Representative Bureaucracy across Diverse Policy Spaces: An analysis of the relationship between the attitudes and perceptions of street-level bureaucrats and advocacy for client interest of shared identity

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn, Alabama
May 2, 2020

Keywords: representative bureaucracy, social workers, race, hidden representation, shared identity, racial identity, policy preferences

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Acknowledgments

I am so grateful to my parents for supporting and encouraging me throughout this journey. Mom, Dad, and Tre you have always believed in me and wanted me to succeed. To my chair, the physical embodiment of black girl magic, Dr. King, thank you for not only telling me but showing me that finishing is possible, practical, and empowering. My friend, Jessica, thank you for listening to my rants, being completely ignorant to my struggle, and still trying to help me. To Dawn Ellis-Murray, who made this idea a reality, thank you so much for believing that we all succeed together. To my colleagues, thank you for community in such a lonely season. Last but not least, thank you God for keeping me every step of the way and seeing my ending before the beginning.

Abstract

   This study investigates the relationship between the major components of representative bureaucracy theory (RBT) across diverse policy spaces. After examining the existing literature, it becomes clear that a comprehensive analysis of passive representation, worker attitudes, and macro-level constraints is lacking. Additionally, these concepts have not been explored across different policy areas. Using survey data from the General Social Survey (GSS) and survey data collected across three states in the major regions of the United States, this study helps us better understand the relationship between these factors. The findings support a relationship between shared identity and advocacy within the realm of socially constructed policy spaces and suggest that attitudes play an important role in advocacy. Additionally, the data indicates that when the worker and client demographics are dissimilar, attitudes in support of advocacy developed through experience and exposure-rather than group membership. This study suggests that while traditional points of identification are strong indicators of active representation, less visible points of identification also play a role. Future research is needed to determine the extent of attitudes impact on advocacy behaviors.

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List of Abbreviations

CJ-DATS   Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Study

FmHA   Farmer's Housing Association

GSS   General Social Survey

ICPSR   Inter-University Consortium of Political and Social Research

NASBO   National Association of State Budget Officers

NASW   National Association of Social Workers

PNAAPS   Pilot National Asian American Political Survey

PSM   Public Service Motivation

SWOQ   Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire

Chapter 1

Introduction

When walking into a public agency, one often visits the same receptionist, program manager, and front-line workers from year to year. One question that often comes to mind: "Why do these people do what they do?" They deal with people who are often rude, sometimes ungrateful, and occasionally hostile. The employee benefits are not the greatest. The work is often mundane, and workplace innovation is mediocre at best. Yet, these employees come back week after week, year after year, and decade after decade.

Virginia, a 45-year-old upper-middle-class Caucasian woman, works in a predominantly black and rural community, 35 miles away from her home, servicing the elderly. Juan, a 26-year-old Latino man who graduated at the top of his college class with numerous job offers, works in his hometown rehabilitation center as a case manager for recently released convicts. Angela, a 50-year-old African American woman, is the director of the Department of Child and Family Services in her county. Angela has been offered opportunities to relocate for better pay but declined. To an outsider looking in, it is unclear as to why they do the things they do.

The answer may not be in the "what is being done" portion of the job position but rather in the "who is being served" component. While all of these workers are fictitious in nature, their experiences may very well be real. The three employees represent three very different demographic groups, but they work in their positions in the hopes of advocating for those who possess some similarities to their lived experiences. The literature terms this phenomenon active representation. Representation can take on a passive form or an active form. Passive

representation means an administrative actor mirrors the population served demographically. Active representation means an actor within an agency acts on behalf of those individuals whom the employee represents demographically. The way that this representation manifests may look different across different policy areas with different client groups. By this, I mean that the way active representation looks in an agency that handles criminal justice policy may look different from the way representation looks in an agency that handles child welfare policy. Additionally, it is important to remember that the general public and elected officials who created these agencies never considered Virginia, Juan, or Angela in the original design of the organization, a specific policy, or our governing structure more broadly. However, is it these individuals who are in the position of policy and program interpretation and implementation. One question that has puzzled political science and public administration scholars for decades is, "Are the active representation actions by public servants conflicting with or supporting the mission of the institution, policy, or program"?

This line of questioning is the foundation of this dissertation and where this analysis positions itself within the discussion of democracy, governance, and representation. In this study, the attitudes and opinions of street-level bureaucrats and their relationship with policy advocacy for different policy target groups are investigated.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

This empirical inquiry is grounded in three major bodies of literature: representative bureaucracy (Kinsley 1944; Mosher 1968; Selden 1997), public policy design (Lipsky 1980; Schneider and Ingram 1993a), and professional and ethnic group attitudes (Meier and Nigro 1976; Hindera 1993b; Dawson 1994; Gurin, Miller and Gurin 1980). Representative bureaucracy addresses the tension between bureaucracy and democracy; that is a foundational conflict in

American politics. The public policy literature explains how we move through the policy process from ideas to policy implementation and evaluation. The literature on group attitudes largely addresses how professional and racial/ethnic groups make decisions and develop attitudes. This study addresses how representation in government affects policy implementation through group attitudes and biases. The focal point of the study is representative bureaucracy theory.

Representative Bureaucracy Theory (RBT) asserts that representation in government manifests in two forms: passive and active (Mosher 1968). Passive representation is also known as descriptive representation. Passive refers to a demographically diverse government employee base that mirrors the population served. Active representation refers to a diverse employee base who advocates for the interest of the groups they represent. For example, if a city's population is composed of 50% of a demographic group like Latinos, that would mean that 50% of the city government employees are also Latino. To actively represent that group, those Latino city employees would need to make decisions acting on behalf of the city's Latino population. The literature also shows that passive representation becomes active representation under certain favorable conditions such as impactful policy area, agency structure, organizational socialization, and administrative discretion (Keiser et al. 2002; Wilkins and Williams 2008; Kranz 1976). This analysis is specifically focused on the administrative discretion portion of bureaucratic action. The traditional model of passive to active representation is presented in Figure 1. As demonstrated by the arrows, passive representation is either met with favorable or unfavorable conditions to transfer to active representation. For example, if an African-American man works as a policy analyst within an agency that handles economic development for the local community, there is a possibility that this bureaucrat will make policy decisions that, if he is met with favorable conditions in his position, will work to support the interests of the American-

American community. These conditions include being able to make decisions that directly

impact policy outputs, working in a policy area that matters to the African American

Figure 1.1: Traditional Model of the Passive Representation to Active Representation

Passive Representation

- Race
- Gender
- Ethnicity
- Age

Other Factors

- Administrative discretion
- Impactful policy area
- Organizational socialization
- Agency structure

Active Representation

- Advocacy for changes in policy
- Favorable policy decision for target groups

Symbolic Representation

- Appearance of legitimacy
- Feelings of inclusion in government

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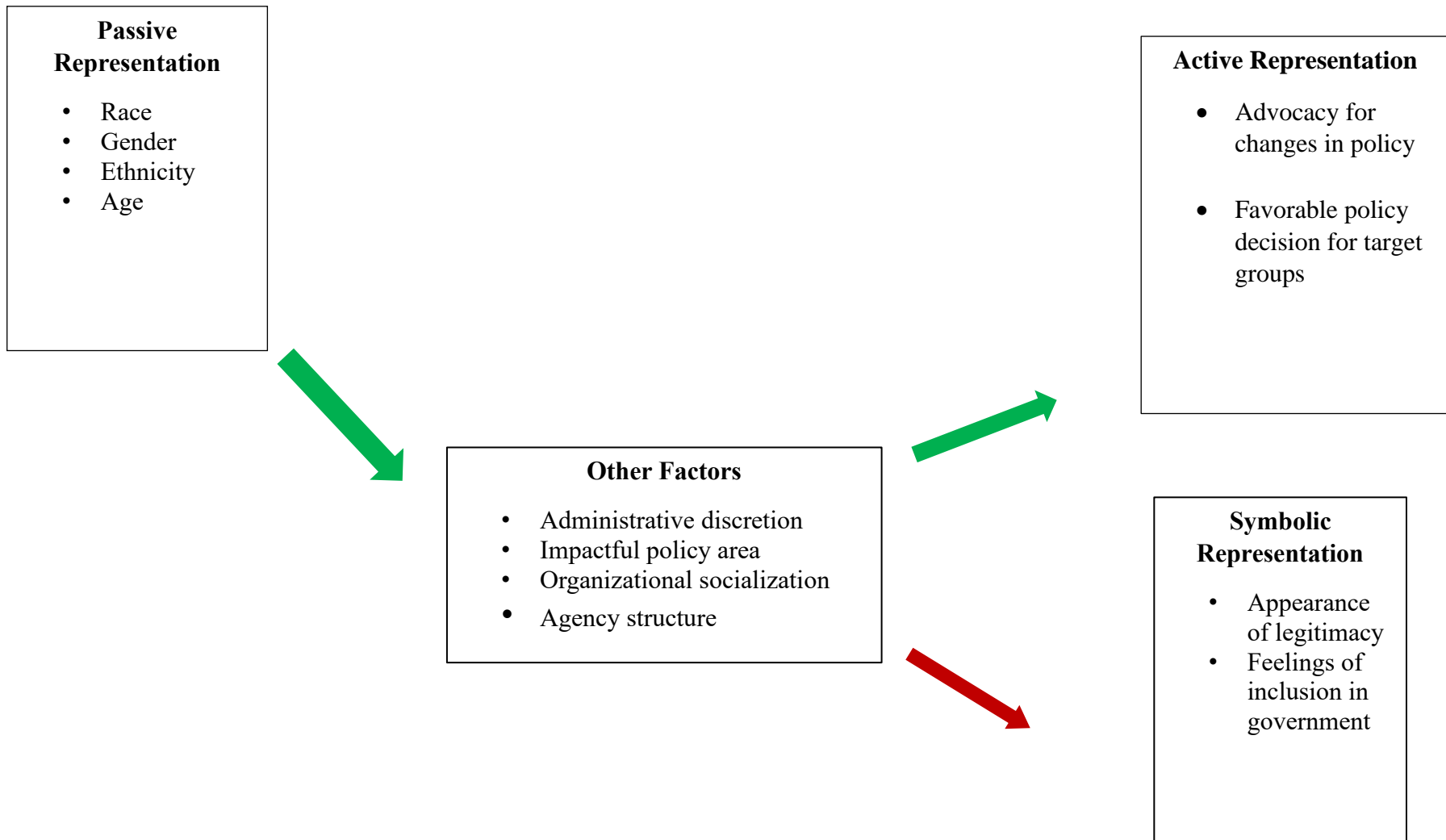
community, being in an organization that does not have a powerful socialization process that promotes loyalty to the organization rather than social groups, and if the organization has a more decentralized structure (Keiser et al. 2002). Under these circumstances, active representation is likely. If these conditions are not met, a passive or symbolic representation effect remains without advocacy for the African American community.

Beyond enhancing our understanding of bureaucratic discretion in policy implementation, this study seeks to understand how passive or descriptive representation influences bureaucratic perceptions and attitudes of client populations in diverse policy spaces. The literature suggests that there is a relationship between the demographic make-up of government agencies and the agencies' policy decisions (Meier 1993a; Krislov 1981; Selden 1997). To better understand of the link between passive representation and active representation, this paper explores the relationship between the demographics of street-level bureaucrats and their attitudes towards clients, the agency, and policy advocacy. This study explores how perceived shared identity relates to attitudes towards advocacy by minority and nonminority street-level bureaucrats.

Representative Bureaucracy Theory (RBT) focuses on how the demographic makeup of the government workforce facilitates advocacy for minority constituent interests (Meier 1993a). Contemporary scholars suggest that public administrators can best represent the interests of the community served when those employed represent the population physically, economically, and socially (Kingsley 1944). In general, the theory focuses on the relationship between the descriptive characteristics of government employees and how those characteristics affect public policy.

At its core, RBT centers on responsiveness and administrative discretion. Representative bureaucracy scholars seek to understand how entities that are not subject to selection by the

public through a democratic process remain responsive to their constituent base. Representative bureaucracy theory emerged from the tension between the ideas of democracy and bureaucracy in the late 19th and early 20th century. Scholars and practitioners were troubled by the power exuded by public officials through administrative discretion. They feared that this power would lead to misconduct by administrators. Kranz (1976) contends that this debate cannot be escaped because bureaucratic rule directly opposes the principles of democracy:

> "Democratic principles require rule by the people, and representative government necessitates decision-making by officials whose authority is sanctioned by the citizenry in free elections. Not only are bureaucrats not elected, but in the hierarchy, they are usually two or three or even nine steps removed from anyone elected by the people" (40).

The detachment of bureaucracy from democratic rule provides a level of administrative freedom never intended for public office. This exertion of power by elite administrators directly opposes the principle of democracy and representation established as the foundation of the American government. This tension raises questions regarding how bureaucracy can remain democratic in decision making. Hegel (1942) contends that the bureaucracy is safeguarded from tyranny by executive forces operating above the bureaucracy and by the citizens and citizen groups operating below the bureaucracy. These two forces act as watchdogs and protect the constituency from despotic rule. Kingsley (1944) disagreed, contending that the temptations of tyranny are too great for the bureaucracy to resist. Kingsley (1944) suggests that when bureaucrats are left to their own devices, they will not be accountable to their constituents, and other mechanisms are needed to keep them accountable.

Though many scholars have suggested these deficiencies can be reduced by altering the nature of the bureaucracy through external controls, Kranz (1976) contends that changing the

internal composition-the representation in government- may be the most suitable remedy to this conflict with democracy. He and other scholars have provided empirical support showing that a representative workforce in government provides symbolic benefits and substantive policy benefits to minority groups within the citizenry (Meier and England, 1984; Meier, 1993a; Pitts, 2005;). The literature suggests that demographically diverse administrators will help serve the interests of all constituents (Mosher 1968). Scholars within the field argue that this corrects for some of the imbalances created by the bureaucratic structures in our democratic society (Kingsley 1944). Representative bureaucracy literature largely asserts that the characteristics of administrators provide more legitimacy for the bureaucracy and can lead to advocacy behavior by government employees (Krislov 1981; Pitkin 1967; Mosher 1968; Meier and England 1984).

Representative bureaucracy exists in two forms- passive representation and active representation. Passive representation refers to a demographically diverse government employee base that mirrors the population being served (Kingsley 1944). Active representation refers to the efforts of those employees to advocate for the interests of the populations they represent (Kingsley 1944). The theory of representative bureaucracy proposes that a workforce reflecting the population demographically will lead to advocacy for majority and minority constituent interests in policymaking and implementation. The link between passive representation and active representation is not completely clear, however.

The Study of Representative Bureaucracy and Social Construction Theory

Representative Bureaucracy Theory (RBT) has three major focal points – passive or descriptive representation, active representation, and the linkage between passive and active representation (Selden 1997). The first stream of research focused on the passive representation of marginalized groups, whereas the second and current stream has focused on active

representation and its implications. Much of the research in this field find support for the theory under specific conditions (Kranz 1976; Keiser et al. 2002; Childs and Krook 2008; Wilkins and Williams 2008). But as Selden (1997) points out, most of the literature focuses only on one of the three components in limited policy settings. Selden (1997) first conducted a comprehensive study of representative bureaucracy theory within the Farmers House Administration (FmHA) finding that increased passive representation has real implications on how resources are allocated to groups. This study found significant support for a relationship between shared identity and policy decisions. Other studies have found similar support for passive representation's link to active representation. To date, Selden's (1997) study is the only study, including all three components of representative bureaucracy. Selden (1997) examined the demographic composition of FmHA employees and supervisors, their attitudes towards minority clients, and each office's loan decisions for minority clients. Selden (1997) found representation has a direct relationship to resource allocation as measured by minority employment and loan access. Selden's (1997) work shows that higher percentages of African Americans[1], Latino, and Asian supervisors yielded higher rates of rural housing loans to their respective racial groups. These demographic trends also yielded higher rates of co-ethnic[2] employment within the agency.

Selden (1997) is quite comprehensive and provides great support for the links between passive and active representation. Selden (1997) explains shared experiences as the link between demographics and attitudes when modeling the logic of representative bureaucracy; the study also utilizes survey data on FmHA supervisor's attitudes and perceptions. However, Selden (1997) notes that further research is needed to fully understand the relationship between

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[1] The terms African American and Black are used interchangeably.
[2] The term co-ethnic refers to clients who share a racial identity with the bureaucrat.

attitudes, demographics, and policy advocacy. In this study, only supervisors in southern states were surveyed. While the survey yielded insightful findings, the representativeness of the sample is limited. By limiting the sample to only FmHA supervisors, street-level interactions' impact on policy advocacy attitudes remains unexplored. Another point of criticism lies in the focus on the southern region. Evidence of a southern effect has been supported and outlined in the literature (Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty 2009). However, little research explores other regions explicitly. Grissom and Nicholson-Crotty's study (2009) have provided evidence of the south's mediating effect on representation. They found that active representation by African American workers was stronger in the south- most likely due to the historical disenfranchisement of African Americans within the region. While Grissom and Nicholson (2009) and Selden (1997) provide strong evidence of a regional effect on southern workers, a more comprehensive analysis of the effect has not been investigated in other regions. For this reason, a study of bureaucratic attitudes and perceptions within a representative bureaucracy model is needed in the more eastern and western regions of the United States (U.S).

Selden (1997) and other studies (Pitts 2005; Meier Stewart and England 1989; Keiser et al. 2002) have focused mainly on policy areas with positively constructed client groups. There is very little research on how representation manifests within negatively constructed client groups such as drug users, illegal immigrants, citizens with felony convictions, and some public assistance recipients. Noting this issue, Selden (1997) suggests that future research on attitudes and policy advocacy should be extended to other policy areas and client groups. Keiser, Mueser, and Choi (2004) studied the effect of representation within a negatively constructed target group- cash welfare assistance recipients at local Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) agencies. They concluded that race was a significant factor in county TANF sanctions. However,

the study was limited to linking descriptive characteristics of the clients to policy decisions. It did not explore the relationship between the demographics of the administrators and the severity of TANF sanctions. Further, unlike previous scholarship, the study does not link group demographics to these decisions. Selden (1997) links the demographics of the administrator to the demographics of the clients and the policy decisions but only focuses on agencies in the agricultural sector who work with farmers. A better understanding of how bureaucrats' demographic characteristics translate into specific attitudes and behaviors towards a range of client groups is needed. Beyond creating the appearance of serving minority interests, descriptive representation, or the demographic similarities between the bureaucrat and client, change the lens through which bureaucrats view the needs of the constituents. It also changes the way that they view their capacity and role as an advocate and use administrative discretion and implement policy.   Essentially, the shared experiences that exist for those in similar racial/ethnic groups, as measured by descriptive representation, not only serve a passive or symbolic role but actively shape the way bureaucrats view themselves in the agency. They view themselves as representatives for those who are demographically similar.

Since the establishment of bureaucracy in the United States, there has been a tension between democracy and bureaucracy (Kingsley 1944). While the representative bureaucracy literature has a rich foundation, there is very little research that explores the way social construction impacts the attitudes of those considered to be representative bodies of marginalized groups. The assumption underpinning representative bureaucracy theory is that bureaucrats of a similar demographic makeup will act on behalf of citizens of similar backgrounds under favorable conditions. However, the interaction between representative bureaucracy, client perceptions, and advocacy attitudes has yet to be explored. Understanding how these perceptions

impact active representation should help explain some of the nuanced differences we see in the literature regarding the legitimacy of active representation.

In instances where passive representation does not translate into active representation, the social construction of the policy target population may be impacting the perceptions of the bureaucrats and minimizing their desire to advocate for the group, despite demographic similarities. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), policy target groups have narratives attached to their group identity. Social construction refers to the way society views, defines, and reinforces meaning to an individual, group, or organization consistently overtime. This perspective becomes the target group's policy narrative. Some groups are positively viewed by the public, and others are negatively viewed. A second layer specific to policy target groups is power. Some groups also possess more ability to mobilize and influence public policy than others. This means that a group can be viewed negatively but still have the ability to influence and impact policy. This creates a 2 X 2 grid of power and deservingness that places policy groups within four broad typologies of social construction. Social construction may be impacting policymaking and policy implementation. Exploring this possibility should provide valuable insight into the factors facilitating and hindering advocacy for marginalized groups. Moreover, understanding other factors beyond demographic characteristics is needed as well. There may be cases of demographically dissimilar bureaucrats taking on an advocacy role for certain populations for other reasons unexplored in the literature. In these instances, factors less visible may be the source of translating employee presence into advocacy for marginalized client groups. This phenomenon can be referred to as hidden representation. Hidden representation occurs when a bureaucrat from a different social background acts on behalf of a group; it does not identify with demographically but identify on less visible points of similarity. The Virginia

character used in the previous section is an example of hidden representation. While she is demographically different from those she serves, she identifies with this group due to shared experiences that are less visible or hidden to the eye. However, the literature has yet to explore this possibility. As such, more investigation is needed to fully understand and describe the process through which passive representation translates into active representation and instances in which demographic characteristics do not align with advocacy attitudes. Representation may have a more nuanced path to advocacy than once supposed.

This study investigates the relationship between attitudes and behaviors of street-level bureaucrats and the theory of representative bureaucracy. The theory of representative bureaucracy states that for a government to be a truly representative and legitimate representation of pluralistic ideas, it needs to employ bureaucrats from social backgrounds reflecting the population it serves. Under favorable conditions, the diversity of the public workforce should help alleviate some of the inherent tenses created by bureaucracy within a democratic governing system.

Broadly, this study addressed the question, "How does representation influence bureaucratic perceptions and attitudes in diverse policy spaces?" The study addresses three specific questions on street-level bureaucrats' attitudes towards target groups. General expectations include identifying a relationship between target group social construction and bureaucratic attitudes towards clients and client advocacy. The findings suggest a more nuanced relationship between street-level bureaucrats' identity and the clients' identity than expected.

Procedures

To explore this, an original survey of social workers in three states, the northeastern, midwestern, and northwestern regions of the United States, was conducted. The three states selected for the study are Massachusetts, Missouri[3], and Colorado. These states were selected using a similar case approach. In picking these states, the policy spending patterns across the states were considered. Both states have spending patterns that align with the social constructionist theory of target groups. More specifically, groups that are viewed positively like children have higher funding, and groups viewed negatively, like welfare recipients, have lower funding. Data from the General Social Survey from 1972-2018 was also analyzed. The data includes responses from social workers throughout the US on policy spending.

According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), positive and high-power groups and the positive and low power groups-termed advantaged and dependent, respectively- are viewed as deserving of policy intervention. The negatively viewed and high power and negatively viewed low power groups- termed contender, and deviant respectively are viewed as the least deserving of policy intervention. Attitudes towards these target groups are represented in spending towards policies targeting these groups in the state budget. Both states spend the most on the groups with the most power and most deservingness, such as senior citizens and the least on the target group policy areas with the lowest power and least deservingness, such as welfare recipients. The spending patterns in both states show alignment with the social constructionist theory. It also minimizes the possibility that policy attitudes can be attributed to funding differences across states. Positively constructed policy areas receive the highest spending, and negatively

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constructed policy areas receive the lowest spending. Since these spending patterns exist in all three states, the differences we see in policy discretion across each socially constructed group should be attributed to attitude instead of policy funding. Put another way, since the cases selected are all similar on policy spending, the differences we see in the attitudes towards providing benefits for the target groups should be attributed to a causal mechanism other than funding.

A 59-item survey was administered online to social workers in Missouri, Colorado, and Massachusetts using the Qualtrics platform from October to December 2019. The majority of the questions included come from Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS), Study of the Roles and Use of Licensed Social Workers, Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS), General Social Survey, and Selden's (1997) Construction of Index. Eleven questions concerning factors specific to this study that were not available were developed and included in the instrument. The survey includes questions that are both close-ended and open-ended. Given the nature of the data, both logistic regression analysis and content analysis are utilized to develop a rich understanding of the data and the perceptions of representation- both active and passive among social workers. Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1972-2018 was also analyzed for broad patterns and trends in attitudes towards client groups.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has seven major chapters providing literary background for the study, an in-depth analysis of each research question, and a concluding chapter that highlights significant findings and provides recommendations for future research.

Chapter two provides the theoretical framework underpinning the research presented in the empirical chapters. This chapter includes a review of the literature on representative bureaucracy theory, public policy process, and social construction theory. The literature suggests that passive representation becomes acting on behalf of underrepresented groups under specific conditions. This dissertation investigates the link between passive representation and acting on behalf of different target groups.

Chapter three discusses the data that is used in the data analysis, the sample, sampling technique, data collection procedure, and analysis tools. Data from the General Social Survey and data collected by the researcher are used. The GSS sample is nationally representative of the U.S. population. The data collected by the researcher was gathered using a purposive selection method. The researcher deemed this as the most appropriate source of data for the study.

Chapter four analyzes the attitudes of administrators across the four target groups outlined by Schneider and Ingram (1993) using General Social Survey Data (GSS) from 1972-2018. The chapter investigates social workers' views of socially constructed policy target groups. The data suggest that socially constructed ideas exist amongst social welfare policy experts. Social workers held views similar to the social construction outlined by Schneider and Ingram (1993). The social workers' view was similar to the policy narratives surrounding these groups.

Chapter five explores the relationship between the administrator's shared identity across four target groups and their attitudes towards advocacy for those target groups. Both visible and less visible points of identification are investigated. Less visible points of similarity are called hidden representation. The data suggest that the strongest and most significant point of identification is race, as suggested by the representative bureaucracy literature.

Chapter six is an exploratory examination of hidden representation. Since little research in representative bureaucracy has been conducted on the advocacy role of the non-minority, this chapter seeks to gain insight into the factors that lead to "hidden" representation. This chapter includes the analysis of the open-ended survey responses. This chapter identifies patterns and themes in the attitudes of non-minority advocates. This section will also explore the possibility of Public Service Motivation (PSM) as a factor in hidden representation. The data suggests that hidden representation develops through exposure and experiences with target groups' societal challenges. Once those sentiments are developed, the worker understands and sees a need to act on behalf of a group they do not share a traditional point of identification with.

Chapter seven, the conclusion, summarizes the findings from the three methods chapter and draw conclusions based on the data. It also discusses possible limitations and implications of the study and the direction of future research. Overall, the findings are promising for this line of inquiry, but much work is needed to understand attitude development, establish a framework for hidden representation, and develop a working theory of how the phenomenon manifest.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

This chapter outlines the current literature on representative bureaucracy, social construction of target groups, public policy design, and professional and ethnic group attitudes. The literature suggests that descriptive or passive representation can be linked to active representation under certain favorable conditions. The concept has been explored extensively within the context of race and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity. As such, it is a key focus of the present study. Social construction theory is a well-investigated concept in policy design literature, but the role it places in policy implementation is underdeveloped. The narrative generated for each group may impact the policy implementation stage as much as it impacts the policy design phase. A discussion of the policymaking behavior of public administrators would be incomplete without a discussion of the role attitudes- both professional and ethnic- play in administrative decision making. Social research must acknowledge the variable human component in political phenomenon. This section explores all of these concepts in hopes of developing a full explanation of the theoretical framework used in this dissertation. These bodies of literature leave several questions unanswered and provide the lens through which this dissertation was conducted.

Representative Bureaucracy

Representative bureaucracy is a term used in Public Administration to describe the symbolic and actual representation of social group interests in American government. Due to the inherent tension created by American democracy, representation remains a major concern in the American political system. Representative bureaucracy is one solution presented by seminal and contemporary scholars. To ensure that the interests of multiple social groups are being met, those in the higher ranks of administrative institutions need to ensure that those individuals implementing laws and policies represent the vast majority of social groups present in the United States. Several questions arise from this assertion: How do these groups represent the public? What does effective representation look like? How does representation impact the policy and implementation? Are group interests being addressed by these representatives? The scholars in the discipline seek to answer these questions. In this section, I will highlight some of the most influential works on Representative Bureaucracy, their findings, and critiques of the present body of literature.

The term representative bureaucracy and its development are credited to J. Donald Kingsley (1944), who advocated for a representative governing workforce to help ensure responsible decision making where administrative discretion abounds. Kingsley (1944) believed that for a bureaucracy to be truly democratic and fully informed, it needed to be represented by the citizens it serves. His work largely focused on class inclusion with little reference to other attributes. During an era in which women and people of color were not afforded the same political rights, Kingsley's (1944) argument was quite progressive. It acknowledged the concerns of those without the same privileges as those typically creating, enforcing, and administering

laws. Van Riper (1958) continued with work on class inclusion while also pointing out the role

public values should play in bureaucracy. He argued that bureaucrats should be in tune with "the

ethos and attitudes of the society" (522). Van Riper supported the idea of public administrators

representing the interests and values of the population served within the organization, even if

those interests do not directly align with the interests of the administrator. Those interests must

align with the mission of the organization, however.

Mosher (1968) expounded on this working theory by incorporating race, gender, and

ethnicity into the discussion and postulating the two forms in which representation can manifest:

active and passive. Passive representation refers to an employee base that descriptively

represents its constituency. For example, if a bureaucracy serves an area with a 50% Latino

population, the bureaucracy should employ a similar percentage of Latino employees. Active

representation refers to an employee base that advocates for the interest of the populations it

represents demographically.   This means that the Latino employees from the previous example

would seek out policy alternatives and decisions to support the Latino community. The

underlying assumption here is that those group-specific needs will not be met without the

presence of social group representatives.

Though Mosher (1968) addressed the need for active representation, he also articulated

his concerns with its practice. He cautioned against what he called "active representation run

rampant"- minority interest being placed before the best interest of the community at large. He

contends that this is a major threat to democracy and order. Noting this possibility, Mosher

(1968) recommended pursuing passive representation rather than active representation. He

argues that passive representation presents the least threat and holds symbolic value to the

population at large. This symbolic representation demonstrates a bureaucracy that broadly

reflects the constituents and "suggests an open service to which most people have access, whatever their station in life and in which there is equality of opportunity" (17). Passive representation symbolizes the inclusion of all races, sexes, classes, and creeds in government decision making. Pitkin (1967) dissents on this point; she cautions against the deceptive and incomplete picture symbolic representation paints. The best descriptive representation may not serve as the best advocate for minority interests because resemblance does not always lead to the agency. Put another way, appearing to represent a group produces no action in the interest of the group. As Van Riper (1958) suggests a public administrator's alignment with the ethics and values of its constituent base, has a major impact on the politics of the organization. Mosher's (1968) recommendation of passive representation instead of active representation gives an appearance of minority interest representation without alignment in attitude. Symbolic representation appears to benefit citizens but only helps the perceptions of government. This kind of representation does not provide for actual advocacy for minority interests. Thus, symbolic representation paints a misleading picture of representative democracy.

From this discourse came literature that connected passive representation to active representation (Rosenbloom and Featherstonehaugh 1977; Stewart, England, and Meier 1989; Fraga, Meier, and England 1986; Selden 1997; Riccucci and Meyers 2004; Wilkins and Keiser 2006). Understanding that appearance does not equal agency, researchers began to study the conditions under which passive (descriptive) representation would lead to advocacy or active representation. These scholars sought to determine how the government can translate the shared demographic characteristics between bureaucrats and clients into action and practice. Meier (1993a) found that passive representation develops into active representation when a critical mass of a specific group has been reached. The concept of critical mass holds that a minority

group will not have an impact on decision making until the group grows from a small group of token individuals into a considerable minority group in a bureaucracy (Childs and Krook 2008). Wilkins and Keiser (2006) found that passive representation leads to active representation when the policy benefits the population represented. A policy has to have direct implications for a minority group for members of that group in the bureaucracy to take on an advocacy role in policy decision making. Concurring with these studies, Keiser, Wilkins, and Meier (2002) concluded that a critical mass and the policy areas are important, but they also identify the organizational structure as a facilitator of active representation. They found that flatter or decentralized organizations allowed for bureaucratic advocacy and policy impact. They also concluded that women working within an area where women are underrepresented, math education, had a positive impact on the experiences of women within the organization. When more female administrators and teachers are present, the female students performed better in math. Keiser, Wilkins, and Meier (2002) associate this with active representation or women acting on behalf of the interest of women.

In general, representative bureaucracy suggests that discretionary practices should be rooted in personal values and social background. The preliminary conditions for discretion suggest that diverse backgrounds are needed to uphold democracy in government. Put another way, a country cannot have a democracy by the people and for the people if people from various social groups are not employed in government. Specifically, the notion of active representative suggests that bureaucrats will advocate for the population they represent, through policymaking and policy implementation. Mosher (1968) believed that a public sector representing all groups of the population would translate into policy practices 'upholding 'Lincoln's prescription of government 'by the people' (15). This representativeness serves as a symbol of marginalized

citizen inclusion in government decision making and gives an appearance of fairness and equality in government. Ideally, a diverse group of employees should consider different perspectives and ideas which might never be considered by a homogenous group. However, active representation has been found to happen only under favorable conditions concerning organizational structure, group composition, and policy area. Specifically, when the organization is more decentralized (Meier 1993a), there is a significant number of employees representing that social group (Kranz 1976), and when the policy area is important to the social group (Keiser, Wilkins, and Meier 2002), active representation is most likely to occur. In these instances, passive and symbolic efforts evolve into active representation.

The development of a theory of representative bureaucracy has led to other questions on the empirical value of the concept. Meier and Nigro (1976), for example, suggest that there may be no utility in the study of representative bureaucracy. Further, they question the ability to test the theory empirically. They note several conceptual flaws with the structure of the theory, including incongruence of terms, theoretical assumptions, and the lack of direct empirical evidence supporting the idea. First, the authors argue that the theory assumes that social origins hold a substantial amount of power on professional behavior. Additionally, they suggest that attitudes could be the force driving representation instead of social origins. Meier and Nigro (1976) argue that there could be specific attitudes within different social origin groups that help to explain this behavior. Second, Meier and Nigro (1976) contend that the theory is too loosely defined to yield empirical findings. Along the same line, they contend that the foundation of the theory is weak because there is little consensus on how to define representative bureaucracy. While some scholarship in the area has suggested that all interests be represented, others suggest that only that the largest numerical social group's opinions should be represented. Their study

concluded that organizational socialization has more of an influence on policy preferences than demographics. Essentially, how employees are socialized within the organization had a greater influence on how they make policy decisions than how they are socialized before employment. Supporting Mosher's (1968) argument, however, Meier and Nigro (1976) agree that representative bureaucracy does hold symbolic or passive value to the American public. Having a government body that reflects the demographic composition of the population served helps the bureaucracy appear to be run by the people and for the people. Even if decisions are not made in the best interest of the represented population, the appearance of inclusion symbolizes democratic decision making by the government.

Although few scholars debate the symbolic value of representative bureaucracy, little consensus lies on how passive or descriptive representation impacts public policy decision making and outcomes. Krislov (1981) refutes the claim of Meier and Nigro (1976) that organizational socialization is more important to administrative decision making than social origins. Meier and Nigro (1976) surveyed federal executives to determine if elite civil servants' policy preferences were more or less similar to the mass public on policy spending for space exploration, environmental protection, health care, urban problems, crime control, drug abuse, education, minority quality of life, national defense, foreign aid, and welfare. The study compared the attitudes of the higher civil service employees with those of the general public. The sample used in this study included 10% of the federal civil service, with a response rate of 56%. Meier and Nigro (1976) do note that while the sample is highly representative of the composition of the higher civil service, it is highly unrepresentative of the general public along the lines of education, race, and gender. Instead, they focused on other points of identification, such as father's occupation, urbanism, and the region as representative characteristics. Meier and Nigro

(1976) used a pairwise correlation to examine the relationship between demographics and policy attitudes. They concluded that organization socialization mitigated the impact of social origins because there was a notable difference in opinion. Organization socialization, as an elite bureaucrat, had a bigger impact on policy attitudes than demographics. As such, representative bureaucracy theory needs to be more concretely understood and evaluated because the assertation that social origins lead to specific attitudes- and in turn behaviors- is not supported (Meier and Nigro 1976). Notably, the racial composition of the organization was the demographic factor that had a significant- but small- impact on almost all of the policy areas examined.

In his critique of Meier and Nigro (1976), Krislov (1981) contends that Meier and Nigro (1976) misrepresented the role of passive representation in organizations. Krislov (1981) argues that representative bureaucracy theorists do not suggest that social origins are the determining factor in policy decision making, but rather that social origins play a role in the decision-making process. Krislov (1981) also notes the significant role methodology and research design plays in understanding representative actions. Krislov (1981) identifies three major flaws in the findings of Meier and Nigro (1976). According to Krislov, these flaws make the framework presented by Meier and Nigro (1976) questionable. First, Meier and Nigro (1976) rest on the assumption that there is a direct link from specific origins to specific behaviors. This assumes that causality can be established based on social origin alone. Second, the sample used in the study is highly unrepresentative. Participants were selected from the higher ranks of civil service, which has a small percentage of minority employees in comparison to the entire body of government. These individuals also engage in minimal contact with the public. Furthermore, it may be that the minorities in the sample only represent the public on one of several different social origins. That

social origin effect could have been mitigated by the other background factors, which make the employees dissimilar to the public, such as class and education. Krislov (1981) concludes, for this reason, less visible points of identification should be investigated. Third, Krislov (1981) notes that there is statistical significance between demographics and attitudes in a number of the correlations and that this number even increases when a different statistical test is used for analysis. Although identifying limitations, Krislov (1981) acknowledges that the work of Meier and Nigro (1976) does provide support for the influence of external controls on administrative decision-making.

Both Krislov (1981) and Meier and Nigro (1976) link passive representation to active representation by implying that social cues impact values, attitudes, and behavior. Similar to other theorists, Krislov (1981) notes that representative bureaucracy serves as a tool for analysis in public administration and as a legitimating device in a government where legitimacy is questioned by citizens. Here, Krislov is suggesting that descriptive representation serves as a symbol of inclusion to citizens. When citizens see government employees who look like them, government institutions appear to represent the people whom they serve. This appearance of representation legitimatizes the actions of our governing institutions to the public. While there is no longer a debate over the symbolic value of descriptive representation, there remains much discourse over the conditions that facilitate (Keiser Wilkins and Meier 2002; Saidel and Loscoco 2005), hinder, or distort its impact (Williams and Wilkin 2008).

Race and Ethnicity in Representative Bureaucracy

The impact of race has been explored in a variety of public agencies. It is the most studied variable in the representative bureaucracy literature (Kennedy 2014). Given that race is arguably the most distinguishing visible characteristic amongst groups and it is also the most

prevalent characteristic on which discrimination is claimed, (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 2016) it is not surprising that more than 75 percent of all the studies use race as the key indicator of representation (Kennedy 2014). Noting the impact of race in street-level bureaucracies, Keiser, Mueser, and Choi (2004) argue that this variable is the strongest influencer on these administrators' policy decisions. Specifically, client race was shown to affect how the policy was implemented as measured by how constituents were treated and the penalties; they received from government agencies. The study analyzed the sanctioning behaviors within a social welfare agency and found that the race of the client was a key predictor of receiving sanctions and penalties. Minority race clients were more likely to receive penalties than nonminority clients in many districts. These findings support the argument that neutrality is improbable where administrative discretion abounds. It also suggests that representative bureaucracy's assertion that employing individuals of varying backgrounds could counter these biases. The findings of the Keiser et al. (2004) study indicate that black clients were more likely to receive penalties. The possibility of less favorable outcomes for Blacks could indicate that the bureaucrats implementing the policy may implement the policy in a way that is not beneficial to that population group. The study does not address the race of the administrator. Under representative bureaucracy theory, co-ethnic administrative interactions may have a positive impact on the policy for African Americans. The study illustrates the impact race has on policy outputs but leaves the question of the role the bureaucrat's race plays in the process.

Steward, England, and Meier (1989) concluded that race is the only demographic trait that will influence political attitudes and, therefore, worthy of study. Race represents more than heritage; it represents shared experiences:

[D]iscrimination is a commonly felt experience. This shared experience produces at least similar ways of looking at public policy. If black representatives share common political attitudes with their black constituents, then as black representatives pursue their own policy objectives, they will simultaneously seek policy that will benefit their black constituents (288).

This shared experience, as measured by race, aids in forming opinions, values, and beliefs on all things political (Guinier 1994). Although Steward, England, and Meier (1989) find evidence for the impact of race on policymaking and socialization's influence on decision making and values, Wilkins, and Williams (2008) argue that organizational socialization can mitigate passive representation's link to active representation. They find that organizations with strong organizational identities like police departments have weakened active representation efforts. Thus, the effect of race and shared experience can be negated through organizational culture. Supporting Meier and Nigro's (1976) initial challenge to the theory, Wilkins, and Williams (2008) find that professional socialization diminishes pre-existing cultural socialization. Apart from providing specific insight into the conditions in which active representation occurs, these contradictory findings demonstrate the complex role race plays in bureaucratic behavior and administrative decision making.

Other studies have found that racial representation not only influences policy action but also individual perceptions (Theobald and Haider-Markel 2008; and Grissom and Keiser 2011). Theobald and Haider-Markel (2008) demonstrate the symbolic role racial representation plays in regulatory activities. They find that descriptive representation legitimizes government action in the eyes of minority citizens. If minority citizens encounter a minority bureaucrat, they viewed the actions of the bureaucrat as legitimate more often than when they encountered a nonminority bureaucrat. Racial representation has also been shown to affect intra-agency attitudes and

actions. Grissom and Keiser (2011) found that government employees managed by supervisors of their race reported lower job turnover and higher job satisfaction.

In addition to the scholarship that has affirmed the relationship between race and representation, the literature has also noted that race cannot fully explain how decisions are made in bureaucracies. This suggests the possibility of other confounding variables in bureaucratic decision making. A possible mediating variable in the relationship between the variables indicated within studies may have been the strength of racial identification. As Steward, England, and Meier (1989) posit, discrimination is something similarly experienced by minorities, but intra-racial opinions can be very different. If one does not have a strong connection with one's racial identity, there may be no identification with the concerns of that population. This makes it inappropriate to focus on active representation as dependent on shared racial identity alone. Although racial identification is a characteristic by which individuals are socialized, it is not the only one. Grissom and Nicholson-Crotty (2009) show that while race is significant, it can be mediated by the region's effect on racial identity. Active representation was demonstrated more by southern minorities than any other group. Here, the effect of minority status was mediated by geographic location.

Although race and ethnicity overlap in many ways, in recent years, research has explored the impact of ethnicity on advocacy for group interests as a separate explanatory variable (Meier 1993; Fraga, Meier, and England 1986). Fraga, Meier, and England (1986) find that Hispanic teachers have a significant impact on the performance of Hispanic students in public school systems. Likewise, Thielemann and Steward (1996) find that an ethnically diverse workforce is desired by distinct populations like those living with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). This is an intuitive conclusion since health conditions like AIDS have a disproportionate

impact on marginalized groups (Cargill and Stone 2005). The presence of demographically similar individuals in an official capacity had a positive influence on perceptions of the client base when the policy area had important implications for the minority groups. Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard (1999) argue that identification, which mirrors the population, not only benefits minorities but also non-minorities. They ask if passive representation hindered nonminority group performance, an idea reminiscent of Mosher's (1968) initial concerns. In Meier and Polinard's (1999) analysis, they examine the test scores of students over five years using multivariate ordinary least squared regression (OLS). The percentage increase of minority teachers was regressed on the pass rates for standardized testing of minority and non-minority students. Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard (1999) find that nonminority and minority elementary middle and high school students from various social backgrounds performed better on standardized tests as the population of Latino and Black teachers increased within the school district. The results showed that a more diverse workforce benefitted both racial minority and majority groups. These findings provide evidence that diversity is beneficial to the majority and minority policy groups. Challenging the idea that diversity is beneficial to all within an organization, Pitts (2005) concluded that all diversity is not created equally. Pitts (2005) conducted a study examining ethnicity and found that the more diverse a public-school system is, the worse the organization performed on standardized tests. In this study, Pitts (2005) examined the relationship between the demographic makeup of public administrators as represented by principals, and superintendents in Texas school districts and performance as measured by high school dropout rates, standardized state tests, and college entrance exams. Pitts (2005) makes an important distinction between diversity and representation. Diversity refers to a demographic makeup that is simply heterogenous. Representation refers to a demographic makeup that reflects

the policy target group- the students. Under these parameters, Pitts (2005) found that students performed better on all three measures when they engaged with co-ethnic principals and superintendents, while general diversity among public managers was unrelated. Instead, the more reflective the workforce was of the population served, the better the organization fairs on meeting standardized testing goals. Put another way, having a diverse employee base did not improve performance, having an employee base mirroring the population did.

Linked Fate, In-Group Bias, and Shared Experience

Representative bureaucracy suggests that people of similar demographic backgrounds have similar attitudes and perceptions. The undertone of the literature is that of implicit bias by each racial group towards the preferences of their racial group. This challenges the very idea of neutral competency in bureaucracy. As Greenwald and Krieger (2006) note, law and governance is premised on the theory that "human actors are guided by their avowed beliefs, attitudes, and intentions" (951). Put another way, representative actors are believed to be following a code of equal efforts on behalf of clients, but the presence of implicit attitudes and biases makes this belief debatable. Since these biases are unconscious, they cannot be controlled and are most likely shaped by experiences. Stewart, England, and Meier (1989) argue that bureaucratic attitudes are formed from shared experiences amongst African Americans. These shared experiences help representatives to develop certain policy preferences. Black representatives may not consciously be advocating for policy preferences for the black community, but their experiences create a set of policy preferences that align with what black constituents desire.

This implicit bias towards a social group's policy preference creates policy imbalances when the makeup of the workforce does not reflect the population served. Since all groups possess their own group identity and a set of shared racial experiences, in-group bias cannot be removed from bureaucratic decision making but as Kranz (1976) contends, changing the internal composition-the representation in government- may be the most suitable remedy to balance the issues with human decision making and creates a more representative government.

Recurring cycles of shared experiences may help to form notions of linked fate within the African American community. Linked fate refers to a sense of closeness to other members of the same social group. Linked fate also suggests that individuals believe that their life chances are inextricably bound to the success of the social group. These feelings of closeness stem from historical experiences of oppression and discrimination within the African American community (Simien 2005). In addition to a shared experience, the perception of linked fate may lead to specific policy preferences and attitudes towards advocacy for those who bureaucrats perceive to be racially similar. Put simply; bureaucrats may view advocacy for co-ethnic clients as critical for their own success.

Supporting these ideas, Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) suggests that racial strata plays an important role in-group identification and consciousness. The study found that racial identification is considerably more prevalent across Blacks than whites. This study examined feelings of identification and consciousness, along with the social group strata of race, class, and gender. With and without controlling for gender, African Americans reported feelings of closeness to Blacks at significantly higher rates than whites to white as a racial group. The study also found that Blacks showed the strongest political consciousness as measured by their opinions on the legitimacy of race, gender, and family background's effect on individual political

power and poverty. These findings demonstrate the potential for advocacy, along with the social stratum of race. Knowing that African Americans carry these attitudes, it is likely that within highly political spaces like government agencies that deal directly with providing resources to the African Americans, African American street-level bureaucrats would also hold attitudes supporting political advocacy for their racial group. Rudman, Feinberg, and Fairchild (2002) suggest that this positive relationship only exists in high-status groups. In a study on implicit group attitudes, they found that in a low-status group, the relationship goes in the opposite direction. Low-status groups, like the poor, tend to devalue their social groups in support of the dominant group. However, African Americans were not examined in this study. Further investigation of that specific relationship is needed.

Moreover, implicit bias has specific implications for the social construction of target groups. Implicit bias refers to evaluations of social groups that are largely outside of the conscious awareness and associations of these social groups with stereotypes (Brownstein and Saul 2016). The social construction of a target group's typology suggests that certain groups are innately thought to be deserving or undeserving because of these biases. For example, welfare clients can be characterized as both welfare cheats and needy mothers. For this reason, understanding how street-level bureaucrats' perception of these clients target groups and advocacy for them should provide more insight on in-group and out-group bias.

A difference in perceived similarity to clients may help to explain the link from passive representation to active representation. Hindera (1993b) suggests that this may very well be the case and provides three models for understanding how perceptions, attitudes, and ideas translate into active representation: advocacy, attitudinal, and communication. Hindera (1993b) contends that active representation may manifest within anti-discrimination policies for three reasons. The

first concept, the attitudinal model, suggests that minority bureaucrats and minority constituents may have similar attitudes toward policies in which they are the target group. While minorities and non-minorities may both support a particular policy, there may be "group attitudes" related to how the policy or problem should be implemented or addressed. A communication model is also outlined as a possible explanation of the phenomenon. The communication model says that there may be a communication barrier between different ethnic groups in understanding the challenges facing each group. A nonminority bureaucrat may find it difficult to understand the discriminatory experiences described by minority clients. As a result, they may file fewer claims of discrimination in favor of minority clients. Finally, the advocacy model asserts that minority bureaucrats may choose to advocate for the interests of co-ethnic clients (clients with shared racial identity) more than other clients simply because they believe that the success of the co-ethnic client provides added success for their ethnic group. This line of thinking is similar to ideas articulated by Dawson (1994), which suggests that minorities (specifically African Americans) believe that individual success is related to the success of the ethnic group as a whole.[4]

Although focusing on perceptions, attitudes, and advocacy, Hindera (1993b) only finds support for the advocacy and communication models. The attitudinal model produced insignificant findings on the relationship between bureaucrats' attitudes and their policy decisions. However, the researchers used aggregate data on policy decisions as a proxy for group attitudes rather than actual data on bureaucratic attitudes. It is possible, however, that a

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[4] Supporting this notion, Rosenbloom and Kinnard (1970) found that minority workers felt obligated to help minority groups in attitudinal studies. Even in instances where their work had no special minority interest, most minority workers felt responsible for assisting other minorities. The majority of the respondents believed that minorities in positions of power should strive to help their minority group at work.

relationship does exist between bureaucratic attitudes toward clients and advocating for minority interests when actual opinion data are collected and analyzed.

Socialization and Representative Bureaucracy

Organizational socialization is the process by which employees conform to the organization; it allows the effects of employee's attitudes and personal values on decision making to be minimized, ensuring that the person makes decisions that are consistent with the organization rather than their own (Changgeun 2018). They work to create a strong organizational identity that should overpower individual differences. Organizational socialization can include practices like having educational requirements for employment, mandating certification and licensing, providing uniformed training within the organization, establishing centralized procedures and protocols requirements for work. Examples of these sorts of organizations are police departments, the military, and hospitals. Organizations that include these components can be said to be highly socialized (Changgeun 2018).

Coworker influence has been shown to have an important impact on active representation in the literature. Having a significant number of co-ethnic coworkers represents the concept of a critical mass, which has been shown to have a positive relationship to active representation. According to Meier (1993), a critical mass facilitates the transferal of passive representation to active representation. Critical mass refers to a minority employee having a significant amount of their minority group employed within the same organization (Kranz 1976). However, as noted by Meier (1993), the mechanics of that process are still unclear, and the threshold critical mass percentage may vary. Research suggests that having a critical mass of co-ethnic employees was

an important factor in the translation of passive representation into active representation (Meier 1993). A recent study by Changgeun (2018) asserts that while a critical mass can have a positive initial impact, it has a negative impact long term. When analyzing the advocacy spending patterns for women's programs in China, the researcher found that as the presence of female employees increases, advocacy -as measured by program spending- does increase. However, as spending increases each year, the percentage of women in positions to make these decisions decreases. This suggests that some government organizations may have punitive socialization practices. The authors make no note of how the cultural or structural factors of the country may contribute to the findings. Changgeun's (2018) argument is that the transferal of passive representation into active representation should be viewed from a choice theory perspective. Since organizational resources are limited, the organizational socialization works in such a way that minority employees make decisions that align with the organization's needs rather than the demographic group they represent overtime. Punitive organizational socialization works to correct for group advocacy. The methodological approach makes some of the conclusions questionable in the study. While the data support the researcher's claims, it leaves many of the questions in the theoretical framework unaddressed. The theory's position concerns policy allocation but ignores the fact that much of policy advocacy happens outside of policy spending. For example, the advocacy efforts of street-level bureaucrats happen in day-to-day policy decisions such as denying and approving claims. Also, a public choice approach ignores the large body of Public Service Motivation (PSM) literature that suggests that public servants may not be self-interested policy actors. It should be noted that this study takes place in a country with a completely different culture, but it can be argued that representative bureaucracy theory lacks cultural implications. The theory suggests that bureaucrats in positions of power have an

opportunity to advocate for the social groups they represent. This study shows that the same phenomena exists within nondomestic contexts, indicating that the cultural differences do not minimize the potential for active representation. The differences in organizational outcomes may have some contextual implications, however. Nonetheless, the study adds layers of insight to the critical mass concept.

Recent research suggests that co-workers from the same social group could also have a negative impact on active representation through socialization. Specifically, Wilkins and Williams (2008) find that in institutions with a strong organizational identity like police departments, demographic similarity is not likely to develop into active representation. Minority employees were more likely to engage in anti-advocacy activities like racially profiling minority citizens. However, when examining the racial attitudes of nonwhite officers in comparison with their civilian ethnic group members, Lecount (2017) finds no significant difference.

From this body of literature, two things become clear. First, socialization and organizational interactions impact public policymaking. Policy implementation is influenced by the internal and external environment in some capacity. Second, the specifics of this relationship need further investigation. The incongruences between studies show that the relationship between organizational socialization and public policy is a complex one. That relationship also appears to differ across policy areas and geographical locations. More research is needed to better understand how organizational interactions and the presence of co-ethnic bureaucrats impact the advocacy efforts of bureaucrats.

Social Construction, Policy Target Groups, and Administrative Discretion

Laswell (1936) conceptualized the public policymaking process and a very linear and iterative process. Policy actors were thought to mainly consist of policy entrepreneurs and legislators. Actors outside of the development and creation phase were left largely unaddressed. A full understanding of the role policy administrators play in the policy process is a consistent theme of this dissertation. Since elected officials delegate power to the unelected in the American government, policy studies should be concerned with the things administrators are doing. This delegation of power means that bureaucrats who lack accountability to voters but are charged with the responsibility of implementation of public policy. If a breakdown between the vision of the legislators and the outcome of the policy happens, that breakdown may be connected to the translation of policy into practice by administrators.

The role of administrators has been addressed in more recent research, however. Schneider and Ingram (1993) outline policy design as having five major components: problem definition, benefits, and burden distribution, target groups, rules, and tools. The study suggests that bureaucrats act as tools in distributing benefits and burdens to subgroups within the target population. They create micro policies through administrative discretion. These micro policies signal to the population what their role should be in government. Those who descriptively represent a specific subgroup within the target group may perceive their role within the agency as an advocate and believe that it is their responsibility to advocate for co-ethnic clients. This is not a new idea; the concept has been suggested in representative bureaucracy literature, but little research attempts to gauge these perceptions among street-level bureaucracies.

Lipsky (1980) suggests that administrators make decisions differently within different policy spaces with different policy winners and losers. Street-level bureaucrats can make policy

from the bottom up because they are granted a large amount of discretion and autonomy. Lipsky (1980) argues that street-level bureaucrats' policymaking has several implications for clients. Most notably, the decisions they make influence the way that citizens perceive and understand government. Lipsky (1980) argues that street-level bureaucrats not only make judgments of who is deserving and undeserving but also possess the unique power to create informal policy based on these judgments. Lipsky's (1980) work suggests that street-level bureaucrats may deviate from policies -designed by elected officials- in ways that correct for what they view as issues with the policy design. Their policy making ability allows them to choose to either intervene or discriminate on behalf of their clients (Lipsky 1980, 23).

Minority bureaucrats are in a unique position to act as advocates for their own racial group's interests. Certain policies are the concerns of minority groups because of the impact the policy has on that group. For example, the Arizona immigration policy, S.B. 1070, may have a disproportionate impact on Latino constituents. Latino public administrators have unique insight because they share an identity with the target group and also act as experts on immigration policies. As a result, they may view the policy and clients differently, produce different policy decisions, and maintain a different view of their work and purpose within the agency. When compared to their white counterparts, these bureaucrats may view the imagery surrounding the policy as distorted and work to correct for what they consider to be problematic policy guidelines---within the realms of their discretion. They may see their clients as needing an advocate within a challenging policy space and advocate for policy decisions that support minority clients' interests. When given administrative discretion, they may also make policy decisions that support the interest of the ethnic groups they represent. Moreover, these

bureaucrats may view their purpose within the agency as an advocate for those under strict scrutiny due to immigration status rather than as being United States gatekeepers.

Schneider and Ingram (1993) suggest that the social construction of groups has a powerful impact on public officials, the public agenda, and the policy design. As a result, public officials are compelled to design policies that would provide benefits to powerful, positively constructed groups and punishments to negatively constructed groups. This pressure not only exists for those who design policies but also those who implement policy. In the same way that public officials are pressured to assist certain groups, street-level bureaucrats may feel compelled to assist certain groups in the application and assessment process. While street-level bureaucrats are excluded from the policy design phase of the policy process, they have significant influence in the policy implementation phase. As Lipsky (1980) notes, administrative discretion is one of the hallmarks of street-level bureaucrats. Moreover, most public policy is broadly designed in such a way to allow for administrative discretion. While elected officials write guidelines, rules, and regulations for implementation, these officials frequently use vague language, giving administrators the ability to make decisions on issues not clearly defined in the policy guidelines. This dissertation seeks to add to our understanding of how street-level bureaucrats make decisions along socially constructed target groups.

This relationship is best examined by exploring social policies. Social policy has a unique policy identity. Unlike many other policy areas, social policy target groups fall within all four categories. Since the civil rights era, minority-focused policy has been associated with disproportionate governmental support and intervention. As such, minority clients are negatively constructed with strong power. Minorities and other groups who are negatively constructed with strong power are referred to as *contenders* (See Figure 2.1). In the same respect, children are

included in the *dependent* social policy target population group and are positively constructed with weak power because children are unable to support themselves and viewed as deserving of support. Programs like Medicare are directed towards this group. Veterans are the targets of Veteran Affairs programs and considered to be deserving of their benefits. They also have a considerable amount of organized political influence. As such, they have strong power and a positive construction and are referred to as the *advantaged*. Finally, there are several deterrent programs for *deviant* target groups like criminals and drug addicts. These groups have low power and a negative construction. They are thought to deserve little and have limited political influence.

The deviant, dependent, advantage and contender images across these programs may play a role in shaping judgments of deservingness held by the street-level bureaucrats they interact with. It is also possible that the race of the street-level bureaucrat affects the way they see the clients as members of negative or positive target groups and, in turn, the way that they advocate for co-ethnic clients. As such, social welfare policy bureaucrats possess the unique ability to work within agencies and organizations spanning all four target groups. Social workers hold positions that serve deviant, contender, advantaged, and dependent clients. Within the different administrative positions, street-level bureaucrats may hold different attitudes towards helping each of the groups. For example, if a client group is understood as having weak power and is negatively constructed (citizens with criminal convictions), the bureaucrat may have a set of attitudes toward this client group that differs from that of a weak power and positively constructed group (children). The bureaucrat may see both groups as only being able to reach certain goals with the help of government intervention. However, they may view the positively constructed group as deserving of advocacy and the negatively constructed group as

undeserving. These attitudes may be even more complex if the bureaucrat believes that the client

group shares a similar racial identity. For this reason, an analysis of the perceptions of

bureaucrats in social welfare programs is the most appropriate means to obtain data on

perceptions of the various target groups street-level bureaucrats assist. The results suggest

similar patterns in attitudes and perceptions towards policy and clients that share the same racial

identity. The data also suggests that policy experts hold views of the target group that at similar

to socially constructed policy narratives.

Figure 2.1. Social Constructions and Political Power: Types of
Target Populations

FIGURE 1

Social Constructions and Political Power: Types of Target Populations

| | Constructions | |
	Positive	Negative
Power — Strong	*Advantaged* The elderly Business Veterans Scientists	*Contenders* The rich Big unions Minorities Cultural elites Moral majority
Power — Weak	*Dependents* Children Mothers Disabled	*Deviants* Criminals Drug addicts Communists Flag burners Gangs

Source: Schneider, Anne, and Helen Ingram. "Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy." *American political science review* 87, no. 2 (1993): 334-347.

Nonminority Advocacy and Hidden Representation

The representative bureaucracy literature largely focuses on the relationship between the

visible demographic characteristics and policy decisions supporting minority groups. Very little

attention has been placed on explaining instances in which nonminority bureaucrats advocate for citizens of different demographic backgrounds. The literature lacks an explanation of minority interests being supported by nonminority bureaucrats who do not demographically represent the racial minority group they serve or who may represent a different racial minority group. The literature goes into great detail explaining the conditions under which active representation manifests but also documents instances where there is no difference in minority and nonminority bureaucrats' policy decisions and attitudes supporting the concerns of minority constituents (Meier and Nigro 1975; Pitts 2005).

Could bureaucrats identify with clients on aspects other than less visible characteristics, leading to advocacy efforts? This study contends that a hidden representation effect may be a key factor. A hidden representation effect suggests that characteristics, other than the visible traits, may influence active representation (See Figure 2.2). While minorities are more likely to experiences certain conditions like poverty (Macartney, Bishaw, and Fontenot 2013), discrimination (EEOC 2016), and issues with the criminal justice system (Petersilia 1985), other groups are not exempt from experiencing these things. Moreover, nonminority bureaucrats may have orientations that allow them to empathize with minority client experiences and act to correct those issues. Another possible explanation is a general motivation toward public service. As Perry and Wise (1990) point out, some individuals have certain dispositions that make them prone to want to serve the interests of certain groups; a point that is explored in Chapter 6.

Theoretical Approach for Analysis

A review of the literature on representative bureaucracy, professional and group attitudes, and public policy design raises a few questions regarding public policymaking. First, it is unclear as to the exact role attitudes play on the translation of passive representation to active

representation. Second, how policy narratives attitude shape bureaucrats' views of their clients have yet to be fully articulated. Finally, points of identification beyond visible characteristics have received little, if any, attention. An exploration of a possible relationship between other points of similarity is needed. Once addressed, these questions may provide valuable insight into the implications of minority street-level bureaucrats as service providers for socially constructed target groups. By collecting qualitative and quantitative data on the topic, this study seeks to determine if these bureaucrats actively represent the interests of minority clients through their attitudes and perceptions towards clients, their agency, and policy advocacy in diverse policy spaces. I expect to find a significant difference in the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors of these minority bureaucrats compared to their white counterparts across all policy spaces. I expect to see a more nuanced relationship between the bureaucrats' demographic characteristics and their attitudes and perceptions towards negatively constructed target groups. There may also be a hidden representation effect, similar to passive representation, for nonminority group members. Bureaucrats of different racial identities may have backgrounds similar (but less visible) to the target group, which produces advocacy attitudes similar to co-ethnic street-level bureaucrats.

Passive representation becomes active representation under specific conditions that facilitate the process like organizational structure, administrative discretion, socialization, and attitudes but the view of the target population may also influence what workers deem the best way to help clients (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier 1993a; Meier and Bohte 2001; Wilkins and Williams 2008). Representative bureaucracy theory holds that under the conditions mentioned, representatives of marginalized social groups are more likely to make policy decisions that work in support of the social groups they represent. However, the link between demographics and policy outputs has not been fully articulated in the literature, and the role of social construction

has not been addressed. Figure 2.2 outlines this study's framework for understanding the link from passive to active representation. A bureaucrat may come into an agency with a shared identity with their social group and personal experiences. As an administrative actor within the agency, the bureaucrat interacts with the organization structures, a level of organizational socialization, handles a specific policy area, receives a level of administrative discretion, and works with a target group that has a socially constructed image. Those factors work together to produce a set of bureaucratic attitudes towards their client group and the work of the agency. If those bureaucratic attitudes and organizational conditions are favorable, active representation is likely to occur. If the organizational factors are not favorable, the administrative actor remains a symbolic representation of the social group.

Figure 2.3 illustrates the expected relationship for bureaucrats who act on behalf of a different social group than the group they represent. A bureaucrat comes into an agency with a shared but less visible identity with a specific social group. The points of identification include but are not limited to a criminal background, growing up in poverty, and being a caretaker. This occurrence is described as hidden representation. The bureaucrat interacts with the organization structures, a level of organizational socialization, handles a specific policy area, receives a level of administrative discretion, and works with a target group that has a socially constructed image. Those factors work together to produce a set of bureaucratic attitudes towards their client group and the work of the agency. If the bureaucratic attitudes and organizational factors are favorable, active representation is likely to occur. If the attitudes and organizational factors are not favorable, we see no representation effect.

A specific relationship is expected for the social construction of the policy target population. Many social welfare programs are viewed as a policy space occupied by

underserving and devious clients. These programs are also strictly regulated to prevent fraud. Other areas like education are largely supported by most citizens regardless of background and targeted towards a positively constructed group, children. For this reason, bureaucrats may hold less positive advocacy attitudes when referencing negative target groups compared with those who represent positive target groups.

An analysis of diverse policy areas with multiple target groups is necessary to identify what -if any- difference the construction of the target population makes. The presence of similar relationships across client-administrator co-ethnic groups may demonstrate that the attitudes and perceptions of minority street-level bureaucrats have a significant impact on attitudes towards advocacy for all groups. Put another way, trends in attitudes and perceptions across different groups by different social workers should demonstrate the important role attitudes, perceptions, and policy narratives play in policy implementation.

Figure 2.2: Passive Representation across Socially Constructed Policy Spaces

Bureaucrat Identity & Client Population (social construction)	→	Other Factors Administrative Discretion Impactful Policy Area Organizational Socialization Agency Structure ***Social Construction of Target Group**	→	Bureaucratic Attitudes Attitudes toward Agency Attitudes towards Client Target Group	→	Symbolic Representation
Passive Representation Race Gender Ethnicity	→		→		→	Active Representation Advocacy for changes in policy Favorable policy decisions for the target group

Figure 2.3: Hidden Representation across Socially Constructed Policy Spaces

Bureaucrat Identity

&

Client Population

(social construction)

Other Factors

Administrative Discretion
Impactful Policy Area
Organizational
Socialization
Agency Structure

*Social Construction of Target Group

Bureaucratic Attitudes

Attitudes toward Agency

Attitudes towards Client the Target Group

Active Representation

Advocacy for changes in policy

Favorable policy decisions for the target group

Hidden Representation

Family Income

Criminal Past

Caring for the Less Fortunate

Attitudes towards Social Justice

Furthermore, representation not only influences the way constituents see the government, but it also influences the way that government employees see constituents. The descriptive characteristics of street-level bureaucrats help to shape how they understand and relate to their clients. This creates a set of attitudes toward the work that they do in the organization. These attitudes towards clients manifest themselves in attitudes towards policy advocacy and, in turn, policy decisions when bureaucrats have room to exercise administrative discretion.   In line with this expectation, patterns should emerge among co-ethnic bureaucrats that are consistent with this assertion. Within negative policy spaces, discretion should produce gatekeeper behavior- a lack of advocacy for target group clients- rather than advocacy because these groups are viewed as undeserving of advocacy. The negative view of client groups should make advocacy attitudes less prevalent among all street-level bureaucrats.

In cases where positive views for negative groups exist, it is plausible that the administrators perceive the clients in a more positive light than the social construction of the group might suggest. This is most likely due to perceived shared identity. In instances where we see advocacy for minority interests by nonminority workers, there is a hidden representation effect (See Figure 2.3). This means that even in these agencies, some nonminority workers may have positive perceptions of clients and see advocacy as their role in the agency. They may also identify with their clients in ways less visible than race or be motivated by a public service philosophy, which leads to advocacy for what they view as best for the client. Lipsky (1980) defines street-level bureaucrats as workers who interact with and have wide discretion over the dispensation of benefits or the allocation of public sanctions. Lipsky (1980) also defines street-level bureaucracies as agencies charged with this responsibility, such as schools, police and welfare departments, lower courts, and legal service offices (xi). Because of the generalist nature

of social workers, they can work within any of the street-level bureaucracies defined by Lipsky (1980) and the capability to dispense benefits and allocate public sanctions across all four types of target groups as defined by Schneider and Ingram (1993).

This chapter outlined the literature underpinning the dissertation. The literature suggests a relationship between shared identity, attitudes, and behaviors. In the next chapter, the researcher outlines the methods used to explore passive and hidden representation, worker attitudes, and the social construction of policy spaces.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology and Descriptive Statistics

This chapter explains the methodology used in the study. It is organized in the following sections: research procedures, operationalization of variables, study population and sampling methodology, instrumentation, and study pilot. This study is designed to broadly understand the relationship between street-level bureaucrats, their attitudes towards their program target population, and advocacy for their clients.

Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) and an original survey instrument, termed the SWOQ, were used in this study. The GSS data was incorporated to examine general patterns in attitudes amongst social workers toward policy target groups. The SWOQ data was used to conduct an in-depth analysis of the process through which advocacy attitudes develop. While the SWOQ provides details on the concepts and explanations of the phenomenon of interest, the GSS establishes general trends that extend beyond the three states used in the in-depth analysis. More specifically, the GSS data was used to address hypotheses 1 and 2, and the SWOQ was used to address hypothesis 3. Because of the amount of data needed to make statistical inferences, the research deemed this method as the most appropriate for the research question. The study was structured in the most feasible method available at the time of investigation and that which provides the most detailed information.

The research design utilizes a cross-sectional survey methodology and includes one original survey instrument composed of items sourced and developed by the researcher. The secondary data was collected from the GSS from 1972-2018. The GSS data includes questions

on the attitudes towards target groups and worker demographics. The purpose of the design was to correlate the scores on attitudinal items on policy advocacy for the clients served, and street-level bureaucrats' social origins and backgrounds. The proceeding sections explain how the GSS and SWOQ data were analyzed within this dissertation. The two data sources are discussed independently for clarity purposes.

Research Procedures

This study is designed to broadly address the following question: How does representation influence bureaucratic perceptions and attitudes in diverse policy spaces? Put simply, how do a bureaucrat's demographic characteristics- relative to the clients they serve- influence the perception across socially constructed target populations? Three sub-questions are explicitly investigated, examining bureaucrats' demographics, attitudes, and experiences. To address this question, I propose three more specific questions outlined in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1 Research Questions and Hypothesis	
How does representation influence bureaucratic perceptions and attitudes in diverse policy spaces?	
Sub-question #1: How does the social construction of target groups influence bureaucrats' perceptions of client target groups?	**Hypothesis #1**- As experts on the target group and policy areas, street-level bureaucrats will have attitudes towards negatively constructed client target groups that are dissimilar to the social construction of the group.
Sub-question question #2: How does the identity of bureaucrats' affect their attitudes towards policy advocacy for the client target group?	**Hypothesis #2**- Across all socially constructed groups, street-level bureaucrats of a shared identity with the target group will have more supportive attitudes towards policy target groups.
Sub-question question #3: What factors facilitate bureaucrats who are racially different from their client population taking on advocacy attitudes?	**Hypothesis #3**- Street-level bureaucrats of a different background will report instances of hidden representation as their reasons for advocating for minority clients.

This study utilizes both a quantitative approach and qualitative analysis techniques. A survey with sourced and original items was developed to explore the relationship between the variables. Since this study focuses on understanding attitudes and perceptions, a survey, is the most appropriate instrument for the analysis.

Study Population

According to Rosenbloom and Kinnard (1970), age, their position within the organization, and attitudes of peers influence the work of minority bureaucrats. Rosenbloom and Kinnard (1970) found that upper-level federal minority bureaucrats have attitudes toward assisting their minority group in their profession. They find that social representation led to policy representation or feelings of wanting to facilitate policy representation. However, the study focuses on federal civil servants who have an indirect relationship with the target group. Federal bureaucrats rarely interact with clients. They are largely removed from making informal policy or "judgment calls" on cases. A better understanding of how these attitudes manifest in bureaucracies can be facilitated by focusing on street-level bureaucrats. This study focuses on a sub-population of street-level bureaucrats: social workers.

Per Lipsky (1980), street-level bureaucrats have the unique ability to make informal policies through administrative discretion. One of the main arguments against the translation of passive representation to active representation is that the structure of government policy does not allow for advocacy for groups. Street-level bureaucracies are usually decentralized in such a way that street-level bureaucrats have the unique opportunity to make unofficial policy through administrative discretion. Many policies are intentionally broad to allow for implementation that suits the needs of a specific locality. Police officers, nurses, and social service providers can make informal policy. Minority street-level bureaucrats may view their clients through a specific lens and make informal policies that support the needs of minority clients. For this reason, street-level bureaucrats were selected as the most appropriate subjects for the study. The population includes street-level bureaucrats within the United States serving dependents, deviants, advantaged, and contender target groups. Specifically, this study gauged the opinions of social workers as street-level bureaucrats. More specifically, social workers were selected as a sub-

population of street-level bureaucrats. Social workers were selected for the sample because of their unique ability to serve in positions that cover several policy areas and because they directly interact with the public. Social workers are employed with schools, hospitals, prisons, social welfare agencies, and many other agency types. This profession's unique presence across all the policy areas of interest made this professional group the most appropriate subjects for the study.

In a profession like social work, professional associations are a resource that can be used to access active social workers that met the parameters of this study. For social workers, the National Association of Social Work (NASW) is the most widely accepted and recognized professional association. Additionally, school districts employ social workers and can be used to recruit participants. These sources were used to recruit participants for the SWOQ portion of the study.

SWOQ Sampling Methodology. The instrument created by the researcher is titled the Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire (SWOQ). This section outlines the development of that instrument, and the portions of the SWOQ used within this analysis. Open-ended responses from the SWOQ and demographic data were also used within this study. The SWOQ includes a total of 59 open and closed-ended questions. Fifty-five questions are closed-ended questions, and four items are opened-ended.[5] While the instrument includes 59 items, only 4 of those items were used for this dissertation.

Forty-eight of 59 items used to develop the SWOQ were sourced from Selden (1997) and other established survey instruments (See Appendix A). The concept of hidden representation

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[5] 5 Due to the response rate in the Fall 2019 wave of the survey, this study only focuses on the qualitative responses to the in-depth questions rather than demonstrating aggregate trends in opinion.

and the control variables outlined in the literature did not have appropriate established questions. As such, 11 of the items were developed, piloted, and added to the instrument. Most of the survey questions provide fixed ranked order responses.

Only four survey items and demographic information were used for this dissertation. The research included supplemental qualitative data to add depth to the understanding of shared identity and to also explore the possibility of hidden representation. The instrument is a web-based survey to gauge the attitudes and perceptions of street-level bureaucrats. To create the SWOQ, the researcher developed a 59-item survey using questions from existing surveys of social workers and general American citizens (See Appendix A). Survey questions were sourced from the Criminal Justice Drug Abuse Treatment Studies (CJ-DATS)[6], The Study of The Roles and Use of The Licensed Social Workers in the United States (ICPSR; NASW),[7] General Social Survey (GSS)[8], questions from the Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS)[9], and Selden (1997) study of minority bureaucrats. Additional questions specific to the study for the control variables and the hidden representation concept were developed. The Study of The Roles and Use of The Licensed Social Workers in the United States was developed for use in the Report to Congress on Supply and Demand of Social Workers in Long-Term Care: Listening Sessions. This project was conducted by the New York Academy of Medicine under contract for the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office of Disability, Aging and Long-Term Care Policy (US Department of Health and Human Services). The CJ-DATS instrument was a part of a national study on the nature of programs and services provided to adult and juvenile offenders involved in the justice system in the United States conducted by the United

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[6] http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0095399716667156
[7] https://www.socialworkers.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=QKU6bvt6Rwc%3d&portalid=0
[8] http://gss.norc.org/get-documentation/questionnaires
[9] https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/3832

States Department of Health and Human Services. PNAAPS was designed as a multicity, multiethnic, and multilingual survey to gauge the political attitudes and behavior of Asian Americans on a national scale in areas such as ethnic identity, political ideology, and political partisanship, opinions on various social issues, social connectedness, racial integration, and group discrimination. These items were revised for this study to gauge the respondents' perceptions of linked fate and the strength of racial identity for this study.

The GSS questions used in the SWOQ gathered data on contemporary American society since 1972 to monitor trends and constants in attitudes, behaviors, and attributes among American citizens. Questions were adapted from items on race and equality in America used in the 1980, 1984, and 2002 survey cycles. Selden (1997) asks questions specifically geared toward policy advocacy attitudes and behavior. Those items were used in the study to gauge those processes. The researcher was unable to find survey questions that relate specifically to the concepts of hidden representation and the control variables. For this reason, eleven additional questions were developed to gauge these variables. Piloting of the survey helped to illuminate any issues with the questions developed by the researcher. Outside of the demographic questions, each survey item was structured as a Likert-type scale. Hidden representation questions are open-ended in nature (See Appendix A).

The researcher used a nonprobability purposive sampling technique to select states from the data available. One state was selected from each of the major regions in the United States, as defined by the US Census Bureau[10]. The states were clustered into regions to ensure that all four regions are represented in this study. The states were selected using the most similar method.

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[10] https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf

Using this sampling method limits the generalizability of the findings, as four states may not represent all the states. However, due to the availability and feasibility of the other options, this method seems the most appropriate method for this study. This study also assumes that there are no systematic differences in the states within each region.

The following four states have been chosen for this study: Colorado, Massachusetts, Florida, and Missouri. Where Selden (1997) and Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty (2009) focused on the southern region of the United States, this study aims to explore all four regions in its analysis. Since social welfare policy is often highly regulated at the state level, cases with the most similar levels of policy spending were selected across the four regions. According to NASBO, the National Association of State Budget Officers (2017), all four states' spending patterns align with the social construction of the target groups. Medicaid and education receive the highest shares of revenue, and welfare and criminal justice receive the two lowest shares.

Each state's chapter directors were contacted directly to request participation. Colorado and Massachusetts NASW state directors agreed to participate in the study. Missouri and Florida NASW chapters did not agree to participate. To increase the sample size, additional participation was requested from the St. Louis City School Districts (SLCS) social workers. The SLCS superintendent agreed to participate in the study. The participants from that city serve as representatives of the state of Missouri.

Participants from Colorado and Massachusetts were solicited through NASW members' board message announcements. The state directors placed an announcement written by the researcher on the association's member page for two months requesting participation. Participants from SLCS districts were solicited through a direct email invitation from the

superintendent. This email was composed by the researcher and then forwarded by the superintendent.

According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), certain groups are conceptualized as more or less deserving and powerful in the public policy arena. A review of the annual budgets suggests that these states have similar trends in social work policy. The budgetary spending patterns of all four states across policy areas targeting deviant, advantaged, contender, and dependent reflect the conceptualization of each group. Put another way, policy target groups viewed as the most deserving like children, and veterans both receive the largest portions of the budget, whereas less deserving target groups like welfare receipts and prisoners received the lowest share of the budget (NASBO 2017). Selecting these states was an attempt to control for differences in discretion and policy restrictions. Similar levels of policy spending should mean that what that data show is attributed to true attitudes and not just an artifact of conditions of the policy environment.

Survey Pilot

The survey instrument was piloted in a southern state not included in the sample population. The pilot study took place from April 2019 to July 2019. The researcher contacted the director of the state chapter of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW). Permission was granted by the NASW and the state chapter to distribute the survey. The director agreed to forward an invitation to participate in the pilot to all chapter members. Two weeks after the invitation email, the link to the survey was sent to the director to forward it to all members. A 6 weeks reminder for survey participation was also sent.

The survey closed on July 15, 2019. No incentives were provided for the completion of the survey. The pilot was intended to test the instrument for possible issues concerning the response rate due to the length of the survey. The pilot shows that most respondents exited the survey at the end of the survey, which alleviates some concern for the length of the survey. The pilot study also shows that several participants were avoiding answering Item #1, asking for the demographic makeup of their client base. The researcher concluded that this was due to the question format. In the pilot study, the respondents were given percentage ranges that required them to select a different range for each question, which could be tedious and time-consuming. To alleviate this issue, individual percentage selections were replaced with a slider scale for convenience. No other issues with the structure of the survey were revealed. The survey link was distributed to 1,065 NASW members. Thirty-six emails were returned as undeliverable. The pilot received 71 responses, making the response rate of 7%.

Gathering Data with the SWOQ. After the pilot period, an invitation was sent to Colorado, Massachusetts, Florida, and Missouri NASW chapter directors. The Massachusetts and Colorado directors agreed to participate in the study following NASW approval[11]. The NASW state directors in Colorado and Massachusetts placed announcements on their chapter website message boards to invite chapter members to participate. To gain additional participants, the researcher sent an invitation to the superintendent of St. Louis City Schools requesting participation from all district social workers so that Missouri social workers could still be represented within the study. The St. Louis City Schools' social worker program director sent an email invitation to all of its social workers requesting participation. The survey was available in Qualtrics from October 2019 to December 2019. Due to how the survey invitation was

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[11] NASW requires approval from their independent IRB process before participation can be granted.

distributed, calculating the response rate of the survey was not applicable as it was presented as a

public site announcement rather than a direct email invitation in Massachusetts and Colorado[12].

As a result, the number of individuals who received invitations cannot be calculated.

The protocol for the survey pilot was as follows:

1. An invitation for participation email was sent to the director of NASW in MA, CO,
   MO, FL, via email in August 2019.

2. On October 1, 2019, the survey link and invitation were sent to the MA and CO
   director, who then distributed it to their members via newsletter, social media, and
   site announcement.

3. In early November 2019, a reminder announcement was posted requesting
   participation in Massachusetts and Colorado NASW chapters.

4. On November 16, 2019, an invitation was extended to the superintendent of Saint
   Louis City School District for participation.

5. On December 1, 2019, a reminder email was sent to the St. Louis City Schools'
   Social Workers' program director requesting a reminder to be sent to the participants.

6. The survey concluded on December 15, 2019, at midnight for all participating states.

SWOQ Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics look at the demographic makeup of the SWOQ survey respondents (See

Table 3.2). The descriptive statistics show that 70 percent of the sample is white, whereas 22.7%

is African American or Black, and only 6.8% is Native American. The question provided an

option for Asian. No respondents reported identifying as Asian. Concerning gender, the

overwhelming majority of respondents self-identify as women (88.6%) and 9.1% identify as

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[12] 43 social workers received the initiation in Missouri.

men. Only 2.3% self-identify as nonbinary. The modal age category for this sample is 26-34, with 45.5% of the respondents being within this category. The smallest age group was the 18-25 age group, which is not surprising for a position requiring a college degree. The majority of respondents' income was within $50,00-79,000 range. 52.3% reported income within this range, whereas 36.3% reported making less than $50,000, and 11.3% percentage reported making over $80,000. Only 4.5% of the respondents were 65 and older. The sample includes little diversity along the lines of ethnicity. Only 2.3% of the sample identifies as Hispanic, with the majority reporting to be Non-Hispanic. The data suggest that the average respondent was a white Non-Hispanic woman, between the ages of 26-34, holding a minimum of a master's degree, and earning between $50,000-$79,000 dollars a year.

GSS Sampling methodology. This study includes survey data from the General Social Survey (GSS) project conducted by the University of Chicago and primary data collected by the researcher to gauge the opinions of social workers using the Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire (SWOQ). The GSS is a national study conducted yearly in the United States. It gauges the opinions of citizens. The data from all years for social workers (1972-2018) was included in this dissertation. For this reason, the data presented from the survey should be nationally representative of the opinions of social workers. Only respondents who identified themselves as social workers were included. The survey sample includes 458 respondents. This survey is nationally representative of the population and should improve the generalizability of the findings.

Table 3.2: SWOQ Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Percentage
Race	
Black	22.7
White*****	70.5
Native American	6.8
Gender	
Male	9.1
Female*	88.6
Non-binary	2.3
Income Level	
Less than 50,000	36.3
50,000-79,000*	52.3
80,000 and above	11.3
Age	
18-25	2.3
26-34*	45.5
35-44	18.2
45-54	20.5
55-64	9.1
65 and over	4.5
Ethnicity	
Hispanic	97.3
Non-Hispanic*	2.3

*= Highest response category

GSS Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics for the GSS data are presented in Table 3.3. The total sample

population. Of the sample, 66% of the respondents are white, 27.7% are Black, and the

remaining 5.7 percent are classified as Other. The data set does not parse out what groups are

included in the other category. As such, no predictions can be made on the relationship with

smaller racial groups like Native Americans and Asians. Most of the participants in the study

identified as female. Only 25.1% identified as male. No data was available for non-binary

respondents. Regarding education, most respondents reported holding a bachelor's degree (40.4%). Less than 3% of the respondents reported having less than a high school diploma, and only 8.5% of the respondents reported a junior college degree. A quarter of all the participants had completed graduate work. 25.5% of the respondents reported having a graduate degree, and 22.7% reported having a high school diploma. Concerning political affiliation, the majority of the respondents identify as Democrats (53.5%), and only 16.6% identify as republican. The remaining 27.7% consider themselves independent, while 2.2 % do not report identifying with a political party. The ages of the respondents span from 19-89. The average age is 45.05 years old (See Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: GSS Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Percentage
Race	
White	66.6
Black	27.7
Other	5.7
Gender	
Male	25.1
Female	74.9
Education Level	
Less Than High School	2.6
High School	22.7
Junior College	8.5
Bachelors	40.4
Graduate	25.5
Party Identification	
Democrat	53.9
Republic	16.6
Independent	27.3
N/A	2.2

In sum, this chapter has described the research methodology used within the dissertation and the descriptive statistics for the GSS and SWOQ data. The descriptive statistics outline the typical participants and responses to the survey items. With the protocols and research methodology in mind, the next chapter explores the connection between the social construction of the policy target groups and support for policy spending for each policy group.

Chapter 4

Social Construction and Street-Level Bureaucrats

Social construction has been identified as a significant influencer on public policymaking (Schneider and Ingram 1993; Lieberman, Schneider and Ingram 1995; Hirshberg 2002). Social construction not only influences public policymaking within legislative settings, but it also impacts the policy target groups through policy feedback (Schneider Ingram and DeLeon 2014). Certain groups carry a negative policy narrative resulting in them being viewed by the general public as less deserving. Those groups then take on a less engaged role with the government and are less likely to participate politically, which keeps them in a powerless position in political spaces.

This study seeks to determine if policy administrators are a part of this feedback process. Do street-level bureaucrats, those charged with serving these groups, hold similar views of policy target groups, or do they carry a different set of attitudes? As experts within social policy, social workers are expected to have a nuanced understanding of policy target groups and the needs of those groups. The researcher expects to see social worker attitudes that reflect advocacy for target groups. However, if the broader societal constraint of social construction is a factor, then social workers will report attitudes similar to the general sentiments and narrative perpetuated about the groups within the larger political realm. Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) collected from social workers in 1972-2018 was used to address this research question. The key variables of interest within this chapter are the attitudes toward policy groups and the social construction of the deservingness of the target group outlined by Schneider and

Ingram (1993). Per these scholars, dependent and advantaged groups are viewed as the most deserving of policy support, and contenders and deviants are viewed as the least deserving of policy support. Within this study, those groups are represented by the following policy target groups: children (dependents), military (advantaged), Blacks(contenders), and criminals (deviants). This means that within the general population, children and the military are viewed as deserving, and Blacks and criminals are viewed as less deserving.

The study seeks to determine if Schneider and Ingram's (1993) typology holds true for street-level bureaucrats as measured by social workers. This chapter outlines the results yielded from the GSS descriptive statistics and the analysis of social worker attitudes towards their target groups. The next section looks at the relationship between the social construction of the policy groups and the attitudes of social workers using survey data.

Research Question #1: How does the social construction of target groups influence bureaucrats' perceptions of client target groups?

Hypothesis #1: As experts on the target group and policy areas, street-level bureaucrats will have attitudes towards negatively constructed client target groups that are dissimilar to the social construction of the group.

Social Construction of Target Groups

Figures 4.1-4.4 looks at the patterns of support for policy benefitting the four target groups to address the first research question. Figure 4.4 examines social construction and social worker attitudes towards the target group. The percentage of responses in support of the policy supporting the target group was used to determine if the attitudes of the social workers are

congruent with the social construction of the group. To address the social construction of the

target group's responses to the four survey items used within this chapter. The attitudes towards

the target group are measured by a single survey item for each target group. The respondents

were asked, "

> We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one, I'd like you to name some of these problems, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A….P) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)?
> **H.** Improving the conditions of Blacks
> **I.** The military, armaments, and defense
> **P.** Assistance for childcare

Three responses were included in this analysis, "too little, about right, and too much." The

responses were coded on a 3-point scale (too little=3, about right=2 too much=1). No specific

question on the spending towards criminals was available within the data set. In the fourth

model, a different question was used the examine the relationship between attitudes towards

criminal and worker identity. Respondents' were asked the following:

In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with
criminals?

Three responses were included in this analysis "too harsh, not harsh enough, and about

right." Those responses were coded on a 3-point scale (too harsh=3, about right=2 not harsh

enough=1). Schneider and Ingram (1993) suggest that policies, where the target group is viewed

as more deserving, receive more support, and policies supporting target groups viewed as less

deserving, receive less support. To test the validity of this claim, the researcher examined the

survey responses for congruence with the social construction typology.

As policy and client experts, the respondents should have aggregate opinions that differ from the policy narrative imposed upon each group in the macro-political arena. As professionals within the social work field, these individuals carry expert knowledge of the target population and should have ideas that reflect the actual characteristics of the target population rather than that of the policy narratives surrounding these groups. If social construction is a structural factor at play in developing attitudes towards these groups, the researcher expects to see trends in the opinions of the survey respondents reflecting general beliefs about the group. If the social construction of the group is not a structural factor influencing the attitudes towards the groups, the researcher expects to see respondents' opinions that support the groups they serve in ways that do not align with the social construction typology. If the social construction of the target groups is at play, we will see that their sentiments will mimic those of the narrative surrounding the groups.

Results

To determine support for target groups, the research examined the percentages of responses in support and opposition to policy supporting each group (See Figures 4.1- 4.4). The respondents were asked their opinion of government treatment or funding for the target populations on four separate survey items. In the case of the children's target group (dependents), around 70% of the respondents would like to see more policy funding going towards the needs of the children's group. Nearly half of the respondents believed that the advantaged group- the military- has policies that are overfunded; only 50.6 supported the group. Regarding the deviant group, criminals, 11% gave responses that show support towards policy benefitting criminals. Finally, the contender group, minorities-as measured by attitudes towards

policy for Blacks- showed moderate support, with about half of all respondents wanting more policy in support of minority interests. When examined together, the data show that the respondents support the groups in a pattern that mimics the social construction of the four groups (See Figure 4.5). The dependent group, children, received the most support, supporting Schneider and Ingram's (1993) assertion that they are constructed in the macro-political arena as the most deserving group. The least deserving group, criminals, received the least supportive policy attitudes. The contender and advantaged groups, Blacks, and the military, received more support than opposition; both groups received about 50% percent support for their respective spending policies. This follows the typology as well. These two groups have the most similar levels of deservedness and power to advocate for themselves. Based on the data presented here, hypothesis 1 is rejected. The data support the role of social construction in advocacy attitudes among social workers. The data show that social workers- expert street-level bureaucrats who have direct interaction with these groups- have belief patterns and policy advocacy attitudes that align with the social construction of those groups. Even with specialized training and expert knowledge, the social construction of groups still plays a major role in attitudes for street-level bureaucrats.

Figure 4.1: Spending on Improving the Conditions of Blacks
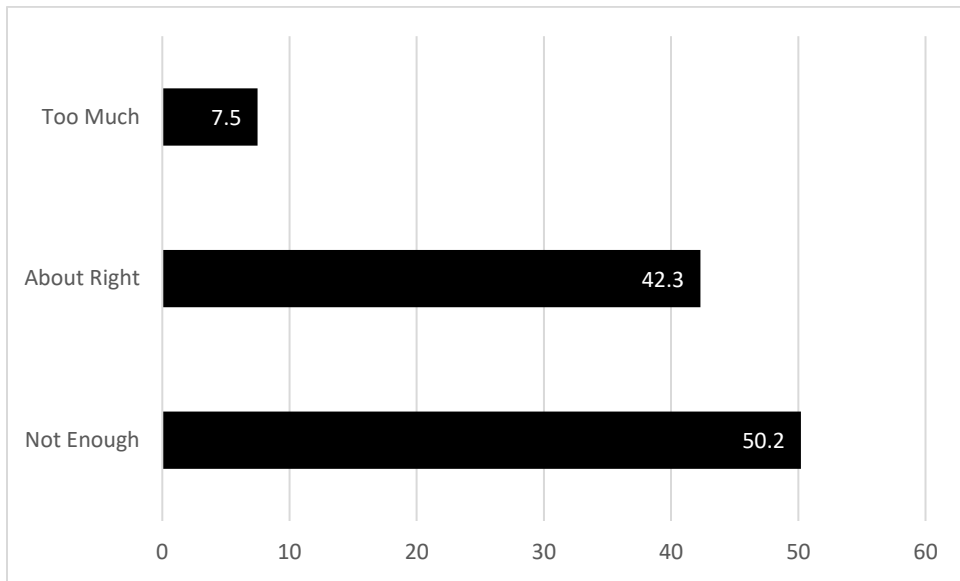
Figure 4.2: Spending on the Military, Armaments, and Defense
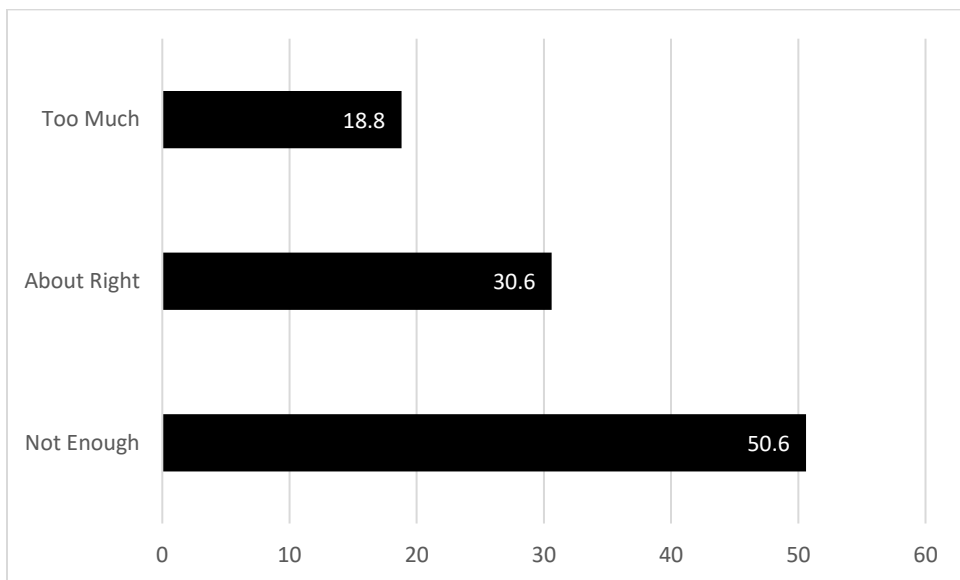
Figure 4.3: Spending on Assistance for Childcare
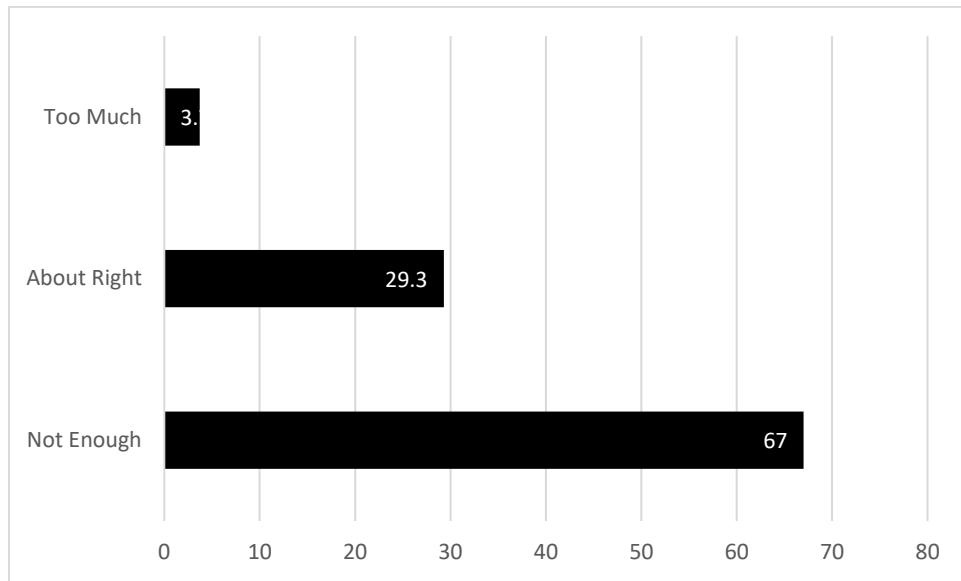
Figure 4.4: Severity of Criminal Sanctions
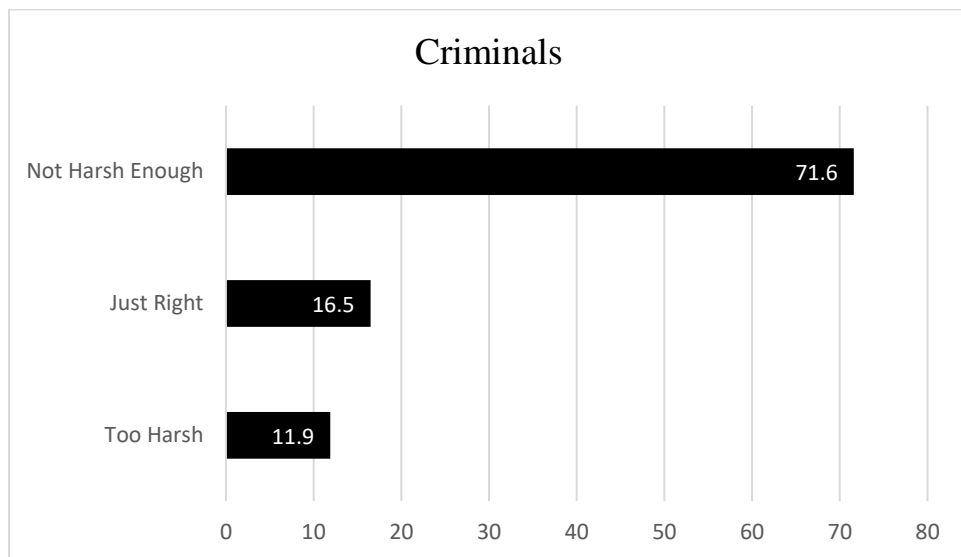
Figure 4.5: Support Across Socially Constructed Policy Spaces
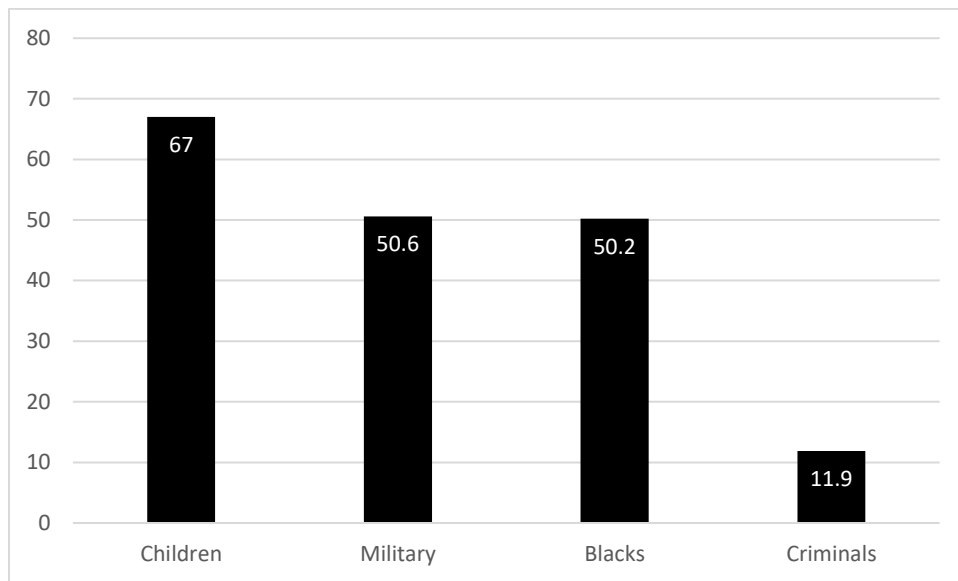
Chapter 4 explains the relationship observed between the social construction of policy target groups and social worker attitudes. The data suggest that social workers have attitudes that mimic the social narrative surrounding the policy target groups. This indicates that socially constructed ideas could be influencing the attitudes of street-level bureaucrats. The next chapter in the analysis looks at the relationship between these attitudes and the visible and less visible characteristics of the workers.

Chapter 5

Shared Identity and Attitudes toward Clients

The previous chapter outlined social workers' attitudes towards socially constructed target populations. The data presented within Chapter 4 largely supports the presence of social construction within social welfare policy. The literature also shows evidence of social construction's influence on public policymaking. The way groups are viewed can negatively impact the long-term political outcomes of those groups (Schneider and Ingram 1993, Lieberman 1995; Hirshberg 2002; Schneider, Ingram, and De Leon 2014). Social construction impacts who receives the benefits (i.e., fund allocations and lenient requirements) and burden (i.e., taxation and stringent eligibility requirements). However, in many instances, policies are structured in such a way that policy administrators are left with much administrative discretion in determining many policy guidelines.

In a similar vein, the literature on representation in government asserts that having a representative body of administrators positively affects the outcomes for the groups being represented (Mosher 1968; Meier 1993a; Pitts 2005). Within this chapter, the research seeks to understand if shared identity is an important factor impacting attitudes towards socially constructed groups. Put more plainly; this chapter seeks to understand if social workers support those socially constructed groups whom they share an identity. Additionally, the study seeks to understand if this relationship exists for both traditional forms of representation and less visible or hidden representation, such as having a criminal past. Bringing the findings from social construction and representative bureaucracy literature together, the researcher expects to see that

support for target groups is more pronounced amongst those social workers who share an identity with the target group.

The chapter explores this relationship using the representative characteristics of the social workers and their attitudes towards four socially constructed policy target groups: children, military, Blacks, and criminals. These groups represent the dependent, advantaged, contender, and deviant typology outlined by Schneider and Ingram (1993). The key variables of interest are worker identity and attitude towards the target group. Additional variables were added to the models to control for other extraneous factors. The chapter explains how the variables were operationalized, how the data was analyzed and presents the results of the analysis.

Research Question #2: How does the identity of bureaucrats' affect their attitudes towards policy advocacy for the client target group?

Hypothesis #2: Across all socially constructed groups, street-level bureaucrats of a shared identity with the target group will have more supportive attitudes towards policy target groups.

Operationalization of Variables

Several variables from the GSS data were used to explore the social construction of the target groups and social worker attitudes. These variables are included in the analysis presented in Chapter Five. The **race** of the worker is measured by the respondent's self-identification. The dataset only includes three racial categories: Black, White, and Other. White is used as the reference category. No data was available to parse out the race differences within the other category. Each racial category was transformed into a dichotomous variable indicated by 1 or 0

for the study. One reflects the respondent being a member of the racial category; all other responses are zero. **Gender** was coded into two categories of female (0) and male (1). Male is the reference category. **Education** is coded into a 5-point scale: Less than high school(1), High school diploma(2), Associate degree(3), bachelor's degree(4), and graduate degree(5). These categories were then ranked numerically from highest to lowest. The educational attainment variable is coded, as noted by the parentheses. **Age** is measured in the number of years reported by the respondent. The ethnicity variable, **Hispanic**, is coded into two categories: Hispanic (1) and Non-Hispanic (0). Non-Hispanics serve as the reference category. The respondent either reported being from a Hispanic background or not being from a Hispanic background. This item was coded as a dichotomous variable. **Party Affiliation** is included using three categories: Democrat, Republican, and Independent (no party affiliation). Republican is the reference category. All three categories were coded as dichotomous variables. One reflects the respondent being a member of the political party; all other responses are zero.

Within each model, a variable representing a shared identity between the respondent and target population is included to determine if shared identity is a key predictor of those attitudes. That variable is conceptualized as **Shared Identity,** which is measured by an item in each model depicting a shared experience with the target group. In each model, an identity characteristic is used as a proxy for identifying with the experiences of each policy target population. The identity characteristics used within this study are being black, female, having children, being in the military, and having a child arrested. Black is used to identity with attitudes towards the black group. Being female and having children is used to identify with the children's group. Being in the military is identification towards the military group, and having a child arrested is

used as the identity-characteristic for the criminal group. If a respondent reported having the

identity, it was coded as 1. If they did not report having the worker identity, it was coded as 0.

The mean score on each of the attitudinal survey items is listed in Table 5.1. For attitudes

towards Blacks, the mean score is 2.42, meaning that among respondents, they lean toward more

support for funding to improve the conditions of Blacks. Regarding attitudes towards the severity

of criminal sanctions, the mean score is 1.40. This indicates that among respondents, opinions

lean more toward a belief that punishments are not harsh enough. Attitudes towards military

policy have a mean score of 1.68. This means that amongst the respondents, opinions lean

slightly more towards a belief that spending on the military is not enough. Attitudes towards

children's policy have a mean score of 2.63, which indicates the amongst the respondents'

opinions overwhelmingly lean towards a belief that funding is not enough. The data suggest that

the average respondent is more in opposition to funding towards Black policy and criminal

policy and more in support of military and children policy.

Table 5.1: Descriptive Statistics for Scale Variables

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Spending on Blacks	1.00	3.00	2.4268	.63002
Handling Criminals	1.00	3.00	1.4034	.69331
Spending on Military	1.00	3.00	1.6816	.77133
Spending on Childcare	1.00	3.00	2.6326	.55523
Age	19	89	45.09	14.871

In

Methodology. A series of ordinal logistic regression models were estimated to analyze the data. Since the dependent variable, attitudes towards the target policy target group, is an ordinal variable measured on a ranked ordered scale from 1-3, this model was deemed the most appropriate for fitting the data. Ordinal logistic regression estimates the attitudes towards the target population with the share identity variable and the other control variables. It also shows the threshold estimates for respondents who support more funding(3) rather than funding staying the same (2) and those who would like less funding(1) rather than the funding staying the same (2). The exception being the question that focuses on criminal justice policy, which is coded as those who think the punishment is too hard (3) rather than about right (2) and those who would like to see harsher punishment (1). A separate model is estimated to evaluate the relationship between shared identity and each target group. These models are presented in Tables 5.2-5.5. The dependent variable, attitudes toward the target group, in Tables 5.2-5.5, is measured as a rank-ordered response from 1-3.

Results

. The model presented in Table 5.2 addresses attitudes toward support for Blacks. The key independent variable of interest is **Worker Race (Black)** within the model. A series of dummy variables for race are included in the model to see if the social worker being black has an impact on attitudes towards policy supporting Blacks. The model looks at the relationship between traditional passive representation and attitudes towards the policy target group: the contender group (Blacks) and Black social workers.

In Table 5.2, the results show that holding all else constant; there is a positive and significant relationship between social worker race and support for spending that improvise the conditions of blacks (2.638, p< .000). Black social workers rated support for more policies improving the conditions of Blacks higher than their white counterparts (2.638, p < .000) do. In addition to being black, being from a race other than white was also a positive and significant predictor of attitudes towards black policies (2.936, p < .05). Thus, there is a significant difference between perceptions of the target population that are driven by racial similarity, supporting the hypothesis. No other variable reached the level of significance within the model. Age narrowly misses the mark of marginal significance, but the data does show an inverse relationship with age and support for black policy.

Table 5.2: Improving the Conditions of Blacks and Passive Representation

		Coefficient	Std. Error	p-Value
Threshold	Cut Point 1	-2.364	1.282	.065
	Cut Point 2	.723	1.249	.563
Location	Democrat	.505	.561	.369
	Independent	-.669	.604	.268
	Female	.370	.501	.460
	Other	2.936	1.198	.014
	Black	2.638	.671	.000
	Education	.197	.213	.355
	Age	-.024	.015	.105
	Hispanic	-.585	.840	.486
	N	104		
	Log-likelihood	148.521		
	Pseudo R-Square	.381		
	X^2			39.927, 8 df, p <.000

The models presented in Tables 5.3-5.5 examines less visible points of identification. This concept is termed hidden representation. Hidden representation refers to less visible points of identification that can create a shared experience with the target group. Education, age, party identification, and gender were included as control variables.

While the relationship between worker and client race is clear, a less clear story is evident in the analysis of the other three target policy groups and shared identity. In Tables 5.3a and 5.3b, the dependent variable is **Attitudes towards Children**. The identity variable for this model, **Has Children**, is a dichotomous variable coded to show whether or not the respondent reporting having children (1,0).Table 5.3a estimates the relationship between support for policy benefitting children and respondents with children as a point of hidden representation. Since the literature suggests that for active representation to occur the policy area must be of substantive importance to the target group (Keiser et al. 2002; Wilkins and Williams 2008; Kranz 1976), the researcher estimated a model for a specific subgroup within the children policy target population-women with children. The results in Table 5.3a show that having children (-.090, p>.05) had no significant impact on support for children's policy however age (-.018, $p < .10$) and identifying as Democrat (.894, p< .031) or Independent (.746, p< .10) were significant predictors of support for the policy.

Table 5.3a: Assistance for Childcare and Hidden Representation

		Coefficient	Std. Error	p-Value
Threshold	Cut Point 1	-3.765	.874	.000
	Cut Point 2	-1.149	.802	.152
Location	Democrat	.894	.415	.031
	Independent	.746	.440	.090
	Female	.436	.344	.205
	Other	.390	.686	.570
	Black	-.178	.383	.642
	Education	-.108	.133	.419
	Age	-.018	.010	.074
	Hispanic	-.478	.535	.371
	Has Kids	-.090	.347	.796
	N	213		
	Log-likelihood	298.506		
	Pseudo R-Square	.070		
	X^2			11.866, 9 df ,p >.05

The model presented in Table 5.3b estimates the relationship between support for

spending on children and having the identity of a mother. The model includes an interaction term

for women with children to examine this relationship. Since women often carry the responsibility

of childcare more often than men do, it would be logical to expect women with children to have

an especial concern for children's policy. The data show that there are no significant or

substantive differences in the support for the policy for social workers who are mothers and

those without children. Identifying as Democrat (.896, p< .05) was the only positive and

significant predictor within this model. Identifying as Independent (.747, p <.10) was also

marginally significant within the model. The focus on the children's target group may have a

stronger relationship with political identity- rather than personal identity for social workers. Age

(-.018, p <.10) showed a marginally significant and negative relationship to support for

children's policy.

Table 5.3b: Assistance for Childcare and Hidden Representation with

Interaction

		Estimate	Std. Error	p-Value
Threshold	Cut Point 1	-3.775	.908	.000
	Cut Point 2	-1.159	.838	.166
Location	Democrat	.896	.418	.032
	Independent	.747	.440	.090
	Female	.414	.620	.504
	Other	.388	.688	.572
	Black	-.178	.383	.641
	Education	-.108	.133	.420
	Age	-.018	.010	.079
	Hispanic	-.478	.535	.372
	Has Kids	-.113	.647	.862
	Female*Has Kids	.031	.746	.967
	N	213		
	Log-likelihood	298.505		
	Pseudo R-Square	.070		
	X^2			11.868, 10 df , p >.05

The model presented in Table 5.4 outlines military policy support and shared identity. In Table 5.4, the dependent variable is Attitudes towards the Military. An identity variable called Military is added to this model. Military is measured as whether the social worker reported service in the military (1) or not serving (0). Concerning the advantaged group, the military, those who served in the military rated support for military policy .887 higher than those who had not served in the military. While this could be substantively significant, military experiences held no statistical significance within this model. The only significant predictor within the model is age. Holding all other things constant, age (.074, p<.05) is a positive and significant predictor in support of military policy. No other predictors reached the level of statistical significance.

Table 5.4: Military, Armaments and Defense and Hidden Representation

		Estimate	Std. Error	Sig.
Threshold	Cut Point 1	.968	2.595	.709
	Cut Point 2	2.523	2.637	.339
Location	Democrat	.353	1.189	.767
	Independent	-1.539	1.253	.220
	Female	.253	1.048	.809
	Other Race	-3.207	2.113	.129
	Black	-1.543	1.181	.191
	Education	-.364	.409	.374
	Age	.074	.030	.013
	Hispanic	-2.219	1.794	.216
	Military Service	.887	1.904	.641
	N	244		
	Log-likelihood	57.875		
	Pseudo R-Square	.453		
	X^2			17.917, 9 df, p <.05

Finally, the model in Table 5.5 depicts the relationship between attitudes towards criminals and shared identity. In the model , the dependent variable is **Attitudes towards Criminals**. A clear indicator of shared identity with the criminal target group was more challenging to parse out within the dataset. While the GSS does include a question asking respondents whether they have been convicted of a crime, no responses were recorded for that item. As a result, no direct indicator of a criminal past was included in this analysis. Instead, the experience of having a child arrested was used as the shared identity variable. A child being arrested is a close identifier of a shared experience with criminal and legal proceedings. The researcher used the survey item asking if the respondent had ever had a child arrested as an indicator of shared identity. "Yes" responses were coded as 1. "No" responses were coded as 0.

The relationship surrounding criminal justice policy is a more intricate and challenging topic to address within this analysis. No clear indicator of a hidden shared identity with criminals was readily available within the dataset. As a result, the experience of having a child arrested was used as a point of shared identity. The results show that having a child arrested had very little relation to attitudes towards policy in support of criminals. In fact, none of the predictors were clear indicators of support for criminals. While those who have had a child arrested are more likely to support policy that benefits criminals, the relationship is not close to statistically significant. This relationship may be more clearly parsed out with a different point of identification. As a result, hypothesis 2 is not fully supported by the data.

The results presented in Tables 5:2-5.5 draw the connection between passive representation, hidden representation, and policy attitudes. The results support the assertion of

representative bureaucracy theory in that race is a key predictor of attitudes towards racial

groups. The results for attitudes in un-racialized policy areas seem to indicate that traditional

political identity impacts policy attitudes more than less visible points of identity. Further

analysis is needed, however, to determine if this is an artifact of the data source or the true

relationship between hidden points of identification and attitudes towards public policy.

Table 5.5: Criminals Policy Support and Hidden Representation

		Estimate	Std. Error	Sig.
Threshold	[Criminal Attitudes = 1.00]	-40.828	580.233	.944
	[Criminal Attitudes = 2.00]	-22.051	566.446	.969
Location	Hispanic	-33.150	648.504	.959
	Female Recode	31.068	507.000	.951
	Democrat	14.805	180.279	.935
	Independent	2.873	319.425	.993
	Black	-21.102	1545.431	.989
	Education	-6.844	288.669	.981
	AGE	-1.066	21.227	.960
	Child Arrested	16.582	492.010	.973
	N	350		
	Log-likelihood	--		
	Pseudo R-Square	.824		
	X^2	20.822, 8 df, p <.01		

This chapter models the relationship between worker characteristics and attitudes towards

policy target groups. The results support the literature in that race was the strongest factor

connecting social workers to the policy target group. Less visible characteristics were explored; however, the concept needs further exploration. The next chapter explores the development of hidden representation in detail.

Chapter 6

Exploring the Concept of Hidden Representation

Chapters 4 and 5 examined the relationship between attitudes, shared identity, and social construction of target groups. This chapter focuses on understanding the process through which shared identity becomes advocacy for target groups. Specifically, this chapter looks at advocacy for the contender group, racial minorities. Representative bureaucracy literature largely asserts that client and constituent similarity play an important role in representing the interest of those clients and remedying some of the tensions created in government by bureaucracy (Mosher 1968). This chapter explores the possibility of less visible forms of representation within the government. Less visible forms of representation can be referred to as hidden representation.

This chapter traces the process of representation as measured by reports of advocacy using responses to the Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire (SWOQ) collected from social workers in Massachusetts, Missouri, and Colorado. This chapter takes a closer look at the concept of hidden representation and seeks to understand how advocacy attitudes develop using content analysis. The variables of interest within this analysis are measured in text, words, and phrases describing thought processes and beliefs. As such, content analysis is the most appropriate analysis technique to trace this process through the patterns and themes presented in the responses. A mixed-methods approach should provide a richer understanding of the general trends present in this dissertation, as well as an understanding of the attitudes of the sample**.**

Research Question #3: *What factors facilitate bureaucrats who are racially different from their client population taking on advocacy attitudes?*

Hypothesis #3: *Street-level bureaucrats of a different background will report instances of hidden representation as their reasons for advocating for minority clients.*

Coding Methodology

A look at the Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire (SWOQ) data collected as part of this study provides more of a depth and breadth of knowledge of the advocacy patterns of social workers within Colorado, Massachusetts, and Missouri. The open-ended responses were analyzed for themes and trends in response to questions about hidden representation and Public Service Motivation. The southern state selected for the study declined participation. The survey received 54 responses, 44 of which included responses to the hidden representation items.

Level of analysis. The responses were analyzed at the level of the theme. Each response was categorized as reflecting a specific theme. If the response does not meet the criteria of any of the themes listed was included in the refusal theme. The refusal theme includes nonsensical responses, blank responses, and the use of "N/A."

Coding Method. The researcher composed a set of interactive concepts based on the responses of the respondents. This method allowed for flexible categories throughout the coding process. After reading through the responses, a set of themes emerged from the data. While the categories are not exhaustive, they are the most inclusive terms known to the researcher and applicable to the scope of this study. The text was coded by hand and by one coder using a coding scheme presented in Appendix F. Due to the sample size, this was deemed as the most

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appropriate and feasible method of analysis. Using this method and coding scheme also allowed the researcher to easily identify errors, misspellings, and typos, which improves the reliability of the coding scheme.

Coding Style. The researcher chose to code the frequency of the concepts outlined in Appendix F. This method allowed for a continued focus on the specific concepts and focuses of the study. The research counted the number of times each theme appeared within each response. After going through several iterations of coding, the themes listed in the table below emerged as the overarching categories of responses. Additionally, important quotes that elaborate on the theme and attitudes of the respondents were highlighted to try to illuminate a concept.

Determination of Concepts. The text was coded as the same when words appeared in different forms, and when words imply the concept rather than the word that is explicitly stated. For example, if terms like "need help and helpless" are used, both terms will be categorized as the same theme. Additionally, the term Black and majority racial group were both coded as race while one explicitly identifies a race and the latter insinuates white as a racial identifier. The intent here is to create a coding scheme that transparently categorizes the text in a logical format. Irrelevant information such as common English words like "the, and, a, or, of, with" was disregarded in developing concepts.

Coding Rules. The research has ensured validity and reliability in the coding scheme by strictly coding and obeying the following coding scheme outlined in Appendix F.

Using this scheme should improve internal validity as the scheme allows for higher intercoder reliability. The next section draws conclusions and generalizations on hidden representation with the data collected. General trends and patterns were identified, and conclusions were drawn based on the data collected.

<center>**Operationalization of Variables**</center>

In Tables 6.1-6.4, the researcher explores the concept of hidden representation and its relationship to advocacy for minority clients using content analysis. While this data is qualitative, the data was coded to assess trends and patterns within the data in addition to tracing the process through which hidden representation develops for most respondents. The responses of social workers in Massachusetts, Missouri, and Colorado (n=54) to four open-ended questions were examined for patterns and trends in beliefs, thoughts, and experiences, and motivation. **Race** is the worker's self-identified race. The categories are Black, White, Native-American, Asian, and Other. **Gender** was self-identified as well with three available categories: Male, Female, and Non-binary. **Age** is categorized into age groups. The respondents were given the options of 18-25, 26-34,35-44,45-54,55 and older. **Income** was also measured in bands. The respondents were given the following income brackets: Less 50,000, 50-79,999**,** 80,000, and above. **Education** is coded into three groups: Less than a master's degree, Master's degree or Above, and Unspecified[13]. For **Ethnicity**, the respondents were asked if they were Hispanic or Non-Hispanic. **Advocacy Behavior towards clients** is the dependent variable in Tables 6.1-6.4. The respondents were asked a closed-ended question to gauge their advocacy behaviors. They

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were asked the following: "Do you advocate for your minority clients?" Participants who responded "yes" to the dependent variable, advocacy behaviors, were then given the four survey items measuring the four key independent variables gauging beliefs, attitude development, shared identity, and motivation.

The key factors in representation are believed to be advocacy belief, advocacy development, a form of representation, and Public Service Motivation. These variables are used to explain the dependent variable, representation, as measured by reports of advocacy.

Advocacy Belief is the reasoning respondents have for the importance of minority client advocacy. To examine this concept, respondents were asked, "Why is it important to advocate for minority clients?" **Advocacy Development** refers to the mechanism respondents identify as crucial in the development of the belief in the importance of minority client advocacy. The respondents were asked the following to gauge this concept: Describe your own experiences that developed these (advocacy) thoughts. **Shared Identity** is a term used to describe street-level bureaucrats' attributes, which are less visible but similar to the target group. These characteristics create points of identification where bureaucrats relate to the plight of the target population. As a result, they advocate for that population. Hidden representation may include - but is not limited to- growing up in poverty, having a criminal past, caring for aging family members, or being reared in or exposed to a pro-social justice/social equity ideology. Actual categories of representation were extracted from the data. To examine this variable, the respondents were given a survey item asking, "How are you similar to your clients?"

The fourth key variable, **Public Service Motivation (PSM),** is the incentive the respondents have to do the work that they do beyond their monetary compensation. To measure this variable, the respondents were asked, "What motivates you to do the work you do?".

Through this line of inquiry, this study attempts to trace the process that these street-level bureaucrats use to move from shared identity to advocacy behavior. The findings presented in this chapter indicate a clear connection between experience and behavior.

This portion of the study is largely exploratory. Here, the researcher sought a better understanding of bureaucrats' positive attitudes towards advocacy for target groups who they do not identify with demographically. According to representative bureaucracy theory, the demographics of administrator has a significant relationship to the administrator's efforts for their clients, but it may not be the only explanatory variable in actively representing client interests. This portion of the study seeks to explore instances in which the demographics and the attitudes towards advocacy do not align.

Results

The thematic percentages to the four open-ended questions measuring the four variables used to trace the process of hidden representation are listed in Tables 6.1-6.4.

Shared Identity. The first item looks like the perceived similarity between clients and workers. The question examines what social workers perceive as their points of identification with clients and determine if those characteristics are visible or less visible points of identification.

For the identity question, the respondents were asked, "How are you similar to your minority clients?" Five thematic categories of responses were extracted: physical characteristics, family background, basic humanity, shared sentiments, and no similarity. When prompted, only 25% of the respondents reported a physical trait. These include race and gender. The majority of respondents found similarity in their shared sentiments towards the plight of the client

population. The sentiment category is marked by references to the challenges minorities face in society and an acknowledgment and acceptance of the respondents' privilege and the accompanying responsibilities. One respondent stated, "I cannot assume what they are experiencing with intersectionality. I can meet them with compassion, empathy, and a listening ear".

The smallest categories- basic humanity and family background- account for 8.3% of the responses, respectively. In the family background category, respondents identified some familial experience, connecting them to the client group. In the "no similarity" category, the respondent identified no similarity or shared identity with their clients. The basic humanity category includes 27.8% of the responses. Basic humanity responses are marked by respondent reporting identification with clients on a broad, nonspecific level of humanity. These responses did not indicate any social origin groups; the responses reflect seeing "sameness" amongst all people rather than the differences.

Table 6.1: Shared Identity Themes

Survey Item: How are you similar to your clients?		
Theme	Percentage	Quote
Physical	25%	"I cannot assume what they are experiencing with intersectionality. I can meet them with compassion, empathy, and a listening ear."
Family Background	8.3%	
Basic Humanity	27.8%	
Community Sentiments*	30.6%	
No Similarity	8.3%	

*= highest response category

Advocacy Beliefs. The advocacy beliefs variable yielded four thematic trends- job duties, social justice, privilege, and refusal. This item gauged the respondent's motivation towards advocacy for minority clients.

The majority of the respondents reported advocating to reach social justice goals. The social justice category is marked by responses that reflect a desire to help rebalance the societal scales and a desire to use their position to try to give power to marginalized people. Demonstrating the social justice theme, one respondent noted, "It is important to advocate for all of those who may have a disadvantage and less access to services or programs." Only 5.6% of

the response fell within the category of refusal. Refusal responses are marked by statements that ignore the question or responses with irrelevant information that does not address the question.

Table 6.2: Advocacy Belief Themes

Survey Item: Why is it important to advocate for minority clients?		
Code	Percentage	Notable Quote
Job Duties	22.2%	"It is important to advocate for all those who may have a disadvantage and less access to services or programs."
Social Justice*	44.4%	
Privilege/Personal Responsibility	27.8%	
Refusal to acknowledge Importance	5.6%	

Advocacy Development. The next item, advocacy development, looks at the mechanism through which the respondents developed the ideas and attitudes toward advocacy.

Advocacy development yielded three themes: political climate, feelings of marginalization, and exposure. When asked how they developed these attitudes towards advocacy, over 80% of the responses fell into the category of feeling marginalized themselves and exposure to advocacy and service before their professional career. Feelings of

marginalization are defined as statements reporting experiences of otherness along with any category other than visible characteristics. Exposure is marked by the responses that outline a specific program or activity, including but not limited to social programs, professional and academic training, and the experiences of loved ones. The exposure category was the highest of the two, with 48.4% of the responses. Feeling marginalized was a close second at 45.2%. The lowest category, political climate, only included 6.5% of the responses. One of the respondents in the exposure category makes a clear link from experience to behavior in their response. The respondent stated, "My brother came to my family through transracial adoption. I became more aware of my privilege through this experience. I was able to buy toys that looked like me. He was not. Additionally, I witnessed racism directed at him quite frequently."

Table 6.3: Advocacy Development Themes

Survey Item: Describe your own experiences that developed these {advocacy} thoughts.		
Theme	Percentage	Notable Quote:
Political Climate	6.5%	"My brother came to my family through transracial adoption. I became more aware of my privilege through this experience. I was able to buy toys that looked like me. He was not. Additionally, I witnessed racism directed at him quite frequently.
Feelings of Marginalization	45.2%	
Exposure*	48.4%	

Public Service Motivation. The final concept, Public Service Motivation (PSM), explores the respondent's incentive to stay within the profession. PSM item presented four major themes-societal impacts, serving clients, social justice, and background characteristics.

The data show that 40% of the respondents are motivated by serving clients. This category is marked by responses outlining a desire to or professional experiences that impact the lives of individuals. The second-largest category of motivation was social justice. Social justice is defined as responses indicating a desire to help rebalance the society scales and use their position to try to give power to marginalized people. The smallest two categories of responses were making a societal impact and being motivated by some background characteristics. The societal impact category includes responses that report wanting to not specifically impact the clients but rather a desire to impact society at large without specifying any client attitudes or motives. The background category is marked by statements indicating that some demographic characteristic like race or gender is the driving force behind their motivation within the profession.

Table 6.4: Public Service Motivation Themes

Survey Item: What motivates you to do the work that you do?		
Theme	Percentage	Notable Quote:
Societal Impact	13.5%	"The outcomes. I have seen success in my clients, and that motivates me to continue to do the work that I do."
Serving Clients*	40.5%	
Social Justice	35.1%	
Background Characteristics	10.8%	

Summary of Results

Taking all of the themes into consideration, the data suggest that most respondents who advocate for minority clients feel most similar to their client along the lines of shared sentiments towards the minority plight. They advocate on their clients' behalf out of a desire for social justice for those populations. Those ideas about advocating were developed through service and advocacy exposure for most, but also feeling of marginalization for many. While shared identity plays a role in developing advocacy attitudes, it does not have the greatest impact on representation for the respondents. Additionally, these individuals continue within their profession because of a desire to impact the lives of their clients on an individual level. These findings partially support hypothesis #3.

The three analytical chapters show evidence of a relationship between social workers' attitudes and their personal characteristics. Social workers' characteristics have some association with their attitudes towards these groups. The data suggests that advocacy for groups from a different social background develops through experience and exposure. These experiences create sentiments in support of the plight of the policy target group. The final chapter summarizes the major findings, contributions, and takeaways in the dissertation.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings presented in chapter 4-6, outlines the limitations of the study, and provides direction for future research. The results are interpreted with consideration of the research questions and in conjecture with the larger body of literature. The researcher plans to continue her work along these lines and further investigate the role attitudes and external structures play in representation. Future research should consider the findings, challenges, and the recommended considerations outlined in this chapter.

Summary of the Findings

The theory outlined and results reported in the previous chapters tell an interesting story of social structures, attitudes, and identity in social welfare policy. It also shows that the translation of passive representation to active representation is more complex than once thought. When scholars only talk about physical attributes and policy outputs, we may be excluding several important intervening, and antecedent factors that play a major role in the translation of administrator attributes to substantive benefits to constituents.

Hypothesis 1:

As experts on the target group and policy areas, street-level bureaucrats will have attitudes towards negatively constructed client target groups that are dissimilar to the social construction of the group.

In chapter 4, hypothesis 1 was not supported. The researcher hypothesized that social workers would perceive their clients differently because of their specialized knowledge. Surprisingly, the data showed that attitudes of street-level bureaucrats align with the policy narrative surrounding the target groups. This supports the idea that structural constraints may not just be institutional or organizational; they may be societal as well. One would expect experts within a field to have a more distinct and complex understanding of target populations. However, the data suggest that their ideas may align with policy narratives perpetuated by legislators, interest groups, and policy entrepreneurs in the macro-political arena. These findings support the works of scholars like Wilkins and Williams (2008) and Keiser, Wilkins, and Meier (2002), which suggest that structural factors impact administrative practices, however, the current literature is limited to internal structures. Also, it is possible that when social workers are asked about their clients specifically rather than the target group at large, they may have different attitudes. This possibility needs to be investigated to determine its validity. The results advance representative bureaucracy theory into the realm of considering external structures in active representation. Policy narratives are intended to impact agenda setting and legislation, but they may also have a lasting impact on policy implementation.

Hypothesis 2: Across all socially constructed groups, street-level bureaucrats of a shared identity with the target group will have more supportive attitudes towards policy target groups.

In chapter 5, shared identity and attitudes towards clients of a shared identity were examined. This included traditional passive representative and hidden representation. Hypothesis 2 was partially upheld. These results support the general consensus in RBT theory that racial identification is a significant point of shared identity and related to workers' attitudes and

behaviors towards the policy group. However, it is unclear if this is because of the hidden identities chosen or an actual lack of relationship between other forms of shared identity and advocacy attitudes. These findings draw a clearer line from representation in appearance to actively supporting the interests of the target group, which likely results in policy advocacy behaviors under favorable conditions outlined by scholars like Kranz (1976), Keiser et al. (2002), and Childs and Krook (2008).

Shared identity along the lines of race was a clear predictor of attitudes in this dissertation. Hidden points of shared identity were not supported by the data. The data show that attitudinal alignment with target groups is strongest along the lines of shared racial identity. The results suggest that race is the strongest indicator of attitude congruence, which leads to advocacy behavior. While other points of shared identity showed some relationship to policy attitudes, we see that the relationship is nowhere as strong or as clear as in the case of race. The complicated issues of race within the United States may be responsible for this effect. Administrators may see this as the most impactful characteristic in society and, as such, the most important point of identification and point of advocacy. Supporting Meier, Stewart, England (1989), race has been upheld within this study as to the most influential factor in representative efforts and the strongest point of identification in shared experiences.

Hypothesis 3: Street-level bureaucrats of a different background will report instances of hidden representation as their reasons for advocating for minority clients.

In chapter 6, the data show that attitudes towards advocacy for people from a different identity are largely rooted in exposure to the plight of those groups- whether that be professional training or personal experiences. As such, hypothesis 3 was partially upheld. The hypothesis was only partially upheld because similarities were more often drawn along the lines of shared

sentiment rather than life experiences. Support for minority clients was rooted in professional ideas towards advocacy or personal experiences of feeling marginalized; however, those experiences could not be typified in categories like- growing up poor and having a criminal background- as expected.

The data suggest that attitudinal congruence is something that can be developed through experiences rather than just natural group membership. This differs from the idea of neutral competence, however. While it is an attitude that has been developed outside of social origin groups, those experiences still create an environment where an administrator is placing focused attention on the needs of client groups based on group membership. For this reason, these findings do not support the idea that administrative decision making is or can be neutral. Put another way, while these workers do not identify with the group demographically, they still advocate for that group in patterns similar to traditional active representation that extends beyond the mere responsibilities of their job.

Wilkins and Williams (2008) show that professional socialization can hinder active representation; however, the findings outlined within this dissertation suggest that professional socialization can help active representation within certain fields. It appears that while some street-level bureaucrats are socialized to support the organization above all else. Other professions are socialized to support marginalized people as support for the mission of the organization.

Additionally, the data also showed that challenges to minority advocacy might be an issue. Some respondents reported attitudes in alignment with "color-blind" attitudes. This works to the detriment of marginalized groups. Marginalized groups cannot afford to operate in a color-blind world. While race may be a social construct of society, race still has real implications in the

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lives of individuals. A refusal to acknowledge this difference could be working against the needs of minority and marginalized groups.

Implications and Limitations

This dissertation is intended to be the beginning of a new line of inquiry within RBT. The goal of this study was to gain a better understanding of the link between passive and active representation, to explore less traditional points of identification, and to investigate macro-level constraints on active representation. RBT theory is a very active area of study within public administration. Studies largely focus on linking the demographics of workers with their policy outputs and decisions for the population served (See Figure 1.1). RBT scholars acknowledge some congruence between workers and the population served, but the discussion of that connection remains at the level of shared social origin. Numerous studies have explored several associations between demographics and policy outputs. Examples of these include teachers' gender and students' test performance, police officers' race and citizen satisfaction, and perceptions of community leaders' names and citizen involvement. While this is a very fruitful line of inquiry, understanding the mechanism that moves workers from demographics to impactful advocacy is needed. Also, the relationship between demographically dissimilar workers and client advocacy is unexplored. This gap was created within the literature because these questions require surveying public servants about sensitive and challenging topics. This study aimed to address these things in the most practical ways possible.

The traditional model of passive representation to active representation is outlined in Figure 1.1. This dissertation adds two important features to that model. First, it includes the

possibility of external constraints to the translation process. It is well-recognized that internal factors like organizational structure and administrative discretion can impede or facilitate the translation of passive representation to active representation. This study suggests that there are also external societal factors, like the social construction of certain groups of people, that can condition administrators to want to or not want to act on behalf of their target groups.

Second, within the traditional model, we see a consistent correlation between workers' demographics and policy outputs for certain groups but little explanation of how demographics lead to policy outputs. This dissertation suggests that the linking factor from demographics to policy outputs is attitudes toward clients. For example, the findings in chapters 4 and 5 show that black social workers support black client group interests and being black was the most significant predictor of support in this area. These supportive attitudes are a reasonable explanation for advocacy behavior. The addition of shared attitudes to the model provides a clearer understanding as to why demographics translate to policy outputs for certain groups.

Understanding the attitudes and behaviors of street-level bureaucrats are both academically and practically important. Hiring practices and bureaucratic behavior may all be influenced by social construction and representation within the policy area. Additionally, this study suggests that employing administrators from diverse backgrounds provide more than demographical representation. It also provides representation in diverse attitudes, perceptions, and experiences. The findings suggest that while we no longer live in the civil rights and affirmative action era under which RBT was originally developed, the issue of representation is still relevant and pressing. Over the brief history of public administration as a field of study, scholars have defined the responsibilities of public administrators to not only do their jobs but also act as advocates for their citizenry. Social equity is a major value within the discipline. As

such, determining how ideas of social equity form and manifest is a valuable addition to the field.

Developing an explanation of workers' connection to their client groups is an arduous task. One of the reasons why this is such a challenging thing to study is because this research requires an in-depth study of the attitudes and perceptions of bureaucrats. Collecting that information can be time-consuming. Also, finding public servants willing to discuss their attitudes towards racial groups and how it impacts their job can be difficult. This study attempted to move the literature forward by exploring these ideas. It serves as the first line of inquiry in understanding how external factors and employee attitudes impacts policy implementation.

While the study initiates the inquiry around these ideas, there are a few areas in which the investigation is limited. The research design posed some limits that have to be acknowledged. First, the case selection and representativeness of the SWOQ sample presents a few challenges. The southern region is not represented in the findings in chapter 6. The qualitative portion of the study was designed to explore all four regions and the regional effect outlined in the literature. However, one state declined participation- excluding the representation of the southern region. Additionally, the researcher was only able to obtain respondents from one city in the state of Missouri rather than the entire state. Including all 50 states in the analysis was not feasible for this study. However, having one state representing each region was deemed as the most appropriate method of developing some level of generalizability for the findings. While the south is not represented in the findings, the study still provides more comprehensive information than an examination of a single state.

 A second concern is the use of a most similar case selection method. This design consideration meant that cases which are dissimilar along the lines of policy spending could not

be explored within the qualitative analysis. While the study was limited in its ability to explain the variation in cases with different spending patterns, it provides some insight into the policy attitudes of street-level bureaucrats across regions. Future studies should consider conducting an analysis including all 50 states; this would incorporate more variation in the analysis. Future research should distribute the survey on a national level, which would include variations in policy spending patterns.

A third concern has to do with the participants' formal expertise as social workers. The data from the GSS survey includes individuals who self-identify as social workers. The professional credentials or discipline in which they received their degree is not available within the dataset. As a result, it is difficult to determine if these individuals are social workers according to social work professional standards. An analysis that includes only social workers who meet a set of licensing or educational requirements would be beneficial in the future.

Determining the response rate to the SWOQ was also challenging. The organizations used within this study limits participation in research to a volunteer-only basis or require the researcher to purchase third party marketing, which was not feasible. Further research should consider exploring other professional associations or extensive funding and an incentive structure for participation.

With survey research, there is a concern for self-selection bias. It could be that the respondents who chose to participate may have certain leanings and ways of thinking about policy target groups in common. There is no way to determine if that were the case within this study, but one way of addressing this in the future would be by achieving a high response rate. If most of those workers recruited to the study responded to the survey, that should ensure that diverse perspectives and attitudes are represented within the results.

Next, the relationship modeled here is not a complete model of the process through which passive representation becomes active representation. This study is limited to gathering information on attitudes towards policy advocacy rather than actual advocacy behaviors. Future research should include actual policy outputs for client target groups.

The general nature of survey data is challenging to use to draw firm conclusions. As Converse (1964) and Zaller (1991), note opinions on political matters often are connected to the most recent interaction or experience. For the latter two reasons, actual policy decisions for socially constructed target groups should be studied. A logical next step in this line of inquiry would be connecting these attitudes to actual policy outputs for their respective policy groups. The researcher plans to investigate this relationship and expand the study to other street-level bureaucrats.

Finally, with regards to hidden representation, the sample size, and the exploratory nature of this study limits generalization. Some clear connections can be drawn from attitudes to reported behaviors; however, establishing a distinct universal system of categorizing and typifying these terms was beyond the scope of this study. The researcher's next step in understanding hidden representation will be establishing a typology so that types of hidden representation can be easily understood throughout the discipline.

In sum, this dissertation serves as the beginning of the researcher's study agenda. Considerable work still needs to be done to elaborate these terms, to understand the process of developing attitudes, and to parse out other forms of representation that lead to advocacy attitude development. Three major takeaways are apparent from this dissertation. First, race is still a key form of identity and attitudinal congruence, especially within the African American community. This may be due to the historical challenges African Americans have experienced within the U.S,

making the experience of being a black a unique and inescapable form of connection to others. Second, while race is a key point of identification, it is not the only point of identification used to develop attitudes towards advocating for policy target groups. These findings suggest that workers with experience and exposure to the plight of marginalized groups hold attitudes in support of that group. Finally, while internal conditions vary from organization to organization, societal factors may influence the practice of public administration. The view of certain groups could have a major influence on how these client groups are served. These ideas should be explored more deeply by public administration scholars.

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Appendix A:

Data Collection Instruments

Survey Items

Variable Name	GSS Survey Item
Attitudes Towards Blacks	We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)? **H.** Improving the conditions of Blacks
Attitudes Towards Military	We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)? **I.** The military, armaments, and defense
Attitudes Towards Children	We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. First (READ ITEM A) . . . are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on (ITEM)? **P.** Assistance for childcare
Attitudes Towards Criminals	In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?
Race	What race do you consider yourself?
Sex	Sex:
Age	Age:
Party ID	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?
Education	Degree
Hispanic	Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/Latina?
Variable Name	**SWOQ Survey Item**
Age	Please select your age group:
Worker Race	What race do you consider yourself? Please mark only one.
Gender	What is your gender?

Education	What is your highest level of education? Check one.
Income	What is your estimated annual gross wages/salary from all social work positions?
Professional Socialization	How many years have you practicing as a social worker? How many years have you been in your current position? How many years have you employed in government in general? Please mark all of the social work certifications you currently hold. In what field did you receive your highest degree? Have you worked in any of the following fields? (Check all that apply)
Employment Status	What is your employment status?
Sector	What best describes the sector of your primary employer?
Caseload-Female	What percentage of your total caseload is female?
Social Construction of Target Client Group	Which of the following groups best describes the client group you work with most often:
% Co-ethnic Minority Client	What percentage of your total caseload falls into the following racial/ethnic groups? Please mark one in each category.
Program Type	Which of the following best describes the program you work with most often?
Street-level Bureaucrat	Does your job require you to interact directly with clients?
Agency Attitudes	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}: The things I value in life are similar to the things that my organization values. My personal values match my organization's values and culture. My organization's values and culture provide a good fit with the things that I value in life
Client Attitudes	I feel concerned for my clients if they are under pressure. I understand the problems that my clients face. My clients are doing the best they can, given the circumstances. I can personally identify with the issues my clients face. {Respondent's Reported Client Target Group} get less attention from government than they deserve.

Policy Advocacy Attitudes	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}): I should seek to provide information to policy makers to assist them in making decisions concerning minority community needs and perspectives. I should recommend or actively advocate in favor of policies which address the needs and concerns of minority clients. I should be supportive of procedures which may result in greater and more equitable access by minorities to federal programs and services. I should actively advocate in favor of a more equitable distribution of program services to minorities including recommending procedural service delivery alternatives when necessary. I should be supportive of or encourage Federal and/or departmental change when necessary to insure the representation of minorities in government affairs. I should recommend and/or actively advocate in favor of institutional changes which may result in a greater governmental responsiveness to minorities. Regarding program implementation, I should limit my concern to the efficient carrying out of my own departmental programs and duties. I should limit my concern with "how" federal programs and services are implemented, and in particular to the efficient execution of my own departmental duties. I should actively advocate in favor of hiring and promotion of individuals with a focus on equal opportunity and merit.
Client Advocacy Behaviors	How often do you use the following ways to publicize the benefits your program provides? (1 {never} to 4 {very often}): Churches Minority Outreach Programs Minority Community Organizations
	Please select the statement that describes each of these groups' expectations for you as a social worker. General Public Minority Community Minority Clients
Strength of Racial Identity (Minority Only)	Some say that the people of your ethnic background in the U.S. have a great deal in common culturally, others disagree. Do you think groups of (Respondent's reported racial minority group) are culturally very similar, somewhat similar, somewhat different, or very different?

	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}: {Respondent's Reported Racial Group} get less attention from government than they deserve.
Linked Fate	Do you think what happens generally to other groups of (Respondent's racial group) will affect what happens in your life?
Social Equity Attitudes	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}: The government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups, even if it means giving them preferential treatment If social welfare benefits such as disability, unemployment compensation, and early retirement pensions are as high as they are now, it only makes people not want to work anymore. The government should be more concerned about the social welfare of minorities. In the past 5 years, I have given money to a group advocating social change. What one gets in life hardly depends at all on one's own efforts, but rather on the economic situation, job opportunities, union agreements, and the social services provided by the government. America has an open society. What one achieves in life no longer depends on one's family background, but on the abilities, one has and the education one acquires. In the United States there are still great differences between social levels, and what one can achieve in life depends mainly upon one's family background.
Impactful Policy Area	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}: The program I work in is very important to my minority community.
Administrative Discretion	To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}: In my position I have the ability to independently make decisions that directly affect clients. *(Examples of independent decision making include granting or denying application, sanctioning clients for failure to comply, and conducting client assessments)* I sometimes have to make judgment calls on when there are not clear guidelines for certain issues in assessing clients.

Hidden Representation	If you were asked to use one of four names for your family's social class when you were growing up, which you would say you belong in:
	Briefly explain why you think it is important to advocate for minority clients.
	Briefly describe any experiences in your own life that you think helped you develop these beliefs.
	In what ways do you think you are similar to your minority clients?
	Briefly explain what motivates you to do the work you do.

Appendix B:

SWOQ Instrument

Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire

This survey is intended to better understand the opinions of licensed social workers. All of the information collected in the survey will be kept anonymous. The survey takes approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. Please answer each of the questions to the best of your ability. Select the continue arrow at the bottom of the screen to begin. If you do not wish to participate in the survey, select the exit button on the top left.

1. What percentage of your total caseload is female?

    a) None
    b) 1-25%
    c) 26-50%
    d) 51-75%
    e) 75+%

2. Which of the following groups best describes the client group you work with most often:
    a.) Veterans
    b.) Children
    c.) Elderly
    d.) Criminals
    e.) Drug Addicts
    f.) Disabled
    g.) Mothers

3. What percentage of your total caseload falls into the following racial/ethnic groups? Please mark one in each category.

    None   1-5%   6-10%   11-25%.   26-50%   51+%

    a) Asian Pacific Islander
    b) Black/African American (Not Hispanic)

c) Hispanic Latino
d) Native American/Alaskan Native
e) White (Not Hispanic)
f) Other

4. Please mark all of the social work certifications you currently hold.

   a.) Case management
   b.) Children, Youth &Family
   c.) Clinical Social Work
   d.) Geriatrics
   e.) Health care
   f.) Independent practice/ ACSW
   g.) School social work
   h.) Substance abuse/chemical dependency
   i.) Other: _____
   j.) None of the above

5. In what field did you receive your highest degree?

   a) Business
   b) Criminal Justice
   c) Law
   d) Psychology
   e) Sociology
   f) Social Work
   g) Medicine
   h) Political Science
   i) Other (specify)_____

6. Have you worked in any of the following fields? (Check all that apply)

a) Law enforcement
b) Prosecution
c) Defense
d) Juvenile Justice
e) Criminal Justice Policy
f) Military
g) Substance abuse treatment
h) Social Work
i) Public Health
j) Political Activities
k) Other (specify) _____

7. Which of the following best describes the program you work with most often: (Check one)?

a) Public Assistance (This includes but is not limited to cash assistance, housing assistance, SNAPS/Food stamps)
b) Child Welfare
c) Medicaid
d) Medicare
e) Child Support
f) Elderly Welfare/Welfare
g) Drug Rehabilitation/ Recovery
h) Probation/Parole
i) Disability and Indigence
j) WIC (Women Infants and Children)
k) Veteran Affairs
l) Public Health
m) Mental Health

8. Does your job require you to interact directly with clients?
a) Yes
b) No

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}:

9. The things I value in life are similar to the things that my organization values.
10. My personal values match my organization's values and culture.
11. My organization's values and culture provide a good fit with the things that I value in life

12. I feel concerned for my clients if they are under pressure.
13. I understand the problems that my clients face.
14. My clients are doing the best they can, given the circumstances.
15. I can personally identify with the issues my clients face.
16. I should seek to provide information to policy makers to assist them in making decisions concerning minority community needs and perspectives.
17. I should recommend or actively advocate in favor of policies which address the needs and concerns of minority clients.
18. I should be supportive of procedures which may result in greater and more equitable access by minorities to federal programs and services.
19. I should actively advocate in favor of a more equitable distribution of program services to minorities including recommending procedural service delivery alternatives when necessary.
20. I should be supportive of or encourage Federal and/or departmental change when necessary to insure the representation of minorities in government affairs.
21. I should recommend and/or actively advocate in favor of institutional changes which may result in a greater governmental responsiveness to minorities.
22. Regarding program implementation, I should limit my concern to the efficient carrying out of my own departmental programs and duties.
23. I should limit my concern with "how" federal programs and services are implemented, and in particular to the efficient execution of my own departmental duties.
24. I should actively advocate in favor of hiring and promotion of individuals with a focus on equal opportunity and merit.

How often do you use the following ways to publicize the benefits your program provides? (1 {never} to 4 {very often}):

25. Churches
26. Minority Outreach Programs
27. Minority Community Organizations

Please select the statement that describes each of these groups' expectations for you as a social worker.

28. General Public:
    a.) Expect me to advocate in favor of the delivery of programs and services in a manner which may increase minority access.
    b.) Expect me to implement programs and services consistent with established departmental procedures and past practices.
    c.) Expect me to both continue existing program and service delivery practices and to seek procedures for increasing access for minorities.

d.) Hold no expectation either way regarding my involvement in program implementation and service delivery.

29. Minority Community:
   a.) Expect me to advocate in favor of the delivery of programs and services in a manner which may increase minority access.
   b.) Expect me to implement programs and services consistent with established departmental procedures and past practices.
   c.) Expect me to both continue existing program and service delivery practices and to seek procedures for increasing access for minorities.
   d.) Hold no expectation either way regarding my involvement in program implementation and service delivery.

30. Minority Colleagues:
   a.) Expect me to advocate in favor of the delivery of programs and services in a manner which may increase minority access.
   b.) Expect me to implement programs and services consistent with established departmental procedures and past practices.
   c.) Expect me to both continue existing program and service delivery practices and to seek procedures for increasing access for minorities.
   d.) Hold no expectation either way regarding my involvement in program implementation and service delivery.

31. Some say that the people of your ethnic background in the U.S. have a great deal in common culturally, others disagree. Do you think groups of (Respondent's reported racial minority group) are culturally very similar, somewhat similar, somewhat different, or very different?
   a) Very similar
   b) Somewhat similar
   c) Somewhat different
   d) Very different
   e) Not sure

32. Do you think what happens generally to other groups of (AA) (Asians) (Hispanics) (Native Americans) will affect what happens in your life?
   a.) Yes
   b.) No
   c.) Not Sure

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}:

33. The government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks and other minority groups, even if it means giving them preferential treatment
34. If social welfare benefits such as disability, unemployment compensation, and early retirement pensions are as high as they are now, it only makes people not want to work anymore.
35. The government should be more concerned about the social welfare of minorities
36. In the past 5 years, I have given money to a group advocating social change
37. What one gets in life hardly depends at all on one's own efforts, but rather on the economic situation, job opportunities, union agreements, and the social services provided by the government.
38. America has an open society. What one achieves in life no longer depends on one's family background, but on the abilities, one has and the education one acquires. -
39. In the United States there are still great differences between social levels, and what one can achieve in life depends mainly upon one's family background.
40. {Respondent's Reported Racial Group} get less attention from government than they deserve.
    {Respondent's Reported Client Target Group} get less attention from government than they deserve.

To what degree do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1{strongly disagree} to 5 {strongly agree}:

41. The program I work in is very important to my minority community.
42. In my position I have the ability to independently make decisions that directly affect clients. *(Examples of independent decision making include granting or denying application, sanctioning clients for failure to comply, and conducting client assessments)*
43. I sometimes have to make judgment calls on when there are not clear guidelines for certain issues in assessing clients.

Hidden Representation Effect

44. If you were asked to use one of four names for your family's social class when you were growing up, which you would say you belong in:

a) lower class
b) working class
c) middle class
d) upper class

45. Briefly explain why you think it is important to advocate for minority clients.

46. Briefly describe any experiences in your own life that you think helped you develop these beliefs.

47. In what ways do you think you are similar to your minority clients?

48. Briefly explain what motivates you to do the work you do.

49. Please select your age group:

a) 25 and under
b) 26-34
c) 35-44
d) 45-54
e) 55-64
f) 65 and over

50. What is your gender?

a) Male
b) Female

51. What race do you consider yourself? Please mark only one.

a) Asian/Pacific Islander
b) Black/African American
c) Hispanic/Latino

d) White (Non-Hispanic)

e) Native American/ Alaskan Native

f) Other: _____

52. What is your highest level of education? Check one.

a) High school

b) Associate degree

c) B.A/B.S.

d) Some graduate studies

e) MBA/Masters

f) J.D.

g) Ph.D./Ed.D

h) M.D.

i) Other (specific)_____

53. What is your estimated annual gross wages/salary from all social work positions?

a) Less than 15,000

b) 15,000-19,999

c) 20,000-24,999

d) 25,000-29,999

e) 30,000-34,999

f) 35,000-39,999

g) 40,000-49,999

h) 50,000-59,999

i) 60,000-69,999

j) 70,000-79,999

k) 80,000-99,999

l) 100,000 or more

54. How many years have you practicing as a social worker?

a.) 0-5

b.) 6-10

c.) 11-15

d.) 16-20

e.) 20 or more years

55. How many years have you been in your current position?

a.) 0-5

b.) 6-10

c.) 11-15

d.) 16-20

e.) 20 or more years

56. How many years have you employed in government in general?

    a.) 0-5

    b.) 6-10

    c.) 11-15

    d.) 16-20

    e.) 20 or more years

57. What is your employment status?

    a) Employed/self-employed in social work position

    b) Employed/self-employed in a non-social work position

    c) Not currently employed

    d) Retired

58. What best describes the sector of your primary employer?

    a) Private Business (Includes a private practice)

    b) Non-profit organization

    c) Federal government

    d) State government

    e) Local government

    f) Military

(End of Survey)

Thank you so much for respond to the Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire! Your input was extremely valuable. The information collected will provide insight on what really matters to social workers like you. Once again, I am extremely grateful for your contributing your time, providing honest feedback, and giving thoughtful responses.

Best Regards,

Alicia Barnes

Graduate Assistant and Doctoral Candidate

Auburn University

Department of Political Science

April 27, 2019

INFORMATION LETTER

for a Research Study entitled

"*Social Worker Opinion Questionnaire* "

You are invited to participate in a research study to understand the opinions of social workers. The study is being conducted by Alicia Barnes, Doctoral Candidate under the direction of Dr. Bridgett King, Assistant Professor in the Auburn University Department of Political Science. You are invited to participate because you are a licensed social worker in your state and are age *19* or older.

What will be involved if you participate? Your participation is completely voluntary.   If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to complete a brief survey. Your total time commitment will be approximately 15 to 20 minutes. The survey can be accessed using the following *Survey link: www.tinyurl.com/*

Are there any risks or discomforts? There are no known risks associated with participating in this study.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw from participating. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn as long as it is identifiable. Once you have submitted anonymous data, it cannot be withdrawn since it will be unidentifiable. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Political Science, or the College of Liberal Arts.

Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. We will protect your privacy and the data you provide by collecting your responses to survey questions without any personal identifying information. Information collected through your participation may be used to fulfill an educational requirement, published in a professional journal, and/or presented at a professional meeting, etc.

If you have questions about this study, please contact Alicia Barnes at (334) 497-1144 or via email at ACB0040@auburn.edu .

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Research Compliance or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 or e-mail at IRBadmin@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION ABOVE, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE GO TO THE WEBSITE LISTED BELOW. YOU MAY PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO KEEP.

The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from _____ to _____. Protocol #_____

Thank you in advance,

Alicia Barnes, MPA

Graduate Research Assistant and Doctoral Candidate

Auburn University

Department of Political Science

Appendix D:

<u>NASW Invitation Announcement</u>

Calling all NASW Members! Your help is needed. An important survey on the policy opinions of social workers in your area is being conducted. Your feedback is extremely valuable in understanding the policy areas that affect you most. To participate in this study, please follow the link below:
https://auburn.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_6fF1X74kU3u7XaR

Appendix E:

St. Louis County Schools' Invitation Email

Greetings Dr. Adams,

I am writing to request your assistance in gaining participants in a survey examining the opinion of licensed social workers in Missouri.

This study serves as part of the requirements for the completion of my dissertation and I would greatly appreciate it if you would forward this email to all social workers within your district. Participation in this survey is completely voluntary and all of the responses are anonymous. None of the responses will be connected to identifying information.

Moreover, participation in this survey is completely voluntary and participants may opt out of any question in the survey. All responses will be kept confidential. They will only be used for statistical purposes and will be reported only in aggregated form.

The survey will take about 15-20 minutes to complete.

To participate, please click on the following link:

https://auburn.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_6fF1X74kU3u7XaR

If you have any questions about this survey, or difficulty in accessing the site or completing the survey, please contact me at ACB0040@auburn.edu or my major professor, Dr. Bridgett King, at BAK0020@auburn.edu.

Thank you in advance for providing this important feedback.

Note: This survey has been approved in accordance with the Auburn University IRB policy. The survey is being conducted using Qualtrics, a cloud-based software that stores data on secure servers.

Regards,

Alicia (A-lee-c-ya) Barnes

Graduate Instructor and Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Political Science
Auburn University

	Definition
Hidden Representation	
Community Sentiments	Respondent reports identifying with the minority community's plight; marked by an acknowledge and acceptance of the respondents' privilege and the accompanying responsibilities
Basic Humanity	Respondent reports identification with clients on a broad nonspecific level of humanity; does not indicate any social origin groups; response reflects seeing "sameness" rather than the differences
Physical	Respondent notes one or more traditional form of passive representation
Family Background	Respondent identifies some familial connection to the client group
No Similarities	Respondent does not identify any points of identification with client; may even disregard the survey prompt
Advocacy Development	
Political Climate	The respondent notes any major shifts in political power during recent US history or any political event with a lasting social impact. Ex: growing up during the LA Riots
Feeling Marginalized	The respondent notes experiencing otherness along any category other than the traditional passive representation. Ex: being the only ESL speaker in the workplace
Exposure	The respondent outlines a specific program or activity including but not limited to social programs, professional and academic training, and the experiences of loved ones.
Advocacy	
Social Justice	The response outlines a need to help rebalance the society scales and uses their position to try to give power to marginalized people.
Job Duties	The respondent describes a responsibility to do the right things due to profession and that it is their responsibility to advocate as part of the job. They feel that this is what they have to do.
Refusal	The respondent ignores the question or responses with irrelevant information that does not address the question.
Privilege	The respondent outlines a personal privilege due to their social location and conveys feelings of responsibility to use that privilege to help clients
Public Service Motivation	

Societal Impact	The respondent reports wanting to not specifically impact the clients but rather a desire to impact society at large without specifying any social justice attitudes or motives
Serving Clients	The response outlines a desire to or experiences that impact the lives of individuals the respondent serves
Social Justice	The response outlines a need to help rebalance the society scales and uses their position to try to give power to marginalized people
Background characteristics	The respondent indicates that some personal characteristic like race or gender is the driving force behind their motivation within the profession