fifty-nine-year-old dislocated welder. However, the loss of income may result in strikingly similar social, emotional and economic responses since the resources available to endure unemployment are limited. This paper, drawing on several different studies, will describe the impact of unemployment on young, middle-aged and aged workers in the Pacific Northwest.

Unemployment among youth

The first set of these studies probed the experiences of 150 youth, ages 15-21. The sample, of 140 youth, was drawn from a summer CETA program where 140 youth were interviewed by CETA counselors during their summer work experience. These youth were asked to
recall their jobless experiences as well as to provide information about the impact of their current CETA placement. This research evolved from a pilot study of ten CETA eligible youth who were interviewed prior to being placed in a year-long CETA work. Three months after their placement began, they were interviewed again. Because of the similarities in experiences among both samples of youth, the findings are combined to generate a more composite portrait of the effect of unemployment among these youth.

Work had special meaning for these young people as it meant the opportunity to begin a career, to generate money for college, to help out family finances, or to acquire funds to pay for a car, rent, food and for many to begin a life of independence from their parents and their families. These two groups of youth wanted jobs in order to prepare for future employment: 89 percent wanted a job to learn skills, 77 percent to get more job experience and 72 percent to feel more responsible. Twenty percent of these youth also saw a job as a way to meet people and avoid the isolation of joblessness. Among 88 percent, possessions such as clothes were desired and 61 percent needed money for transportation.

Unemployment for such youthful workers was already longstanding. By the age of 17 or 19, 61 percent of these young people had a history of joblessness as they failed at finding summer jobs, work after school or full-time employment. When they were interviewed, they had been trying to find work for a period of one month to two years. During this time, half of them had felt like giving up looking for a job altogether and one-quarter of them actually did give up looking completely in previous unsuccessful job hunts. All of them had worked at two jobs or more; these ranged from berry picking to mill work. They, indeed, did have work experience, the credential which employers so persistently demand from them. Their limitation was that they lacked experience or education in a particular specific job for which they were seeking employment and wanting to advance themselves.

Unemployment made them feel like they were "going crazy," and "suffocating." Some felt "mad at the whole world," "useless," "fed up," "stranded," saying
"nobody wants to give me a chance," "I am incompetent" and a "failure." One 17-year old who had looked unsuccessfully for work for seven months admitted that he was on the verge of committing a crime. Having a lot of time on their hands with nothing to do made them feel restless and bored, frightened and insecure, depressed and confused. A number of them reported conflict at home and frequently getting in trouble—events they attributed to their joblessness. One respondent, an 18-year-old recovering alcoholic found the tedium of joblessness to contribute to her alcoholism problem and sought work, in part, to ensure herself of a productive way of using her time and a therapeutic way to avoid alcohol. A number of youths claimed that joblessness caused problems with eating and sleeping with some overindulging and others not eating enough.

The consequences of joblessness are further compounded by the self-recrimination and self-blame experienced by these youth. Ironically all but three of these 150 youths blamed themselves for their inability to acquire a job citing their age, or lack of experience, lack of transportation, and other personal attributes rather than the economic system. Most did not see themselves as victims; 77 percent felt that employers treated them fairly when they applied for jobs. When potential employers discredited their previous work and found it to be irrelevant to the qualifications they were seeking, these youths concurred. Despite their long months of aversive job hunting and problems caused by joblessness, 89 percent believed that they would find a good job if they looked long and hard. Only one-fourth thought that landing a good job was due to luck.

Many of the friends of these youth were also unemployed. Despite their awareness of the prevalence of joblessness among their friends and other young people, only 40 percent felt that youth should be guaranteed jobs when they are unable to find them on their own.

Work was therapeutic for these youth as, once placed in CETA work experiences, some of the problems they associated with their joblessness disappeared. Many reported that their functioning improved due to their working. Sixty percent reported feeling less angry and frustrated, 66 percent were less depressed.
Eighty percent felt less dependent, 55 percent reported feeling less restless and bored. Eighty-six percent reported more frequent feelings of happiness and freedom which they attributed to having a job and 75 percent reported greater feelings of accomplishment.

They also attributed to their job position changes in social relationships. Three-fourths of the youth reported themselves to be more accepting of others, more responsible, and more confident and sure of themselves as a result of their new jobs.

Patterns of time use changed as well since work provided some structure to their days. They spent less time watching TV and "hanging around with friends." For most of these youths, work brought improved psychological, social and economic changes into their lives. The problems caused by their joblessness were at least temporarily in remission or eliminated.

Unemployment among the middle-aged

There are many similarities in the patterns of blame, rejection and disruption in households among young jobless workers and their middle-aged counterparts. Another research effort, conducted in 1971 during the peak of the recession in the Puget Sound area, probed the consequences of joblessness among 52 workers who sought help with their jobless condition through a social service agency designated to provide help to the unemployed. In this sample, 28 respondents were blue-collar workers whose mean age was 36 and 24 were white collar workers whose mean age was 47.

At the outset, these workers did not blame themselves for their job loss; they blamed the system or their employers and were able to avoid personalizing the catastrophic event. Had the economy been expanding, these workers might have been reabsorbed, but unemployment rates hovered around 10 percent and they faced long-term unemployment. After 15 weeks of joblessness, a second stage of unemployment set in. This stage was accompanied by an erosion in finances, aversive job-seeking attempts, marital discord at home, and self-incrimination. With the second phase, unemployment became a way of life and workers now blamed themselves
for their jobless condition. This self-blame enabled them to persevere with their job-seeking for they could tell themselves. "If I just changed my interviewing style or my resume or some personal attribute, I will be successful." Such a self-blame was very quickly reinforced by those around them, especially worried families and friends. Relationships were splintered by the worker's unemployment. The more a frightened spouse or children might pressure the worker into getting out of the house to look for work, the worker's depression caused him or her to withdraw and become immobilized. Some would sit in the corner all day staring at the ceiling and walls about them.

Income problems devastated many of these workers and their families resulting in different modes of adaptation. Some became "crashers" and were forced to move in with friends; others became "relievers," skidding economically downward onto welfare; some were rescued by a spouse or teenager who were forced to go to work themselves. Others "coasted," depleting their savings and their resources. Some had no survival means left. They were "discredited." They were the ones who, when interviewed, had only a few dollars left and were ineligible for welfare or other concrete sources of help. Financial problems among these workers were compounded by the very way in which they were forced to economize. Loss of their health insurance and pension benefits, accrued through their jobs, increased their financial vulnerability in the event of health problems and hospitalization during their joblessness. Some eliminated or decreased spending on other protections such as fire, life, and car insurance. Other cutbacks necessitated by dwindling finances included recreation, travel, clothes, telephone, gifts, and food. Like the younger jobless workers, these middle-aged persons began to spend more time sleeping and more time alone.

Unemployment among the aged

The middle-aged workers in many respects were no different from their aging counterparts whose jobless condition was studied in another research endeavor. In this longitudinal study, 32 workers, ages 55 and older with a mean age of 63, were interviewed as they sought CETA work experience and then again after three
months, once they were placed in their CETA jobs.

Older workers often are viewed as "a dispensable labor pool" who should give up their jobs to make room for younger workers. While it is true that they typically had the cushion of social security, they experienced the same profound impact of unemployment as the young and middle-aged workers with its economic, psychological, social and health problems. Additionally, economic cutbacks forced the elderly to reduce spending for health care, home, fire and auto insurance which, like the middle-aged workers, increased their vulnerability to catastrophic events.

These workers had been employed in a variety of jobs including professional, clerical and service occupations, as well as farming and manual labor. Some had retired either voluntarily or involuntarily and now sought work; others in the sample were struggling with joblessness due to a lay-off or being fired and the remainder were seeking work because they were displaced homemakers.

Regardless of the cause of their jobless situation, they were seeking work because of their inability to live on fixed incomes and the need to structure daily life and to escape feelings of loneliness and of being unproductive. All but five felt depressed at least some of the time and many experienced feelings of nervousness and worry, insecurity, and low self-worth. Seventy-nine percent claimed that their jobless condition created physical problems and 80 percent cited some form of mental health problems such as depression and nervousness. Some attributed their arthritis, high blood pressure, ulcers, frequent colds and flu, headaches, sleeping and eating problems directly to their unemployment. They spent their days sleeping late, watching television, and "sitting around." Several were preoccupied with suicidal thoughts.

The provision of a job through CETA resulted in marked changes for this group of elderly. It enabled them to increase spending for food, insurance, health care, clothing and recreation. Also affected were their loss of self-worth, suicidal thoughts and eating and sleeping difficulties as they all reported that after several months of working, they ceased being
depressed, insecure, lonely and nervous. Several mentioned the new freedom they enjoyed because of their work, of being able to purchase gifts or to travel to see family.

In the eyes of these workers, at least, the provision of jobs was therapeutic; the negative psychological impact of joblessness was sharply reversed when they went to work. For example, a 65-year-old man who had worked for 22 years as supervisor of a maintenance staff quit his job because he thought it would improve his health. A year and a half later, he felt despondent, he had lost interest in hobbies and reading and felt he was wasting his days. Searching for a job was discouraging. He reported that he felt he had lost the ability to sell himself as he was turned down because he was too old to change jobs. In his new job, he felt more alert, more useful and claimed that working "felt like recreation."

A 71-year-old woman had never worked outside of her home. When her husband died, his pension was reduced, causing her financial chaos. As she reduced expenses for food, her diabetes worsened. She began to feel desperate and suicidal. After several months in her job, she reported she was in the "best health ever" as well as feeling "100 percent happier."

Shared experiences

The data from the experiences of the young, middle-aged and older workers portray the ways in which unemployment affects all aspects of human functioning even though its symptoms may vary from group to group. For example, all workers were forced to cut expenditures for necessities as well as recreation. Unemployment caused workers in these samples to feel anxious, depressed and bored. They withdrew from social activities and experienced new interpersonal problems. Worst of all, they began to perceive themselves and were perceived by others as dispensable. Yet each group experienced the effects of unemployment somewhat differently. The youth in the samples were preoccupied with the impact of joblessness on their career goals and struggle for independence. Middle-aged respondents were forced to endure the loss of status, possessions, their
marriages and families while the elderly faced mental and physical health problems and were made to feel that they had outlived their usefulness.

Unemployment had a significant impact on the families of some of these respondents. Families of young people face problems when their young persons become involved in crime or turn to drugs to provide ways to structure time or gain income. Such life style alterations, while adaptations to unemployment, may prove irreversible since the youth become involved in activities that further limit employability or that remove from their reach critical opportunities for education and job training. For the middle-aged worker, the stress of unemployment may result in family disruption and erosion of aspirations of all members. Not only may education for children and plans for retirement be dismantled as resources are depleted, but divorce may become an immediate resolution of family and marital difficulties and tension. For the elderly, cutbacks necessitated by lack of income may jeopardize health and housing for both the unemployed and their spouses.

Ironically, each group blamed themselves for their unemployment. In fact, only in the aged group did the majority feel that jobs should be a guaranteed right. Perhaps it was they who could feel the artificiality of mandatory retirement policies and were able to directly attribute their joblessness to this visible obstacle to work. By personalizing the job rejections, many workers hold themselves blameworthy for their joblessness and do not see the direct link between their jobless condition and deliberate policy decisions that limit job availability to millions of Americans.

Need for research

Such data suggest not just how debilitating unemployment can be, but the social service and therapeutic attributes of work itself. More research is needed to generate information about the impact of a job on an unemployed worker. Not only will such research help to provide a new perspective on the meaning of work, but it will suggest the extent to which
the crippling effects of unemployment can be reversed by work or at what points the damage is so irreversible that a permanent devastating toll is exacted from the worker as well as the family and community. Such policy relevant questions might help policymakers understand the consequences of their delays in funding job programs and the "critical threshold" in surviving unemployment beyond which endurance abilities are obliterated.

Unemployment and human service professions

The human costs of unemployment portrayed by the data from these samples suggest that human service professions must begin to systematically address the devastation of unemployment and the importance of work. Dealing directly with unemployment as the "presenting problem" that is shaped by policies that deny economic and employment justice to millions of Americans of all ages, represent one of the most critical and challenging issues facing our human service professions today.

References


3 For the full study, see Katharine Hooper Briar, The Effect of Long-term Unemployment on Workers and Their Families (R and E Research Press, San Francisco, 1978).
PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

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We learned from contrast. We learned from unemployment the true significance of work. Only when a man is thrown out of employment does he perceive how much of his life is under the dictatorship of the job. Work establishes the basic routine of modern life. (Eli Ginzberg, The Unemployed, 1943)

Having seen the discussion of the meaning of work and the important role it plays in our lives, as developed by Borrero and Rivera, we now need to address what happens to people when they want to work but are unable to because of economic recessions, depressions and economic policies. The focus of the following paper is to review the literature concerning the psychological and emotional stresses that are brought about as a result of unemployment.

A review of the literature of the effects of unemployment suggests some important gaps in knowledge as well as some methodological problems. The vast majority, at least 80%, of the literature was written during and shortly after the depression of the 1930's. Since then, the interest in unemployment has been minimum and sporadic. It appears that social scientists become interested in the subject of unemployment when the unemployment rate reaches high levels and becomes a social concern, if not a social problem. This reactive interest in unemployment has limited the quality of research and knowledge in the field. For example, we know that some physical and emotional stresses result from unemployment. But we do not know what specific psychological damage, if any, occurs as a result of unemployment. The major problem here is that we have interviewed or observed the unemployed person after job loss, sometimes years after being unemployed, and from these interviews or observations we have made inferences about the effects of unemployment, without prior knowledge of the person's emotional condition. Also, many of these studies, because of their time delay, have tended to confuse the effects of unemployment with the effects of poverty.

Ideally, to study the effects of unemployment, we should match our sample group with a similar group who are employed while controlling for demographic and social characteristics. Another
possibility, although more costly, would be to do a longitudinal study from the onset of unemployment and follow the group for a period of time during periods of unemployment as well as during periods of employment. Such research designs would yield a great deal more knowledge than we presently have.

A further difficulty with the unemployment literature is that it is not quantified. This is especially true with the earlier literature. We have excellent personal accounts of the tragedies unemployment has brought some individuals and families; and for the time, these accounts met their purpose. However, given the growth of the population, the economy and technological advancement, and the fact that our definition of "full-employment" keeps increasing from 3% to 4% to 5%, and even higher, it would seem imperative that we obtain quantifiable data as to the impact of unemployment. Without such data our knowledge of the effects of unemployment will remain incomplete and impressionistic. Such a state of knowledge does not help policy makers in making effective decisions which affect millions of people; it does not help social workers and clinicians in providing needed services; and most importantly, it does not help the unemployed.

In spite of their shortcomings, these studies have been valuable in providing basic knowledge in the field of unemployment. Judging from the few recent studies that have emerged, and which will later be addressed, it appears that better methodological studies are being conceived both qualitatively and quantitatively. Having prefaced this review of the literature with this brief critique, let us move on to the literature itself.

Several attempts have been made to trace the psychological stages or phases which the unemployed goes through. Zawadski and Lazarsfeld, after analyzing 57 autobiographies of the unemployed, identified six stages or moods the unemployed person experiences. Stage one, which comes with dismissal, usually causes

...a feeling of injury; sometimes strong fears and distress; sometimes an impulse toward revenge; hatred; indignation; fury; thereafter (stage two) comes a stage of numbness and apathy that is gradually, (stage three) replaced by calming down and an increase in steadiness, bringing one again to a relative balance. This mental stage is characterized by a resumption of activity, the unemployed becomes calm as they see that things go along somehow and adapt themselves to the circumstances; they trust in good fate or in their own ability, and try to believe that the solution will improve soon. (stage four) But this hope becomes constantly weaker, when they see the futility of effort. (stage five) When the
solution becomes harder, the old savings and new sources exhausted, then comes the hopelessness which expresses itself at first in attacks of fear, for instance, fear of winter, and of homelessness, which culminates in distress, the expression of which is the thought of attempt at suicide. (stage six) After these outbreaks usually comes sober acquiescence or dumb apathy, and then the alternation between hope and hopelessness, activity and passivity, according to the momentary changes in the material situation. /1/

Bakke, who studied extensively the behavior of 25 unemployed families between 1932-1937, identified five stages which the unemployed and his family go through. Stage one, momentum stability, is characterized by no immediate change in family functioning resulting from unemployment. The unemployed person uses most of the time to find new employment, works around the house and spends more time with the children. Financial resources are stretched out to meet basic needs. Stage two, unstable equilibrium, increases family conflict. The wife begins to seek employment and this shifts domestic responsibilities to other members of the family, especially older children, since the husband is also looking for employment. Management of financial assets becomes problematic. If the wife is working she gains prestige and handles the bills. If no one in the family is working, every expenditure becomes a major decision and potential source of conflict. Family disorganization characterizes stage three. All of the difficulties experienced in stage two are also experienced here but with greater intensity. Pressures from creditors, public opinion and loss of friends reinforce the feeling of failure, which intensifies domestic conflicts. The husband's, wife's, and children's role in the family becomes confused, and if not quickly resolved, it will destroy the family unit.

Stage four, experimental readjustment, calls for family readjustment and acceptance to their new situation. How the family previously functioned is abandoned and new standards for family functioning are developed. This forces the wife to be more realistic about the present situation in the manner she manages and plans for the future. The husband is most threatened by these changes. If the wife and/or children are working, their role of provider becomes more acceptable, and maintaining social fronts becomes less important. Financial obligations are being met, emotional acceptance to the readjustments are materializing and respect for each other strengthens the family unit.

The final stage, permanent readjustment, focuses on dealing with the present and planning for the future given the changes that have occurred. Family conflicts have almost disappeared and family activities become a cohesive force. The family has reached a new
form of stability. /2/

Studying the course of unemployment of a group of men, Gatti found that at first the "laid off worker" feels surprise, particularly if the individual has never before been unemployed, then fear, with renewed hope while the worker is actively looking for a job, and then anxiety. But when hope fails, the unemployed have a feeling that 'life has forgotten them' and become apathetic. Gatti feels that unemployment has its most marked effects at this stage, and that this is the point of greatest crisis. Long durations of unemployment makes the individual even more apathetic. /3/

While analyzing the literature concerning the psychological effects of unemployment, Eisenber and Lazarfeld identify four major attitudes and stages of unemployment: (1) the unbroken: the unemployed is persistent in obtaining employment; he is often "lucky" in finding a job, (2) the resigned: here the unemployed faces extreme limitations of all needs; future plans are indefinite and there is little hope of things improving. This stage is characterized by hopelessness, (3) the apathetic stage is dominated by unconcern and idleness. As in stage 1, there are no future plans. In stage (4), the distressed life is surrounded by bitterness, hatred, and hopelessness. Flight into drunkenness and thoughts of suicide are quite common. /4/

A careful examination of these various stages of unemployment suggests that these emotional experiences are very similar psychological reactions to loss, grief and separation. /5/ They are also very similar to the reactions of dying patients. Kubler-Ross, /6/ in her work with dying patients, identified five phases which most dying persons experience: denial and isolation; anger, bargaining; depression, and acceptance. A cursory examination of the stages which the unemployed experiences suggest that losing employment and prolonged unemployment produce some very definite psychological reactions which have a pattern. The fact that not all of these stages are identical may be explained by the lack of systematic research carried out in studying the unemployed.

Psychological Reactions to Unemployment

The anticipation and the actuality of job loss is known to produce many different emotional reactions. These reactions vary from simple stress to severe depression and actual suicide. What factors cause one person to react more severely than another is still unknown. What we do know is that unemployment affects everyone in one form or another.
One methodologically sound and important study concerning the physical and emotional reaction to unemployment was conducted by Kasl and Cobb. The authors were interested in studying blood pressure changes and social stress adjustment of stably employed men during the time of anticipated job loss, actual job loss and reemployment. Two comparable occupation groups were used as control groups to verify the results of the two experimental groups. After two years of carefully testing and interviewing, they found that:

...blood pressure levels during anticipation of job loss and unemployment or probationary re-employment were clearly higher than during later stabilization on new jobs; men whose blood pressure remained high longer, had more severe unemployment, were lower on Ego Resilience, reported longer-lasting subjective stress and failed to show much improvement in reported well-being (interviews); within the period of anticipation, there was a clear rise in blood pressure which was correlated with subjective ratings of felt stresses... /7/

The two control groups showed no significant changes in blood pressure.

If the anticipation of joblessness is physically and emotionally stressful, what can be said about actual joblessness? For the unemployed person to experience anxiety, disorganization, depression, shame, humiliation, degradation, loss of self-worth, loss of self-confidence and hope, is not uncommon. But what is more tragic is that these feelings often lead to increased drinking, wife and child abuse, crime and suicide. But let us first look at the emotional stresses that unemployment creates before seeing how these feelings manifest themselves in destructive behavior.

The struggle between feelings of shame, humiliation, degradation, hope and pride are daily emotional experiences of many unemployed. Shame derives from the inability to do anything about their situation; especially after having been socialized to believe that if a person doesn't work it's because he or she is lazy and to be lazy is to be subhuman.

Life has made a coward of me. Sometimes I would like to bend myself in a humble way before the world and beg, 'Buy me! Buy me!' And then I burn for shame. /8/

Humiliation and degradation is a state of mind based on experiences of rejection and loss of human dignity and self-worth. Unable to find work the unemployed often feels rejected by society; unable to provide for the family and witnessing their suffering is degrading and fosters feelings of anger and inferiority, as exemplified in
these typical case records.

I look for a job. I bow with servility, I ask, I beg, I humble myself and lose my ego. I become a beast, a humiliated beast, excluded from the realm of society./9/

How hard and humiliating it is to bear the name of an unemployed man. When I go out, I cast down my eyes because I feel myself wholly inferior. When I go along the street, it seems to me that I can't be compared with an average citizen, that everybody is pointing at me with his finger. I instinctively avoid meeting anyone. Former acquaintances and friends of better times are no longer so cordial. They greet me indifferently when we meet. They no longer offer me a cigarette and their eyes seem to say, 'you are not worth it, you don't work.' /10/

The general impression that the interviews make is that in addition to sheer economic anxiety the man suffers from deep humiliation. He experiences a sense of deep frustration because in his own estimation he fails to fulfill what is the central duty of his life, the very touchstone of his manhood—the role of family provider. The man appears bewildered and humiliated. It is as if the ground had gone out from under his feet.... Every purchase of the family—the radio, his wife's new hat, the children's skates, the meals set before him—all were symbols of their dependence upon him. Unemployment changed it all. It is to the relief office, or to a relative, that the family now turns.... /11/

Although it is clinically difficult to assess the degree of mental health of individuals prior to experiencing unemployment, a relationship between unemployment, anxiety and somatic symptoms has been suggested. Shlionsky, Prue and Rose in their clinical observations of 200 unemployed men, found that a percentage, though small, of the men experienced anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms because of unemployment. /12/ According to Winick,

There are so many unconscious and group needs that work meets that unemployment may lead not only to generalized anxiety, but to free-floating hostility, somatic symptoms and the unconscious selection of some serious illnesses. /13/

As previously established, work provides order and a sense of stability. The absence of work creates a sense of atonie: a feeling of rootlessness and dissociation.
The opposite of work is not leisure or free time; it is being victimized by some kind of disorder which, at its extreme, is chaos. It means being unable to plan or to predict. And it is precisely in the relation between the desire for order and its achievement that work provides the sense of mastery so important to self-esteem. /14/

It is not surprising that a common reaction of the unemployed is the feeling of "going crazy" or "nuts" when not working. This is especially true after initial job searching efforts result in failure, and "free time" is abundant. When unemployed, the person sees "the clock go around but he has nothing to show for the hours that have passed." /15/ Time which was once an element of life to challenge and race against now merely passes by, leaving boredom, restlessness and a sense of disorganization and uselessness.

Shanmugam set out to study the level of anxiety produced by unemployment in Madras, India. Using the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, the Wechsler and Hortgoges Mirror Drawing Test and the Eysenck Hand Steadiness test, he compared the levels of anxiety of three groups: unemployed, underemployed and employed men. His results were interesting: the unemployed were significantly more anxious than the employed, but the underemployed were more anxious than the unemployed; as the length of underemployment increased, so did the level of anxiety, but this was not so with the unemployed. Anxiety was greatest for the unemployed between the 7 and 12 month, after which it dropped. /16/

In spite of these intense stressful feelings, the unemployed still maintains personal pride, hope and a belief that things will change for the better. For without this pride and hope there seems nothing to live for.

I am strangely bowed down. It is hunger which bends and humiliates people this way. I pull myself up, chest out, belly in. Nobody shall know that I am hungry. At least appearances should be saved. /17/

One would think that after a family had used up all of its savings, cashed in all of its insurance policies, borrowed to the hilt, it would no longer hesitate to apply for relief but such was not the case. Mrs. Bergman said that they were pretty desperate but neither she nor her husband would swallow their pride and go and make application for relief. When he sprained his ankle she decided to apply because he could no longer look for work with his additional handicap. Both cried as they spoke of this period. They were without food or money.
The children were crying from hunger and they were quarreling with each other about what they should do but each was too nervous to take action until Mr. Bergman was injured. When her application was turned down, Mrs. Bergman went home feeling licked and decided that suicide for the entire family was the only answer. They felt that the end of the world had come and they almost lost their desire to live. /18/

Prolonged unemployment quite often results in loss of friends and greater isolation. Sometimes their loss of friends is of their own making:

Mr. Davowitz summed up the matter in these terms: their friends know their circumstances and feared to visit; that they will be offered refreshments which can only come out of the limited budget which the Davowitz have at their disposal. Hence, rather than deprive the Davowitz of much needed food, they stay away and deprive them of much needed company. /19/

The tight budget forced most men to withdraw from the unions, lodges, and sometimes even from their churches. Because they did not have a dime for a glass of beer, many men stopped seeing their friends and acquaintances, not without serious consequences, however, because the isolated man does not hear of job openings. /20/

While some old friends are lost, some new ones are also found. Briar, in her sample of long term unemployment, found that while these men and women did spend more time alone since being unemployed, they did find new friends who, too, were unemployed.

Most striking changes in friendships occurred with the persistent joblessness. Half of the unemployed workers had new friendships with other persons also out of work. They saw their new friends on the average of three times a week. Consolation and understanding came quickly from those who have experienced similar problems. It is not surprising that new friendships would be generated because of joblessness, binding persons who had no other reason to be drawn together. /21/

By far, the most serious emotional stress experienced by the unemployed is depression. Failure to obtain employment over a period of time develops into feelings of self-recrimination and depression. Briar, in her study of unemployment during the Boeing recession in the early 1970's, noted that during the second phase of unemployment, when joblessness became a way of life, workers shifted the blame for
their unemployment from the system to themselves. According to Briar:

By holding themselves responsible for their inability to find a job they are able to justify their need to persevere, and to rationalize their prolonged job hunt. /22/

To step from self-blame to depression is not difficult for the unemployed, especially for the long term unemployed. In a study of 200 unemployed men who were being psychiatrically observed and evaluated in terms of their emotional reactions to unemployment, the major observation was the depressed moods of the men.

The depressive mood was characterized by such symptoms as worry, brooding, despondency, resignation, apathy, and hopelessness. The emotional states associated with this depressive mood included such disturbances as tension, anxiety, uneasiness, jitteriness, irritability, and restlessness.

The changes in mood (depressive mood and emotional states closely associated with it) were present in 180 cases or 90 percent of the group. /23/

Depression due to joblessness takes on various forms with different persons. In some individuals depression manifests itself in terms of discouragement, hopelessness, distrust of others, lowering morale and lack of self-confidence. /24/ To others, depression takes on a more self-destructive and abusive manifestation, Komarovsky, /25/ Donig, /26/ Zawadski and Lazarfeld, /27/ and Brenner, /28/ have suggested an increase in alcohol abuse as a result of unemployment. Brenner found a definite correlation between alcohol abuse and economic recessions:

The findings of alcohol abuse are consistent with the hypothesis of increased mental disorder precipitated by social-psychological stress during economic recession... the arrest rates for driving while intoxicated in the United States as a whole, and the number of persons brought to trial and found guilty of driving while intoxicated in the city of Philadelphia (a sample city used in the study), were found to increase substantially during national economic recessions. /29/

Contemplation of and actual suicide attempts are frequent findings in the unemployment literature. Suicide is another manifestation of depressive behavior. In the 57 autobiographies of the unemployed that Zawadski and Lazarfeld analyzed, the thought of committing suicide appears in about half, 27, of the reports. Not only
is suicide often thought of, but, as the authors point out, so is ending the lives of other members of the family:

In six of the 27 cases the murder of the family was planned too. Details about the first step toward execution of this plan are reported in all six cases; two really tried but failed. /30/

The reader may also recall Mrs. Bergman's comments after having been denied relief, "Mrs. Bergman went home feeling licked and decided that suicide for the entire family was the only answer."

The relationship between crime and unemployment has been reasonably established and will be more fully covered in the coming pages. Suffice to say, that when there is no income, no personal items left to sell, and no relative or friend support, in desperation the unemployed may turn to crime.

It is clear from the preceding pages that unemployment lays a heavy blow on its victim. However, it is not only the unemployed that suffers, but those close to the unemployed also bear a heavy burden; this is especially true of family members. While unemployment does have serious effects on the family unit and its members, fortunately, these effects on the whole are not serious enough to cause separation or divorce in most families. A comprehensive review of the unemployment literature suggests that unemployment is not a cause of separation or divorce. There are some cases in which unemployment leads to separation or divorce, but these are the exception rather than the rule.* Whether divorce or separation proceedings take place after the family has been restored to economic stability is not clear and it is an area that needs careful research. It appears that while unemployment does create loss of income and family conflict, it also seems to create a closer and mutual dependency upon family members. The conflicts that do arise from unemployment stem from lack of financial resources, changes in family roles, adjustment to more frequent family member contact, increase in drinking, possible physical abuse to wife and children, sexual difficulties and greater stress and demand on the wife and children.

As previously mentioned, financial hardship is one of the most severe stresses experienced by the unemployed and their families. Unemployment, though often viewed as temporary, means the disruption of regular income, changes in spending habits and making do with less of everything. As unemployment progresses, more and more of what was

*It was recently brought to my attention that new data suggests that unemployment leads to divorce. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing this data was not available.
once considered necessities are now seen as luxuries. Savings, if there are any, are used to provide basic needs and pay overdue bills. Once savings are exhausted, the family begins to borrow from friends, local merchants and relatives. If unemployment persists, other family members decide to enter the labor market to prevent further debts. This usually creates greater conflicts and compounds the family problems beyond finances. If other family members are unable to find work, personal items—furniture, television, cars, and even wedding rings are sold. Ultimately, it boils down hope and pride: hope that work will be found, and pride to do everything possible to avoid applying for public assistance. Contrary to common belief, having to receive public assistance is humiliating and degrading to most families. It is the final step before starvation.

Changes in family roles quite often result from unemployment. These changes affect the husband, wife and children differently. Traditionally, though, less now than in previous years, the husband has been ascribed the role of provider. While during period of employment this role may not have created difficulties for the man—in fact it has been his source of power and authority over family members—during periods of unemployment, however, his role of provider is threatened as is his authority within the family. Komarovsky /31/ set out to study what happens to a man's role and authority as the economic provider of the family when he is unemployed. She interviewed fifty-nine families, who had experienced unemployment for at least one year, during the winter of 1935-1936. She discerned three patterns of changes brought about by unemployment. In the first pattern, crystallization of an inferior status, unemployment crystallized a previously existing inferior status of a despised husband. "In families illustrating this pattern the woman dominated the family prior to the depression. Furthermore, she neither loved nor respected her husband." The second pattern, breakdown of a more or less coercive control, unemployment had undermined the authority of a dominant husband over a subordinate and resentful wife. The final pattern, weakened authority of a husband over a loving wife, unemployment lowered the status of the husband and created a more equalitarian relationship. In short, Komarovsky's findings suggest that unemployment dose tend to lower the status and authority of the husband. His loss of earnings and failure to provide for the family also lowered the prestige he held and lessened the respect the wife had for him. Finally, unemployment of the husband often meant a realignment of power, prestige, and authority within the family. Similar findings of how unemployment affects the status, prestige and authority of the husband were found by Briar, /32/ Ginzberg, /33/ and Bakke. /34/ The following case excerpts provide a range of how different husbands and wives reacted to the changes in roles:
Profound, indeed, must be the importance of the role of the provider for the man's self-esteem to cause him to say, 'I would rather starve than let my wife work.' Or, 'I would rather turn on the gas and put an end to the whole family than let my wife support me.' /35/

In his office interview, Mr. Cowan plaintively remarked that his wife is now wearing the pants and this makes for disturbances in the family. He said that not even in Italy or Germany, where all sorts of queer things are happening, that the male fails to remain the head of the household. He realized that his wife had reason for complaint now that he was no longer earning money. She keeps repeating, 'FDR is the head of the household since he gives me the money.' Even in families free of material tension, the failure to the man to continue as breadwinner led to a shifting in authority, usually to his wife, occasionally to an older child. /36/

When Mr. C lost his job in Winchester's, his wife was successful in getting a job there, and he did the housework. Mrs. C thinks that this was a very bitter blow to his pride, and says that he has been a good sport about it and did not mind until the neighbors made fun of him. They saw him working outside the house. He and she have never quarreled over the housework, but she felt very badly when she saw how miserable he was, and when she is home she protects him from the criticisms of the neighbors by making certain that he engages in no domestic duties at which they will see him. /37/

The hardest thing about unemployment, Mr. Patterson says, is the humiliation within the family. It makes him feel very useless to have his wife and daughter bring in money to the family while he does not contribute a nickel. It is awful to him, because now 'the tables are turned,' that is, he has to ask his daughter for a little money for tobacco, etc. He would rather walk miles than ask for carfare money.... He had often thought that it would make it easier if he could have 25 cents a week that he could depend upon. /38/

Not all men who are unemployed lose their status, prestige and authority in the family. Some men are better able to deal with situations and devote more time to family members and domestic chores. /39/

As joblessness continues and the job seeker becomes more frustrated in not finding employment, more time is spent at home. This.
increase in contact with family members, especially the wife, creates additional problems. In a recent interview with a married couple, the author asked the wife what she found most difficult about her husband's unemployment. Next to financial difficulties she stated that having him around the house all day long was getting on her nerves. She said she was used to her routine of housecleaning, watching television and preparing meals. But now with him around, her routine was broken and her privacy gone. She felt that she had lost some of her freedom and was compelled to pay attention to her husband when she should be doing other things around the house. "I don't like it when he is in the house all day long. I don't have any time for myself."

Ginzberg and Briar had similar findings:

...The fact that the men hung around the house led to friction. Mrs. Sullivan said there is constant bickering and quarreling in the household. Her husband is nervous; he yells at the children and at her and she nags at him because she can't stand this poverty. Maybe it's not his fault that he's unemployed, but it is a man's business to support his family.

Mrs. B exploded, he hangs around most of the day and drives me crazy. She could not stand it when he is at home because they quarrel and it seems to her that they usually do not even know the reason for the quarrel. They are both nervous and pick on each other. She is glad when he goes out and leaves her alone. /40/

Often complaints are lodged against the worker not just because he is unable to meet the financial needs of the family but also because he is 'in the way,' or demands too much attention from his wife while he is underfoot at home all day. One engineer, who spent 30 years at that occupation, discovered that being around the home all day was a real problem for his wife because it involved 'breaking into her pattern of living.' /41/

Unaccustomed to being at home during the day, feeling irritable and frustrated in not being able to find work and sensing that he is in the way at home, adds to the feeling of uselessness on the part of the husband. On the other hand, the wife too has greater demands placed on her. She has to make do with what's available, take better care of the families' possessions and plan carefully how to spend the little money that is left. All this means greater work for her in addition to being sensitive to her husband's feelings and other family members' needs. The following examples illustrates the difficulties and demands placed on the wife:
The women were constantly harassed; they walked long distances to save a penny or two on purchases. They washed and ironed everything, even the heavy sheets. They tried to cheer up their husbands. They helped their children to get along on very little. However, they found time to worry. Mrs. Shannon said that she worries and worries about her troubles and does not see any way out. She worries a great deal about the children because she wants them to have what they need but it is very hard to manage. It is extremely important for her to keep her home scrupulously clean and to follow a prescribed routine for her children as to their food and exercise. In her attempt to do all this, she sometimes has trouble keeping her courage up. Although she is not yet 31, she sometimes feels that she has been working for centuries and cannot remember when she last had a rest. /42/

Previously it was mentioned that there is evidence of unemployment leading to alcohol abuse. There is also some evidence that unemployment and the accompanying psychological stresses bring about physical abuse to children and wife. Hall, in a study of 150 cases of unemployed families, identifies 7 cases in which child and wife abuse was related to unemployment. /43/ Ginzberg /44/ cites a couple of incidents of wife abuse in his sensitive study of families during the depression. The extent to which unemployment leads to child and wife abuse is not clear. Most of our studies of the effects of unemployment have taken place during the depression. It is plausible that much of this abuse against children and wives went unreported since it was more "acceptable" than it is now. Consequently, this is another area in which more in-depth research needs to be done.

There are indications from case records of studies done during the depression that unemployment affects sexual relations between husband and wife. Komarovsky, /45/ who provides the best information available, found that 22 out of 38 had decreased their frequency of sexual intercourse. Eight of the 22 families claimed that their change in sexual contact was not related to unemployment, but to ill health and aging of the couple; the remaining 14 directly connected their decrease of sexual contact to unemployment: 11 said that they were afraid of pregnancy, 2 because the wife lost respect for the husband and 1 because of general anxiety. As Komarovsky points out, although the 8 families who attributed a decrease of sexual contact to age and health reasons were in fact a bit older, it is difficult to say whether these alleged reasons were merely convenient and socially acceptable excuses. If so, it would seem that the relationship between unemployment and sexual difficulty is much greater.

Fear of pregnancy during unemployment was sufficient reason for 11 of these families to reduce their sexual activity. This was especially true of families on public assistance, who felt that: "It
is a crime for children to be born when the parents haven't got enough money to have them properly." "A man hasn't got a right to a child unless he can support him." Ignorance and inaccessibility to birth control devices added to the fear of pregnancy. Fear of pregnancy was also used as a rationalization to avoid sexual contact when love had been lost. Decline in sexual relations due to loss of respect for the husband for failing to provide is not an uncommon reaction, especially among women who view sexual intercourse as an obligation and duty. According to Ginzberg:

Many women were distressed by their husband's failure to provide for the family. They had taken for granted, even prior to marriage, that a husband would provide for his wife and children. When a man failed to carry out his obligations, his wife frequently lost her balance. The most telling evidence is found in the changed attitude of many women toward intercourse. Mrs. Berkowitz said that she had always hated it, meaning intercourse, but never felt that she could do anything about it. But now, thank God, it was possible for her to sleep apart from her husband. Mrs. Wolfe, a much younger woman, was even more outspoken. She said that she had always been a cold person, had little interest in sexual matters. When her husband was working and supporting her, she supposed it was his right to have sexual relations and she therefore acquiesced. Now she avoids him. She has limited sexual relations to once a week and even tries to get out of this.

The excessive sexual demands of Mr. Cowan has long been cause for family friction, but Mrs. Cowan said that as long as he made a living, they went along from day to day. Now it was impossible. /46/

Similar case examples have been recorded by Komarovsky. /47/

Just as unemployment affects individuals, husbands and wives, so does it affect children. During prolonged periods of unemployment, the child, not unlike other members of the family, must do without clothing, medical care, entertainment and often food. The child too can feel the stress within the family and often witnesses the conflicts between mother and father and older brothers and sisters. As previously noted, the child is also the recipient of physical and emotional abuse stemming from parental frustration and anger. In his study of unemployed families, Ginsberg concluded that "In 80% of the families, one or more children showed evidence that their psyche had been damaged due to the father's unemployment. /48/ What were these children's psychological conditions prior to the father's unemployment is not clear; but even if only 29% of these children suffer psychological damage because of parental unemployment, it is
a serious matter. The fact is that again we know very little about the impact of unemployment on children.

From studies done during the depression we know that unemployment in the family forced many children to leave school prematurely to enter the labor market to help support the family. /49/ Unemployment and the financial hardship which it creates, prevent the development of children's special talents—musical, artistic, scholastic, etc. /50/ Children of the unemployed tend to receive lower grades in school. /51/ Children of the unemployed have frequent encounters with the law. /52/ And finally, unemployment creates great difficulties between parents and adolescent children. /53/

Despite the genuine effort of many wives to support their husbands emotionally, the man's status deteriorated, especially in households with adolescent children. The fact that their fathers were not working; the fact that their mothers had to budget every penny, all these things proved that their fathers were failures...

The Brill's daughter wants things that other girls have and does not understand why she cannot have them. She does not see why her father cannot get a job like other men and she tells him so.

In the Gallagher family, things have reached an even worse impasse. According to both parents, the older two children are unhappy because they want things they cannot have, and refuse to listen to reason when the father tries to explain why they cannot have certain things. They point to other fathers. This leads because they are so unreasonable. When they make noise or annoy him, he flies off the handle. /54/

Perhaps the effect of unemployment on individuals and families is best summarized by the following observation:

Unemployment was much more than a question of shortages of food, clothing and amusement. Unemployment transformed the life of the man, changed the position of the woman, and left its imprint on the physical emotional and occupational life of the children. But it did even more. Unemployment left its mark on the thinking of people. /55/
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17. Zawadzki and Lazarsfeld, op. cit. p. 239.

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49. Hall, op. cit. p. 383. In at least 45 cases children left school to go to work and help the family.

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