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Frame Analysis of the Living Wage Campaign and Social Work Implications

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science in Social Work
Degree
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Katherine Ann McClemon-Chaffin
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband Jason Chaffin who has been my support and junior editor through this entire process yet remained my best friend. I would also like to thank my parents Dr. Robert and Barbara Williams and my sweet little grandmother, Virginia Hubbard for supporting me in every way imaginable and being the best family in the whole wide world.

A special dedication to my deceased grandfather, William Jackson Hubbard, for instilling the notion of social justice and integrity within me and always encouraging me to fight for human rights.

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ABSTRACT

The general aim of this study was to examine the living wage movement and how frame alignment fits into social work practice. This research was developed from a limited empirical and theoretical base surrounding the living wage as a social movement. Frame alignment is becoming a tool that more and more people should know how to use. Frame alignment has been a key component in propelling social movements into society in order to effect change. This research is an examination of frame alignment, specifically the living wage movement and how it fits into effective social work practice.

The data were obtained from a convenience sample of 487 students from a public university in middle Tennessee. Three different frames were developed and distributed to 500 college students with a 94.7% response rate. The data were collected from November 2003 to November 2004 through the use of a survey via an experimental design. Three different frameworks were distributed in order to gain insight on framing issues surrounding the living wage. Frame A was an economic justice frame, frame B was a social justice frame and frame C was a control frame.

Findings from this study indicate a strong support for the social justice frame. ANOVA and t-tests have shown a statistical significance between Frame B and support for a living wage [$F(2,482) = 5.301$, $p \leq .006$]. In addition it was discovered that women were not only more likely to support a living wage but they were also more likely to help organize a living wage.

The implications for social work practice and policy indicate social justice as a strong value for change. Frame B was a social justice frame, which ties in appropriately with effective social work practice and the ideal that social workers must fight for oppressed populations in order to seek change and end social injustice. Frame alignment has been in the forefront of all successful social movements including the civil rights movement, which also identified with people's values and beliefs as a part of frame alignment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

The service economy is a bifurcated economy with a few people receiving high wages and many people (disproportionately women and minorities) receiving wages vastly below the poverty level (Pollin, 2001). Advocates for a living wage argue that wages should be based upon the costs of reproducing the family-not market factors and that public dollars should not be spent subsidizing below poverty level wages. A living wage is a wage, which allows people to meet basic needs without the use of public assistance, as well as deal with emergencies and plan ahead (Watrus, 1999). Over 80 cities and municipalities have passed some form of a living wage ordinance within recent years. A living wage posits that public funds should not be used to support employers who pay poverty level wages. In fact, when businesses pay workers poorly, then we as a society see taxpayers picking up the tab for medical care, food stamps, and tax credits (Moberg, 2000). Essentially, the living wage introduces the idea that taxpayer money should not be used to subsidize the working poor (Zabin & Martin, 1999).

Although campaigns and calculations of a living wage vary, they share common elements such as alliances among various community groups, local research on poverty and work, and information campaigns. The focus of this research will examine information campaigns and how they use framing processes to get their message across. By utilizing a proper frame process the living wage movement can reach new heights by successfully capturing the support of traditionally opposed groups such as conservatives,

business owners, and workers who are fearful that a living wage will risk their economic security. Framing defined by Snow and Benford (1997) is the act by a social movement to assign meaning to a condition in order to gain support of bystanders.

According to Zinn (1990), people know that injustice exists; however, they consider themselves helpless, which gives rise to the obstacle of social change. When this social change occurs we can see that a social movement has materialized and that surprising and unpredicted change can occur when people organize, persist, risk, and sacrifice (Zinn, 1990).

Purpose of the Study

Examining what makes any social movement successful is compelling, but examining an issue that would improve the lives of the working poor is especially important particularly in regards to social work values. As time has evolved there has been a serious effort by the federal government to enact programs that will get people working. One such program, welfare to work, trains people to enter the workforce in order to leave the welfare lines, but what they are finding are low-paying jobs that afford them a substandard wage (Neuman, 2001). A living wage seems not only sensible but also a major principle of effective social work.

As a social worker there is a responsibility not only to work directly with clients, but also to activate social change in regards to oppressed populations (NASW Code of Ethics, 2004). In order to do this social workers must become educated on social movements and frame alignment. Social movements are groups which mobilize to effect change (Taylor, 2000) and frame alignment is the process in which the public's interests,

values, and beliefs are correlated with the movement's goals (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). Everyday social workers must be able to frame issues in order to enhance the lives of those who are oppressed. The goal of this study is to learn what factors are needed to frame the idea of a living wage so that the lives of the working poor can be improved.

Key Terms

The following are terms, which shall be used throughout the remainder of this research.

Living Wage- A living wage is a wage, which allows people to meet basic needs without the use of public assistance, as well as deal with emergencies and plan ahead (Watrus, 1999).

Poverty Line- Although there is no clear cut definition of the poverty line it seems to be the point at which a person or family is considered "poor". The threshold was developed by Mollie Orshansky in the 1960's (Fisher, 1997) and has been used to date by the U.S. Census Bureau to measure the number of Americans living in poverty. Characteristics used to determine poverty include health insurance, social security taxes, federal income taxes and earned income credits (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).

Social Movement-A large group of people who are organized to promote or resist social change (Henslin, 1999).

Frame Alignment- the process in which the public's interests, values, and beliefs are correlated with a movement's goals (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford, 1986).

Significance

The study is significant for several reasons. Most importantly few studies have been done surrounding a living wage yet these campaigns have been passed in over 80 municipalities. Of the studies that have been performed none have focused primarily on the aspect of frame analysis. This study is also important in that it provides important information to the knowledge base of social work policy and practice. Research is essential to the credibility of social work. Implementing research designs that provide invaluable knowledge to social justice is critical to disenfranchised populations. This particular research is especially important as it explores a complex theoretical framework as it applies to quantitative research. It is the hope of the researcher to continue to use frame analysis and to train other social workers so that urgent public welfare issues can be addressed and conquered.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Historical Overview

It appears as though Pope Leo XIII in 1891 was the first person to coin the idea of the living wage principle. This ideology was rooted in Catholic social doctrine and has qualities linked to Marx and class conflict. As stated by Pope Leo XIII in his original description of the Living Wage "the worker has been reduced to proletarian status by the onset of the Industrial Revolution (Worland, 2001). Essentially, the worker who at one time owned the means of production now is reduced to work for wages which compromises his ability to sufficiently maintain the family. The nation began to see a glimpse into Marxian ideals between 1877 and 1914 when the country became embedded in serious labor struggles that began as a result of deplorable working conditions and starvation wages (Zinn, 1990).

In 1906, Father John A. Ryan became a favorite of the New Deal administration with his take on Pope Leo XIII's declaration. Father Ryan states "as a protector of natural rights the state ought to compel employers to pay a living wage" (Worland, 2001). Although a living wage was not recognized at this time other benefits arose such as social security, unemployment compensation, work programs, and the minimum wage (Zinn, 1990). The idea of a living wage kept on as in 1931 Pope Pius XI identified the idea of "social justice" to guide modern society (Worland, 2001). Pius XI explained that man has a moral obligation to contribute to the development of fair rules and practices within humanity (Worland, 2001). Finally, Pius warns that two principles must be applied when

determining a living wage. First, the wage rate must keep the proprietor in business and second the rate must help the worker provide a sufficient income for him and the family (Worland, 2001). Essentially, the idea of a living wage was developed to clarify moral guidelines between society and the strain of industrialization.

By the 1980's, during the Reagan administration, the rich were becoming richer, while the poor were becoming poorer. A Physicians Task Force reported that 15 million families in America had incomes less that $10,000 a year (Zinn, 1990). People were starving, standing in soup lines, and begging for food (Zinn, 1990), which eventually led to the strong need for a living wage movement.

The living wage movement actually began in 1994 in Baltimore as a wage based on the official poverty line (Pollin, 2001). The contract was such that a person supporting a family of three would make at least at the poverty line. Mollie Orshansky, an economist working for the Social Security Administration, during the Johnson Administration War on Poverty, developed the poverty thresholds in 1963. (Fisher, 1992). This line was based on calculations surrounding food consumption (Fisher, 1992).

All companies that contracted with the city of Baltimore were mandated to pay this living wage (Worland, 2001). This idea was developed by church supported groups and religious workers who were dedicated to homeless shelters and soup kitchens (Pollin, 2001). Interestingly, the movement came about because these workers noticed that many of the families visiting the shelters were actually full-time workers who could not afford to make ends meet (Pollin, 2001). If you are working at least forty hours a week and you

still have to take your family to dinner at the local soup kitchen, chances are you are making sub poverty wages and henceforth came the living wage movement.

Minimum Wage v. Living Wage

The federal minimum wage came out of reform legislation of the 1930's New Deal. Workers began to see unemployment compensation, social security, work programs and the minimum wage (Zinn, 1990). The federal minimum wage is the current standard to which employers pay their employees. This wage is currently set at $5.15 an hour or $10,000 a year (U.S. Department of Labor, 2004). The first federal minimum wage was enacted in 1938 and was set at $.25 an hour (Pavel, 2001). Since that time the minimum wage has been adjusted according to inflation. The problem with these adjustments is that there have not been many lately and this wage is now at a 43 year low in regards to purchasing power (Pavel, 2001). Another problem with the minimum wage is that exemptions set forth by legislation actually cause employees to be paid less than a minimum wage (Pollin & Luce 1998).

It should be noted that the minimum wage did not come about from the government's compassion for America's workforce. The minimum wage was the response of the government after the growing number of social movements created by disenfranchised workers like the Populist Movement, textile worker strikes, and various other railroad strikes (Zinn, 1990). The National Labor Relations Act was clearly a way to placate class conflict in a time where there were numerous riots and strikes disrupting steel, rubber, and auto industry (Zinn, 1990).

The Living Wage as a Social Movement

Social movements are categorized as large groups that organize to support or oppose social change. Taylor (2000) states that a social movement is a cooperative action where cohesion is used to challenge and defend the structures of society. According to McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996), three factors determine a social movement: 1) political opportunities facing the movement, 2) mobilizing structures, and 3) framing processes. With these common points in mind, we can take a closer look at how these features fit into the living wage. Nissen (2000) maintains that the living wage movement is favorable for most cities and counties because these places tend to fall somewhere between right and left wing politics. Politics too far to the right or left can actually hinder the positive effects of this campaign. Politicians to the right usually do not even allow the legislation to hit the floor, while politicians to the left can promote the bill but there is not enough support to close loopholes (Nissen, 2000). In fact, the ideal situation for promoting a living wage campaign would be one in which organized labor, social justice proponents, and advocates of the poor have limited insider access to politicians (Nissen, 2000). History shows that economic justice does not come about due to the workings of the market or through the compassion of the government but through direct action of workers and the threat of labor militancy (Zinn, 1990).

Economic justice comes through people organizing, protesting, striking, engaging in politics and civil disobedience, in order to see a change in the wealth structure (Zinn, 1990). This type of activity is needed in mobilizing structures. History has shown that the majority of living wage campaigns are the result of existing organizations like labor

unions, religious organizations, and poverty stricken community groups (Nissen, 2000). Smaller sets like civil rights organizations, student groups, and leftist groups have also played a role in mobilization. These organizations are important for mobilization because they provide funds, contacts, and resources like office space and phone lines (Nissen, 2000). One of the most well-known community groups, which have had a huge impact on organizing, is ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now). This group will be further explained in the section on proponents of a living wage.

Finally, framing processes are essential for living wage campaigns. Proponents and opponents each have different ways of framing their issues but the trick is who becomes the most successful at the task. According to Nissen (2000), proponents must have a strong understanding and projections of all underlying issues within the community; otherwise, opponents will have more success in their framing. Opponents can frame that a living wage will be too expensive and only benefit certain groups (Nissen, 2000). Ultimately, proponents will need to be versed on all issues in order to counteract opponent's arguments. Frame alignment as described by Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) is the idea that an individuals interests, values, and beliefs correlate with the social movements goals. Clearly, framing is an essential aspect of the living wage movement and rightly deserves further inspection into what interests, values, and beliefs one must have to become a proponent of the living wage. Furthermore, as described by Goffman (1974), individuals must identify with an aspect of a movement in order for that movement to be successful.

Theoretical Framework

Erving Goffman, the father of frame analysis posits that framing and/or framework are a way for a viewer to apply meaning or identify episodes within their lives (Goffman, 1974). A frame is ones identification of subjective involvement, while frame analysis is the term, which defines the structure of experience (Goffman, 1974). In other words society applies meaning to all daily events and frame analysis would be the study of how people apply meaning to these events. According to Snow et al. (1986), there are four parts to a successful frame alignment, which are: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. Essentially, one type of framing or a combination of framing is necessary for movement involvement. For the purpose of this research the focus will be on frame amplification, which refers to "the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problems or set of events" (Snow et al., 1986:239). Two types of amplification are described by Snow et al. (1986), value and belief amplification. Value amplification is very important because it takes into consideration values, which are presumed basic but have never seen collective action (Snow et al., 1986). When placing value amplification into the context of a living wage we can see that capitalism and the protestant work ethic as described by Weber (translated by Talcott Parsons, 1956) have eradicated the need for fair wages, and looking even further into basic Marxian principles we know that workers are also losing the rights to production. A value, which could be applied to a living wage campaign, would be that fair wages allow a worker to seize ownership in production, which increases productivity and quality. This statement applies a value to a living wage.

Another example of value amplification would be "living wages enhance family values". Family values therefore become the value that proper wages are now applied to.

Belief amplification can be seen as cognitive validations of what individuals already know to be truths (Snow et al., 1986). These beliefs can include the seriousness that problem has on society, beliefs about where to place blame for the problem, beliefs about problems not being solved without action and finally beliefs about the importance of standing up for what is right (Snow et al., 1986). For instance, proponents of a living wage may play on the idea of the harm that a minimum wage does to society. They may also place blame for these problems on the government for not providing incentives to those businesses that pay a living wage. Proponents may also instill the idea that living wages cannot come to pass without the help of the people minimum wages effect the most. Finally, proponents must implant the importance of standing up for what is right which in this case would be economic and social justice.

Mobilizing Structures

One of the largest and most recognized proponents of a living wage would be the organization ACORN. This is the nation's oldest grassroots organization of low and moderate-income people (Living Wage Resource Center, 2002). There are 100,000 members in 30 cities that have been organized for over thirty years (LWRC, 2002). ACORN has supported successful living wages in St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Boston, Oakland, Denver, Chicago, and Detroit (LWRC, 2002). Currently, ACORN is host to campaigns in New Orleans, Albuquerque, Little Rock, Dallas, New York City, D.C., and Sacramento (LWRC, 2002).

Other proponents of the living wage are student groups. After Harvard's successful living wage campaign ended after a twenty-one day sit- in, many other universities joined in. There are now campaigns being fought in at Princeton, Wesleyan, University of Virginia, John Hopkins, Brown, Stanford, American University, Earlham College, George Washington School of Law, Fairfield University and the University of Tennessee (Neumann, 2001).

Living wage proponents fight for fair wages of low and middle-income people as well as increase the country's productivity (Madrick, 2001). By increasing wages, companies can look for lower turnover and increasing worker satisfaction (Madrick, 2001). Proponents of the campaign are calling for a raise of wages to 100 to 125 percent above the federal poverty line for a family of four (Reynolds, 1999). Hourly wages would differ from city to city accordingly; however, rates would also be based on whether or not the employee accepted health insurance (Reynolds, 1999). For example, an employee making $7.15 an hour could make $8.75 an hour if they were not receiving full benefits. There would also be incentives like special preferences for companies who participated with fair labor standards.

Opponents of the living wage law claim that a higher wage will create an anti-business environment. Opponents say that it will either keep new companies from moving in or it will increase unemployment levels (Reynolds, 1999). According to research by Weisbrot and Sforza-Roderick (1995), conducted in Baltimore, after a living wage was imposed neither theory came to fruition. One of the positive effects of imposing a living wage law is that it forces cities to distinguish between companies who

are seeking a quality workforce and those seeking people whom they can exploit. According to Reynolds (1999), there are two types of employers: low road and high road. Low-road employers strip the tax base and force poverty-wage workers to apply for public assistance (Reynolds, 1999). Clearly, cities that prescribe to these practices are sacrificing valuable resources that could be used by high-road employers. High-road employers seek public investments in education and overall quality of life, which creates a motivated and skilled work force (Reynolds, 1999). An interesting dynamic of student living wage movements is the encompassing of sweatshops. Social movements have an edge these days on college campuses due to the electronic age. Students can now be connected with groups across the country within seconds in order to compare strategies (Applebaum and Dreier, 1999). Large campaigns by Nike and Champion have prompted activism on campuses in which students are asking for higher wages across the world and the end of discrimination to women (Applebaum and Dreier, 1999). With students protesting sweatshops and calling fair wages, companies should start to comply if they want to continue to sell logo gear in campus stores (Dossett, 1999).

Students have also been successful in creating living wages among campus employees. Harvard now must provide wages between $10.83 and $11.30 to custodial, retail, dining, and security service personnel (President and Fellows of Harvard University, 2002). Harvard is also exploring health insurance options for their entry-level employees in order to improve their quality of life (President and Fellows of Harvard University, 2002). Harvard students maintained this success through a twenty-one day

sit-in (Dossett, 1999). As a result, many other universities have followed suit in order to fight for fair wages of their valued employees.

Social Work Ethics and the Living Wage

When discussing the living wage it seems only natural to address values and ethical principles of the social work profession. The NASW Code of Ethics identifies four values that are consistent with the living wage. One of these values is service. It is a social workers responsibility to society to use their knowledge and skills in order to address social problems. Social Problems as defined by Johnson (1995, p.264) are "problems that are caused by underlying social conditions or produce consequences that affect social systems". In regards to the living wage, we can observe that by not paying proper wages; social problems have arisen due to full time workers who still find themselves eating in soup lines. Not to mention welfare to work programs that are forcing people to work with sub standard wages (Neuman, 2001). With this said, it should be stated that the principal goal of social workers is to help people in need and address these problems with effective solutions.

Another important value of the social work profession is social justice (NASW Code of Ethics, 2004). It is the job a social worker to activate social change especially in regards to oppressed populations. According to the Code of Ethics, social change should be focused on issues of poverty, unemployment, discrimination and social injustice. When a social worker fights for a living wage they are not only seeking social change but also they are working to end social injustice. Clearly, the minimum wage is unjust as is evidenced by the fact that $5.15 per hour does not have the purchasing power that we saw

43 years ago (Pavel, 2001). Going a step further we can also observe that after exemptions are met an employee actually makes less than the minimum wage. In accordance to the code it would be a social workers duty to not only fight the injustice but also to challenge the injustice by helping to enact living wage campaigns in their areas.

The next value as described in the NASW Code of Ethics is that of dignity and worth of the person. Ethically, a social worker must treat all people with respect as well as maintaining cultural competency. Within this ideology, it is the social workers responsibility to help individuals seek change within their life and within society. A living wage campaign merges with this ideology in that a social worker can help employees mobilize in order to enhance their self worth by creating change within their selves. Social workers must strive to enhance self worth by allowing individuals to campaign for better wages that are deserved. Individuals can renew their sense of ownership within society when they are paid proper wages and respected for the jobs that are done.

Another value within the NASW Code of Ethics is the importance of human relationships. According to the Code of Ethics, it is important for people to have good relationships amongst each other in order to promote positive change. In other words, the social worker engages in activities that not only enhance individuals but also families, groups, and society as a whole. By mobilizing structures within the community, the social worker can organize individuals to help improve wages and self-worth. Successful mobilization will come through successful framing. By utilizing proper value

lification the social worker can take values that are most important to the community, they can have a successful living wage campaign. By keeping an eye on the importance of relationships, actual change can occur. According to Rawls (1971), in order for there to be a just society there must be no political bargaining. Social workers must use empathic reasoning, as this is truly a framework of social work practice.

Summary

Based on the theory of frame alignment it is presumed by utilizing frame amplification one can swing favorable opinions toward a living wage. Frame amplification includes value and belief amplification. Value amplification posits that people arrange issues in order of importance by placing a value to them (Snow, et. al, 1986). Sometimes these issues become ambiguous (Goffman, 1974), and need to be revitalized through value amplification. By appealing to the family and basic human rights successful framing should reassign values to how people believe in just wages. Frame A appeals to economic justice and Frame B applies to social justice which invokes the political rhetoric "family values" which is often used by politicians to sway votes. Frame C is a control frame and uses no value amplification. The only goal of frame C is to give a definition and basic logistics of the living wage.

Belief amplification is another aspect utilized in proper frame amplification. Belief amplification is specifically used to mobilize structures (Snow et. al, 1986). By using beliefs that people already hold, it is the hope of this research to find out what will be necessary to get people involved and want to help organize a living wage movement. Again Frame A, is an economic frame, which uses economic arguments like social

service programs and local business to mobilize a movement. Frame B uses social justice arguments like "family values" and beliefs surrounding sameness. Frame C is the control and appeals to no belief amplification.

The goal of this research is to use the manipulation of frames in order to attain support for the living wage campaign. By using value and belief amplification it is the hope of the researcher to find what will be necessary to gain support of the living wage as well as use this information to help active living wage campaigns throughout the country.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Utilizing the idea of frame alignment, three frames were devised in order to elicit responses, which would be helpful for the living wage movement. The idea for frame alignment was developed from research presented by the writer and another researcher (Dr. Ada Haynes, Tennessee Technological University) at the Southern Sociological Society conference in New Orleans 2003. A content analysis was performed of 25 websites on both sides of the living wage argument. It was determined from this analysis that further investigation would be important in determining factors, which would increase public support of a living wage campaign. Arguments used in favor of the living wage were used to develop frameworks, which would be used as an intervention in an experimental study. These three frames are noted as: frame A (economic justice frame), frame B (social justice frame) and frame C (control frame) (See Appendix A). Attached to each frame were a basic demographic sheet (Appendix B) and an implied consent (Appendix C).

Research Questions

In order to ascertain support of a living wage, the research for this thesis addressed the following questions:

1. ***Did the use of social and economic justice framing have an impact on individual's:***
    a. ***Support for a living wage?***
    b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***
    c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

2. ***Will gender have an impact on:***

   a. ***Support for a living wage?***

   b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***

   c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

3. ***Will political affiliation have an impact on:***

   a. ***Support for a living wage?***

   b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***

   c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

4. ***Will race have an impact on:***

   a. ***Support for a living wage?***

   b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***

   c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

Rationale

The rationale for the first research question is to simply find out if people would be willing to support a living wage after the intervention of Frame A (economic justice frame), B (social justice) or C (control). This particular question will be especially helpful in determining which framework utilizes frame amplification best. Not only will support for each frame be examined, but also whether or not people believe the value and belief amplification that a living wage will help communities grow and the mobilizing structures aspect of willingness to organize a living wage.

The second research question focuses on gender. This question will surround the idea that gender will have an impact on support for a living wage, belief that a living

wage can help communities to grow economically and willingness to organize a living wage. Looking at gender is important as to examine what framing will be most useful to engage men and women in the living wage movement. Again, looking at value and belief amplification will lend insight into what a particular gender needs to support a living wage.

Research question number three will examine the impact of political affiliation on the living wage. Different political ideologies will pull from different belief and value amplifications. This question will investigate the impact of political affiliation on support for a living wage, the idea that a living wage can help communities grow economically, and willingness to organize a living wage.

The final research question will look at the impact race has on a living wage. According to the research the service economy is a bifurcated economy with a few people receiving high wages and many people (disproportionately women and minorities) receiving wages vastly below the poverty level (Pollin, 2001). With this in mind, it will be important to examine the idea of belief and value amplification on race. This question will explore framing and race impact support for a living wage, the idea that a living wage can help communities grow economically and willingness to support a living wage

Design and Instrumentation

Design of the Study

Based on lack of research surrounding frame alignment and the living wage an experimental design was chosen as the foundation of this research. The following research was performed using a quantitative experimental design with participants

randomized into three different groups. Each group was either given an economic justice frame, social justice frame or a control frame. The rationale for this design was to determine which argument surrounding the living wage was more likely to elicit support for the movement.

Student Questionnaire

Prior to designing the frames the researcher conducted a content analysis of 25 websites surrounding the living wage movement. From these websites it was determined that most campaigns in favor of a living wage either argued on an economic justice or social justice platform. At this point it became clear that further investigation would be needed to ascertain exactly which frame impacted public support of a living wage.

Three frameworks were developed in order to gain insight into public support of a living wage. Frame A was an economic justice frame. This frame was developed by taking economic arguments from websites dedicated to economic justice. Frame B was developed by taking social justice arguments from websites focused on social justice issues. Frame C was the control frame and only contained a basic definition of a living wage.

A basic demographics page which included age, gender, race, major, economic and political status, preceded each framework. After the demographics page participants were asked to read a short paragraph regarding the living wage and then answer questions about what they had read. Each framework contained a five point Likert scale with 0 equaling strongly agrees and 4 equaling strongly disagree.

Sampling Procedures

Research Participants

Five hundred participants were selected from a public university in middle Tennessee. Of the five hundred surveys, four hundred and eighty seven were received back for a 97.4% response rate. Professors were approached before class times in order to receive permission to use classes. Participants were selected from Business, Geology, Sociology, Psychology, and English classes. Although selection of the classes was not random, randomization occurred with the research instrument.

Data Collection Procedures

A convenience sample of five hundred subjects was selected from Sociology, Geology, English, Psychology and Business introduction classes at a public university in middle Tennessee. First, professors were contacted prior to class in order to request permission to use five to ten minutes of class time prior to beginning lecture. The researcher introduced herself to participants as a graduate student of social work from The University of Tennessee working on her thesis. She then gave a brief description of the project along with reading the implied consent, which was distributed, to each student. Participants were randomly assigned one of the three types of survey: Frame A, Frame B, and Frame C. The research project was randomized via the use of three different questionnaires completed by the students. The survey design included the use of three different frames (economic and social justice as well as a control frame) along with a five-point Likert scale and basic demographics in order to observe attitudes regarding the living wage. The three different frame works were used to elicit responses either in favor of or opposition to a Living Wage. Each of the participants randomly received one

type of questionnaire. Subjects returned the questionnaire directly to the researcher upon completion. Subjects had verbal and written notification of their option to not complete the questionnaire in which they could leave blank or simply throw away.

Human Subject Guidelines were followed in order to insure voluntary participation, no harm, anonymity, no deception, and proper analysis and reporting. All measures were taken to make sure no one under the age of 18 participates in this study. Each survey had an implied consent attached with this information as well as contact information of the researcher and thesis chair.

Data collection began in November 2003 and concluded in January 2004. No data was collected without prior approval of the university IRB. After collection of data was complete it was entered into SPSS for statistical analysis.

Ethics

Before beginning the research process, all proper avenues were sought in order to insure the proper care of human subjects. IRB approval was granted both from the researcher's institution as well as the subject's institution.

After distribution of the survey the implied consent was read to all participants. It consisted of specifications that related directly to the standards of the University of Tennessee Human Subject Guidelines. There was voluntary participation, no harm to participants and anonymity. A special announcement was made that no one under 18 was to complete the survey as well as listed on the implied consent.

Data Analysis

The data analysis for this research was performed with the statistical program SPSS 11.0 for Windows. Three statistical procedures were used to analyze the data: frequencies distributions for analysis of dependent variables, Scheffe's t-test for statistical significance and One Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) in order to determine the impact of the dependent variables upon the research questions.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Student Background Characteristics

Of the 487 respondents, 45% were males and 55% were females. The mean age of respondents was 21.78 (SD = 5.439) and the mean GPA was 3.1033 (SD=. 50877). Table 1 and table 2 are descriptive statistics for demographics of the respondents. Ethnicity was recoded due to the lack of diversity noted beyond Caucasian. The minority category accounted for 9% of the respondents and includes African-Americans (n= 28), Native American (n= 2), Hispanic (n= 4), Japanese (n= 1), Indian (n= 1), Asian (n= 3), and European (n= 1). The Caucasian category (n=425) accounted for 87% of the respondents. Ethnicity was represented because of the majority of poor wages going to women and minorities. Political Affiliation was recoded due to the lack of affiliations beyond Democrat and Republican. Democrats (n=109) represented 22% and Republicans (n=139) represented 29% of the sample. The other category accounts for 31% of the respondents and includes Independent (n=31) Constitutional Party (n=1), Libertarian (n=1), Moderate (n=1), Green Party (n=1), No Affiliation (n=114) and Socialist (n=1). Political Affiliation was used due to the aspect of political opportunities as a basis of successful social movements (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). All tables are located in the Appendices under Appendix D.

Research Questions

Research Question #1: Did social or economic framing have an impact on individuals:

a. Support for a living wage?

b. Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?

c. Willingness to help organize a living wage?

Each area of analysis was measured on a 5-point Likert scale with strongly agree equaling 0 to strongly disagree equaling 4. Frames are indicated by Frame A, B, and C.

Support for a living wage. As stated earlier three different surveys were used in order to frame the living wage in three different ways. Frame A was the economic justice frame, frame B was the social justice frame which used political rhetoric, and frame C which was a control and simply stated the logistics of a living wage. ANOVA was used to examine each frame to find which frame was most useful in pushing the Living Wage. A significant difference was found between the three scenarios and support for a living wage [$F(2, 482) = 5.301$, $p \leq .006$]. Descriptive statistics for support for a living wage are reported in Table 2. In order to understand which groups were significantly different, a post-hoc Scheffe's t-test was used. Form B produced significantly more support than Form A ($p \leq .02$). No significant difference was found between Form B and Form C ($p \geq .06$) or between Form A and Form C ($p \geq .91$).

Communities grow economically. A similar ANOVA and post-hoc analysis was conducted for the impact that the three forms had on whether subjects felt that the living wage would help communities grow economically. A significant difference was found between the three scenarios and whether a living wage helps communities grow economically [$F(2, 482) = 4.657$, $p \leq .02$]. Interestingly, even though Form A provided economic arguments for the living wage, Form B provided more support for the statement that the living wage helps communities grow economically ($p \leq .03$). There

was not a significant difference between Forms B and C ($p \geq .10$) and between Forms A and C ($p \geq .88$). See Table 3 for the descriptive statistics for help communities grow.

Organize a living wage. Finally, an ANOVA and post-hoc analysis was conducted on the difference between the three frames and whether the subjects would help organize a living wage campaign. A significant difference was again found between the three frames with Form B being more effective than either Frame A or Frame C [$F(2, 482) = 6.958$, $p \leq .002$]. Frame B was more willing to organize a living wage than Frame A ($p \leq .03$) and Frame C ($p \leq .005$). There was no statistical difference between Frame A and Frame C ($p \geq .78$). See Table 4 for the descriptive statistics.

Research Question #2: Will gender have an impact on:

a. ***Support for a living wage?***
b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***
c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

Each area of analysis was measured on a 5-point Likert scale with strongly agree equaling 0 to strongly disagree equaling 4. Male and female indicate gender.

Support for a living wage. An independent t-test was performed to examine whether gender had an effect on support for a living wage. There was a significant difference found between gender and support for a living wage [$t=3.334$, $P \leq .002$] with women more likely to support a living wage. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 5.

Communities grow economically. A similar independent t-test was performed to explore whether gender had an effect on the belief that a living wage can help

communities grow economically. A significance was found between gender and the belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically [$t=3.334$, $p \leq .006$] with women more likely to believe in communities growing economically. See Table 6 for descriptive statistics.

Organize a living wage. Finally an independent t-test was performed to determine if gender had an impact on whether or not the subject's would be willing to organize a living wage campaign. A significance was found between gender and willingness to organize [$t = 3.370$, $p \leq .002$] with women more likely to organize a living wage movement. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 7.

Research Question #3: ***Will political affiliation have an impact on:***

a. ***Support for a living wage?***
b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***
c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage?***

Each area of analysis was measured on a 5-point Likert scale with strongly agree equaling 0 to strongly disagree equaling 4. Political Affiliation is denoted by Democrat, Republican and Other (Independents, Other and No Affiliation).

Support for a living wage. ANOVA was performed to determine the impact political affiliation had on framing of a living wage. A significant difference was found between political affiliation and support for a living wage [$F(2, 393) = 12.045$, $p \leq .001$]. Descriptive statistics for political support of a living wage are reported in Table 8. A post-hoc Scheffe's t-test was performed to understand the differences between the groups. Democrats were more likely to support a living wage than Republicans ($p \leq$

.001), and between Other ($p \leq .003$). There was no significant difference between Republicans and other ($p \geq .37$).

Communities grow economically. A similar ANOVA and post-hoc analysis was performed to determine the impact political affiliation had on whether subjects believed that a living wage would help communities grow economically. A significant difference was found between political affiliation and the belief that communities would grow economically [$F(2, 393) = 6.806$, $p \leq .002$]. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 9. Democrats were significantly more likely to believe that a living wage can help communities grow economically than Republicans ($p \leq .002$). There was no significant difference between Democrats and other ($p \geq .07$) and Republicans and other ($p \geq .30$).

Organize a living wage. A similar ANOVA and post-hoc analysis was also performed to determine if political affiliation had an impact on whether or not subjects were willing to organize a living wage. There was a significant difference found between political affiliation and willingness to organize a living wage [$F(2, 393) = 10.866$, $p \leq .001$]. Descriptive statistics for political affiliation and willingness to support a living wage are reported in Table 10. Democrats were significantly more likely to organize a living wage than Republicans ($p \leq .001$) and between Democrats and other ($p \leq .007$). There was no significant difference between Republicans and other ($p \geq .29$).

Research Question #4: ***Will race have an impact on:***

a. ***Support for a living wage?***
b. ***Belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically?***
c. ***Willingness to help organize a living wage campaign?***

Each area of analysis was measured on a 5-point Likert scale with strongly agree equaling 0 to strongly disagree equaling 4. Race is indicated by Caucasian and Minority. It is important to note that results from these analyses should be taken with caution due to the limited number of minorities in the sample.

Support for a living wage. An independent t-test was used to determine if race had an impact on support of a living wage. No significant difference was found between race and support for a living wage [$t = 1.475$, $p \geq .14$]. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 11.

Communities grow economically. Again, an independent t-test was used to examine whether or not race would impact the belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically. Once again there was no significant difference between race and the belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically [$t =. 513$, $p \geq .60$]. Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 12.

Organize a living wage. Finally, an independent t-test was performed to determine if whether or not race had an impact on the willingness to organize a living wage campaign. A significant difference was found between race and willingness to organize a living wage campaign [$t = 3.364$, $p \leq .002$). Descriptive statistics can be found in Table 13.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Study

The results of this study are quite interesting in regards to frame analysis. When looking at Goffman's theory of frame analysis (1974) it can be said that individuals must identify with an aspect of a movement in order for that movement to be successful. Three different frames were given to subjects, each frame postulating different positions. Frame A was an economic justice frame, Frame B was a social justice frame, and Frame C was the control frame which only provided a simple definition and basic logistics of a living wage. The general aim of this study was to determine if framing had an effect on people's opinions surrounding the living wage campaign.

Discussion of Findings

Data was gathered from a sample of 487 college students from a public university in middle Tennessee. Using an experimental design three frameworks were distributed to subjects in order to determine if economic justice or social justice is a deciding factor in support for a living wage.

Support for a Living Wage

Frameworks

The purpose of framing as stated in the literature is to either add or subtract support in regards to a social movmemet. Using frame amplification and the idea of belief and value amplification it has been determined by the research that Frame B was the most likely to gather support for a living wage. Frame B was the economic frame

with most people answering between strongly agree and agree for support of a living wage. Frame B reassigned meaning to already held values and beliefs.

Communities Growing Economically

Looking at the data one can assume that Frame B, the social justice frame, had the most impact on whether or not subjects believed that a living wage would help communities grow. Respondents were most likely to agree with this statement. Looking back at the theoretical framework it can be said that value amplification is necessary in order for people to place importance to an issue. By making the statement that a living wage will help communities grow assigns meaning to the idea that a living wage is good for the growth of a local economy. Interestingly, Frame A, the economic justice frame, did not have an impact on the belief that a wages can help a community grow economically.

Organizing a Living Wage Campaign

Examining the impact that the social and economic justice frames had on subject's willingness to organize a living wage campaign, it can be assumed that Frame B had the most impact with the majority of respondents answering between agree and unsure. Looking back at the research it can be said that in order to mobilize structures one must have strong belief amplification. Frame B clearly held the strongest beliefs that would create organization for a living wage campaign. Frame A held responses between unsure and disagrees.

Gender Issues

When examining the data it can be inferred that gender has an impact on the various aspects of a living wage. Females were most likely to strongly agree to agree that they would support a living wage while males were more likely to agree or be unsure about supporting a living wage. It is important that females support a living wage since a disproportionate amount does not receive just wages. Although males were somewhat likely to support a living wage, many were unsure about this support. This is an indication that the current frameworks will need to undertake a reframing in order to garner stronger support of males.

Females were also more likely to believe that a living wage would help a community grow with the most common response being agree. Again, males rode the fence between agreeing and being unsure whether or not a living wage would help communities grow economically.

Again females were more likely to be willing to organize a living wage campaign with the average response being between agree and unsure while male responses fell between unsure and disagree. It will be important to reframe the frameworks in order to garner support from males.

Political Affiliation

When examining political affiliation it can be assumed that Democrats are the strongest supporters of a living wage with the most common response falling between strongly agree and agree. People with other political affiliations were also stronger

supporter of the living wage. While there was no statistical significance with Republican 0support of a living wage it should be noted that they were also supportive a living wage.

Looking at political support and the belief that a living wage can help communities grow economically the most support comes from Democrats, while Republicans and other political affiliations also tended to agree with this notion. Further examination also indicates that Democrats are most likely to be willing to organize a living wage campaign. Average responses ranged between agree and unsure. Conversely, it was more difficult to mobilize Republicans and other political affiliations towards a living wage campaign. Average responses for these groups ranged between unsure and disagree. Again it will be important to work on reframing and belief amplification in order to pull these two groups towards organizing.

Race

When looking at race it should first be noted that there was little diversity between Caucasian and Minority groups. Minorities tended to be stringer supporters of the living wage however Caucasians also agreed that they would support a living wage. Examining the belief that a living wage will help communities grow economically reveal almost no difference between the groups. Finally, when exploring willingness to organize living wage campaign findings suggest stronger support from minorities. This is a positive indication since minorities are more likely to suffer from poverty wages. However, reframing will need to be explored in order to mobilize white populations for a living wage campaign.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to this research. The main limitation was the lack of empirical research surrounding a living wage. There was actually no research on frame alignment and the living wage, which made the design of a survey instrument particularly difficult. Another limitation is the sample. In order to get more comprehensive research a sample of more minorities would be essential as well as a more representative sample of the country.

Theoretical limitations include the idea that frame amplification can fail when a value or belief is not withheld or if these values or beliefs become discredited. If these events occur it can bring down all of the other positive points within a frame (Snow et. al, 1986). This may have happened in Frame A when the value "This would be especially helpful for women and minorities as they are the typical low wage earners who benefits from these social services." was used. Findings suggest that males did not like Frame A and may not value the helpfulness of a just wage for women and minorities. If this is the case, Frame A will need reframing to garner male support.

Implications for Future Research

One of the most important things that should be examined with this research is race. The sample taken was not representative of minorities and may be more statistically significant if there were higher number of different ethnicities represented. There was a clear lack of support for Frame A by white males in this study, which may be due to the statement "This would be especially helpful for women and minorities as they are the typical low wage earners who benefits from these social services." One way

to determine if this is true would be to survey a university with higher minorities. If this university supported Frame A it could possibly indicate that white males are turned off by the statement "This would be especially helpful for women and minorities as they are the typical low wage earners who benefits from these social services." At that point, it would be necessary to redesign Frame A, taking out this statement and then surveying again. It is without question that gathering support from white males will be essential in a successful living wage movement.

Other considerations for future research would include cleaning up the current frame questions. Each question should be the same on all three frames in order to get stronger statistical significance among the frames.

Utilizing samples from across the country would also be interesting for this research. Looking at regional belief and value amplifications would also be an interesting aspect of this research. Tennessee of course is the buckle of the Bible belt so values and belief amplification must relay these ideals, but other parts of the country may use farming for amplification, or migration for amplification in order to rally support for a living wage.

Implications for Social Work Practice

From day to day social workers are framing and reframing issues that are important for society. Frame analysis takes this practice to new levels of consciousness. Probably one of the most important values social workers need to examine in relation to the living wage is social justice. Research shows that the social justice frame was the most powerful predictor of living wage support. Social workers can harness values and

beliefs from this framework to promote social justice. This frame surrounded many ideals of good child welfare as well as family values. Social workers can take this opportunity to focus on poverty and social injustice in way that can effect change not just on a micro level but also on a macro level.

History shows that frame alignment has pushed social justice issues to the forefront of society. The civil rights movement is a key example as to successful frame alignment. Martin Luther King Jr. emerged with key framing essential to the success of the civil rights movement. Dr. King used familiar Christian themes, nonviolence philosophies, and democratic theory to propel the civil rights movement to top priority of this country (McAdam, 1994). For example, Christian themes were extremely reassuring to a frightened white America who were also calmed through the teachings of non-violence (McAdam, 1994). Bottom line is that social justice comes not only from hard work but through research of past social movements and social workers can get accomplish this task through thoughtful frame alignment.

It should also be noted that social workers involved in a living wage campaign could help promote values of human relationships. Positive relationships can promote social change as well as promote dignity and self-worth in people who have been discouraged by the plague of unjust wages. Social workers who help mobilize structures are involved in the community and can facilitate healthy positive relationships, which will ultimately stimulate dignity among clients.

It would be especially helpful if more social work researchers would become involved in frame processes in order to examine what makes a social movement

successful. As more conservative times are approaching there will be a higher need for successful social movements and social workers can be leaders of these campaigns.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: FRAMEWORKS AND QUESTIONS

Frame A Economic Justice

Please carefully read the following information and then answer the questions that follow.

A living wage is based on the idea that anyone who works full time should be able to support his or her family above the poverty line. According to the U.S. Census bureau the poverty line describes 6.8 million families living within America. A living wage would boost individuals above this level so that they could afford to eat at home rather than in soup lines. By enacting a living wage, the federal government would spend less money on social service programs such as food stamps, AFDC, and even insurance programs like Medicaid and TNCARE. This would be especially helpful for women and minorities as they are the typical low wage earners who benefits from these social services. In addition, raising the minimum wage to a living wage will make our communities healthier by pumping more dollars into local business; decreasing poverty related crime as well as the above stated decrease in spending on social services (Kraut, Klinger and Collins, 2000).

Frame A Questions:

Please circle the best response	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I would support a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
2. Anyone who works full time should be able to support a family above the poverty line	1	2	3	4	5
3. Social service programs like AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid could be decreased with a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
4. A living wage could decrease crime	1	2	3	4	5
5. A living wage could help communities grow economically	1	2	3	4	5
6. I would help organize a living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5
7. I would help organize an anti-living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5
8. Business' can afford a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
9. The minimum wage is unjust	1	2	3	4	5

Frame B: Social Justice Frame

Please carefully read the following information and then answer the questions that follow.

A living wage is based on the idea that anyone who works full time should be able to support his or her family above the poverty line. According to the U.S. Census bureau the poverty line describes 6.8 million families living within America. A living wage would boost individuals above this level so that they could afford to eat at home instead of in soup lines. Ultimately, a living wage is socially just because people should not have to choose between paying rent and feeding their family. As a country, we should pay our employees a fair wage for an honest workweek. In America, where there is major emphasis placed on "family values", we must to recognize that children are going hungry because their parent's wages do not support the heavy burden of day-to-day living. Family values should no longer fall by the way side because business refuses to embrace human rights over the bottom line. The living wage is currently supported by grass roots organizations, various churches and student groups who believe economic and social justice should be afforded to all citizens of the United States who work hard for a living.

Frame B Questions:

Please circle the best response	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I would support a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
2. Family values are important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
3. A living wage would help promote family values	1	2	3	4	5
4. Families shouldn't have to choose between paying their rent and feeding their families.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I would help organize a living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5
6. I would help organize an anti-living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5
7. Business' are responsible for fair wages	1	2	3	4	5
8. The minimum wage is unjust	1	2	3	4	5

Frame C: Control Frame and Questions

Please carefully read the following information and then answer the questions that follow.

A living wage is based on the idea that anyone who works full time should be able to support his or her family above the poverty line. According to the U.S. Census bureau the poverty line describes 6.8 million families living within America. The federal minimum wage is set at $5.15 an hour and a living wage would raise this to $8.00-$12.00 and hour and include health insurance.

If a living wage is passed business will then be required by local governments to pay the new wage to all employees in order to be eligible for local tax cuts (Pavel, 2001).

Frame C: Questions

Please circle the best response	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I would support a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
2. Social service programs like TANF, food stamps, and Medicaid could be decreased with a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
3. A living wage would help communities grow economically	1	2	3	4	5
4. A living wage would help promote family values	1	2	3	4	5
5. The minimum wage is unjust	1	2	3	4	5
6. Business can afford a living wage	1	2	3	4	5
7. I would help organize a living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5
8. I would help organize an anti-living wage movement	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B: Demographics

Please check or fill in the response that best fits you.

1. **Gender:**
   ☐ Male
   ☐ Female

2. **Age:** _____

3. **Ethnicity:** _____

4. **Major:** _____

5. **Class:** ☐ Freshman ☐ Senior ☐ Sophomore ☐ Graduate student ☐ Junior

6. **What is your GPA?** _____

7. **Political Affiliation:** _____

8. **Religious Affiliation:**_____

9. **Marital Status:** ☐ single ☐ married ☐ divorced ☐ widowed

10. **Do you have children:** ☐ yes ☐ no, If so how many? _____

11. **What is your yearly income?:**

☐ $72,001 or above ☐ $60,001 to $72,000 ☐ $48,001 to $60,000
☐ $36,001 or $48,000 ☐ $24,001 to $36,000 ☐ $24,000 or below

12. **Parents Approximate Combined Yearly Income:**

☐ $72,001 or above ☐ $60,001 to $72,000 ☐ $48,001 to $60,000
☐ $36,001 or $48,000 ☐ $24,001 to $36,000 ☐ $24,000 or below

13. **Parents Education Level:**

Father: ☐ graduate school ☐ college ☐ some college ☐ high school/GED
☐ some high school

Mother: ☐ graduate school ☐ college ☐ some college ☐ high school/GED
☐ some high school or below

14. Which of the following, if any, have you received? (Check all that apply):

☐ SSI
☐ SSDI
☐ Tenncare
☐ Food stamps
☐ VA Benefits
☐ TANF
☐ WIC
☐ Student Loans
☐ Pell Grants
☐ Medicaid
☐ Other:

15. Please rank in order the importance each issue has in your life, with 1 being the most important and 14 being the least important.

Military spending_____

Environment____

Fighting Terrorism_____

Education_____

Affordable Day Care____

Tax cuts to business_____

Social Services _____

Social Security_____

Tax cuts for wealthy_____

Healthcare for everyone_____

Providing jobs for those who want to work_____

Living wage _____

Public Health_____

Cure for AIDS _____

Appendix C: Implied Consent

A Study of the Living Wage Campaign and Perceptions of College Students

The purpose of this research is to explore the ideas associated with the Living Wage movement and to determine how the movement impacts social work practice. Your participation will be extremely helpful in this study. Students eighteen years and older are asked to complete the attached survey. If you under 18 years of age please do not complete this survey. Only students 18 years and older are asked to participate. Please be aware that your participation in this research is voluntary and you may stop answering questions on the survey at any time. This study is anonymous so please do not make any identifying marks on this survey i.e. name, student number. All informed consent forms will be stored in a secured lock box, which will only be available to the student researcher and the thesis chairperson.

If you have any questions regarding this research project, you may contact Kate McClernon-Chaffin at kmcclern@utk.edu. or my thesis chairperson, Dr. Jenny Jones at jenny-jones@tennessee.edu. Thank you in advance for your participation, as it is greatly appreciated.

Thank You

Kate M. Chaffin

Appendix D: Tables

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Gender, Ethnicity, and Political Affiliation

Independent Variable	Value	Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	219	45%
	Female	268	55%
Ethnicity	Caucasian	425	87%
	Minority	40	9%
	Missing	22	4%
Political Affiliation	Democrat	109	22%
	Republican	139	29%
	Other	150	31%
	Missing	89	18%

TABLE 2

Descriptive Statistics for Age and GPA

Independent Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Range
Age	21.78	5.439	18-54
GPA	3.1033	.50877	1.20-4.0

TABLE 3

Descriptive Statistics for Support of a Living Wage by Frame

Frame	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
A	1.1639	. 96518	122
B	. 8543	. 88058	247
C	1.1121	1.14034	116

TABLE 4

Descriptive Statistics for a Living Wage Helps Communities Grow Economically by Frame

Form	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
A	1.4426	. 97954	122
B	1.1457	1.00558	247
C	1.3793	. 98015	116

TABLE 5

Descriptive Statistics for Help to Organize a Living Wage Campaign by Frame

Form	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
A	2.1066	. 96044	122
B	1.8138	. 98656	247
C	2.1983	1.12071	116

TABLE 6

Descriptive Statistics for Support of a Living Wage by Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Male	1.1567	1.09855	217
Female	.8619	.84776	268

TABLE 7

Descriptive Statistics for Belief that a Community Will Grow Economically by Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Male	1.4147	1.02441	217
Female	1.1642	.92969	268

TABLE 8

Descriptive Statistics for Willingness to Organize a Living Wage by Gender

Gender	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Male	2.1521	1.07148	217
Female	1.8396	.96784	268

TABLE 9

Descriptive Statistics for Support of a Living Wage by Political Affiliation

Political Affiliation	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Democrat	.6147	.82673	109
Republican	1.2246	1.05345	138
Other	1.0604	1.04123	149

TABLE 10

Descriptive Statistics for Belief Communities Will Grow Economically by Political Affiliation

Political Affiliation	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Democrat	1.0092	.87660	109
Republican	1.4855	1.08228	138
Other	1.3020	1.03130	149

TABLE 11

Descriptive Statistics for Willingness to Organize a Living Wage Campaign by Political Affiliation

Political Affiliation	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Democrat	1.6330	1.04226	109
Republican	2.2464	1.09951	138
Other	2.0537	.97804	149

TABLE 12

Descriptive Statistics for Support of a Living Wage by Race

Race	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Caucasian	1.0142	.99037	423
Minority	.7750	.86194	40

TABLE 13

Descriptive Statistics for Belief Communities Will Grow Economically by Race

Race	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Caucasian	1.2837	.98563	423
Minority	1.2000	.99228	40

TABLE 14

Descriptive Statistics for Willingness to Organize a Living Wage Campaign by Race

Race	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Caucasian	2.0189	1.02325	423
Minority	1.4500	1.01147	40

VITA

Katherine McClemon Chaffin was born in Jacksonville, Florida on August 5, 1972. Katherine went to Catholic grade school in Jacksonville at Sacred Heart and then Bishop Kenny High School graduating her senior year from N.B. Forrest High School in 1990. From there she went to Florida Community College at Jacksonville and then worked and traveled for a few years before enrolling at Tennessee Technological University in 1999. Katherine graduated Cum Laude from TTU in 2002 receiving a Bachelors of Science in Sociology.

Katherine is graduating in May 2004 with a M.S.S.W. from the University of Tennessee in Knoxville and plans on pursuing her Ph.D. within the following year. Katherine plans on continuing with research on the Child Protective Service Supervisors Grant.

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