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Political activities of professional social workers residing in Portland, Oregon

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Norman L. Wyers, Advisor

In order to assess political activity levels of Portland social workers, thirty Master of Social Work (M.S.W.) social workers were interviewed according to a structured questionnaire. The members of the sample were selected from National Association of Social Workers, Oregon Chapter membership and from selected public social service agencies.

The results showed, in comparison to previous research findings of Lester Milbrath and Julian Woodward, that Portland social workers are more politically active and knowledgeable than hypothesized. Portland social workers were found to be largely Democrats. The most politically active social workers were found to be those who are employed in private social service agencies, those at agencies employing fifteen people or

fewer, those who received their M.S.W. degree prior to 1975, and those age thirty or older. With regard to attitudes, Portland social workers tend to prefer low visibility political tactics and view the political system as being related to client needs or agency functioning only in respect to funding and the provision of services.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS RESIDING IN PORTLAND, OREGON

by

CONNIE MAY HENES

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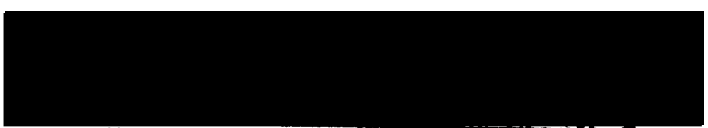

Norman L. Wyers, Advisor

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is a description of the political activities engaged in by Master of Social Work (M.S.W.) social workers living in Portland, Oregon. The topic was chosen in view of increased politicking over programs involving the services of professional social workers due to increased government intervention into social service programs and activities. Politics, political maneuvering, and activities designed to influence politicians are all critical in the survival of social service programs today, and the involvement of social service providers in this politicking is a phenomenon about which few studies have been done. It is therefore the intent of this study to assess the degree of involvement of Portland social workers in politics or in activities of a political nature, thus providing a description of the political participation of social workers.

Historically social work's involvement in the political process was considered to be part of the social reform movements whereby elements of the profession were active politically in seeking programs and aid for the poor and disadvantaged.[1]

[1]Kathleen Woodroofe, From Charity to Social Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 90-91.

Jane Addams was one of the persons usually associated with social reform in the early years of the profession, and many of her activities as well as those of the other "reformists" could be considered to be political. These reform oriented social workers used the political avenues in society to bring about or to initiate changes in society which in turn brought improvement for the life-style of the poor in that day.

> It was contended that poverty and human maladjustment arose from society itself and from forces beyond the control of the individual, such as the dislocations arising from industrialization, depressions, wars, and other aspects of social disorganization or reorganization.[2]

This philosophy permeated some camps of social work practice and resulted in political activism aimed at changing institutions to help the poor.

The reform element of social work was often in competition with the client oriented, individual treatment mode of social work which placed its emphasis on treating individual pathologies rather than on structural problems of the community which impacted the poor. This competition between ideologies of social work was formally labeled the "cause-function" issue in 1929 by Porter Lee, though these two approaches existed at the beginning of social work practice in this country in the late nineteenth century.[3] The

[2]Harry L. Lurie, ed., Encyclopedia of Social Work, Issue 15 (New York: Nation Association of Social Workers, 1965), p. 456.

[3]William Schwartz, "Private Troubles and Public Issues: One Job or Two?" The Social Welfare Forum, 1969 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 28.

reform efforts ("cause" side of the issue) were political in nature and often met with much controversy regarding the legitimacy of such activity.[4] However, despite the resistance encountered, reform oriented social work continued to be practiced and the emphasis in social work shifted back and forth between "cause" and "function" right up to present times.

The 1960s and 1970s have seen massive increases in the numbers of social service programs, and much of the increase can be attributed to government efforts and legislative appropriations to support government programs. Competition between social service agencies desiring program funding has heightened political maneuvering among agency personnel and among legislators sympathetic to certain social issues. Increased accountability has also heightened political maneuvering with agencies scrambling to justify funding needs and legislators on the other hand demanding verification of cost-benefit ratios. All of this activity has brought social work and politics very close together and has resulted in the participation of social workers in the political system.

The degree of social worker involvement in the political system cannot be ascertained from a simple review of the literature because no studies have looked specifically at this issue. Therefore, the thrust of this study is to determine social workers'

[4]Woodroofe, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

level of awareness and level of activity concerning political affairs, and the research design is such that a description of social workers' participation in the political system will result.

OVERVIEW

For the purposes of this study, a narrow definition of political activity will be used. That is, those activities which will be considered political include electoral politics (e.g., voting and campaigning), legislative advocacy (e.g., contacting representatives and letter writing), and participation in non-institutional activities such as demonstrations and strikes. Other activities such as working through agency boards will be only briefly considered.

The level of a person's activism can be assessed according to the political activities in which an individual participates by thinking of political activity in a hierarchical sense. In other words, those individuals performing those activities at the bottom of the hierarchy or scale have a low level of participation while those individuals who perform activities at the top of the hierarchy or scale have a high degree of participation.

Another method for assessing level of political activism is to give points for each activity in which an individual is involved, with each category of activity type receiving approximately equal weighting. The total number of points an individual

receives then represents that individual's level of political activism. Therefore, a person engaged in more activities is considered more active than a person engaged in very few activities, even though the few activities are considered to be more difficult, according to the hierarchical scale of political activism as discussed above.

For the purposes of this study, the latter approach will be given more endorsement. That is, the number of activities participated in by the social worker will be tallied, the total of which will be that individual's activism rating. The intent, then, is to compare the results of the findings for the social workers with those of the general public.

The activities which will be on the activism scale are both institutional activities as well as non-institutional activities. The activities which will be counted include voting, talking about politics, membership in community organizations which take political stands, campaign activities, contributing money, contacting political representatives, participating in a demonstration or strike, and running for public office. This list of activities is basic to the remainder of this study because the assessments made regarding social workers' political participation levels revolve around participation in these particular activities.

In addition to consideration of activity levels, this study is also designed to assess political knowledge levels. The intent

is to determine how politically aware social workers are, at least in the areas covered by the research.

This study is also designed to assess interrelationships between social workers and other aspects of political involvement, including age, salary levels, party affiliation, agency size, agency type (public or private), orientation toward conflictual political behavior, and degree of administrative responsibility.

One such relationship which will be looked at is that of determining whether social workers are largely Democrats, as are sociologists and other social scientists. If the connection can be made to these two academic groups, then social workers should be Democrats.

Another relationship which will be looked at is that of social workers and their orientation to conflict in dealing with political issues. The theoretical assumption is that social workers in Portland are nonconflictually oriented in that the types of political behavior engaged in are nonconflictual. The relationship between length of time in the profession and radicalism in orientation toward change strategies will also be considered. The expectation is that the longer a social worker has been in the profession, the less radical he becomes as far as orientation toward change strategies.

Relationships between activity levels and several other variables will also be explored. It is expected that the results of this research will show that social workers who are highly

active politically are executives of their agency, are older people, have higher incomes, and are members of community organizations which take stands on political issues. Education level should also be associated with political activism; however, for the purposes of this study, education is not really an issue because all respondents have graduate degrees by definition, at least at the master's level.

Another assumption built into the theoretical framework of this study is that social workers in private agencies should be more active than those in public agencies because of, among other things, the presumed inhibiting effect of the Hatch Act. The relationship between level of activism and agency type (public or private) will be explored.

A final expectation of the results of this research is that social workers from smaller agencies will demonstrate higher levels of political participation than social workers from larger agencies. The reasoning behind this idea is that social workers of smaller agencies have a greater need to be aware of funding sources and of the impact of government decisions on those funding sources. Therefore, more awareness and more activity around political issues should result.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The available literature concerning political participation of social workers is quite scanty. Empirical studies concerning such activity levels are almost nonexistent, and other writings which are primarily treatises on the need for political action, political activity, or social action are limited in number as well. The literature that does exist will, however, be reviewed here. Some studies in the field of political science itself are relevant in a discussion of professional activism. Therefore, these studies are being reviewed here also.

The general outline for the review of the literature is as follows: first, articles dealing in a general way or as an overview of the subject will be discussed; second, articles dealing with the meshing of social work and politics as general subjects will be discussed; third, empirical studies concerning political activity will be reviewed; and lastly, typologies of political activity identified in the literature will be presented.

GENERAL OVERVIEW

Historically, political activity on the part of social workers has been equated with social reform movements, community

organization, or the "cause" aspect of the entire "cause-function" issue in social work. William Schwartz discussed this issue as one which revolves around whether social workers should be treating individuals whose pathology affects their ability to adjust in society, therefore causing social workers to try to improve their intervention techniques (function), or whether social workers should be trying to reform that in society which results in discrimination, therefore prompting social workers to learn reform methodologies (cause).[5] Schwartz explained that both approaches have existed historically and that the reform aspect of social work has been the approach which has utilized political action.

Clarke Chambers has elaborated on the history of political action in social work.[6] He noted that the social reform impulse has not been strong within social work and he then listed some of the reasons for this fact. The first reason cited concerns the Hatch Act, which has historically put public welfare workers in an ambiguous position because of the limitations

[5]William Schwartz, "Private Troubles and Public Issues: One Job or Two?" The Social Welfare Forum, 1969 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 22-43.

[6]Clarke A. Chambers, "An Historical Perspective on Political Action versus Individual Treatment," in Current Issues in Social Work Seen in Historical Perspective (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1962), pp. 51-64.

on political activity.[7] The second reason has been the reluctance of agency boards or politicians to even look at new programs if the new programs would involve increased taxation or monetary support. The last reason cited is the idea that the scholars in the field of social work have viewed the world as very complex and ambiguous. This view has served as a cautionary force toward change.

Rudolph Danstedt has also given a list of deterrents to political action or a list of reasons why social workers have given low priority to social and political action.[8] His first reason is that the average American social worker does not work toward altering the welfare system because the system is highly technical, elaborate, and is already anchored in conservative American society. The second reason given concerns the undramatic nature of much of what goes on in politics, and

[7]The Hatch Act was passed by Congress in 1939 and it is primarily concerned with restricting certain types of political activity by employees in the competitive service of the federal executive branch and in the executive branches of State and local government receiving federal financial assistance. The Act provided for some protection to public workers against being coerced to perform duties for purely political purposes, but at the same time it placed limitations on all activity except voting and expressing a person's own opinion in partisan politics. Attempts have been made numerous times to repeal the Hatch Act and just recently a repeal was approved by Congress only to be vetoed by President Ford.

[8]Rudolph Danstedt, "Political Action versus Individualized Treatment in Social Welfare Work," in Current Issues in Social Work Seen in Historical Perspective, pp. 45-50.

Danstedt asserts that most people are more willing to give such matters up to the professional politicians. Thirdly, Danstedt also cites the Hatch Act as a very strong deterrent in the public sector of social work. Regarding private agencies, Danstedt states that agencies are cautious in politics because of possible negative effects on the agency tax exempt status.

SOCIAL WORK AND POLITICS

The next area in the literature which will be reviewed is that concerning social work and politics. It should be noted that a number of articles have been written which advocate for involvement in the political process, and many of these are direct spinoffs from the strong social action movement of the 1960s.

Abraham Ribicoff in 1962 expounded on the need for social workers to be engaged in politics and to assert social work viewpoints because social workers ". . . know perhaps as well as any other organized group, the nature of human problems and what can be done to mitigate or prevent them."[9] He further stated that

> One avenue open to many . . . is work within a political party to help determine its policies on social and economic subjects and to make sure that its candidates are armed with the facts. Another form of politicking is the conscious effort to shape public opinion, especially in areas where you speak with authority.[10]

[9]Abraham Ribicoff, "Politics and Social Workers," Social Work, VII (April 1962), p. 3.

[10]Ibid., p. 4.

In 1966, Wilbur Cohen, former Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, described the various elements in the political process to members of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW).[11] The elements included the idea, the specific proposal, the period of public debate, the period of legislative debate, and the importance of cooperation in administering the program once enacted. Cohen described the political process in an attempt to heighten the awareness of social workers about the need for involvement in politics.

George Brager, a well-known scholar in the field of community organization, contended that social workers need to ". . . contribute to the development of a climate in which alteration in policy and program are possible."[12] Brager elaborated on this contention and stated that the change strategies to be engaged in include problem solving, education and persuasion, negotiation and bargaining, and the use of pressure, all political tools aimed toward achieving change.

In a subsequent article, Brager accused social workers of having been simplistic and even unfair in that

[11]Wilbur J. Cohen, "What Every Social Worker Should Know About Political Action," Social Work, XI (March 1966), p. 50.

[12]George Brager, "Institutional Change: Perimeters of the Possible," Social Work, XII (January 1967),p. 59.

> . . . they have advised their fellow workers that they have a responsibility to influence change in policies with which they disagree but have not specified the professionally acceptable and effective means of doing so. They have suggested that if agency policy violates principle and can not be influenced to change, the professional may - sometimes should - leave. But this leaves the clients in the lurch and the violated principle in tact.[13]

Brager admonished social workers to be advocates for their clients and to, in short, engage in political behavior. He defined political behavior as ". . . the conscious rearranging of reality to induce a desired attitudinal or behavioral outcome."[14] Brager noted that ". . . in the context in which social workers function, advocacy requires political behavior, and political behavior requires manipulation."[15]

Daniel Thursz has stated that social action is a professional responsibility and that social workers need to be taught ". . . the elementary steps involved in mounting a social action offensive."[16] He made a strong case for militant action, and concluded that social workers can become a powerful influence by making their talents available to help poor people organize themselves for social action, and that social workers should definitely be so

[13]Idem, "Advocacy and Political Behavior, "Social Work, XIII (February 1968), p. 7.

[14]Ibid., p. 8.

[15]Ibid., p. 9.

[16]Daniel Thursz, "Social Action as a Professional Responsibility," Social Work, XI (March 1966), p. 13.

involved.

Emphasis also exists in the literature for participation in traditional politics or in the electoral process. Wagner, in an article a few years ago, suggested that social workers who are concerned about meeting the needs of the people whom they serve are faced by a barrier of public policies which have often been determined by self serving politicians.[17] He advocated for direct participation in electoral politics in order to achieve adequate response to social needs.

Rino Patti and Ronald Dear have contended that ". . . social workers should actively promote their interests and those of their clients in the legislative arena."[18] However, these authors also stated that social workers should be realistic about the potential impact on legislation because many forces impinge on the legislative process.

In 1961, Peter Rossi analyzed the distribution of power and the nature of politics on the local community level in America.[19] Rossi noted that structural differences exist between

[17]E. J. Wagner, "Political Action for Social Change," Child Welfare, LII (1973), pp. 344-349.

[18]Rino J. Patti and Ronald B. Dear, "Legislative Advocacy: One Path to Social Change," Social Work, XX (March 1975), p. 109.

[19]Peter H. Rossi, "Power and Politics: a Road to Social Reform," Social Service Review, XXXV (December 1961), pp. 359-369.

the public and private sector of society, and he contended that the differential structure provides an important opportunity for social work involvement toward introducing reforms, particularly in the public power structure. Rossi contended that social workers should take a more active part in the public sector of community life and in the political processes which result.

Another author, A. D. Wade has also discussed the need for social worker involvement in the political process. He has identified political involvement as the major means for directing and guiding massive social change.[20] Wade pointed out some barriers to integrating political action and social work, namely the notion that politics is dirty, the preoccupation with technology for accomplishing micro change in people, and the tendency to confuse the profession as a whole with the social welfare bureaucracy. Wade suggested some tasks for social workers to be engaged in: data collection, well formulated planning, liason activities in which coalitions are built, and direct political activity whereby politicians are conferred with, local campaigns are participated in, and actual legislation is developed.

The point can be made that some factions of the social work field recognize the need for political involvement. However, some

[20]A. D. Wade, "The Social Worker in the Political Process," Social Welfare Forum (Official Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Welfare: 1966), pp. 52-67.

camps within the field of social work still maintain that social workers either individually or collectively cannot have much impact on the legislative process because social workers do not possess the interests, resources, knowledge or skills to exert influence. Likewise, some factions of the profession are hesitant to provide legitimacy to social action movements with the contention that social action (such as rent strikes, and the like) do not constitute social work. Client advocacy is considered to be legitimate only to a degree, and if opposition to the norm is required, then client advocacy is usually considered to be improper social work behavior. Participation in partisan politics of any kind has been frowned upon by social work scholars as well.

A case in point is an article written in 1945 by Kenneth Pray, in which he stated three principles which should apply to the participation of social welfare agencies in social action.[21] These were: 1) that the agency should act only within the limits of the mutual agreements of its lay and professional segments; 2) that the agency should act only in areas appropriate to its function; and 3) that the agency should not engage in partisan politics.

Arthur Dunham, an acknowledged leader in the field of community organization in the 1950's, wrote that the social worker

[21] Kenneth Pray, "Social Workers and Partisan Politics," Compass, XVI (June 1945), pp. 3-6.

> . . . may properly be an adherent of any cause on the basis of his convictions, but his acceptance of a role of leadership or public advocacy on matters involving essentially technical issues should normally be within his area of professional or avocational competence.[22]

According to Dunham, this prescription is even more binding when it comes to partisan politics and he distinctly places prohibitions on engaging in partisan politics. The approach, rather, should be nonpartisan expertness on the part of the social worker in promoting a cause.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY

A number of empirical studies have been done by social scientists and political scientists regarding different aspects of political activity. The following paragraphs summarize the findings of the empirical work done on political activity.

Levels of Political Activity

First are several studies which have tried to identify variables relating to differences in levels of political activity. Several such variables related to the general population have been determined as significant in predicting amount of participation in politics.

In 1972, Paul Burstein tested a model of political participation on data from national surveys of Americans, Britons, West

[22]Arthur Dunham, Community Welfare Organizations (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958), p. 63.

Germans, Italians, and Mexicans in an attempt to determine causal relationships of several variables of participation.[23] The variables were designed to locate an individual in social networks and included involvement in organizations, media use, socioeconomic status, and demographic variables. Burstein found that political participation was most closely related to media and organizational involvement. Socioeconomic status was found to be in the middle as far as predictability of participation. Demographic variables had the least potential for predictability. Burstein found that the location of an individual in a social network is important in determining causal relationships for political participation. His findings suggest that involvement in organizations will tend to cause an individual to participate in political activities.

In 1964, William Erbe tested the interrelated effects of factors similar to Burstein's, namely socioeconomic status, organizational involvement, and alienation on political participation.[24] For this study he used data from a general population sample of three small midwestern towns. He found: 1) that socioeconomic status and organizational involvement were

[23]Paul Burstein, "Social Structure and Individual Political Participation in Five Countries," American Journal of Sociology, LXXVII (May 1972), pp. 1087-1110.

[24]William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," American Sociological Review, XXIX (April 1964), pp. 198-215.

important antecedents of political participation; 2) that political participation is at least as highly associated, if not more so, with organizational involvement as with socioeconomic status; and 3) that alienation does not have a large effect on political participation if viewed independently of socioeconomic status and organizational involvement. Erbe attempted to differentiate between social and issue-oriented organizational involvement but found that political participation is as highly associated with social organizational involvement as with issue-interest organizational involvement. He notes that his data tend to support the selection theory that those who join organizations simply "get around more" and are interested more in politics regardless of class, background, or the nature of the organization.

With respect to age as a predictor of participation, Norman Nie, Sidney Verba and Jae-on Kim found confirmation in a 1974 cross-cultural study of political participation for the pattern found in other studies whereby the young and old have low participation rates, and the highest rates of participation are among those in their middle years.[25] For young people, age twenty-one to thirty, the low level of participation is attributed to problems of "start up" which can be defined as transience and lack of participation in the community as a whole.

[25]Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and Jae-on Kim, "Political Participation and the Life Cycle," Comparative Politics, VI (April 1974), pp. 319-340.

For old people, the lower level of activity was attributed to "slow down" which is defined as the general inactivity in all areas of life of old people. The findings suggest that the old people who are more active in general are also still active politically, indicating that old age affects political activism to the same degree as other areas of life. Furthermore, the results show that the participation rate for old people is similar to that for other age groups if educational level is held constant.

Also on the issue of age, Norval Glenn and Michael Grimes studied cross sectional data on voter turnout and political interest from twenty-eight American national surveys and data from a cohort analysis of voter turnout.[26] Their study was done in 1968 and found the disengagement hypothesis to be inconsistent with their data in that they did not find elderly people to be less attuned to the central issues of society. They found that voter turnout apparently remains almost constant from middle age to advanced maturity and average political interest even apparently increases.

In 1969, Stephens and Long surveyed the literature on education as it relates to political behavior, and their report consists of a long list of political scientists and the results

[26]Norval Glenn and Michael Grimes, "Aging, Voting, and Political Interest," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (August 1968), pp. 563-575.

of the scientists' studies.[27] This summary resulted in the following assessments: 1) well educated people tend to know more about political events, at least to the degree that the information needed can be obtained from polls and surveys which request names, places, and recall of the news; 2) people with more years of schooling as contrasted to people with little schooling, ". . . tend to read more about political campaigns . . ., attend more closely to the news . . ., report a 'greater' interest in politics . . ., and score higher on a 'sense of citizen duty scale.'"[28] The authors note that

> . . . the evidence is strong that better educated people tend to be more interested in national political affairs, better informed about political affairs, more active citizens, more politically tolerant, more internationalist in outlook, more conservative on economic issues, less prejudiced, less militaristic, and generally more liberal.[29]

As to differences resulting from the institution where one is educated, the authors note that there is great consistency in the trends of political activity despite the college. The direction is toward liberalization, with rare exception.

Oscar Grusky conducted a study in 1965 to assess career

[27]W. N. Stephens and C. S. Long, "Education and Political Behavior," Political Science Annual, II (1969-1970), pp. 3-33.

[28]Ibid., p. 5.

[29]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

mobility and managerial political behavior.[30] His findings were based on questionnaires from 1,649 managerial individuals of one large company. Grusky found a direct relationship between preference for the Republican Party and level in the corporate hierarchy. Basing career mobility on the number of movements an executive has had up the hierarchy, Grusky further found a consistent association between preference for the Republican Party and career mobility. That is, the more promotions a business man had received, the more likely he was to favor the Republican Party. Membership in political associations was positively correlated with the level in the corporate hierarchy and, additionally, high level managers were found to be more politically active than lower level managers. Grusky noted that the higher level managers were opinion leaders and also had feelings of being competent in influencing the political environment.

These findings are applicable to social agency hierarchies only as far as one can assume that career mobility within management hierarchies uniformly affects business types other than the one directly studied. Such being the case, then social work executives should also become more political as they move up in the hierarchy.

[30]Oscar Grusky, "Career Mobility and Marginal Political Behavior," Pacific Sociological Review, XIII (Fall 1965), pp. 82-89.

Julian Woodward and Elmo Roper did what is considered now to be a classic study of the political activity of American citizens.[31] For this study, the authors administered a questionnaire to a national cross section sample of three thousand respondents of the adult population in the late 1940s. A scale was developed to score the amount of political activity of an individual, including such activities as voting, contributing money to a party or candidate, campaigning, belonging to a political organization, discussing public issues, and contacting representatives. With a total possible score of twelve, Woodward and Roper found ten percent of the total population scored six or better, seventy-three percent scored less than four, and twenty percent of the population scored zero.[32] The most active people were found to be of high economic level, executives and professional people, stockholders and college educated, in that order. Older people were more active than younger people, Republicans were more active than Independents or Democrats, men were more active than women, and Whites were more active than Blacks.

[31]Julian L. Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," American Political Science Review, ILIV (1950), pp. 872-885.

[32]Ibid., p. 875.

Noninstitutional Political Behavior

All of the above studies deal with traditional types of political behavior, such as voting, campaigning, party involvement, and the like. However, some work has also been done on non-traditional types of political behavior including student protests and social action such as initiating rent strikes.

With regard to student radicalism, it was found that a number of studies have been done concerning students who participated in demonstrations, riots, and the like, particularly in the 1960s and in conjunction with the Viet Nam era activism. Most of those studies dealing with student protests, however, are only marginally related to this research, in that student politics differ from politics of professionally trained adults (in this case, M.S.W. social workers) and also because few longitudinal studies have been done which try specifically to relate the adult's present behavior with his past student behavior. Such being the case, only one study of relevant interest will briefly be commented on.

Kenneth Keniston attempted to find out what the source of student dissent was and in so doing categorized the students involved in dissenting from the Great Society as being of two distinct value sets.[33] The first group he labeled "alienated

[33]Kenneth Keniston, "The Sources of Student Dissent," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (July 1967), pp. 108-137.

students" because their values were apolitical, romantic, aesthetic. This group seemed to respond to "romantic" themes of social criticism, or in other words, these students rejected society because of its dehumanizing effects, lack of aesthetic quality, and its failure to provide spiritual fulfillment. The second group of students was labeled "universalistic-activist" because they were politically involved and were humanitarian and universalistic in values. They objected not so much to the basic principles of society as to the fact that these principles were not implemented at home and abroad.

The typology expressed here points out that in both cases radical activists were dissenting because of disagreement with society or institutions of society as they were at that time. Institutional change was advocated whether on the aesthetic or practical level.

Irwin Epstein has described two studies which he conducted to determine levels of social worker radicalism. First was a study conducted in 1968 designed to identify attitudes toward social action strategy.[34] This study surveyed 1,020 New York City NASW members in an attempt to ". . . discover their attitudes toward social action strategies and their perceptions of the effectiveness of those by middle and lower class persons in the

[34]Irwin Epstein, "Social Work and Social Action, Attitudes Toward Social Action Strategies," Social Work, XIII (April 1968), pp. 101-108.

fields of housing and welfare reform."[35] The results indicate that social workers consider themselves most effective at assuming traditional professional roles (that is, nonpolitical); they view middle class persons as most capable in purely political roles of an institutionalized nature; and they view the lower class people as most capable in the use of conflict strategies. These findings imply that NASW social workers on the whole do not see themselves as being involved in any large degree with radicalism or social action strategies.

The second study, done in 1970, based its findings on 899 professional social workers in the New York City NASW chapter and tested the proposition that organizational-professional rank is inversely associated with social work radicalism.[36] Epstein did find partial support for this hypothesis within the total profession. In other words, higher organizational-professional rank for a social worker means that the social worker will have less commitment to radical strategies of social change. Epstein found this effect to be even more pronounced among group workers and community organizers, although the existence of a professional reference group orientation, particularly among group workers and community organizers, seemed to reduce the conservatizing effect

[35]Epstein, op. cit., p. 101.

[36]Idem, "Organizational Careers, Professionalization, and Social Worker Radicalism," Social Service Review, XLIV (June 1970), pp. 123-131.

of the higher rank in the organization. Overall, however, caseworkers who had administrative or executive responsibilities were found to be most conservative in the strategies of change which they endorsed for the profession.

Brager and Specht reported on a study conducted in 1969 regarding staff commitment to social protest as a change strategy at Mobilization For Youth.[37] The study found that line staff was less committed than the agency executives to the value of institutional change strategies aimed at elevating the poor and disadvantaged. The findings were the reverse of the expected outcome. The rationale provided for the findings was that the workers of any particular agency are likely to have similar goals even when the aim of the organization is militant change-oriented. Also, the higher the worker is in the hierarchy, the more committed that individual is presumed to be to the agency's value system. Therefore, if the agency is committed to institutional and/or militant change goals, then the higher level staff will show a stronger orientation toward institutional and/or militant change strategies than will the line staff.

Anthony Arangio, in a 1970 doctoral dissertation, described the attitudes of professional social workers toward the object and purpose of social work intervention, a subject similar to

[37] George Brager and Harry Specht, Community Organizing (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 214-218.

the work of Brager and Specht.[38] In his study, Arangio surveyed 1,033 practicing social workers to determine the social workers' orientation toward individual versus institutional change targets. Arangio found ". . . that the majority of social workers who responded are strongly oriented toward individual change. Most social workers disagreed with both institutional change tactics and individual change tactics of a controversial nature."[39]

In 1964, Joseph Heffernan, Jr. conducted a study which dealt with social work executives and traditional political behavior.[40] Heffernan attempted to test the hypothesis that the social work executive sees his role ". . . as limited to the performance of an expert analysis and the taking part in organized advocacy of particular positions through the established channels of his own agency and professional associations.[41] Heffernan found that his sample group of executives clearly avoided identification with political parties and were clearly reluctant

[38]Anthony Joseph Arangio, "Individual Change or Institutional Change?: A Survey of Prevailing Attitudes of Professional Social Workers Toward Change Targets, Goals and Tactics," Dissertation Abstracts International: Humanities and Social Services, XXXI (March 1971), p. 4892-A.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Joseph Heffernan, Jr., "Political Activity and Social Work Executives," Social Work, IX (April 1964), pp. 18-23.

[41]Ibid., p. 20.

to campaign openly. Rather, these executives demonstrated heavy reliance on the professional associations and on agency boards to handle political concerns.

With respect to other professions, several studies have been done primarily with academicians concerning party affiliation and voting patterns. First was a study conducted in 1969 by Turner and Spaulding which addressed the party preference of nine academically affiliated professional groups, namely botanists, engineers, geologists, historians, mathematicians, philosophers, political scientists, psychologists, and sociologists.[42] The study found that the social scientists tended to be Democrats and the empirical scientists tended to be Republicans. Party preference was distinctly evident in the results.

A subsequent study by Turner and Hetrick in 1972 sought to compare these same nine academic groups with the general electorate with regard to switch voting.[43] One of the principle findings was that approximately the same percentage of switch voting occurred among the academicians as among the general electorate. However, persons in academic disciplines oriented

[42]Henry A. Turner and Charles B. Spaulding, "Political Attitudes and Behavior of Selected Academically Affiliated Professional Groups," Polity, I (Spring 1969), pp. 309-336.

[43]Henry A. Turner and Carl C. Hetrick, "Professions and the Ballot Box: A Comparison of Nine Academic Groups and the General Electorate," Social Science Quarterly, LIII (December 1972), pp. 563-572.

toward the study of political and social issues tended to switch vote less than persons in the other areas. The authors thus found an apparent relationship between political attitudes and vote changing in that the liberal to moderate Republicans and the conservative to moderate Democrats were most likely to switch vote. The explanation given was that this middle group is probably less compelled by party label than the two groups who are most strongly affiliated to their particular political party.

Spaulding, Hetrick and Turner were involved in another related study in 1973 in which they tested the hypothesis that sociologists more than other academic groups might engage in demonstrations and in a wider range of political activities, within the context of greater liberalism and a heavy Democratic orientation.[44] A nation-wide questionnaire survey supported this hypothesis and also revealed that sociologist demonstrators tended to be ". . . younger, in the middle pay ranges, residents of the Northeast and West, Democrats, supporters of liberal presidential candidates, alienated, possible higher achievers if forty-five or older, and the children of parents with certain identifiable characteristics."[45]

[44]Charles B. Spaulding, Carl G. Hetrick, and Henry A. Turner, "Political Activism and Attitudes of Academically Affiliated Sociologists," Sociology and Social Research, LVII (July 1973), pp. 413-428.

[45]Ibid., p. 413.

The classic volume on political research was written in 1964 by Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes and was the outgrowth of the political research activities of the Survey Research Center at Ann Arbor, Michigan.[46] In discussing the American voter and party identification, the authors point out that in a typical year, twenty-three percent of the American electorate consider themselves to be strong Democrats; twenty-four percent, weak Democrats; thirteen percent, strong Republicans; sixteen percent, weak Republicans; nineteen percent Independents; and five percent of the electorate are apolitical.[47] The authors also note that "Only 40 to 60 percent of the 'informed' segment of the population (that is, the part that holds an opinion on an issue) perceive party differences and hence can locate one or the other party as closer to their 'own' position."[48] These data indicate an overall lack of strong partisan affiliation among the electorate. The authors attribute the lack of partisan affiliation to the ". . . general impoverishment of political thought in a large proportion of the electorate" whereby ". . . there is a great deal of uncertainty and confusion . . . as to what specific policies the election of one party

[46]Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).

[47]Ibid., p. 69.

[48]Ibid., p. 104.

over the other would imply."[49]

TYPOLOGIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The final section of the literature review is designed to look at some of the theoretical models or typologies presented by political scientists regarding political participation.

First is a model by Marvin Olsen in which he tried to bring together the numerous factors identified as predictors of political participation into one theory of causation.[50] Olsen discussed six theoretical arguments existing in the literature which attempt to explain why people become involved in political party activities. Those are: 1) political socialization; 2) intellectual sophisticaiton; 3) socioeconomic influence; 4) political communication; 5) social participation; and 6) civic orientation.

Political socialization refers to the generalization that ". . . family experience has a profound impact on a person's activity level in politics."[51] Two of the most common indicators of a politicized family are frequent discussions of political

[49]Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, op. cit., p. 282.

[50]Marvin E. Olsen, "Three Routes to Political Party Particpation," Western Political Quarterly, XXIX (December 1976), pp. 550-562.

[51]Ibid., p. 553.

affairs in the home and parental involvement in political groups and parties.

The second argument, intellectual sophistication, places primary emphasis on education level as a determinant of amount of political participation. Third is socioeconomic influence in which it is asserted that people of higher socioeconomic status have more at stake politically and are involved more in the political process.

The fourth category of political communication stems from research which has shown moderately strong relationships between political activity and exposure to mass media. As to social participation, the fifth category, the argument supported by research is that involvement in both voluntary interest associations and one's community tend to mobilize an individual toward participation in politics. The sixth argument is that civic orientation or involvement in civic affairs automatically leads to partisan involvement in politics.

Olsen constructed a research design around these six theoretical orientations and tested the theories for validity on his sample. He found strong associations between political participation and both the social participation theory and the civic orientation argument. The other variables were marginally relevant.

This typology has relevance to this study because of the finding that involvement in volunteer organizations and in

civic affairs leads to political participation. Such involvement can be considered to be political activity in and of itself. This theory endorses the inclusion of involvement in organizations as an important factor in political participation.

Another theorist to consider is Farhat Ghaem-Maghami, who proposed an integrated approach to theorizing about political participation.[52] Ghaem-Maghami reviewed the center-periphery theory, which argues that the centrally located individuals in our society are more accessible, more likely to be informed, and more likely to participate in politics than those on the periphery. This theory contends that the more "central" a person is to society in terms of the dominant value system of society, the higher will be his political involvement.

Ghaem-Maghami also discussed the mass society theory which asserts that, in modern society, ". . . the bureaucratization of life, centralization of the social order, loss of traditional community, and concommitant rise of anonymity and impersonality have led to feelings of impotence, powerlessness, futility, and emptiness in the individual."[53] As a result, according to this theory, an individual becomes apathetic toward political affairs and thus does not participate. Who does participate, according

[52]Farhat Ghaem-Maghami, "Toward an Interdisciplinary Model of Political Behavior: A New Approach," Sociological Focus, VI (Summer 1973), pp. 1-22.

[53]Ibid., p. 2.

to the mass society theory, is unclear.

The author briefly touched on the social learning theory as well, which contends that increased control over a situation increases learning. Therefore, those who differ in degree of powerlessness also differ in their rates of learning; the more powerful tend to be more involved politically.

The approach which integrates these three theories places major emphasis on alienation as an intervening variable. Alienation overrides the variables of the three theories and has a major influence on the degree to which a person will be involved in the political process. Ghaem-Maghami asserts that only highly central, unalienated people of high political knowledge will be the most involved.

This typology of political participation is important to this study in understanding whether or not certain types of people are more inclined to political activism. The author does find that certain qualities are important as precursors to political participation, and these attributes are consistent with the qualifications M.S.W. social workers may possess. That is, social workers may be highly central, unalienated people of high political knowledge, thus enabling them, according to this research, to be highly involved politically.

Perhaps one of the best known typologies of political participation is a theory put forth by Milbrath, which outlines

a hierarchy of political involvement.[54] In this hierarchy are represented varying degrees of costs for involvement in time and energy, with the lower cost activities on the bottom level of the participation scale and vice versa. Milbrath contends that about half of the American adult population is apathetic or passive. Another sixty percent play largely spectator roles in which they watch, cheer, and vote but do not participate in any higher level of activity. Only one or two percent of the population participates in what Milbrath terms gladiator activities or the actual "battle" activities of campaigning and politicking.[55]

The hierarchy developed by Milbrath is as follows:

Holding public and party office
Being a candidate for office
Soliciting political funds
Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting
Becoming an active member in a political party
Contributing time in a political campaign

Attending a political meeting or rally
Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate
Contacting a public official or a political leader

Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car
Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way
Initiating a political discussion
Voting
Exposing oneself to political stimuli

Apathetic[56]

[54]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965).

[55]Ibid., p. 21.

[56]Ibid., p. 18.

The participation according to percent of the population involved is broken down as follows:

Less than 1%	American population in top two or three behaviors
4-5%	Active in a party, campaign, and attend meetings
10%	Make monetary contributions
13%	Contact public officials
15%	Display a button or sticker
25-30%	Try to proselyte others to vote a certain way
40-70%	Perceive political messages and vote in any given election[57]

Milbrath's typology provides a framework for assessing activity levels of political behavior, and as such, this typology provides a framework for this study for assessing political activity levels of social workers.

Brager and Specht have come up with a typology which neatly organizes the type of tactics a social worker would use for various political goals.[58] The typology is as follows:

GOAL PERCEIVED	RESPONSE	MODE OF INTERVENTION	TACTICS
1. Mutually enhancing adjustment; or Rearrangement of resources	Consensus	Collaborative	Problem solving Education Joint Action Persuasion
2. Redistribution of resources	Difference	Campaign	Political maneuvering
3. Change in status relationships	Dissensus	Contest or Disruption	Clash of position within socially accepted norms Violation of normative behavior Violation of legal norms
4. Reconstruction of the entire system	Insurrection	Violence	Violence

[57]Milbrath, op. cit., p. 19.

[58]Brager and Specht, Community Organizing, p. 263 and 272.

This model has relevance particularly for social workers' response to different goals including when participation in the political structure is deemed appropriate by social workers. This model is simply a convenient summary of activity types which are appropriate for particular goals of social work intervention.

The literature review has provided support for the theoretical framework upon which this research is based. An examination of the data from this research will attempt to look at whether the sample's political attitudes and behavior fit and support the foregoing description of other previous work.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to study the political behavior of social workers in Portland was a survey approach in which the collection of data was done systematically, according to standard research methods. The design for this study was such that a descriptive analysis of social workers' political activity levels would result.

SAMPLING

The population identified for which all inferences in this study will be drawn is defined as M.S.W. social workers in Portland, Oregon. This study was conducted in September 1977, and therefore all inferences of this research relate to that time frame as a basis for interpretation.

In order to have a representative sample from the population group, two primary sources were relied upon for obtaining names of M.S.W. social workers in Portland. First was the NASW, Oregon Chapter, which identified 307 social workers living in Portland. This population is not totally accurate with respect to the definition of social worker in this study as not all of the listed social workers have their M.S.W. degree and are working.

That is, a few of the members have only a bachelor's degree, a few are presently enrolled in graduate school, and a few are unemployed. Therefore, where knowledge of such cases existed, the names of those individuals were eliminated from the study. Also eliminated were faculty at Portland State University, bringing the total NASW population to 292 individuals.

The second source of social workers in Portland was the population of employees of larger public social service agencies. That is, specific agencies in Portland were contacted to identify M.S.W. employees. The agencies contacted included five branch offices of Children's Service Division of Oregon Department of Human Resources; and Multnomah County Social Service Departments, including Mental Health Division, Juvenile Court, Probation and Parole, and Marriage and Family Counseling. Seventy-three M.S.W.'s were identified from these government agencies and of that number, twenty were NASW members as well.

For the purposes of drawing a basic sample from the names compiled from NASW and the govenment agencies, the 345 names were listed alphabetically and then every tenth name was chosen as part of the sample group. A list of thirty-four individuals resulted, of which four individuals were unable to be located. Replacements were made by taking the next name on the population list. However, even with the replacements, four individuals were not able to be contacted, bringing the final sample size to thirty. Participation rate was therefore eighty-eight percent.

The method just described for sampling this population of Portland social workers was that of systematic sampling, which, in practice, is very close to simple random sampling. That is, randomness of the sample was not affected by the use of this method because the physical position of the names on the population list was random in all areas except alphabetization.

Problems with randomness of the sample could exist, however, because of having an incomplete population group from the outset. Groups of social workers in Portland were excluded due to nonmembership in NASW or employment in some agency other than those specifically contacted. Such being the case, the population could be a biased representation of Portland social workers. Also, basic knowledge about numbers of social workers in Portland, male-female ratios, number of social workers in private compared to public agencies, and proportion of social workers with NASW membership, is unavailable, thus limiting the opportunity to test for representativeness of the population.

With respect to representativeness of the sample, it is clear that the sample is not identical in proportion to the population from which the sample was drawn. On the characteristic of sex, the sample group had forty percent males and sixty percent females. The figures for the population from which the sample was drawn are thirty-four percent males and sixty-six percent females. A discrepancy of six percentage points exists.

The fact that a systematic sample was drawn increases

the probability that the sample is truly representative of the population. Also the fact that sample size was approximately ten percent of the population should be a further indication that the sample was representative, according to standard research methods. Sample size was nonetheless small, and as a result, greater error in deviation from the true value of the measures is possible. Also, the use of statistical analysis is restricted with small sample size.

Representativeness of the sample may also have been affected by the fact that four individuals of the sample were not able to be contacted. The number of individuals not included was quite small, but this circumstance could nonetheless have a bearing on the findings of this research.

QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION

The instrument used for this study consisted of a thirty item questionnaire which was constructed to elicit demographic data, types of political behavior, level of knowledge about politics, and subjective assessment of the importance of politics in the world of social work. The instrument was developed to provide data about the assumptions of this research. Each item was constructed to be of importance to the central concern of this study.

The schedule was designed primarily to have structured questions which required yes-no responses, a rating on a scale

of five responses, or a choice of one answer from a scheme of not more than six options. Of the thirty items on the questionnaire, all but five of the items were structured. The structured questions dealt quite specifically with eight particular political activities in which the respondent may or may not have participated, and also dealt very precisely with two subject areas of political knowledge (Governor's party affiliation and House Bill 2511). Three structured items were also included which were designed to obtain information about attitudes toward the political system and the use of that system by social workers (questions number three, twenty, and twenty-one). One question (number twenty, dealing with attitudes toward political participation), was used by Heffernan in his research, and it was included in this study for comparison purposes.[59]

Five open-ended questions were included in the questionnaire, as well, in instances where all possible responses could not be determined prior to application of the schedule. These questions dealt with additional types of campaign or support activities which the individual may have participated in (questions number seven and fourteen), and also with attitudes toward, or views concerning, the political system as it relates to clients and to agencies (questions sixteen and seventeen). An additional open-

[59]Joseph Heffernan, Jr., "Political Activity and Social Work Executives," Social Work, IX (April 1964), pp. 18-23.

ended question was an expansion on a structured question about political knowledge (question eighteen).

In general, the questions dealt with an area of life which can be very delicate, namely participation in political activities. For this reason, the questions did not probe in depth for information which may have embarrassed the respondents or which may have prompted the respondents to give false information or to refuse to answer. Caution was taken in this area in order to maintain accuracy and a high response rate.

The length of the schedule was kept to a minimum. Only essential demographic information was obtained and other topics of this research received only basic coverage as well.

The schedule was organized with the demographic information at the beginning, the structured activity and knowledge questions in the middle, and the attitude questions near the end. Structured and open-ended questions were intermingled on the questionnaire. (A copy of the questionnaire is included in the Appendix.)

A pretest was conducted prior to administration of the questionnaire to the sample group. Five individuals from the total list of names were interviewed for the pretest, and upon completion of the pretest, the indicated changes were made on the questionnaire.

The changes included rephrasing two open-ended questions in such a way as to elicit a freer response from the respondent.

That is, "Do you feel your clients' needs are related to the political system?" was changed to, "In what ways do you feel your clients' needs are related to the political system?" (question number sixteen). Likewise, "Do you feel your agency is affected by the political system?" was changed to, "In what ways do you feel your agency is affected by the political system?" (question number seventeen). The content of a question dealing with political knowledge was changed in an attempt to get a better distribution of responses. In the pretest the question was asked, "Which political party controls the Oregon legislature?" The question was changed to read, "Do you know the party affiliation of the present Governor of Oregon?" (question number four).

The one other change had to do with accurately obtaining the respondent's party affiliation. The question on the pretest which was changed, asked whether the respondent was a member of a political party, and, if so, which one? The new form of the question was actually a sequence of questions asking for party affiliation and an indication as to whether or not the individual considered himself to be strongly affiliated to his particular political party (question number six).

QUESTIONNAIRE APPLICATION

The instrument used for this study consisted, in final form, of a thirty item questionnaire which was administered to

the thirty people in the sample by personal interview in September, 1977. The individuals in the sample were contacted by telephone and interviews at their office were scheduled. No individual who was contacted refused to participate although four people were not able to be located and therefore were eliminated from the study. The interviews were about twenty minutes in length.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability of a study refers to reproducibility. That is, if someone else conducted the study on the same sample, would similar results be obtained? The research for this study has been carefully explained in the preceding pages and is therefore easily reproducible. Most items on the questionnaire are clear and unambiguous, allowing for another research to obtain similar results on the various questions. Some error in question construction undoubtedly exists, however, and those influences could affect reliability. Also, with respect to reproducibility, it should be pointed out that over time, the questions in this study would probably take on different measures because the types of questions asked are very dependent on current events.

The validity of a study refers to the idea of the study measuring what it is intended to measure. In the case of this research, some problems exist with the measures for assessing political knowledge. The measure used for this variable did not seem to assess actual political knowledge.

Another area of potential problem with respect to validity concerns the use of the one-to-one interview situation. People may not have been very truthful during the interview due to embarrassment or uncertainty. No clues to such an effect were given during the interviewing; however, lack of truthfulness could nonetheless have been a problem.

Also concerning validity, it should be pointed out that no internal controls such as asking a particular question twice during the interview were utilized. Without this check, it is difficult to determine validity precisely.

Validity can also be questioned in this study in the area where attitudes were being assessed. The open-ended nature of two of the questions allowed for considerable interpretation on the part of the respondent and the researcher. The structured questions were less subject to such problems; however, they limited the responses and therefore may have been inaccurate as well.

ASSUMPTIONS

Several assumptions provided the basis for this study, and the concepts identified in the literature review constitute the primary rationale behind these assumptions. For the purposes of this study, social worker is defined as any social worker with an M.S.W. who is living in Portland, Oregon.

The assumptions for this research are as follows:

1) Social workers are not politically active.
2) Social workers are Democrats.
3) Social workers are uniformed about political matters or events.
4) Political participation by social workers in private agencies is higher than political participation by social workers in public agencies.
5) Political participation by social workers who have administrative responsibilities is higher than political participation of nonadministrators.
6) Political participation by social workers in small agencies is higher than political participation by social workers in large agencies.
7) The longer a social worker has had the M.S.W. the more politically active that individual is.
8) The longer a social worker has been at his agency the more politically active that individual is.
9) Middle aged and older social workers are more politically active than the younger social workers.
10) High salaried social workers are more politically active than the lower paid social workers.
11) Social workers who are members of NASW tend to be more politically active than nonmembers.
12) The longer a social worker has had the M.S.W. the less frequently that individual has participated in radical

political behavior.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The variables for this study are: political activity, political knowledge, party affiliation, agency type, agency size, administrative responsibility, length of time with M.S.W., length of time at present agency, social workers' age, social workers' salary, NASW membership, and radical political behavior. The operational definitions of these variables are as follows:

Political activity: voting, talking about politics, being a member of an organization which takes a stand on political issues, campaigning, contributing money to campaigns or ballot measures, contacting political representatives, supporting a demonstration or strike, being a candidate for political office, and participation in any other type of campaign activity.

Political knowledge: answering correctly questions concerning the following issues: Governor of Oregon's party affiliation; and knowledge about the issues regarding House Bill 2511 concerning licensing of clinical social workers. Also included in this definition is the subjective assessment of knowledge level by each individual participant.

Party affiliation: whether the respondent considered himself to be a Democrat, Republican, or an Independent. Each respondent also ranked himself as to strength of party affiliation, that is, strong or not so strong affiliation. The Independents were asked

whether they were more closely aligned to the Democrat or Republican Party.

Agency type: the classification "public" or "private" agency. Each respondent classified his agency according to the way the agency defines itself.

Agency size: the total number of employees in the respondent's agency.

Administrative responsibility: providing supervision to other employees or functioning in a program planning or monitoring function. The number of individuals supervised, the percent time spent in administrative functions, and the number of years involved in administration were the specific questions used to determine administrative responsibility.

Length of time with M.S.W.: the year the respondent obtained the M.S.W.

Radical political behavior: participation in a demonstration or strike.

Other terms used in this study are self-explanatory. Those terms include the following: length of time at present agency, age, salary, and NASW membership.

The executed research design thus described yielded data for analysis. The following chapter summarizes the results obtained from the survey of Portland social workers.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of this research project will be presented in order of the assumptions listed earlier. The results are grouped according to the framework designed to analyze the various assumptions. Demographic data about the sample will be presented first.

DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

The sample group for this research project totaled thirty individuals. Twelve males (forty percent) and eighteen females (sixty percent) were interviewed according to the questionnaire. Eight of the respondents (twenty-seven percent) were not NASW members and twenty-two respondents (seventy-three percent) were members of NASW. Nineteen of the respondents (sixty-three percent) indicated that they work in public agencies, while eleven of the respondents (thirty-seven percent) indicated that they work in what they considered to be private agencies. Seventeen of the respondents (fifty-seven percent) had supervisory responsibilities and thirteen (forty-three percent) had direct service responsibilities. These characteristics of the sample group are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS

Characteristics		Respondents #	Respondents %
Sex			
Male		(12)	40
Female		(18)	60
	TOTAL	(30)	100
NASW Membership			
Member		(22)	73
Nonmember		(8)	27
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Agency Type Employed at			
Public		(19)	63
Private		(11)	37
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Supervisory Responsibility			
Yes		(17)	57
No		(13)	43
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Age			
Less than 30		(6)	20
30-40		(7)	24
40-50		(10)	33
50-60		(6)	20
Over 60		(1)	3
	TOTAL	(30)	100

TABLE I - continued

Characteristics		Respondents #	Respondents %
Salary (annual)			
Less than $13,000		(6)	20
$13,000 - $20,000		(19)	63
Over $20,000		(5)	17
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Year Received M.S.W.			
1950 or before		(4)	12
1951 - 1960		(3)	10
1961 - 1970		(13)	44
1971 or later		(10)	34
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Length of Employment			
Less than 1 year		(4)	13
1 - 2 years		(5)	17
3 - 5 years		(6)	20
6 - 10 years		(6)	20
11 - 20 years		(6)	20
More than 20 years		(3)	10
	TOTAL	(30)	100

Also summarized in Table I are the respondents' ages and salary levels. The results show that for the characteristic of age, over half of the people in the sample group were between the ages of thirty and fifty, with the other half of the sample evenly divided between the groups of under thirty and over fifty. Regarding salary levels, almost two-thirds of the pople receive a salary of between thirteen thousand and twenty thousand dollars per year.

Of the other third of the sample group, twenty percent (six individuals) have salaries under thirteen thousand dollars per year and seventeen percent (five individuals) have salaries over twenty thousand dollars per year.

Data on the length of time which each respondent has had his M.S.W. were also obtained. For this characteristic, it was found that approximately one-third of the sample group received their degrees since 1971, one-third received their degrees prior to 1965, and the other third received their degrees in the five year span in the middle or between 1965 and 1970. Table I gives the breakdown for the years in which the M.S.W.'s were received by the sample group.

Length of employment at the present agency was also a characteristic of the sample group which was obtained. For the sample group, approximately a third of the respondents have worked at their agencies less than three years, a third of the respondents have worked at their agencies between three and ten years, and a third of the respondents have been employed at their agencies for more than ten years. The breakdown for length of employment is shown on Table I.

In addition to the above demographic characteristics for the sample group, information was also obtained on the size of the agency at which the social worker is employed. For this variable, it was found that approximately half of the respondents work in agencies employing between sixteen and eighty people.

The other half of the respondents are evenly split between agencies of fifteen employees or less and agencies of more than eighty people. Table II shows the breakdown of agency size for this sample group.

TABLE II

SIZE OF AGENCIES IN WHICH PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS ARE EMPLOYED

Employees Per Agency	Respondents #	Respondents %
1 - 15	(7)	23
16 - 60	(7)	23
61 - 80	(9)	30
81 - 100	(3)	10
101 or more	(4)	14
TOTAL	(30)	100

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The primary topic of this study is the level of political activity of Portland social workers. Thirteen questions on the questionnaire were designed to elicit information about political participation, and from those questions, data were gathered which indicate levels of participation in eight areas of political behavior.

Frequency Distributions for Political Participation

The data gathered concerning participation in the eight areas of political activity can be summarized according to frequency

of response by the sample group. The eight activity areas for which data were obtained are as follows: voting, talking about politics, holding membership in political organizations, participating in campaign activities, contributing money to campaigns, communicating with political representatives, participating in demonstrations or strikes, and being a candidate for public office. The frequency of participation in these various activities by the sample group is summarized in the following paragraphs.

Voting. The results of this research indicate that, overall, a large percentage of the social workers sampled vote consistently in almost all elections. Three questions were used to determine voting patterns, and from those questions it was found that all but one respondent (ninety-seven percent) voted in the last Presidential election, and all but three respondents (ninety percent) voted in the last Presidential primary election. The third question dealt with local elections and special elections, and for that question, eighty percent of the respondents indicated that they vote in most or all of such elections. The frequency breakdown for this third question is shown in Table III.

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Activity	Categories of Activities	Respondents #	Respondents %
Voting	Number Elections Voted In		
	All	(10)	33
	Most	(14)	47
	Some	(3)	10
	Few	(2)	7
	None	(1)	3
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Talking About Politics	Number Times Talk Politics In Month		
	0 - 5	(7)	23
	6 - 10	(7)	23
	11 - 30	(13)	44
	31 or more	(3)	10
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Organization Membership	Membership in Other Political Organization		
	Yes	(10)	33
	No	(20)	67
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Campaign Activities	Number Campaigns Participated In		
	0	(11)	37
	1	(12)	40
	2 - 3	(3)	10
	Many	(4)	13
	TOTAL	(30)	100

TABLE III - continued

Activity	Categories of Activities	Respondents #	Respondents %
Money Contributions	Money Contributed To		
	Candidate and ballot measure	(9)	30
	Just candidate	(12)	40
	Just ballot measure	(1)	3
	No contributions	(8)	27
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Communication With Political Representative	Number Communications Per Year		
	0	(3)	10
	1 - 2	(11)	37
	3 - 9	(9)	30
	10 or more	(7)	23
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Participation In Demonstration or Strike	Number Demonstrations, Strikes		
	None	(16)	53
	1 - 2	(5)	17
	More than 2	(9)	30
	TOTAL	(30)	100
Candidacy For Public Office	Have Been Candidate For Public Office		
	Yes	(1)	3
	No	(29)	97
	TOTAL	(30)	100

Talking About Politics. The respondent was asked how many times he talks about politics in a month. The range in responses was from zero to fifty-five times a month with twenty-three percent of the people talking about politics five times or less, thirty-seven percent of the people talking about politics between six and twenty times a month, and forty percent of the people talking about politics twenty-one or more times a month. The frequency distribution for this political behavior is summarized in Table III.

Organization Membership. The third political behavior on which data were gathered is membership in organizations which take stands on political issues. The respondent was asked for other ways in which he has offered support for a stand or issue, and one of the items mentioned by people was membership in a political organization. Ten respondents (thirty-three percent) indicated that they are members of such an organization, and twenty respondents (sixty-six percent) are not members. These data are summarized in Table III.

NASW membership was considered to be membership in a political organization, and seventy-three percent of the sample indicated being members of NASW. The frequency for this characteristic is shown in Table I.

Political party affiliation is another category included in the assessment of membership in political organizations, and the manner in which data were obtained for this characteristic

was through response to the question asking for strength of political party affiliation. Seven respondents (twenty-three percent) indicated strong party affiliation and eighteen respondents (sixty percent) indicated their affiliation to be not so strong. Five individuals (seventeen percent) had no party affiliation. Table IV shows the breakdown of strength of party affiliation.

TABLE IV

STRENGTH OF POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Strength of Affiliation	Respondents #	%	
Strong Affiliation			
Democrat	(7)	23	
Republican	(0)	0	
SUBTOTAL	(7)		23
Not so Strong Affiliation			
Democrat	(13)	43	
Republican	(5)	17	
SUBTOTAL	(18)		60
No Affiliation	(5)	17	
SUBTOTAL	(5)		17
TOTAL	(30)	100	

Campaign Activities. The data concerning campaign activities were obtained from three questions on the questionnaire which asked whether the individual had participated in a campaign, for the types of campaign activities engaged in, and for other types of support on issues or stands.

Of the questions dealing with campaigns, nineteen of the thirty people in the sample (sixty-three percent) have at some time participated in a campaign. Of those nineteen people, twelve have participated in one campaign, three have participated in two or three campaigns, and four people have participated in several or many campaigns. The breakdown for this variable is shown in Table III.

As to the types of campaign activities engaged in, the nineteen respondents who have participated in campaign activities listed eleven different types of campaign activities. Each respondent could list as many activity types as he had participated in. The results are shown in Table V.

TABLE V

TYPES OF CAMPAIGN AND OTHER SUPPORT ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIAL WORKERS

Activity	Respondents* #	%
CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES		
Telephoning	(7)	23
Door to door campaign	(7)	23
Manage or plan campaign	(6)	20
Pass out literature	(5)	17
Precinct committeeman	(3)	10
Preparation of materials	(3)	10
Poll watching	(1)	3
Candidate petitions	(1)	3
Fund raising	(1)	3
Conduct coffees	(1)	3
Register voters	(1)	3

*Percentages do not total 100 as respondents indicated participation in more than one activity.

TABLE V - continued

Activity	Respondents* #	%
OTHER SUPPORT ACTIVITIES		
Letter writing	(16)	53
Organization support	(9)	30
Talk to powerful people	(7)	23
Testify	(6)	20
Petitions	(5)	17
Talk to other people	(5)	17
Financial support	(3)	10
Review legislation & comment	(2)	7
Attend meetings	(2)	7
Provide information	(2)	7
Leafletting	(2)	7
Convention helper	(1)	3
Write bill	(1)	3
Boycotts, marches, sit-ins	(1)	3

*Percentages do not total 100 as respondents indicated participation in more than one activity.

Note that the activities listed represent a variety of campaign activities although the total number of responses for these activities represents a small participation rate across the entire sample.

For other types of support, fourteen types of other support were listed by twenty-seven people in the sample group. Each respondent could list as many types of activities as he had participated in. The frequency of participation in other support activities is summarized in Table V.

Money Contributions. The fifth political activity on which data were gathered is that of money contributions to a campaign

for a candidate and/or for a ballot measure. The results show that some individuals contributed to both types of campaigns, with nine individuals (thirty percent of the sample) contributing to both types of money campaigns. Thirteen individuals (forty-three percent) contributed to only one of the two types of money campaigns with twelve of those individuals contributing only to a political campaign for a candidate and one individual contributing only to a ballot measure. The remaining eight individuals (twenty-seven percent) have never contributed money to a political campaign. The frequency distribution for this activity is shown in Table III.

Communication with Political Representatives. The sixth political activity surveyed concerns the contacting of political representatives. Each individual in the sample was asked the number of times which he has contacted one or more political representatives in the last year. Three individuals (ten percent) indicated zero times; eleven individuals (thirty-seven percent) indicated once or twice; nine individuals (thirty percent) indicated three to nine times; and seven individuals (twenty-three percent) indicated ten or more times within the last year. The frequency breakdown is shown in Table III.

Participation in a Radical Activity. The seventh political behavior surveyed is radical activity or participation in a demonstration or strike. The results show that, of the thirty individuals in the sample group, sixteen people (fifty-three

percent) had never participated in a demonstration or strike, five individuals (seventeen percent) had participated in one or two demonstrations, and nine individuals (thirty percent) had been involved in more than two demonstrations or strikes. The frequency breakdown is shown in Table III.

Candidacy for Public Office. The last political behavior for which data were gathered concerned candidacy for public office. Only one respondent (three percent) indicated that she had been a candidate for public office. The office for which she ran and was defeated was representative for the Board of Education. The frequency for this political behavior is also summarized in Table III.

Self Rating of Political Activism. A question was also included on the questionnaire about the respondent's view of his own activity level in political matters. Each individual in the sample was asked to rate himself on a scale of one to five as to how active he felt he was. The results show that overall the social workers view themselves as not active with ninety percent of the sample scoring themselves a three or higher (on a scale of one to five with five being "not active"). Only ten percent of the sample gave themselves a one or a two on this scale. The results are summarized in Table VI.

TABLE VI

SOCIAL WORKERS' SELF RATING OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Self Rating for Activity Level		Respondents #	Respondents %
Very active	1	(0)	0
	2	(3)	10
	3	(11)	37
	4	(10)	33
Not active	5	(6)	20
	TOTAL	(30)	100

Political Activity Index

Of primary importance also in the assessment of political activity was the utilization of an activity index. This index was designed to serve as a composite indicator of each individual's political activity level. Woodward's work was the theoretical basis used in constructing the index. The design and use of that index is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Construction. A respondent to the questionnaire could receive a maximum total of twenty-five points on the activity index if he participated in every possible activity. The index is broken down into eight separate categories with each separate category having an individual total number of points which the respondent could receive. If the respondent did only one of any of the possible activities for a particular category, then that person received a score of one for that category. The activity does not matter for the purposes of this index; rather,

the total number of activities engaged in regardless of the difficulty of the various tasks or activities. So, a person could get one point for voting in the November 1976 Presidential election and one point for participating or helping in a single election campaign, even though the two activities require different amounts of energy to perform.

In the categories which count the number of times an individual does one particular activity, the respondent received a point for each listing in that category if he participated to the maximum degree in that particular activity. For example, in the category on talking about politics, if a person talked about politics more than thirty times in a month, then that individual received a point for each listing up to and including the listing of more than thirty times a month. In other words, a point is received for each of the following categories for a total of four points:

1 - 5 times
6 - 10 times
11 - 30 times
more than 30 times

An individual who talked about politics seven times a month received a score of two for this category.

The activities which are scored and their point value are as follows:

ACTIVITY SCALE

Voting	4 possible points
November 1976	
May 1976	
Most local elections	
All local elections	
Talking politics	4 possible points
1 - 5 times a month	
6 - 10 times a month	
11 - 30 times a month	
31 times a month or more	
Organization membership	3 possible points
NASW	
Strong political party affiliation	
Other organization membership (political)	
Campaign	5 possible points
More than 2 types of campaign activities	
Participation in 1 campaign	
Participation in 2 or 3 campaigns	
Participation in several or many campaigns	
Provided more than 3 types of other support in campaigns	
Money contributions	2 possible points
Money to campaign	
Money to ballot measure	
Contacting representatives	3 possible points
1 - 2 times in last year	
3 - 9 times in last year	
10 or more times in last year	
Demonstration support	2 possible points
1 or 2 demonstrations or strikes	
More than 2 demonstrations or strikes	
Candidate for public office	2 possible points
TOTAL	25 possible points

Application of Index. In conjunction with the use of this index, each respondent's answers to the various questionnaire items were compiled. That is, each respondent's questionnaire was scored according to this index, and each individual in the sample thus received a composite score indicating his level of political activity.

In obtaining a composite score overall, each individual in the sample also received a subtotal score for each category of activity. Therefore each respondent has a total composite score for overall political activity and a subtotal score for each of the eight individual categories of political activity.

Results. In presenting the results of the index scores, the composite activity scores for the sample will be looked at first.

Over all, each individual in the sample group could receive a maximum total of twenty-five points on the activity index. For the Portland social workers, the range in the composite scores was from six to twenty-three. The average score for the sample was twelve. Twenty-six percent (eight individuals) had a score of better than thirteen on the index, thirty-seven percent of the sample (eleven individuals) had a score of twelve or thirteen, and another thirty-seven percent had scores of less than half on the index. The frequency distribution for the composite index scores of the Portland social workers is shown in Table VII. The intervals were chosen to reflect activity levels comparable to Woodward's findings.

TABLE VII

COMPOSITE SCORE ON ACTIVITY INDEX
OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS

Composite Score on Activity Index	Respondents #	Respondents %
0 - 8	(5)	17
9 - 11	(6)	20
12 - 13	(11)	37
14 - 16	(6)	20
17 - 25	(2)	6
TOTAL	(30)	100

The subtotal scores, which reflect level of activism for a particular activity, give more specific information about the particular activities which Portland social workers participate in. That is, the subtotal scores for each category give an indication as to which activities are more frequently engaged in and to what degree.

Table VIII shows the breakdown of scores received by the sample for each of the eight political activities on the index.

TABLE VIII

INDEX OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS

Political Activity Category	Score Received By Respondents	# Respondents Receiving Score	# Points Received by Sample (Score X Respondents)	Maximum # Possible Points for Category (Total Score X Total # Respondents)	% of Possible Score Obtained by Sample
1. Voting	1	1	90	120	75%
	2	5			
	3	13			
	4	10			
2. Talking About Politics	1	6	71	120	51%
	2	7			
	3	13			
	4	3			
3. Organization Membership	1	11	40	90	44%
	2	10			
	3	3			
4. Campaign Activities	1	10	54	150	36%
	2	6			
	3	3			
	4	2			
	5	3			
5. Money Contributions	1	13	31	60	52%
	2	9			
6. Contacting Political Representatives	1	11	50	90	56%
	2	9			
7. Demonstrations or Strikes	1	5	23	60	38%
	2	9			
8. Candidacy for Public Office	2	1	2	60	3%
	n = 30				

In the category of voting, for example, each respondent who voted according to the criteria established for voting (see page 67), could have a possible score of one to four. If everyone in the sample received the high score of four, then the total score for the entire sample would be 120. With the total possible score being 120, an actual score of ninety was tallied for the entire sample, thus resulting in a seventy-five percent participation rate of actual compared to potential participation in voting activities.

The same mathematical procedure was applied to each of the eight categories of political activities. The results of these calculations show that voting received a seventy-five percent participation rate; talking about politics, fifty-one percent participation rate; membership in political organizations, forty-four percent participation rate; engaging in campaign activities, thirty-six percent participation rate; contributing money, fifty-two percent participation rate; contacting political representatives, fifty-six percent participation rate; supporting demonstrations or strikes, thirty-eight percent participation rate; and being a candidate for public office, three percent participation rate. In descending order of frequency of participation, the political activities engaged in by Portland social workers are as follows:

	Percent
Voting	75
Contacting Political Representatives	56
Contributing Money to Campaigns	52
Talking About Politics	51
Being a Member of a Political Organization	44
Supporting a Demonstration or Strike	38
Campaigning	36
Being a Candidate for Public Office	3

The results of participation rates are summarized according to the format discussed above with respect to voting, in Table VIII.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Party Affiliation

The second assumption for this research project concerns party affiliation and the idea that the social workers consider themselves to be Democrats.

The data show that sixty-seven percent of the Portland social workers (twenty individuals) consider themselves to be Democrats, seventeen percent (five individuals) consider themselves to be Republicans, and ten percent of the social workers (three individuals) consider themselves to be Independents. All of the Independents indicated that they consider themselves closer to the Democrat Party than the Republican. The results for this variable are summarized in Table IX.

TABLE IX

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS

Party Affiliation	Respondents #	%
Non-registered voter	(2)	6
Democrat	(20)	67
Republican	(5)	17
Independent	(3)	10
TOTAL	(30)	100

Strength of party affiliation was discussed earlier in this study, and the finding was that only twenty-five percent of the registered voters consider themselves to be strongly affiliated with a political party (twenty-three percent of the total sample). All of those respondents considered themselves to be Democrats.

Political Awareness

The third assumption deals with the knowledge level of Portland social workers on political issues. The assumption was made that social workers tend to be uninformed on political issues.

The questions used to find out about knowledge levels include a question about the Governor of Oregon's party affiliation, a question about House Bill 2511 of the Oregon Legislature concerning licensing for social workers, and a question which asked the sample group to rate themselves on their level of

political knowledge. The results over all indicate a high level of knowledge, at least in the areas covered by this survey.

Regarding the question asking for identification of the party affiliation of the present Governor of Oregon, ninety percent of the respondents (twenty-seven individuals) knew the correct answer, seven percent of the respondents (two individuals) indicated the wrong answer, and three percent of the respondents (one individual) did not know or care to guess the Governor's party affiliation.

Regarding the licensing bill for social workers, all of the social workers sampled indicated that they knew about the bill and that they knew generally what the content of the bill was. An open ended question was asked about what the issues of the bill were, and most of the respondents seemed to have a good idea about the issues surrounding licensing. The most frequent comments had to do with standards for practice (thirty-three percent of the sample gave this response), improvement of the professional image (forty percent response rate), the establishment of qualifications for social workers (twenty-seven percent response rate), reimbursement for services through third party payments (twenty-three response rate), and with the protection of confidentiality under the law (twenty-three percent response rate.) (Some social workers gave more than one response to this question.)

The last question designed to elicit information about knowledge level is a subjective question for which the respondent

rated himself on political awareness. On a scale of one to five, each individual in the sample group rated himself, and the results show that sixty-seven percent of the respondents view themselves as above average in their level of awareness on political issues. Thirty percent of the respondents felt they were average and only three percent indicated a lack of awareness on political issues. The frequency breakdown is given in Table X.

TABLE X

SOCIAL WORKERS' SELF RATING OF POLITICAL AWARENESS

Self Rating Level of Awareness		Respondents #	Respondents %
Very aware	1	(6)	20
	2	(14)	47
	3	(9)	30
	4	(0)	0
Not aware	5	(1)	3
	TOTAL	(30)	100

Agency Type

The fourth assumption for this study deals with the political activity levels of social workers in public agencies compared to those in private agencies, and the assumption has been made that social workers in private agencies are more politically active than those in public agencies.

In order to assess the relationship between the characteristic of agency type and the degree of political activism, manipulation

of the data is necessary. The composite scores received on the activity index were used to indicate the degree of political activism of social workers at both types of agencies. An average composite score was calculated for all social workers working in public agencies and a separate average score was calculated for all social workers working in private agencies. Comparison of the two average scores is thus the basis of this assessment.

The results show that the average score on the activity index is higher for the social workers in private agencies than those in public agencies. The average score for the private agency workers is thirteen (out of a possible twenty-five), and the average score for the public agency workers is 11.5. These results show a slight positive relationship between agency type and degree of participation in political activities. A summary of the results is shown in Table XI.

TABLE XI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE	# Respondents	Average Score on Political Activity Index
Agency Type		
Public	(19)	11.5
Private	(11)	13
TOTAL	(30)	

TABLE XI - continued

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE	# Respondents	Average Score on Political Activity Index
Administrative Responsibility		
Administrator	(17)	12
Nonadministrator	(13)	11.8
TOTAL	(30)	
Agency Size		
1 - 15 employees	(8)	15.5
16 - 50 employees	(7)	11.7
51 - 80 employees	(9)	9.9
More than 80 employees	(6)	11.1
TOTAL	(30)	
Length of Time M.S.W.		
1950 or earlier	(4)	13.5
1951 - 1960	(3)	12.3
1961 - 1970	(12)	12.8
1971 or later	(11)	10.8
TOTAL	(30)	
Length of Employment		
2 years of less	(7)	11.7
3 - 10 years	(14)	12.2
More than 10 years	(9)	12.1
TOTAL	(30)	
Age		
Less than 30	(6)	9.3
30 - 39	(7)	12.8
40 - 49	(10)	12.2
50 or older	(7)	13.3
TOTAL	(30)	

TABLE XI - continued

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLE	# Respondents	Average Score on Political Activity Index
Salary		
Less than $13,000	(6)	11.1
$13,000 - $20,000	(19)	12.1
More than $20,000	(5)	13.0
TOTAL	(30)	

Administrators' Activity Level

The fifth assumption is that social work administrators are more politically active than nonadministrators or service providers. The scores on the activity index were again used to assess this assumption by comparing the index scores of the administrators with the scores of the nonadministrators. The results show no difference between the two groups, with the average score for all of the administrators being 12.0 and the average score for nonadministrators being 11.8.

No comparisons could be made on the variable of number of people supervised as the supervisory loads of the administrators are all of a similar size. Furthermore, no distinctions could be drawn concerning amount of time spent with administrative responsibilities and degree of political participation because the numbers of the sample in administration are too small. Length of time in administration posed the same problem of having too few people in the sample to test the relationship between length

of time which the individual has been into administration and political participation.

The results for this assumption are summarized on Table XI.

Agency Size

The sixth assumption for this study states that political participation by social workers in small agencies is higher than political participation by social workers in large agencies. The scores on the political activity index were used to test this assumption by comparing the scores on the index of the social workers in the small agencies with the scores of the social workers in the larger agencies. The sample group was broken down into four categories based on the size of the agencies which employ the social workers, and then the average scores for the social workers in those particular categories were determined.

It was found that the average scores on the political activity index were higher for the social workers from smaller agencies compared to the scores for the social workers from larger agencies. The most noticeable difference in scores is for the smallest agency employing one to fifteen people compared to all other sizes of agencies. The social workers from the small agencies had an average score of almost four points higher on the activity index than the other groups of social workers. The breakdown for this variable is shown in Table XI.

Length of Time with M.S.W.

The seventh assumption for this study states that there is a direct relationship between length of time which an individual has had his M.S.W. and degree of political participation. In other words, social workers who have had their M.S.W. for longer periods of time are more politically active than social workers who have received their M.S.W. more recently. The scores on the political activity index were used to assess this assumption by comparing the scores on the index of the social workers who have just recently received their degrees with the scores of the social workers who have had their M.S.W. for longer periods of time. The sample group was broken down into six categories based on the length of time which the social workers have had their M.S.W. degree, and then the average scores on the political activity index for the social workers in those particular categories were determined.

It was found that the most active group of social workers is the one in which the social workers had received their M.S.W. degree between 1961 and 1967. The average score on the activity index for that group is 15.8 compared to an average score of 12.5 for the next highest group (1971 - 1974). Most interesting is the low average score received by the social workers who obtained their M.S.W. since 1975. The average score for that group is 8.6 compared to the next lowest score of 10.5 for the social workers receiving their degrees between 1968 and 1970.

The results are summarized in Table XI.

Length of Employment

The eighth assumption for this study states that the longer the social workers have been employed at their agencies, the more politically active the social workers are. The scores on the political activity index were used to assess this assumption by comparing the scores on the index of the social workers who have been at their agencies for a short period of time with the scores of the social workers who have been at their agencies for longer periods of time. The sample group was broken down into three categories based on the length of time the social workers have been employed at their agencies, and then the average scores on the political activity index for the social workers in those particular categories were determined. The three categories were two years or less of employment, three to ten years employment, and more than ten years employment at the present agency.

It was found that there is little difference between the three groups in their levels of political activity based on the average score for each of the three groups. The average scores ranged from 11.7 to 12.2 and the difference between these two scores is minimal. The results are summarized in Table XI.

Age

The ninth assumption for this study is that the middle-aged and older social workers are more politically active than

the younger social workers. The scores on the political activity index were used to assess this assumption by comparing the average score for the group of young social workers with the average scores for the groups of older social workers. The sample group was broken down into four age groups, those under age thirty, those age thirty to forty, those age forty to fifty, and those over fifty years of age.

It was found that the group of social workers who are less than thirty years of age are less active in political affairs than are the social workers in each of the other three age groups. The under thirty age group had an average score of 9.3 on the activity index where the other three groups had average scores of 12.8 (age thirty to forty), 12.2 (forty to fifty age group), and 13.3 (older than fifty). The other three groups are all very close in their activity levels. The results are summarized in Table XI.

Salary

The tenth assumption for this study is that the higher salaried social workers are more politically active than those making less money. This assumption was assessed by comparing the average score on the political activity index of the higher salaried social workers with the average score on the index for the lower salaried social workers. Three salary ranges were used which were: less than thirteen thousand dollars per year, thirteen to twenty thousand dollars per year, and more than

twenty thousand dollars per year.

The results do not show a big difference in levels of political activity according to the salary levels of the social workers. Only a small difference in activity levels is reflected in the data. The group earning less than thirteen thousand dollars per year had an average score of 11.1 on the index, the group earning thirteen to twenty thousand dollars had an average score of 12.1, and the highest earning group had an average score of 13.0. The results are summarized in Table XI.

Another way of looking at the influence of money on levels of political activity is to see whether or not there is a relationship between income and whtether or not an individual contributes to campaigns for candidates or for ballot measures. When viewed in this manner, the results show that only thirty-three percent of the social workers earning less than thirteen thousand dollars per year have contributed to either a campaign for a candidate or for a ballot measure, where seventy-nine percent of those earning between thirteen and twenty thousand dollars, and one hundred percent of those earning more than twenty thousand dollars have contributed to a campaign for a candidate or a ballot measure. Income does appear to be a factor in whether or not an individual engages in this type of political activity. The results are summarized in Table XII.

TABLE XII

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF SALARY AND TENDENCY OF PORTLAND SOCIAL WORKERS TO MAKE MONEY CONTRIBUTIONS

Income Level	# Respondents of Sample	# Contributing to Campaigns	% Respondents in Income Bracket Contributing Money to Campaigns
Less than $13,000	(6)	(2)	33
$13,000 - $20,000	(19)	(15)	70
$20,000 and above	(5)	(5)	100
TOTAL	(30)	(22)	

NASW Membership

The eleventh assumption for this study states that NASW members are more politically active than nonmembers. This assumption was assessed by comparing the average score on the political activity index of NASW members with the average score of nonmembers.

The results show a small difference between the two groups with the average score for the member group being 12.4 and the average score for the nonmember group being only 11.1. The breakdown for this variable is recorded in Table XI.

Some caution should be noted in these results, however, because a part of the activity index is organization membership, and all of the NASW members received a point for membership in NASW in their total score. In other words, the design of the

activity scale is such that a direct relationship should exist between the two groups, assuming all else is equal. It should also be noted that only twenty-seven percent of the sample group is comprised of non-NASW-members, thus making for markedly unequal size groups to compare.

Radical Political Behavior

The twelfth assumption for this study states that the social workers who have had their M.S.W. degree a greater number of years are less likely to have participated in radical political behavior than those social workers who have had their M.S.W. degree a shorter peiod of time. The responses to the question dealing with whether or not the respondent has ever participated in a demonstration or a strike were used to assess this assumption in conjunction with the demographic data concerning the year the respondent received his M.S.W.

The results show a moderately high negative correlation between length of time an individual has had his M.S.W. and participation in radical political behavior. That is, the social workers who have had their degrees a long time were less likely to have participated in a demonstration or strike. (The Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficient was calculated on the data, the results of which is the coefficient -.4557.)

Political Attitudes

Two open-ended questions (questions number sixteen and seventeen on the questionnaire) were asked of the respondents in an attempt to determine whether or not the Portland social workers view their jobs in political terms. The questions asked in what ways the social workers view the needs of their clients as being related to the political system, and in what ways the social workers view their agency as being affected by political activity. Responses to both questions were primarily related to agency funding and the types of services which can therefore be provided. Most respondents did not see any big difference between the two questions.

The answers given for the question concerning client needs being related to the political system included the following: types of services provided; life in general of the clients; money for the clients as welfare; the laws which impact the clients; eligibility or access to services; use of clients as political tools; and the lack of resources for clients. Each respondent generally mentioned only one or two ways in which he felt the needs of the clients were related to the political system.

The answers given for the question concerning agencies being affected by political activity include the ideas that politics determine: funding; types of services; the fostering of competition between agencies; eligibility or access to

services; laws which govern the agencies; the amount of services; and the use of the agency as a political tool.

The responses to both attitude questions are summarized in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII

SOCIAL WORKERS' ASSESSMENT OF EFFECT OF POLITICS ON CLIENTS AND AGENCY

Effect of Politics	Respondents* %
Politics Affect Client Needs In:	
Types of services provided	43
Life in general	27
Money for the clients as welfare	20
The laws which impact the clients	13
Eligibility or access to services	10
Use of clients as political tool	7
The lack of resources for clients	3
Politics Affect the Agency Through:	
Determining funding	57
Determining types of services	23
Fostering competition between agencies	17
Determining eligibility or access	17
Determining laws which govern the agencies	13
Determining the amount of services	10
Agency being a political tool	7
Minimal or not affected	7

*Percentages do not total 100 as respondents gave more than one response.

Another measure for attitudes of social workers towards political activity was obtained from the responses to questions

numbered twenty and twenty-one. These questions both ask the respondent what he would do in a situation involving political affairs which whould have an impact on his agency or his personal life.

The first situation cited is that of the agency budget being cut and the need for action against such a cut. The possible answers included the following:

Openly campaign
Work through a political party
Communicate with powerful people
Work through the agency board
Work through a professional organization
Do nothing

The results show that thirty-seven percent of the sample (eleven individuals) would communicate with powerful people, twenty-seven percent (eight individuals) would work through the agency board, and twenty-three percent (seven individuals) would work through a professional organization. The remaining thirteen percent of the sample were divided among the other three categories. The results are summarized in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

POLITICAL ACTIVITY PREFERENCE FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

Activity Preference	Respondents #	%
Issue Concerning Agency Budget Cut		
Openly campaign	(1)	3
Work political party	(2)	7
Communicate powerful people	(11)	37
Work agency board	(8)	27
Work professional organization	(7)	23
Do nothing	(1)	3
TOTAL	(30)	100
Issue Concerning Candidate in Home District		
Openly campaign	(3)	10
Work political party	(4)	13
Communicate powerful people	(4)	13
Vote	(18)	61
Do nothing	(1)	3
TOTAL	(30)	100

The second situation cited concerned a candidate running for office who would help or hurt the social worker in his home district. The possible responses toward intervening in this situation included the following:

Openly campaign
Work through a political party
Communicate with powerful people
Vote
Do nothing

The results on this question show that sixty-one percent of

the Portland social workers would vote for the particular candidate and not engage in any other activity. Thirteen percent of the sample indicated they would work through a political party and another thirteen percent would communicate with powerful people in addition to voting. Ten percent of the sample indicated they would openly campaign on behalf of or against the candidate. Three percent (one individual) indicated he would do nothing. The results are summarized in Table XIV.

A fifth question of this survey which deals with political attitudes was the question which asked the respondent to rate how responsive the Oregon Legislature has been to the individual's agency.

The results for this question show that seven percent of the sample (two individuals) rate the Legislature excellent; forty percent of the sample (twelve individuals) rate the Legislature good; forty percent (twelve individuals) gave a rating of only fair; ten percent (three individuals) gave a rating of poor; and one individual or three percent of the sample did not respond due to what he termed his lack of awareness. Overall, it appears that about half of Portland social workers feel the Legislature is responsive to a favorable degree, and half feel the Legislature is poor or only fair in degree of responsiveness.

This chapter on results has summarized all of the data obtained for this research. Descriptive statistics were used

entirely throughout this chapter. Because of the limited sample size, statistical tests were not appropriate to use in analyzing the data. (In one instance, the Pearson Product Moment correlation was used to assess the relationship of radical behavior and length of time with M.S.W.) Correlation coefficients were obtained in some instances, but the correlations showed little significance between the variables, due in part to lack of sample size, to chance, and to lack of relationship between the variables. Those results are summarized in Appendix B for the reader's benefit. The importance of all of the findings reported in this chapter will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The intent of this study has been to determine the degree of participation in political affairs of social workers living in Portland, Oregon. The research design was such that the degree of political participation could be assessed and compared, where possible, to the American public in general. The assumptions developed were each surveyed and the results, which are primarily descriptive in nature are analyzed in the following paragraphs.

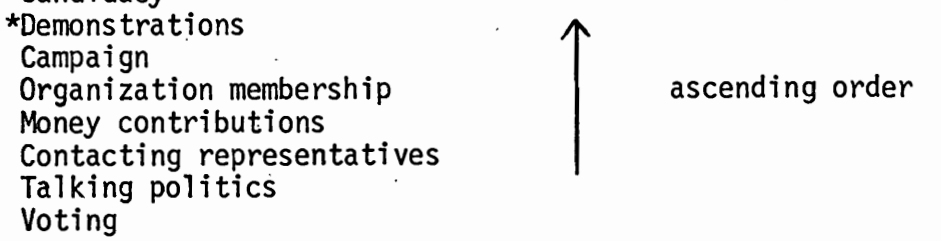
POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The most important finding concerns political activity levels of Portland social workers. In that respect, the findings of this research can be compared to Milbrath's research, as discussed in Chapter II.

Comparison to Milbrath

First, using Milbrath's typology with the ascending order of activities based on level of difficulty, it was found that the Portland social workers fit the model by having more frequent participation in the lower activities and less frequent participation in the higher level activities. Milbrath's typology

would rank the activities of this research in ascending order as follows: voting; talking about politics; contacting political representatives; contributing money to political campaigns; holding membership in an organization which takes stands on political issues; engaging in campaign activities; and being a candidate for political office. Milbrath did not discuss participation in demonstrations or strikes, however, it can be estimated that such activity would rank between campaigning and candidacy. The typology would look as follows:

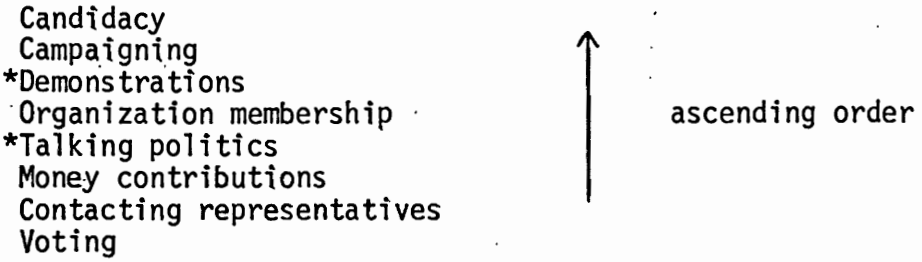


It should be noted that the ascending order of activities refers to the level of difficulty or energy required to perform the particular activity. The number of individuals performing the activities, however, decreases as degree of difficulty increases. So the ascending order of difficulty is determined by looking at frequency of participation with the most frequent activities at the bottom of the typology.

Therefore, according to the results of this research project, the activities of the Portland social workers can be arranged in descending order of participation or ascending order of difficulty. Those results in descending order of participation can be summarized

*Indicates estimated location of the activity in the typology.

as follows: voting; contacting political representatives; contributing money to political campaigns; talking about politics; holding membership in an organization which takes stands on political issues; participating in a demonstration or strike; engaging in campaign activities; and being a candidate for political office. The typology looks as follows:



The activities of talking about politics and participating in demonstrations are the only ones which are out of order, according to Milbrath's typology of activities (with the estimated location of demonstrations included). It is apparent that the Portland social workers fit very closely the theoretical model for order of activities participated in.

Regarding the activities which are out of order, it is apparent that either talking about politics is less common among the social workers than among Milbrath's sample or that contacting representatives and making money contributions is more common among the social workers than among Milbrath's sample. From comparing the actual frequencies of participation for the various

*Indicates categories out of order from Milbrath's model.

activities between Milbrath's sample and the social workers (which will be done in subsequent paragraphs), it is likely that the latter more closely represents the true situation.

As to participation in demonstrations, it can only be speculated as to the correct or incorrect location of the activity on the model because Milbrath does not include demonstrations in his typology. Assuming that participation in demonstrations ranks higher than campaign activity, it is therefore indicated that Portland social workers have a high level of participation in demonstrations and strikes compared to the general public.

Milbrath found that of the general public, one percent of the people ran for public office; four to five percent worked in political campaigns; ten percent of the people contributed money to campaigns; sixty-three percent of the people contacted their political representatives; and forty to seventy percent of the people voted at one time or another. Looking at participation rates which were generated from the activity index, the results of this research show that three percent of the Portland social workers run for public office; thirty-six percent work in political campaigns; fifty-two percent contribute money; fifty-six percent contact political representatives; and seventy-five percent vote.

The data just outlined concerning social workers' levels of participation compared to the general public of Milbrath's

study can be summarized as follows in Table XV.

TABLE XV

PARTICIPATION RATES OF SOCIAL WORKERS COMPARED TO GENERAL PUBLIC

Activity	Participation Rate	
	This Research	Milbrath's Work
Candidacy	3%	1%
Campaigning	34%	4 - 5%
Money Contributions	57%	10%
Contacting Representatives	56%	13%
Voting	75%	40 - 70%

With respect to the three specific activities which were not compared in Table XV, it should be pointed out that Milbrath did not present rates of participation for those political activities. The participation rates found in this research, however, are as follows: engaging in demonstrations, thirty-eight percent rate; holding membership in political organizations, forty-four percent rate; and talking about politics, fifty-one percent rate.

With respect to specific political activities, it should be noted that the Portland social workers listed their participation in "support" activities twice as frequently as they did participation in "campaign" activities. The indication is that this group of social workers has a tendency to engage in political behavior not strictly defined as electoral politics or open campaign tactics. Also, letter writing and support through

organizations represent a large portion of the responses given for types of support activities, and each of these activity types is fairly low in visibility.

It is apparent from comparing participation rates for the Portland social workers with those for Milbrath's sample group that the Portland social workers are considerably more active than is the general public in the selected activities. From this analysis, social workers appear to be very active in political matters.

The comparisons made between the two groups are not without limitations, however, because of some inherent differences in the two research efforts conducted. To begin with, Milbrath's sample represents the general public of 1965 and the sample for this research represents professional workers of 1977. The time frame is obviously quite different and such a large difference in time would have an effect on the results and any attempt to draw comparisons. Also, as noted earlier, education levels of the two groups are not equal and education level is one of the strong factors influencing political participation. The comparisons between the two groups are therefore quite restricted in applicability in terms of standard research because of the education factor. Also the methods used in obtaining the data for Milbrath's study and this research were not identical and therefore some discrepancy undoubtedly exists between the two sets of results which can be directly attributed to methodology. However,

despite the limitations and given the available data, comparisons have been made where appropriate simply because the data is the best available and some measure of comparison was indicated.

Comparison to Woodward

Looking at the overall findings of this research in light of Woodward's work, it is again clear that Portland social workers are more politically active in general than were the individuals in Woodward's sample. Woodward found that only ten percent of his sample had a score of half or better on his activity index, where twenty-seven percent of the Portland social workers had a similar score on the index used for this research. Likewise, only twenty-seven percent of Woodward's sample had a score of a third or better on his scale where eighty-three percent of the sample for this research had a similar score. (Differences in the proportion of the sample groups receiving such scores could be related to the differences in the scales used as the two scales are not identical. Different data were collected by the two research efforts. Therefore, these direct comparisons should be made with caution.)

Overall, Portland social workers were found to be more active politically than expected. However, as noted, the comparisons made have been with reference to the general public of some years ago and also to a public with a lower overall education level. Therefore the assessments made are not without

limitations. Political involvement of the social workers was not found to be extremely high if looking at the statistics in a general sense, however, and therefore the profession need not boast too highly at this juncture. Overall participation rates on the activity index only averaged 12.0 or the equivalent of half the potential participation. Social work activism may be high compared to the general public, but if looking at social agencies and the critical role politics play today, social workers need to consider more seriously stronger levels of involvement in political activities.

Assuming from these findings, then, that social workers are more active politically than the general public, despite the idea that more activism is needed, one implication is that advocacy for social issues is being given, at least to some degree. The extent and impact of such advocacy is unclear, however, because the findings also indicate that lower level activities such as voting predominate and the more intense forms of politicking are less frequently promoted. Conceivably issues could fail due to insufficient activism at the higher levels of political intervention. The implication is that more of the potential for political impact needs to be utilized by demonstrating higher levels of political participation, with the greater participation being in the "more difficult" activities.

PARTY AFFILIATION

As to party affiliation, Portland social workers are overwhelmingly Democrat. Most, however, do not consider themselves to be strong Democrats, and would therefore support other parties or would switch vote on occasion. Compared to the general electorate of the Campbell survey, the numbers of Portland social workers who are strong Democrats, weak Republicans, and Independents are approximately the same for both populations. However, there are twice as many weak Democrats among the social workers as among the general electorate (forty-three percent compared to twenty-four percent respectively), and likewise there are more strong Republicans in the general electorate than among the social workers (thirteen percent compared to zero percent). The implication of these findings is that social workers should be giving strong support to Democratic issues and likewise Democrats can look to social workers as likely supporters.

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

With respect to political awareness, it was found that Portland social workers were very aware of the two issues or points of information they were specifically asked about, indicating a high degree of political awareness for Portland social workers. The sample also rated themselves high on a scale of one to five for political awareness with two-thirds of

the sample group rating themselves above average.

Because the frequency distributions for these questions were clumped, it is highly possible that the scales used to assess level of political knowledge were poorly designed, therefore quite possibly yielding inaccurate data for level of political knowledge. However, in defense of the measures used, it should be noted that the high awareness levels indicated on the specific information questions coincide with the social workers' high self rating of political awareness. This researcher is thus led to conclude that perhaps social workers are more knowledgeable politically than originally assumed, at least on one social work issue.

Because of the inherent shortcomings in the findings for political awareness, it is difficult to suggest implications based on the results for the knowledge-level variable. If the assumption that social workers are aware of the politics around them is taken at face value, it would be logical to assume further that the social work profession has the capability of utilizing an informed group of citizens to advocate or lobby for profession-related issues. The implication would be that social workers are well-informed and as such provide support for relevant issues. However, despite the logic of the above argument, it is also clear that the implications are based on inaccurate findings and therefore the idea that professional support is given because of high levels of awareness is misleading.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Looking further at some of the other findings of this study, it is apparent that social workers at private agencies are more active than those at public agencies, perhaps implying that the Hatch Act and security regarding funding sources and agency survival do in fact impact propensity toward political involvement. Social workers at public agencies apparently feel the bind between the prohibitions against political activism and the rights to political participation afforded them by virtue of their American citizenship. Job security is likely a big factor in discouraging public employee activism. Private agency employees, however, must be politically aware to insure future funding for the agency. Bread-and-butter issues seem to prevail with respect to private agencies and their need to be political

Similarly, it is also clear that the social workers from very small agencies (less than fifteen employees) are more active than social workers from larger agencies, again indicating the relationship between agency funding and political involvement. Agency survival does seem to impact or influence the political behavior of agency personnel. The other side of the coin is that larger agencies are perhaps larger by virtue of their noninvolvement or nonagitation. Such a theory is conceivable, however nothing was found in this study to

indicate that political participation has had a negative impact on an agency or that nonparticipation has enhanced agency growth.

Because line staff social workers were found to be as active as administrators, the implication is that administrators are perhaps not being as involved in political affairs on behalf of their agencies as they should be. Theoretically it would seem that the administrators should take the lead and be more active in an effort to enhance the status of the agency. However, apparently such a practice is not occurring in Portland. The line workers are every bit as active, implying that the impact of the line workers on political outcomes is potentially as great or greater than that of the administrators.

The finding that the least politically active social workers are recent graduates is consistent with the finding that the least active social workers are those who are younger than thirty years of age. The younger social workers are also the recent graduates, and the implication is that "start up" problems described by Nie, Verba, and Kim are probably responsible for the discrepancy in activity levels between the younger, recent graduates and the older, less recent graduates. The younger social workers have been busy getting out of school, getting established in a community, and the like, thus affording little time or concern for political affairs. Social work advocacy will therefore reflect the views of the older, established professionals.

The finding that social workers who received their degrees

between 1961 and 1967 are the most active politically implies that the nationwide social, civil, and political activism of the 1960s probably had an impact on the group of people completing graduate school during that decade. The combination of social issue awareness inherent in graduate school status and national activism in social, civil, and political arenas during the 1960s, together created unique exposure for the social workers who are products of that era. The implication is that social workers of other eras will not achieve the same high level of activism demonstrated by this group of social workers, and therefore the overall level of political participation by social workers will be reduced.

Also in conjunction with the activism decade of the 1960s, it was found that overall the total sample had a high participation rate in radical or noninstitutional activities. The anti-war and Civil Rights movements of the 1960s were the primary arenas for this type of activity, and many of the respondents were students during the 1960s when student activism constituted the primary demonstration activity across this nation. It is doubtful that these same people would participate in such activities today, however, because this study also found that social workers who have had their M.S.W.s longer periods of time participated less frequently in radical political activities as demonstrations or strikes. The implication is that the social workers who participated in noninstitutional activities in the

past have shifted or will shift their political involvement to more institutional or acceptable types of activities. It is unclear from the data whether social workers not exposed to the activism of the 1960s will at any time have high levels of participation in noninstitutional political activity.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

The last area which was a concern of this study is regarding attitudes of social workers toward the political system and its relationship to clients and agencies. In general the social workers believed the needs of their clients to be related to the political system only as far as the services which the clients are to receive are affected by politics. That is, the social workers felt that availability of social services is the primary way in which client needs are related to the political system of this country. Likewise, the attitude was that agencies are affected by politics in the degree to which they can provide these services because of funding being determined by politicians. No mention was made by the social workers about the structure of institutions in this society impacting the people who become clients of social service agencies, and in fact possibly even creating some problems for these people which cause them to become clients. The social workers did not view the societal systems themselves (as the welfare system, the political system, the judicial system, the Protestant work

ethic, for example) as the problems which impact the clients. Rather, the clients were viewed as having the problems, and politics were viewed only as a means of obtaining more services rather than as a means of correcting societal institutions.

Also with regard to attitudes, the Portland social workers indicated a tendency to support nonvisible types of political participation. The social workers seemed to have the attitude that working through channels such as working through the agency board, the professional association, or talking to powerful people is the desired way to engage in political maneuvers. The attitude toward politics seemed to be one of timidity or of behind-the-scene activity. Open campaigning or politicking was not highly endorsed by the Portland social workers.

The implications of the findings with respect to attitudes is that social workers are not likely to be found thinking up or giving strong support to political issues which advocate for institutional change. Rather, the Portland social workers are, in all likelihood, to be found pushing for more services to clients by working through agency channels and by using other means of nonvisible politicking. It is highly conceivable, based on the data from this research, that social workers would give opposition to measures aimed at altering the institutions in our society, particularly if simultaneous reduction in the types or amount of social services provided to clients is also advocated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has provided insight into the political behavior of Portland social workers. In general, the social workers were found to be more active and knowledgeable than expected and to be conservative in attitude toward the political system and toward open activity in that system. The Portland social workers are generally Democrats, and the characteristics representing the greatest degree of participation include: employment in private agencies; employment in agencies with fifteen employees or less; receipt of the M.S.W. degree prior to 1975; and being age thirty or older.

While this study has thrust new light on the subject of political activism or participation of social workers in political activities, much remains undone in terms of research. Questions concerning participation patterns which reflect changes in activity levels over a life time remain unanswered on the basis of this research. More precise measures of political awareness are needed, as insufficient variation was found in the areas assessed by this survey. More specific information about support types of political activity is needed, including the numbers of social workers testifying before the Legislature or its committees, the amount and type of politicking done through agency boards, the types of political organizations supported monetarily or in other ways, and the like.

The implication is that further research, particularly of an empirical nature, is needed in almost every relationship between the political system and the behavior of social workers.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Year obtained MSW: _____

2. Agency: Public _____ Private _____

3. Length of time employed at this agency: _____

4. Number of employees at this agency: _____

5. Do you have supervisory responsibilities? Yes ___ No ___

   If yes, how many people do you supervise? _____

   If yes, approximately what percent of your time is spent in functions other than providing direct services? _____

   If yes, how many years have you had administrative responsibilities in your job? _____

6. Age: _____

7. Salary: less than $13,000 ___ $13,000 - $20,000 ___
   more than $20,000 ___

8. NASW member: Yes ___ No ___

9. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Did you vote in the last Presidential election (November, '76)?
   Yes _____ No _____

2. Did you vote in the May '76 primary election?
   Yes _____ No _____

3. Over the last five years, how many of the local elections including primaries and special elections have you voted in?
   All ___ Most ___ Some ___ Few ___ None ___

4. Do you know the present Governor's party affiliation?
   Democrat _____ Republican _____ Don't Know _____

5. How would you rate the responsiveness of the Oregon Legislature to your agency and its operation?
   Excellent ____ Good ____ Only Fair ____ Poor ____

6. Are you a registered voter? Yes _____ No _____
   With which party are you registered? Democrat ___
   Republican ___ Independent ___
   If Republican or Democrat, do you consider yourself a strong or not so strong Republican or Democrat?
   Strong ____ Not very Strong ____
   If Independent, do you consider yourself closer to the Democrat or Republican party?
   Democrat ___ Republican ___

7. Have you ever participated in a political campaign for some issue or candidate? Yes _____ No _____
   If yes, describe activity: _____
   _____
   _____

8. Do you view yourself as a politically aware person?
   very aware 1 2 3 4 5 not aware

9. Have you ever contributed money to a political campaign?
   Yes _____ No _____

10. Have you ever contributed money to a campaign for a special ballot measure? Yes _____ No _____

11. How many times do you talk politics in a month? _____

12. Have you ever been a candidate for political office?
    Yes _____ No _____
    If yes, what office? _____

13. Have you ever offered support to a political demonstration or strike?
more than twice ____ once or twice ____ never ____

14. Are there other ways you have helped support a stand or an issue? _____
_____

15. Do you view yourself as a politically active person?
very active 1 2 3 4 5 not active

16. In what ways do you feel the needs of your clients are related to the political system? _____
_____

17. In what ways do you feel your agency is affected by political activity? _____
_____

18. Are you aware of the licensing bill for social workers introduced this last year in the Oregon Legislature?
Yes _____ No _____ No, but aware of one two years ago _____
If yes, what do you understand the issues to be? _____
_____

19. How many times within the last year have you communicated with one of your political representatives? (Local, State or Federal) _____

20. If budget cuts are being proposed in the State budget in an area of your agency's concern which of the following would you be most likely to do?
openly campaign ____ work through a political party ____
communicate with powerful people ____ work through the agency board ____ work through professional organization ____
do nothing ____

21. If you are aware of an individual who is seeking public election in your district who would help or hurt you as a tax paying citizen, which of the following would you be most likely to do?
openly campaign ____ work through political party ____
communicate with powerful people ____ vote ____
do nothing ____

APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL CORRELATIONS FOR SEVERAL VARIABLES

Statistical correlations (Pearson Product Moment) were obtained on relationships between several variables. The correlation coefficients were all at the insignificant level. The results are summarized as follows:

1. Correlation coefficient between type of agency employed at and degree of political participation. (Private agency social workers more active than public agency social workers: Assumption four.)

Correlation coefficient = .1772

2. Correlation coefficient between degree of administrative responsibility and degree of political participation. (Administrators more active than nonadministrators: Assumption five.)

Correlation coefficient = .019

3. Correlation coefficient between size of agency and degree of political participation of employees. (Small agency social workers more active than large agency social workers: Assumption six.)

Correlation coefficient = .5965

4. Correlation coefficient between length of time with M.S.W. and degree of political participation. (Longer time with M.S.W., more active the social workers are: Assumption seven.)

Correlation coefficient = .3602

5. Correlation coefficient between length of employment at his agency and degree of political participation. (Longer employed, more active the social workers are: Assumption eight.)

Correlation coefficient = .0328

6. Correlation coefficient between age and degree of political participation. (Older social workers more politically active: Assumption nine.)

Correlation coefficient = .3281

7. Correlation coefficient between salary and degree of political participation. (Higher salaried social workers more politically active: Assumption ten.)

Correlation coefficient = .1385

8. Correlation coefficient between NASW membership and degree of political participation. (NASW members more politically active than nonmembers: Assumption eleven.)

Correlation coefficient = .1417