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Symposium: The Social Security Controversy - Has the Solution Become the Problem?

This a collection of two of four papers presented at the Annual Meeting of the society for the Study of Social Problems in Detroit, August 27-30, 1983. The theme of the meeting was "The Making of Social Problems: Social Construction and Maintenance of Social Problems over Time." This symposium sought to explore the theme by using the social security program as a framework for discussion.

The first paper, by Bruno Stein, reviews the conditions of the social security fiscal crisis. He focuses on the impact of benefit increases beginning in the late 1960's at a time when the flow of revenues was reduced by the effects of high unemployment and inflation. While higher benefits contributed to better standards of living for the elderly, the strain on the social security funding mechanism became critical.

Stein discusses the establishment of a national commission to deal with the fiscal crisis and its success in coming up with an acceptable formula to restore the system to at least temporary solvency. In general, the commission recommended, and Congress enacted, an increase in payroll tax revenue, benefit reductions, and provisions for future emergencies. He suggests, however, that we have not seen the last of social security as a controversial issue.

In the second paper, Martin B. Tracy discusses how recent increases in old-age pension benefit amounts fail to address the
needs of a growing number of elderly persons. While raising the benefit levels on various occasions in the 1960's and 1970's has been effective in reducing poverty, many older women continue to rely on substandard income levels. It is argued that the status of many such women is due to the social security system's failure to adjust programatically to the condition of single and divorced women with irregular employment patterns or work in low paying jobs. The shift in the position of women from dependency on the male breadwinners old-age pension to a reliance on their own income resources has not been accompanied by adequate adjustments in a social security system originally designed to meet the needs of family composition in the 1930's.

The suggestion is made that greater attention needs to be paid to provisions that would specifically compensate for the conditions that often lead to poverty for older women. Experiences of other nations in coping with a similar set of circumstances are briefly examined. The subsequent recommendation is to either institute a two-tier pension system or adopt credit-splitting (earnings-sharing) and homemaker credit provisions.
INTRODUCTION

As domestic political crisis go, the Social Security crisis has had a rather long run. The little monster made its first formal appearance in the 1974 Annual Report of the Trustees (1974), (1) and retained its ability to generate headlines and political grief until March 1983, when passage of the current Amendments put it to rest, at least for the time being. There is some measure of irony here. The original Social Security Act of 1935 was a rather modest venture, as these things go. Over time, the Act was expanded to cover more people, insure against more contingencies, and provide higher real benefits (Munnell, 1977). Changes since 1977 are more in the nature of reductions than growth, except for coverage which is slightly expanded by the 1983 Amendments. In 1972, Congress added what were believed to be the final touches to the structure. It provided an ultimate boost in benefits and, to take Social Security "out of politics", indexed the benefit computation formula and the benefit to price changes.

Two years later, things began to come apart. The very possibility that Social Sec-
urity could not continue functioning without major changes had not been seriously contemplated by policymakers or the public since the end of World War II. The notion that Social Security could be soundly financed on a current rather than on a fully funded basis had become acceptable since the 1939 Amendments had led to this change. Each increment to the law had been legislated with considerable care. The political mechanism for effectuating changes had been built around the idea of consensus, and involved interest groups (including the program executives of the Social Security Administration), legislators who developed special knowledge, and administrations which, regardless of political party, were not unfriendly to Social Security (Derthick, 1979).

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRISIS

In order to understand the nature and dynamics of the Social Security crisis, at least with respect to cash benefit payments, a few generally accepted principles must be reviewed. (3) The first principle is that Social Security is a set of promises for the future, and the future is uncertain. The second is that, at each point in time, taxes currently levied upon employers and workers are largely used to pay current benefits to claimants, i.e., the system pays as it goes. That is to say, it is not comparable to an annuity contract under which an insurance carrier receives premiums, invests them, and guarantees an income stream to the annuitant that is based on the amount of the premiums, the expected rate of return on accumulated premiums, and the life expectancy (or probability of other contingencies of the insured group. In Social Security there is no kitty full of cash to be paid out - no stock of assets accumulated over a lifetime to be drawn.
down for retirement purposes.

Social Security promises are backed—if that is the right word—by the future taxing power of government. (4) So are government bonds, but the owner of the bond has a contractual right to payment which is protected by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. The "buyer" of a Social Security "annuity" has no comparable property right. His or her rights are defined by statute and may be changed by legislation. For example, in Flemming v. Nestor, 363 U.S. 603, the Supreme Court said that "the non-contractual interests of an employee (who had paid FICA taxes) cannot soundly be analogized to that of the holder of an annuity . . ." 363 U.S. 603, at 616. The case upheld a law depriving Communists and their dependents of benefits. Hence, if promises made at an earlier point in time cannot be kept, they can legally be modified or eliminated by Congress.

A third principle, which follows from the above, is that the taxing power of government is constrained by the willingness and ability of taxpayers to bear the burden of the tax. Willingness and ability are not fully separable concepts, but it is safe to say that they are functionally related to the real incomes of taxpayers. These, in turn, depend on the ability of the economy to generate output, preferably at a growing rate.

And there, of course, is the rub. The economy began to slow down in the late 1960's, but only hindsight showed that this was a trend and not a cyclical aberration. There were, to be sure, economists who worried in the decline on growth of output per labor hour from 2.96 percent in 1960-64 to 1.76 percent in 1965-70 (Economic Report of the President, 1982). The next two half decades saw further declines in growth, including some years when the decline was absolute rather than relative.
Give or take some swings in the business cycle, the 1970's were a decade of economic stagnation, as evidenced by the data on growth of real Gross National Product (3.88 percent in the 1960's and 3.12 percent in the 1970's), and more dramatically, by a decline in average real weekly wages from $186.94 in the 1960's to $164.97 in the 1970's (Economic Report of the President, 1982). That's a decline of close to 12 percent, and it is not trivial. Taxes, however, are levied on nominal income, not real income, and they began to hurt.

Let us now step back in time. During the 1950's and most of the 1960's, benefit levels remained roughly in line with price changes, being adjusted by ad hoc legislation from time to time. Toward the end of that decade - just when the economy was beginning to slow down - real benefits began to rise. Nominal adjustments in 1968 and 1970 were 13 percent and 15 percent respectively, or 30 percent for the period when compounded. The Consumer Price Index rose 16 percent during that time, leaving a real benefit increase of 14 percent. The 1972 Amendments, which were intended to depoliticize Social Security by introducing indexation in 1975, gave nominal benefits another upward push of 20 percent, well above the rate of inflation (Social Security Bulletin, 1977-79). In short, the aged, survivors, and disabled got a larger slice of the pie just about the time that the pie had ceased to grow.

I am not prepared to argue that most or at least many claimants did not need or deserve these benefit increases. In the 1960's, benefits replaced 30 percent of the earnings of the median wage earner retiring at age 65, not counting dependents' benefits or the tax free status of the benefit. By 1975 the corresponding figure was 40.4 percent (Munnell, 1979). Social Security has been of
enormous importance in eliminating poverty for all but a small segment of the aged. All I am saying is that by the mid 1970's the Social Security system had reached a point where it could not keep its promises for the immediate future, however virtuous these might have been, without some change. Moreover, it had become apparent that it would probably also not be able to keep its promises to the population cohorts born during the baby boom that followed World War II.

The particular symptoms of the stagnation of the 1970's (and early 1980's) were concurrent high rates of inflation and unemployment. The financing of Social Security was and is peculiarly sensitive to these phenomena. The indexation of benefits to prices, effective in 1975, caused outlays to rise with inflation. Unemployment, in turn, reduced revenues. If the system was to be self-supporting, that is, if it could rely on other sources of revenues, then the combination of unemployment and inflation had to be deadly. And so it was.

In 1977, after much agonizing, Congress responded to the threatened bankruptcy of the OASI Trust Fund by increasing the scheduled payroll tax increases, raising the maximum taxable wage, and indexing the latter to average annual wages. Congress also corrected the flaw in the benefit computation system that drove benefits higher than intended. This action involved a reduction in benefits for new retirees, effective 1983, and for new survivors and disabled claimants, effective in 1987. The last two groups were politically weaker than the first. What it rejected is also of interest: it did not accept the Carter proposal to tax all of the employers' payrolls, and it chose not to introduce funding from general revenues. Finally, it did not raise taxes enough to eliminate the actuarial deficit in the long run, when the war babies
would reach retirement.

CRISIS REDUX

Within a couple of years it became evident that the labors of Congress had been insufficient. Short term projections of price and wage changes, as well as unemployment, on which the legislation was based, turned out to have been wildly optimistic. The OASI Trust Fund was again heading for extinction, and would reach illiquidity levels by 1982. However, the 1982 elections had now drastically altered the consensual politics of Social Security, mixing it with the politics of the federal budget.

These politics called for sizable cut in income taxes, which was legislated, increases in defense spending, and compensating reduction in non-defense outlays in order to minimize the size of the federal budget deficits. Social Security is a rather large item in the unified federal budget, and the Administration proposed to solve the Social Security crisis by reducing the expenditure. This would also have enabled it to reduce the size of future budget deficits. Its package consisted of twelve cuts and one item of cost increases. The major cut, which led to an uproar, was a reduction in benefits for new claimants at age 62, from 80 percent of the normal benefit to 55 percent, with corresponding reductions at age 63 and 64 (U.S. Congress, 1981). Congress shuddered, and the package was withdrawn.

This left Congress with the need to do something - anything - in an atmosphere that can be characterized as one of hysterical near paralysis. The usual mechanism of amending the Social Security Act had consisted of having the House Ways and Means Committee
draft a bill, negotiate with the Senate Finance committee, and produce a compromise acceptable to Congress as a whole. This mechanism went down with the rest of the Committee process. In its place was the budget reconciliation process, long ignored until then. The outcome was series of cuts aimed at politically weak constituencies. Since this was far from sufficient to solve the near term crisis, let alone the long term problem, Congress put off the day of reckoning by authorizing the OASI Trust Fund to borrow from the other two Trust Funds in 1982. (5) After complex negotiations between Congressional leaders and the Administration, a bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform was to be appointed and charged with making legislative proposals to get everybody off the hook. It succeeded.

THE CRISIS SUBSIDES

The policy options that existed had been widely discussed and studied by a variety of commissions, (6) think tanks, academics, and others. No magical solutions were possible, and few politically weak targets remained. The business before Alan Greenspan's National Commission, and for the Congress, was one of how to apportion the pain among different segments of the population, now and in the future. In essence, the options that were available were:

1. raising more revenues through the payroll tax mechanism;

2. reducing benefits for present and future claimants, relatively or absolutely;

3. finding other revenue sources, e.g. general revenues;
4. devising some combination of the above;

5. introducing some flexibility into the financing mechanism to cope with the possible future shocks.

The Commission's recommendations, Report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform, 1983, which Congress speedily adopted (with only minor changes), consisted of all of the above, except that general revenues play a trivial part and are disguised as bookkeeping changes. The major ones can be summarized as follows:

**Revenue Changes**

Acceleration of the scheduled payroll tax increases; coverage of new federal employees; coverage of all non-profit institutions (most are covered, but this prevents them from leaving the system); prohibition of state and local governments that opted into the system from leaving it.

**Benefit Changes**

Postponement of cost-of-living adjustments from June to December of each year; taxing 50 percent of benefits of claimants with threshold incomes of $25,000 (single filers) or $32,500 (joint filers) and returning these revenues to the Trust Funds; raising the age at which full retirement benefits are available to age 66 for workers who are between 29 and 40 years old in 1983, and to age 67 for those who are twenty years old now, with a phase-in for those in between.

**Flexibility**

A "stabilizer", triggered by a fall in
the ratio of assets to outlays in the combined Trust Funds to 15 percent (20 percent after 1988), by which cost-of-living adjust-ments are based on the lower price or wage increases, with provision for catch-up benefits should the ratio rise above 32 percent; a provision that the Trustees of the Fund (the Secretaries of the Treasury, Labor, and Health and Human Services, plus two public Trustees added by the 1983 Amendments) must make recommendations to Congress in the event that Trust Fund balances fall dangerously low. (7)

As the foregoing shows, considerable ingenuity went into the matter of distributing the pain of revising Social Security. On the revenue side, current and future workers (and employers – depending on the incidence of the tax) will pay more. Higher paid workers face a continuation of higher tax rates and rising maximum taxes. Future federal civil servants also bear some pain, but most people in this group probably do not know their future vocation and thus are not yet in a position to protest.

On the benefit side, the principal suffers are young workers, who do not think much about retirement, and workers who have yet to enter the labor market or who have not been born as yet. The higher retirement age acts, on average, as a reduction in the present value of future retirement benefits for younger workers and their successors. This is on top of the decreased rate of return on their FICA tax "investment" that would occur in any event as Social Security matures. Current retirees also bear some of the burden in terms of the deferral of the cost-of-living adjustment. Upper income retirees absorb some of the burden through the taxation of benefits, a measure that is really a benefit cut. The size of this last group is small, but it will grow through time as inflation and
higher wages push up pension incomes and yields from capital. This group is hit twice, since its members are likely to have had high average indexed earnings over their work life, and thus receive relatively lower benefits by virtue of the benefit computation formula that favors lower wage workers.

In short, although the pain of readjustment has been spread broadly, Congress did not miss the opportunity to place parts of it on politically weak groups: young workers and workers yet unborn; and the as yet relatively small number of retirees who enjoy high nominal incomes.

WHAT NEXT?

As seen above, Congress responded to the financial crisis in the Social Security cash transfer system by a combination of payroll tax revenue increase, benefit reduction, and provision for future emergencies. (8) The Regan administration played a relatively passive role once it had agreed to the appointment of the National Commission. At present (1983), the financing crisis appears to be over. What happens next? This question involves speculation regarding both economics and politics.

On the economic side, the reforms should get the system through the rest of the 1980's—at least, there is a good chance that it will. In the decade or so that follows, the OASI Trust Fund will build an enormous surplus as a result of a shortfall in retirements, (the 1930's had a low birthrate) together with higher total employment and the higher tax rates. Whether or not it will survive the years following 2010, without further change, will depend on how closely the economic and demographic assumptions about the future that underlay the Amendments approximate reality.
These assumptions strike me as a bit optimistic, but seventy-five year projections are chancy, at best.

Politically, a number of possibilities for change exist. The treatment of working versus non-working spouses may assume greater importance. Congress did not open this can of worms, but provided for a commission to study the problem. A second possibility is that younger workers will become aware that they will be paying in more and receiving less than their predecessors. If so, pressures for change may occur that can undo the revised financial structure. The AFL-CIO, traditionally a major lobbying power on Social Security matters is unhappy with the extension of the age of full benefit eligibility, and may spearhead a drive to return it to age 65 when the Trust Funds look healthier. Since the higher age constitutes a major cost saving for the long run, its abolition would require a substantial change in the method of financing the system. Unions of federal employees are likely to lobby for a return to full exclusion from Social Security. And, of course, Medicare remains a financial time bomb.

In short, the problems of Social Security are not likely to disappear. The 1983 Amendments are not the last word. Those policymakers who once thought that a social insurance system could be set up on a once-and-for-all basis, subject only to incremental improvements, have learned a bitter lesson. The future is uncertain, today's promises may not be kept when tomorrow comes, and compacts between generations are subject to amendment. But then, nothing is forever.

NOTES
(1) The trustees were, ex-officio, the Secretaries of Health, Education and Welfare (now Health and Human Services), Labor, and Treasury. The 1983 Amendments provide for two additional Trustees to be appointed by the President. The 1974 Advisory Council on Social Security also referred to the impending difficulties. This is no coincidence, since both bodies drew their information and analysis from the same source, the program executives of the Social Security Administration.

(2) For a discussion of the shift from more-or-less full funding to pay-as-you-go (i.e., current FICA taxes pay current benefits) see Bruno Stein, "Funding Social Security on a Current Basis: The 1939 Policy Change in the U.S." C.V. Starr Center for Applied Economics, New York University, Economic Policy Paper PP 04, 1982.

(3) Medicare, a transfer-in-kind to the aged and disabled has some additional properties that complicate any analysis and is best dealt with separately. Costs of service delivery have been rising sharply, and there appears to no end in sight for this phenomenon. In this paper, focus will be restricted to the cash transfer programs of Social Security.

(4) The promises of an annuity are ultimately backed by the expected future earnings of its portfolio of assets. Individual items in that portfolio may fail to deliver on the promise, hence the need for the annuity writer to assemble a diversified portfolio, prudently selected, on the hypothesis that most of the assets will be sound.
(5) The major cuts included ending the minimum benefit for new claimants, ending student benefits under Survivors Insurance, and ending the parents' benefit under SI when the youngest child reaches age 16 instead of 18 (Svahn, 1981).


(8) Changes were also made in the Medicare reimbursement system in an effort to contain costs. These changes will not suffice to solve the Medicare financial problem, and may lead to a reduction in the quality of service delivery. But this is a separate story.
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THE SOCIAL SECURITY CONTROVERSY: DOES THE SOLUTION IGNORE THE PROBLEM?

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In 1982 the income levels of 18 percent of women age 65 and over were below the poverty line compared to 7.6 percent of men in the same age group (Kutza, 1982). The reasons for a higher incidence of poverty among older women are often correctly attributed to the generally unfavorable position of women in the labor market. A less frequently discussed contributing factor is the programmatic deficiency of old-age pensions under social security.

Two fundamental aspects of old-age pensions have been particularly unresponsive to meeting the economic needs of older women. These are: 1) relating income protection to paid employment; and 2) favoring the needs of families over those of individuals (Campbell, 1982). There is good reason to be concerned with the increasing impact that these program characteristics have on the benefit levels of a significant proportion of elderly women. From 1975 to 1983, for example, the average pension received by all women beneficiaries as a proportion of that received by men dropped
from 80 percent to 77 percent. Further, the average new award to woman in 1982 was 63 percent of the average new award to men compared to 72 percent in 1975 (Social Security Bulletin, 1983).

The Solution is the Problem

In the past two decades there have been two basic approaches aimed at reducing poverty among older persons through the social security program. One approach has been to substantially increase the benefit levels of all pensioners. The other has been to improve benefits for certain population groups, including women. On the surface such an approach seems reasonable enough. The difficulty of reducing poverty among older women, however, arises from the tendency of these program revisions to perpetuate the structural characteristics of a system unsuited to meet the income needs of many women in today's society.

Specific reference is made to the treatment of women as dependents. It will be argued here that the concept of women as dependent wives of widows entitled to pensions on the basis of their husband's covered employment is a major deterrent towards the reform that would improve benefits to low-income working women and to non-paid homemakers. The social security solution to poverty among many older women has become the problem because it exacerbates the notion that persons with irregular paid employment patterns and homemakers are not entitled to the same income protection in old age as persons employed full-time who have "earned" their benefits.

Recent Approaches to Reducing Poverty
In 1959 over one-third of all persons age 65 and over in this country had income levels below the poverty line. The primary effort to reduce poverty among older persons in the 1960s and into the 1970s was to increase old-age pension levels through a series of ad hoc across-the-board and benefit formula adjustments. In fact, the benefit formula used to calculate new awards rose by 53 percent from 1958 to 1971. This far exceeds the inflation rate of 34 percent over the same period. In the ten-year period following the 1972 adoption of automatic adjustments of benefits to changes in prices, the benefit formula rose another 100 percent (Annual Statistical Supplement, 1982).

There have also been several significant program revisions that improved benefits for women in this period. In 1965, for example, benefits were provided to a divorced woman if she had been married for 20 years (reduced to 10 years in 1979). Also in 1965 widows could become entitled to benefits at age 60 (lowered from 62) and the restriction that widows could not remarry without loss of benefit was removed. Women also benefited from a special monthly minimum benefit that was implemented in 1966 to ensure that all beneficiaries had at least a specified minimum income. (However, the provision was eliminated for all future beneficiaries in 1981.) In 1967 disabled widows benefits were provided at age 50. In 1972 the amount of widows benefits was raised from 82.5 percent of the deceased spouse's benefit to 100 percent. Finally, in 1983 benefit rates for deferred widow's benefits and disabled widows aged 50-59 were liberalized.

Both approaches, but particularly raising benefit levels, have unquestionably contributed to the reduction of the incidence of poverty among older women. From 1959 to 1982 the percentage of women age 65 and over with
income below the poverty line declined from 50 to 18 percent.

While this is a significant improvement, an 18 percent poverty level remains unacceptable. Further, the picture becomes more distressing when the poverty levels of black women and women living alone are considered. In 1980, 42 percent of all elderly black women had income below the poverty line. The poverty figure for black women living alone was 67 percent and 25 percent for white women living alone. If projected demographic changes are realized, the proportion of both the population groups will steadily increase in the future (Kutza, 1982).

Despite these disturbing trends in poverty among older women, much of the discussion over the social security program in recent years has centered on the often implied question of whether or not benefit amounts (and the poverty rates) have reached an acceptable level. The perception of a relative low incidence of poverty has been used to support the argument that some measure of retrenchment is appropriate. An argument that apparently became more palatable in the face of reduced program revenues. This seems to be the case even though the reduction in revenue is much more attributable to high unemployment rates and a worsening dependency ratio than to the level of benefits.

Many critics who deride any further increases in the level of benefits also express concern over the growth of pension payments to dependents and persons who are considered, at best, marginal contributors to the system. Such critics hold that benefits paid to these individuals erodes the insurance concept of a social security program based on "earned" benefits. In many ways, this position reflects a vision of a system that was designed to benefit families headed by
male breadwinners in the 1930s. While the need for dependent benefits was quickly recognized with the addition of wife's benefits in 1939, wives were essentially seen as just that—dependents.

This prevailing attitude has meant that, for the most part, program revisions and benefit increases over the years fail to reflect careful consideration of the socio-economic and technological changes that have taken place. To be sure, there have been a variety of provisions designed to redress conditions developing from unforeseen circumstances but, in general, the system remains rooted to a population conceptualized as one-earner male-headed families.

Social security provisions clearly have not adjusted to a labor market characterized by women with irregular work patterns in low paying jobs or to the rising proportion of women who are reliant on their own resources for income security in old age.

Social Security Amendments of 1983

The absence of a sense of urgency for improving the fit between pension programs and the emerging changes in technology, work patterns, and demographics is reflected in the recommendations of the President's Commission on Social Security Reform. As one Commissioner, Mary Flavey Fuller, noted, the Commission could not address the issue of unintended inequities for women in the system due to the pressing priority of restoring its solvency (Report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform, 1983).

There were two basic reasons for keeping the focus of the Commission on the funding problems of the program. An obvious reason was the general consensus that specific
suggestions for addressing the shortfall in funds were needed to alleviate the growing popular perception that the system was going broke and would be unable to meet promised commitments. A second reason is the Administration's underlying perception that the fiscal crisis was largely the result of excesses in the system, including a deviation from its original role as an "insurance" system. This is reflected in numerous statements by Administration officials and supporting Congressional members suggesting that the shortage of funds was due to benefit levels that are too high, a retirement age that is too low, an early retirement provision that is too generous, and the addition of too many dependent or "welfare" provisions.

The Amendments that finally emerged indicate a prevailing viewpoint that it is inappropriate to take undue punitive steps or introduce long-term changes in the program at this time, with the exception of gradually raising the retirement age to 67 beginning in 2003. What is missing in the Amendments of 1983, is a commitment to come to terms with deep rooted issues that challenge the viability of the system, as well as its fiscal solvency. The current program is not structured to adequately cope either with an aging population or with other equally important sociological developments such as declining marriage rates and higher ages at marriage, rising divorce rates, and increases in one-parent families. Nor is it appropriately designed to meet pension needs arising from emerging labor patterns including the large number of women with minimum wages in the service industries and the growing trend towards part-time work, shared work, and flexibility in retirement options.

The Foreign Experience
The problem with social insurance protection for women as it relates to demographics and the labor market is not unique to the United States (Fuchs, 1982; Gelber, 1975; Gordon, 1978; Paltiel, 1982). No country has found a completely satisfactory formula for balancing the needs of women against emerging economic and social realities along with limited resources. Other countries have, however, at least recognized that substantive program revisions can and must be made to update their pension systems in line with the needs of women.

As in the United States, most social insurance or pension systems abroad are predicated on the mid-twentieth century notion of family dependency on a male breadwinner. The husband is insured against the risks of old-age, unemployment, accidents and sickness while his wife and children are protected by virtue of his status as an insured person. Emerging evidence of extreme financial difficulties of older women however, have rendered this restricted view as obsolete. The premise is slowly giving way to the idea that compensation must be provided for women with irregular work patterns, single women, and housewives.

In Canada and Europe there have been a number of new and innovative measures adopted that help cope with the problem of poverty among older women. One specific area of reform stems from the recognition that women should be rewarded in old age for the years that they spent as housewives. France, the German Democratic Republic, and Switzerland now credit women for their years of child rearing in calculating their pension awards (Peace, 1981). Acknowledgement of the value of homemakers is also evident in recent legislation in Israel and the United Kingdom that provides women who work in the home with protection from long-term disability (Zeitzer,
1983). Pension entitlement criteria have also been modified for women as a means of permitting women with irregular work patterns to receive an earnings-related pension. In France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United Kingdom housewives have also now been given the opportunity to make voluntary contributions to the old-age pension system as a way of compensating for the years of absence from paid employment (Peace, 1981). A similar provision is currently being considered in Canada (Paltiel, 1982).

In cases of divorce, the concept of credit-splitting has been put into effect in Canada, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Under these measures, both spouses are credited with one-half of the total accumulated contributions acquired during the years of marriage.

Certain provisions not only serve to increase the future benefits of women but are conducive to strengthening the function of extended families, as well. Some nations, for example, are now crediting pension contributions to persons who leave paid employment to care for an elderly parent. Others provide a small cash allowance as partial compensation for persons who are caring for an invalid relative.

National programs of cash maternity benefits and maternity leave are considered a vital part of family income support policies in virtually all industrial nations, except the United States. Job protection under maternity leave serves to strengthen family ties while assuring the woman that her place in the labor force will be protected. The significance of such program to income security in old age is that it permits the mother to enter the labor force and begin a career without fearing a loss of income or termination of work if she starts a family, even as a single
parent. This tends to lead to higher pensions at the time of retirement.

The impact of these modifications on the incidence of poverty among older women is not well documented. Primarily, this is due to the newness of such provisions which has not allowed for an accumulation of sufficient data. The indications are that the credit-splitting and contribution credits for years spent as homemakers will have the most positive effect. By far the most promising measure for reducing poverty rates among older persons, however, is the universal non-contributory pension. Under this system, all residents or citizens are entitled to a minimum income payable at retirement. Currently, six nations have some form of universal pensions (Canada, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden) (Social Security Programs Throughout the World, 1981). Typically, these nations also have retained an earnings-related pension funded by payroll contributions. This second benefit is payable in addition to the universal pension which is financed by general revenues. Although such an approach is referred to as a two-tiered or double decker system, a third level of private pension coverage is also generally encouraged.

It is important to note that many of the provisions designed to improve benefits for women, including refinements in two-tier systems, were adopted in the 1970s under fiscal and demographic constraints equal to or worse than those faced by the United States. For instance, in the period 1971-81 greater rates of inflation were experienced in Canada, Denmark, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In addition, in 1980, the dependency ratio of older persons to workers had already exceeded projections for the United States in the year 2030. Austria, Belgium, and Sweden, for example, reached dependency ratios of 2.8, 2.7, and 2.7, respectively in 1980. The
ratio in both France and the Federal Republic of Germany was 3.1 in 1980 and 3.4 in the United Kingdom compared to 4.1 in the United States.

Faltering economies have led to some retrenchment in the European systems, particularly in the form of reduced rates of adjustment to wage and price changes and in increased payroll taxes. Nevertheless, adopting provisions that conform to new pension needs of women is being perceived as critical in preventing poverty among older women. In Canada and Europe, then, there is less of a tendency for the social insurance solution to income inadequacies in old age to aggravate the problem. This is reflected in their willingness to restructure program provisions aimed at eliminating the gaps in coverage for women with irregular work patterns, for single women, and homemakers. This approach is indicative of a growing acceptance that raising benefit levels and improving dependent's benefits alone do not address the pension needs of many women.

Summary

In sum, the incidence of poverty among older women is an issue of major importance in all industrialized nations. In the United States, the Social Security program has been a primary instrument in the fight to reduce the poverty rates of covered workers but without recognition of special needs of the many women who, for a variety of reasons, fail to qualify for an adequate benefit amount. Raising benefit levels and improving dependency benefits have had a notable impact on the reduction of poverty among older persons in the past two decades yet, a significant proportion of women remain with inadequate income. Without sufficient action, this situation is likely to worsen as marriage rates decline and divorce
rates rise along with the entry of more women into low-paying trades and service jobs. All of which contributes to increased numbers of women living alone for longer periods of time with small pensions. Continuation of the traditional social security solution to the poverty levels of older women perpetuates a dependency based system and, consequently, ignores the development of women as independent labor force participants and heads of families.

A variety of feasible reform measures have been proposed by numerous scholars and experts including calls for credit-splitting, homemaker credits (Report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform, 1983; Campbell, 1982), and the adopted of a two-tier pension system (Ozawa, 1982). Many comparable provisions have already been implemented in Canada and Europe and Merit much more serious consideration as potential ways of reducing the poverty of older women than is currently apparent.

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SERVICES FOR BATTERED WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

Counseling, case management and advocacy services for battered women seeking legal aid broaden their resources and options for dealing with abuse. Findings from a demonstration project specify the range of needs and services mobilized to effectively aid these women with the major life adjustments they and their children face.

INTRODUCTION

Although there has been intensified interest in developing effective services for battered women, efforts to help are hampered by inadequate information about the needs of women and the best kind of services and resources to meet these needs. Moreover, battered women are likely to know very little about which services are actually available to them. This paper addresses the findings of a social service demonstration project which assessed the needs of battered women and
provided services to women seeking help from a legal service office.

Accurate data on the prevalence of wife battering are difficult to obtain in part because of the reluctance of women to report its occurrence (Fleming, 1979; Hofeller, 1983; Langley and Levy, 1977; Lystad, 1975; Roberts, 1984; Schecter, 1982). However, research by Gelles (1972, 1975, 1976), Steinmetz and Strauss (1973) and others indicate the widespread incidence of violence and abuse in the home. Estimates of the numbers of women battered in their homes range as high as 50 percent to 70 percent of the population (Litigation Coalition for Battered Women, 1977, Parnas, 1977).

Until recently, domestic battery was not labeled a social problem. Moreover, some argue that discretionary and discriminatory treatment of women by police, by district attorney offices, and judges is widespread. The Police Training Manual developed by the International Association of Chiefs of Police suggests stronger police action, but even states where there are specific statutes applying to wife beating, "... such incidents are still considered ... as being extralegal 'family matters' in which the law should not interfere" (Police Management Operations Division, 1976). Such laws and the requirement of adequate proof or witnesses limit avenues of recourse for battered wives. As a result many women are reluctant to seek help from the police and courts (Colorado Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977; Gellter, 1977; Nichols, 1976; Walker, 1979). Clearly, modification and reorganization are needed within the courts and other branches of the legal system.

Modifications are also needed in the delivery of social services. Many traditional social and health service providers are not
prepared to directly address the needs of battered women and consequently may redefine such problems in terms of the services offered by the agency. For example, in the hospital emergency room wife abuse is defined as a medical problem; at the welfare office the problem is a financial one; at the counseling center the problem is one of mental health functioning. For their part, police and lawyers are concerned with legal issues. Few traditional agencies have addressed the complexity of problems experienced by battered women and the services necessary for them to escape an abusive situation (Davidson, 1977).

Making her way through the social service system is a herculean task for the battered woman. She must have knowledge of the system and a great deal of energy (Martin, 1976). She must stand in long lines, repeating her story of abuse to strangers while completing endless forms. Even then, she may not qualify for an agency's services, ironically because of her status. For example, when she is the spouse of an employed husband whose income exceeds agency guidelines, she may be found ineligible for financial, legal, health, and social service.

What, then, are her alternatives? The battered woman can remain in the abusive relationship, try to effect change through counseling, or she can seek to end the relationship through separation or divorce. In Washington State as in many states, a woman must seek legal action usually involving the filing for divorce to obtain a temporary restraining order in order to protect herself and her children. Thus, for many women, the legal system is the initial entry point in their search for help. In some cases a battered woman may merely want a temporary restraining order for protection during periods when her husband is violent. She may not be aware that a temporary restraining
order cannot be issued without a dissolution petition initiating divorce proceedings. If she reconciles with her husband, divorce proceedings are usually dismissed. If she needs protection at a later date, she must reinitiate the divorce process. This practice is costly for the legal service system and inefficient for the woman. In one legal service agency, 70 percent of women who sought a restraining order in a crisis later dropped their divorce proceedings.

Since a battered woman who seeks legal help is usually experiencing multiple stresses, her needs frequently create considerable strain on the skills of a professional whose experience and training are primarily in law. It would appear some women's situations require a broader range of services than traditionally provided by social workers or psychologists knowledgeable in this area. Outreach services for battered women housed within the legal service office offer at least one possible solution. To this end a demonstration project was developed in which social service interns were placed in a legal service office to perform outreach services, crisis counseling, as well as to assess needs and to provide information and referral services to battered women.

A research component was added to the project to generate information about the needs of battered women as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of the social services provided to these women. This paper describes the research component of the project and the findings generated from the data gathering effort.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

The research was designed to measure the impact of social services provided by the
three interns implementing the demonstration project. Change was measured in terms of the alterations in needs reported by the women at intake and then three to four months later. This information might then be used to improve service delivery and to change policy.

The inventory of women's needs at intake again several months later was designed to generate information on the range of "non-legal" problems that accompanied their needs for legal assistance. Women were asked to give information about their needs regarding the extent to which they suffered financial, housing, child care, mental and physical health as well as employment problems.

Interviews were conducted with women seeking emergency divorce and restraining orders from a legal assistance office in a metropolitan community in the Pacific Northwest. The receptionist of the legal services office made referrals to a social service intern on behalf of women reporting verbal, emotional or physical abuse. The social service interns interviewed all cases referred, however almost 60 percent of the women were ineligible for legal services since eligibility required that women's resources not exceed lower socio-economic income brackets. Those ineligible were provided names of attorneys known to accept deferred payments from clients with limited incomes.

During the initial interview with the social service interns, a pre-tested interview schedule was administered. Each interview began with a brief description and explanation of the purpose of the services and the research project and consent for voluntary participation was sought.

Intake interviews were completed for 28 women. Information was gathered about the number of children each woman had living at
home, as well as other demographic information, her work history and prior involvement with community resources. An assessment was made of each woman's need for financial aid, employment, child care, food, shelter, clothing and other resources. Referrals were made to appropriate community resources and clients were provided with a resource list of agencies that offer services essential to persons experiencing housing dislocations, financial crisis as well as physical and emotional abuse.

The central referral source offered to these women was the YWCA's women's support shelter. As the largest shelter at that time in the western United States, it offered a variety of essential services for battered women. In addition to referrals, other counseling services were provided to women which included crisis intervention, and support during the transitional phase of separation from their spouses.

In some instances, social service interns provided transportation, arrangement of same-day appointments with other agencies and the delivery of food. These services were provided on an as-needed basis. The social service interns acted as case managers as they assessed and responded to the variety of needs of their women clients. Their work to support these women was facilitated not just by mobilizing resources to aid them but also by modeling how to locate and access necessary housing, financial assistance, food, transportation, clothing, child care and network support.

While addressing the multiple service needs of these women, they also provided counseling which helped these women to sort out their options and plan for major social, economic and lifestyle changes. Much time was spent preparing them for their dealings with
the welfare department, attorneys, the courts, as well as their husband's behavior. They were also assisted in their move to the women's shelter; fears about leaving their homes to move to the shelter were addressed as well as how they might best use the shelter services.

Despite the absence of a continuum of services for these women, these social services interns tired to coordinate, facilitate and monitor the search for help. Through their ongoing contacts with these women they provided continuity to this transitional crisis period in their lives.

When the follow-up interview was conducted three to four months later, 24 women were available for interviews. The reduced sample size resulted from the inability of researchers to locate women who had moved or were attempting to remain hidden from their husbands. The assessment of needs, conducted in the intake interview was repeated to assess current status; in addition, the extent to which the client had been able to use referral sources was evaluated. Needs expressed at pre and posttest were compared for 17 women for whom complete data were available. Dependent t tests were performed on the difference in scores in order to assess change.

Findings

The initial 28 women interviewed at intake ranged in age from 15-21; the mean age was 28 and the median age was 25. Twenty-three of the women felt they were in immediate danger when they sought help.

Along with these women there were many hidden high risk victims as well. These potential victims were their children who ranged in age from one month to 19 years. While 23
women reported "physical abuse" as a reason for seeking a temporary restraining order, 16 also reported their children to be in danger. Of these, 7 were fearful for the safety of their children's lives; others cited harassment, mental cruelty, and the desire for safety in their petition for legal services.

Several themes emerge from the initial questionnaire data. Foremost was the economic dependence of the women involved and their isolation from the economic decision making responsibilities for the family. Many women reported that they were unsure about their husband's income or the debts owed by the family. Moreover, because of insufficient education and work experience, they had few skills with which to support themselves and their children once they left the marriage.

They were also isolated from support networks outside the marriage. Ninety-five percent reported having very few friends or relatives to whom they could turn for help. In some cases the husband had forbidden the wife from engaging in relationships with others. The women thus reported feeling uncomfortable with and isolated from other adults.

The combination of economic insecurity and isolation contributed to make the women feel powerless for long periods of time prior to seeking help. Legal recourse appeared to these women to be the only immediate avenue for redressing their grievances and powerlessness. Even so, these women were able to pinpoint their needs and the steps they must take to become more self-sufficient. For example, job training was identified as the immediate primary need. All those who sought help had at least some potential temporary means of support, such as help from relatives or welfare, but over 80 percent described themselves as unemployed and all expressed
economic concerns. The need for transportation, reported by 57 percent, was related to job concerns since public transportation in the area was inadequate and many women did not know how to drive nor owned a car. Twenty-nine percent expressed a need for child care and another 39 percent were troubled by inadequate food, clothing, and medical attention.

Table 1: Needs Expressed at Intake (N = 28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial-welfare</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Training</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rap Group</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling for Family or Children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Goods</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These women's needs were defined as resource and skill deficits, not as mental health problems requiring counseling. As Table 1 shows, more women (57 percent) showed a preference for a rap group than for counseling (29 percent). Those who shied away from a rap group usually did so describing their discomfort with groups of people. Of the 29 percent who did declare an interest in counseling, several identified it as a need for their children rather than for themselves.
A few expressed a desire for counseling in the form of parenting skills. None of the women felt their husbands would voluntarily seek or accept any kind of counseling services.

While the city in which this study was conducted has a large military population, a disproportionate number of the cases (46 percent) involved military families. This is understandable since the armed services often isolate women from old friends and family.

Ninety percent of the respondents reported that violence has been accompanied by drinking or drug use on the part of at least one of the partners. But often the alcohol problems of the husband made it possible for the wife to explain away or excuse the abuse. For example, one woman excused her husband's behavior, saying he was not responsible for his actions because of his alcoholism and mental instability.

Most women interviewed at intake displayed a very limited knowledge of and ability to use community resources. Less than half had contacted the police. Of those who had, 80 percent reported dissatisfaction with their contact. About one-third knew of the existence of a women's shelter, but few knew of other community services available to them including a rap group for battered women, job bank, child care, free health clinics, and emergency services for low income families.

Despite the fact that 24 women responded to a followup questionnaire three to four months after initiating contact with the social service interns, comparative analysis of pretest and posttest needs was conducted with 17 women from whom complete information was available.
Table 2: Comparison of Clients' Needs at Pretest and Posttest (N = 17)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Need</th>
<th>Pretest Needs</th>
<th>Posttest Needs</th>
<th>t-score*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief from</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling/rap</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

As Table 2 shows, clients reported significant changes in a number of areas. The need for shelter had decreased (t = 2.99, p < .01), as had needs for child care (t = 2.99, p < .01) and counseling (t = 3.91, p < .01). Eighty-six percent were financially independent of their spouse at the time of followup, and could count on income from jobs, training funds or welfare checks. There was a significant change in reported need for a job (t = 4.24, p < .01). This was due in part to job acquisition and increased access to job training. However, many women continued to have needs for transportation. In addition, the women had renewed contacts with friends (t = 6.19, p < .01) and reported feeling significantly less isolated (t = 6.19, p < .01). For some clients, the provision of a resource list during the initial contact allowed them to consider their options and make more effective choices on their own. Others needed the more intensive involvement provided by case management services of the
Evaluation of the Project

Traditional community service agencies tend to see the needs of abused women in terms of the services that they are prepared to offer. Not surprisingly, many community agencies that conceptualize the problems of battered women as intrapsychic in origin thus provide treatment aimed at psychological change rather than environmental change. Women are often seen as passive victims who expect of even solicit their abuse. Thus, services may be aimed at increasing "psychological resources." As this study demonstrates, more request help with environmental rather than psychological problems; more women seek help with protection, temporary financial support, job training, transportation, child care and knowledge of other available community services. Many described the depression and sense of futility accompanying their situations, but found divorce proceedings to be the only recourse even though it may not have been their preference.

As suggested by the data, battered women are entrapped and isolated. When they take steps to protect themselves and their children the service provided should expand rather than constrict their options. Yet since access to protective services is contingent on filing for divorce, some women may feel unprepared to deal with the consequences of such extreme legal action. Thus, they may decline protective services and thus potentially heighten the risk to themselves and their children. Women should be able to ask for and receive protection without any contingencies. Moreover, since the women in this study were seeking solutions to their dependency and their lack of skills and resources, it is clear that they are seeking more than could be
provided with the legal system. Thus, while access to legal services, including restraining orders may important avenues for service, legal aid should be complemented by a range of essential supports made accessible at this entry point into the helping services.

The interns' services were provided to women at the juncture in which they filed for separation. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether others who had found other ways to escape the abusive situation had similar needs.

Since the legal service environment reinforces the message that abuse should not be tolerated, these women were clearly supported in their attempts to escape from their situation. It is not known whether women seeking help from traditional psychiatric or mental health counseling services are given the same support.

The benefit clients attained from the demonstration project was the availability of a social service intern who could provide case management services involving emotional support during the first weeks of separation, coordination and monitoring of referrals to agencies providing concrete services. The social service interns also helped women negotiate the legal service system. The benefit to the legal service office was that clients could be screened, and followup provided to reduce the number of clients who initiated and then dropped divorce proceedings. According to estimates of the legal service agency where the demonstration project was conducted, 10-15 percent of the women seeking divorces in non-crisis situations dropped out within the first month of initiating action, while 70 percent of crisis intakes dropped proceedings after receiving a temporary restraining order. In our demonstration project, two-thirds of those women
considered eligible for services continued with proceedings and received divorces within one year. Thus the service helped them with this difficult choice and at the same time reduced costs and inefficient utilization of the legal agency services.

The implications of this study are weakened by the small number of subjects. Attrition among subjects, a common occurrence for this population in research, is due to the nature of their situation. Some attempted to stay hidden and a number had moved away from the area.

Implication of Findings

A variety of service innovations in non-clinical settings are needed for abused women. Findings from this demonstration project support the need for case managers who as advocates could provide emotional support and transportation on an emergency basis, and who model more assertive behavior while they enable women to seek services. The specific tasks of the case management role and duration of services must be shaped by the needs of the clients. Because of service specialization few traditional social service providers are equipped to address the variety of needs and concrete resources these women require. The most evident conclusion is that the complexity of the problem calls for careful coordination and integration of services. Moreover, the data call for a review of the policies regarding service eligibility, such as access to restraining orders, so that women's choices are expanded enabling access to critical services.

The problems the women endured because of inadequate income, housing, transportation, and access to jobs represent more than individualized obstacles to their gaining permanent
independence from a battering spouse. These inadequacies afflict substantial numbers of women and children who are trying to escape from a life-threatening home environment. The feminist movement so essential to the development of shelters and the politicization of violence against women, may be intensified by systematic documentation about the short and long-term service and resource deficits of battered women.

As battered women and their children fall prey to long-standing feminization of poverty and to the absence of entitlements that contribute to such impoverishment, their stresses may intensify. It will take the full force of the feminist movement to begin to rectify such conditions.

Rather than being left to personalize their problems in locating critical resources and means for independence, recognition of their mutually shared problems may help to empower battered women to intensify collective action and that of the feminist movement. Clearly, until such long-term service, resource needs and entitlements are collectively addressed, some women and children may forever struggle to choose between a battering, life-threatening home environment or a "hand-to-mouth" existence.

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ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION TOWARD OCCUPATIONAL RETIREMENT *

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ABSTRACT

The willingness of older workers to participate in a retirement planning program served as an indicator of their anticipatory socialization toward retirement. Six independent variables were introduced in order to examine their effect on the workers' attitude toward pre-retirement counseling (dependent variable). A path analysis revealed that intention to continue working after retirement had a significant negative effect on the dependent variable. The most significant positive effect was that of Educational Level. In the discussion of the findings it is shown that the desire of pre-retirees to continue working is interpreted as unrealistic anticipatory socialization, indicating their reluctance to assume alternative social roles. It is suggested that flexible retirement policies, workshops, educational programs and attractive leisure activities are necessary to meet the needs of older workers.
Theoretical Background

Retirement can be viewed not merely as an event, but as a process whereby older workers perceive their impending withdrawal from full-time employment and react toward this prospect and its implications (Atchley, 1976). The transition from the role of employee to that of retiree requires them to cope with important changes in their life structure and to shape their own role behavior accordingly. The psychological involvement of pre-retirees in their prospective new role may be described as anticipatory socialization toward retirement.

Anticipatory socialization refers to the early phase prior to the assumption of a new social role or disengagement with reference to the onset of retirement and widowhood that are part of all adult role transitions (Carp, 1972; Mortimer & Simmons, 1978). The concept is employed in literature to describe an imaginative thought process in which people are emotionally and cognitively engaged before their attitude toward a potential future event has crystallized. At this stage attitudes are being fashioned according to the nature of the anticipated change, existing personal resources and the normative clarity that increases the accuracy of anticipatory socialization. In the case of pre-retirees, it implies perceptions of gains and losses involved in retiring, including economic, social and psychological consequences for the individual (Sussman, 1972; Jacobson and Eran, 1980; Minkler, 1981).

Anticipatory socialization occurs in a variety of transitional situations which may compared with that of the pre-retiree. In his classic study of the American Soldier, Merton (1966) describes anticipatory socialization
toward military role, which begins at the time of induction into the army. The attitude eventually adopted by the young cadet is crucial to his prospects of promotion, since motivation for advancement is based on acceptance of military values and objectives, and identification with the upper ranks of the military hierarchy. For the soldier, as for the pre-retiree, the new reality is externally imposed leaving the individual little control over the situation. Such is the case also for a person entering a mental institution (Goffman, 1961) or other remedial organizations such as prison (Wheeler, 1966).

However, in the case of pre-retirees and unlike the examples given above, the approaching transition is preceded by a period of time in which preparation for their future role is possible. In this respect the situation of pre-retirees resembles that of students who are admitted to college some time before their studies actually commence. During the intervening period their attitude toward their future role is influenced by cues and informal messages from the environment, peer cohorts and major types of authority figures within the organization (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978). Formal guidance and training in preparation for the new reality can be far more effective in shaping or altering the attitude and behavior of retirees (Jacobson, 1974), students and others on the threshold of a major life transition (Wheeler, 1966).

In general, adult members of western societies are socialized to fulfill various roles in response to changes that occur in later years by the norms and values transmitted to the individual through social reality (Wrong, 1961). With the rapidly changing economic and social structure of complex modern societies, however, the adaptive skills acquired earlier in life may not be sufficient for adults to deal with new situations in
advancing age, such as retirement.

In psychological terms, the retirement process cannot be fully understood without taking into account major changes and crises characteristic of later life, such as death of spouse, loneliness, health and financial problems and institutionalization (Bromley, 1966; Chown, 1972; Lowenthal, 1972). An additional factor is the diminishing motivation for new learning participation typical of the elderly, as they have already been subject to considerable socialization experience and might be skeptical toward attempts at involuntary socialization (Mortimer & Simmons, 1978; Brim, 1966).

Some crucial issues may be identified in the process of anticipatory socialization towards retirement as a specific case of changes in the life-cycle. First, pre-retirees must come to terms with contradictory expectations associated with the work ethic still prevailing particularly among the older generation and with mandatory retirement which imposes work role discontinuity.

Giving up a central role in one's life as a result of large-scale social processes at a specific age pushes the retiree involuntarily into an inferior age status group (Eisdorfer, 1972; Gutman, 1972; Cowgill, 1974; Rosow, 1974). This denotes a need for adult socialization emphasizing shifts in orientation and behavior on the part of the individual toward relatively positive experience during retirement. Once the inevitability of retirement has been accepted, it is possible that some individuals may begin to secure intrinsic needs through leisure pursuits.

Adaptation to non-working life style necessitates perception of time budgeting and bridging from work to non-work values. In addition, community recreation specialists
have been unimaginative in developing programs that use the skills of the elderly with the result that there is often also resistance to participation in networks of leisure community services (Rosow, 1974; Kaplan, 1978; Kremer and Harpaz, 1982). Even if they reject the notion of retiring, it may be assumed that older workers are aware of the problems with which their cohort peers contend and therefore might be mentally involved with the predictable retirement event (Atchley, 1976; Mortimer and Simmons, 1978). Presumably, the more realistic assessment of the impending changes, the more receptive they are likely to be towards the guidance and preparation for retirement offered by many employers in recent years. In the present study, the attitude of older workers to a formal pre-retirement counseling program was selected to indicate the extent of their involvement in the anticipatory socialization process toward stopping work and planning for alternatives.

In the retirement literature it is assumed that anticipatory socialization is associated with various socioeconomic factors. Occupational and educational levels are two such variables, positively associated with a better structural future orientation based on more precise, consistent and extended horizons (Trommsdorff & Lamm, 1975). Thus it is assumed that higher status workers tend to be more responsive to pre-retirement education while lower status workers are less receptive of it (Simpson and McKinney, 1972; Jacobson, 1974; Harpaz and Kremer, 1981).

A third variable, Intention to Continue Working after Retirement, was introduced in light of Kremer's (1979) and Perry's (1978) findings in surveys of older Israeli workers. These surveys revealed that more than 70 per cent of the workers interviewed expressed an interest in continuing with some kind of work after their formal retirement. This finding
indicates unrealistic expectations, since most organizations have a firm policy not to employ people beyond the mandatory retirement age of 65. It is possible that a strong work orientation as reflected by the intention to continue working reduces receptiveness to pre-retirement planning and later even constitutes an obstacle in adjusting to non-work life (Atchley, 1976; Kaplan, 1978).

People's attitude toward approaching life changes is partly a function of their self image, their image of the anticipated situation, and the interaction between these two perceptions (Lowenthal, 1972). It is widely assumed in the literature (e.g., Lowenthal, 1972; Rilley, Johnson & Foner, 1972; Goudy, Powers & Keith, 1975; Minkler, 1981) that a sense of physical health and well-being as a major component of the self image acquires greater importance in later life and affects the ability and desire of older persons to cope with change. Their motivation towards planning for the future, identifying new goals, and trying to achieve them is also strongly influenced by their image of retirement dominated by non-work values (Streib and Schneider, 1971; Sussman, 1972; Jacobson, 1974; Kaplan, 1978). Accordingly, two further variables, Perception of Physical State and Retirement Image, were introduced. It was expected that pre-retirees with a favorable perception of their own physical state and a positive image of retirement would demonstrate willingness to participate in a pre-retirement planning program.

It should be noted that several demographic, organizational and environmental factors which might be expected to influence anticipatory socialization toward retirement, were not included in this study. Factors such as type (size and sector) of organization or industry, level of present income, anticipated income from pension, length of time prior to
retirement (one to three years), country of origin, length of residence in Israel, residential area, marital status and family contacts, and leisure habits, were examined in a previous survey of the same population (Kremer, 1979; Harpaz and Kremer, 1981) and found not to be significant.

Method and Measure

Four hundred older male workers due for retirement from five organizations were invited to participate in the study. Of these, 250 (62.5 per cent) responded. They were employees of three industrial plants (glass, oils and soap, and textile production), and two public service organizations (electricity corporation and port authority) in the Haifa industrial area. These five work settings were selected because they represent the three major employment sectors in Israel: government, private and Histadrut (labor union); they are among the oldest organizations in the country and are relatively large by local standards (employing between 500 and 3000 workers), and thus have large cycles of retirees.

The employees were aged 62-64, one to three years prior to the mandatory retirement age of 65. Seventy percent were skilled and unskilled manual workers and the remaining 30 percent belonged mainly to the white collar clerical category. Most of them (over 72 per cent) had been employed for 21 years or more in their present jobs. Most (46 per cent) had eight years of formal education, 30 percent had 12 years, 18 percent had more then 12 years, and only six per cent had no formal education at all.

A structured interview was conducted with each worker in his respective organization. The interview schedule consisted of 80 items
covering areas such as work, non-work and retirement. Most of the items were of the Likert type, with five response alternatives ranging from "completely agree" to "completely disagree".

The first three independent variables, Occupational level, Educational Level and Intention to Continue Working after Retirement (the latter was dichotomous) were each represented by a single item. Importance of Intrinsic Work Rewards was assessed by three items dealing with the extent to which respondents valued work as a source of contact with co-workers, as a relief from boredom, and as a useful activity. Perception of Physical State was measured by three items, including self evaluation of job competence today compared with five years ago, concern about health and physical condition, and general feeling today compared with 25 years ago (at about age 40). Retirement Image was assessed by four items inquiring into whether respondents had hopes or expectations for the future, looked forward to increased leisure, felt anxious, or felt that retirement represented an end to life.

From the pattern of weights of the items in each scale, it is possible to identify their relative strengths (Overall and Klett, 1972). The technique of principal components analysis provides the basis for the construct validity of these measures (Nunnally, 1967) (see Appendix).

During the interview, the content of a proposed experimental pre-retirement counseling program, including retirement issues, health care, budgetary arrangements, leisure activities, family relations and pension rights, was described to the employee who was then asked, "Do you wish to receive counseling and guidance in anticipation of retirement?" The Yes/No response served as a measure of the
dependent variable.

Linear relationships between the dependent variable and the set of independent variables were examined by path analysis, a multivariate method (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973). This permitted correlations to be broken down into direct and indirect effects. The direct effects were derived from a step-wise regression analysis and expressed as path coefficients (standardized beta). The relative weight and priority of the path coefficients indicated the comparative importance of the independent variables.

The path analysis model offered a dynamic presentation of the relationships among the variables and made it possible to infer which variables were the best predictors of Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling.

The correlation matrix is shown in Table 1 and the path coefficients employed in the model are displayed in Table 2.

Results

Direct relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable in the model, Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling, are presented in Figure 1. It is interesting to note that 56 percent of the respondents expressed willingness to receive counseling, 35 percent were reluctant and 9 percent had not thought about the possibility.

The most significant direct effect on Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling (−.22, p < .01) was that of Intention to Continue Working after Retirement. The strength and direction of this path coefficient indicate that it is the best predictor in the model. Thus, employees on the verge of retirement, who mean to continue with some
kind of work afterwards (about 70 percent of the population studied), tended to show little interest in a pre-retirement educational program.

Educational level was also shown to have a direct influence on the dependent variable (.18, p < .05). It appears that the higher the educational level of workers, the more open they are to pre-retirement counseling. This finding is consistent with the retirement literature, e.g., Lehr and Rudinger (1969). Contrary to expectation, Importance of Intrinsic Work Rewards did not have a significant effect on Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling, although it was positively related. As to the direct relationships among the independent variables (Figure 1), the highest path coefficient in the Model (.34, p < .01) was from Retirement Image to Intention to Continue Working After Retirement. This path, which seems to indicate the most salient predictor of anticipatory socialization as operationalized here, is discussed further in the next section.

The path coefficient observed from Perception of Physical State to Retirement Image (.26, p < .01) suggests that workers who perceive themselves as fit and in good health are favorably disposed toward retirement. Perception of Physical State also had a positive effect on Importance of Intrinsic Work Rewards (.19, p < .01), which may indicate that workers' sense of physical well-being influences the satisfaction they derive from work. Occupational Level was found to be positively related to Perception of Physical State, but the path coefficient was not significant.

The largest negative effect among the independent variables in the model (-.18, p < .05) was that of Importance of Intrinsic Work Rewards on Retirement Image. From this, it seems logical that employees who obtain satis-
faction from their work have a negative perception of retirement and vice versa. Intention to Continue Working after Retirement was Negatively influenced, though not strongly, by Perception of Physical State.

On the whole, indirect influences of the independent variables were negligible; consequently they have no special effect on the dependent variable in the model. The two exogenic variables in the model (Educational and Occupational Level) were strongly correlated (.56). Lastly, path coefficients of residuals point to large effects contributed by extraneous variables.

Discussion

Anticipatory socialization during pre-retirement should focus on providing the individual with relevant information and motivation to adapt to leisure roles, to a new pace of life, and often to a different economic level of living.

It was assumed in this study that workers on the threshold of retirement had thought about the issue, at least on a preliminary level and had hence formed some attitudes concerning the counseling program offered to them by their organizations. From the established relationships it seems that most of the respondents were engaged in anticipatory socialization, but not in a manner consistent with the possibilities and norms existing in society. The desire expressed by the majority of respondents to continue working, and the negative effect of this intention on their attitude toward pre-retirement counseling may demonstrate that they do not wish to adapt to a new social role.

Although most of the workers had a
favorable image of retirement, this variable evidently did not indicate "realistic involvement" in anticipatory retirement planning, i.e. taking advantage of full-time leisure. In the first place, a direct relationship was not found between Retirement Image and Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling. More important, however, is the strong relationship between Retirement Image and Intention to Continue Working after Retirement. It would have been more reasonable to find that the more favorable the workers' image of retirement, the more they tend to prepare for alternatives to work (Streib and Schneider, 1971). On the contrary, the present data show that a positive image of retirement is related to some kind of plan to work after official retirement. This intention is at odds with reality, since few employment opportunities exist for retirees as a result of implicit employers' policies not to hire people over 45 years of age (Harris and Cole, 1980). On the other hand, workers with a negative retirement image tend not to plan on working after retirement and are more inclined to respond positively toward counseling in preparation for retirement.

Retirement was perceived in a more favorable light when less importance was attached to intrinsic work rewards. Employees who appear to be less tied to work setting tend to look forward to retirement, presumably because it is easier for them to relinquish the job. This finding is consistent with the results obtained by Havighurst (1974) and by Shanas (1972), who suggested that lack of alternative psychological rewards produces a negative retirement image.

It appears from this study that older workers do not recognize the importance of prior preparation for alternative social roles following retirement. The findings suggest that the majority does not simply reject the
notion of pre-retirement counseling per se. However, it is conceivable that workers at lower occupational levels, who have not previously been exposed to training and educational schemes, would tend to respond with skepticism to such a program at the end of their working lives. It seems that they have not come to terms with the notion of ceasing to work and of preparing themselves for non-work life.

In the current social reality of Israel and probably most other modern states, it would be naive to expect that the majority of pre-retirees wishing to continue working will find suitable employment. The reasons for this are numerous. It is not usually organizational policy to re-employ retirees; there is age discrimination in the labor market (Harris and Cole, 1980; Pampel, 1981); there is an absence of formal agencies designated to find partial employment for retirees and a lack of special workshops for pensioners. Finally, the general rate of unemployment in modern post-industrial societies works against the employment of retirees.

It is possible that the strong work orientation demonstrated by the pre-retirees in this sample derives from the fact that non-work activities and leisure participation are poorly developed among their generation. This was confirmed recently on the same sample (Kremer and Harpaz, 1982). Accordingly, it is recommended that the special needs of this generation be taken into consideration by social planners. Where feasible, retirement policy should be made more flexible and workshops opened, so that some of the older employees who wish to continue working will be able to do so. Attractive leisure activities should be made available, to appeal to retirees of varying social backgrounds.

In order to avert frustration and discon-
tent in the future, formal counseling and adult educational programs should direct pre-retirees to the options existing in society, and help them to build alternative social roles by utilizing fully their potential abilities not only in productive roles, but also in leisure pursuits. It should be stressed, however, that the role of informal socialization is by no means unimportant or to be ignored. On the contrary, it seems that both forms of formal and informal preparation should be integrated in order to achieve best results.

Changing the attitude of older employees toward pre-retirement planning may be difficult, because by this stage of life personality has crystallized and is less open to change and innovation (Brim, 1966; Chown, 1972). The usual approach is, therefore, to involve workers in the retirement process well in advance of their actual retirement.

The present findings emphasize the gap that exists between the aspiration of older workers towards continued work and the reality of society, which indicates that the downward trends in employment of the elderly are expected to continue (Harris and Cole, 1980). This calls for more flexible retirement arrangements and counseling to narrow this gap.

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Appendix

The scales were constructed from the following items:

1. Importance of Intrinsic Work Rewards
   How important to you are the following
things at work?
(a) Work brings me into contact with workmates;
(b) Work prevents boredom;
(c) Work gives me the feeling that I am doing something useful.
Response alternatives ranged from 'very important' (5) to 'not at all important' (1).

2. Perceived Physical State
(a) How would you rate your present state of health?
Response alternatives ranged from 'very good' (5) to 'bad' (1).
(b) How well do you consider that you are performing your job?
As well as I did one year ago (1); two years ago (2); five years ago (3).
(c) How would you describe the way you feel today, compared with the way you felt at age 40?
This was an open question. Responses were ranked in the following categories: no difference (5); physical decline and mental rise (4); physical decline (3); mental decline (2); general decline (1).

3. Retirement Image
(a) Are you pleased about the prospect of the increased leisure time you will have after you retire?
Response alternatives ranged from 'not at all pleased' (1) to 'very pleased' (5).
(b) Some people say that life ends when one stops working. What do you think?
This was an open question. Responses were ranked in the following categories: Completely agree (1); doubtful (2); do not know (3); disagree (4); life just begins when one stops working (5).
(c) Have you any hopes for retirement?
Response alternatives from 'many' (5) to 'none at all' (1).
(d) Have you any fears about retirement?
Response alternatives ranged from 'many' (1) to 'none at all' (5).

Responses to all items in the Retirement Image index were scored in the same direction. Thus, 'not at all pleased', 'completely agree that life ends when one stops working', 'many fears' and 'no hopes at all' received the lowest scores.

* This study was conducted with the collaboration of the University of Haifa (E. Weiner, Advisor), Haifa Labor Council and the Israeli National Insurance Institute. The latter also provided the funds needed for the research presented here. The authors are grateful to D. Rosentraub for statistical assistance, R. Katz and M. Weinberg of the University of Haifa for their helpful comments and suggestions.
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Significance Level: ** p < .01; * p < .05
Summary statistics for the three scales constructed by principal component analysis

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**RETIREMENT IMAGE**

**Item**

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FIGURE 1. Path Model showing Direct Effect of the Independent Variables on Attitude toward Pre-Retirement Counseling

Significance level:
** p < .01
* p < .05
u = Residuals
SOME PRINCIPLES OF DECISION MAKING UNDER UNCERTAINTY IN LONG-TERM TREATMENT SITUATIONS

Julius A. Roth
University of California, Davis

ABSTRACT

Comparative information from field notes of four studies of long-term treatment institutions form the basis for developing propositions about decisions made under conditions of uncertainty. These propositions fall under the general rubrics of decision making when action involves danger, when decisions are made to control clients' or subordinates' behavior, and when a choice must be made between alternatives. The propositions are illustrated with examples taken from the four studies.

In conducting a program of therapy and management of inmates of long-term treatment institutions, the staff is faced with many situations in which the efficacy or outcome of their actions are highly uncertain. Yet, they cannot avoid taking action so long as they hold a given position in the institution. Even putting off action is a decision with consequences for the parties involved. This paper is an effort to empirically develop some regularities or "principles" of staff decision making in situations of uncertainty.

The information on which induction of these principles of decision making is based is part of the author's earlier studies of tuberculosis treatment and management (Roth, 1963) and the conduct of a rehabilitation program for the physically disabled (Roth and Eddy, 1967). To the bodies of observational field notes from these two studies I later added detailed ongoing field notes from two other studies in which I
did not participate: An investigation of two psychiatric treatment programs by Anselm Strauss and his associates (Strauss et al., 1964) and a study of social rehabilitation of the inmates of two training schools for delinquent youth conducted at the School of Social Work, Columbia University. Note that, although there are four studies involved, these represent field work undertakings of major proportions in ten different institutions by nine senior researchers plus a number of assistants.

Comparative studies using other people's work typically rely on published writings as the source of the comparative materials. The weakness of such sources is that they represent authors' distillation of a mass of information and explanatory possibilities. In the process of distilling their information, much of what they have learned must be ignored and that which is utilized is framed in certain explanatory schemes. Thus, in an observational field study, much of the original information is lost. Having access to such field notes means that a broader range and spectrum of information is available. Of course, even field notes represent a selective perception of the investigator's total experience, but not nearly as restricted a selection as the published work. In order to take advantage of the greater breadth of data in original field notes to make my comparisons, I limited my study to those bodies of research whose raw notes were available to me.

In coding the field notes, I made use of analytic characteristics which, from my previous experience and reading, appeared to have useful explanatory value. The procedure consisted of reading all the notes and coding instances of staff decisions and actions in situations of recognized uncertainty. (Other aspects of these studies were coded at the same time.) The various incidents were then compared with an eye to finding similar patterns, especially across the different treatment programs. Although propositions based on a series of examples constitute crude explanatory formulations, they can serve as generalizations which may be tested on other bodies of detailed observational data.

The coding procedures and comparisons between institutions produce a series of conditions and strate-
gies which typify the actions of the staff in dealing with uncertainty. A simple listing of these conditions and strategies has the virtue of keeping the organization of generalizations close to the information in the field notes—a minimal leap from observational data to conclusions and thus more justifiable for a preliminary examination.

The following propositions were developed in this manner:

When action involves danger

1. When in doubt, play safe.

Those in charge of a treatment program usually consider conservative treatment the safest path for everyone concerned. Thus, if the patient is a borderline case of tuberculosis, you treat him as if he had tuberculosis. If it is a choice between a diagnosis of tuberculosis and cancer, you treat him as if he had cancer because that disease requires more urgent treatment. If you are not sure about the effect that a leave of absence from an institution may have on the inmate, do not give him a leave. If you are not sure how much rest is good for the patient, give him more rest. If you are not sure whether it is safe to discharge a person from an institution, keep him there longer. If a patient is suspected of being suicidal, keep him under strict observation and isolate him from potentially injurious materials. Such observations fit in with Scheff's notion of medical bias toward pathology, but seen from a different perspective (Scheff, 1963).

Of course, other forces, especially pressure from the inmate, oppose this tendency and often modify it. Also, there are some cases in which this principle of giving more of a good thing is obviously not applicable; for example, giving more than the optimal amount of a medication may result in serious toxic effects.

2. Immediate and well-known danger takes precedence over a less certain and more distant danger.

A good example of this principle is the controversy about radiation hazard in X-ray diagnosis and the extent to which X-ray screening for tuberculosis and cancer should be curtailed to avoid this hazard.
Most experts in clinical work believe that X-ray diagnosis should be continued on a large scale, including the use of X-rays for screening and survey purposes. They argue that they know that X-rays can uncover many cases of tuberculosis, cancer, and other diseases and are a valuable aid in evaluating treatment, whereas the hazard from radiation is much less certain and in any case is a danger which would affect our population only some time in the future. This future and uncertain danger appears much less frightening than the more immediate and better-known danger of serious diseases. In much the same way, the danger of violence by an inmate of a hospital or training school or prison is usually considered more important to deal with than the more remote and uncertain effects that suppression of his aggressive behavior may have upon his psyche and his relationships with others.

3. The greater the fear, the greater the inconveniences which one is willing to go to in order to reduce the danger.

A ready example here is hospital personnel efforts to protect themselves against contagious disease. New employees in tuberculosis hospitals had a high level of fear of the disease and went to considerable trouble to wear protective clothing and to enforce the boundaries of contaminated and uncontaminated areas. After they had been employed for a period of time, this fear decreased greatly and much less care was taken to protect themselves. Protective clothing continued to be worn when it did not entail much trouble (such as one change of clothing to do an hour or two of work), but was not worn when it represented relatively great inconvenience (changing clothes for a task which took a minute or two). When hospital personnel are caring for patients with a disease that inspires great fear (e.g., gas gangrene), the precautions taken are far more elaborate and inconvenient than when they are taking care of other contagious diseases which inspire less fear (e.g., measles).

Whenever there is potential danger in the care-taking and treatment tasks, the response of the staff may be conceived of as a balance between fear and inconvenience. This balance lends itself to some degree of managerial manipulation. Fear levels may be delib-
erately heightened as a way of inducing compliance with inconvenient protective procedures.

When decisions are made to control clients' or subordinates' behavior, the control is more likely to be exercised when:

4. The behavior is conspicuous.

Tuberculosis hospital personnel attempted to control the activities of the patients and enforce a given amount of rest. In practice, they were most likely to control or restrict those activities which were most obvious to the casual observer and to overlook those activities which blend into the background of ward routine.

In the psychiatric hospital, personnel, especially students and new nurses, judge patients mainly by their overt attention-getting acts, whereas if a ward is "quiet," everything is assumed to be all right. The patient who makes a "nuisance" of himself receives the most attention, if only to develop plans to get rid of him.

In the training schools, drunkenness and failure to carry out assigned tasks are almost sure to be noticed and to be punished. The more subtle and disguised forms of aggression among inmates is often overlooked.

5. The behavior can be objectively defined or measured.

In the tuberculosis hospital, patients cannot be forced to rest by simply presenting them with a general philosophy of the desirability of rest. However, rest can be enforced to some degree if it is defined in terms of specific time periods when the patient must be in bed. Control of recreational activities is another difficult matter for hospital staff. They can control certain of such activities more precisely when they can define them in terms of occupational therapy materials which the patient uses or time periods when card games or other games are allowed or not allowed.

In the training school, social workers find treatment plans difficult to define and objectify and thus these plans are often subverted by the non-professional cottage parents. The social workers sometimes attempt controls through administrative rulings
which are easier to enforce. Thus, cottage parents can be fired for drunkenness, for overt homosexuality, for leaving the inmates unattended. They can also be required to report any hitting of inmates and thus account may be kept of one aspect of their disciplinary methods.

In psychiatric hospitals, nurses' notes tend to concentrate on concrete events which are easy to measure; for example, the number of patients off the ward for any reason, physical injuries and illnesses, transfers, medications given, visitors, daily census. There is little noted about the more subtle aspects of patients' behavior. Nurses' aides want to know mainly what privileges a patient is allowed; for example, who is allowed off the ward, because they will then know what specific behavior to watch for.

A failure to do the well-defined tasks are most likely to get one into difficulty. Thus, a night nurse is criticized for failure to copy doctors' orders, order drugs, put labels on syringes. No comment is made about how she interacts with patients since this has not been directly observed and cannot be defined or readily inferred from the outcome. In the same way, nurses and psychiatric residents put pressure on therapists for prescriptions on how they should react to specific behavior of patients rather than being told what general attitudes to take. Some doctors' orders are more enforceable than others. Thus, if the doctor orders a specific medicine, one can complain to higher authorities if the medication is not given. If the doctor orders "contact" with patients, it is virtually unenforceable because it is so difficult to define.

6. The end point of the control effort can be comprehended.

This is another aspect of objective definition, but in terms of a temporal definition. When staff members can see that their control efforts will lead to some kind of successful conclusion in a given period of time, especially a relatively short period of time, they are more likely to maintain the control effort than if the end is indefinite or stretches out into the distant future.

In tuberculosis treatment, there is an effort to organize therapy in terms of specific time periods
after which progress is assessed, usually with an eye to taking some definitive action, such as discharging the patient from the program or placing him/her on a different activity level. There are chemotherapy "protocols" with standardized dosages for standardized time periods with patients' compliance closely monitored. There is excisional surgery with standardized stages of recuperation during which patient activities are specified. Patients who are not on such definite programs of therapy (usually because the therapy has been tried and has not been successful) are given less specific advice concerning activities and are less closely monitored.

In the rehabilitation program, retraining with a leg prosthesis was pursued by physical therapists in a quite different manner for young people than with old people. With the young it was assumed that functional learning would take place quickly and would be complete by a specified time measured in weeks. The patients had a program of frequent training sessions which they were held to strictly. In the case of older people, both the time period and the outcome were in doubt and the training was therefore not considered "worth" much effort. Training sessions were more widely spaced and patients were less likely to be pressured to participate if they wanted to be excused from some sessions.

In the training schools, academic courses and vocational training with definite end points had coercive requirements for attendance and participation. In contrast, "counseling"—where the time was open-ended and the outcome uncertain—was typically pursued in a haphazard manner, the scheduling of sessions depending largely on what time the social workers felt they could spare from more pressing (often better-defined) duties.

7. Violations of the rules and procedures leave tangible evidence of being obeyed or disobeyed.

Nurses' aides in a hospital are more likely to do those cleaning tasks where the result is readily noticeable to those who supervise them and are less likely to do those cleaning tasks where the results are not likely to be noticed. In the psychiatric hospital, the failure to give a medication order is
easily detected, the giving of "personal contact" is not, and therefore the latter is less likely to be attended to. In the rehabilitation program, failure to turn and massage spinal cord injury patients often led to the development of decubiti ulcers which would lead to criticism of the nursing staff by the physicians. On the other hand, failure to deal with the emotional upsets of patients by nurses would not evoke such criticism unless there was some tangible outcome, such as a suicide (even then the connection was not likely to be made).

In the training schools, when the social workers are short of time to do all of their work, they first do those things which provide tangible evidence to their supervisors—reports to the courts, reports to supervisors, attending staff meetings. On the other hand, they can more easily put off interviews with inmates which leave no evidence or which will not come to the attention of their superiors. Cottage parents do not want to report discipline problems when they can help it, but they must report those which leave visible evidence; for example, bodily injury to the inmates, damage to school property.

When a choice must be made between alternatives

8. Select that action whose effects are more readily quantifiable.

This was already indicated in the discussion of the control of patients' activities in tuberculosis hospitals. There is a tendency to define patients' activities in readily quantifiable terms, primarily in terms of length of time in which certain activities may be carried on or the time periods in which they may be carried on. There is also some definition in terms of materials used in these activities. In a psychotherapy program, "contact" with patients may be prescribed in terms of specific amounts of time to be spent with patients and thus an effort made to define the therapeutic relationship in readily measurable quantities. This implies greater control over subordinate staff activity than would prescriptions not based on definite amounts of time.

The rehabilitation program too favors modalities which can be readily quantified. Physical therapy is measured in time periods of training sessions or in
the repetition of specified exercises a given number of times. Occupational therapy is measured in terms of the products produced, social work in part through counseling sessions of a given length of time at regular intervals.

9. Select the action whose effects can be more sharply defined.

In tuberculosis diagnosis there has been a constant press for sharper definition. For example, one of the factors which made for uncertainty in interpreting the Manteaux skin test was the variability in the manner in which the test material was injected under the skin of the subject. Some tests developed later attracted much initial attention because they standardized the manner of injection.

In controlling the contagiousness of tuberculosis in a hospital setting, it was easier to define solid boundaries rather than air masses. Thus we found contagion controls largely in terms of rooms, doors, and floor territories even though this does not correspond closely to the implications of research on the transmission of the disease.

In psychiatric institutions we find that improvements in hospital programs are often defined in terms of reduction of the patient population. Nurses' aides' definitions of the patient's condition is more in terms of observable behavior than in terms of psychiatric categories; for example, tidy versus untidy, walking versus infirm, working versus idle. Ward personnel are more likely to take action with respect to patients engaged in disruptive behavior where they can bring about some obvious control of that behavior than they are in the case of patients who are depressed where they are much less likely to produce clearly-defined results. The more immediate action for possible suicide is removing potential weapons rather than concentration on bringing about changes in the patient's self-perception.

10. Apply oneself to satisfy the more routine scheduled demands first, the unusual or irregular later.

We find ward personnel doing things like making beds, taking temperatures, giving baths, and doing the scheduled cleaning tasks first. Later, if they have time, they may do some cleaning which is not regularly
scheduled and may do certain favors for patients. These latter tasks can be expanded or contracted relatively freely, but the former ones must be done before they go off duty and will get them into trouble if they are not done.

In the training schools and in the rehabilitation program social workers carry out their clerical routines and produce their written reports first. Counseling and therapeutic interviews are done later if there is time.

Hospital night nurses always make a point of getting the paper work routines finished first; the non-scheduled patient care work comes second. The daytime nurse too tries to see that all of the routine tasks are completed and concerns herself with personal contact with the patients only insofar as time is left for this.

11. If you must guess, be consistent in your guesswork.

When you make some decisions concerning privileges for patients when you have only a vague notion of what the effect of your decisions will be, at least follow a consistent pattern which applies to all patients of a given category. Thus, in a given hospital, leaves of absence to patients in given categories are of the same length and come with the same frequency. The time from one reference point in a treatment career to another is much the same for all patients. Thus, the staff is relieved from arguing the question of fairness as inmates compare experiences with decisions of the staff.

Such consistency of decisions is even more important in the training schools. There is a common assumption that inconsistencies will be "taken advantage of" if the decision varies from case to case. Staff develop standard routines for decisions to use when they are challenged.

In the chronic hospital settings medications for the control and relief of subjective symptoms are also likely to be standardized. Since prescribing for such symptoms (usually under pressure from the patient) involves much guesswork concerning result on the part of the physician, there is no reason to vary from case to case (except as an empirical follow-up—if one medi—
cation is not effective, try another or a different dosage).

12. Put off choice and accumulate more evidence.
   If there is uncertainty in diagnosis, try to reduce the uncertainty by piling up more evidence. Thus, in a tuberculosis hospital, if several series of sputum tests give contradictory results, give still more tests with the hope that they will finally give a consistent result. If chest X-rays and clinical signs point to the possibility of either cancer or tuberculosis, give more tests which may be positive for one or the other of these diseases and hope that they may be differentiated. The same principle is served by such practices as dual reading of X-rays in which it is hoped that the pathology missed by one expert will be picked up by another.

In the rehabilitation unit, when the staff could not make up its mind about discharging a patient, they would keep putting off the decision meeting after meeting and accumulate more information and order more patient evaluations. The hope was that the further information would tip the balance in the direction of a given discharge plan.

Generally speaking, an institutional staff member faced with uncertainty first acts on the basis of such a principle as those summarized above, and then explains his action in terms of treatment technology, professional ethics, or general moral values.

It would be useful to place the points made in this paper in a more general context of making decisions under uncertainty in a wider scope of human activity. And of course, there are writings which appear to use these same concepts (or at least some of the same words). Similar questions have been posed in the case of economic decisions and international power strategies (Schelling 1960) and in diplomatic maneuvering (Zartman 1977). It has also been the object of psychological experimentation (Janis and Mann 1977).

The problem is, as I compared the institutional data available to me with the published analyses referred to above, I could detect no similar categories or explanations. This may be a deficiency of synthesis on my part and thus awaits the interest of someone with greater capacity at such a task. It may mean
that the empirical data in the several areas are of such a different order that they are not comparable. Or perhaps we have been led astray because the same words and phrases are being used to describe quite different phenomena.

Grand-scale comparisons aside, how else might one proceed from here?

Most obviously, it would be possible to examine other long-term treatment settings to see to what extent and in what ways the decision behavior of staff matches or does not match the propositions posed in this paper. I would urge in such a case that the kind of information be similar; that is, derived from intensive observation over a period of time. Those involved in human services practices can draw materials from their daily experience for this purpose.

To enlarge the scope of comparison, one might examine other settings in which one group (institutional staff, professionals, managers) exercise control over another group (inmates, clients, employees) but where there is often considerable uncertainty about the effect of decisions made by the controllers. The farther one moves from the empirical settings considered in this paper, the more likely it is that issues and propositions different from (not necessarily contradictory to) the list I have posed will appear.

At another step removed, one can examine arenas which do not involve direct control over, or service to, individuals in an organizational setting. But then one is dealing with arenas such as broad economic planning or international diplomacy where I have already acknowledged failure to find links to the situations I am most familiar with. I therefore believe such steps are best left to others.

REFERENCES


INCOME AND PERSONAL RESOURCES: CORRELATES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT TO WIDOWHOOD

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates factors that may determine the level of psychological adjustment to widowhood. Independent variables considered in this study are income and human capital. The population from which the study's sample was drawn consists of all nonremarried widows with at least one child receiving survivor benefits from social security in 1978 (N=3,041). The results support the importance of human capital variables for their predictive power. On the other hand, family income has not been found statistically significant. The source of data for this study is the 1978 Survey of Survivor Families with Children conducted by the Social Security Administration.

This study examines factors associated with the psychological adjustment of nonremarried widows who have...
minor-age children at home. Such a study seems important to	hose involved in counseling widows and to policy makers
concerned with programs designed to assist widows. Widows
with dependent children face serious readjustments resulting
from the death of their husbands. Lopata (1979) points out
that psychological stresses of widows requiring readjustment
include loss of identity as a wife and the need to make herself
an independent individual. The presence of young children
may make adjustment to widowhood more problematic, as
these widows not only need to maintain family income for
their children without the help of another adult breadwinner,
but they also have the emotional burden of solitary
parenthood.

The adjustment widows make to their widowed state is
likely to have lasting effects on their own psychological well-
being and that of their children, as most widows with young
children do not remarry. A recent study found that 77
percent of the approximately 788,000 widows with dependent
children who were receiving survivor's insurance from social
security had not remarried. Further, among the nonremarried
widows, less than 15 percent thought it was at all likely that
they would marry again (Hastings and Springer, 1980). For
them and for their children, it seems important to understand
what factors are associated with psychological adjustment
over the long haul during the period of their children's
minority.

Two recent quantitative studies have assessed
association of various factors with adjustment to
widowhood. Both these studies were concerned with the
newly widowed, examining adjustment either six months after
the death of the husband (Bahr and Harvey, 1980) or a year
after bereavement (Cary, 1977). The present study is a
replication of these previous studies in that it also examines
factors found to be important to adjustment. However, it
differs from the work previously done in two important
respects: it is concerned only with widows who have
dependent children at home and examines adjustment during
the years following the first year of bereavement. In
addition, the sample for the current study is based on a
national sample of widows with dependent children. In
contrast, former studies included only widows of a limited
géographical area or socioeconomic status.
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The literature on adjustment to widowhood commonly suggests two sets of factors that are strongly associated with how well the widow adjusts to the changed circumstances of her life as a result of the death of her husband: level of income and personal resources. Level of family income is conceptualized in this study as a factor external to the widow herself; it concerns the economic conditions in which she lives. Personal resources of the widow are also likely to affect level of psychological adjustment, as they will help her survive on her own without a male partner. This study examines and compares the strength of these two sets of variables in predicting the level of psychological adjustment of the widow. Do the economic conditions in which the widow lives play the primary role in enabling her to adjust to widowhood, or are her human strengths, which enable her to cope with her new, more demanding role, also important to her psychological well-being? To answer these questions, the predictive power of these two sets of variables will be investigated, controlling for other variables.

Income

Most widows with minor children experience a drop in income resulting from their husband's death and cannot afford to maintain their previous standard of living (Mallan, 1975). Reduced living expenses do not compensate for the loss of income from a working husband. Nor do death benefits and survivor's insurance fully compensate for the loss of the husband's income (Glasser et al., 1970). The change in living standard and the strains of coping with a low income are reflected in the anxiety, nervousness, and dissatisfaction of many low-income widows. Studies of widowhood seem to show that income is positively related to the level of psychological adjustment during the first year of widowhood (Carey, 1977; Bahr and Harvey, 1980).

Personal Resources

The other major group of independent variables concerns the personal resources that the widow possesses to adjust to living independently without a male partner. These variables are health of the widow, education, and work experience. This cluster of variables is chosen on the basis of previous work done by social science theorists who have found
that personal resources — generally called "human capital" — affect a person's earnings and job status in the labor market (Becker, 1964; Ben-Porath, 1967; Mincer, 1973; Sorenson, 1976). They have also been shown to influence the psychological adjustments of the elderly to the problems of widowhood and old age (Kalachek and Raines, 1976; Ozawa, 1982). In this study it is expected that these personal resource variables will affect the widow's psychological adjustment.

Both Carey and Bahr and Harvy found a positive relationship between education and level of adjustment. Lopata (1979) points out that widows with more education are likely to be more involved in social and emotional support systems and to have more positive feelings about themselves than widows with less education.

The grief associated with loss of a husband has been shown to affect the physical health of widows (Clayton et al., 1971; Kraus and Lilienfeld, 1959; Maddison and Viola, 1969; Parkes, 1970). Studies of elderly widowed populations indicate that state of health is positively associated with psychological adjustment and morale (Kutner et al., 1956; Spreitzer and Snyder, 1974). Physical health therefore appears to be an important personal resource that affects the vitality of the widow in coping with her changed circumstances.

Although previous studies that included both men and women hold that years of work experience is important to personal adjustment (Kutner et al., 1956), this factor may, in fact, have less effect on adjustment of women to widowhood. There are two reasons for this. First, Lopata (1973) observed that widows with children rarely valued the role of worker above that of wife or mother. Even if financial constraints required them to work, widows did not place a high value on their ability to function in the labor market. Second, most widows do not have highly specialized job skills. They tend to move in and out of the labor market, during marriage, in response to family need, and work in low-paying jobs with little opportunity for advancement (Lopata, 1973). Given these circumstances of their work life, years of work experience per se may not be regarded by widows as an important personal resource that assists their adjustment to widowhood. Years of work experience may represent long periods spent in unsatisfying jobs, rather than time spent in building a career. Thus, it is unclear at this time whether
work experience is positively related to adjustment of women to widowhood. The present study may shed light on the direction of its relationship.

Control Variables

In addition to the two sets of independent variables, the present study includes four control variables: age of widow, race, number of years of widowhood, and number of children at home. These variables are included because previous studies indicate that these variables have significant bearing on psychological adjustment of widows (Carey, 1977; Kutner, 1956; Lopata, 1973; MaMahon and Pugh, 1965; Parkes, 1970).

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, the following general hypotheses are offered:

1. Other things being equal, widows having a larger amount of current total family income will have a higher level of psychological adjustment to widowhood.
2. Other things being equal, widows with a higher level of educational attainment will have a higher level of psychological adjustment to widowhood.
3. Other things being equal, widows in a better reported health status will have a higher level of psychological adjustment to widowhood.
4. Other things being equal, widows with more years of work experience will have a higher level of psychological adjustment.

METHODOLOGY

Data Source

The data for this study were collected by the Social Security Administration (SSA) in the Spring of 1978 (Hastings and Springer, 1980). All those surveyed were receiving Survivors Insurance benefits for their children in December, 1977. The survey data were merged with social security program data. The resulting data file provides a particularly rich source of information on the young widowed population and makes possible the study of a wide variety of work-related, psychological, social, and economic variables associated with young bereaved families.

Description of Sample

The study reported here includes in its sample only that portion of the SSA sample which consists of widowed women
who in 1978 were not remarried and had children under age 18. Of the 3,041 widows in the present study, 26 percent were nonwhite. The mean age was 46 years. Less than 50 percent had graduated from high school, and 34 percent had health problems that limited the amount or kind of work they could do. The average number of years of widowhood was 6.5 and the average number of children at home was 2.7. The mean family income for 1977 was $12,511.00.

The sample was weighted by the Social Security Administration to adjust for non-responses and to correct for over-representation in some universe cells (e.g., zip code). The weighted sample more closely approximates the population from which it was drawn than does the unweighted sample.

Operational Definitions of Variables

Dependent Variable:

Psychological adjustment to widowhood. A Likert-type scale involving nine items was used to assess adjustment to widowhood. This scale measured the frequency with which widows reported feeling (1) happy or pleased, (2) lonely, (3) unable to get things done, (4) sick, (5) anxious, (6) confident, (7) nervous, (8) self-sufficient, and (9) tired, worn out, or exhausted. Internal consistency reliabilities reveal that these items — each of which was scaled from 1 to 5 — represented a reliable measure of psychological adjustment (Alpha = .80). Index scores for each respondent were computed by adding responses to scale items. Low scores (e.g., a score of 9) indicate a low level of adjustment, while high scores (e.g., a score of 45) denote a high level of adjustment. This scale, though not identical to Carey's Adjustment Scale (1977), includes several of the same items.

Independent Variables:

Current total family income. This variable includes earnings by family members, other income from such sources as dividends, rents and interests, and public and private transfer payments. All income data are for 1977.

Perceived health status (personal resources). This variable is defined as how a respondent perceives her health status relative to working. The variable is measured by the question "Do you have a health or physical condition that limits the kind or amount of work you can do?" Using a dummy variable, a score of 1 was given to respondents who answered in the negative, while respondents who replied positively received a score of 0.
Education (personal resources). This variable is measured by the number of years of completed schooling. Possible scores range from 0 to 17. (The score of 17 indicates 17 or more years of schooling.)

Work experience (personal resource). Work experience is defined as the number of years during which the respondent was employed either full or part time.

Control Variables:

Age of widow is measured by the respondent's age in years.

Race is defined as the report by the respondent as to whether she is white or of some other ethnic affiliation.

Number of years of widowhood is defined as the number of years between 1978 and the year that the respondent's spouse died.

Number of children living at home is defined as the total number of children sharing the same household with the respondent, whether or not they are currently receiving social security benefits, and regardless of age.

Analytic Procedure

In this study, multiple regression is the statistical procedure used to analyze the effects of variables on psychological adjustment of widows. The standardized beta weights obtained from the regression indicate the expected change in the dependent variable associated with a unit change in a given independent variable, controlling for the effects of all other independent variables in the regression equation. Thus, note that the term "control variables," as used above, denotes a conceptual grouping; in the statistical sense, the effects of all of the independent variables are controlled for simultaneously in order to analyze the net effect of income and of each personal resource variable when all other factors are held constant.

RESULTS

The mean score on the Psychological Adjustment Index was 31, with a standard deviation of 5.5. The maximum possible score was 45 and the minimum possible score was 9. The regression results of psychological adjustment are shown in Table 1.
TABLE 1

Regression Results: Determinants of Psychological Adjustment to Widowhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Standardized Beta Weight (F-ratios in parentheses)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widow's Age</td>
<td>0.04819 (6.623)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>-0.03225 (3.093)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Years of Widowhood</td>
<td>0.03109 (3.276)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children at Home</td>
<td>-0.02514 (1.931)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Total Family Income</td>
<td>0.02397 (1.460)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Health Status of the Widow</td>
<td>0.30445 (292.302)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Years of Education</td>
<td>0.15736 (67.517)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Years of Work Experience</td>
<td>-0.00909 (0.246)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² 0.14018

F-ratio (61.78791)**

N 3,041

* Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.
** Statistically significant at the 0.001 level.
First, focusing on personal resource variables, the perceived health status of the widow has the strongest predictive power of psychological adjustment to widowhood (Beta weight = 0.30; p < 0.001). The positive direction of its coefficient indicates that widows who perceive themselves healthy enough to engage in work in a normal way (that is, without being constrained as the type of work and amount of work) tend to have a higher level of psychological adjustment. The level of educational attainment is also positively related to psychological adjustment to widowhood, with similarly high statistical significance (Beta weight = 0.16; p < 0.001). These findings confirm the findings in earlier studies (Bahr and Harvey, 1980; Carey, 1977; Kutner, 1956; Spreitzer and Snyder, 1974). Contrary to our hypothesis, work experience has been found to be an insignificant predictor of psychological adjustment; furthermore, the direction of its coefficient is opposite to what was expected.

We argued earlier that income might be an enabling factor toward achieving a high level of psychological adjustment. Thus, it was hypothesized that income was positively related to psychological adjustment. However, the regression results indicate that the level of income does not make a statistically significant difference in the level of psychological adjustment, although the direction of its relationship to the dependent variable is as expected.

Among the control variables considered in the study, age of the widow has been found to be significantly and positively related to psychological adjustment to widowhood (Beta weight = 0.05; p < .05). That widows of advancing age tend to be better adjusted to widowhood strengthens findings in an earlier study (Carey, 1977). The rest of control variables considered in this study -- race, number of years of widowhood, number of children at home — were found to be insignificant in affecting psychological adjustment to widowhood among nonremarried widows.

DISCUSSION

Findings from the regression analysis indicate that personal resource variables -- health and education -- play a statistically significant role in how psychologically well adjusted these widows are. The fact that these variables stand out as significant predictors even after controlling for all the other variables in the regression tell us the potency of
these personal resource variables as the predictors of the dependent variable. The human strength and personal vitality the widow brings to her role as sole caretaker of herself and her children appear to be important factors in her level of psychological well-being.

The positive relationship between education and level of psychological adjustment was expected, based on the findings of previous research. As Carey indicates, education can provide a person with more interests, better employment opportunities, and more financial security. These advantages become particularly important to a woman who becomes widowed, when it becomes necessary for her to rebuild her life in a more self-sufficient manner.

Health may contribute to psychological adjustment in much the same way, since good health is also a personal resource the widow can use in rebuilding her life. However, in interpreting the relatively large beta weight of health, the extent to which health and psychological adjustment may be related for non-theoretical reasons must be considered. Both variables have somewhat subjective measures as the widow herself was asked both to report the frequency with which she felt various emotions and to rate her health condition. For neither variable was more objective testing done. Therefore, it is possible that a widow feeling a general malaise might report both a higher frequency of adverse emotional states and the presence of a health condition that limited her activity. However, the health measure does have an objective referent, as the question specifically asked whether there was a health condition that limited the kind or amount of work the widow could do. This objective referent to the health question lends confidence to the view that it measures actual physical health and is not simply a reflection of her general psychological state. The presence or absence of a physical condition that limits activity appears to be separate from and predictive of psychological well-being.

In contrast to the strength of the personal resource variables, family income does not make a difference in the widow's psychological adjustment. However, these findings would not support the view that extremely impoverished widows have no increased risk of psychological strain. All widows in the study were receiving survivor's benefits from social security, which guaranteed them a monthly income until their youngest child reaches age 18 at the time of the study. These benefits have minimum levels for varying family...
sizes. The widow is therefore assured a source of income at some minimum level which may mitigate anxiety about financial uncertainties. This study thus indicates only that above a certain minimum level, amount of income does not predict degree of psychological adjustment.

Our finding on the effect of income is different from that of Bahr and Harvey and Carey, who found income to be an important predictor of adjustment. One explanation for the difference is that the current study looked only at widows who had been widowed for at least a year, whereas the two earlier studies were concerned with the first year of bereavement. It is possible that anxiety and depression around financial issues are more acute during the first year, when the loss of the husband's earnings may seem to be an overwhelming deprivation. With time, widows may increase their own earning capability that supplements the basic income that social security provides. Adjustments around financial issues may be largely resolved by the end of the first year. It is also possible that the receipt of social security benefits by all widows in the present study made this sample somewhat more financially homogeneous than other samples. Survivors insurance benefits have both a minimum and maximum benefit amount. Thus, family income, of which social security benefits are an important part, has a relatively narrow range. To the extent that the range of this variable is narrower than in other studies, it would be less likely to have strong predictive power.

That the number of years of widowhood and the number of children living at home do not make a difference in the level of psychological adjustment of the widow may indicate that family circumstances in which the widow is placed do not have much bearing on the widow's psychological adjustment. Furthermore, after the first year of bereavement, length of time since the husband's death does not appear to affect psychological well-being either. What seems important is the widow's personal resources, reflected in her perceived health status and level of education.

**POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

An important finding from the study is that psychological adjustment of widows depends heavily on their health status and educational level. These are important human capital variables. Healthy widows and well-educated
widows feel good about themselves and confident about going through the transition in life caused by the death of their husbands. If mental health of widows is a policy objective of governmental interventions, then programs that would help widows acquire more education or improve their health might be desirable. To date, the governmental assistance to widows with children has been in the form of cash payments through social security. Certainly, income support is and will continue to be needed to boost the income level of families headed by widows. However, this study indicates that among widows who are all receiving at least minimum survivor's benefits, the extent of additional income is not a factor in increased psychological adjustment. Therefore, based on the findings of this study, it is reasonable to suggest that future governmental efforts to improve the psychological health of widows should emphasize programs to help widows increase their personal resources, particularly health and education.

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PROFESSIONAL RETENTION OF BSW SOCIAL WORKERS: PLANNED AND ACTUAL CAREER CHOICES*

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ABSTRACT

The assumption that BSW students will remain in social work was examined with a survey of 107 current students and 177 graduates from 1977 through 1980. The findings suggest that most of the current students planned to practice social work and most of the graduates entered social work practice upon graduation. Recent graduates, however, had more difficulty obtaining social work jobs than graduates in 1977. Characteristics of social work education are not associated with retention, leading to the hypothesis that factors outside the control of social work education are more predictive of BSWS' retention in the profession.

*A version of this paper was originally presented at the Council on Social Work Education Annual Program Meeting, New York, N.Y., March 9, 1982. The first author sincerely appreciates the comments of Karen A. Holmes and Kevin J. Corcoran at various stages in the preparation of this paper.
Since the landmark study of graduate students was conducted by Pins in 1960 with a follow-up in 1966 (Golden, et al., 1972), the profession of social work has recognized the need to understand its personnel characteristics and anticipate its future needs (Siegel, 1975). More recently, with the shift in social and economic policy leading to a decrease of funds for social service programs, the issue of future social work employment has continued as a professional concern. For social work education this issue has particular import for survival within academia. A decline in the employment of social workers will eventually affect enrollment of students in social work educational programs. The future of social work education and perhaps the profession, may well be related to the ability of graduates to obtain employment. Implicit in most studies of the utilization of the social work labor force is the assumption that social work students want to remain in the field upon graduation (Enos, 1978). However, no study has been found which examined the validity of this assumption in terms of BSW students' planned and actual career choices upon graduation (Gockel, 1967; Merle, 1967; Brennen and Arkava, 1967; Quartaro, 1981; Mahler, 1982; Attinson and Glassberg, 1983).

The research objectives of this study were:

1) To ascertain the social work career goals and actual career choices of upper level undergraduate students and BSW graduates; and,

2) To describe the perceived importance and satisfaction of 14 internal social work education characteristics (i.e., quality of faculty, students and teaching; opportunity for field training and electives; required number of courses; and reputation of college in university and the community) among current students and BSW graduates. Data gathered in relation to these areas provide information about the importance of these internal factors in social work education that may be associated with the professional retention of BSW social workers in the field of social work.
METHODOLOGY

The population used for this study consisted of 107 juniors and seniors enrolled in an undergraduate social work program in 1981 from a large public university in the Southeast and 177 BSW graduates of the same program for the years 1977 through 1980. A 13 page self-administered questionnaire was designed to gather information on students' career goals and choices, grade point averages and satisfaction with their social work education including: overall educational preparation, and a variety of internal educational characteristics. A total of 86 questionnaires were returned representing an 80 percent return rate. Graduates were asked additional questions pertaining to their current employment and, when applicable, their reasons for leaving social work. A total of 101 questionnaires were returned for a 57 percent response rate. The overall return rate for both samples was 66 percent.

FINDINGS

Study Sample

The majority of the current student respondents are white (95 percent), female (84 percent), state residents (85 percent), single (74 percent), and 22 years of age or younger (69 percent). Over half grew up in a city of at least 50,000 (59 percent) and most are from middle or upper middle class families (77 percent). The majority of recent graduates are white (94 percent), female (79 percent), state residents (74 percent), and 26 years or younger (72 percent). Approximately half are single (47 percent), 44 percent are married, and nine percent are widowed, separated or divorced. Most grew up in middle or upper-middle class families (71 percent) and 41 percent grew up in a city of at least 50,000. The demographic characteristics of the current students and recent graduates are fairly homogeneous excepting for appropriate age differences and marital status changes.

National demographic data on baccalaureate students in social work indicate that the study sample is similar although the percentage of minorities is
smaller than that reflected in the current national BSW student population (Rubin, 1981). Therefore, findings may be generalized to other undergraduate social work programs with a degree of caution.

Career Goals

A major objective of this study was to ascertain future career goals of current upper-division, undergraduate social work majors and actual career choices made by recent BSW graduates. Based on their career goals and choices, both groups were divided into three categories: social work practice, graduate education in social work, or out of social work. Descriptive information is presented separately for current students and graduates.

Current Students: Just over half of the current students plan to practice social work upon graduation (51 percent), while 19 percent plan to attend graduate school in social work (see Table 1). However, 27 percent plan to pursue an area other than social work upon graduation. In addition, it is interesting to note that 14 percent of the seniors, compared to 24 percent of the juniors plan to attend graduate school upon graduation. At the same time, 32 percent of the seniors plan to get out of social work but only 21 percent of the juniors chose that response. This may suggest that as one nears graduation and the prospect of going to work in an uncertain job market, the decision to leave social work is more appealing than attending graduate school. On the other hand, the juniors in the sample (who may be aware of the limited job market) seem to be more willing to postpone their entry into the job market by attending graduate school.

While 51 percent of the currently enrolled students plan to enter social work practice immediately after graduation, most plan to further their professional education at some future point. In response to the question, "Do you ever plan to further your professional education?", 73 percent said yes, 25 percent were undecided, and only one said no. Almost all who said yes plan to obtain a master's degree in social work. Among the 23 (27 percent) who plan to
Table 1: Planned Career Goals of Current Students by Class Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Goals</th>
<th>Juniors %</th>
<th>Seniors %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Practice</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Graduate School</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Social Work</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

leave social work immediately, 7 plan to get advanced degrees in fields other than social work (i.e. 3 in law, 2 in public administration and 2 in family studies) and 14 expressed an interest in obtaining an M.S.W. sometime in the future.

BSW Graduates: Actual career choices for the four cohorts of BSW graduates are as follows: social work practice (42 percent), graduate school (20 percent), and out of social work (39 percent). A complete description by class year is shown in Table 2.

Of the 42 graduates who went immediately into social work practice, 22 plan to obtain an MSW sometime in the future, 2 plan a joint MSW-MBA degree, and 8 plan to obtain degrees in such fields as law, public administration, counseling and psychology. Only 10 reported a decision not to pursue graduate studies.

Interestingly, more respondents left the profession from the 1980 class (54 percent) than any other. Conversely, 70 percent of the 1977 class
practiced social work while only 29 percent of the

Table 2: Actual Career Choices of BSW Graduates upon
Graduation by Class Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS YEAR</th>
<th>1977</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Practice</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Graduate School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Social Work</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1980 class went immediately into social work practice upon graduation. While conclusions based on the small number of 1977 graduates may be suspect (N=10), it is clear from this data that fewer BSW students remained in social work upon graduation in 1980 than in the preceding three years.

Of the 39 subjects in the BSW sample who responded that they were not employed in social work, 29 or 74 percent said they could not find a position in the profession. Excluding the small sample of 1977 graduates (N=2), from 1978 to 1980 the percentage of students unable to find a social work job increased from 64 percent in 1978 to 73 percent in 1980. Although the year to year sample size is too small to test for statistical significance, there is a linear trend suggesting that social work positions for BSW graduates were increasingly hard to find. While this finding corresponds with the growing financial plight
in the state where this study was done, where there have been massive layoffs in state social service agencies as well as among other government employees (NASW News, 1982), it is also consistent with recent research completed in Pennsylvania on twenty-one BSW programs from 1976 through 1979 (Attinson and Glassberg, 1983).

Of the 10 remaining respondents who said they did not want to stay in social work, 6 left and 3 went immediately into graduate school in the related fields of nursing, public administration and theology and 1 stayed home to have a child.

INTERNAL FACTORS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

The second objective of this study was to explore the degree to which social work education has an influence on BSW students' decision to remain in social work in comparison to variables outside the educational setting. Educational characteristics were labelled internal factors (i.e., within the control or influence of social work education) in contrast with external factors outside of academia (i.e. availability of jobs, salary levels, nature or work, etc.).

In order to examine the relationship of internal factors to professional retention of BSW's in social work, several items concerning students' perception of their social work education were included. Respondents were asked first about their overall satisfaction with their educational preparation, and then specifically about the importance of and their satisfaction with 14 educational characteristics. They were also asked their grade point averages in social work and other courses. These variables were compared with career choice immediately upon graduation to determine their association with retention in social work.

Overall Satisfaction with Educational Preparation

Both current students and graduates were more satisfied than dissatisfied with the educational preparation received in their undergraduate program. On a 5 point scale with 1=very dissatisfied and 5=very satisfied, mean scores were 3.5 and 3.8 for current
students and graduates respectively. The modal response for both groups was 4 (somewhat satisfied). There were no significant differences between the current students (by class) or graduates (by year) on t-test analysis. While few trends were identified it appears that current students are somewhat more dissatisfied than the graduates. It is generally believed, at least for students in social work, that satisfaction seems to be a function of the length of time out of school, that is, satisfaction tends to increase with post graduation experiences.

Overall satisfaction with educational preparation in social work was then compared to career choice for both current and graduate samples of respondents. There were no significant differences between any of the career groups either within or between study samples. This finding may be accounted for by the unique situation that BSW graduates encounter; namely, they did not voluntarily choose to leave the profession but were "forced out" because of the unavailability of social work jobs. Or, undergraduate social workers who remain in social work do not differ significantly in terms of satisfaction from those who leave the profession, rather, they differ in relation to whether they can secure social work employment upon graduation.

Social Work Education Characteristics

The educational items were developed to identify educational characteristics presumed to be important to social work students. Respondents were asked to rate the importance and level of satisfaction of each item in relation to their social work educational experience on a four point scale where 1=not important/not satisfied and 4=very important/very satisfied.

In general, current students tended to rate each educational characteristic as more important than the graduates. On the other hand, graduates tended to be more satisfied than current students with each educational characteristic except for the quality of students in social work programs. Only two educational characteristics were significantly more important for current students than for graduates: the college's reputation among other students (t =
2.04, 182 d.f., p < .01) and the college's reputation among other faculty (t = 3.275, 181 d.f., p < .001). This finding may simply reflect the increasing emotional distance or detachment from academia that tends to occur following graduation.

Each of the educational characteristics were then compared to the graduate sample by career choice. Again, there were no significant differences on either importance or satisfaction for any of the educational characteristics. This finding lends further support to the conclusion that, among this study sample internal factors within social work education are not related to retention in the profession.

Grade Point Averages

Another internal factor that was believed to be associated with retention in social work was grade point average in social work and other university courses. Again, no significant differences were found between the three groups of career choice. However, an interesting trend was observed when GPA scores were examined. For social work courses only, the percentage of graduate respondents in the highest GPA category (between 3.5 and 4.0) was: attended graduate school in social work (88 percent), entered social work practice (54 percent), and left the profession of social work (44 percent). The same trend was observed for cumulative university GPA scores, ranging from 65 percent for those who went to graduate school, 32 percent for practice, and 14 percent for those who left social work. In other words, higher GPA students (both in social work and other courses) in this study were more likely to attend graduate school in social work, while those who received lower grades left the profession of social work. While these findings are encouraging for the profession, in terms of retaining the better academic students, these results were not statistically significant.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Although this study describes only one institution's alumni and student population, the findings are consistent with other recent investigations and are of relevance to the
professional retention of baccalaureate social workers. The baseline descriptive data presented here identify trends from 1977 to 1982 and are useful in monitoring changes in retention levels and employment patterns of BSW students in the future.

The majority of current and recent graduates in this undergraduate social work program would prefer to remain in the profession upon graduation. Although a surprisingly large number of high GPA students plan to pursue a graduate degree in social work at some time, an important implication of this study is the need for undergraduate and graduate social work programs to explore new resources for employment, especially those that are not directly tied to federal and local funding resources. It seems clear that such exploration and expansion of choices would enable graduates to be more marketable in the near future.

Another important implication from this study concerns the lack of association between the internal educational characteristics described and retention in the profession. It would appear that the decision to remain in social work is not based upon internal factors within the control of social work education but, rather, on external factors in the job market. Although this study addressed only undergraduate education, MSW graduate retention may also be related to these external factors as noted in a recent exploratory study by Herrick et. al., (1983). There are no significant differences between BSW graduates who are out of social work and those who are currently in the profession on any of the variables defined in this study leading one to conclude that BSW graduates are different only in their ability to obtain social work employment. Social work educators should begin now to address this issue in order to assess the degree to which social work graduates can literally enter the profession, particularly during the continuing economic crisis.

As reflected by the findings of this study, career choices for social workers will change during the 80's, requiring more creative and realistic education of students in order to meet the exigencies of the economic marketplace, to retain BSW practitioners in the field of social work, and perhaps most importantly, to ultimately meet the social
welfare needs of society.

NOTES

1. At the time they were surveyed, however, 10 of the 42 graduates were no longer employed in social work. Two were enrolled in MSW programs, 1 was in an MPA program, 3 were homemakers, 3 were working out of social work, and 1 was seeking social work employment.

2. The educational characteristics were: quality of social work faculty, amount of time with social work faculty; social work faculty interest in your professional career, you as a person; the reputation of college among other students, among community practitioners, among other faculty; quality of students in social work program; quality of teaching by social work faculty; opportunity for training in social work practica; quality of experience with field supervisor; opportunity to select social work electives; opportunity to select university electives; required number of courses. A copy of each study instrument is available by request from either author.

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Rubin, Allen

Siegel, Sheldon
This study assessed the racial attitudes and perceptions of causal events of 174 graduate students at the time of their entry to social work training. Results indicate that social work students had more egalitarian attitudes than nonsocial work students and were more likely to attribute causality to environmental or external factors. Black students were significantly more external than white students in their perceptions of causality. Some differences in racial attitudes and perceptions of causal events were found among social work students, depending upon area of practice specialization. Student attitudes and perceptions did not differ according to geographical regions. Implications for social work education and for future research are discussed.

The racial attitudes of professional helpers and their perceptions of social reality are widely believed to bear on the effectiveness of their work with minority clients. However, very little is currently known about the orientation of social work students toward ethnic minorities at the time they enter professional training. As a result social work educators do not know the extent to which students are already sensitive to the needs and realities of minority group persons and, hence, the extent to which change in students' racial attitudes and views is needed. This paper reports findings of an assessment of student social workers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of causal events. In addition, the study explored the extent to which the attitudes and perceptions of these entering students varied as a function of demographic factors and their anticipated specialities within
social work. These findings are then related to issues in practice and social work education.

The Importance of Racial Attitudes. Worker attitudes toward minority clients have long been viewed as a significant variable affecting the ease and effectiveness of interracial practice. As early as 1950, Brown suggested that white workers' lack of association with blacks, their negative attitudes toward minority group members, or their sense of racial superiority may result in uneasiness in interracial contacts and diminish their effectiveness with black clients (Brown, 1950). More recently, Banks (1972) wrote that the attitudes of the white helper often "constitute a serious detriment to a positive interpersonal relationship" (p. 210). White social workers, as members of the larger society and culture, may bring preconceived ideas and attitudes about minority group members to their practice (Bloomingbaum, Yamamoto, and James, 1968; Vontress, 1971; Siegel, 1974); such attitudes, beliefs, and social norms are presumed to be potentially harmful to professional practice (Curry, 1964; Block, 1968). Cole and Pilisuk (1976) view the differential treatment accorded black clients as evidence of workers' negative attitudes toward minorities. At least one study has demonstrated that counselors' ethnocentric or biased racial attitudes are negatively related to the duration of their treatment relationships with black clients (Yamamoto, James, Bloomingbaum, and Haltem, 1967). Although this paper focuses only on the attitudes of workers toward black clients, it should be acknowledged that similar concerns may be relevant for black workers who work with white clients.

The Importance of Perceptions of Causal Events. The worker's perception of causal events may also have important consequences for interracial practice. That is, workers' attribution of causality to factors under the client's own control or to factors beyond (external to) the client's control will likely influence the focus of intervention. Many practitioners hold individualistic orientations in which environmental and social influences are minimized (Sue, 1978); the problems of individual clients often are viewed as being caused by intrapsychic disturbances which require interventions that are directed toward the individual. Yet it has been noted that a practice orientation which does not enable attribution of problem causation to the social system may be inappropriate or even dysfunctional for many black
clients (Banks, 1972; Hayes and Banks, 1972). Others have viewed attribution of causality to factors located within the individual as desirable for competent practitioners (Lefcourt, 1966) and for clients as well (e.g., Baker 1979).

However it is important for those who work with ethnic minorities to have a heightened awareness of the extent to which external factors affect persons' life situations. For example, environmental restrictions often retard the growth and development of minority persons and may be the principal contributors to their problems. Therefore, a perception of causality which incorporates environmental factors should be beneficial for workers practicing with clients who are victim to such forces and therefore who perceive events in their own lives as being externally controlled. Carr (1970) has presented evidence that similarity in persons' cognitive dimensions enhances the quality of their communication. Hence we can assume that the process and outcome of treatment will be enhanced if workers' and clients' perceptions of causal events and, hence, their views of problem causation are congruent.

Research Issues. In spite of the widespread assumption that workers' racial attitudes and beliefs affect the success of interracial practice, and in spite of social work's commitment to adequately prepare students for effective interracial practice, these issues have not been adequately studied (Proctor and Davis, 1983). Although considerable research has been conducted on college students' racial attitudes (Pettigrew, 1959; Woodmansee-Cook, 1971; Gurin, Gurin, Lad and Beattie, 1969; and Rokeach, 1968) the race-related attitudes and views of graduate students preparing for social work careers have not been systematically investigated. Discussions of social workers' racial attitudes and views, as well as the means to their influence and their modification as a result of exposure to minority content, have been largely theoretical.

Empirical study of social work students' racial views can provide data important in two ways. First, such data can inform social work educators about the favorableness of students' attitudes and their sensitivities to the needs and realities of minority persons. If, indeed, social work education is to prepare students for effective practice with minority clients, knowledge of bias in entering students'
racial attitudes and views is important data. Such data are essential if educators are to know the extent to which change in students' attitudes and views should occur. Second, knowledge of students' racial attitudes and views is important if the effects of minority curriculum content are to be systematically studied. The requirement that schools of social work make "special continual efforts" to include racial and cultural content into all basic required curriculum (CSWE, 1973) is based on the assumption that such content will enhance students' orientations toward minority clients. This impact needs to be empirically studied, and such study requires examination of change in students' views over time. The data from this study could provide a baseline for such a comparison.

This study examined the racial attitudes and perceptions of causal events held by students at the time of their entry to professional social work training. Two major constructs were of interest: students' attitudes toward minority group members and their perceptions of the extent to which external forces affect the lives of minority group persons. The purpose of the study was to provide a description of the attitudes and beliefs held by graduate students and to explore whether they varied according to a number of geographic and demographic factors. In addition, the attitudes and views of social work students were compared to those of a small control group of graduate students in other disciplines.

Method

Subjects

The sample consisted of 174 students entering their first year of a two year graduate program in social work at three universities, along with a small control group (n=20) of students entering other social science graduate programs. Social work students were drawn from universities in the south and midwest, while all control group students attended one of the midwestern universities.

Mean age for the total sample was 27.65. Social work students were older, $X = 28.02$, than control group students, $X = 25.04$ ($t = 2.92$, $p = .006$). The sample of social work students had a higher proportion of females (80 per cent) and
Blacks (12 per cent) than did the control group (48% were female, 0% were black). Thus, the gender and racial breakdown of social work students was similar to that of the field at large (Rubin, 1981). Breakdown of students by marital status was similar in the social work and control groups, with nearly two-thirds of the students married, one-fifth single, and one-fifth declaring "other" status.

During the first two weeks of the fall semester, a research assistant visited regularly scheduled classes to administer the questionnaires by which student attitudes and perceptions were assessed. Students were assured that their anonymity would be protected, that all responses were confidential, and that participation was voluntary. Very few students refused to complete the study questionnaires. After gaining the students' written consent to participate in the study, the research assistant administered the survey instruments.

**Measures**

**Demographic Data.** Student age, sex, race, marital status, major field of study in graduate school, and area of concentration (for those in social work) were assessed by a questionnaire.

**Geographical Region.** Previous research indicates that racial attitudes may vary according to geographical region. Because racial awareness appears to develop around the age of 4-5 (Goodman, 1952), we were interested in obtaining information regarding the geographical region in which subjects spent most of their middle childhood years (ages 5-10) and the region in which they spent most of their adolescent years (ages 11-16). Hence subjects were asked to indicate on the demographic questionnaire the states in which they had lived and for which years of their childhood and adolescence they had lived in those states.

**Racial Attitudes.** Student racial attitudes were measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967). Subjects responded to a five-point Likert scale on which they indicated agreement or disagreement with 25 statements expressing attitudes toward blacks. The higher the score on this scale, the more egalitarian the person's racial attitudes. This instrument was
chosen because of its prior use with university students (Woodmansee and Cook, 1967, Weigel and Cook, 1975) and because reported estimates of its reliability and validity were acceptable.

**Perception of Causal Events.** Student perceptions of causal events were measured by the Gurin Multidimensional IE Scale (Gurin, et al., 1969). The Gurin scale measures a generalized dimension of Internal-External Locus of Control (Rotter, 1966); that is, a person's perception of the extent to which events are influenced by external factors. The higher a person's score on the Gurin scale, the more he or she is believed to view events to be influenced by factors external to the individual. The lower a person's score, the more he or she is believed to view events to be influenced by his or her own behavior. A split half form of the Gurin I-E scale was used, resulting in a scale whose values ranged from 0-12.

The Race IE scale assesses persons' beliefs regarding the control black individuals are able to exercise over events which affect their lives. The Gurin Multidimensional IE scale was chosen because it enabled distinct measurement of a generalized locus of control (reflecting a personal ideology or beliefs about one's own capacities to exercise control) and an ideology about control which Black Americans can exercise. Thus in comparison to other measures of IE, the Gurin scale provides an additional measure of perception of causal events specific to blacks, that of Race IE. Higher scores reflect respondents' beliefs that the situation or status of blacks is influenced by factors external to, or beyond, their personal control. Lower scores reflect respondents' beliefs that the situation or status of blacks is influenced by their own behavior, that is factors under their personal control. All 13 items of Gurin's Race IE scale were used; values ranged from 0-13.

**Results**

**Racial Attitudes**

A one way analysis of variance procedure was used to compare the racial attitudes of students by their various areas of academic concentration. On a scale whose values ranged from 1-5, the mean score of social work students on the MRAI was 4.39 (n = 174). The control group of non-social
work students had significantly less egalitarian attitudes ($X = 4.10, n = 20$) than social work students ($F = 3.18, p = 0.026$). Focusing on differences within the group of social work students, those in administration and policy had slightly more egalitarian attitudes ($X = 4.52, n = 14$) than direct practice students ($X = 4.37, n = 129$), though the differences between these groups of social work students were not significant.

We were also interested in whether students entering social work schools in different geographical regions of the United States differed in their racial attitudes; this question was explored by a one way analysis of variance procedure. In this analysis, the factor geographical region had three levels corresponding to the school's location — upper midwest, south, and midwest border state. Scheffe and Duncan tests were used for pairwise comparisons. The findings indicate that students' racial attitudes did not vary significantly according to locale of school, although the results approached significance ($F = 2.80, p = .06$). Students entering graduate school in the south had slightly more egalitarian scores ($X = 4.5$, $n = 14$) than students in the midwest ($X = 4.46$, $n = 92$) and students in a midwest border state ($X = 4.33$, $n = 92$).

The effect of social work students' prior geographical region of residence on their racial attitudes was explored by two separate one way ANOVA'S, one for residence during childhood and one for residence during adolescence. In this analysis, the factor of geographical region had four levels — east, south, midwest, and west. No significant differences were found.

T-tests were used to compare the racial attitudes of social work students by race, marital status, and sex. Attitudes were not found to vary significantly by these demographic factors. Finally, the correlation between student age and racial attitude was not significant.

**IE and Race IE**

One-way ANOVA's were used to compare the IE and Race IE scores of students by their areas of graduate study. Scheffe and Duncan tests were used for pairwise comparisons. Students in different areas of graduate study had significantly different IE scores ($F = 2.66, p < .05$). Pairwise comparisons revealed that direct practice students
were significantly more external in orientation \((X = 6.19, \text{n} = 110)\) than administration and policy students \((X = 5.00, \text{n} = 14)\) or the control group of non-social work students \((X = 4.67, \text{n} = 15)\). With respect to Race IE, student concentration did not have a significant effect. That is, direct practice, administration and policy, and control group students did not differ in their perceptions of the influence of external forces on the lives of blacks.

Whether students entering schools in different geographical regions varied in their perceptions of causal events was again investigated by one way ANOVA's. Students' perception of causal events, whether measured by the general IE scale or the Race IE scale, did not vary significantly by region of school.

As in the analysis of racial attitude scores, one way ANOVA's were used to test for effects of prior geographical region of residence on IE and Race IE scores. No significant differences were found in IE or Race IE scores as a function of students' region of residence during childhood nor their residence during adolescence.

T-tests indicated that among social work students, Blacks and whites differed significantly in their perceptions of the influence of external factors on persons' lives \((t = 3.16, p < .0001)\). The mean IE score for black students \((X = 7.9; \text{n} = 16)\) was significantly more external than the mean IE score of white students \((X = 6.0, \text{n} = 141)\). Race IE scores of black and white students also differed significantly \((t = 4.5, p < .001)\). Blacks were significantly more likely to perceive environmental forces as influential in the lives of blacks \((X = 9.3, \text{n} = 13)\) than were white students \((X = 6.9, \text{n} = 117)\).

T-tests were also used to test for differences in IE and Race IE between male and female social work students. Male and female students did not have significantly different IE scores. However, Race IE scores varied significantly by student gender \((t = 2.01, p = .05)\); male students \((X = 7.93, \text{n} = 27)\) were more likely to perceive external forces as influential in the lives of Blacks than were female students \((X = 6.57, \text{n} = 89)\). T-tests revealed no differences by marital status, and the correlations of age with IE and Race I-E were not significant.
Racial Attitudes, IE, and Race IE

Our analyses determined that among social work students racial attitudes and perceptions of casual events were interrelated: racial attitude scores correlated significantly with both IE, \( r = .18 \ p < .007 \) and Race IE, \( r = .17 \ p = .009 \). Hence, students with more egalitarian racial attitudes were also more external in their perceptions of casual events. In addition, IE and Race IE were found to be significantly correlated, \( r = .33 \ p < .000 \). Among control group students, the only significant correlation was between the racial attitude and Race IE variables, \( r = .51 \ p = .006 \). That is, students with more egalitarian racial attitudes were more external in orientation, but only in their perceptions regarding the influence of factors affecting Blacks.

Discussion

The findings of the study suggest that social work students hold egalitarian racial attitudes. Moreover, the attitudes of social work students as a group were found to be more positive toward minority group persons than were those of other graduate students. Persons entering social work training appear to be attitudinally homogeneous despite their differences in geographical background. Although other studies have shown that geographical region of residence influences persons' racial attitudes (Pettigrew, 1959), the racial attitudes of social work students did not vary as a function of their geographical region of residence during childhood and/or adolescence. Moreover, students attending social work graduate schools in different geographical regions of the U.S. - southeast, upper midwest, and midwest border states - did not have significantly different racial attitudes. Finally, the racial attitudes of social work students did not differ significantly as a function of sex, race, age, or marital status. These findings may suggest that social work students tend to hold similar racial attitudes despite diversity in a number of background characteristics; however, even among social workers, it was somewhat surprising to observe no difference between blacks and whites with respect to favorableness of racial attitudes. It is possible that the lack of significant differences between black and white students reflects the operation of social desirability effects. That is, they may have responded favorably because they believed they were expected to do so. Ceiling effects may also be
responsible for the great similarity in student responses to some questions, i.e., the instruments may not have been sufficiently sensitive to subtle attitudinal differences.

The findings also indicated that social work students were more external in orientation than were graduate students in other disciplines. However, social work students were not significantly more external than other graduate students on the Race IE scale. Other research (Jayaratne, 1981) has compared the IE scores of social work practitioners to samples of the general population and concluded that social work practitioners were more external in orientation. What was not clear from prior research is whether the profession attracts externally oriented persons or if social work education increases persons' external orientation. The results of the present study indicate that at the time they enter graduate professional training, social work students are already more external in orientation than persons entering other areas of graduate study. However, the extent and direction of change in internal-external orientation as a function of professional training remains a question for further study.

On both measures of perception of causal events—the IE and the Race IE scales—black social work students were significantly more external than were white students. This finding is consistent with results of other studies (Gurin et al., 1969) and might be expected in light of the fact that blacks, as a function of their minority status, may experience less personal control over events in their own lives. Indeed, Gurin et al. (1978) hypothesize that among minorities and low income groups, a low sense of personal control likely reflects "a correct perception of a harsh environment over which they had little control" (page 292). Therefore it should not be surprising that black social work students' perceptions of causal events were more external than those of whites. Consequently their perceptions of control and of problem causation may correspond more closely to those of black clients than would the perceptions of white social workers.

Male and female social work students did not differ significantly in their general internal-external orientation, although males were more external on the Race IE dimension. Prior investigations have found females in the general population to be more external than males (Gurin,
Gurin, and Morrison, 1978), although in one study of social work practitioners, females were more internal than males (Jayartne, 1981). The need for further research on this issue is clearly indicated in order to determine whether, indeed, there are sex differences and to identify possible factors bearing on those differences.

Direct practice students were found to be more external in orientation than administration and policy students. This was a surprising finding in that direct practice students chose interventions which focus on individuals, while administration and policy students chose to focus their interventions on social systems. However, students' views of problem causation and their choice of intervention may not be as inconsistent as it would first appear. Among both groups of students the focus of intervention may be viewed as compensatory to their perception of problem origin. That is, direct practice students may choose to intervene with the individual to compensate for problems whose origins they perceive as residing within the social system. Similarly administration and policy students may perceive a need to intervene with the system in order to compensate for problems which they attribute to individual difficulties.

It is also possible that the apparent lack of correspondence between students' I-E and their chosen focus for intervention may reflect a lack of unidimensionality in the measure of locus of control. Students' responses to the I-E scale may reflect their sense of personal control, independent of control contingencies presumed operative for their clients. Thus social workers who hold an internal locus of control for themselves may not necessarily also presume that clients can exercise control over events in their lives. Although Rotter (1966) presented early evidence of the unidimensionality of his scale which is widely presumed to be unidimensional, recent evidence indicates that at least some subjects distinguish their own sense of personal control from the sense of control they assume operative for others. Blacks appear more likely than whites to distinguish the ways in which their own outcomes are determined as opposed to the way outcomes are determined in the society at large (Gurin et al. 1969; Lefcourt, 1966). This study highlights the need to examine the control ideology which social workers presume operative for minority persons. Moreover it serves to sensitize professionals to the likely distinction between their
own sense of personal control and the control contingencies which many client groups experience.

In spite of the plausable distinction between workers' personal control and the control contingencies they presume operative for clients, the practice literature has assumed that a perception of internal control is desirable for both professionals and clients. Internality has been associated with such adaptive behavior as intellectual ability and achievement, positive self-concept, mastery, willingness to help others, and acquisition of helping skills (Midlarski, 1971; Lefcourt, 1976; Baker, 1979). Indeed an external orientation has been widely viewed as maladaptive (Lefcourt, 1966) such that increasing clients' internality has been, implicitly or explicitly, one of the major purposes of psychotherapy and social intervention programs (Baker, 1979). The premise of this study, expressed also in some of Gurin et al.'s discussions, is that external orientation among some client groups — those who have experienced discrimination and oppression, in particular — reflects an accurate reading of social reality. Indeed rather than reflecting pathological perceptions which need to be modified, an external orientation has been found to be positively associated with higher self esteem among minority youth (Hendrix, 1980).

Conclusions

The results of this study need to be interpreted cautiously due to the limitations of the sample. The control group was particularly small in comparison to the number of social work students. In addition, the number of males, black students, and students declaring a specialty in administration and policy were relatively small although their proportions in our sample generally reflect their proportions in the population of social workers as a whole.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that social work students enter professional training already holding racial attitudes which are more positive than are the attitudes of students entering other fields of graduate study. Such attitudes may be viewed as facilitative to their future work with minority clients. These findings should not be interpreted as indicating that the attitudes of entering social work students are sufficiently favorable toward black clients or other minorities. Furthermore, it is quite possible that
because white Americans have had greater exposure to blacks than to some other ethnic groups, many individuals may be more familiar with Blacks than they are with other ethnic minorities. Hence, further research efforts focusing on student attitudes toward other minority groups, e.g., Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans, are also necessary and should be undertaken.

Additional research is also needed regarding the relationship of racial attitudes and helping effectiveness. Results from prior studies, although not focusing on professional helping encounters, indicate that prejudiced persons avoid contact with members of ethnic groups different from their own (Harding, Proshanky, Kutner, and Chein, 1969). However, some findings indicate that once whites have actually engaged in helping behavior or performed a personal favor for Blacks, their attitudes toward Blacks became more positive (Blanchard and Cook, 1976). Such findings suggest that students' contact with minorities or their opportunities to engage in interracial helping behaviors may result in more positive racial attitudes. Furthermore, social psychological research indicates that without such experiences, students with unfavorable racial attitudes may avoid contact with minorities — whether through refusal to choose interracial settings, reluctance to accept minority clients, or premature termination of their treatment with minority clients. Hence, schools of social work might selectively place students with limited exposure to minorities in practicum settings where they would have opportunity for interracial helping experiences.

Further research is needed on social work students' perceptions of causal events and their consequences for practice. Such research should view perception of causality as multidimensional, distinguishing between perceptions which are operative for the worker's personal life and perceptions which are legitimate for clients. These issues have a number of implications for social work education. Social work curriculum should include content about social reality and perception of causal events among at-risk populations. Moreover, social work curriculum should enable students to explore possible differences between their own views and those of their clients. Finally, curriculum should address the consequences of these differences for the helping process.
This study assessed the racial attitudes and perceptions of casual events among entering social work students. What further remains is the very difficult task of investigating the impact of minority content on social work students' racial attitudes and views (Proctor and Davis, 1983). Until such answers are forthcoming, social work educators should be sensitive to students' attitudes toward minority clients and should remain firm in their commitment to expose students to a wide range of information about minority groups.

**Bibliography**


SOCIAL WORKERS AS MAGISTRATES OR JPs?

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Abstract

An inspection of data on magistrates and justices of the peace revealed that in many states the statutes do not require law degrees for the positions. A survey of a randomly selected sample of magistrates in one midwestern state found support for the claim that a law degree was not a prerequisite for a magistrate's position. The author argues that social workers have the education and skills for magistrate and justice of the peace positions and proposes them as areas of employment.

This study examines the commonly held belief that law degrees are required to hold lower-level judicial positions. The specific characteristics of magistrates in a midwestern state are studied as an exemplar. What are their educational backgrounds? Must one be an attorney? What is their gender distribution? What legal knowledge is required? What problems do they experience? The answers to these
questions and others are supplemented by a social worker's reflections on her serving as a magistrate. An inspection of the magistrate and justice of the peace court systems nationwide is followed by the single-state study methodology and findings.

A study of the magistrate and justice of the peace (JPs) court systems in the U.S. was conducted by referring to information published by the Conference of State Court Administrators and the National Center for State Courts (1982). In reference to Table I, it can be seen that twenty-five states have magistrate and/or Justice of the peace/justice courts. All of these courts seem to have roughly similar responsibilities in handling lower-level litigation and legal affairs. Other states, such as Wisconsin, have municipal courts with roughly the same jurisdiction, but the nation-wide variation was such in municipal courts that they were left out of the study. In very few states are law degrees required of magistrates or justices, although several of the states mandate completion of law-related educational experiences.

The magistrate system in Iowa was developed about ten years ago. The number of magistrates assigned to each county depends on the size of the county. The responsibilities of the magistrate include: simple-misdemeanor trials (both jury and non-jury), search warrants, small claims (up to $1,000), initial appearances (ranging from simple-misdemeanors to felonies), mental health/substance abuse commitments, marriages and preliminary hearings (1979 Code of Iowa).
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<th>Law Degree</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Must be members of the bar, if jurisdiction is over 100,000 people.

Magistrates deal with a wide range of community agencies, such as substance abuse agencies, mental health institutions, court pre-trial services, department of corrections, sheriff's departments, police departments, highway patrol, juvenile probation and the department of social services. The magistrate's position requires a high degree of technical competence to meet the statutory responsibilities of the office, to ensure just decisions and to relate to the various kinds of community agencies. Applicants for the position, however, need only be a county elector under the age of 72.

Licensed attorneys are given first consideration (1979 Code of Iowa). Selection is made by the local judge and attorney members of the local commission. This relative "open-endedness" permits flexible appointments, which, in turn, may lead to problems in meeting the duties of the office.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Sample

A cross sectional survey of county magistrates was conducted during the fall of
1982. A random sample of 49 counties (including 76 magistrates) was drawn from the roster of 99 counties (with 166 magistrates) in the State, by using a table of random numbers.

Data Collection

A paper and pencil questionnaire was mailed to each of the 76 magistrates. Ten days later a second wave of questionnaires was mailed. The questionnaire included both open-ended and closed-ended questions concerning opinions on the level and areas of education which are required for the position of magistrate, types of legal knowledge which are useful in performing the duties, the human relation skills used, primary problems of magistrates and satisfaction with the position of magistrate. To enhance internal face validity, the questionnaire was pre-tested for clarity. The net questionnaire return rate from the 76 magistrates was 75 percent.

FINDINGS

Sample Characteristics

Of the respondents in the sample, 11 out of 57 (19.3%) are females as compared to 32 (19.3) of the total state group of 166 magistrates. Thirty-eight (67%) of the respondents have law degrees. The mean age for both males and females is 43 years, but for law degree holders it is 39 years and for non-law degree respondents it is 51 years. The mean number of years a magistrate has served is 5.28 (the maximum was 9 at the time of the survey which reflects the duration of the magistrate program in the study state). Seventy-five percent of the magistrates reported that they served in rural areas, reflecting the preponderantly rural nature of
the state.

**Education**

The first question asked was, "What educational background is sufficient to perform the duties of a magistrate?" The results shown in Table 2 reveal that one-half of the respondents believe that a law degree is sufficient. Of those respondents with law degrees, 78 percent believe it is sufficient, but none of the respondents without law degrees agree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
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<td>High School</td>
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<td>(30%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
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<td>Law Degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
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</table>

The second question asked was, "What educational area of study is sufficient to perform the duties of a magistrate?" Table 3 shows that fifty-six percent of the respondents believe an education in law is sufficient, but twenty-six percent believe that different areas of study are sufficient. Nineteen percent of the respondents believe that no specific area is needed. Of those respondents with law degrees, 77 percent think a law background is sufficient but of the respondents without law degrees, only 16
percent believe a law background is sufficient. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, there is a close correlation between the number of respondents who believe that a law degree is sufficient (50%) and those who believe that formal education in law is sufficient (56%).

### Table 3

**Sufficient Areas of Study**

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<th>Area</th>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(11%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(56%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*rounding error

**Legal Knowledge Required**

The respondents were next asked, "What specific types of legal knowledge are required to perform the duties of a magistrate?" The results are listed in Table 4. As one would expect in reading the magistrates' duties, knowledge of civil and criminal law, contracts and codes, court procedures and rules of evidence is required. However, many of the respondents asserted that common sense and an ability to search for information and precedents in legal documents were also needed. Certainly, the library skills involved in document searches would be possessed by baccalaureate graduates. Possession of a law degree is not an important factor in the
respondents' opinions on legal knowledge required.

Table 4

Legal Knowledge Required

*Civil/Criminal Law & Procedure
*State Contracts/Codes
*Research Ability
*Common Sense
*Rules of Evidence
*Basic Knowledge of Court Procedure

Human Relation Skills

The question, "What human relations skills do you use in relating to a variety of defendants and plaintiffs" elicited a variety of skills. The most frequently used skills are listed in Table 5. Again, possession of a law degree does not account for any variation in the listing. These skills involve those of every day human interaction; However, in social work education, they are major topics of study in the practice (including counseling) courses.

Table 5

Human Relations Skills Needed

*Patience
*Listening
Problems Experienced

In response to the question, "What are the primary problems you experience in your magistrate job?" a length list was produced. The salient problems are noted in Table 6. Possession of a law degree was not a significant variable in relation to the magistrates' opinions on the problems they experience. Workload and paperwork are the usual bureaucratic types of organizational problems. Lack of sentencing options indicates structural defects in the court system. Determining veracity and explaining procedures to defendants will always be necessary.

Table 6

Problems Experienced

*Lack of understanding procedure by defendant
*Workload/time factor
*Paperwork/bookkeeping
*Lack of sentencing options
*Determining who's telling the truth

Satisfaction with the Position
Ninety-five percent of the respondents reported being satisfied/very satisfied. Controlling for gender, possession of a law degree and rural/urban setting produced no statistically significant differences between groups.

DISCUSSION

As indicated in Table 1, half of the states have magistrate and/or justice of the peace courts. Tables 2 and 3 show that only half of the total Iowa respondents believed that a law degree or educational background in law is necessary to be a magistrate. Only 78 percent of the magistrates who are attorneys believed that a law degree is necessary for the position. The required human relation skills are not unique just to the magistrate position, but rather reflect the generic skills needed in many types of positions in public and private sector jobs. None necessarily require that someone be college trained; however, in the helping professions, such as social work, they are skills learned in the course of study. The problems experienced by the respondents reflected their organizational setting, problems in the structure of the laws (such as lack of sentencing options) and a general public which is understandably ignorant of the laws.

Although a legal background is desirable in the role of magistrate (or its cousin, the JP) it is not a criterion which would prevent helping professionals from becoming magistrates. Of the helping professions, social workers may be the best prepared, at the baccalaureate level, because of their counseling and community oriented courses. If one possesses the necessary human relations skills and is willing to undergo the available legal training, the duties should be manageable.
Magistrates in the study state attend a yearly two-three day training program. This mandatory training program covers recent legal decisions, new laws, administrative regulations, sentencing alternatives, pre-trial and trial matters in criminal cases, small claims and renting laws, judicial attitudes and perceptions, judicial conduct and decision-making. Other schools are held for nonlawyers throughout the U.S. The National Judicial College in Reno, Nevada, encompasses one to two weeks and covers constitutional basics, search and seizure, arrest warrants, pleas, arraignment, pre-trial release, preliminary hearings, probable cause, legal research techniques, etc.

Social work values (which are shared by other helping professions) can be used in this type of position. Objectivity, fairness, concern for equality and empathy are highly important. Individual human dignity and the right to self-determination, within the law, match social workers' concerns. Often used social work skills include establishing rapport, collecting and evaluating data, applying knowledge of human behavior to social situations and the use of problem-solving techniques in case decisions. A social work background prepares one for working with representatives of other agencies, as well as for understanding community-level social problems.

Additional problems encountered by magistrates are oftentimes those of keeping a well-balanced trial, when one side has an attorney and the other does not; trying to give a "mini-course" on the judicial system prior to the beginning of a case; trying to keep plaintiff and defendant emotions on an even level; differences in opinion as to financial claims (especially when the decision is not the one they want). Negotiating skills are necessary, as well as the skill of em-
pathizing with the client and with law enforcement personnel.

This study shows that attorney and non-attorney magistrates held differing views in regard to educational background and area of study sufficient to perform the duties of a magistrate. Attorneys tend to believe that a law degree is needed, but those without a law degree disagree. There is also a significant difference in age between magistrates with law degrees and those without, which suggests that the position may be primarily an early career endeavor for attorneys.

The findings regarding human relation skills needed and problems encountered by the magistrates showed little significant difference in opinions between attorneys and non-attorneys. This is significant, because it demonstrates that regardless of the education of the magistrate, they all encounter the same problems.

A literature review revealed few materials on law and social work preceding the 1970s. Since the beginning of the 1970s, three themes have emerged. The first is the need for social work education to include relevant information on the legal system into its curriculum (Jankovic and Green, 1981). The second relates social work to specific legislation of legal questions (Dickson, 1976). The third supports the need for collaboration between attorneys and social workers (Sherrer, 1976). A fourth theme can now be introduced, namely, social workers working in the role of officers of the court, such as magistrates or JPs.

The need for social workers to be knowledgeable of civil and criminal law to work with clients is well known. Usually this brings to mind specific social work employment in corrections or child welfare; however, this
study finds that there are few concrete barriers to social workers taking magistrate positions in any states. Although a minority, even some attorneys believe that a law degree is not necessary. Variations among states in their requirements for magistrates, will have to be studied by interested social workers.

As potentially new areas of employment, the magistrate and justice of the peace systems represent an opportunity for social workers. Social workers have the background, training and technical skills to work in this legal area. As job opportunities constrict, the appeal of these jobs may increase.

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MOVING FROM PROFESSIONALISM TO POLITICAL ADVOCACY IN THE HUMAN SERVICES--HOW TO ORGANIZE A SUCCESSFUL STATEWIDE POLITICAL EFFORT IN YOUTH SERVICES *

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ABSTRACT

The current funding environment makes political advocacy on the part of social work professionals mandatory. The social work literature on political advocacy is reviewed and categorized into schools of thought. The major portion of the paper, however, presents and then analyzes a case study of a statewide youth services association in order to gain more insight into how professional social workers can develop and use more successful political strategies and tactics.

Historically the social work profession has had a love-hate relationship with politics (Alexander, 1982). On the one hand, the profession has been committed to improving direct practice and the development of professional standards. On the other hand, many have argued that the profession should also play a far more visible and political role.
within its communities and society (e.g., Dean, 1977, and Stewart, 1981). When the economy is expanding rapidly, human services may be able to get their fair share but during periods of slow growth or stagnation they are prime targets for curtailment (Barbaro, 1978). It will be argued that given the current funding environment, political neutrality or ambivalence toward political activity on the part of social work professionals can only mean more negative consequences for the contemporary victims of social and economic problems. In this context, as Brager has eloquently stated elsewhere, professional social workers must function as advocates for clients and advocacy requires political behavior (Brager, 1968).

To gain insight into what social work has to say about political strategies and tactics that professionals can use, the literature is reviewed and categorized into schools of thought, and these schools are evaluated in terms of how they can help facilitate our understanding of political advocacy. The major portion of this paper, however, presents and analyzes a case study of a statewide youth services association which was highly successful in achieving its policy objectives. Many of the lessons learned from analyzing this case replicate the empirical findings in the social work literature, but a few of the lessons, which are currently not found in the literature, offer clear evidence on how to manage the internal operations of a statewide association. In this respect, the case study serves as a model for other statewide professional associations which seek to further the interests of their client population. (1)

During 1981 and 1982, the author served as a workshop leader for this association. Approximately three weeks were spent in the state over the course of these two years. Besides running a week long workshop for the
memberships each year, the author reviewed: all the minutes of the association for the past five years; the state budget; and the legislative record. Informal interviews with 35 of the 48 members of the association were also held. Given the confidential nature of these interviews, the actual name of the state is withheld. The interviews included questions about issues, conflicts within the association, assessments of power and influence among the membership, and detailed accounts of the strategies and tactics used by the association. Even though a pre-designed case study format did not guide this research, every attempt is made in the following pages to present a factually accurate and carefully analyzed account of the activities and internal workings of this association over the course of two years. A strict neutral observer role was followed whenever possible.

The Current Funding Environment

The environment of new scarcity produces among other things organizational instability and uncertainty, reductions in personnel, and service reductions or losses in the quality of services (Hasenfeld, 1983). For example, a survey of twenty-two runaway youth programs in Michigan in 1982 indicated that 94.2% of the programs had experienced budget cuts in the last two years and that of these, 70% had been cut by 15% or more. (2) Additionally, 82.4% of the programs were engaged in major reorganization of their services and personnel, 35.3% indicated cutbacks in services, and 58.8% reported that they had laid off personnel. The scenario represented by the results of this survey is most certainly widespread across the country when one looks at what has been happening for the past few years in terms of the availability of resources for human services. In perhaps the most thorough analysis to date, the Urban Institute detailed
the actual and proposed spending cuts for four years at the national level (Salamon and Abramson, 1982). Their findings indicate that the federal government is reducing its own activities in fields where the nonprofit organizations were active by $115 billion between FY 1982 and FY 1985 (Salamon and Abramson, 1982, p. xvii). More telling, however, is that the nonprofit sector would have to increase its rate of giving anywhere from 10 to 12 times what it has been at its peak, if the gap left by federal cut-backs is to be filled (Salamon and Abramson, 1982, p. 60). The hardest hit areas by federal cutbacks are social service, community development, employment and training, and health care service programs (opposed to health care financing programs). It is unrealistic to expect the nonprofit sector, states, or localities to pick up the slack (Dluhy, 1982). In short, the current funding environment is strained and it may be that way for a number of years. Given fewer resources in the human services, there is likely to be continuous conflict over priorities and needs which translates into reductions in services to clients, cuts in unpopular services and programs, and the underallocation of resources for needy but unorganized clients.

Another critical aspect of the funding environment is that while the federal government is severely cutting back its financial support for the human services, it is as the same time returning more of the responsibility for setting funding priorities to the states and localities without giving them additional revenues to pay for these services. In the past two years, the Regan administration has been instrumental in either the adoption or proposal of sixteen block grants which consolidate 103 different categorical programs (Dluhy, 1982). Block grants by design and purpose shift more of the responsibility for allocating resources to the state and local
level. The issue here is that a new system of allocation is becoming more critical than the highly centralized and categorical one of the past. The states and localities will increasingly set the standards and rules for distributing the diminished federal fiscal resources. If economic conditions had been more normal, it might have been possible to decentralize program responsibility to the functional areas covered by the block grants. State and local administrators would then have been able to maintain existing service levels while also being able to respond to new priorities and needs. However, without constant funding, state and local administrators will have little relief from the pain of denying and cutting back services as overall funding is reduced still further.

In sum, with perhaps a few exceptions, the prospects are poor that either the nonprofit sector or the state and localities will be able to pick up very much of the slack left by the federal budget cuts. Politically, the block grant in conjunction with funding cuts can only mean more conflict at the state and local level which, in turn, will mean that these arenas will increasingly become the dominant place for debates over priorities and needs in the human services. As such, statewide political advocacy will become even more critical as time goes on. The implication is that we need to recognize and accept these shifts in the funding environment and begin to develop well organized statewide advocacy efforts to shape decisions in these arenas. Without more political advocacy on the part of professionals, the cuts could be even deeper and, thus, further reinforce those who are seeking to dismantle the support systems that have taken fifty years to assemble (Stewart, 1981, p. 271).
Literature

One place to turn for direction in developing political strategies and tactics is the professional literature. But, as Sosin points out, literature based on research in social work is anything but rich and diverse on this subject (Sosin, 1983). For purposes of discussion, the existing literature is organized into three different categories and each category is evaluated briefly as to its utility. (3) However, given the dearth of literature in this area generally, professionals seeking to engage in serious political advocacy must be prepared to look closely at other professions and their approaches or learn through trial and error.

The first category of literature in social work is labelled the Admonition School of Thought. These writers, for the most part, remind the profession of its history and commitment to the social and economic problems of its clients (e.g., Alexander, 1982; Barbaro, 1978; Brager, 1968; Cohen, 1966; Dean, 1977; Levey, 1970; and Stewart, 1981). For those labelled as the Admonition School, there is little or no incompatibility between practicing clinically and advocating for the client in a political sense (Briar and Briar, 1982). Stewart's (1981) recent plea for political action captures the essence of this School of Thought:

In my view, social work loses its reason for being if it gives up its basic, traditional values and philosophical commitments. It will lose its professional uniqueness. Social work education then becomes primarily technical training with no more claim to social work positions than other trainees who are technically prepared and possess clinical, planning, or
The important contribution of this School of Thought is that it constantly reminds the profession of its historical mission and ideology. The "call to arms" needs to be periodically made, but beyond this, there is little by way of practical advice as to how professionals can become more effective and how research findings, in particular, can be used to develop more successful strategies or tactics. In the context of developing a statewide political effort, the leadership, at a minimum must be prepared to admonish its membership and raise its level of political consciousness. This School of Thought provides the ideological rationale for political involvement.

A second category is referred to as the Arsenal or Tactical School of Thought. While these writers also admonish the profession, they focus more heavily on what should be done and how to do it (e.g., Mahaffey, 1972; Sharwell, 1982; Thursz, 1971; Thursz, 1977; and Zweig, 1969). Most of the writing in this area, however, appears to be highly anecdotal rather than the result of rigorous research or the result of carefully described and analyzed case studies. Thus, comments about what things go into making an effective lobbyist, how to prepare and deliver successful testimony, and the steps necessary to develop comprehensive political strategies are presented to the professional as practical advice. The utility of the Arsenal or Tactical School is that it leads the way by illustrating how professionals can become involved and what kinds of things they can do. Its major limitation is that it offers advice that is not specific enough to the political situation or circumstances in which professionals may find themselves. At the worst, the professional may waste a lot of time on activities that are either meaningless or
aimed at the wrong people or targets of influence. At best, the professional may raise his/her sense of political efficacy and be encouraged to broaden his/her involvement in the political process. Without a more careful assessment based on research, the professional is still left in many situations with little else than trial and error as a guide. As discussed elsewhere, without better knowledge of strategies and tactics and their probable impacts, professionals behave more like "fire-fighters" than like "pragmatic brokers" who know how to use their resources efficiently and effectively (Bluhy, 1981). Recent research on the political involvement of professionals sheds some light on the general observation that social work professionals are fairly ineffective in the political process (Wolk, 1981; Mathews, 1982). While these studies find that the level of political activity is higher among social that the general population and similar to other types of professions, these high levels of activity do not guarantee political influence or legislative effectiveness. One interpretation of these findings is that influence and effectiveness are much more a product of the use of adroit strategies and tactics than the result of any overall level of political activity engaged in by professionals. As both Epstein (1968) and Rothman (1974) point out, social workers are far more comfortable with conventional professional roles like expert testimony, writing letters, and signing petitions than they are with more radical roles which might involve some kind of protest. Or as Wolk (1981, p. 287) documents, social workers are more likely to discuss issues, join organizations with political objectives, and write letters than they are to: attend political meetings; get involved in political campaigns; or make monetary contributions to candidates or parties. In short, political activity, per se, does not guarantee success. What is needed is a more careful and rigorous
assessment of which strategies and tactics to use.

The third category of writers is labelled as the Outcome School of Thought. This body of knowledge draws upon either carefully reported case studies or other types or research to establish more concretely the linkages between strategies, tactics, and outcomes. The recent literature in this area is the most helpful because it not only is suggestive of the kinds of strategies and tactics that can be used, but it also focuses on which types to use under differing conditions. As the dialogue among professionals continues, the critical questions that remain are--who is responsible for deciding what is to be advocated, what level of advocacy is appropriate, and what strategies of influence will be adopted? These questions cannot be answered confidently without a careful assessment of what has worked and what has failed in other situations. The Outcome School of Thought using research findings suggests the following generalizations about what kinds of factors lead to successful outcomes. (4)

1. Successful legislative strategy is contingent primarily upon the proper timing, the building of a coalition of support ahead of time, the offering of mainly incremental and feasible solutions, and the ability to maintain the visibility of issues over time (Dear and Patti, 1981).

2. Professional organizations that are highly successful in both the legislative and bureaucratic arenas have the following characteristics: They have a small leadership group which decides on and implements strategy in the name of the larger group; they have an effective communication network within the membership; and they have some kind of professional staff and/or skilled lobbyists.
representing them (e.g., Abrams and Goldstein, 1982; Dempsey, 1982; and Whitaker, 1982).

3. Those representing the professional organization are most successful when they use tactics which build up their credibility and reputation over time. Some of the more important tactics are; interacting frequently and regularly with legislators and bureaucrats; supplying legislators and bureaucrats with much needed technical and political information; and carefully monitoring the day to day activities of the policy development and implementation process (e.g., Bell and Bell, 1982; Mathews, 1982; Smith, 1979; and Wolk, 1981).

4. Finally, when making their case, those representing professional organizations are more successful when they portray the client groups they work with in the least stigmatized way, when they demonstrate that the programs they use to help these client groups are cost effective and efficient, and when they mobilize the geographic constituency of the elected representative (e.g., How, 1978; Humphreys, 1978; Rothman, 1974; and Smith, 1979).

Taken together, these generalizations about strategies, tactics, and outcomes offer more definitive and clear advice to potential political advocates than either the Admonition or Arsenal/Tactical School of Thought. While each school of thought performs a function for the larger social work profession, the Outcome School is definitely the most promising and has the most utility at this time.

The Setting of a Statewide Youth Services Association

The association represents 48 different youth service agencies. Most of these are
nonprofit agencies which provide some combination of residential treatment, counseling, and advocacy services for youth in the state. The association is an organization which performed primarily educational and social functions for its membership up until two years ago. While it met quarterly and published an annual report, the association rarely, if ever, entered the political thicket. While some of its members occasionally lobbied behind the scenes for particular causes, the association was not in the habit of doing things like taking formal political positions, organizing lobbying campaigns, or even courting influential politicians or bureaucrats. This organization was one with an extremely low level of political consciousness and activity. Most members seemed more concerned with the professional image of the association and what they could do to enhance that image. A review of the minutes for the association (1975-1980) confirmed the observation that it was primarily concerned with professional issues of practice, the licensing and certification of service workers, and the upgrading of training for its membership.

Until 1980, the legal and funding environment for youth services in the state appeared stable. Few changes had been made in the laws governing youth in the state for more than a decade and while overall funding for youth programs remained very low during this same period, it was at least constant (with the normal inflationary increases each year). Under these circumstances, the membership of the association seemed content to pursue issues of professional practice.

Two important events transpired during 1980 and 1981 which influenced a few in the association to pursue a far more active political agenda. First, the long standing Director of the State Department of Human
Services (which had jurisdiction over youth services) indicated his wish to retire. His "iron grip" over the social services budget for the past twenty years was now going to come to an end and a few of the members of the association felt that the legislature and the career bureaucracy would now have more of a chance to influence priorities and resource allocation than ever before. Secondly, the first round of federal budget cuts was now being felt at the state level and the uncertainty as to whether youth services would be able to maintain its previous budget allocations was real. While the state had survived quite nicely the economic slumps of the 1970's, by 1981 the state's cash flow and unemployment rate had become a very serious problem. The state budget surplus was gone by 1980 and the drain on the state budget created by the higher unemployment rate put the state in a budget cutting mood. These factors created an opportunity to upgrade youth services in the state, but the real mood of the association seemed to be more one of how to survive over the next few years rather than how to expand the domain of youth services.

The first strategy used by the activist members in 1981 was to actively politicize the membership. An outside consultant was hired to provide a week long workshop on political advocacy which was attended by 90% of the members. After the workshop was completed, an advocacy strategy committee was appointed by the president of the association to develop a comprehensive political strategy. While there was substantial resistance to offering the workshop and setting up the advocacy committee, the activists were able to convince enough of the membership that it was at least worth a try. This resistance was overcome in the following ways. The activists consisted of five social workers who had been with the association since its beginning (three of whom had served as president of the association).
They were by reputation and experience leaders in the field of youth services in the state. They also had previous political experience and were not shy about political involvement. Most importantly, however, was the fact that they were respected by the full membership. This respect and admiration allowed them to successfully admonish the membership by appealing to them in both the formal meetings as well as informally through individual conversations. Thus, the activists raised the consciousness level of the membership but left the development of the detailed action plan to the advocacy strategy committee. Within eighteen months the advocacy committee not only developed but successfully implemented a broad plan of action. While the committee could not take all of the credit for changes in the youth services field in the state, they certainly provided the impetus for and the facilitation of what later occurred.

(5) At the end of 1982, the funding of youth services had been increased by 42.1% over the previous budget year, the first time funding had increased by anything more than inflation in the last decade. Additionally, a new Commission on Children and Youth was established to: monitor what the state was doing in these areas; fund experimental or pilot programs; and improve research and knowledge dissemination on critical issues in practice. To add icing to the cake, one of the members of the association, who was one of the early activists, was appointed as the executive director of the Commission. There was also a major review and subsequent revision of the state statutes affecting youth and their status in the state. Finally, the association was successful in influencing the chairman of the major committee handling youth issues in the state legislature to introduce two important pieces of legislation. Given the previous actions in youth services, the association had accomplished a considerable amount in a short period of time. They had not only
politicized their own membership, but they had organized it in such a way that it was capable of exerting influence in both the legislative and bureaucratic arena at the state level. The remainder of this paper illustrates the approach they employed and the lessons to be learned from this case.

The Operation of a Model Statewide Association

The advocacy strategy committee agreed that to avoid elitism and divisive factionalism, membership on the committee would change each year. Six people were initially appointed to the committee. It was further agreed that the committee would meet regularly (especially during the legislative session) and be responsible for: The action plan; the coordination and interaction between the various work groups; and overall quality control. Quality control refers to the continuous evaluation of how the action plan was working. So as to not overburden the committee, tasks such as the planning of specific events, writing position papers or testimony, and mobilizing the membership when necessary were left to other work groups. This allowed the committee to concentrate on the action plan and its implementation. In practice, the group was small enough to meet frequently (at least once a week) and coincidentally operate largely through a consensus of opinion. The fact that the members of the committee were all within a reasonable driving distance of the state capitol made the regular meeting schedule possible. Members of the association from more remote areas of the state were encouraged to join work groups which did not require frequent face to face meetings. Further, it was agreed (by the full membership) that on major issues or pieces of legislation, the entire membership would vote on a formal resolution taking a position. Beyond this, the membership delegated
authority to the committee to plan and oversee the advocacy effort.

The president of the association, with the advice of the advocacy committee, also formed six *ad hoc* work groups (see Figure 1). These work groups were given specific tasks to perform and asked to report on a regular basis to the advocacy committee. Meeting times were left to the work groups and when their assignments were completed, they went out of existence. The goal was to have every member of the organization on at least one work group. This not only broadened participation, but it minimized the notion of "elitism" or domination by a handful of the membership. As it turned out, this approach allowed the membership to buy into the advocacy effort even if they did nothing more than make a few calls. Brief reports from the work groups and the advocacy committee were to be made at all of the monthly and quarterly organizational meetings to heighten the level of interest in the advocacy effort. After a while, even the most apolitical of the membership began to take pride in the overall effort. This experience illustrates that the socialization (through participation) of the membership should not be ignored in any advocacy effort.

Figure 1 identifies the principal activities of the work groups. Given the geography of the state, it is important to remember that the people who lived in remote areas and who could not meet frequently were assigned to work groups and tasks that were able to be done in their home areas. As a result, many members who had never done anything except attend the quarterly meetings, wound up giving considerable time to the advocacy effort. Other work groups were developed as needed but the groups in Figure 1 were the major ones.

The agenda for the work groups appears to
be lengthy, but the objective was to get started in each of these areas and to spread the work load across the membership. It is critical to emphasize that the advocacy committee oversaw the operation of each work group and made certain that the completion of tasks was timely and done with the utmost of care. The association also used volunteer undergraduate and graduate interns to perform some of the tasks assigned to the various work groups mentioned above. Overall, the committee did not let the work load gravitate to four or five people. Instead, there was widespread membership involvement in the advocacy effort. The evidence is that every member was on at least one work group and some were on as many as three. Interviews also revealed that during the legislative session (January-June) members spent anywhere from a minimum of two hours a week to a maximum of thirty hours on the advocacy effort with the average being around six hours per week. While the association toyed with the idea of hiring a part-time staff person in the capitol to manage the advocacy effort, finances did not allow it. However, it was agreed that if such a person were hired in the future, he/she would be under the direction of the advocacy committee. It was further agreed that a staff person would never become responsible for either the development of the action plan or quality control. This was always to remain with the committee. The feeling was that a broad based and successful advocacy effort was preferable, because it would not have to rely heavily on a few people who might move, lose interest, or burn out. The philosophy was that tasks could be reassigned and leadership rotated. With only eighteen months of active political involvement, only time will tell whether this philosophy can work over an extended period of time. The notion of developing talented and experienced people throughout the association in the advocacy area so that the association could survive any major
membership changes with minimal effects on its advocacy efforts is certainly laudable.

Finally, the membership earmarked $2,000 for the advocacy effort in the first year. The money became a line item in the association's annual budget and this guaranteed minimal resources for typing, mailing, postage, phones, etc. Without this small amount, the advocacy effort might not have been able to accomplish as many things as it did. Future plans call for a separate fund raising activity for the advocacy effort every year.

Conceptually, if we think of strategy as the overall approach to changing things in the youth services area and tactics as the activities engaged in by the association to accomplish this, some summary observations are helpful. It is clear that the initial strategy was merely to politicize the membership through consciousness raising tactics. After this was accomplished, the strategy committee agreed that its approach would be to increase the visibility, credibility, and input of the association into the legislative and bureaucratic processes at the state level. They relied on basic tactics such as the use of an effective communication network, the frequent face to face interaction of members with key influentials, supplying influentials with technical and political information, careful monitoring of day to day events affecting youth, publicizing the association and the individual member programs, holding a legislative day in the capitol, and both direct (face to face) and indirect lobbying (i.e., letters, telegrams, position papers). These tactics were carried out by members of each work group but the overall strategy was monitored by the advocacy committee. Given the previous history of the association, an initial strategy aimed at increasing visibility, credibility, and input into the policy process seemed appropriate.
Lessons Learned and the Social Work Literature

In a two day retreat held in the fall of 1982, the membership in conjunction with the author/workshop leader reviewed the activities of the past eighteen months in order to assess what worked, what did not work, and what directions should be taken in the future. There are two perspectives on the lessons that were learned.

The first perspective has to do with how the association and its members behaved in the political arena as they exerted their influence. The second perspective focuses on the internal management of the association as it was engaged in these activities. Using the first perspective, the association learned: that it was better to pursue a legislative agenda that was perceived of as incremental as opposed to radical (a threat to the existing system); that it was important to establish organizational credibility and personal trust in both the legislative and bureaucratic arenas through close and frequent interaction so that the membership and its views would be accepted readily; that the actual tactics used should stress the "softsell" which appealed to decision makers' values, their sense of rationality, and their friendship rather than the "hardsell" which emphasized blatant pressure and/or threats; and that wherever possible, it was better to emphasize the long range objectives for youth in terms of their family situation and potential adult roles and then to connect this to a clear-cut management (program) approach which emphasized performance accountability and cost effective services. In short, these lessons replicated many of the research findings of the Outcome School of Thought discussed earlier. Accordingly, the social work literature which argues for pursuing incremental change, establishing
organizational credibility, using low key interactional tactics, and emphasizing cost effective and efficient programs for clients is given more credence.

The second perspective on the association's experiences documents what can be learned about the successful management of the internal operations of a professional association. Since the literature is less than instructive in this area, these lessons deserve more explication. Together these lessons offer some new ideas about political advocacy.

First and foremost, resources cannot be wasted. Many people involved in the advocacy effort will burn out easily and they do not like to be asked to do things that are wasteful or that do not lead to observable payoffs. Carefully plan strategy so that unnecessary lobbying, phone calling, letter writing, testifying, etc., are avoided and only activities that have clear-cut payoffs are pursued. Also, regular feedback needs to be given to the strategy committee so that they know how they are doing in making assignments. Political activity, per se, is not enough. A lot more attention needs to go into managing limited resources so that the potential costs of various strategies and tactics are always being addressed.

Second, in an advocacy effort, there is a role for everyone. Assess talent carefully and assign tasks appropriately. For example, those who do not perform well in front of large audiences or who are uncomfortable with behind the scenes lobbying should be assigned tasks more compatible with their skill. The important thing is that everyone is part of the advocacy effort. One frequent complaint is that a small group of the members seek to dominate the show and do most of the work because they are, in fact, the most political.
anyway. The full membership should try to
discourage this and emphasize finding a place
for everyone. In this case, the activists got
the advocacy effort going in the first place,
but they readily shared power with other
members of the association and this allowed a
more consensual approach to internal decision
making. The positive aspects of sharing power
more widely are the heightened enthusiasm and
the increased time that will be given to the
advocacy effort by the membership.

Finally, "the problem of dirty hands" can
not be avoided in an organization. The best
policy is to deal with it directly and develop
a position on it. The most critical issue for
the association over the eighteen month was
"the problem of dirty hands" (Walzer, 1973).
Once the association formally decided to en-
gage in political activity, the question be-
came what boundaries needed to be established.
Interviews with the members revealed that no
one succeeds at politics without getting
his/her hands at least a little dirty. In a
discussion of tactics, there was little resis-
tance by members to: making phone calls to
legislators; occasionally making a personal
visit to the office of a legislator or bureau-
crat; writing a letter or telegram to a legis-
lator urging support of or opposition to a
particular piece of legislation; or even
giving expert testimony. But many members
indicated that they had considerable diffi-
culty campaigning for political candidates;
contributing money to their campaigns, holding
a fund raiser for them; and giving legislators
the names, addresses, and phone numbers of
their board members so that they could be
contacted for political purposes (also see
213-260). These latter tactics illustrate
what the group defined as "dirty hands". The
dilemma of where to draw the line in political
activity is a common one faced by professional
organizations. Some political activity takes
little effort and it raises few moral or ethical issues, while other activity may be both time consuming as well as anxiety provoking. It is too easy to simply argue that the ends justify the means. The only solution to this dilemma is to freely discuss the issue, debate it, and where necessary, take a position. In a workable, pragmatic fashion the membership can formally restrict some tactics and agree to be extremely careful in asking people to do things that discomfort them.

In the end, both political advocacy and professional standards can co-exist within professional associations. If there is an overall lesson, it is that "the problem of dirty hands" is unavoidable once an organization decides to enter the political arena, and that honest discussion and debate, not avoidance, is the best approach.

Conclusion

The case offers new evidence on how to manage the internal operations of a professional association. However, the broader message is that even though neutral professional postures are often inbred in social work and other types of direct service training, it only takes a little exposure to the political process to reassure the most reluctant that their worst fears are largely imagined. After some initial admonishment by the leadership, the membership got involved in the advocacy effort and through trial and error saw the direct results of their efforts. This case shows, therefore, how a professional association can move comfortably in a short period of time to a place where political advocacy is as important a priority as professional standards. It also shows that "the problem of dirty hands" can be overcome if professionals will deal with the issue
The earlier review of the literature further suggests that the research based Outcome School of Thought needs to be expanded if we are to get better information about what works and does not work in terms of political strategies and tactics. Future case studies or other research which connects strategies, tactics, and outcomes could further our knowledge of political advocacy in this area by addressing some of the issues which are raised but only partially answered in this case study.

1. Can professional associations successfully join broader political coalitions in the human services without sacrificing their individual political clout and successes? Or should they maintain their autonomy?

2. Over an extended period of time how can an organization sustain widespread involvement in a political advocacy effort? What incentives or techniques can be used?

3. Can a professional association be more successful if it hires a professional lobbyist or is it better to stick with rank and file members as lobbyists?

4. Is it necessary for organizations to support political candidates financially and otherwise to be successful or can an organization be as effective by using simple persuasion, its reputation, and its visibility in the community; and
5. Finally, are there any inherent advantages to organizations which use more consensual opposed to elite models of internal decision making? Or put in another way, must political strategies and tactics be handled by a few to be successful or can there be more widespread participation in the design and execution of an advocacy strategy in a professional association?

In the end, this case study shows how a measure of commitment on the part of social workers, a sensible organization, and a sound political strategy can go a long way toward improving service systems in this country. In contrast to a perception of social workers articulated by Form (1964, p. 89) close to twenty years ago, there is little evidence in this study that the profession breeds a type that is timid, conservative, unimaginative, and easily co-opted by the tough-minded.

NOTES

1. As this article was being written, 26 of the 51 states currently had some type of statewide youth services association. The other 25 states had no statewide functioning association (Interview with Caroline roft, Director, Runaway Youth Program, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, April 1983). Those states with currently active statewide associations are: Ark., Calif., Col., Conn., Fla., Ha., Ill., Ind., Ia., Mi., Mo, N.J., N.M., N.Y., N.C., Oh., Okla., Ore., Pa., S.C., S.D., Tenn., Tex., Vt., Wash., and Wis.

2. In the summer of 1981, 28 youth services
programs in the state of Michigan were sent a mailed questionnaire asking for information on the impacts of budget cuts on their programs. Twenty-four programs responded. Complete results are obtainable from the author.

3. This categorization of the literature was developed independently by the author. It was derived by looking at all the political advocacy literature and then evaluating the extent to which this literature was based more on research than anecdotal or dogmatic accounts.

4. These are my interpretations of their findings. I have abstracted the major generalizations as I see them.

5. This is my independent judgment given the activities over the last two years. It is based on participant observation, informal interviews, and a reading of the public record.

* The author would like to thank Barry Checkoway, Ann Hartman, Jack Rothman and John Tropman, The University of Michigan, for commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

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THE RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNING IN A SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

L. K. NORTHWOOD
MIKE PARKER

ABSTRACT

There are three interrelated strategies commonly used by social workers for coping with the conservative attack on social welfare institutions: client advocacy, electoral, and policy strategies. The paper evaluates the relative effectiveness of the policy strategy when 532 members of a school of social work were asked to write their legislators in support of progressive legislation. Five indicators of the relative effectiveness of this campaign were identified and assessed. The campaign is adjudged relatively effective from the standpoint of enlisting and motivating participants "ready for service or action" (action potential); in implementing a formal plan or organization--a "connected series of operations to bring about a particular result" (organization potential); in activizing a leadership cadre for current and future campaigns (leadership potential); and in disseminating information relevant to the campaign (information potential). The evidence on outcome effectiveness -- "for producing a decided, decisive, and desired result" -- was inconclusive. The advantages and disadvantages of the policy strategy are discussed.
"Social work and social services are under siege. Yet, at the same time, social work is being recognized for its necessary and rightful place in society. There is no better time to organize, to demonstrate one's contribution, as when the issues are clear."

Chauncey Alexander, Executive Director, NASW, April 1982 (1)

A concerted attack is being waged against the validity and the existence of social welfare programs by a conservative administration which holds the balance of power in Congress and the White House and receives the support of equally conservative regimes in many states.

After an initial period of stunned disbelief about what was happening, many groups of social workers have moved from a defensive posture to a counterattack. They are in the frontline where they can see the very damaging consequences of conservative public policy for themselves, their clients and constituents. Social programs have been dismantled or reduced; clients in need have been denied benefits or refused services; high rates of unemployment have begun to affect social workers, themselves, as well as their clients; grants in support of social work research, education, and training have begun to disappear; schools of social work are experiencing declines in student enrollments.

There are three interrelated strategies for coping with the situation currently utilized within the profession: client advocacy, electoral, and policy strategies.

Social workers traditionally have employed an advocacy strategy in their work with clients and agencies. This strategy involves the social worker actively in the
defense, protection, and enlargement of the rights of the client to receive services and entitlements, even in the face of agency opposition—a perilous strategy for the worker on some occasions.

More recently, following the lead of Pivan and Cloward, they have invested in an electoral strategy. (2) The electoral strategy consists of massive voter registration among client groups and mobilizing political support for candidates for public office who are in favor of progressive social welfare development. This involves not only the endorsement of candidates and work in their election, but also the necessary followup activity to advise them about key appointments and social issues as well as the monitoring of their behavior in office and informing the electorate. This latter activity blends into the policy approach.

This paper is concerned with the development of a third strategy, the policy strategy, which addresses three programs to be solved in the democratization of the public social policy process: First, how to get critically important social issues on the legislative agenda; second, how to obtain the enactment of progressive policy solutions for these critical social issues; and finally, their effective implementation. (3)

More particularly, we intend to address the question: Can the community of social workers associated with a school of social work provide an effective organizing base for a legislative action campaign?

By "community of social workers" we refer to those associated with the school: students, faculty, staff, alumni, and field instructors. Effective means "ready for service or action, producing a decided, decisive, and desired effect." A campaign is defined as "A
An effective campaign is one in which people are motivated to be ready for service or action in a connected series of operations designed to produce a decided, decisive, and desired outcome.

The general thesis we are examining is whether the community of social workers associated with a school of social work will provide an adequate base for mounting an effective legislative action campaign.

In terms of size of membership, accessibility, issue relevance, experience, and organizational expertise, and the availability of volunteer assistance, the organizing base of a school of social work has great unrealized potential. For example, the University of Washington School of Social Work "community" contained 532 students, faculty, and staff without counting active alumni members or associated field faculty, probably another 300 members. It was the most inclusive center for social workers in the state. Its membership included people with long experience and acknowledged expertise in social policy, community organizing, and legislative action. The university complex housed many of the resources necessary to the endeavor: libraries and information, research equipment, meeting facilities, and people already engaged in research, study, and educational experiences related to the subject.

Above all, the members of this community share a common frame of reference growing out of mutual experience and enunciated in the policies of the Council of Social Work Education, the professional codes of conduct of the National Association of Social Workers, and the general principles of academic freedom. These policies sanction the scien-
tific investigation of social conditions and the social problems of people in need and call for a pro-active stance toward improvement and amelioration.

This proposition was put to a test when such a campaign was launched at the University of Washington School of Social Work by a small group of students and faculty calling themselves the Social Welfare Information Project (SWIP). By its name and the scope of the campaign, entitled "Inform Your Legislators," the members of SWIP indicated that they were concerned with the problems of the broader social welfare community as well as those of the School.

The major objectives of the SWIP campaign were: 1) to inform the 532 students, faculty, and staff about current legislative issues through ACTION ALERTS distributed to their mailboxes in the School; 2) to secure volunteers to assist with the campaign; and 3) to motivate the target populations to write letters to designated legislators in support of the SWIP position on these issues. The ACTION ALERTS and recommendations for action, in general, followed the stated policy positions of the NASW, and they were timed to coincide with coalition efforts to exert collective pressure. For example, the SWIP campaign coincided and reinforced the NASW's urgent appeal: (5)

THE 1983 BUDGET BATTLE HAS BEGUN!

NASW IS PREPARED TO FIGHT TO THE FINISH FOR HUMAN SERVICE PROGRAMS

In the next several months you will be receiving ELAN Alerts on a regular basis which will keep you informed about budget related events here in Washington, D.C. Every time you receive an alert you need to write or visit with your Members of
Congress. We cannot fight the battle here in Washington without your help.

This paper strives to be more than a descriptive case study. It illustrates the systematic evaluation of the action phase of a letter-writing campaign in support of bills on the official public agenda. (6) Information was gathered through the survey process at two times during the campaign: at the start, in mid-April, when participants were recruited for the action phase, and in late May at the end of this phase (Phase I). Through the careful analysis of the findings, presented in the following section, some conclusions will be drawn about the nature of effective campaigning, the policy strategy, and the potential for basing such campaigns in a school of social work.

FINDINGS

The order of presentation is as follows:

First, we present the findings pertaining to the extent of participation and the level of commitment to the campaign. It will be seen: (a) that the campaign reached only a small proportion of the target population; (b) that the level of commitment to the campaign varied among participants; (c) that the level of commitment far exceeded the extent of participation in the campaign; (d) that the extent of participation increased with the duration of the campaign; and (e) that there was only modest achievement of the major objective of the campaign: to produce letters to legislators in support of progressive social welfare legislation. Each of these findings will be discussed in detail together with tabular presentations of the data.
The second phase is the analysis and explanation of these results. We report the reasons given by the participants for writing or not writing letters. We also examine selected factors in the personal background and prior experiences of the participants in order to determine who was involved in the campaign as leaders, actives, followers, or informants. These data are also useful in constructing an explanation of the results as well as in forming predictions for what can be expected in future campaigns.

Finally, we comment on the relative effectiveness of this campaign, utilizing the suggestions of participants and ideas about the methodology of evaluation of campaign strategies generated during this effort.

Agreement to participate

The campaign was directed at 532 persons with mailboxes in the School of Social Work. Table 1 presents the numbers (in brackets) and the proportions of persons involved in the campaign for each of the five sectors of the target population: students in the undergraduate, masters and doctoral programs, faculty, and staff. The preponderant majority of the target population, 85.5 percent, apparently was not involved in the campaign, although all ACTION ALERTS and information surveys were distributed to all potential participants.

The invitation to participate appeared on a form distributed at the start of the campaign. Respondents were asked to sign this form and check "those statements with which you agree: I would like to be kept informed about the project; I would like to participate in the project by writing letters; I would be happy to help out in other ways to make the project a success; I would prefer not to
receive any further information about the project."

In all, 77 persons -- 14.5 percent of the target population -- were involved during the active campaign period of six weeks (Phase I).

**Commitment to the campaign**

There is a great deal of difference between an agreement to participate in a campaign and the **degree of commitment** to the campaign. The agreement to participate is merely the declaration that a person will take part or share in something while a commitment involves a pledge to engage in a specific action in the future.

The degree, or level, or commitment varied among the 77 participants in the campaign. Five levels of commitment are indicated in Chart 1: from "no participation" which represents the least commitment to "volunteer to write letters, provide other help" which represents the most commitment.

Chart 1 shows that at the start, 54 members of the target population of 532 stated that they intended to participate in the campaign in one or more of the indicated ways. Only eight persons would not commit themselves in advance to writing letters; none were asked simply to provide information during the campaign.

As the campaign continued, a new opportunity to participate was offered when respondents were asked to complete an assessment survey. In addition, some people found that they were unable to honor their campaign pledge to write letters. Consequently, the patterns of participation and commitment became altered.
The campaign recruited 23 new participants over time. The increment came from 13 volunteers who completed the assessment plus ten others who engaged in campaign activities although they had not responded to the original invitation to participate; five of these wrote letters to legislators.

As the campaign enters Phase II, it is estimated that 62 persons will be involved, down by 15 of the 77 original participants, who will have graduated from the School by that time. These future projections will be discussed later in the paper.

Of the 46 persons, who at the start of the campaign pledged to write letters, only 12 fulfilled this commitment, plus the five others mentioned above. Table 2 summarizes the facts and figures. By the completion of the campaign, a total of 17 persons reported that they had written 49 letters to congressmen. Thus 3.2 percent of the target population had been influenced to participate in this campaign task. The letter writers were asked to address two important social issues: support of graduate student loans, and support for the reduction of "wasteful" defense appropriations with the transfer of funds to needed social programs. Sixteen persons wrote 26 letters on the first issue while eight wrote 23 letters on the second issue. Only seven persons responded on both issues.

In terms of the primary objective of the campaign, "to inform legislators about your position on crucial issues affecting social welfare," the results were less than impressive.

How can these unimpressive results be explained and interpreted? We turn, first, to information derived from our assessment survey administered at the end of Phase I.
The survey assessment form contained 45 items pertaining to campaign participation and its importance: scales which allowed the rating of the ACTION ALERTS for clarity and understandability, relevance of the information content for letter-writing purposes, and the utility of letter-writing for producing the desired results; sets of questions designed to elicit the most important reasons for deciding to write legislators or for failure to participate in this aspect of the campaign; personal characteristics of the participants and their political/professional background and experience; open ended probes about how the ACTION ALERTS and campaign organization could be improved.

The analysis indicates: (a) that the campaign was considered "very important" to most participants, both at the beginning and the end of the campaign, when the assessments were made; (b) that letter writers underscored the campaign importance, its consistency with their own belief, and its relevance to the social welfare, in general, as well as their own self-interest; (c) that the ACTION ALERTS received very favorable ratings for clarity or writing, relevance of information content, and the utility of the action for producing the desired results; and (d) that the failure to participate fully in the campaign could be attributed to competing demands for personal time, and a low priority given to writing letters to legislators when one is very busy with other activities. These findings are amplified and detailed below:

**The importance of the campaign**

At the beginning, and again at the end of the campaign, participants were asked:

"How important do you feel it is to
inform legislators of your opinion about critical issues which affect the social welfare of people living in our community?"

The results were consistent in the two time periods. Only one respondent believed the process was "unimportant." Most respondents felt that the campaign was "very important" (85.7 percent) or "moderately important" (13.0 percent). At the beginning of the campaign, not a single person indicated that they would "prefer not to receive further information about the project." Evidently, those who participated in the campaign assigned it some importance.

This theme is amplified when participants identified from a checklist the three "most important reasons" who the decided to "write a letter." Of the 17 letter-writers, 16 reported:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The action affected the status and wellbeing of people with whom I am concerned or associated</td>
<td>15 93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The actions were consistent with my own beliefs</td>
<td>13 81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I thought the action would produce the desired result</td>
<td>9 56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The action affected me directly; it was in my own self-interest</td>
<td>7 43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The actions were consistent with NASW or SWEAC policy</td>
<td>4 25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I was confused about what to do. The proposed action helped me to decide what to do 0 -

Other reasons 0 -

**The quality of the ACTION ALERTS**

Two ACTION ALERTS were distributed during the campaign. Each was designed to present one critical legislative issue and suggest one specific action to be taken. The first Alert dealt with graduate student loans and represented the position of the Social Work Education/Action Committee on the subject. The second supported the NASW position for reduction of defense appropriations with a transfer of funds to social programs.

Both those who wrote letters (N=17) and those who did not (N=16) were asked to rate the ACTION ALERTS on a six-point scale (0-5), with 5 being the highest rating, for clarity of writing, relevance of information content, and utility of the action. The median ratings of the two groups were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clarity</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
<th>Utility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wrote letters</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not write letters</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These ratings are almost identical for the two groups. Apparently the ACTION ALERTS were considered appropriate and useful for the designated purpose.

**Reasons for non-participation**
The survey assessment provided the respondents with the opportunity to explain why they failed to participate fully in the campaign through a checklist to be filled out by those who chose not to write letters and through a series of open ended probes. In the listing below, the checklist items are starred with an asterisk and the numbers in brackets refer to the number of persons giving the reason.

The findings allow us to identify and weight seven factors that account for non-participation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of different respondents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. **Good intentions-procrastination:**  
*I intended to write, but I was too busy at the time. Later I forgot about it (12).*  
*I did not have paper and stamps on hand (1)*  
12 85.7

2. **Low priority of legislative action:**  
*I am too busy to write letters to legislators at the present time (10)*  
10 71.4

3. **Lack of Information about campaign:**  
I did not hear about the campaign (3). I regret that I ignore mass mailings of this type. Would there be a way of personalizing the process of informing people (2)?  
4 28.6
4. **Uncertainty about the utility of the legislative process:**
The process is irrelevant (2).
*I don't think I have the expertise necessary to advise legislators (0). *I don't think that legislators pay much attention to letters from people like me (0). 2 14.3

5. **Too busy with other legislative action:** We were busy lobbying for another issue at that time (1). I phoned my legislator instead (1). 2 14.3

6. **Uncertainty about issue:**
*I don't know enough about the issues to have a firm position (0). I don't think that the issue is as important as I claim to myself and others (1). 1 7.1

7. **Opposition to position on issue:**
*I didn't agree with the SWIP position on the issue (0). 0 –

These findings tell us that it was not their opposition to the issues at hand, a lack of confidence in their expertise to advise legislators that deterred participation in this campaign. None of the 14 respondents, who provided us with this assessment, cited these reasons.

Rather, the explanation lies in the failure of good intentions and the low priority given to legislative action by these busy people. These two factors were cited by most respondents. About a quarter report that they were not even aware that such a campaign was in progress although at three times during a six-week period they had received information from SWIP in their own mailboxes.
prior to the assessment survey. The SWIP alerts and information flyers had been reproduced on colored paper and carried a logo which was intended to set them apart from the flood of other announcements distributed regularly to mailboxes. Even when the SWIP flyers were received by this group, they were set aside for future action, and then forgotten or disregarded.

In this turbulent environment, what kinds of people, nevertheless, respond by taking action?

Who was moved into action by this campaign?

Our knowledge of the personal background and experience of the people who participated in this campaign is limited to items concerning: age, sex, marital status, educational program and status, years in social work, prior experience in writing letters to legislators, three indicators of political activity/orientation, and current activities in this campaign. We have usable data for four categories of participants, a total of 46 persons. For the balance of participants, 31 persons, and the 455 persons, who declined to participate in the campaign, only the information gathered by the School for administrative purposes, is available.

Despite the paucity of the data, three provocative findings emerge from the analysis. These are reported in Table 3. We separate the participants into four categories based on the level of their commitment to the campaign: leaders (N=6): people who participated by writing letters and otherwise helped with the campaign; actives (N=11): people who wrote letters during the campaign; followers (N=16): people who agreed to participate, provided us with assessment information, but wrote no letters; and informants (N=13): people who
declined to participate at the start of the campaign, but provided us with assessment information.

The first finding relates to the program specialization and experience of the campaign participant. Although the School has approximately a 5 to 1 ratio of human service to community organization students enrolled in its master's degree program, the campaign apparently attracted significantly larger proportions of students and faculty associated with community organization and planning. The least committed category of informants contained 87.5 percent human services students. All the other categories included large proportions of students and faculty with a community organization specialization.

Second, leaders and actives not only endorsed the letter-writing strategy in larger proportions than the supporters and informants, but they were also more experienced in writing letters to their legislators: 50 percent of the leaders and 18.2 percent of the actives aid that they corresponded "regularly" with their legislators while about 30 percent of the informants had "never" done so.

Finally, all of the people participating in the campaign have a record of prior political involvement. All reported that they were registered to vote, and that they voted in the last presidential campaign. However, there are significant differences among the categories in the political affiliations and orientations of the participants. All of campaign leaders reported a "liberal left" or "socialist" orientation, while small proportions of the other three categories expressed this orientation. For the most part the followers and informants said they were "non-partisan" or "independent." About a third of all respondents, with the exception of the leaders, were "Democrats." Only one
participant indicated that she was an "independent Republican."

Table 3.
Characteristic of Participant by Mode of Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODE OF PARTICIPATION</th>
<th>Characteristic of participant</th>
<th>Leader (N=6)</th>
<th>Active (N=11)</th>
<th>Follow (N=16)</th>
<th>Inform (N=13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>majoring in community</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organization/research*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with</td>
<td>Campaign Strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent believe</td>
<td>letter writing campaign is &quot;very important&quot;</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent &quot;never&quot;</td>
<td>write letters to legislators</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent &quot;regularly&quot;</td>
<td>write letters to legislators</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political affiliation/orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent registered;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
voted last presidential election** 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0

Percent Liberal-left or Socialist 100.0 18.2 6.3 7.7

* Based on response of faculty and students in master's program only.

** Two persons excluded because they were under voting age or not citizens.

In summary, we have examined quite carefully a variety of plausible explanations for the low level of participation and commitment to this campaign.

We are able to reject with some confidence any explanation based on the thesis that there was opposition to the policy positions on campaign issues or campaign strategies. Nor is failure to participate due to ambiguous instructions contained in campaign materials. While some respondents lacked information about the campaign, they did not feel that they lacked sufficient expertise to advise legislators on the issues dealt with in the campaign.

This phenomenon can be explained by a combination of reasons: a low priority assigned to legislative action together with uncertainty about the utility of the letter-writing process; a general unfamiliarity and inexperience with writing letters to legislators, which in busy times and competing personal activities, results in procrastination and failure to honor campaign promises.

THE RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

-701-
We now return to the first issue raised in the paper: Can the community of social workers associated with a school of social work provide an effective organizing base for a legislative action campaign? In order to answer this central question it was necessary to devise several indicators of the relative effectiveness of a legislative campaign.

The first three indicators are embodied in the definition of campaign effectiveness cited in the first part of the paper.

First, it is said that an effective campaign must be capable of enlisting and motivating participants "ready for service of action." This is called the action potential, and it is formally defined as the proportion of the organizational base actually participating in the campaign. The campaign's action potential will be discussed later in this section.

Second, it is said that an effective campaign must be capable of implementing a formal plan of organization--"a connected series of operations to bring about a particular result." This is called the organization potential. In general, this is an estimate of how well the organization has achieved its stated objectives. From the foregoing analysis, it is apparent that ACTION ALERTS were prepared, produced, and distributed throughout the School of Social Work. A systematic assessment of the effort indicates that the events were completed in a scheduled time period and coordinated with others engaging in a similar effort. Thus, the plan of organization was accomplished.

Third, it is said that an effective campaign organization must be capable of "producing a decided, decisive, and desired result." This is called the outcome poten-
tial. The campaign was intended to produce support by specified legislators in line with the SWIP position on particular issues. Most of our correspondents had not yet received replies from the legislators by the time of the assessment survey. For perusing the early returns, it can be seen: (a) that the letters apparently were respectfully and appreciatively received by some of the legislators to whom they were addressed; (b) that most replies were preformed position statements: they failed to inform the writer about how legislators voted on specific bills, or whether our letters had influenced their votes. While the issues received a modicum of support, the results of the campaign were hardly "decided" or "decisive." In short, we lack the information needed to make an appropriate assessment of the outcome effectiveness of the letter-writing campaign.

However, the data can be combined into useful indices of the action potential and two other operational indicators of the relative effectiveness of the campaign: its informational potential, and its leadership potential. In this analysis, we are asking: Effectiveness for what purposes? And: effectiveness for whom? The results of this assessment are summarized in Table 4. We deal with both the past experience and the future prospects for effective campaigning in a school of social work.

Table 4
The Relative Effectiveness of the Campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indices of relative effectiveness</th>
<th>Phase 1: Spring 1982</th>
<th>Phase 2: Fall 1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

-703-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Start</th>
<th>End</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Action potential</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information potential</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership potential</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Action potential.** The action potential refers to the proportion of the organizing base actually participating in the campaign. At the start of Phase I we did not have the information for such a behavioral index of the action potential. Therefore, we used a simple declaration of intent to participate, which was 7.6 percent of the target population. By the end of Phase I we knew with certainty from our survey results that only 3.2 percent of the target population had engaged actively in campaign activities. Our estimate of 3.5 percent for the start of Phase II is based on three assumptions: (a) that a similar campaign will be organized in Fall, 1982; (b) that the target population will number 400 -- this figure is consistent with enrollment projections; and (c) that all of the prior participants will continue except for 15 graduating students.

These measures of the action potential can be useful for campaign organizers in many ways. They provide a realistic estimate of the number of persons likely to be recruited through such efforts. They specify a baseline against which future efforts may be evaluated. They provide quantitative information necessary in planning workshops and training sessions. Finally, by focusing attention on the modest achievements accomplished with this
strategy of legislative action, questions are raised about possible alternatives for achieving the same or better results.

From the detailed analysis of the characteristics of participants, we now know that this campaign strategy recruited more participation and greater commitment among those with community organization background and more experience in writing letters to legislators. This key information can be instructive to campaign organizers in their modes of recruitment and in the scheduling of training.

Information potential. The information potential refers to the proportion of the organization base actually known to have received information disseminated by the campaign. One objective of the campaign was to inform the entire target population (organizing base) about current legislative issues through the ACTION ALERTS distributed throughout the school. Although we know that such information was placed in each mailbox, we do not know whether it was noted and read; certainly it was not acted on by the 455 persons who chose not to inform the campaign organizers.

From the survey response, we are certain that this information reached 54 persons, 10.1 percent of the target population, at the start of Phase I. By the end of Phase I, 77 persons, 14.5 percent of the target population, had been contacted. This proportion will be 15.5 percent at the start of Phase II, according to our estimating procedure.

Furthermore, from our assessment process, we have a much greater knowledge about the clarity, relevance and utility of the ACTION ALERTS, and about the general information processes used in campaigning. Respondents noted: (1) that more adequate publicity needs
to be given to the campaign in general; (2)
that the writing style and information content
of ACTION ALERTS could be improved by more
effective editing; (3) that the packaging of
information could be improved—that background
reports on critical issues are needed as well
as ACTION ALERTS, and might result in more,
and more adequate, letters to legislators; (4)
that ACTION ALERTS might be scheduled in such
a way that they fit into the busy agendas of
letter-writers; (5) that measures could be
incorporated to reduce the barriers to actual
letter writing, such as staffing a table with
information about written communication with
legislators; (7) that special effort is re-
quired to assure the involvement of different
groups such as human service students, staff,
and faculty.

Above all else, we learned that the
process of campaigning is a dynamic one.
Nothing remains the same once campaigning has
begun. People become informed by the
activity. They choose to participate or not
to participate, and there are many modes of
participation. New opportunities to partici-
pate become evident as the campaign develops.
Moreover, as the situation changes, an
effective campaign organization must take
these changes into consideration.

All of these factors have utility for the
organizers and managers of campaigns.

Leadership (management) potential. The
leader-ship potential refers to the proportion
of the organizing base who volunteered to plan
and manage the campaign in addition to
engaging in its entral activity, writing
letters to legislators. At the start of Phase
I, ten persons, 1.9 percent of the target
population, volunteered in this capacity.
These persons included the actual organizers
of the project as well as persons who simply
said that they were willing to "help" with the
campaign. By the end of Phase I, there was attrition in this "leadership" cadre to six persons, about 1.0 percent of the target population. It is anticipated that the leadership potential will be 1.3 percent at the start of Phase II.

The estimates of future leadership potential are probably low. In the first place experience during the initial phase can be utilized to overcome problems and difficulties in campaigning and incorporate all volunteers into some phase of the process. A systematic plan has been instituted for the progressive development of the campaign in the fall, including an Action Research Workshop for which eight students are already pre-registered. In addition, the fiscal crisis that confronts social welfare and social work education is not abating, thus continuing to supply the motivational imperative that evoked the campaign in the first place.

CONCLUSIONS

As this phase of the campaign draws to a close, there are several disquieting questions for which we have no satisfactory explanations:

The campaign failed to activate 455 members of the social work community which we studied, about 85 percent of our target population. Why is this so? Do they share the opinion of one frank faculty member who commented that letter writing to legislators is an "irrelevant" process? Do they reflect the belief of one human services student who chose not to write letters because "I don't think that the issue is as important as I claim to myself and others." Or are they in the category of students and faculty who had good intentions, procrastinated, and then
forgot their campaign promises?

Our findings show that this campaign was
effective in influencing four out of five
persons who reported that hey corresponded
"regularly" with their legislators, and about
40 percent of those who wrote letters
"sometimes". It was unsuccessful in moving
the handful who "never" do so. In which
category do the 455 non-participants fall?

Almost all of our campaign participants
are politically active at election time;
they are registered and vote in the presi-
dential elections. Only 40 percent indicated
their political affiliation was "Democrat";
one was an "independent Republican"; the
balance were "independent", "non-partisan",
"liberal left", or "socialist". How can peri-
odic political awareness become transformed
into every-day activity to influence the
conduct of democratic policy making? Are the
non-participants satisfied with the policy
directions that are current at the present
time? Are they cynical or complacent about
what the future holds in store for them and
the people they work with? Is policy work to
be deferred to those few social workers who
have a special interest in it?

About a quarter of the community
organization students participated in the
policy work of the campaign as contrasted with
about seven percent of the human service
students. Are these differences in partic-
ipation the result of self-selection into the
program or are they influenced by the content
of their social work education?

We have proposed the thesis that the
community of social workers associated with a
school of social work could provide an
effective organizing base for a legislative
action campaign in opposition to the
conservative attack on social welfare programs.
and policies now taking place throughout the nation. We gave many reasons why this should be so, including: (1) The programs and values which schools of social work espouse are the central focus of the conservative attack; (2) The school includes a concentration of people, resources, and expertise necessary for organizing and conducting such campaigns; (3) There is a shared frame of reference with respect to the scientific investigation of the social conditions and problems of people in need, and a commitment to a pro-active stance toward improvement and amelioration of the social welfare.

We have provided an empirical test of this thesis in one school of social work and evaluated the results. While the current achievement is modest, it is sufficiently encouraging for us to continue.

This paper represents an effort to increase the effectiveness of the policy strategy. This work is central to and supportive of the other two strategies that we described in the beginning of the paper. Through the policy strategy, programs and standards are established which guide client advocacy; it helps to determine the criteria by which candidates are evaluated for electoral support. Policy work can go on throughout the year without reference to party politics or to periodic electoral activity. Its arena of action is not limited to the enactment of law; it also can be used to influence administrative and judicial decisions. Above all, it keeps the solution of critical social issues uppermost on the political agenda.

For these many reasons, serious attentions should be directed by social workers toward the improvement of this action strategy. For their own protection as well as the progressive development of social welfare
institutions, social workers must become involved in effective policy work and legislative action.

REFERENCES

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1982 NASW News, 27(4), April, p. 6

(2) Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward  

(3) L. K. Northwood  

(4) Henry Bosley Woolf (Ed.)  

(5) -------------  

(6) Robert Eyestone  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Commitment to campaign</th>
<th>Total (532)</th>
<th>Undergrad (145)</th>
<th>MSW (279)</th>
<th>Ph.D. (20)</th>
<th>Faculty (58)</th>
<th>Staff (30)</th>
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<td>None—no participation (N=455)</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>90.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Request information only (N=8)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
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<td>Provide information only (N=13)</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>Statement of Campaign Intention</td>
<td>Start of Phase I (N=532)</td>
<td>Record of Campaign Behavior</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Provide information</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Provide help, write letters</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>END OF PHASE I</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>START OF PHASE II (N=400)</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31*</td>
<td>5</td>
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* Includes 9 letter writers and 22 persons who pledged to write letters
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<tr>
<th>Level of commitment to</th>
<th>Number of persons (532)</th>
<th>Total Number of letters written</th>
<th>Number of Letters Written</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None: no participation (N=79)</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>X *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Request info only</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Provide info only</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volunteer to write letters</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volunteer to write letters, provide other help</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Information unknown, all other data based on survey information
** 16 letters were written by three persons
*** 9 letters were written by one person
SLICING THE PIE: CLASSES AND THE DISTRIBUTIVE EFFECTS OF POST-WWII U.S. GOVERNMENTAL FISCAL POLICIES

JOEL A. DEVINE
Department of Sociology
Tulane University

ABSTRACT

Time series analysis of the relative class income distributional consequences of postwar U.S. fiscal practices reveals that governmental revenue policies have had a pro-capital bias while state expenditures have tended to favor labor. The net impact of these processes has served to leave the market-generated income distribution largely intact, despite the historically unprecedented growth of the public sector during this period. Finally, in light of these findings, the distributive impact of the current administration's fiscal program are considered.

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Less than three months into his presidency, Ronald Reagan submitted to Congress the administration's proposed fiscal year 1982 budget (1), a document reflecting in a number of particulars the conservatism of the President, his cabinet officers, Congress, and, apparently, a large segment of the elec-
torate. At the heart of this budget were unprecedented peacetime increases in defense outlays and equally significant, perhaps historic, reductions in a broad range of social service outlays.

Admirers of the administration argued that the slashing of federal entitlements together with the personal and business tax cuts enacted in the 1981 Economic Recovery Act were necessary to control the growth of the federal government and to increase private economic initiative. In short, these measures were a welcome first step along a political path culminating ultimately—at least in the eyes of administrative spokespersons—in a return to "fiscal responsibility". Together with the relaxation of current and proposed federal regulation and a tight monetary policy, this fiscal package was designed to enhance individual incentive and to induce substantial economic growth (Executive Office of the President, 1982a: 3-10).

Critics of budget director David Stockman's "budget ax" and the underlying supply-side prophesies of George Gilder and Arthur Laffer, of course, portray a rather different scenario: that the Reagan administration does not simply wish to reduce federal spending and regulation, but also desires to redistribute wealth and income from the lower and working classes to the (already) enriched segments of American society and to the corporate sector by dismantling the vestiges of Johnson's "Great Society" and by reducing the tax burden on the wealth. (2) In sum, the administration is not simply reducing the growth in federal spending and taxation and hoping to enhance private accumulation but is attempting to engage in an unprecedented regressive redistribution of income.

In an effort to adjudicate between these positions and shed further light on some of
the economic consequences of the Reagan administration's New Economic Program (NEP), it is useful to place these policies in historical perspective. Hence, the present research provides an empirical analysis of the class income distributional effects of governmental spending during the post-Second World War era (3). Through application of a time-series regression analysis (4), the following questions are empirically assessed:

(a) Have governmental expenditure and revenue policies (i.e., fiscal policy) altered the relative shares of national income received by labor and capital?

(b) If so, who benefits—capital or labor—and through what budgetary mechanisms are these advantages conferred?

Empirical exploration of these questions not only adds to our understanding of the mechanisms by which material resources are distributed in the U.S., but also establishes baselines to appraise the distributive impacts of the Reagan administration's fiscal policies. Before undertaking these analyses, however, it is instructive to obtain an overview of governmental spending patterns and trends in the post-war era.

Post-WWII Trends in Governmental Expenditures

It is an incontrovertible fact that governmental spending has undergone an unprecedented expansion since the end of the Second World War—regardless of which governmental level or metric of presentation we choose to examine. In Table 1, this growth is chronicled at the aggregate, federal, and state and local levels of government. Data for spending by each of these governmental units are presented in nominal (current), real
During this period total governmental expenditures have undergone more than a fourfold increase in constant dollar terms and have risen from approximately a fifth of the gross national product to a third (5). In nominal terms this growth is even more vivid. While state and local governmental expenditures still trail behind federal spending, the ration between them had dropped from approximately 1:2 to 2:3, indicating that an increasing proportion of total governmental spending is undertaken at the sub-national level. Similarly, since the mid-1950's, state and local governmental spending growth has tended to escalate more sharply than federal expenditures. In addition, Table 1 reveals that the federal government has been required to resort to deficit financing at an increasing level. Whereas the average annual federal budget was in surplus during the late 1940's, since that time there has been a tendency towards ever larger budget deficits so that by the late 1970's the mean annual deficit was in excess of $49 billion.

Additional light is cast on these expenditure trends in Table 2 where sub-national governmental spending in the post-war U.S. is decomposed into its state and local components, the federal budget is divided into its civilian and defense categories, and annual budgetary figures for each of the governmental units and the federal defense-civilian functions are shown for five year intervals for the years 1949 to 1974 and annually for the 1974-1980 period. As disclosed in Table 2, local governmental spending has run consistently higher than state spending throughout the post-WW II era. While
both forms of sub-national spending generally have escalated more sharply than federal expenditures, their patterns of growth have been fairly similar (also see Table 1).

The major spending transformation evidenced in Table 2 concerns the altered composition of federal expenditures during the post-Second World War years. Whereas, defense spending outstripped civilian expenditures until the end of the Vietnam War, this pattern reversed in the early 1970's, so that by 1974 civilian forms of spending were running about fifty percent ahead of, and escalating at a far more dramatic rate, than the parallel defense figures. In terms of the percent of the gross nation product (GNP) devoted to the federal warfare and welfare functions, the following may be observed: In 1949, the defense effort absorbed 8.5% of GNP and civilian spending represented 6.7% of the nation's output. By the end of the Korean War (1954), these figures stood at 12.8% and 5.5% respectively. Thereafter, the defense budget tended to hover at approximately at 10% of GNP until the end of the Vietnam conflict when it began to decline (as a percent of GNP and in real dollar terms). This decline continued until the 1980 fiscal year when President Carter sought to arrest this trend and bolster U.S. and NATO defenses. However, during this same period, civilian spending at the federal level continued to increase from the noted low of 5.5% of GNP in 1954 to a high mark of 12.6% of GNP in 1980. In current dollar figures, civilian federal spending climbed from $17.2 billion to $331 billion during this thirty-two year period. After controlling for inflation and population growth, this still represents more than a 350% increase. Clearly, the recent pressures for increased expenditures have been felt primarily on the civilian side of the federal ledger.

Finally, the data presented in Table 2
further suggest that many of the policies of the current administration, namely, the escalation in defense spending, an increased reliance on sub-national governmental expenditures, and a reduction in the growth of civilian spending, albeit in less drastic terms, had already been initiated during the Carter administration. Now, let us turn to an examination of the class distributional consequences of these fiscal patterns.

Class Income Consequences of Governmental Fiscal Policies

Very few researchers have sought to analyze the impact of governmental fiscal policies on the overall distribution of income in the United States. Furthermore, the few studies which have been undertaken have not examined the class consequences of governmental expenditure and revenue policies. Nonetheless, the limited research available is highly pertinent to the present inquiry.

In a longitudinal (i.e., over time) analysis, Reynolds and Smolensky (1977:2) conclude that the American fiscal system serves to reduce inequality significantly. The mechanism for this does not lie in the tax structure, however, since the actual overall impact of taxation in the United States is not particularly progressive (see, Pechman and Okner, 1974). Rather, it is due to the impact of governmental expenditure in general and transfer payments in particular (see also, Plotnick and Skidmore, 1975). Williamson and Lindert (1980) also provide an analysis of the influence of state spending on the "pre-fisc" (6) distribution of income for the post-1929 period and arrive at the same general conclusion.
In sum, the relatively sparse work on the relationship between income inequality and state revenue and expenditure policies suggests that fiscal policy has had a mildly progressive redistributive effect. However, according to Williamson and Lindert (1980), the lion's share of income redistribution which has taken place in the United States occurred before 1947, and it was not due primarily to direct governmental policies. Since that time, the net income distribution has been fairly stable with state fiscal policies serving to offset market-based tendencies toward increasing inequality.

While instructive, it must be recognized that these studies examined an aggregate measure of the U.S. income distribution, the gini index, and, therefore, do not allow one to speak to the question of how classes divide the social product, an issue of central concern in the present research. Moreover, between 1949-1976 (the period investigated in this paper — see Footnote 3) the gini index did not change appreciably (United States Bureau of the Census, 1980). Hence, without much variation, the gini coefficient provides little opportunity by which to isolate the distributional effects of governmental fiscal policies.

A. Dependent Variable

An alternative measure which is both consistent with the research objectives of this paper and which is subject to greater variation is the labor-capital income ratio. This measure is the ratio of total employee compensation to the sum of profits, dividends, rent, and interest income. (See Appendix I for details on all variable constructions and data sources). During the 1949-1976 period this measure ranges from a minimum of 3.365 in
1950 to a maximum of 4.700 in 1974. The mean (X) for the entire twenty-eight year time series is 3.927 with a standard deviation (S.D.) of .360.

The labor-capital income ratio indexes the relative share of national income accruing to labor and capital and thus is employed as the dependent variable in the analyses reported below. As such, this measure allows us to assess the relative class distributional impact of governmental fiscal policies by allowing us to ascertain whether the public sector systematically favors one class or the other through its spending and taxing powers.

In order to empirically assess the class distributional consequences of governmental fiscal policies it is necessary to specify a regression equation of the following general form:

\[ Y = a + b_1X_1 + \ldots + b_nX_n + e \]

Whereby, "Y" represents the value of the dependent variable (the labor-capital income ratio), "a" symbolizes the regression constant, "b_1X_1" constitutes the slope or magnitude of the linear relationship between independent variable "X_1" and the dependent variable (7), and "e" denotes the residual, or error of the equation estimate.

B. Independent Variables

Initially, two controls for crucial macroeconomic fluctuations are included: the rate of inflation ("Inflation") and the rate of aggregate unemployment ("Agg Unemp"). While neither variable is, in actuality, totally independent of state fiscal policy, these variables are included primarily as controls for major market-related influences that are
known to affect the distribution of income. Numerous researchers (e.g., Hibbs, 1977; Hollister and Palmer, 1972; Minarik, 1979; Thurow, 1980) have previously documented that inflation exerts a progressive (i.e., pro-labor) redistributive role vis-a-vis income, while unemployment increases levels of income inequality.

The independent variables of central concern are, of course, the measures that index governmental revenue extraction and spending policies. With respect to the former, a single measure of total governmental revenues ("Revenue") is employed. Inclusion of this variable is necessary so as to assess the net distributive impact of governmental fiscal policies.

The full gamut of governmental spending, that is, the array of public expenditures across functional categories and levels of government, are, in turn, operationalized in accordance with the schema developed in Devine (1983) (8). This treatment yields four distinct but internally consistent types of governmental outlays: 1) military personnel spending ("Military Per"); 2) veteran's benefits ("Veterans"); 3) infrastructural expenditures ("Infrastructure" -- e.g., capital construction, weapons procurement, research and development, communications and transportation) and 4) social spending items ("Social Spending" -- e.g., education, housing, OASDI, AFDC).

Each of the fiscal variables is expressed in "real" (i.e., deflated) per capita terms. This specification is in line with past research on the consequences of state spending (e.g., Wilensky, 1975), but it reflects more than just convention. A deflated per capital specification serves to index a nation's "output" of a particular good or service independent of the size of its population and
temporal changes in the price or cost of providing a service, and thus, affords researchers the opportunity to measure the commitment of "real" resources to the citizenry (9).

Analysis and Discussion

An equation containing the seven above-discussed independent variables is initially specified. Since preliminary estimation techniques revealed significant serial correlation, a generalized least squares, second-order autoregressive transformation (GLS-AR2—see Ostrom, 1978) is used. The results from this model are presented in column 1 to Table 3. These data indicate that neither of the macroeconomic controls are significant (see the reported t-statistics) and only military personnel expenditures and social spending significantly affect the dependent variable (10). Both of these fiscal regressors have positive signs, suggesting that these particular forms of public spending increase labor's income relative to capital's share. As for the other variables in the equation, all are non-significant. Rather than discussing the results now, however, further analyses will be presented before focusing upon the substantive meaning of these relationships.

There are, of course, a number of other influences which could plausibly affect the relationships presented in Column 1. Yet, subsequent efforts (reported elsewhere, see Devine, 1981, 1983) to control for theoretically salient indicators of labor organization and militancy (e.g., levels of unionization, strike activity), the size of the armed forces, the composition of the American occupational structure (e.g., percentage white-collar, blue-collar, etc.), and
the educational attainment of the civilian workforce did not alter the findings presented in Column 1 of Table 3.

However, two additional variables, one indexing changes in the gross national product ("GNP Growth") and the other being a measure of the legal minimum wage ("Min Wage") -- both expressed in constant dollar terms -- are found to exert a significant impact on the previously reported results. A full model that incorporates these two additional variables as well as the previously introduced measures of inflation, unemployment, revenues, military personnel expenditures, veteran's benefits, infra-structural outlays, and social spending is presented in Column 2 of Table 3.

Serial correlation, as indicated by the Durbin-Watson statistic and rho, is not a problem and the explained variance ("Adj. R. Sq.") is quite high. More importantly, all of the coefficients in Column 2 of Table 3 are statistically significant.

Substantively, the findings reported in Column 2 of Table 3 reveal that:

1) Aggregate unemployment exerts a significant negative influence on the labor-capital ratio. Almost tautologically, increases in unemployment serve to decrease the income of wage earners in the aggregate and depresses the labor-capital income ratio.

2) Similarly, "real" economic growth is found to benefit capital to a greater degree than labor. This supports the findings of Boddy and Crotty (1975) who note that, while economic growth is generally beneficial across the board, it benefits capital to a greater extent and degree than it helps labor.

3) Alternatively, inflation is found to
have a significant equalizing effect on the distribution of income. Again, this particular result is entirely consistent with the previously reported findings of numerous economists who have demonstrated that inflation is far more harmful to property owners than wage earners.

4) The coefficient for the minimum wage variable is also positive suggesting that labor's historical struggle to gain and maintain a legislatively enacted wage "floor" effect has produced a tangible favorable outcome for wage earners.

Turning now to the measures of governmental fiscal policy we find that:

5) Governmental tax policies in the aggregate are not progressive or, perhaps, even proportional. Rather, as evidenced by the significant negative coefficient displayed in Column 2 of Table 3, we see that governmental revenue extraction is regressive, i.e., it erodes labor's position relative to capital's.

6) With respect to the four expenditure measures, these data indicate that governmental spending on social services, veteran's benefits, and even military personnel outlays are all progressive in impact, i.e., benefits labor relative to capital. The coefficient indexing infra-structural expenditures has a negative sign in Column 2 suggesting a pro-capital effect, but inasmuch as this negative sign flips back to positive under alternative specifications reported elsewhere (Devine, 1983), it should probably be considered artifactual (11).

Summary
These analyses, designed to examine the relative class income consequences of governmental fiscal policies, lead to the conclusion that for the period examined:

a) Governmental expenditures—with the possible exception of infrastructural outlays increase the labor-capital income ratio. That is, governmental spending in general, and not just on social security or relief, benefits wage and salary earners relative to property owners.

b) Despite the possibly progressive structure of the federal personal income tax, the aggregate tax extractive power of the state sector significantly reduces the size of the labor-capital income ratio, i.e., favors capital relative to labor.

In short, governmental fiscal policies are contradictory. In class terms, the revenue structure is biased in favor of capital while expenditures are pro-labor. The net result is a complex interplay of extractive inputs and spendings outputs whereby the market system of allocation is modified at both ends of the continuum, but for the most part left intact as taxes and expenditures are shifted backward and forward with relatively little net change.

Conclusion

The 1980 presidential election and subsequent efforts of the Reagan administration to arrest the expansionary trends in state fiscal policy clearly lie outside the direct time-frame of these analyses, but what might the research reported here suggest with respect to the "new economic program"? First, efforts to root out inflation at the expense of employment, that is, the current admini-
stration's explicit policy preference for manipulating the "Phillips curve" tradeoff (see Phillips, 1958) in favor of lower inflation and increased unemployment have a clear pro-capital, anti-labor orientation. Second, spending cuts in non-defense budgetary items, especially real declines in welfare expenditures (broadly conceived) suggest that the living standard of the American working population will be undermined. Inasmuch as state expenditures appear to impact upon the distribution of income in favor of labor and to the relative detriment of capital, the administration's budget cuts should reduce or, perhaps, eradicate the relative advantage labor has historically achieved with respect to the distributional consequences of state spending.

Finally, what effect should changes in tax policy have on the factor share distribution of income? While across the board tax cuts on personal income are universal they are not progressive, but merely proportional. Inasmuch as federal income taxes are the most progressive form of taxation (see Pechman and Okner, 1974), here again, the Reagan administration's policies should operate to the relative advantage of capital. This pro-capital bias will be further enhanced by changed in depreciation allowances which effectively negate the corporate tax (see Thurow, 1981).

In sum, then, while these analyses do not incorporate empirically the post-1976 American fiscal experience, they strongly suggest that if the patterns discovered to operate between 1949 and 1976 hold true, then the current administration's efforts to rebuild the American economy will fall almost exclusively on the backs of the working population. Even if Reaganomics is ultimately successful in engineering return to a growing, healthy economy, these analyses demonstrate that in so
doing it will alter the relative balance of class forces, economically speaking, in favor of capital

NOTES

1. See *The Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1982* and the accompanying appendix.

2. In a widely publicized set of interviews (Greider, 1981: 46-47), David Stockman candidly acknowledged that, "Kemp-Roth was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top [tax] rate" and that supply-side theory was not at all new but simply attempted to recast traditional conservative "trickle down" in novel semantics.

3. Due to the unavailability of certain post-1976 governmental data (e.g., income figures), only the 1949-1976 period can be assessed.

4. Readers unfamiliar with the statistical procedures and properties of time-series analysis should consult Ostrom (1978).

5. During the decade which preceded World War II (1930-1939) the corresponding figure was only 19%, whereas in the 1920-1929 decade it was 12% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975).

6. "Pre-fisc" refers to the pre-governmental tax and transfer (i.e., market) income distribution, while a "post-fisc" distribution reflects governmental spending and taxation. Thus, in order to assess distributional consequences of governmental revenue extraction and spending programs, it is necessary to use a post-fisc measure of the
income distribution. Otherwise, the researcher would be analyzing a "pure" market economy devoid of any direct governmental influences.

7. The regression coefficient ("b") is the average change in the dependent variable associated with each unit of change in independent variable "Xi".

8. See Devine (1983) for a discussion of the theoretical and methodological difficulties involved in the operationalization of governmental expenditures, as well as a means by which to resolve these dilemmas.

9. All of the fiscal variables, except for social spending, are specified with a two-year lag structure (t-2) to allow for adequate diffusion of state spending and extractive capacity. The social spending variable has a stratified lag structure whereby non-transferred expenditure items (e.g., education, housing) are specified at t-2, for the reason noted above, while its transferred components (e.g., OASDI, unemployment insurance) are measured with a contemporaneous specification. The rationale for this exception is that unlike other governmental outlays for goods of services, cash transfers are augmentations to direct disposable income and are not filtered through any governmental or private sector intermediary. Furthermore, numerous cash transfers are designed as "automatic stabilizers" with the intent of immediately reacting and adjusting to fluctuations in the business cycle.

10. Heise (1975) argues that the standard error of the regression coefficient tends to be inflated in analyses with relatively few cases, and, thus, a more "generous" significance level is justified. Therefore, a .10 level of significance is used throughout these analyses since there are so few cases
11. Multicollinearity (i.e., the condition where explanatory variables are highly correlated) frequently plagues time-series data of the sort analyzed here. Collinearity increases the variance of the estimated coefficients and thus yields less stable estimates. The operational schema employed here substantially reduces the collinearity among expenditure variables (see Devine, 1983: Table 2) as the resulting zero-order correlations are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Military} & \text{Veterans} & \text{Infra} & \text{Social} \\
\text{Military Per} & -- & & \\
\text{Veterans} & -.138 & -- & \\
\text{Infra-} & & & \\
\text{structure} & -.132 & -.782 & -- \\
\text{Social} & & & \\
\text{Spending} & -.168 & -.121 & .589 & -- \\
\end{array}
\]

Nonetheless, as the correlation matrix indicates, the infrastructural variable continues to exhibit a high level of association with veterans and social spending. This suggests, then, that the noted instability is in fact attributable to collinearity.

**APPENDIX I — VARIABLES**

Unless otherwise indicated, all variables pertain to the United States, are annual observations, and, when dollar amounts, are measured in current dollars. Federal budgetary items are for fiscal rather than calendar years. The following abbreviations are used in this appendix: HS, *The Historical Statistics of the United States* (annual); ERP, *The Economic Report of the President, 1978* (1978); NIPA, *The National Income and Product...*

Dependent Variable

1. Labor-Capital Income Ratio (Employee Compensation/Property Income), whereby property income is the sum of corporate profits with inventory valuation and capital consumption adjustments, rental income, and net interest: ERP; HA; SA (1978).

Independent Variables


5. Social Spending: The aggregation of transfer payments (see below) at "t" and collective consumption (see below) at "t-2".
   a. Transfer Payments are composed of the following expenditure categories: federal-benefits from social insurance
funds (OASDI, hospital and supplementary medical insurance, unemployment insurance, railroad retirement, federal civilian employees retirement, veterans' life insurance, workman's compensation), military retirement, food stamps, black lung, special unemployment benefits, SSI, direct relief and other: plus state and local benefits from social insurance funds (government pensions, cash sickness compensation, workmen's compensation), direct relief (AFDC, other categorical public assistance, general assistance) and other; NIPA; BEA (July, 1976, 1978).

b. **Collective Consumption**: Total governmental spending on education, health (elsewhere not included), housing, urban renewal, and non-federal essential services (HS; SA 1974, 1978).


7. **Inflation** (annual percent change in the consumer price index): HS; SA (1977).

8. **Aggregate Unemployment**: ERP.


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Phillips, A. W.

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Thurow, Lester

United States Bureau of the Census
G.P.O.


Wilensky, Harold

Williamson, Jeffrey and Peter Lindert
### TABLE 1 - Trends in Governmental Expenditures Annual Means by Five-Year Periods 1946-1980

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* Intergovernmental spending included in final destination only, i.e., state and local (Column 3).

(a) In millions of current dollars
(b) In millions of constant (1972) dollars
(c) In constant (1972) dollars
(d) In billions of current dollars
(e) Mean annual change from preceding half-decade (not shown)

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% Change in Per Capita "Real" Expenditure From Preceding Figure

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(a) Intergovernmental spending included in final destination only, i.e., state or local

(b) National defense, international affairs and finance, and space research and technology. Also includes the estimated portion of net interest attributable to each of these functions.

(c) Includes social security (OASDHI)

(d) In billions of current dollars

(e) In constant (1972) dollars

(f) Change from 1939 figure (not shown)

* Preliminary

TABLE 3
Deflated Per Capita Fiscal Variables
Impact on Labor-Capital Income Ratio, 1949-1976 (GLS, AR2)

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<tr>
<th>Equation</th>
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<td>.334**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agg Unemp</td>
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<td>-.0683**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
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<td>-.00058**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military Per</td>
<td>.00302**</td>
<td>.00132*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td>.00312</td>
<td>.00524**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
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<td>-.00104**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Spending</td>
<td>.00147*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP Growth</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-.0474**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min Wage</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>Adj. R. Sq.</td>
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<td>Durbin-Watson</td>
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<td>rho</td>
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(a) Metric coefficient
* p ≤ .10 (one-tailed test)
** p ≤ .05 (one-tailed-test)

PAUL ADAMS  
The Polytechnic of North London and University of Iowa

Claus Offe played an influential role in the debates and discussions on the capitalist state that flourished among left academics during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This volume includes some of his essays of the last decade, together with a long and revealing interview, and a helpful introduction by John Keane.

Offe presents a view of social policy as being about "active proletarianization" or the "commodification" of the capacity to work. This process of making people into wage labourers is a feature not only of the early development of industrial capitalism, but also of the present. The state is involved in controlling access to various non-market sub-systems, such as the educational, health care, or welfare systems, which are functionally required for the reproduction of labour power. It both provides or subsidizes such activities and politically regulates who is and who is not a wage labourer. In support of the commodity system it extends the sphere of de-
undermining the market. Drawing especially on American neoconservative writers such as Daniel Bell and Nathan Glazer, and neomarxist writers like James O'Connor, Offe argues that "while capitalism cannot coexist with, neither can it exist without, the welfare state" (p 153).

The dominance on the Left of social democracy and stalinism, ideologies which identify socialism with the growth of the state, has enabled the Right to steal Marx's antistatist thunder. While many on the Left have looked to the state as a vehicle for socialist transformation, conservative critics have attempted to analyse the dilemmas and contradictions that arise from the tendency towards state capitalism, to a fusion of the political and economic spheres, of public and private, that have found expression in the Keynesian welfare state. Offe provides an interesting, if highly elliptical, survey of conservative writing about the politicization of the economy, the crisis of ungovernability, the overburdened state, the overload of expectations, and so forth. Offe's contribution is one of summarizing and synthesizing material from diverse disciplines and intellectual traditions. The problem for the general reader is that his writing is often difficult and obscure, it assumes a prior familiarity with the literature under discussion, and tends to elaborate distinctions that hold up, rather than advance, the argument. The reader sometimes suspects, especially in the first essay (in which the influence of systems theory is strongest), that there is less here than meets the eye. Perseverance is, however, usually rewarded by an insight of a felicitous formulation. He suggestively brings out the unargued assumptions of the ungovernability theorists or the unacknowledged political bias and blinkers of the technocratic policy scientists.
While Offe attempts to free himself from the sterile orthodoxies of social democracy and stalinism, he is unable to escape being disoriented by them. As his interviewers point out, his "'theory of the state' is caught within Keynesian assumptions, in that it focuses only upon the relation between 'state' and 'economy' within a single, ideal-typical capitalist country. Neither the welfare state's development at the intersection of national and international pressures nor what we might call the overwhelming presence of organizations of violence and coercion seem adequately theorized". (p 270).

But the dynamics of the welfare state, as well as the current tendencies to privatization, cannot be grasped except in the framework of the analysis of capitalism as a world system. It is striking how largely the work of Lenin and especially the Bukharin of The Politics and Economics of the Transformation Period, have been, not challenged or developed, but ignored by neomarxist theorists of the state. What Lenin and Bukharin tried to analyze was precisely the relation of the state to capital, of military to economic competition, of state organization of the economy to the internationalization and militarization of capitalist competition, and, at least implicitly, of imperialist war to the welfare state.

Offe's account of the welfare state and its contradictions is, on the contrary, abstracted from any analysis of the world system. It disregards the opposing tendencies determining the relations among the state, the economy, and welfare, the tendency to state capitalism on the one hand, with its drive to economic autarky, militarization and bureaucratic state management of the reproduction of labour power, and, on the other hand, the tendency to the internationalization of capit-
alism, with the pressures for integration into the world economy, the growth of multinationals and international financial, currency, and labour markets, and privatization (or, as Offe would say, recommodation). Yet an analysis of these tendencies is essential for grasping the significance of Offe's point about the simultaneous necessity and impossibility of the welfare state—that states are driven by the pressures of international competition toward autarky, militarism and state capitalism while at the same time coming up against the impossibility of insulating the national capital from the world market, of building capitalism in one country. Offe's whole discussion of commodification, furthermore, ignores or misreads what Engles already pointed to in the last century, the tendency of the state to take over directly capitalist functions, not only socializing the reproduction of labour power but also exploiting it as a capitalist employer. Like the neoconservatives, he does discuss the "politicization of the economy", and the political legitimation problems that accompany it, but, like them, neglects the extent to which the state, like other capitals, is subordinated to the world economy.

The theoretical insufficiency of Offe's analysis comes out clearly in the political confusion evidenced in the concluding essay, "European Socialism and the Role of the State". Here the antistatism of Marx and Lenin, with their insistence on the need to smash the capitalist state and replace it with a democratic workers' semi-state that immediately begins to wither away is taken to provide support for a strategy of decentralization of the capitalist state. That is decentralization substitutes for workers' power as the solution to the problem of bureaucratic statism. When Eurocommunist politicians talk of decentralizing authority and guaranteeing democratic freedoms they are
not, in Offe's view, simply expressing their reformism or opportunism, but are taking to heart Marx's and Lenin's injunction to smash the state! Offe's book, then, is indispensable for those interested in the development of the "theory of the state" in the 1970s and is valuable for its many suggestive explorations and insights. But do not expect political clarity or an adequate theorization of the welfare state.


LESLIE LEIGHNINGER
Western Michigan University

Spano's book analyzes the development of the Rank and File movement in social work in the 1930's. This was a broadly based attempt at unionization which included both private and public agency workers. The movement drew together protective, or trade union groups, usually in the public service agencies; discussion clubs, composed of private agency workers and focusing particularly on broad social problems; and practitioners' groups of social workers identifying as professionals and attempting to influence their professional organizations toward social change. The movement developed during the Depression as a response to increased social and economic problems, deteriorating working conditions for social workers, and rapid growth of a public welfare system staffed by young and inexperienced personnel. As Spano notes, the ideology of the movement included 1) a stress
on social workers as employees who needed to identify with the larger labor movement in America and 2) the belief that the problems of Depression necessitated major institutional and political change.

Until recently, the Rank and File has received little attention from social work writers. Documentation of its ideas and achievements would serve an important purpose in acquainting social workers with a significant part of their social action heritage. Unfortunately, Spano's book, while useful in delineating the ideologies of the movement, fails to give a complete picture of its development. The book lacks adequate description of the kinds of workers joining Rank and File groups and it fails to present early on a coherent picture of the types of work conditions prompting unionization. It gives insufficient detail regarding the complex issue of interaction between "mainstream" social work professional and Rank and File members. Thus, while it contains good material on the Rank and File's attempts to develop a broad model of social casework, it fails to explore in any depth the intriguing problem of melding a union movement with a developing profession.

These problems occur for several reasons. First, Spano uses a "social movements theory" framework in a rather heavy handed way, with such stress on labelling events in terms of social movement phases that often the actual event itself, its actors and consequences, is never clearly described. In addition, the framework does not contribute much to our understanding of why the Rank and File developed and why it declined. Second, although Spano acknowledges the holdings of the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota, he fails to use the important resources which this center contains, most notably the records of the American
Association of Social Workers and the papers of key social action figure Harry Lurie. Sources outside the SWHA, such as the papers of Rank and File prophet Mary Van Kleeck, are also neglected, as is the excellent dissertation by Leslie Alexander on the influence of the Rank and File Movement within professional social work. Relying for his information largely on secondary works and on the movement's journal Social Work Today, Spano loses a richness of detail and flavor and tends to downplay the movement's diversity. Interpreting the editorial policy of Social Work Today as basically representative of the entire movement's thinking is a particular problem when trying to assess the degree of Communist Party involvement on the part of Rank and Filers.

The book offers some useful material, particularly on Rank and File ideologies, development of a casework model, and relation to minority group causes. However, it fails to give an in-depth picture of the movement's membership, its raison d'etre, and its relationship to and impact upon the larger social work profession.


SUSAN MEYERS CHANDLER
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Gelb and Palley document the effect of the role of women and the women's movement on four national policy areas during the 1970's. The authors use a single analytical framework to examine the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments,
the Pregnancy Disability Act and the free choice/right to life struggle including the Hyde Amendments. Legislative and administrative implementation implications are also examined. For each case the analysis includes a discussion of the underlying problem, the nature of the goal sought, the political activities of the women's movement, (such as coalition building within and external to the women's movement), and the existence of a counter movement. For students of social policy, the use of a single, uniform framework to assess disparate case studies is most useful. The authors also make use of Maren Lockwood Carden's (1977) constructs of role change and role equity and suggest that whenever a policy issue is perceived to affect role change, such as influencing the female role of wife, mother, homemaker or sexual being, it often becomes perceived as a threat to the existing value structure and results in the creation of a highly visible, often powerful and united opposition. However when the policy is defined as a role equity issue, merely extending rights enjoyed by other groups and relatively narrow in both scope and implication, the likelihood of support and passage is better. Thus the women's movement which has been criticized as reformist in focus is following the strategy of incrementalism which Gelb and Palley see as the most feasible route to successful policy change.

Gelb and Palley fully discuss the development, mobilization, structure, size, resources and strategies of contemporary women's groups. They use the words 'feminist groups', 'women's groups' and 'women's movement' synonymously, which is conceptually confusing. And while the major women's groups may indeed be "compromise-oriented" and incrementalist in their approach, the inclusion of only the most 'major' women's groups in the discussion too narrowly focuses the question.
A second difficulty with the authors' discussion of the women's movement is that it treats the movement as if it were monolithic, whereas McGlen and O'Connor (1983) convincingly demonstrate the fallacy of this notion. However, the data on the internal workings of these organizations, their budgets, funding sources, salaries paid and interlocking directorates is interesting and useful information for readers.

The first case analysis explores the Equal Credit Opportunity Act signed into law in 1974, which banned credit discrimination on the basis of sex. The authors suggest that women succeeded in winning significant credit reforms because they conformed so tightly to the pluralist "rules of the game". The women possessed respectability, technical expertise and political savvy and kept the credit issue under control by limiting its scope and encouraging the perception that the issue was one of equity, not fundamental change. While James Q. Wilson has argued that new policies are adopted only after a change in opinion, not as the result of group pressure, Gelb and Palley demonstrate the effectiveness of women activists in contributing to the passage of this Act. Of course, other changes were taking place in women's economic rights. But while the credit issue could have been interpreted as role change with economic power being transferred to women, it was treated as an equity issue and as such, had little opposition and relatively easy adoption.

The passage of Title IX of the Educational Amendments, which outlawed sex discrimination in elementary and secondary schools (as well as post secondary institutions), is interesting because it examines a component of social policy analysis frequently forgotten—implementation. Title IX was passed with relative ease in 1972, however it was not until 1975 that regulations for imple-
menting the law were issued. By this time, the implications of this law were becoming clear, which may be why HEW did not release its "policy interpretation" until 1979. Gelb and Palley contend that Title IX did not become law because of the women's groups, but their influence was felt in the subsequent effort to insure that the law was put into effect. The strategy utilized was traditional coalition forming and relentless pressure focussed on the relatively narrow issue of sex discrimination in educational programs. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981) have developed a framework for implementation analysis which if coupled with this discussion could provide students of policy analysis an excellent picture of the administrative regulatory systems at work.

The issue of free choice in abortion is the subject of the next policy case study. It would seem virtually impossible not to see this issue as a role change issue. A woman's right to control her reproductive capacities is a fundamental right of self determination; the conflict spins around whose rights, the woman's or her fetus. Woman themselves are divided on this debate and it quickly may be seen as "threatening" the existing power relationships at the core. Gelb and Palley sift their analysis somewhat in this case study by focusing on the efforts of the women's organizations at the state level to counteract the effects of Congress's Hyde Amendment which prohibited the use of federal funds under Medicaid to pay for abortions. Thus while the right to abortion remains, women must be able to pay for it without the assistance of Medicaid. The author's analysis of this case indicated that it was impossible to contain the implications of the abortion issue and a powerful and effective opposition has developed, as predicted by the Gelb and Palley theory.
The Pregnancy Disability Act, which would be expected to be perceived as a narrow role equity issue, in 1978 became entangled in the free choice controversy and began to look like a role change issue with broad implications regarding the role of women as mothers and homemakers. However, the efforts of the women's organizations to form powerful coalitions with labor and civil rights groups and even some right to life groups, resulted in its eventual passage.

The final chapter of the book summarizes the several factors that the authors believe to be crucial to the attainment of goals in the American political system. They suggest that the issue under consideration must look like it has broad based support but also be narrow enough not to challenge basic values or divide its supporters; there must be a network of people with information and access to decision makers; and there must be a willingness to compromise and incrementalize, thus claiming success when only parts of the goals have been achieved.

The book on the whole is a useful study that accomplishes what it sets out to do. The book's final sentence, "If the women's movement continues to abide by the 'political rules of the game' and if the parameters are drawn around issues selected for advocacy, so that opposing groups are muted, feminists will continue to be successful political participants in an age of declining parties and pluralist expansion of interest group politics", clearly reflects the author's theme. Readers who expect more will be disappointed.
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