

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND THE NEW YORK CITY  
TITLE XX PLANNING PROCESS: IT'S PERCEIVED  
IMPACT AND EFFICACY

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## ABSTRACT

### PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND THE NEW YORK CITY TITLE XX PLANNING PROCESS: IT'S PERCEIVED IMPACT AND EFFICACY

In a democracy, the concept citizen participation is the essence of that system: it may not be an overstatement to declare that without citizen participation there is no democracy. The concept plays an important role in the study reported here. The writer examines a major element in the implementation of Title XX of the Social Security Act in New York City. The aim is to critically assess the perceived impact of the implementation of the citizen participation process of Title XX in New York City from 1979-1981. To accomplish this task, a survey focuses on citizen participation as this was acted out during July and August 1981. The information acquired illuminates the matter of who participated in the process, why they participated and what was the perceived impact of their participation.

Citizen participation and decentralization are issues which have become salient during various historical periods. Clearly, during the 1960s it characterized the thrust of southern blacks who demanded greater respect for their voting rights. It also had its echo in the cry for community control of schools in Brooklyn. There is no doubt that the concept of citizen participation was on the national agenda. By 1975 it was not clear if the two concepts,

citizen participation and decentralization, had the same meaning as they did during the 1960s.

This study investigates the New York City Title XX citizen participation process, in general, the public hearings in particular. A total sample population of (47) made up of public officials (9), voluntary organization leaders (26), and community based advisory chairpersons (12) was examined through the use of quantitative and qualitative methodology. All respondents were interviewed, the interviews were tape recorded, the tapes were codified and a quotation bank was developed.

The findings suggest that a strong ambivalence tone is present. This perception transcends both the respondents' classification and race. On the manifest or decision making level the process was perceived as not efficacious. However, on the latent level long run benefits are viewed as a possibility. While the ambivalence, quantitatively, transcended race; qualitatively the black and white ambivalence appears to emerge from different perspectives.

In sum, this study shed some light on the Title XX citizen participation process from the point of view of those actively involved.

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY  
AND TITLE XX

Introduction

In a democracy the concept citizen participation is the essence of that system: it may not be an overstatement to declare that without citizen participation there is no democracy. The concept will play an important role in the study to be reported here. The writer will examine a major element in the implementation of Title XX of the Social Security Act in New York City. More specifically, this analysis aims to critically assess the perceived impact of the implementation of the citizen participation process of Title XX in New York City from 1979-1981. To accomplish this task, a survey focusing on citizen participation was conducted during July and August 1981. The information acquired will help illuminate the matter of who participated in the process, why they participated and what was the perceived impact of their participation. A former HEW official viewed this process as a "new, perhaps revolutionary role for public participation in the process of self-government."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This quote by James Twine appears in Thomas T. Whitney, "The Power of the States and the Role of Citizens," The Grantsmanship Center News, 12 (July-August, 1975).

Citizen participation and decentralization are issues which have become salient during various historical periods. Clearly, during the 1960s it characterized the thrust of southern blacks who demanded greater respect for their voting rights. It also had its echo in the cry for community control of schools in Brooklyn. There is no doubt that the concept of citizen participation was on the national agenda. However, by 1975 it was not clear if the two concepts, citizen participation and decentralization, had the same meaning as they did during the 1960s.

Citizen participation and decentralization are now integrated into many current public policies and have cultivated the interest of students of social policy. Specifically, citizen participation and decentralization are formal policy strategies that, in theory, could have a major impact on who gets what, when, where and how. As such, these issues are quite significant to the range of concerns of the social welfare field.

To gain a clearer perspective of the importance of this "new" strategy, one must remember that the theoretical thrust of the social welfare field and its progressive allies has tended, in large, to be for more federal government control, not less. The federal government has been viewed as more open, less politically corrupt and more liberal in terms of social welfare services than their federalist partners, the state or the city. Even when blacks demanded more community control in the 60s, it was not a call for a sovereign state of Harlem but a demand for more direct involvement with the federal government.

Blacks have, historically, not faired well on the state and local levels of governmental activities. More so than other groups, blacks have had to look to the federal government for "more" just involvement with their problems.

In essence, "New Federalism" (the intergovernmental relationship policy of giving more program control to the state and local government), of which Title XX is an integral part, is a reversal of the centralizing trend of intergovernment relationship started during Roosevelt's "New Deal."

The Title XX process is now entering its seventh year. The time appears appropriate to begin addressing questions concerning the viability and efficacy of the citizen participation process from the perspective of those actively involved.-- Is it an efficacious process? From whose perspective? Or, is it a "sham"?

#### Background

Title XX,<sup>1</sup> the multi-billion dollar public social service amendment of the Social Security Act, will celebrate its seventh birthday in January 1982. Since its implementation, state and local government social services departments have spent over \$20 billion for Title XX social services, through their own staff services and through purchase-of-services contracts with private agencies.

As the most recent amendment to the Social Security Act, this

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<sup>1</sup>Public Law 93-647, January 4, 1975.

legislation was signed into law on January 4, 1975 by President Gerald Ford and nine months later, the states implemented their first Title XX programs. Although Title XX's political history is one of controversy and compromise,<sup>1</sup> it was implemented with the overwhelming approval and guarded optimism of leaders and students of social welfare policy. The following are examples of some of the reactions to the legislation:

...in the most concrete sense, it (Title XX) represents the cornerstone of the emerging structure of social services in the U.S.<sup>2</sup>

(The public participation provision is) ..unique in public welfare administration...a 'sunshine law', one which forces government to operate in the open where it can be observed..."<sup>3</sup>

...in the absence of federal oversight, this public observation and involvement at the local level is expected to secure state accountability for social service program content.<sup>4</sup>

...with the great variety of service providers eligible for Title XX funding, interest group politics may come to exert increasing influence on (the) planning process.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For an outstanding review of the developments leading up to Title XX, see Paul Mott, Meeting Human Needs: The Social and Political History of Title XX (Columbus, Ohio: National Conference on Social Welfare, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>Neil Gilbert, "The Transformation of Social Services," Social Service Review 51 (December 1977), p. 625.

<sup>3</sup>Jules H. Berman, "Regulations Implementing Title XX of the Social Security Act," Washington Bulletin 24 (October 13, 1975), p. 74.

<sup>4</sup>Gilbert, op. cit., p. 637.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 638-639.

...Title XX is regarded by many as the most significant piece of social service legislation to be enacted in the past decade.<sup>1</sup>

I believe that Title XX...has been underestimated in its potential for strengthening several of the service fields. It is possibly even more significant in relation to the future delivery system for the personal social services... Several elements in this legislation are especially interesting in their potential. The eligibility provisions are implemented by regulations which would permit a universal system to be constructed ...there is a mandate for popular response to and participation in planning, and enough flexibility to permit states to define and develop services which reflect their own demographic and cultural uniqueness and needs. Each state can develop its own blend of services appropriate to its constituency.<sup>2</sup>

...we feel that the Title XX social service planning goes far beyond anyone's expectations...<sup>3</sup>

...the Title XX initiative may well restructure U.S. personal social services over the next several years...(it) could change social services substantially<sup>4</sup>..Title XX is promising but hardly a guarantee.<sup>5</sup>

The tone of ambivalence can be detected throughout the Title XX literature:

In the two years since its inception (Title XX) has proved to be somewhat more, and somewhat less, than expected.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jerry Turen et al., The Implementation of Title XX: The First Year's Experience (Working Paper 0990-08, Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>Alfred J. Kahn, "New Directions in Social Services," Public Welfare (Spring, 1976); p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>Gerald Horton and Edmund Armentrout, State Experiences in Social Services Planning: Eight Case Studies on Social Services Planning (Atlanta: Research Group, Inc., 1976), p. viii.

<sup>4</sup>Sheila Kamerman and Alfred Kahn, Social Services in the United States (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp. 11 and 39,

<sup>5</sup>Kahn, "New Directions," p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>J.T. Tokarz, "Title XX Social Services: Many Changes Many Problems," Grantsmanship Center News, 20 (April-June, 1977), p. 15.

The relationships between Title XX and public participation may be more accurately described as an opportunity rather than a mandate. While an opportunity certainly does exist, it will not occur unless states are committed to making a role for the public in social service decision-making.<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, the Title XX block-grant program has politicized state social services planning by encouraging competition among diverse groups seeking to utilize social service programming to meet their particular needs."<sup>2</sup>

During the first year of Title XX's existence, there was a growing feeling that the law was causing a major disruption in intergovernmental relations. The chaos, confusion, and hostility that Title XX seemed to produce were generated by misinformation and problems of timing and funding. The question at the end of its first year was whether the law could survive such an intensely negative first impression.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, as Title XX entered the social policy arena there was hope; but there was also a question mark because no one could really predict what would happen. What makes Title XX controversial? How did it evolve? What are the key components of this policy? This author's attempt at examining the experience with this law follows.

Title XX is a complex law with several interrelated parts. It is a law with a specific philosophical and value orientation. Title XX clearly rests on the premises that:

- The government has an obligation to assist society's most vulnerable people to possibly achieve independent living; the reduction of dependency will save public funds otherwise used for institutional and income support programs.

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<sup>1</sup>Frances Zorn, Leilani Rose and Beryl Radin, "Title XX and Public Participation: An Overview," Public Welfare, 35 (Fall, 1976), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford Schram, "Elderly Policy Particularism and the New Social Services," Social Service Review (March 1979), p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>Peter O'Donnell, Social Services: Three Years After Title XX (Washington, D.C.: National Governors' Association, 1978), p.1.

- A variety of services either from public and/or private agencies are needed to possibly improve individual and family functioning; all should be determined at the state and/or local level of government.
- Public social services programs should focus on low income people and that as an individual's economic status improves, he/she pay some portion of the cost.
- Local government should not substitute Title XX funds for other basic human service provision such as, state institutions, health care, income support, and public education.
- Aside from the above exceptions, the choice, priority and scope of services are a matter of state or local decision.
- The utilization of services should be voluntary (except for crisis intervention) with service goal and method being jointly decided upon by consumer and provider as much as possible.
- Accountability is focused on the state and local level through a sound planning process utilizing public participation, achievement reports and evaluations.<sup>1</sup>

The development of public social welfare policies and programs is inherently a political process, sometimes resulting in legislation which is further subjected to political considerations through regulatory action and program implementation. As previously mentioned, this Act governs the provision of federally funded social services by the states. The legislation was the result of a prolonged political struggle that the American Public Welfare Association aptly described as "...a rather fierce public controversy over what had been a rather obscure program."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mott, Meeting Human Needs, pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup>APWA Washington Report, 8 (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, October 31, 1973), p.1.

The obscurity of the program stemmed from the fact that the Social Security Act of 1935 instituted a federal/state income maintenance program that did not refer to, or provide federal financing for social services, however they might be defined. The federal government's involvement in social services, historically the domain of the voluntary sector and the states, began to evolve at a later date. In 1956 the Social Security Act was amended to provide for 50 percent federal matching funds to states for administrative costs of the public assistance program. Without being specifically stated, this constituted federal reimbursement for casework services to recipients, in order to achieve the goal of reducing and/or eliminating dependency. However states took little advantage of this provision to claim federal funding for service provision.

This situation was reversed during the next decade when federal funding for social services increased greatly. This was due to a number of factors, including a continued national rise in public assistance costs which supposedly required increased casework services to stem these costs. Another factor was the presidency of John F. Kennedy, which brought new ideological and administrative changes to HEW. In 1962 amendments were made to the Social Security Act which sought, as Mott points out, to reorient the program from a cash grant program to one in which the main focus would be on rehabilitation of current recipients and the prevention of dependency in other financially vulnerable populations.<sup>1</sup> For the first time social services

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<sup>1</sup>See Mott, Meeting Human Needs, p. 3. Much of the material concerning the politics of Title XX has been drawn from this source.



were mentioned by name and federal reimbursement; their provision was increased to 75 percent. Eligibility was broadened to include "former" and "potential" public assistance recipients, and states were permitted to purchase service from other agencies.

In 1967 the Act was further amended to establish a work incentive program for AFDC recipients in which auxiliary social services, such as daycare, were recognized as a component and states were entitled to 90 percent federal reimbursement for expenditures for such services. The "former" and "potential" recipient categories were broadened, group eligibility was made permissible, as was the authority of states to purchase social services from voluntary agencies. These amendments together with the HEW regulations promulgated to implement them, are considered to represent a significant and important shift in policy and programs in the area of public social services. Gilbert states that casework services were no longer as prominent as in the past, and a way was opened towards a broader conception of federally funded social services.<sup>1</sup> Greater emphasis came to be placed on the delivery of services that were more tangible than those of social casework. A distinction began to develop between "soft" and "hard" services.

These trends and the expansion in the range of services and eligible clients permitted by the amendments, resulted in increased usage of federal funds by the states for provision of social services.

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert, "The Transformation of Social Services," p.630.

between 1963 and 1971 federal grants to states for social services grew more than threefold, from approximately \$194 million to \$740 million. This amount rose to \$1.7 billion in 1972 and states projected a need of \$4.7 billion for 1973.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of these federal monies was uneven, with California, Illinois and New York receiving 58 percent of the total amount in 1972.<sup>2</sup> This increase in federal expenditures and its uneven distribution was possible because the statute provided for open-ended funding without any formula for its distribution and the sophisticated grantsmanship capability of these three states. In addition, the statute did not define or list permissible social services. As Wickenden explains, the law undertook "definition by objective" - that is, services were defined by what they sought to achieve.<sup>3</sup> Thus the law stated that family services were "services to a family, or a member thereof for the purpose of preserving, rehabilitating, or strengthening the family to attain or retain capability for the maximum self-support and personal independence."<sup>4</sup>

The costs and distribution of federal funds and the lack of service definitions, which of necessity meant a lack of standards and

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert, "The Transformation of Social Services," p. 635.

<sup>2</sup>See Martha Derthick, Uncontrollable Spending for the Social Services (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1975) for a comprehensive analysis of this issue.

<sup>3</sup>Elizabeth Wickenden, "A Perspective on Social Services: An Essay Review," Social Service Review, 50 (December, 1976), p. 572.

<sup>4</sup>Mott, Meeting Human Needs, p.4.

accountability, quickly became the focus of the federal government's interest in social services. Between 1969 - 1972 HEW focused its attention on these and related issues. The war on poverty was coming to an end with President Nixon's administration, which brought a strong managerial perspective about program effectiveness and accountability to the agency. Mott states that very early in the new administration, HEW set the following three goals for the social services program: an equitable way to control the rate of growth in expenditures; provision of leadership in helping the states develop a rationalized social services system; and a design and implementation of an effective accountability system for measuring where and how social services funds were being spent, and with what results.<sup>1</sup> Related to this last goal was HEW's concern that the increase in expenditures represented only a small expansion of service capacity, while a larger share represented the transfer of local costs from the states to the federal government. The states were seen as using these federal funds for their own fiscal relief, and this was politically unacceptable.

Planning around these goals took place within the framework of the administration's emphasis on welfare reform and revenue sharing. The former necessitated a separation of income maintenance programs from social services programs, a concept that was, in 1970, made a regulatory requirement by HEW despite the failure of the Administration's welfare reform bill (FAP). Revenue sharing was aimed at decentralization of decision-making to state and local governments, and a goal was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

to minimize regulatory control by Washington. During this period, HEW attempted to formulate service plans that would incorporate these concepts and provide the means of achieving the above stated goals. The Goal Oriented Social Services (GOSS) system was instituted during this period as an attempt to integrate the revenue sharing concept with the goal of an integrated, accountable social services system.

A large amount of thought and planning went on within HEW during this period and many of the concepts and ideas formulated were eventually incorporated, in some form, into Title XX. However, it was the financial issues that eventually became the prime focus, overshadowing much of the work that had been done on other aspects. Shortly after the three overall goals had been set, the Social and Rehabilitative Service (SRS) Administration of HEW had decided that the only means to control the rate of growth in expenditures was to legislate a ceiling on federal funds for social services. Several attempts, beginning in 1970, were made to get Congress to pass such legislation. While these attempts failed, and SRS continued its work on the other areas, the expenditure rate continued to increase significantly. When, as mentioned previously, the states estimated their 1973 expenditures at \$4.6 billion, the President increased pressure on Congress for a ceiling to be imposed. Congress at this time agreed and in October, 1972 a \$2.5 billion ceiling was enacted, with an allocation formula for distribution of the funds based upon the population of the states. A requirement that 90 percent of a state's allotment be used for services to public assistance applicants and recipients was included in the law.

Prior to passage of the ceiling, and in anticipation of it, the states submitted reimbursement claims for 1972 which further confirmed the rise in expenditures. These claims became a matter of controversy between the states and the fiscal management staff of HEW. It would appear, from Mott's description,<sup>1</sup> that while there had been differences of opinion and conflict between the HEW fiscal and program (SRS) staff during this entire period, the fiscal staff became dominant in 1972. Supported by the Federal Office of Management and Budget, the emphasis shifted almost entirely to limiting and/or decreasing federal expenditures for social services. In consequence of this shift, the regulations that SRS had been preparing to issue, implementing their prior planning, were delayed, and then modified to reflect the new fiscal priorities. Published in February, 1973, it was these regulations that precipitated the public controversy which, after approximately a standoff of one year, was resolved with the passage of Title XX.

Although many segments of the social services field had been opposed to the imposition of a funding ceiling and to other elements of HEW's plans, and the states were embroiled in a controversy with HEW over their claims, it was the 1973 regulations that became the focus of open, concerted opposition and intense political action. In addition to important administrative changes, the regulations proposed to narrowly redefine the "former and potential" recipient categories, eliminate the concept of group eligibility, and limit federal funding

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-25.

to the services exclusively aimed at the goal of self support. Their apparent purpose was to limit both the nature and scope of the service program, and thereby decrease federal expenditures below even the \$2.5 billion ceiling. Upon publication of these regulations, HEW received over 200,000 comments, an unprecedented number, the majority of which were in opposition to all or part of the proposed changes. This response indicated that the social services community was able, at this time, to quickly begin mobilizing its opposition. The period preceding this time, in which HEW had raised essential issues and shared its planning with segments of the community, had prepared and paved the way for the field to act.

It is this controversy and the events it precipitated that will be discussed in more detail. The conflict pitted the National Governors Conference and the Social Services Coalition against HEW, with Congress playing a negotiating role while at the same time it basically sided with the opposition to HEW. Generally speaking, the ability of Congress and HEW to influence each other was dependent upon the political alliances and needs of each. In this social services controversy, they were generally at odds with each other. HEW's concern was basically fourfold: to control federal expenditures for social services; establish a federal-state relationship governing the program that would insure the funds were used according to the administration's overall priorities; insure that states could be held accountable for the funds and the programs; and carry out these objectives within the framework of special revenue sharing, a concept that was of prime importance

to the Nixon administration. Thus to a significant extent it was HEW's ability to carry out the administration's policies which was at stake here.

Congress, as the legislative body for all federal programs was, of course, a major participant in this policy area. However, this controversy developed within the regulatory process, and need not have directly involved Congress. But early in the controversy the forces in opposition came to believe that only new legislation could overcome the objectionable regulations, and they were able to get Congress involved in the struggle. A major factor precipitating this involvement was Congress' poor and at times even hostile relationship with the Nixon administration. Not only were the two sides acting out the traditional antagonistic Republican vs. Democratic Party roles, but Nixon was attempting to govern almost without Congress entirely. As Mott points out,<sup>1</sup> he had been elected for a second term with an overwhelming margin, and interpreted this mandate as permitting him to work with few alliances with other groups in order to carry out his policies.

Issues around social service legislation left many segments of Congress feeling frustrated and somewhat helpless. The legislation conflict served as a means by which Congress, in coalition with others, could recapture some initiative and leverage, both as a body and as individual members. It is probably safe to assume that Congress was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

able to make use of this issue, in this manner, just because it was not of prime importance to them or to the general public. The \$2.5 billion ceiling had already been established and with it a demonstration of Congress' fiscal prudence. The social service issues did not concern most of the powerful interest groups in the country. It was therefore a "safe" issue around which Congress could rally to regain some of its initiative and prestige.

The third major participatory group was the state governments, represented by the National Governors Conference. In many respects the controversy was basically one involving conflict between the states and the federal government, over control of federal monies and programs. This of course is a historic issue, which is continuously played out not only in the social welfare area but in many others as well. The governors perceived that the 1973 regulations would severely limit the portion of their programs which could be matched by federal funds. Not only did this mean a total decrease in future federal monies available to the states but funds which they had already committed to existing programs. Loss of such funding would have negative political impact if withdrawn. State governments and the governors' political images would therefore be in jeopardy if they were caught between decreasing federal funds and their own strained budgets. In addition, their programs would be subject to very exacting accountability requirements, further limiting their financial and administrative decision making powers; politically this was not to their liking. Once having gotten some amount of control



over a program, they were not about to give it up.

The fourth major participant was the Social Services Coalition, a group formed at the initiative of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) and consisting of associations of local and state welfare administrators, labor unions, and other professional and advocacy groups. Over 25 groups participated, with staffing and leadership drawn from NASW. The chief concerns of these various groups were, of course, different. NASW had a professional concern regarding the nature and scope of the entire services program. In addition, this was the only service program where they were the primary professionals, as compared to others, such as community mental health, where they were not. The program authorized an official niche for the profession of social work and they did not want to see it narrowed or crippled in any way. The American Public Welfare Association (APWA) was concerned with a program that their members would have to administer, and therefore the organization wanted input into it in order to serve their perception of administrative needs. The Child Welfare League of America was concerned about its professional standards and had concern that its ability to influence these standards would be lowered. The regulations were enough of a threat to the professional concerns and status of the various groups to enable them to come together in such a coalition.

In addition to specialized interests within the above coalition, there were different stakes involved between some of its members and the Governors Conference. On certain issues, such as the question of mandated services, many members of the Social Services Coalition,

especially NASA and APWA, were in strong disagreement with the governors' position. Whereas the governors preferred maximum flexibility (freedom) on this issue, NASW and APWA wanted to assure the availability of certain essential services and not leave this to the governors' discretion. Such a situation exists in any coalition, and it was kept together by the overriding common interest in negating the regulations. Also helpful in this situation was the fact that there were links between the two participants; certain staff persons on the Governors Conference were also involved members of the Social Services Coalition, and served as negotiators when the front ran into strong differences within its ranks.

Thus the four major participants were HEW, Congress, the Governors Conference and the Social Service Coalition. Each participant in this controversy possessed a certain amount of power in relation to certain other participants and certain issues, and in accordance with the climate at the time. In examining the distribution of power among them, it is obvious that the first three groups were, on an individual basis, each more powerful than the Social Service Coalition. HEW was the most influential agency in the social services field, yet the coalition that formed against it was, in the end, successful in limiting some of its authority over the program. A vital factor in this success was the negative climate that existed between the administration and Congress, which helped induce Congress to enter the arena. Congress was a powerful ally against HEW, having the authority to use legislation to forestall the regulations. But even here it was not all

powerful, due to the different interests and political needs within its own ranks. The professional and political interest in the social services issue of key Congressmen like Mondale, Long and Ullman played an important role in Congress; involvement.

The Governors Conference is also a relatively powerful organization, with its political ties to Congress via party politics. Each governor is usually the head of the party in each state, and influence and votes accrue to them on this basis. The Conference had easy access to key Congress people, and to HEW with whom it had been negotiating over the social service issues even prior to the issuance of the regulations. Relatively speaking, however, the Conference had more influence over Congress than it did over the Administration. On its own, it could not budge HEW to change its position. At one point just prior to the issuance of the regulations, the Nixon administration was concerned about alienating the Conference because it was close to election time. However, the Office of Management and Budget was able to persuade him that the fiscal issues were important enough to proceed with the regulations. The election results proved them correct.

The Social Service Coalition would probably be considered the least powerful link in the chain. As a professional lobby, the Coalition could provide the Congress with specific program information that could be used in the negotiations with HEW. NASW was very well informed in the social service area.

It is this author's perspective that each participant played an important role in this controversy, and that without the participation

of any one of the three contending forces, the outcome might have been quite different. This brings us to what was accomplished, i.e., the demise of the 1973 regulations with many of their objectional aspects, and the passage of a new, separate Title XX for services added to the Social Security Act. A summary of what happened follows.

The Governors Conference and the Coalition were able to involve Congress at an early date in the conflict, and several bills were introduced which dealt with specific objections to the regulations of individual members, based upon their political interests. But comprehensive legislation around which ample support could be mustered was difficult to achieve, despite a good deal of activity and hearings held by the powerful Senate Finance Committee. HEW made some concessionary gestures and did amend the regulations twice, but without fundamental changes. In the absence of legislative consensus on a bill, Congress achieved the postponement, by law, of the effective date of the regulations twice.

Mott indicates that when the effective date of the regulations was postponed the second time for a one year period, HEW began to realize that its strategy had failed and that it was time to devise a new one to achieve its goals.<sup>1</sup> The agency then became more agreeable to the idea of a compromise. Mott also believes, quite plausibly, that Congress, after its inability to achieve consensus legislation, wanted to be on the sidelines forcing the drafting of consensus legislation by

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

the parties themselves, and subtly began to push the latter in this direction. HEW began to accept the position that responsibility should be lodged in the states, rather than the federal government, for determining how social services money should be spent. With this fundamental change, which was quite acceptable to the other parties, progress began. HEW, the Congress and the Coalition began working on legislation that would incorporate the new position. The new draft legislation, based on HEW's position, represented intense negotiation and a final compromise by all. In October, 1974 the bill was sponsored in the House by important representatives (Mills, Ullman and Corman) and was wound up relatively quickly in a conference committee of the two Houses, a week before Christmas.

Given the struggle of approximately one and one half years, what does Title XX look like? Without going into details of the law, one can generally say that it grants states a good deal of flexibility in the design and scope of their social services program. Many of its major features were taken from each of the parties' individual positions, such as the following: eligibility is based upon state and national median incomes (with wide latitude for state discretion), permitting federally funded services to be provided to a much broader population than previously - this was both an NASW and NGC position; partial accountability has been transferred to the public in the form of publication of a comprehensive services plan for public review and comment, a new concept in social services, this was HEW's contribution; retention of the original HEW GOSS goals (with some additions) this was both the agency's and NASW's position; and the 50 percent requirement

for services to public assistance recipients was a compromise by all.

In essence, it is valid to say that the bill was, indeed, a compromise one, with each group achieving some of its goals. How this translates into program effectiveness for different groups of potential clients has been the subject of various studies of which this is one.

The author will now focus on the concept citizen participation. Citizen participation represents a policy stream that, ultimately, became a fundamental element of Title XX. A brief background discussion of the emergence and transformation of citizen participation (1964 to 1975) follows.

On August 20, 1964, only six months after President Lyndon B. Johnson had appointed Sargent Shriver to head a task force to design a bill on poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act became law. Its announced aim was not only to eliminate poverty but to restructure society by giving the poor a chance to design and administer antipoverty programs.<sup>1</sup> It was unusual for a social welfare program of such magnitude to be enacted so quickly. However, President Johnson, an astute and extremely able politician did not fail to take advantage of the spirit of cooperation that existed in Congress following the tragic death of his predecessor.<sup>2</sup>

The Economic Opportunity Act was created by the Executive Branch

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<sup>1</sup> Sar A. Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969), p. IX.

<sup>2</sup> Henry J. Aaron, Politics and the Professors: The Great Society in Perspective (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1978), pp. 150-151.

of the federal government and administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, a specially created independent agency which was directly responsible to the Office of the President, thereby avoiding possible jurisdictional disputes among existing federal bureaucracies.<sup>1</sup>

It was the Community Action Program (CAP), Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act, perhaps the most innovative and soon to become the most politically explosive of the Great Society's programs for the poor, that this summary will focus on.

The section of the act defining the objectives of community action was approved by Congress essentially as presented, and reads as follows:

Section 202 (a) The term "community action program" means a program---

- (1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private in any...geographical area.... in an attack on poverty.
- (2) which provides services, assistance, and other activities...to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or a cause or causes of poverty...
- (3) which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served; and
- (4) which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency (other than a political party), or a combination thereof.<sup>2</sup>

Simply stated, the manifest purpose of Title II was to provide a framework that would enable federal, state and local agencies to join

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<sup>1</sup>James L. Sundquist, Politics and Policy (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968), p. 145.

<sup>2</sup>Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law, p. 110.

forces in a coordinated attack on poverty. It was no accident that the language defining the objectives of community action was vague and all encompassing. The original draft included specific activities, but that version was withdrawn in order to avoid pressure from government departments and legislators who wished to include their own special areas of interest. Furthermore, that would have limited the flexibility of individual communities to organize the type of activities that suited their particular needs.<sup>1</sup>

Strangely enough, what was to become the most controversial and highly publicized provision of the bill - the concept of "maximum feasible participation"---"appeared so innocuous to the Congress that at no time was it questioned or even discussed."<sup>2</sup> Legislators did not yet seem concerned about the political implications of a situation whereby the federal government directly funds programs that might encourage political and social action against local bureaucracies.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, it was quite deliberate that state and municipal governments were bypassed, not only in terms of financing, but more importantly, in terms of policy-making. In the past the federal government would provide funds, advice and expertise to states and they, in turn,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup>James L. Sundquist, Making Federalism Work (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup>John C. Donovan, The Politics of Poverty (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), p. 29.



to local communities - but with a significant difference. The programs were state requested and controlled both financially and in terms of policy design; whereas in the sixties the federal government had specific objectives that they wanted to accomplish. Instead of responding to state initiative and heretofore, the national government was imposing its own goals upon local communities.<sup>1</sup> As might have been expected this strategy was not without repercussions. Most mayors opposed the idea of the poor playing an active and possibly controlling role in running their own programs as this might pose a threat to entrenched political organizations.<sup>2</sup>

The imprecise language of the bill allowed for an extraordinarily wide range of interpretations. Some viewed the Community Action program as primarily a coordinating instrument, others concentrated on the concept of expansion of services and opportunities; while still others saw CAP as a vehicle for participation and decision making by the poor in community affairs.<sup>3</sup> Expectations of what the major thrust of the program should be were determined by differing philosophies of the causes and methods of overcoming poverty. Those sharing the viewpoint that the main problem was inadequate resources or poor delivery of services advocated better coordination of existing agencies as well

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<sup>1</sup>Sundquist, Federalism, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Neil Gilbert, Clients or Constituents (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970), pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Levino, The Poor Ye Need Not Have With You (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 29.

as the creation of additional health, education, housing, etc., facilities, where needed. Believers in the "culture of poverty" theory emphasized the need to change the attitudes, values and behavior of the poor. Still others were of the opinion that existing institutions are structured so as to preserve the power of those in control and must be changed before poverty could be eliminated.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the programs and strategies of the various community action agencies were a reflection of these divergent opinions.

One factor about which there is general agreement is that the most controversial feature of the bill was the requirement that there be "maximum feasible participation" of the poor (the actual wording of the provision stated "residents of the area and members of groups served"). It offered a rare opportunity for the usually voiceless recipients to gain a measure of control over the type and direction of programs in their own communities.<sup>2</sup> As there were no official guidelines defining this provision, there arose a wide range of interpretations ranging from giving the poor a purely advisory role - to participation to the limited extent in decision making - to gaining complete control over programs.<sup>3</sup> As in the matter of preference for a particular mode of community action, there is a correlation between interpretation of this provision and one's assumptions about

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<sup>1</sup> Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht, Dimensions of Social Welfare (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1974), pp. 96-98.

<sup>2</sup> Donovan, The Politics of Poverty, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Levitan,

poverty. Certainly those who felt the poor could not function effectively because of cultural deprivation would not be in favor of giving them control over programs designed to alleviate this condition.

To further complicate a difficult situation, there was a diversity of opinion on the part of the drafters of the bill as to the intent of this clause. The Bureau of the Budget envisioned the poor as having a role in the implementation of programs, but not in their design.<sup>1</sup> Daniel Moynihan insists that the only reason for the provision was to ensure that southern blacks would not be excluded from "the benefits of the program."<sup>2</sup> Professionals who were involved in demonstration projects such as Mobilization for Youth in New York, and Community Progress, Inc., in New Haven, which were funded by the Ford Foundation and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, where the concept originated, were the only ones who seemed to have a clear idea of its implications. They believed that the problem of poverty could not be solved without a major redistribution of power.<sup>3</sup>

To many observers, as the sixty's ended, the policy commitment to citizen participation, also, ended. Actually, the concept "changed" is more correct than "ended" for the participation legacy of the 1960s was carried into the 1970s. The 1970s edition was not as spectacular

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<sup>1</sup> Donovan, The Politics of Poverty, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Donovan, The Politics of Poverty, pp. 40-43.

and some could argue as viable as "maximum feasible participation" but, nevertheless, citizen participation became an ongoing component of many government policies.<sup>1</sup> Spergel described the citizen participation aspects of government policy and programming as follows:

Federal and state governments now encourage or require citizen participation structures and processes in most of their funded social programs, including health, mental health, housing, manpower development, education, welfare, aging, economic development, and environmental and consumer protection. Recent evidence of federal support for community development and the necessity for local participation in governmental decision-making and program development is found in the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act (federal revenue-sharing) of 1972 and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Legislation and ordinance have been passed in many states that encourage or require the development of not only state and municipal but regional and neighborhood or submunicipal structures to deal with such concerns as education, delinquency and mental health.<sup>2</sup>

Wireman noted that:

Despite a weakening of citizen input in many programs, new legislation in the mid-1970s strengthened the citizens' role in some instances; therefore, the situation remained mixed. Changes in Title XX of the Social Security Act mandated a period of public review before state plans for a variety of social service programs could be adopted. A majority of the members of health planning agencies must now be consumers. Almost nine hundred community action agencies still exist, providing employment, community organization and social services. Some citizens continue to be active in decentralized city halls and neighborhood service centers. Others participate in consumer cooperatives or make their neighborhoods more self-sufficient economically. Many citizens have turned to mass consumer education or political activities.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a comprehensive presentation of citizen participation requirements and opportunities in government programs, see Citizen Participation (Washington, D.C.: Community Services Administration, 1978).

<sup>2</sup>Irving Spergel, "Social Planning and Community Organization: Community Development," in Encyclopedia of Social Work, pp. 1428-1429.

<sup>3</sup>Peggy Wireman, "Citizen Participation," in Encyclopedia of Social Work, pp. 178-179.

Title XX is familiarly lauded for its citizen participation stance.<sup>1</sup> There are two manifest reasons for this praise: (1) public participation in Title XX was seen as a way citizens could influence social service decisions and (2) public participation could improve accountability.<sup>2</sup> As part of the "New Federalism" philosophy the underlying premise of Title XX has always been that decision-making and control of social services would shift from the federal government to the states, and that there would be a corresponding increase in citizen participation in the design of social services programs. Title XX evolved during a time when the concepts open government, sunshine laws and citizen participation were seen as possible answers to the size of government, its lack of responsiveness to the needs of citizens and the people's general distrust of government. In essence accountability and citizen participation were viewed as congruent.

Title XX has been described as an innovative mandate for citizen participation in social service planning. Actually, Section 2004 of the law delineates the requirements for preparing an annual service plan and vaguely mentions the need "...of assuring public participation in the development of the program..."<sup>3</sup> Zorn, et. al. commented that:

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<sup>1</sup>Mott, Meeting Human Needs, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup>See Derthick, Uncontrollable Spending, and O'Donnell, Social Services.

<sup>3</sup>PL 93-647, Section 2004.

This statement of purpose suggests that Title XX regulations would include requirements for public involvement throughout the planning process, from the early stage of needs assessment to the final phase of program evaluation. It would also suggest that the regulations include requirements for such activities as public meetings and hearings, surveys, or, as in previous services program guidelines, the appointment of advisory commissions. However, none of these requirements are included in either the law or the regulations. Instead, 'assuring public participation' has been defined through the legislation and HEW guidelines as allowing public review and comment on the annual state service plan.<sup>1</sup>

The Title XX legislation requires only that a proposed service plan be published and made generally available to the public at least ninety days before the start of each program year. A description of the plan must be published in newspapers most people read in each geographic area of the state. The state must receive written comments from the public for a period of forty-five days after the proposed plan is published. Public hearings may, also, be held during the period but are not required. It is extremely important to note that while the state must include a summary of the comments received in the final plan, it does not have to either respond to the comments or make changes as a result of them. Through such vagueness it is clear that citizen participation under Title XX is, in reality, an opportunity, hardly a mandate. As such, citizen participation could become an efficacious process or it could be no more than a pro forma exercise.

Hopefully, the reader is now oriented into the world of Title XX; what it is, how it came about and its vague commitment to citizen

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<sup>1</sup>Zorn, et. al, "Title XX," pp. 22-23.

participation. Such an orientation is important because the essence of this study is New York City's Title XX citizen participation process and its perceived efficacy. Through the use of quantitative and qualitative methodology, this study attempts to shed some light on the question of the perceived effectiveness of the citizen participation process.

While this chapter has provided an integrated look at the literature the following chapter will offer a discrete review of the literature.

CHAPTER II  
RELATED LITERATURE

Related Literature

There are a variety of studies and monographs covering the general subject matter of this study, i.e., federalism, public social services, citizen participation, and, of course, Title XX. However, the specific focus of this study - the perceived efficacy of the citizen participation process in New York City - has not been the primary concern of previous studies.

In this chapter those books and articles that are salient and undergird the major themes and theories pursued in the formulation of this study will be briefly reviewed. The design of this study seeks to utilize, analyze and evaluate two basic themes: (1) the emergence of Title XX; and (2) citizen participation. The literature is reviewed with the objectives of providing an analytical foundation, increasing program and policy insight and exploration of theoretical constructs that are useful in the pursuit of the goals of the study.

The Emergence of Title XX

What is Title XX? Where did it come from? What is its projected utility? These and other questions must be explored and analyzed to give one a viable frame of reference. In other words, one must have



an understanding of the history, philosophy, politics and definition of Title XX before another analytical step can take place.

Martha Derthick's excellent contribution provides the necessary historical and political background of Title XX.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, her study is an inquiry into the uncontrollable nature of grants-in-aid social service programs to states, prior to the enactment of Title XX. She illuminated the fact that the spending got out of control largely because staff specialists in HEW lost jurisdiction over the program and because policy-level appointive officials, made choices that left a large legal "loophole" that promoted "grantsmanship" and runaway social service spending. It seems clear that the unprecedented rise in federal social service grants had less to do with the overall expansion of services offered them with the transfer of local social service costs from states to the federal government. In essence, the elasticity of the 1967 social service legislation played a large part in allowing federal social service funds to be used for the fiscal relief of the states. Derthick notes the paradox of the explosion of the social services spending during a Republican administration and details the political struggles and efforts of the administration to gain fiscal control. The result of the administration's effort to gain fiscal control was Title XX. From this perspective Title XX emerged and was expected to serve a fiscal containment and accountability function.

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<sup>1</sup>Martha Derthick, Uncontrollable Spending For Social Service Grants (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1975).

While Derthick focused mainly on the accountability aspects of the emergence of Title XX, Mott details the political process.<sup>1</sup> Mott focuses on the pluralistic political processes involved and the ambitious and, possibly, far-reaching implications of Title XX. According to Mott, Title XX represents an ambitious experiment in state, federal, and citizen relationship that could prove to be quite significant.

This study reviews the emergence of social services from the Social Security Act of 1935 through the various amendments (1956, 1962, 1967) and, ultimately, to Title XX. The study then focuses on the Nixon Administration's efforts to gain control of the social welfare programs through an accountability process (the system's management approach). The Nixon Administration's effort to gain control resulted in a political contest between the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Governor's Association and a social service coalition. Mott details, quite elaborately, the political process of each political "actor." The political contest resulted in a compromise based on (1) the "New Federalism" philosophy and (2) the need for accountability. The law that emerged was Title XX.

Mott also delineates some problems and issues which he felt should be monitored and evaluated such as: (a) the states accountability for goal achievement, (b) service definition problems, (c) eligibility

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<sup>1</sup>Paul E. Mott, Meeting Human Needs: The Social and Political History of Title XX (Columbus, Ohio: National Conference on Social Welfare, 1976).

and fees issues, (d) power and accountability, (e) the role of public vs private agencies, (f) confidentiality and privacy, (g) the role and training of professionals in the social services, and (h) citizen participation. These are issues and potential problems because each state will define and determine the substance of each of the above statements. Historically the poor and minorities have not done very well on the state level. The investigator's study will follow Mott's suggestion and investigate citizen participation.

#### Early Assessment

Within a year after the implementation of Title XX, early assessments were published. One study by the Urban Institute<sup>1</sup> under contract with HEW explored the following questions:

- How was Title XX implemented by the states?
- What impact did Title XX have on state planning processes for social services?
- What impact did Title XX have on the organization and management of the state social service agencies?
- Who participated and had influence in the making of state Title XX decisions?
- How had Title XX affected coordination among state human resource programs?
- Had Title XX resulted in a different pattern of federal-state relationships than existed previously?
- How has Title XX affected the allocation of services to the people?

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<sup>1</sup>Jerry Turen, Benton, Bill, et al. The Implementation of Title XX: The First Year's Experience (Working Paper 0990-08, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institution, 1976).

- Finally, what were the major dimensions of change to be expected in the future?

Approximately 300 personal interviews were conducted by Urban Institute staff with individuals from five states. While all of the above research questions are important, two have particular relevancy to the study reported here: (1) What impact has Title XX had on state processes of planning for social services? and (2) Who participated and had influence? In regards to the first question, the findings suggest that the most dramatic change observed during the first year was the "openness" of the process. This was reflected in an increased level of public participation, often on the part of persons not previously involved in social services decision-making. The findings in terms of the second question noted that prior to Title XX, state social service decision-making was a fairly "closed" process, largely dominated by the leadership of the social service agencies. The process observed was much more open and more than moderate participation or influence came from the governors' offices, state agency regional office staff, federal regional offices, and Title XX advisory groups. It was noted, however, that there was a widespread lack of meaningful involvement by low-income consumers of social services.

Another early assessment was conducted by The Research Group<sup>1</sup> of Atlanta, Georgia, to determine how the Title XX agency in eight selected states responded to the first year planning effort, how the

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<sup>1</sup>State Experiences in Social Service Planning (Washington, D.C.: HEW/SRS, 1976).

agency approached the planning activities, what planning techniques were used, and where the planning function was organizationally placed. This assessment contains case studies of the eight states, describes the planning activities as conducted in each state, the problems encountered and how they were resolved. It also described the planning changes projected by the states based on their experience.

The findings under the section entitled "How States Obtained Public Review and Comment" is of particular interest to this observer. While the most vital time for public participation is prior to the publication of the proposed plan, all but one of the states studied either used an advisory group or an "after" publication public participation method. After publication is, in fact, the minimum mandated by the law.

Through a variety of techniques, citizens, public and private service agencies, and special interest groups commented on the proposed programs and services, the planning process and allocation of resources. Four techniques were required by Federal regulation:

- Newspaper advertisements
- Newspaper press releases
- Distribution of the Plan/summary, and
- Toll-free or collect telephone number

In addition, all the states studied augmented the required activities with one or more of the following techniques: (a) Holding public hearings or meetings; (b) making television presentations; (c) preparing newsletters; (d) distributing information through organizations;

(e) broadcasting public service announcements; (f) distributing other documents related to Title XX or social service systems.

The authors of the study closed with the personal observation that "we feel the Title XX social services planning experience has advanced the understanding and art of social service planning far beyond anyone's expectations and, perhaps, even more than presently realized by states and staffs which are involved in the effort on a daily basis."

A research team from the L.B.J. School of Public Affairs, University of Texas conducted an early study which focused specifically on Title XX and citizen participation. This study describes and assesses the initial impact of the implementation of changes in the planning and public review process of Title XX in the states.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, it focused on citizen participation as it affected the planning process.

The authors conclude that public input into Title XX planning may play a vigorous or weak role depending on how participatory procedures are defined and structured by the individual state. Useful public participation will occur when a variety of individuals and interests are informed about program issues and brought into the planning process early. Likewise, when participation is restricted to providers and other organized groups while the public and services

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<sup>1</sup>Frances E. Zorn, Rose, Leilani S. and Radin, Beryl A., "Title XX and Public Participation: An Overview," Public Welfare, (Fall 1976); and "Title XX and Public Participation: An Initial Assessment," Public Welfare (Winter 1977).

clients are not kept informed and involved, the value of participation will be weakened and the programs will not accurately reflect public concerns. This study found, after surveying 23 states and the District of Columbia, that states tended to implement essentially passive forms of participation.

Gilbert<sup>1</sup> sees Title XX through very philosophical glasses as he feels that Title XX "...in the most concrete sense represents the cornerstone of the emerging structure of social services in the United States." Gilbert views social services as being on the.... "threshold of a new era; it is an era in which more consumers from all classes, more types of social service agencies, and more state and local governments have greater stake than ever before in the establishment of enduring social service networks." Gilbert sees a major role for the state chapters of the National Association of Social Workers, as a special interest group, to help shape the transformation of social services. In a sense Gilbert is saying that with Title XX, the professional organization now has a state-wide political arena through which it can pursue its special interes.

Schram and Hurley published an early assessment of Title XX which is completely special-interest focus.<sup>2</sup> This article attempts to assess the adequacy of the Title XX planning process in responding to the needs of older persons in New York State. Title XX is

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<sup>1</sup>Neil Gilbert, "The Transformation of Social Services," Social Service Review, December 1977, pp. 624-641.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford Schram and Hurley, Richard, "Title XX and the Elderly," Social Work, March 1977, pp. 95-102.

described as special revenue-sharing for social services. States and localities were to be freer to set their own priorities and determine allocations among services. An analysis of New York's planning data was made to determine whether older persons were effectively influencing the local planning process in that state and thereby receiving their fair share of funds. While the findings were mixed and inconclusive, this study is significant because it focuses specifically on one special-interest group. Since one of the major elements of the study reported here is the overt competitive milieu Title XX encourages, the design and findings of this rather rigorous study are of particular relevance.

#### Later Assessments

By 1978 Title XX had been in operation for three years. As such, some of the "rough edges" had been smoothed out and a new group of published reports emerged with analysis based on more data. By this time, some of the early optimism had changed to either ambivalence or pessimism. Terrell appears ambivalent in his study on the impact of Title XX on social service planning in five local sites. Specifically, he looked at Title XX's influence on program planning effectiveness, the involvement of elected policymakers, and citizen participation.<sup>1</sup> The findings of this study indicate that while the visibility of the social service planning process had been high, there had been only marginal success in improving service

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Terrell, "Assessing Title XX at the Local Level," Social Work Research and Abstracts, Summer 1978, pp. 3-11.



management. According to Terrell, Title XX had failed to generate improvements in those states already "at limit" in terms of their federal services allotment. The study concluded that locales (state, county, or city level of government) that had access to limited funds have accommodated Title XX in pro forma fashion. However, in those areas with newly available funding, Title XX has significantly broadened the planning process, engaged the involvement of elected officials, and increased community participation. It is important to note that New York has been at its ceiling since the implementation of Title XX.

The National Conference on Social Welfare published a report on issues arising in Title XX programs.<sup>1</sup> This report was designed to provide HEW with input from the organization's constituency on the effect and effectiveness of Title XX programs, including specific recommendations for program and legislative changes. The recommendations cover five areas:

- The comprehensive nature of Title XX and its relationship to other human service systems
- The relationship of the voluntary social system to public social services
- Standards for provisions and performance of Title XX services
- The American Indian Dilemma (The major issue here is that federally recognized Indian tribes have a unique legal relationship with the federal government.)
- The Title XX planning process

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<sup>1</sup>Current Issues in Title XX Programs (Washington, D.C.: National Conference on Social Welfare, 1976).

In the area of the Title XX planning process, the report recommended that a "...meaningful citizen participation should be mandated for all steps of the planning process." A variety of means were suggested, including a specific mandate for outreach and inclusion of non-consumers and a specific formula for the ratio of members of each affected or involved group on every advisory council. NCSW obviously views citizens participation as involving much more than a five minute testimony at a public hearing.

A study was conducted for the National Governors' Association to examine the state social services planning management, and delivery systems from 1975-1978.<sup>1</sup> The project was funded under a grant from HEW specifically to look at problems states encountered with the implementation of Title XX. In viewing Title XX as "a new framework for social services" this study delineated the major components of the act and discussed how a sample of states implemented the new framework and the problems they encountered.

It was noted that much of the motivation for and interest in the development of Title XX centered on improved accountability. The following observations constitute this study's assessment of the status of citizen involvement in the Title XX planning process:

- Most of those traditionally involved in the social services area expected much more extensive citizen participation.
- Most of the states have made efforts to involve the general public, but much of the attention has been focused on the legislatively mandated review period.

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<sup>1</sup>Peter O'Connell, Social Services: Three Years After Title XX (Washington, D.C.: National Governors' Association, 1978).

- Some states see effective citizen involvement as paying important dividends in building the constituency necessary to expand state and federal funding for services.
- The broadly-defined "general public" will never be involved in the review of Title XX or in the planning for it.
- Until the Title XX federal spending ceiling is lifted over a multiyear period, the opportunities for successful citizen involvement are limited.
- The initial problem of raised expectations, too little time, and too little money severely, perhaps permanently, damaged the credibility of the Title XX planning process.
- Finally, there can be no guarantee that the final program will ever reflect the priorities of the citizenry.

This study, as others, projects an ambivalent tone about the possible efficacy of Title XX's citizen participation mandate.

By 1979 it appears that Title XX had lost its momentum and even some of the policy's early advocates were becoming cynical. Mueller, in a late 1980 publication, presented an analysis of Title XX.<sup>1</sup> She premised her analysis on the statement that "Title XX, once touted as a centerpiece of the 'New Federalism' is (now) suffering from inflation's bite and a variety of growing pains." Title XX did not mean new money. So while the act potentially expanded the service population, the money remained stable because of the funding ceiling. This fact obviously had an effect on the public participation aspect of the law.

Five years after its implementation HHS (formally HEW) officials, like others, appear to be ambivalent about Title XX. Mueller documented

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<sup>1</sup>Candace P. Mueller, "Five Years Later," The Grantsmanship Center News (November/December 1980), pp. 27-37; 56-68.

such comments as "... (I'm) pleased with the opportunity Title XX afforded states to try to define services and to improve services according to states' own needs." This respondent added that the law was "... a way-station to an ultimate direction in which we will go for social services." Another high HHS official simply stated, "I expected Title XX to be the public social services program for low income people in this country. Instead it is merely a funding source."

Schram, armed with new data continued his special interest investigation of the Title XX.<sup>1</sup> In 1977 he had questioned the efficacy of this act to the elderly. In 1979, Schram argued that Title XX, while representing an important source of social service assistance for the elderly, had not necessarily led to greater access to more social services. Schram feels that the block grant nature of the program implies a devaluation of policymaking power to states, and many states had used these new powers to recategorize their Title XX grants, most often to specify assistance for non-aged groups. He adds that other states had continued to distribute social services funds according to historical patterns emphasizing non-aged service provision in those states. In addition, according to Schram, Title XX's flexible eligibility requirements had not noticeably improved the elderly's access to social services. This article concluded with the question "Should they (the elderly) pursue particularistic policies which specify benefits ... or should they

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<sup>1</sup>Sanford F. Schram, "Elderly Policy Particularism and the New Social Services," Social Service Review (March 1979), pp. 75-91.

support universalistic policies benefiting a broad range of groups"?

A current analysis of Title XX by Gilbert, is based on the premise that planning has been given an increased role in the delivery of social services during the 1970s on both the state and federal levels.<sup>1</sup> This article presents the effects of this increased planning effort on the allocation and reallocation of funds via Title XX. The findings suggest that:

- Title XX funds are becoming less flexible "block grants."
- It currently costs approximately \$1.00 for planning to reallocate \$7.00 worth of Title XX services and
- There is serious doubt about the efficiency of the Title XX annual planning cycle.

This study is significant because it was Gilbert who in 1977 optimistically viewed Title XX as the legislative framework behind what he called the "transformation of social services." In this current article, the optimism has shifted to greater pessimism, thus the question in the title "Ritualism or Rationalism"?

#### Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is an issue that brought settlers to this country in the 1600s and which led to the "Boston Tea Party" and the Revolutionary War. In more recent times, citizen participation was a major issue of the civil rights struggle of the 60's and a controversial element of the "War on Poverty" in general, the concept "Maximum Feasible Participation" (M.F.P.) in particular.

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<sup>1</sup>Neil Gilbert, Specht, Harry and Lindeman, David, "Social Service Planning Cycles: Ritualism or Rationalism," Social Service Review, 55. (September 1981).

During the 1970s the concept citizen participation, to a large extent, was institutionalized into public policy. Obviously, there is a vast citizen participation literature, especially from the 60's. The author will briefly focus on a few selected references that are of particular interest to the study reported here because of the theoretical issues they present.

The citizen participation legacy of the 1960s was carried forward into the 1970s. By the mid-1970s various new pieces of legislation included provisions for citizen participation. The HEW Community Services Administration published a booklet in 1978 which identifies the requirements for citizen participation in federally assisted programs.<sup>1</sup> It was published as a centralized information source to help orient interested citizens on how, when and where to go to participate in many government decisions which affect them.

This government publication observed that virtually all programs in which federally appropriated funds are used, require citizen access to the decision-making process. Citizens are defined as those persons whose membership in a population served or affected by a specific Federal program entitles them to assist in designing, operating, and evaluating the program. The nature of such participation is varied and is established by statute or administrative regulation.

The substance of this booklet, of course, is the description of the various Federal assistance programs, including Title XX, and their requirements for citizen participation. It is important to

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<sup>1</sup>Citizen Participation (Washington, D.C.: Community Services Administration, 1978).

note that the manifest functions of community participation are articulated, thus giving the impression that the government is an advocate for citizen's access to the decision-making process. Are the manifest functions of Title XX citizen participation being achieved in New York City? From whose perspective?

Another government-sponsored study on citizen participation was conducted to investigate policy options for citizen participation. To accomplish this objective the study reviewed past efforts of citizen participation.<sup>1</sup> It was observed that some federal programs, primarily the anti-poverty and Model Cities efforts, attempted to develop different institutional structures for creating citizen participation. According to this study, each effort often produced unforeseen political and social conflicts and did not fulfill prior expectations.

This study identifies types of citizen participation structures and characteristics that could facilitate the development of power over the administration of social programs. To accomplish such power the general recommendations of this source is that citizen participation should take place in established citizen-dominated boards which have the following characteristics:

- Citizen-members are elected;
- Other citizen and community organizations are represented;
- Resources sufficient to support a staff reporting directly to the board are provided; and

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<sup>1</sup>Robert K. Yin, Lucas, William A., et al., Citizen Organization: Increasing Client Control Over Services (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, 1973).

- The formal authority possessed by such boards includes at least the power to influence substantially their program's budget and to investigate the complaints of citizens.

These recommendations, in effect, are a move towards specific empowerment -- Title XX's concept of citizen participation fall far short of this because Title XX is concerned with "review and comment."

Given the fact that the government has integrated, and to some extent, institutionalized citizen participation, a review of some citizen participation theory is necessary. What social groupings participate? What are the objectives of their participation? What tactics do they use? These and other theoretical issues can be found in a variety of community organizing/community participation textbooks and studies.

Jack Rothman and his staff have codified the results of social science research published between 1964 - 1970 which are relevant to community practice and change.<sup>1</sup> Each piece of research is summarized and action principles are extracted and stated in the form of generalizations.

Part V (Citizen Participation in Social Change) is of particular interest to this investigator's study. Rothman explores the multitude of forms of participation and the varied objectives of participation such as (1) participation as a goal in its own right or (2) as a means for achieving more concrete programmatic

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<sup>1</sup>Jack Rothman, Planning and Organizing for Social Change: Action Principles from Social Science Research (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).



ends. Roth also placed participation into the following social groupings: (1) Voluntary Associations, (2) Primary Group, (3) Social Movements, (4) Politically Oriented Groups, and (5) Client Organizations. These five types of participation are the basic analytical categories utilized by Rothman to review citizen participation.

The literature is then analyzed and placed into these categories by using the following dimensions (1) scope of participation, (2) age, (3) socio-economic status, (4) education, (5) feelings of powerlessness and alienation, (6) attitude toward the "system", (7) conflict and (8) interrelationship among different types of participation.

Rothman's formulation provides an excellent reference for locating this observers' citizen participation actors on a typology. Through the use of this typology, various generalizations can be made that may shed some light on a group's perception. There are three distinct social groupings in this investigator's study. These groups may or may not have similar objectives and/or expectations for participating. There is, clearly, a power differential between the groups involved in this author's study. Will the different groups have similar or different perceptions of Title XX's citizen participation? This question is, of course, the essence of the study.

Another theoretical reference focused, in particular, on "tactical" choice. Brager and Specht present some material relevant to the efforts of this observer's study.<sup>1</sup> In essence the content.

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<sup>1</sup>George Brager and Specht, Harry, Community Organizing (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

covered is important because it deals with the different interventions which constitute the spectrum of tactical choices. Brager and Specht theorize that the tactics community groups use to effect community change depend on three related factors: (1) the substance of the issue, or goal of the effort as perceived by the action and target system; (2) the resources of the parties involved in the action; and (3) the relationship of action and target system with one another.

According to Brager and Specht, a community group has a range of tactical options: collaboration, campaign, contest or disruption. Title XX's citizen participation, which this author views as institutionalized participation, is designed for only one of Brager/Specht tactical forms - collaboration. Obviously, there are some inherent advantages and disadvantages to collaboration. This limitation of tactical options may affect perception of efficacy.

Citizen participation and the social activities of the 1960s are congruent concepts. Likewise, Office of Economic Opportunity, Maximum Feasible Participation and black empowerment represented the essence of citizen participation 1960s style. Three theoretical, as well as historical, references which focus on this era are of particular interest to this author's study.

A rigorous study, by Greenstone and Peterson, about the political conflict over citizen participation in the Community Action Program of the War on Poverty illustrates particularly well the interfacing of political authority issues.<sup>1</sup> This study provides a historical and

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<sup>1</sup>J. David Greenstone and Peterson, Paul E., Race and Authority in Urban Politics: Community Participation and The War on Poverty (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972).

theoretical understanding of the concept "community participation."

The "War on Poverty" (OEO) implemented a participation strategy that focused on the cities and the relative political strengths of black groups. As such, black communities (in cities) went through a phase and struggle of political empowerment. Greenstone and Peterson commented that:

...The heart of the war on poverty was in its content, origins and consequences of a political response to a political problem. Its content addressed the political relationship of black Americans to the American regime, not the economic relationship of poor people to the marketplace; its origins were rooted in a civil rights movement that focused on altering the country's political, not its socioeconomic relationship, and its long-range impact has related to the political conditions of black Americans, not their economic state.

In essence, the community participation controversy of the 1960s was really about political authority. Which interests should participate and have influence in the development of public policy was the critical issue. OEO, in effect, operated on the premise that poverty had a political as well as an economic dimension.

At one point, Greenstone and Peterson argued that the political resources of relevant groups varied according to (1) the size of the group's potential constituency; (2) the resources available for securing constituent contributions to the political organization; and (3) the availability of strong political leadership. The study then considered the conditions under which conflictual as opposed to consensual policy-making process occurred, arguing that when a significant interest group, such as blacks, is denied a legitimate position in the pluralist bargaining process, conflictual politics is provoked.

While this study focuses, specifically, on the "War on Poverty" community participation issues, several important issues emerge, i.e., participation as a political activity, the relationship of political structure to levels of participation and the issue of race as a political variable. Although with much controversy and turmoil, citizen participation under OEO meant a political struggle, but what about under Title XX? Is the Title XX process basically a political process or an economic process? Who participates? What was the role of the black groups?

Hamilton has a different perspective and begins by taking issue with Greenstone and Peterson's defense of the participatory, community control process of the antipoverty programs.<sup>1</sup> While they advocated a latent-manifest interest theory that suggests that the antipoverty programs were especially important to blacks in their effort to become efficacious, Hamilton argues that such programs, in fact, had "depoliticized" the constituencies they were designed to serve.

Hamilton examines two types of political relationships: (1) the patron-client and (2) the patron-recipient. Hamilton defines ethnic groups as using the patron-client approach which is a political relationship which focuses on the development of local power basis and the capture of institutional power. The basic process of the patron-client political style is: reciprocity through a "friendly" interpersonal relationship. In essence there is a close personal

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<sup>1</sup>Charles V. Hamilton, "The Patron-Recipient Relationship and Minority Politics in New York City." Political Science Quarterly, 94 (Summer 1979), pp 211-227.

relationship, not a formal, impersonal, contractual tie. Hamilton argues that the American political party machine in its classic form represents the patron-client relationship.

According to Hamilton the patron-recipient political style is a process in which one party (patron) distributes benefits (goods and services) to another (the recipient) under conditions that do not require the recipient to reciprocate in any systematic way. In essence, the patron does not need or require the support or loyalty of the recipient to maintain the patron's role. In the patron-client relationship, the client is a viable actor; the recipient of the patron-recipient model remains a political nonactor.

Hamilton states that the anti-poverty efforts of the 1960s represents the patron-recipient relationship for minorities and as such the political consequences were, in fact, to "depoliticize" the constituencies they were designed to serve. In essence, the patron-recipient relationship is not focused on institutional power.

Hamilton offers another reference that deals with the political thought of black Americans.<sup>1</sup> He emphasizes tactics and "bread-and-butter" issues that black Americans have had to use to survive in a relatively hostile environment. A theme that runs throughout the book is that black political thought has been preoccupied with the here and now issues not the larger philosophical questions of the nature of man and society. Obviously, blacks in America have not

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<sup>1</sup>Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Experience in American Politics (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973).

experienced the luxury to pursue the larger philosophical questions because of such fundamental issues as economic and political survival. The political thought of black Americans, has been overwhelmingly problem-solving and action-oriented and one finds much of that thought produced by "activists" rather than by relatively unengaged observers.

Hamilton notes that black Americans have a heritage of "abrupt cultural transformation" such as (1) the slavery transformation, (2) from slavery to "legal" freedom without any economic change and, (3) the urbanization transformation. These various stages of transformation, ultimately, led to what Hamilton calls "political traumatization" which in essence questions the efficacy of the electoral process in improving the day-to-day lives of most blacks. In essence, who participates.

On another level, Hamilton comments on how and why black politics has focused on the federal government. He notes that such a focus is contrary to traditional American political thinking which has emphasis on local government; not the federal, i.e., "the best government governs least and closest to the people." However, history has proven that the black experience has an opposite perspective. The national government has, historically, been more responsive to black concerns and issues; this started with the Civil War and is still with us today. From this perspective, "States Rights" became synonymous with black oppression.

This excellent book offers a rich historical and theoretical perspective of the Black political experience. Since Title XX is

part of the "New Federalism" strategy and since blacks have a history of looking toward the Federal Government, how did blacks perceive the New York City Title XX planning/participation process?

A planning manual, authored by Lee Williams, et al., used for training New York State Department of Social Service staff notes that public participation is, more or less, a requirement now.<sup>1</sup> Outside of the value of participatory democracy five key points in favor of public participation are:

- (1) Public participation provides a means for citizens to express their needs and priorities.
- (2) Participation presents the opportunity for review and evaluation of issues, plans, and programs.
- (3) Participation offers a means for disseminating information to the public.
- (4) Participation provides a mechanism for generating support.
- (5) Participation enhances the legitimacy of the planning process by opening it up.

This reference then offers two approaches to public participation; informal and formal strategies. Informal strategies include questionnaire survey, public meetings and a series of ad hoc issue task forces or study groups. Formal strategies include the public hearing, the establishment of overlapping board memberships on an interagency basis, and the establishment of an on-going advisory board. The informal strategies require limited organizational resources while the formal strategies require resource investment.

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<sup>1</sup>Lee A. Williams, Donovan, Thomas W., et al., Social Services Planning Manual (Albany, New York: The State University of New York at Albany, 1976).

It is noteworthy that none of the five points in favor of public participation mentioned decision-making, influence or any other empowerment-oriented concepts. From Williams' perspective, citizen participation is mainly an appendage, a conduit of and for the bureaucracy. Since Williams' book was influential in the public participation approach, the New York State Department of Social Services ultimately advocated these five expectations. The other actors in this investigator's study may have different expectations.

Two goals of Title XX are to enhance citizen participation and to improve coordination. Citizen participation and coordination, while both desirable program goals, in fact, represent competing value orientations. According to a recent study by Tucker,<sup>1</sup> citizen participation is seen as based on the value of individualism and representativeness while coordination, on the other hand, is associated with rationalism. Thus, citizen participation and coordination should be incompatible features in the delivery of some social service strategies. Tucker presents a series of tables which demonstrates an inverse relationship between citizen participation and coordination.

The implication of this is that a choice between these concepts is more than simply a choice between particular policy options. If Tucker's analysis is correct, citizen participation and coordination relate to a different set of objectives, theories of intervention,

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<sup>1</sup>David J. Tucker, "Coordination and Citizen Participation," Social Service Review, 54 (March 1980), pp. 13-30.



and organizational arrangements.

Title XX may have a difficult time pursuing both goals.

During the past couple of years, an efficacy question concerning Title XX has begun to appear in the literature. The following exchange highlights a major participation issue. Campbell presents an idealistic perception of the citizen participation aspect of Title XX.<sup>1</sup> She views Title XX as a law which ensures that citizens will be afforded the opportunity to review and comment on the proposed Comprehensive Annual Social Service Program Plans developed prior to implementation.

Campbell's perceived idealism activated Schram to react that analysts such as Campbell ignore the extent to which social service decisions are predetermined before client participation in the planning process begins.<sup>2</sup> Schram notes that the "review and comment" requirements of Title XX are hardly a viable route for citizen influence. There is a certain process vs product element in Campbell and Schram respective views.

These two articles present two evolving Title XX public participation perspectives - guarded optimism and guarded pessimism or Title XX public participation as a real opportunity or as a "charade." This issue is central to this observer's study.

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<sup>1</sup>Lenore A. Campbell, "Consumer Participation in Planning Social Service Programs," Social Work, 24 (March 1979), pp. 159-162.

<sup>2</sup>Sanford F. Schram, "Limits of Citizen Participation in Planning Social Service Programs," Social Work, 25 (March 1980), pp. 153-155.

Comments

This literature review has attempted to bring forth issues and theoretical material that may help explain the perceived efficacy of Title XX's citizen participation process. However, the concept participation efficacy emerges as relative to one's expectations. Simply put, some view the "process" itself as important while others see the "product" as the major indicator of success. What is missing, in the literature, are some of the latent benefits of participation.

The next chapter will focus on the design and methodology of this investigation.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Precipitant Factors

The primary objective of this investigation is the explanation of the Title XX citizen participation process in general, the efficacy of citizen participation and the Title XX public forum in particular. The scope of this study is limited to New York City and covers a three-year time frame (1979-1981).

The methodology for this study emerged following a series of interrelated events. The investigator developed an interest in citizen participation during the late sixties and early seventies from personal organizing activity. The enactment of Title XX in 1975, and the optimistic projections of various social welfare leaders ignited curiosity about the effectiveness of this new form of citizen participation.

The initial curiosity was enhanced following a meeting with a highly placed staff member of the New York Region of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (the name was recently changed to Health and Human Services). This official identified for the observer some researchable issues involving New York's Title XX implementation and of the availability of "a room full" of testimony and documents in Albany, New York. This lead was pursued and a trip was made by the writer to the New York State Department of Social Services in

Albany for a review of the material about Title XX. The visit also served the development of "contacts" with key personnel. The trip was quite successful.

A major breakthrough developed when the investigator was casually talking with Dr. James Dumpson about the current state of Title XX. Dr. Dumpson commented that he was the New York City Human Resources Administration Commissioner during the implementation of Title XX. He added that he still had his files, and would give them to the investigator.

With the convergence of these factors: (1) a strong interest in citizen participation, (2) the availability of material, and (3) the "Dumpson" files,<sup>1</sup> the author had the beginning ingredients to design and pursue a systematic investigation. An investigation was contemplated that would explore the current perceived efficacy of citizen participation and the Title XX planning process.

### Design

First hand experience and participant observation activity on the part of the investigator is a major element in the design of this study. In an effort to overcome the lack of knowledge concerning the New York City social welfare scene, this observer became the chairperson of a General Social Services District Advisory Council organized under the auspices of the New York City Human Resources

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<sup>1</sup>These files (1975) contained various memorandum and correspondence which offered interpretations of the new law (Title XX). There are, also, working copies of potential implementation plans. These files provided the investigator with the following information: (a) the confusion which surrounded the initial implementation of Title XX in New York City, (b) the information sources Commissioner Dumpson used, and (c) potential informant sources for this study.

Administration. Through this role several areas of knowledge were opened up: (a) identification of key bureaucrats, (b) identification of key community leaders, (c) acquisition of knowledge concerning the rules and statuses of the agency, and (d) socialization into the GSS District Advisory Council's and the agency's culture.<sup>1</sup>

Specifically, all of the bureaucrats used as interviewees in this study were identified through the participant observer method. The investigator was also able to identify all of the officers of every GSS District Advisory Council in New York City by virtue of his own role as a participant.

Knowledge concerning rules and statuses concerning Title XX became available to the investigator because of his action role and he received written and verbal material as part of the information network. The participant observer role, through the above-mentioned processes, allowed the investigator to become a part of the culture of the District Advisory Council as well as the agency's culture. The information gained through the participant observer role was of particular use during the development of the questionnaire phase of this study.

This investigation has been designed as a "one-shot" study, in which selected respondents will be surveyed in order to generate quantitative and qualitative data about the Title XX citizen participation process. The combined method approach is utilized in an attempt to capture the "life-world" richness of the qualitative method as well

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<sup>1</sup>For an elaboration of this discussion, see Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation and Interviewing," in Qualitative Methodology; ed. by William Fiske (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 134-136.

as the scientific potentials of the quantitative method. Schwartz and Jacobs argue a similar position:

. . . qualitative methods, which use natural language, are best at gaining access to the life-world of other individuals in a short time. Quantitative methods are best for conducting a "positive science," that is, they allow for the clear, rigorous, and reliable collection of data and permit the testing of empirical hypotheses in a logically consistent manner.<sup>1</sup>

The quantitative method will consist of coding and enumerating responses, cross-tabulations and various statistical tests. On the other hand, the qualitative method will consist of the presentation of direct quotes in the respondents' language, and the investigator's acquired knowledge through his participant observer role.

The major tasks of: (1) sample selection, (2) questionnaire construction, (3) interview strategies, and (4) analysis strategy will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

### Sample

Four sources were used during the sample identification and selection process: (1) the Human Resources Administration documents "Public Forum Social Service" - 1979 and 1980, (2) HRA/GSS District Councils' officers list, (3) information secured from well known social welfare leaders, and (4) information secured from public officials with citizen participation responsibility. The HRA's "Public Forum Social Service" document identified all of the participants who either personally testified or provided written testimony at the public hearings concerned with Title XX. These documents also provided a

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<sup>1</sup>Howard Schwartz and Jerry Jacobs, Qualitative Sociology (New York: The Free Press, 1979), p. 5.

brief synopsis of the major issues highlighted in each participant's testimony. This source allowed the investigator to identify each individual who participated, the name of his (or her) agency/organization, his title/position and a summary of his testimony.

The next two sample sources HRA/GSS District Advisory Council officers list and the public officials were available to the writer his participant observer role. The GSS document lists the name, borough, address, and phone numbers of the three officers of each of the (39) GSS District Advisory Councils. Likewise the public official source was developed by locating and developing "contacts" in the community participation office of HRA/GSS.

Finally, the fourth sample source, well-known social welfare leaders, was developed through the author's knowledge and professional involvement in the social welfare policy field.

Through the utilization of the above sources the study's sample of three sub-populations were drawn using the following methods. The selection criteria used by the investigator was as follows: (1) the selection of well placed and informed individuals who would function as informants. This method is similar to Zelditch's observation that the key informant " . . . is the observer's observer<sup>1</sup> . . . (who) provides the meaning and context of which we are observing."<sup>2</sup> (2) The position (job) a respondent has within an agency, i.e., director or policy analyst, (3) the social service field the agency is working in, i.e., day care, the elderly, child welfare, etc., and (4) the service

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<sup>1</sup>Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Some Methodological Problems of Field Studies," in Filstead, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

delivery process, i.e., specific programs or policy, legislative advocacy.

The public official sub-sample were selected utilizing the role criteria of: high level, middle and low level bureaucrats and that of being an elected official.

A random sample was drawn from the GSS District Advisory Council sub-population. Through the toss of dice, three participants from the four boroughs (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens; Staten Island does not have a GSS advisory council) were obtained.

A special effort was made to select representative blacks for the sub-sample of voluntary organization leaders and/or representatives. Blacks were well represented among the public officials and the GSS District Advisory Council populations, thus no special effort was needed.

The final sample (see Table 1) is made up of 47 people categorized as follows: (a) 9 public officials (19.1 percent), (b) 26 voluntary organization leaders and/or representatives (55.3 percent); and (c) 12 GSS Advisory Council (25.5 percent). By race, the sample is composed of 29 white (61.7 percent) and 18 black (38.3 percent). There are two Puerto Ricans in the sample; as a matter of convenience they have been subsumed in the black category.

A soliciting phone call was made to each person and the potential respondents were given the following information: (1) the purpose of the study, (2) why they were selected, (3) the themes the questions would focus on, (4) the average length of the interview, (5) the use of tape recording of their responses, and (5) the "on" or "off the record" option. An interview appointment was scheduled for either an



TABLE 1

## DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY RACE AND CLASSIFICATION

Race	Classifica- tion	Public Officials	Voluntary Organization Leaders or Representatives	GSS Advisory Board Chair- persons	Total
	White		5 (55.5)	19 (73.0)	5 (41.6)
Black		4 (44.4)	7 (26.9)	7 (58.3)	18 (38.2)
Total		9 (19.1)	26 (55.3)	12 (25.5)	47 (100)

in-person or telephone interview. Later, a follow-up letter with an interview guide was sent the person. (See Appendix A.) There were in-person interviews and telephone interviews. The following list, categorized by classification, are the participants in this investigation (the first 9 are also viewed as key informants):

Voluntary Organization Leader and/or Representative

Dr. James Dumpson	Associate Director New York Community Trust
Elizabeth Wickenden	Adjunct Professor of Social Policy Fordham University
Manuel Diaz	Executive Director, PROGRESS, Inc.
Bernard Shiffman	Executive Director, Community Council of Greater New York
Thomas McKenna	Director, State Community Aid Association

Bishop Joseph Sullivan	Director, Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn
Dr. Patrick Morisey	Professor and Assistant Dean, Fordham University and NASW Board Member
Bertram Beck	Executive Director, Community Service Society
Joyce Black	President, Child Welfare League of America
Linda Jones	Policy Analyst, Community Service Society
Norma DeCandido	Policy Analyst, United Neighborhood Houses
Father John Servodidio	Director of Department of Family and Children's Services, Catholic Charities of Diocese of New York
Carol Lubin	Executive Director, New York State Association of Settlement Houses
Marjorie Grosett	Executive Director, The Day Care Council of New York, Inc.
Allen Cohen	Director, Chinatown Planning Council
Virginia Cornue	Executive Director, N.O.W. New York
Barbara Kent	Executive Director, Queensboro Council for Social Welfare
Carl Zuckerman	Director of the Soviet Jewish Resettlement Program, Council of Jewish Federations
Mary Verner	National Consultant for Social Services, Salvation Army
Horace Morris	Executive Director, New York Urban League
Georgia McMurry	President, New York Chapter NASW, also, Policy Analyst, Community Service Society
Eleanor Guggenheimer	Executive Director, Council of Senior Citizen Centers
Ann Bindman	Associate Director, Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Kenneth Haage	Chairperson, City Wide Child Care Advisory Council
Rev. Timothy Mitchell	Ebenezer Baptist Church
David Lopez	Chief Executive Officer, Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs

Public Officials

Ruth Messinger	City Councilperson
Bobbie Pousiant	Assistant Commissioner, New York City Human Resources Administration Depart- ment of General Social Services
Joseph Merriweather	Director, Human Resources Administra- tion/GSS, Division of Citizen Par- ticipation
Allen Stutland	Community Participation Specialist, Human Resources Administration/GSS
Jean Miles	Coordinator of Public Participation, Office of Service Planning, Human Resources Administration
James Shanahan	Section Officer, Human Resources Admin- istration/GSS Community Participation Programs
Wanda Watson	GSS Queens Borough Supervisor
Marie Franko	GSS Bronx Borough Supervisor
Bert Chevers	Human Resources Administration, Department of Social Services, Lower Manhattan, Income Maintenance Center

General Social Services District Advisory Council Chairpersons

Mera Eisen	Bronx
Father Patrick Walker	Bronx
Ernest Poree	Bronx
Cleveland Kirkpatrick	Brooklyn
Sarah Moody	Brooklyn

Salvatore Grasso	Brooklyn
Lucille Bulger	Manhattan
Mary Norris	Manhattan
Annie Mae Moody	Manhattan
John Bittner	Queens
Sol Pearlberg	Queens
Yetta Wellins	Queens

### Questionnaire

A questionnaire, to be used as an interview guide, was developed. The questionnaire was constructed through the use of a topical outline made up of a series of open-ended questions. The topical outline was organized using the following themes: (1) the participation structure, (2) political influence, (3) theoretical assumptions and values, and (4) perceived political efficacy. A series of open-ended questions were developed for each topic area. (See Appendix A, "The Questionnaire.")

The investigator made the decision to conduct the interview either personally or by telephone utilizing the following criteria: (1) participant's status, and (2) participant's availability. In essence if a high status, i.e., agency director or high level public official, respondent was available a personal interview was conducted. All other participants were interviewed by telephone. In most cases, the interview took approximately 45 minutes to one hour to complete; some lasted longer, some shorter. All of the interviews were tape recorded and each participant was given the option to be "on" or "off the record." All agreed to be tape recorded, some agreed to be "on

the record," the others, public officials in particular, wished to be "off the record." The telephone interview tape recording process involved a standard cassette recorder/player and a low cost (less than \$2.00) small telephone pickup coil with a suction cup fastener. High quality recording resulted from this process. The interviewing process, both in person and via the telephone, was conducted as follows: (1) introductory statement: date, time, place, name and title of interviewee, (2) the "on" or "off the record" option, (3) purpose of study, (4) general themes of the interview, and finally (5) interview (see Appendix A, "Interview Introduction Guide"). Following a pre-test and item revisions, all 47 participants were interviewed over a two-month period.

The extraction of data from the tapes was the next methodological task. The following process was utilized: (1) a review of each tape, (2) development of a code book (see Appendix A, "Code Book"), (3) re-review and coding of each tape, and (4) during the coding process, salient, enhancing quotations were extracted and placed into a "quotation bank." Through the above process, the raw quantitative and qualitative data were organized. The coded data were prepared for computer analysis.

The final methodological task, the analysis strategy, is based on two dependent variables: (1) classification of respondent - public official, voluntary organizations leader and/or representative, and General Social Services District Advisory Council chairperson; and (2) the race of the respondent. Likewise, four thematic areas constitute the focus of this study. The variables, reflecting perceptions of the respondents are: (1) perceptions of the public hearings

structure, (2) perceptions of political influence, (3) theoretical assumptions and values, and (4) perceived political efficacy.

The data is organized and presented in cross-tabulation tables, a scale analysis of the "Index Title XX Citizen Participation Evaluation," and a multiple regression of this index is made. This quantitative data is supplemented by the inclusion of selected quotations organized by classification and race. Hopefully, the data will add insight into the objective of this study--the current perceived efficacy of citizen participation and the Title XX planning process.

#### Comment

The study uses a combination of conventional survey methods and qualitative field study techniques to learn from those who participated in Title XX hearings their views of the system. Some of the informants are highly placed leaders of the social welfare scene. Others represent ordinary citizens operating at the grass roots level. They all spoke quite freely and each had a point of view about what the system was all about. In the chapters that follow, the writer seeks to integrate the information they provided.

This chapter will survey these issues through the perceptions of the major participants in the process. As a matter of convenience, they are delineated according to classification: (a) Public Officials, (b) Voluntary Organizations, and (c) General Social Services Advisory Councils. For clarity, Public Officials are those individuals who are either high, middle or low-level bureaucrats in the public social service departments or elected politicians. The Voluntary Organization category is made up of individuals who are either leaders or representatives of private sector social services organizations and agencies. Finally, the General Social Services Advisory Council category is made up of individuals who are the elected chairpersons of GSS Advisory Councils; these are essentially community-based persons more likely to be identified with nonprofessional perspectives.

#### General Evaluation of the Public Hearings

In Table 2, the data has been organized to highlight the responses to the question: What is your general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format? In the aggregate, 42.5 percent of all respondents either viewed the public forum as favorable or moderately favorable while 31.6 percent saw it as moderately unfavorable or unfavorable. The disparity of views is impressive.

Public officials tended to view public forums favorably (55.6%) while voluntary organizations viewed them most unfavorably (30.8% of all responses from the category were unfavorable). This general picture is intensified when one considers favorable and moderately favorable as "generally favorable" and unfavorable and moderately

## CHAPTER IV

### PERCEIVED EFFICACY AND THE PUBLIC HEARING - BY CLASSIFICATION

#### Introduction

In this and the following chapters the writer will focus attention upon the research question which is the essence of this study: the perceived efficacy of citizen participation and the Title XX public hearings. To accomplish this task, data will be presented that garners the perceptions of the major actors participating in the process, and their views of the various key aspects and elements of the public hearings and associated processes. The quantitative data will be enhanced through the presentation of selected qualitative quotes from the informants. The issues covered will include: the general evaluation of the public forum, the worst and best aspects of the hearings, the ways the forums could be made better, the most effective ways to have impact on the planning process, an assessment of the citizen participation process. The major aspect of this study's focus will of course be the perceived efficacy of the citizen participation process. Also, two value-oriented perceptions will be surveyed: (a) the role of government - federal, state and local and, (b) the conditions of New York City's blacks.



TABLE 2  
 RESPONDENTS' GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE STRUCTURE AND  
 FORMAT OF THE PUBLIC FORUMS--BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Favorable	Moderately Favorable	Ambivalent	Moderately Unfavorable	Unfavorable	Other	Total
(percentaged across)							
Public Officials	55.6	11.1	22.2	11.1	--	--	19.1 (9)
Voluntary Organizations	7.7	23.1	23.1	11.5	30.8	3.8	55.3 (26)
GSS Advisory Councils	16.6	33.3	25.0	3.3	16.7	--	25.5 (12)
Percent Total	19.1 (9)	23.4 (11)	23.4 (11)	10.6 (9)	21.3 (10)	2.1 (1)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is your general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format"?

unfavorable as "generally unfavorable"; then public officials were generally even more favorable (66.7%) and voluntary organizations even more unfavorable (42.3%).

The difference in perception and perspective between the public officials and the voluntary organizations becomes clearer when some of the actual responses are reviewed. One middle-level public official who is intimately involved with the citizen participation process remarked that:

It is one of the most efficient ways in which the public can voice its views to government agencies ...It is efficient because a large number of people can congregate in one setting, at one time and address a government body setting to hear testimony... It is not without its intimidating problems or its convenience problems. But for large numbers of people it is an efficient method...I rate it very high in its value and feel it should be used...There are many ways... to make it better but I like it as a method.

Councilwoman Ruth Messinger said:

I think it's good...the Title XX public hearing has done more to actually produce some user testimony than a great many government public hearings in terms of moving around from one borough to another ...About four years ago there were some specific criticisms that information about the hearings came too late and that the hearings were too limited in time and place...the agency has been very responsive to that.

Two middle-level officials had nothing but favorable comments about the public hearings; one remarked:

I think it's (the public hearings) a very good one, it's planned by the Title XX office. The structure is partly formal and informal, mostly informal...It gives individuals and agencies the opportunity to express themselves about HRA's policies and programs...It's structured so that as many people and agencies as possible can air their views. The time limit is a good time limit...It's given in different geographical locations so that more people can be involved.

The other responded:

I think it's a very good format. First of all it is well publicized...Staff relate to community groups so they are very much aware of the hearing well in advance...They are aware that they have an opportunity to participate and they know the channels for participation...I have been at meetings where a question is asked and the Commissioner has let the particular agency that is involved respond and if no one has the answer...an answer was obtained and sent to the individual in writing...about a week or so after the meeting....

However, there were some ambivalent responses, another middle-level public official who is very involved with the process seems to express a sense of less than genuine enthusiasm (22.2% of public officials and 23.1% of voluntary organizations gave ambivalent responses):

...Having participated in at least 3 years of hearings I find a kind of fraternity of participants. I don't see the general public...This is a very vested-interested group...What you find are individuals who have great investments in a particular service and they end up in an almost ritual kind of testifying to be heard and then make general statements...The testimony is extremely predictable.

The whole thing lacks planning. The critical decisions are held to the last minute. The federal requirements are slowly going away...The agency puts a lot of resources in on the day of the hearing. They parade out their commissioners. They do an extensive mailing...The testimony is taken rather seriously, it's all recorded, it's all reviewed, there are special people assigned to do it...There's a lot of effort going into it...There is a seriousness within the agency about the process.

Respondents from the voluntary sector were much more critical and rather articulate. The leader of a city-wide coalition with national connections remarked:

One of the reasons I worked on it as hard as I did and even though it was a block grant...it had certain provisions that were very important...One was the

advisory committee concept and citizen participation and the open hearing...There is a wide divergency between the kind of citizen participation that occurred in different districts depending upon the will and attitude of the Commissioner.

...I feel New York has done more in getting citizens to participate than most other states as far as Title XX is concerned...I think the open forum has been for the most part a farce...a rehash (because) the plan came out and then the citizens reacted... instead of citizens reacting and then the plan coming out.

Likewise, the leader of another city-wide coalition articulated some limitations of the public hearings by observing:

It is an opportunity to get something on the record but there are other processes that are far more important in influencing the opinions of those who are going to be making the decisions. It's a form of outlet for a lot of people, a place where they can come and express views that they hold strongly, a safety valve. I don't say it has no influence but I think there are other more effective ways to influence... Occassionally, if you can say something strongly but very rarely; media attention goes to the public officials who always speak first...and the press disappears by the time the average human being actually affected by these programs is heard.

Two distinguished social welfare leaders, Dr. James R. Dumpson and Bishop Joseph Sullivan, questioned the goals of the public hearing.

According to Dr. Dumpson:

It does not, and I am afraid cannot reach the goals that were set or the underlying presumptions that were established when the act was put in place and the public hearing was part of it. The pressures within government are such that citizen input at that level and within that kind of structure, in my judgment, is in no way going to effect the outcome and the final decision making in Title XX allocations.

Bishop Sullivan felt that:

It satisfies certain kinds of representational needs but I don't believe that there is...a process that is defined and carefully thought through in terms of what you are trying to achieve....

The leader of a large New York City voluntary organization noted the specific problem area of cost-effectiveness when he responded:

The general format is probably O.K....The basic weakness of the whole system is that there is not an effort made to assess and evaluate whether the money is being spent in the best possible way. In the absence of such an evaluation...what you have are people testifying in an open forum each saying that 'my program is great, we should be getting money'...In essence the process doesn't make too much sense or is not meaningful because there isn't any hard looking at the priorities.

Another leader of a voluntary organization observed a certain "charade" quality in the public forums and remarked:

Concept-wise it's a good idea but the way it is implemented is another question...The way most of us, ...who have the responsibility to address themselves to the budget, look at it is that it's already been decided on (how the funds are going to be allocated). By then the amounts are already there, the categories already established and there is absolutely no philosophical base upon which they came to these conclusions...They do this (have public forums) because this is required of them. You feel that the whole thing is just a staged performance and people come up and say their parts.

Finally, a policy analyst for a large city-wide organization struck a certain ambivalent tone by stating:

From an objective view...looking at the public forum as a public participation process it looks quite fine...There has been an effort to allow people to testify who are interested in doing so...people are heard but I don't think that ultimately it makes very much difference in the allocation of...money or the service provided...from year to year.

The GSS respondents were rather "lukewarm" mainly "moderately favorable" (33.3%) and "ambivalent" (25%). Their perceptions are captured in such comments as the following from a community leader from Harlem:

The public hearing has helped...(although) it does not give the consumer adequate time to prepare for the public hearing and after...you get the facts together of what the people in your district or area feel is needed. It is only a hearing with no effects after that.

The next time they will come around with the same public hearing...and make a big book and this is it with the public hearings. I must admit that there has been some changes...as far as being able to say what we need. There could be more....

A West Bronx leader appears to be searching for the latent goals of the public hearings when she commented:

I didn't go this year because I wasn't sure it accomplished anything and my absence was noticed, which tells me something...GSS people missed me and they are depending on their advisory councils to use the public hearings as validating their existence... You know you are doing it (participating) for them to prove that they are doing a good job...

I don't know how much impact it has on planning. I do think it has a major role in citizen participation and increasing citizen participation and provides a community education function for citizen participatory groups...It enables people to learn more about services so they can speak intelligently and therefore become better community advocates even though it may not have had any impact on the planning process itself, it has the result of having a more informed citizenry and I think that is important.

A Brooklyn respondent adds to the ambivalent tone when she states:

I enjoyed it, but some people would get off the track into their personal problems (not) problems that related completely to the community. Everyone seemed to have his personal axe to grind. This year it was better.

A Queens community leader who has low expectations of the hearing felt that:

It shows that there is a 'listening ear' to the public and anyone who wants to can come and say what he wishes. Whether they will grant any request, of course, is another story. They are a good 'listening post' for the public and the public...feels that they are presenting something to them.

While there is, clearly, an ambivalent theme in this data, one significant, but expected, observation is that public officials were never unfavorable, only slightly "moderately unfavorable" (11.1%).

#### The Public Hearings' Worst Aspects

In Table 3, the focus is on the perceived worst aspects of the public hearings. Each respondent was asked the question: What is/are the worst aspect(s) of the public hearings? The responses are organized into three categories: logistical aspects, operational aspects and efficacy aspects. The logistical aspects include such items as the time, length, frequency and place of the hearing. The operational aspects are made up of such elements as the format, physical structure, agenda, and focus of the forum, as well as the participants who are either invited or find their way to the hearings. The efficacy aspects are those concerns that speak to responsiveness, impact, influence or, simply, clout. In the aggregate, 44.4 percent of all respondents viewed efficacy concerns as the worst aspects of the public hearings, i.e., they are not generally perceived as efficacious.

The GSS population felt quite uniformly that efficacy concerns were the worst aspects (50 percent of all responses cited by GSS). Voluntary organizations also felt that efficacy concerns were the worst aspects but slightly less "intensely" than GSS (46.2 percent of all responses cited). To emphasize these perceptions, the following quotes are presented. A very active Harlem community leader was quite negative and commented:

TABLE 3

RESPONDENTS' REPORTS OF PERCEIVED WORST ASPECTS OF THE PUBLIC HEARING(S)  
BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Logis- tical Aspects	Opera- tional/ Aspects	Logis- tical/ Efficacy Aspects	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional Aspects	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	Other	Total
	(percentaged across)							
Public Officials	--	44.4	33.3	--	22.2	--	--	19.1 (9)
Voluntary Organizations	11.5	19.2	46.2	7.7	3.8	3.8	7.7	55.3 (26)
GSS Advisory Councils	6.3	8.3	50.0	16.7	--	--	16.7	25.5 (12)
Percent Total	8.5 (4)	21.3 (10)	44.7 (21)	8.5 (4)	6.4 (3)	2.1 (1)	4.2 (2)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is/are the worst aspect(s) of the public hearings"?



I don't think very much of it...there should be more time notice. To me it's like pre-fixed wherein the advisory council say a few words...I think the general public should be notified, like the recipients themselves should have something to say about what is to take place for them. This should be reviewed and reports should be sent out wherein the public should be notified about what is to take place; this is never done...I feel it is really a waste of time.

A West Bronx leader, although less negative, questioned the efficacy of the process:

It probably conveys a sense that you have some input in the planning process which is probably...a fait accompli; it probably gives a false sense of power to the community....

A minister from the South Bronx offered the following metaphor:

It's like people trying to make a break for freedom... and you wonder if there is any hope at all...

While a Brooklyn community leader questioned the efficacy aspects, he refused to blame the agency:

They try to give you answers to your questions that will placate you because it would appear...that the substance is something they can't do anything about...

An outspoken community leader from Central Harlem simply said:

I would say that after you give your testimony nothing really happens.

Respondents from the voluntary sector placed the public hearing efficacy concerns into two categories (1) design and structural limits, and (2) "charade" concerns. Bertram Beck from the Community Service Society presents the design and structural argument:

As they (the hearings) are designed and structured they have a very limited function...the pressure that makes decisions on how funds are spent are generated by providers and people in political life and not really on what people at hearings say...They (the hearings) may, at worse, deflect attention from the leadership responsibilities of elected officials and...they are costly...

Likewise, a former corporation counsel for HRA adds to this position but also enters the "charade" possibility:

I think they (the hearings) are held out to be things that they are not and can't be by nature. They are held out to be the place at which the community can express itself and be heard and effectively communicate its point of view...I just don't think (this) is true. Holding them out as such may be necessary but it's wrong.

The director of a state-wide organization and active social policy analyst commented that the basic limitation of public hearings is:

There isn't enough clout to make sure that it (ones concern) gets beyond the hearings. We have affected the state plans...whether we affected them more in the...hearings or affected them more when we got the officials to come to (our) meetings (is questionable); but I still think public hearings are needed.

The "charade" characterization come across loud and clear when a director of a Catholic agency responded:

The hearings were wasting everyone's time by making you go down there and you have to wait for your time. And then you know that you are part of a "charade"...that for me is the worst...it would be better for them to say that this is what we are going to do. "You like it or you don't like it." At least we could save our time and money...I don't appreciate being made a fool of. If you are going to call me to a meeting that is meaningful and you are really going to listen to my input, o.k.. I realize that you have to have a draft but their draft is generally their final copy...Why don't they have something before they even come up with a draft...When it is already printed you know damn well that they are not going to go through the process of doing what they did and then get your input and change it...Changing it is not going to happen at the public hearing...All the hearing does is give me another stage to do my dance on. Whether or not it's going to influence is not there. I know for a fact that if I call certain people that I know have certain input,...I happen to know most of the public officials in Staten Island... I can get things done by talking to them...That's the way it's done.

Dr. Dumpson at one time was the commissioner of HRA. During his tenure, Title XX was implemented. He made the following comment:

The worst aspect is giving people the impression that what they say is going to be meaningful and that they are really having a part in the decision-making process. Any commissioner who goes to that meeting already has preconceived priorities established by virtue of his own input, the fiscal situation, "wheeling and dealing" with the state and federal government. So I think the worst part of this hearing...is communicating to providers and consumers that they are having a meaningful part in the decision-making and from my point of view, that just isn't so.

Rev. Timothy Mitchell, Minister of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Flushing, Queens, and Chariman of the Conference of Black Baptist Ministers, saw the worst aspect of the public hearing as:

Total indifference or leaving no room...the "charade" aspects where it looks as if it's something meaningful when it isn't.

The public officials felt, on the other hand, that operational concerns were the worst aspects (44.4%) and efficacy aspects only the "second worst" (33.3%). The following quotes should highlight this perception. One high level public official shared her dilemma:

Our service planning cycles and our funding cycles have not been compatible. The fact is that we make adjustments in plans throughout the year, that is one of the reasons I think participation should be on-going. We...may have to make adjustments in personal services we are offering when regulations change, (when there is a) shift of staff (due to) unanticipated crises (requiring) administrative shifts of resources. The outcome of that is not that any particular service is withdrawn but it may mean that the response time...and quality and the numbers that we project will be seriously affected. So since I know that we are making those plans and then we are modifying plans almost immediately thereafter, I think that there is a serious drawback because the citizens come expecting that their contributions are listened to, are respected, (and) will be integrated to effect some administrative changes if not fiscal changes - not everything is governed by funding levels. This can constitute a disappointment, can affect the credibility of the agency, certainly can affect the kind of services people can expect.

A low level official noted that:

There is so much testimony given that it is difficult to go through all of it and to really get down to the priorities that many of the people speak on. It's very time-consuming, putting all of the data together and going through the data. Therefore, some of the testimony of what the people would like HRA to know about is probably lost...

One middle level public official, who is quite aware of the negative perceptions of the other two groups, GSS and voluntary organizations, saw such perceptions as the worst aspect and an area to be worked on, commented:

The perception is "What does it matter if we come and speak if there are no changes?" I think we have to change that perception. Although I can give you examples where I think that hearing testimony has affected decisions, in the long run, we all know that they (public hearings) are not terribly significant as decision-makers. We must accept the fact that they are not and use them accordingly as just one method. I have made an accommodation, in my mind, I'm not...disappointed that I can't change or turn a government agency on its ear...I feel that this is one effective method by which many people can get the government's ear. That is why I think the perception is our biggest problem. Some people feel that the participation structure is set up to contain comment...that the hearing is just a way to ventilate criticism and deflect it from the real decision making -- I don't know about that; that might be the case.

Another middle level official saw the dominance of the large vested-interested groups and the lack of representation from the welfare population as the worst aspect of the hearing structure. He graphically pointed out:

A lot of populations never get any play at the public hearings; you have large vested interest groups -- Day Care, Senior Citizens and they really seem to dominate the hearings. There are major areas and populations that are not being served in this town; youth, the unemployed, and...the welfare population. (Welfare) is a major population that is completely underserved and don't even show up at the hearings. Just because a person receives welfare doesn't mean they give good testimony. There should be advocate

groups to speak for them. It's interesting that the Downtown Welfare Advocates group didn't show up for the hearings -- this is a good group -- and they didn't show up at all, I just don't know why. Maybe they were pre-occupied with the welfare increase issue and just couldn't bother with us, or maybe they read these as just a waste of time; I think that would be self-defeating and don't think they should do that.

The significance of this data is that public officials are not as cynical as the other two groups and tend to "blame" the worst aspects of the public hearing process on administrative concerns -- operational aspects rather than the inability of the participants to exert influence. The other two groups feel very clearly, by far, that the public hearing process has some efficacy problems.

#### The Public Hearings' Best Aspects

In Table 4, data is presented to show what the respondents viewed as the best aspects of the public hearing. Each respondent was asked the question: "What is/are the best aspect(s) of the public hearing"? While five categories of response constituted the code, the overwhelming response is in the category of "Participatory Democracy" (74.5%).

It seems to be the consensus among all the groups that the best aspects of the public hearing process is that it stands for participatory democracy. However the respondents showed varying degrees of "intensity" -- GSS felt most strongly on the point (83.3 percent of GSS respondents), voluntary organizations second (76.9 percent) and public officials not quite as convinced (55.6%).

The typical GSS response is represented by such comments as the one from a Bronx community leader who stated:

TABLE 4

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED BEST ASPECTS OF THE PUBLIC HEARING(S)  
BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Participatory Democracy	Oppor- tunity to see Officials	Part. Democ./ Opportunity to see Officials	Part. Democ./ Opportunity to Meet and Hear Others	Part. Democ./ Opport. to See Officials & Meet and Hear Others	Other	Total
	(percentaged across)						
Public Officials	55.6	--	22.2	--	--	22.2	19.1 (9)
Voluntary Organizations	76.9	7.7	7.7	3.8	3.8	--	55.3 (26)
GSS Advisory Council	83.3	8.3	--	--	--	8.3	25.5 (12)
Percent Total	74.5 (35)	6.4 (3)	8.5 (4)	2.1 (1)	2.1 (1)	6.4 (3)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup> Question posed to respondents: "What is/are the best aspect(s) of the public hearing"?

At least it's the opportunity to express some of the vital concerns of the various communities within the city....

or the Washington Heights woman who noted:

It appears to give the public an opportunity to air their views...if that were true, I would say, public hearings serve the public....Public hearings bring to the public an opportunity to be heard.

Some GSS respondents added a political dimension to their participation as the Harlem respondent who felt that:

You let yourself be known and you let your community be known. We are...out there fighting for what we can get for our community....

or the Queens man who commented:

It is a forum and listening post. At a time when there are people who are running for office and they come and say that we need your participation and we need all this and that, we can answer back and say that we do participate and you don't listen...we get on the record.

A Brooklyn GSS chairperson simply observed:

At least it gives the people a change to get something off their chest....

The voluntary organization respondents like GSS saw participatory democracy as the best aspect of the public hearings. The director of a city-wide child care agency said:

It does permit people like me to get up and make our concerns heard. Whether it gets acted upon in terms of the total context of other service needs is another question. At least I do get a chance to get up and say what I think the needs for child care are in this city and that's important.

Likewise, the director of another city-wide child care agency simply commented that the public hearing:

Gives the people an opportunity to say something.

While the other voluntary organization respondents, also, liked the participatory democracy aspects, some added a political dimension:

They give the unsophisticated, who do participate, the sense that they have had a chance to speak. The sophisticated are there because of several reasons: one, it would look strange if they weren't there; two, sometimes...they can put together the kind of testimony...that may make an impression... It's a way to get somebody's attention...if what you do captures the attention of the people making the decision so that they want to come back to you and hear you more quietly and peacefully, that is about all you can reasonably expect.

and the city-wide coalition leader who is extremely aware of the role of the media in political activities noted:

(It) does give an opportunity to people who feel very strongly about something to be heard; to speak publicly, to speak in front of their peers as well as to (the) public officials. People who normally don't have access to public officials can say something to them...It is a safety valve. If there is enough anger there are times when change occurs. The media has a lot to do with the public hearing's effectiveness....

Finally, the neophyte policy analyst who had her own latent agenda:

To give some visibility to your organization...When I first joined UNH it was very important for me to go to these hearings because I didn't know who a lot of the people were... I needed to see who was who and what was what...also (it) gives me a chance to show off a little by giving a good testimony....

The public officials while concerned about participatory democracy (55.6%) some of them, also, presented some administrative issues. Two middle level officials responded in straight participatory democracy terms such as:

Community participation is at its zenith because no where else do you see this form, from what I've seen in New City. People who are affected by programs are able to come up and say something. This is truly a point of giving the public a chance. They (the public) are involved with these programs and they see gaps in services, inefficiency of the operation, or it's a matter of needing additional money to enhance the program. It's a way of the community coming to the public



officials and giving their views and knowledge. It's an open forum...where the person can feel that he has been able to get his point across to the power today.

and

(It is) the most efficient way for most people to tell a government agency what a community wants it to hear. It is a perfect opportunity to list service gaps, if a community has done a needs assessment they can present it in a way (that) it will be listened to; maybe acted upon. I think it gives a broader opportunity to more people....

Another middle-level official saw the best aspect of the public hearing as providing data for the administrators when he commented:

In real candor it sets aside two days for the major administrators of the programs to sit down and listened to what people are saying. There is value to that. There are numerous issues that can come up and do come up, that are addressed by administrators as a result of the fact that they are stated publically and the administrator is there and he refers to them. On the micro side, small issues that are of concern to groups can be addressed and responded to. They also represent a kind of tenor of the time...they do in a sense set trends and this can be helpful. I do find that there is value in bringing people together... bureaucracies are really isolated and for two days a year they have to get up front and there can be follow ups that come from it...They are of some value.

Likewise, a high public official saw the hearings as helpful but cautioned the need to develop and communicate realistic expectations observed:

...there has been an increased respect for the constructive comments and criticism on the part of the senior managers in HRA. In my judgment (during) the first and second years, that we've done this, there was a pro forma cast to this but I have detected much more serious application and interest during the last two years. The executive staff really respects the contribution...We are growing accustomed to the right and responsibility of citizen participation and accept the fact as valid that vested interests come to speak for themselves....

I have seen in the last two attempts much more serious effort to integrate wherever we could some of the comments. It is a fact that a lot of things are tied down sometimes before we get to the public forum. We have to develop a way to be very, very clear about that so that the expectations are real.

An interesting aspect is that GSS respondents were again the most cynical (see the preceding table) since they view the public hearing process as purely symbolic.

#### Making the Public Hearings Better

Table 5 organizes data which is focused on making the hearings better. Each respondent was asked the question: "How could the public hearing structure be made better"? The responses are organized into three categories: logistical aspects, operational aspects, efficacy aspects and the various combinations of these three major aspects. In the aggregate, the two highest categories are efficacy aspects (31.9%) and logistical and operational aspects (25.5%).

Voluntary organizations felt most strongly that by making the public hearing structure more efficacious, it would be made better (46.2%). Rev. Mitchell made this point quite clearly when he stated:

It all goes back to the purpose; they could be made better if the purpose for which they were initiated was realized in history. That is, that it is a hearing...don't come in with closed ears. I think of them as more like people with a hearing aid who turn it off when they come to the hearings...They could be effective if they were really hearing (listening).

Allen Cohen, the director of the Chinatown Planning Council felt that the structure could be made better if HRA:

...Presented the parameters, what can they do and can't do. Like any bureaucracy they hide the figures.

TABLE 5

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED WAY(S) TO MAKE THE PUBLIC HEARING STRUCTURE BETTER  
BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects							Total
	Logis- tical/ Aspects	Opera- tional/ Aspects	Efficacy Aspects	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional/ Aspects	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	Logis- tical/ Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	
	(percentaged across)							
Public Officials	11.1	11.1	22.2	33.3	--	--	22.2	19.1 (9)
Voluntary Organizations	3.8	15.4	46.2	17.2	11.5	3.8	--	55.3 (26)
GSS Advisory Council	16.7	16.7	8.3	33.3	16.7	--	8.3	25.5 (12)
Percent Total	8.5 (4)	14.9 (7)	31.9 (15)	25.5 (12)	10.6 (5)	2.1 (1)	6.4 (3)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "How could the public hearing structure be made better"?

The director of a city-wide agency felt that HRA could do more in information-sharing about the effectiveness of various programs;

he states:

If there is some very specific information, material (should be) shared with people at the different hearing sites about how HRA evaluates what's happening and (it should) try to get some comments on a piece of work that's specific...whether or not a program has been effective. There should be some effort to elicit comments from people about that. The Title XX plan has some very general information...there hasn't been any good evaluation of the program...that should precede any kind of real input.

The cynical former HRA corporation counsel felt that some marginal efficacy-oriented changes could take place when he responded:

Given my cynicism...I wouldn't invest a lot of energy in the whole process. They (HRA) ought to be sending out with the announcement some of the issues they think people ought to talk about. People ought to be asked, in the months while these things are being planned, what issues they wish to talk about. (HRA should be) listening to what the clients say everyday for feedback on...what (they) are doing.

The leader of a city-wide coalition struck a somewhat ambivalent tone about the efficacy of public hearings when she said:

There should be many more of them and they should be spread out in the five boroughs at least a couple of days in each borough...I think people are turned off because they don't feel that they really have been heard and it is repetitive and, look, there is so little money to play with. It's not like twenty years ago when people could jump up and down and scream 'the money is there and we want it.' That's not true today...I think a public forum is the least productive thing for citizens. To me it's just a pro forma kind of thing. I think citizens can participate and be effective in many other ways...They are really not going to give a damn about public forums any more....

The leader of a large Catholic program was quite to-the-point and observed that the public hearings could be made better:

If the people are involved in the making of the priorities....

Strangely, although GSS had cited the lack of efficacy as the worst aspect of the public hearing, it does not prescribe the same medicine when it comes to "remedying" the process (8.3% responded efficacy aspects). Instead, GSS suggests concentrating on the logistical and operational aspects to make the public hearing structure better (33.3%).

One of the GSS chairpersons felt that improvement at HRA would mean:

Taking them (the hearings) around to different boroughs was one way of improving it...All of the boroughs may have certain commonalities but there are certain (things) that make them different. (To) fully disseminate the information so that there is participation from the grassroots level....

Another chairperson felt that the Deputy Commissioners could do more when she commented that:

Each deputy commissioner should have a certain role that he covers and that particular commissioner (should) answer. One shouldn't be able to jump over the other one and say well I can answer that...At the conferences, something specific could be said (by the officials).

A community leader from Queens who saw improvement coming if the Commissioner had more community representation on his advisory board, felt that:

The very least he (the Commissioner) should have on his panel is one representative from each borough... in view of the fact that there are several million people in New York City...

The very active chairperson from Central Harlem offered a somewhat specific operational change by suggesting that:

There should be some kind of way we can get a team of community people together and...go through Title XX and let's talk about it. We could do it say three

times a year...set aside that particular time to talk about Title XX...that is what we received from Title XX, and this is where your tax dollar goes, this is what they say is available to operate a budget on and then split it down in facts and figures.

Understandably, public officials suggested mainly concentrating on logistical and operational aspects (33.3%) to make the public hearing structure better. The person who has the major organizational responsibility for the public hearings had a lot to say about this question, a sample follows:

There are some basic prehearing functions and structures that one must develop, which is always difficult for a large agency. You've got to plan in advance and really plan far in advance. We have an obligation to inform the community in a timely and appropriate fashion. If you are trying to reach a community that has difficulties with (the English) language...then you are obligated to send your notices of the hearing in languages that they can respond to and in a manner that is not so complex and technical...This requires quite a lot of an agency; it means a reach-out program to go out and invite groups to come, not just send them an invitation a month in advance. To my knowledge we have never sent out an invitation in less than two and a half weeks in advance...We should invite them in such a way that they will feel welcome...in other words to develop a perception that these hearings are important to the agency and that what people say is important, you cannot do that without work... So, number one is to solicit the participation at an early time. ...and appropriate to the people you wish to involve...

You must set up a method that you are communicating. It is very intimidating for community people to have to go up to a lectern in the front of the room and use a mike. You are standing there in front of this fairly grim looking bunch of twenty people who look very official - it intimidates some people. Therefore, it behooves you to set up a way to communicate...The formal hearing thing is not good. We should go into a different kind of thing like a conference, but that's also intimidating. I have not come up with a way that I think is very efficient.

During the hearing...there should be...responses, in such a way, that people begin to understand that you are listening...

A low-level public official was very pragmatic with his suggestions when he responded:

It shouldn't be just one day...it should be in a couple of days in each location...Also, getting the material after the hearing...and putting it together in a reasonable time for submission to the administration. (We) need more staff to deal with the material.

One of the middle-level public officials offered a well thought-out alternative to the current public structure by commenting that:

What really HRA should be doing...is planning conferences throughout the year maybe break it into four major conferences. You know you got to really do it differently. And there is no reason why we shouldn't be doing this, way in advance to the plan rather than waiting for some draft of the plan to come down to look at...The administrator has to make some major decisions up front and say: 'All right, this is cast in stone, but a certain percentage of the funding is up for grabs' - then leave some piece of the plan completely unwritten. That is so hard to do when you have the vested interests (groups). You have these machines in a sense that are moving, there's day care, there's senior centers...and they are demanding more and more and they are automatically assumed to get a piece of the action. I think that if he (the Commissioner) was to make the decision that...10% of the funds are going to be unclaimed and the programs would be determined as the result of planning throughout the year through a variety of conferences -- (we would have) a 'set aside'. I don't know if he has the courage to do that.

The significant aspect in the table is the change in orientation of the GSS respondents compared to what was reported in Table 3. An explanation might be that GSS respondents are pragmatic and operational and view logistical changes as a way of acquiring efficacy.

#### How Title XX Social Service Decisions are Made

Each respondent was asked: "How are Title XX social service program decisions made? In Table 6, the data is organized into five categories of which the two most cited are: (a) the "political process"

TABLE 6

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED WAYS TITLE XX SOCIAL SERVICES PROGRAM DECISIONS ARE MADE  
BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Political Process		Money Available		Need		Past Funding History		Legislative Mandate		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Public Officials	5	29.4	3	17.6	1	5.9	5	29.4	2	11.8	1	5.9	17
Voluntary Organizations	17	34.7	11	22.4	1	2.0	12	24.5	4	8.2	4	8.2	49	100
GSS	9	45.0	1	5.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	2	10.0	4	20.0	20	100

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "How are Title XX social service program decisions made"?



and (b) "past funding history." GSS respondents mentioned "political process" most often (45% of all reasons cited), the voluntary organizations were second (34.7%) and the public officials third (29.4%).

In the category of "past funding history," the order is reversed. This time public officials cited it most often (29.4% of all reasons mentioned), voluntary organizations second (24.5%) and GSS third (10%). The significance here may be the cynicism of GSS (45% "political process") versus the knowledgeable background and position of the public officials (29.4% "past funding history") for the "past funding history" is, in fact, an extension of the political process.

Also, the low level mention of "need" by all groups, especially public officials (5.9%) and voluntary organizations (2%) is significant. It is noteworthy that GSS placed equal significance on "need" as on "past funding history" and "legislative mandate."

#### The Most Effective Way(s) To Have Impact

In Table 7, the focus is on ways to have impact on Title XX. Each respondent was asked the question: "What is/are the most effective way(s) to have impact on the Title XX planning process? The responses are organized into basically three major categories with three additional categories which represent a combination. The three major categories are "Know Public Officials," "Demonstrate Need" and "Mobilize People."

There was an almost overwhelming consensus by all three respondent groups that knowing public officials is the most effective way. GSS was the most convinced (66.7%), voluntary organizations

TABLE 7

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED MOST EFFECTIVE WAY(S) TO HAVE IMPACT ON THE  
TITLE XX PLANNING PROCESS - BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses	Know Public Officials	Demo- strate Need	Mobilize People	Make a Lot of Noise	Know Official & Demo. Need	Know Official Demo. Need & Mobilize People	Know Official, Mobilize Profile	Other	Total
(percentaged across)									
Public Officials	44.5	--	--	--	--	--	22.2	33.3	19.6 ( 9)
Voluntary Organizations	60.0	8.0	8.0	--	12.0	4.0	8.0	--	54.3 (25)
GSS Advisory Council	66.7	--	--	8.3	--	--	16.7	8.3	26.1 (12)
Percent Total	58.7 (27)	4.3 (2)	4.3 (2)	2.2 (1)	6.5 (3)	2.2 (1)	13.0 (6)	8.7 (4)	100 (46)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is/are the most effective way(s) to have impact on the Title XX planning process"?

second (60%) and public officials themselves (understandably) were less certain (44.4%). It is interesting to note that the public officials placed some emphasis on the combined category of "Know Public Officials" and "Mobilize People" (22.2%).

Most respondents were quite candid about their perceptions as the following quotes will demonstrate. On the GSS chairperson level, the West Bronx community leader said:

Get the support of the legislators; that's the language HRA understands. HRA gets very nervous about legislators' involvement.

A South Bronx GSS chairperson felt that:

It's the old story of not so much what you know but who you know. Alerting people way in advance; advertising your presence as well as your coming so that half the battle will be done before the hearing itself. You have to do your homework.

One of Central Harlem's GSS chairperson notes the connection between political process and produce when she said:

Involve the law makers...inform them that "when you want to run for office you run to us and you say how important our votes are; we want to know just how important our votes are, we want to know just how Title XX money could be more beneficial to us."

A community leader from Far Rockaway shares this strategy:

We got the local politicians involved. We had one or two meetings where we invited all of the local politicians in our area. Many of them came and some sent representatives...We told them what we were trying to get done, a couple of them asked us to put it in writing and they would see what they could do. Maybe we will get some action now.

Finally, an outspoken Brooklyn GSS chairperson simply argued:

You have to know the right people.

On the voluntary organizational level, several of the respondents were "pros" when it came to political activity in the human services sector. The charismatic leader of a city-wide advocacy coalition stated that her approach was as follows:

We try to meet directly with those in charge...we have impact by having monthly meetings with HRA and the Department of the Aging where we bring problems and discuss them and try to get resolutions of some of them. We do some direct representation...Our friends will be calling up and saying that funds have't come through... This isn't with the Commissioner but with the Director of the Bureau. We are constantly working on policy with them. We started four or five months ago meeting with the Deputy Mayor at City Hall and everyone of our local program (directors) was told to meet with their local councilmen and with their other elected officials. We had groups visit every borough president and we got them solidly behind our issue. We think that's effective...I can call up, and I've done that, one of the borough presidents and say, 'do you know that they (HRA) are going to be closing out one of your centers'...He gets all excited and carries the ball for us; he doesn't want to lose programs in his area because senior citizens vote... This is not the orderly planning process that should be taking place but it is the best we can do...going to public hearings is a show thing.

Bertram Beck, Director of the Community Service Society, felt that going straight to the source was the best method, he states:

Go to Commissioner, if you could get to him, or to one of his subordinates and announce that you wanted a contract to do something that is permissible under the statutes and try to get into the plan. You will probably be told there isn't any money.

The director of a state-wide organization, while taking note of the lack of power represented in the public hearing, observed that influence could be acquired:

...Not through the public forum because the public forum doesn't have any power built into it. The best way a group can maximize its impact is...through the political route; through its local council-members,

the Board of Estimate, the President of the Borough, the President of the City Council...By making them aware of what the needs are and the fact that HRA is not meeting their needs and there should be some way that a contract can be developed with HRA. In my experience that's what gets the quickest results with HRA - direct contact with politicians.

The leader of a city-wide coalition who is very involved in the human services political arena, nationally and locally, felt that impact was developed through:

Public policy advocacy; making changes in public policy through advocacy. In order to do that you have to be very knowledgeable, you have to understand the legislative process, you have to understand how a bill becomes a law, and you have to know who the players are...We can now rapidly fire off a letter to 46,000 people and get responses...It works.

Dr. Patricia Morisey, the Assistant Dean at Fordham University Graduate School of Social Service, and a child welfare leader, felt that being black adds another dimension to the impact question when she commented:

As a black social worker in New York City, I would (involve the) NASW local chapter (and) meet with the legislative Black Caucus...the linkage with these legislators and the political structure is the critical thing.

Dr. Dumpson saw the need for community-based political activity when he observed:

First of all, I wouldn't wait until I got a notice from the commissioner that there is going to be a public hearing...I would be part of some group or organize some group in my community that is concerned about the broad range of human need and service provisions to meet those needs. It might be the political club that I belong to, it might be a group of churches that I could pull together...I would certainly use the community planning boards as my initial structure...for having input and move up to the commissioner...

Finally, Horace Morris, Executive Director of New York City's Urban League, highlighted the political role of the bureaucrat by stating that to have impact:

Politics enters into it, who knows whom, a phone call from a particular politician, then the governor's office may be involved...When the final decision is made there are forces that enter into it that are not factors early on in the process.

The bureaucrats are the most powerful actors, they have the responsibility for implementing the process. First of all, they determine what the process is...The other important persons are the politicians...both local and at the state level. Relationships have a lot to do with this.

While the public officials were least convinced of their influence (44.4%), they did perceive the need for political activity to develop influence. City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger spells out a "clout"-producing process when she states that impact is achieved:

...(By) having political clout...you don't establish funding for an agency at a public hearing, you pursue the agency and you use other people to pursue the agency...To develop clout you have to develop a constituency, you have to work with local politicians, you have to get some sense of who in your neighborhood or borough has some clout and then make some pretty regular contacts with that person until he or she feels like lobbying on your behalf.

A middle-level official suggests that to acquire influence:

I would say that you don't use just one method. The most effective means is to get a meeting with the Commissioner, the top commissioner...an individual meeting. But (only) as the final result of letter writing (and) of meeting with the individual service providers group...You use all the different methods; you write letters, you come to hearings, you take the published material to HRA and look at it and say 'if you are spending this amount of money on this kind of service we think it also ought to go to this population. You don't mention this population in your Title XX plan - why not.

Finally, a low-level public official adds the political dimension of a "community outcry" when he suggests that one should:

Testify at public hearings, contact elected officials. Putting pressure through lobbying...and a community outcry are needed in order to maximize ones efforts... It seems that the state, local and federal governments react more quickly...when there are these other contacts.

It is interesting and probably significant to note that all three groups, public officials to a lesser degree, do not seem to think demonstrating need and mobilizing people are that important - cynicism or being realistic?

#### The Current Condition of Blacks

Table 8 addresses the question: "Are the social, political and economic conditions of New York City's blacks better today than it was five years ago"? All three groups of respondents do not think the black condition has improved, although with varying degrees. The public officials was overwhelmingly unanimous on this point (100%), GSS second (83.3%) and voluntary organizations third (68.1%).

The perception of the public officials is probably job-related. These officials are working with predominantly black clients and they are quite aware of the diminishing resources for the social service system. The following quotes shed some light on the perception of this group. When asked if the black condition is better today, City Councilwoman Messinger notes the double bind of out-backs and inflation by responding:

...I would say probably not. There has been severe limits on the size and scope of both individual and organizational grants for services at a time when inflation has escalated rapidly and the need for certain kinds of services has increased and problems have gotten worse.

TABLE 8

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED CONDITION OF NEW YORK CITY'S BLACKS TODAY  
 COMPARED TO FIVE YEARS AGO - BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	(percentaged across)					Total
	Yes, very much so	Yes, Moderately So	Not sure Don't Know	No, Probably Not	No, Definitely Not	
Public Officials	--	--	--	44.4	55.6	20.9 ( 9)
Voluntary Organizations	9.1	13.6	9.1	13.6	54.5	51.2 (22)
GSS Advisory Council	8.3	8.3	--	33.3	50.0	27.9 (12)
Percent Total	7.0 (3)	7.3 (4)	4.7 (2)	25.6 (11)	53.5 (23)	100 (43)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "Is the social, political and economic condition of New York City's blacks better today than it was five years ago"?



A high public official also takes note of the current political environment and states:

No, from my point of view the conditions...are disappointingly worse from what it was 10 years ago. Ten years ago there was certainly a sense of hope and aspiration in that everybody could look at somebody who was making it, for whom opportunities had opened... People have become politically opportunists and the way to make it (politically) now is to appear more restrictive and conservative than anybody else...To your question, no, I do not think blacks are better off today than they were five years ago.

A middle-level official who spends time in the field commented that he had just recently been giving some serious thought to this issue, shared this scenario:

I don't see the black population of New York City today the same as (that) of 5 years ago. I see the black population as a very complex population. In fact there are two groups; black populations who are native born New Yorkers and there are a lot of them....I live in Brooklyn and it seems to me that one half to two third (of them) are not native born New Yorkers...I wonder if this major population had not come to New York what would be the status of native born black New Yorkers; I really don't know, something tells me that they would be better off...

Now, these individuals (the foreign born) are fascinating; they don't have social services. They all work very, very hard; because of the concerns they have about being deported... they seem to stay out of trouble; they seem to be shadow people in a way; they seem to like America and see America as a place of opportunity. So where does that put New York blacks, I have the feeling that in the crush of things they (native born blacks) are probably not much better off than they were five years ago...When I go up into Harlem or drive through Bed-Sty I get a sense that the blacks that I see there are really New Yorkers, native born...they are no better off than they were five years ago.

Two GSS community leaders, one from Harlem, the other from Brownsville, viewed the current economic and political climate as a factor. When asked if the conditions of blacks were better, the Harlem Leader responded:

No, five years ago we were heard more and just about the time we got ready to get...together to help ourselves it's (social programs) being cut off. They are trying to bring back the old times when folks were poor and you didn't have nothing and didn't get nothing. No, a lot of people are worse off today, they may be making more money but with the high cost of living it doesn't mean anything...

The Brownsville leader commented:

No, there are a few people who have gone up in the money scale but the ordinary person is worse off because there are so many programs that have been closed and there are so many cut-backs...

Another Harlem leader added another dimension to her observation when she said:

...five years ago it was much better. (Today) there is an influx of other poor who the state and the government decided to help. When they talk about working with the minorities they take any minority to work with and we done our job. The blacks of America are left out totally; I see us being pushed back further.

The white GSS respondents tended to be less intense, less graphic and less informed. A West Bronx leader stated:

That's a very difficult question to answer, politically I think no; socially and economically I think there are more opportunities for some blacks to get into the mainstream than there were before...

A Far Rockaway GSS chairperson, when asked if the conditions of blacks were better today than five years ago, responded:

Oh, yes I would think they are, maybe the blacks don't think so, I would think they are. I only know what I read in the paper, we don't have any black population (here) to speak of. We have some scattered here and there...they seem to be better off...

Although 68.1 percent of the voluntary organizations felt blacks were worse off today, this population had the largest amount (22.7%) who felt that blacks were better off (9.1% were not sure). Some tended

to delineate the black population along class lines. Bertram Beck of CSS observed:

...There are groups of black families...who are entering the middle economic class; that's good. But I think that for the young people the incidence of unemployment is very bad, those single parent families who are stuck on public assistance, I think, that is a deteriorating situation. And then, of course, the anticipated impact of the Reagan cuts will simply fall most heavily on our black population.

Allen Cohen from the Chinatown Planning Council sees a black underclass as he comments:

I would say for a large segment...the black middle class in New York has expanded and a lot more people have been brought into (it). From that point of view I see tremendous strides...And yet there is still a large residual group where it seems impossible to resolve the problems of black youth. The lower end of the...black community doesn't seem to be advancing...

The leader of a city-wide coalition who is somewhat ambivalent, said:

...I think I see movement that a lot of people don't. It is so hard to make a blank statement about it, I think that many are (doing better) we have had the real interesting pleasure of working with hundreds, over the past few years, of CETA workers...the majority of whom are black...I have been very impressed with the difference in their ideas, certainly their education is far greater than it was during the antipoverty days. So I guess for some of the population things are better, for some of the population things are not as good for a variety of different reasons...

The leader of a large city-wide agency felt that blacks are better off now because they are accepted as human beings. He adds:

I would say yes...there has been a tremendous amount of advances...No where (or) what it should be, but at least they are now recognized as human beings, that they are here and they are not something we have to tolerate. They belong here just as much as you and I belong here.. Again, nowhere near what it should be, there are still areas where blacks can't move into...but I think there is more sensitivity and response today...

The director of a city-wide coalition highlighted the state of black politics when she observed:

No, I think it's much, much worse, but it's...better than it was 30 years ago. Much worse, because of the fact that I think it slipped badly...politically you don't have a black on the Board of Estimates, no borough president...I think Koch has made it clear that he doesn't have to consult the black community if he wants to appoint a black. Formerly, the 100 Black Men had a lot of influence, I think their influence is much worse (now).

Dr. Dumpson summed up the view of most black respondents when he articulated:

Absolutely not, in the first place the absence of black leadership to make demands on the system, to assure that blacks...get their share of the pie. The decision-making body in this city for allocating resources is the Board of Estimates; there is no representative from the black community on the Board of Estimates. There is no commissioner dealing with human services except the Commissioner of Employment and that is a department that relies completely on CETA which is going down the drain. So you have no input from a black perspective...to see to it that there is an equitable treatment of blacks. Secondly, just about the time blacks began to get numerically strong in the cities around the country, somehow the resources dried up, cities began to go into bankruptcy, the federal government cuts off this of that...Thirdly,...the health condition of blacks, the employment condition of blacks, not to mention education, when you put all that together...the only conclusion I can come to is that blacks are worse off in 1981 than they were in 1975.

#### The Perceived Role of Government

Table 9 presents data that attempts to shed some light on the respondents' conception of governmental responsibilities. Each respondent was asked the following three-part question: "What responsibilities do the federal, state and city governments have to poor/needy people"? All three groups; public officials, voluntary

TABLE 9

THE PERCEIVED ROLE OF GOVERNMENT:  
FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL - BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

## A) Federal Government

Responses Respondents	Adequate Quality of Life		Employ- ment Op- portunity Income Security		Develop and Monitor Standards		Funding Social Programs		Adminis- ter and Implem- ent Programs		Deter- mine Need		Fill Funding Gaps		Other		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Public Officials	5	26.3	2	10.5	5	26.3	6	31.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.26	19	100
Voluntary Orgs.	16	23.8	14	20.9	19	28.4	14	20.9	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	1	1.5	2	3.0	67	100
G.S.S.	6	27.3	1	4.5	5	22.7	4	18.2	1	4.5	0	0	1	4.5	1	4.5	3	13.6	22	100

## B) State Government

Public Officials	2	20	1	10	1	10	0	0	2	20.0	2	20.0	0	0	2	20	0	0	10	100
Voluntary Orgs.	2	5.4	2	5.4	4	10.8	0	0	12	32.5	2	5.4	2	5.4	11	29.7	2	5.4	37	100
G.S.S.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	42.9	3	21.4	0	0	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100

## C) City Government

Public Officials	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	33.3	0	0	3	25.0	2	16.7	1	8.3	12	100
Voluntary Orgs.	0	0	1	2.6	1	2.6	0	0	16	42.1	1	2.6	9	23.7	8	21.1	2	5.3	38	100
G.S.S.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	29.4	0	0	8	47.0	2	11.8	2	11.8	17	100

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What responsibilities do the federal, state and city governments have to poor/need people?"

organizations and GSS chairpersons, viewed the federal government as having a major responsibility in guaranteeing an "adequate quality of life," guaranteeing "employment opportunities and income security," in "developing and monitoring standards," and in providing "funds for social programs."

Within the GSS population, 31.8 percent of the responses were related to the quality of life/employment/income security categories and 22.7 percent focused on the development and monitoring of standards.

The voluntary organizations population passed the GSS population in this category with 44.7 percent of the responses being "adequate quality of life and employment and income security," while 28.4 percent of the responses focused on the "development and monitoring of standards" category.

While public officials also saw the "adequate quality of life and income security" role for the federal government (36.8%), they also saw a major social program funding role (31.6%) and 26.3 percent of the responses were about the development and monitoring of standards. So, while all three groups clearly see a major role for the federal government, the public officials give the federal government the most comprehensive responsibilities, followed by the voluntary organizations and GSS respectively.

The state government was viewed as having a major role in the administration and implementation of social programs by both GSS (42.9%) and the voluntary organizations (32.5%). It is interesting to note that no clear trend emerged from the public officials. It

It appears as if the public officials see the state as a residual body.

All three groups saw the city government as an administration and implementation entity; 42.1 percent for the voluntary organizations, 33.3 percent for the public officials and 29.4 percent for GSS. Likewise, all three groups felt that the city government had a major role and responsibility in determining need; 47 percent for GSS, 23 percent for voluntary organizations, and 25 percent for the public officials.

The following are two representative quotes of the GSS populations' perception. The GSS chairperson from Bronsville shared the following:

I really don't agree with all of the cuts they are making because it's really going to be a disaster... Before the cuts the federal government was giving the Title XX money to the states and the states were doing as it wanted with it. I think they (the feds) could have taken a more positive role and said (to the states) you give such and such an area such and such a thing according to the area's need...guidelines based on need...They should study the area and do according to the needs...

Sometimes I think the city is doing what it can and then again I see that they have a \$400,000 surplus so they are not using it for anything but 'squeeze plays' they're squeezing out the Brownsville area and all the other areas -- planned shrinkage...as far as the poor and blacks are concerned, they (the city) has no use for them what-so-ever. I think the city should provide for the needs of all the people in the city, not just a few.

and a community leader from Harlem felt:

They (the federal government) should set up plans about Title XX funds as to how it should be better spent wherein it would really meet the needs of the people and not...leave it for the states to do...

The state government and the federal government should work together...and we should be able to sit down with the city to discuss needs...The money should come from the federal government because we are paying our taxes to them.

The voluntary organizations' perception is best represented

by Bertram Beck's statement:

I think that...government's, all government, basic responsibility is to provide certain social provisions that fulfill what we believe are common human needs. I would say, I'm speaking ideally, that the base is really redistribution of income...

Governmental function begins with a definition of what are the social needs that must be provided for, that shouldn't be left to the happenstance of an individual or his or her family. Then (the issue is)... what should be given to people in terms of service versus money with an inclination to give money unless there is a very good argument why it shouldn't be given. Then I think you come to the question of the different levels of government. I think that the federal government and the state government should be basically concerned with social equality, with justice, with ensuring that there should be no discrimination against people...The federal government has to ensure that...(the)...state and local governments are not free to abuse you. I think beyond that, there should be maximum opportunity for people who live in small populations to shape service programs that would mean in New York City people within the community districts; upstate New York, it would mean people within counties...

I would see as minimal the role of the feds or the state as saying what services should be provided or in setting service standards except when necessary to ensure fair access and social equity...The feds have to distribute the income because of the inequality in different regions...

and Dr. Dumpson's observation:

Federal government has the basic...responsibility for assuring the availability of needed services to all of the population who need them. There is a distinction between assuring their availability as opposed to being the primary provider. The government would be the last source of provision provider if nobody else (does) the voluntary agencies, the states and the local governments, then the federal government would have the responsibility to come in and provide...

The federal government has the responsibility of assuring the availability of services that are needed, establishing guidelines, rules and regulations; making sure that there



is equity; that there is easy access...(see to it) that some of the fundamental principles of service delivery are carried out; affirmative action, clients' rights, (and that these) principles (are)...in the regulations (so) that the states have no choice. (The federal government should) also designate what the federal funds are to be used for, giving some latitude as in the development of a Title XX plan...

The state...of course you know we have, in public welfare generally, two systems; the state administered model and, as in New York State, the state supervised locally administered (model)...In New York States, I would say that the state...has the same responsibility to see that the localities carry out...the federal regulations and whatever additional state regulations are implemented in the administration of the services.

The City's responsibility, of course, is to ensure, and that's when I come back to needs assessment...that those greatest in need get the services they need wherever they are geographically...

The public officials' point of view is best articulated by a high official who offered the following:

The federal government has the ultimate responsibility if all other systems fail. I contend that if you have a national government, that government does certain things for you; in the final analysis it is your protector beyond that there's only God...where else can you go? It can make demands on its citizens for taxes, in times of war, for whatever crisis...it must also...protect its citizens when they have no other options..The Federal Government has the ultimate responsibility. Not only in terms of making provisions but seeing that the laws are just and are administered well and fairly and equally...

I am not a states' rights, states' responsibility, 'pass-the-buck'-back-to-the-states person. The states' responsibility is that of the middle man and of a lobbyist on behalf of its localities. I think that the state should constantly take a position, not a passive-submissive (posture) where the Feds are concerned, but they should take a rigorous position to prod the Feds into doing what they have to...

The city's responsibility as it plans and administers social services, is not to 'back burner' social services because they are directed to a select target population, but

recognize that they (social services) are as important, if not more important, than what they continue to call very loosely 'essential services', these 'essential services' being the paramilitary services. Now, I understand that all citizens want to be protected, want their garbage picked up and the pot holes filled, I do too! But, on the otherhand, if you don't provide those social services,...crime will continue to multiply because there are no other options. So it seems to me, to be a rather short-sighted position to take to constantly seeing social services as secondary or not as essential as these others.

A significant aspect of the data presented is the fact that all three groups are out of step with the current administration in Washington (Reagan).

#### Assessment of the Citizen Participation Process

In Table 10, data is presented that focus on the responses to the question: "What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process"? In the aggregate, 41.8 percent of the responses were "generally positive" (a combination of the "positive" and "moderately positive" category) and 28.2 percent of the responses were "generally negative" (a combination of the "moderately negative" and "negative" category). It is significant to note that a rather high percentage (30.4%) of the respondents offered an "ambivalent" response.

The public officials were overwhelmingly "generally positive" (77.8%). The following quotes highlight this perception. Councilwoman Messinger commented:

It is a good public participation process. This doesn't mean that it's a dramatic or radical effort to involve citizens in planning but it's a somewhat straight-forward effort that's done fairly well.

TABLE 10

RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROCESS - BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	(percentaged across)					Total
	Positive	Moderately Positive	Ambivalent	Moderately Negative	Negative	
Public Officials	--	77.8	11.1	--	11.1	19.6 ( 9)
Voluntary Organizations	--	23.1	34.6	23.1	19.2	56.5 (26)
GSS Advisory Council	18.2	36.4	36.4	9.1	--	23.9 (11)
Percent Total	4.3 ( 2)	37.0 (17)	30.4 (14)	15.2 ( 7)	13.0 ( 6)	100 (46)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process"?

A middle-level public official who saw positive progress over the years is now alarmed as to what the future might bring. She said:

I think it is becoming increasingly more effective in influencing agency decisions. I'm not sure if it is becoming more efficient or if the people who are in a position to listen are more receptive...I am very encouraged...that we are coming up with something more meaningful than before...I see a diminution of participation with the changing administrations in Washington. If Title XX legislation is changed and the regulations and participation efforts are taken out and there is no mandate, there will have to be a diminution in state/city efforts. So on one hand, I'm very encouraged and I think it is a very efficient way to attempt to influence decisions, on the other hand I'm alarmed that it might be diminished...

A high-level official, while generally positive, pointed out how citizen participation could be better:

It needs to be better, it has in fact improved...I think that I was very disappointed the first two years and I know that we did not consider the contributions and the plans did not reflect it. I think that there has to be an accountability system developed by the citizens who participate, who will say 'now come back and show us where you have incorporated this and periodically I'd like to know if you say you're going to give 20,000 units of get-well service, if in fact (you do). I think citizens should insist on the right to carry that participation on to the next level of administration with a direct tie between local and the states advisory councils and to insist on helping us to develop legislative changes...and help us get it.

Finally, another middle-level public official quite candidly offered a pragmatic perception of the citizen participation process when he said:

...the process as it appears now is not a process that brings the public into planning. I have become more and more aware of that...I don't even have that expectation anymore. If one accepts (that), then the efficacy of it is to bring the administration down...

If people can begin to isolate the things where the agency can do something, maybe their testimony in the future will concentrate on policy and program suggestions as opposed to statements about more money, more jobs, and so forth which is easy to make, easy to hear but there ain't much you can do about it...

The next most positive group is GSS (54.6% "generally positive" with 18.2% "positive"), however 36.4 percent were "ambivalent."

A Brownsville GSS woman noted:

Since I've been involved I haven't seen that many changes...I see those at the top still doing what they want to do...(however) I think it's (citizen participation) a good thing if they can inform enough people, to let them know what HRA/GSS is about and what can be done for them. I think citizens' participation in any area is very good...

and a Queens community leader saw progress when she made the comment:

I believe some inroads have been made, not really enough...

While a West Bronx Chairperson saw citizen participation serving a consciousness-raising function said:

It's important as a community education effort in increasing advocacy and informing citizens about government supported services...I don't know if it really makes any major changes in the planning process; maybe it does - minuscule.

Finally, a Central Harlem community leader adds a flavor of New York

City ethnic politics:

We have been able to get money for minority agencies... it's not just an all-Jewish or white thing...more should be done...

The voluntary organizations can be considered as generally ambivalent to this question, though more on the negative side than positive (42.3 percent "generally negative," 34.6 percent "ambivalent" and 23.1 percent "moderately positive"). In the following quotes,

the saliency of this perception is revealed. The director of a state-wide organization felt:

...many of us...saw this as a real opportunity; I don't think the opportunity has been realized and, basically,...the hearings have not been meaningful. Because the decisions have been made and are made on an essentially political basis. There is a lack of any kind of rational evaluation or analysis of what's happening so the participation hearings become just an extension of a political process...

Likewise, the director of a city-wide coalition saw age as one factor and the potential response to conservatism as another - she comments:

The process is only a few years old...it has afforded limited participation by the citizens but it is certainly more than we had before, as limited as that is... I think that with the changes in federal fundings, that process is going to have to change because citizens are going to force it to, the urgency of need is going to be there to make that happen. There is going to be more participation, much more vocal participation and I think public officials at the state level will probably be more receptive because they are confused and caught off-balance by the changes themselves...

On the other hand, the director of a non-secular agency felt that process is now institutional to the point that little will happen:

I think I have an open mind and I try to look for change or see improvement...When they first started they had more enthusiasm in getting people involved than they do now...I don't hear any more, I don't know if the newness is over with, everybody is satisfied with the mechanics of it...and the show goes on...It's like a civil service job.

Manuel Diaz, the director of PROGRESS, Inc., is also concerned about the institutionalization of citizen participation, observed:

The citizen participation process as it emerged in the 1960s I thought was dramatic and effective. It electrified the country and it had an effect on the parameters of many of the programs that came out of the 'Great Society'. But the society at large and its political institutions, as well as its economic processes have a way of cutting citizen participation 'off at the pass' through either a

'Green Amendment'...or through the 'New Federalism' or empowering the mayors...So as of today, I think citizen participation is an empty gesture, it's no longer meaningful, no longer real, people have lost faith in it, it's become a 'trick bag', it's been institutionalized. When you institutionalize it you cut out its guts.

and, finally, Bertram Beck appears to express a similar disillusionment with the concept citizen participation as implemented today:

The citizen participation process is a descendent of the civil rights movement and the antipoverty programs. I think of late my own view has become increasingly skeptical about the function of citizen participation as it takes form in Title XX hearings and similar political devices. I think I have become increasingly interested in the role of local governance and in the responsibility of elected leaders to provide leadership...

The Perceived Efficacy of Title XX  
Citizen Participation

Table 11 goes to the heart of this study by organizing data to address the question: "Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "charade" or a "sham"? In the aggregate, 45.6 percent of all respondents "generally disagree" (the combination of the categories "disagree" and "strongly disagree") with the above statement, while 28.3 percent "generally agreed" (the combinations of "strongly agree" and "agree") with the statement. It is noteworthy that 26.6 percent were ambivalent.

Understandably, public officials seemed to overwhelmingly disagree that Title XX citizen participation is a "sham" (88.9 percent, with 55.6 percent "disagreeing" and 33.3 percent "strongly disagreeing"). The following quotes are reflective of this group's point of view. A middle-level official responded:

TABLE 11

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED EFFICACY OF THE TITLE XX CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROCESS  
BY CLASSIFICATION<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Yes, Strongly Agree	Yes, Agree	Ambivalent	No, Disagree	No, Strongly Disagree	Total
	(percentaged across)					
Public Officials	--	11.1	--	55.6	33.3	19.6 ( 9)
Voluntary Organizations	12.0	24.0	24.0	32.0	8.0	54.3 (25)
GSS Advisory Council	16.7	8.3	50.0	16.7	8.3	26.1 (12)
Percent Total	10.9 ( 5)	17.4 ( 8)	26.6 (12)	32.6 (15)	13.0 ( 6)	100 (46)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "charade" or a "sham"?"



No...I think it's a form of community participation at it's best; it's the best that you can do. There is a value to it.

A high-level official made an interesting observation when she responded:

No, if you had asked me this question four years ago I would have at least vacillated. But I myself have grown and I recognize a potential and I do not in any way consider it a sham or charade.

Another middle level public official responded to the "sham" or "charade" statement by noting that the possibility does exist but has not been realized when she said:

No, but it is a struggle on both sides to keep it from becoming a sham. There has to be a great deal of effort made by everybody involved to make the events that take place compatible to the decision-makers so that they will participate in a receptive mood. I work very, very hard to make it comfortable for both sides, I don't set the commissioners up...I don't set the communities up... I work very hard to make it compatible in both ways... I don't think it's a sham, I think that we are moving incrementally...towards improved participation.

Councilwoman Messinger and a middle level official noted that it really depends upon what one's expectations are - Messinger commented:

No, I don't think so; I think that depends on what you want. If you understand that (in this) process (public hearing), all the decisions are made in response to how many people speaking from which sector of the public - yes (it's a sham). That's not how I understood it, I understand it is an opportunity to exchange some comments and try to be somewhat responsive to the things that most bother the community that chooses to show up to talk -- I think it accomplishes that.

Likewise, the middle-level official response to the "sham" or "charade" statement was:

No, depending on what your expectations are...somebody who goes there not understanding it could really feel it's a sham. Your expectations are going to determine

if it's a sham or not. If you think that going there is going to change the plan, it's a sham. If you realize it's going to do something else, a lot less than that, then it's not a sham.

On the other hand, GSS respondents seemed generally ambivalent (50%); an equal percentage "generally agreeing" (25%) and "generally disagreeing" (25%). The GSS chairperson (from Brownsville) ambivalence emerged when she said:

Not completely, no. I just can't see them trying to tell everybody, I mean to carry something over everybody's head; you can fool some of the people some of the time but not all of the people all of the time. I don't think it's completely a sham. The intention is well placed but it doesn't always happen. It looks like a sham but I don't think they would try that.

or when the community leader from the West Bronx confessed:

There was a period when I felt so but (now) I'm not sure. Some of it (the testimony) seeps through, especially if it's a recurrent theme.

or the chairperson from the South Bronx who was not yet willing to pass judgment:

Well it does seem like it...I'm not too clear having had one experience...I know what it appeared to be but did it work is the bottom line, did it produce...Perhaps, it is too early to say.

Likewise, a community leader from Washington Heights, although leaning in the direction of calling it a "sham" or "charade" was not yet willing to call it such - her response:

I wouldn't want to use charade or sham...I would find a more moderate word...such as 'It appears as though the public hearings are not really for the public'. They are not really (meant) to reach the public...

A Central Harlem respondent expressed her doubts when she said:

I don't want to say that it's a sham, but I think it's being...misused. Not on the consumer part (but) on the

(part of the) people who represent Title XX, they listen to those hearings (and) go back and do the same thing.

There were some very candid responses that saw the citizen participation as a "sham" or "charade" such as the man from Brooklyn who said:

Either one is corrent because I have not seen any improvement...the same questions are being asked... nothing has changed...

The woman from Harlem placed her observation within a context, the context of a protracted struggle:

Yes; but we need to keep fighting to make it something positive.

The voluntary organizations' data represents no salient perception of the "charade" or "sham" function of the citizen participation process, 36 percent "generally agreed" while 40 percent "generally disagreed" and 24 percent was ambivalent. This data shows ambivalence of this group. The following quotes should enhance this observation. Bertram Beck felt:

The words seem somewhat too strong, I think I would say it's a ritual; now rituals are not charades or shames because they serve purposes...

Likewise, the director of a city-wide coalition said:

No, I would never say that; (but)...it is limited...

The director of a state-wide organization attempts to place Title XX participation into perspective:

No, I wouldn't go that far, it's no more a sham than most avenues of participation that exist today in human services. In a broad sense it could be characterized as that (a sham) but I'd like to look for a more eloquent way of characterizing it, I think it's one more avenue for the political process to be carried out...

Dr. Morisey was somewhat philosophical:

I would not call any process that has even the slightest possibility of impact a charade or a sham. I would certainly say that that kind of process sometimes has minimal impact...

A policy analyst for a large city-wide organization saw some good in "participation."

No, I don't think it is a sham for all that I've said, I don't think it's a sham because it does allow people who might otherwise never get to see anyone near the level of a commissioner, to speak one to one about their concerns. I think it's a shame that for other reasons those concerns cannot be translated more directly into change action. For that I fault neither those who are testifying nor, in large part, those who are listening to the testimony but to the difficulty of systematic change in massive bureaucracies.

There are some respondents in this group who saw the citizen participation process as a "sham" or "charade". Rev. Timothy Mitchell politely responded:

...presently it is (a charade), I think the people have to make it real. There is a predisposition.

and Elizabeth Wickenden, a well-known social welfare analyst, stated:

Many people think so...the general impression I get is that it is...

Former HRA Commissioner, Dr. James Dumpson, made the interesting observation that one must make a distinction between the citizen participation principle and how it is implemented - he said:

I think it is a sham; that doesn't mean that I would want the principle changed. I think its implementation is a sham. I want to hold on to the principle and..see if there are ways to implement that principle for meaningful citizen participation. Maybe we need to define, again, more clearly what we mean by citizen participation...If by citizen participation, it is meant that the citizen is going to tell the public official what the priorities are then I think that's a real sham. If you want to have citizens give indications of the

## CHAPTER V

### PERCEIVED EFFICACY AND THE PUBLIC HEARING - BY RACE

#### Introduction

In this chapter, as in Chapter IV, the major research question of this study is addressed. Chapter IV presented data on the respondents' classification and the perceived efficacy of citizen participation. The major focus of this chapter is the relationship of the race variable in helping to explain orientation to citizen participation. Quantitative and qualitative data will be presented to highlight the following areas: a) the general evaluation of the public hearing, b) the worst and best aspects of the hearing, c) the ways the forum could be made better, d) and assessment of the citizen participation process and e) the perceived efficacy of the citizen participation process. Two value-oriented issues are also presented: a) the perceived condition of New York City's black population and b) the role of government.

#### General Evaluation of the Public Hearing

In Table 12, the data has been organized to highlight the responses to the question: What is your general evaluation of the public

effectiveness of certain services compared with other services, I think that is a valid approach...

The director of a city-wide agency was definitely not ambivalent when he made the comment:

I would say it's a "charade" more than a "sham". I guess you could say a certain percent of it is a "sham" but I think it's a charade just playing a game by moving the chairs...You're just allowed to come in and say yes, no or indifferent.

When asked for his perception of the "charade" or "sham" aspect of Title XX's citizen participation process, Manuel Diaz, Director of PROGRESS, Inc., simply responded:

I would say it's the granddaddy of them all.

The data in Table 11 makes it rather clear that the definitive perception of Title XX's citizen participation process cannot be stated at this time, through this population. There is clearly an ambivalence that, probably, comes from the positive value-orientation of "citizen participation" in conflict with its current implemented mode.

#### Comments

The data and quotes in this chapter present a mixed picture. While some of the information may appear to be redundant; such is the case because of the strong underlying ambivalent theme. This uncertainty is, more or less, projected through the responses to just about every question. Why the ambivalence? This is the salient question to pursue. In Chapter VII, Conclusions, the investigator will attempt to analyze the ambivalence of this study.

TABLE 12

RESPONDENTS' GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE STRUCTURE  
AND FORMAT OF THE PUBLIC FORUMS \_ BY RACE<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	(percentaged across)						Total
	Favorable	Moderately Favorable	Ambivalent	Moderately Unfavorable	Unfavorable	Other	
White	13.8	31.0	20.7	13.8	17.2	3.4	61.7 (29)
Black	27.8	11.1	27.8	5.6	27.8	-	38.3 (18)
Percent Total	19.1 (9)	23.4 (11)	23.4 (11)	10.6 (5)	21.3 (10)	2.1 (1)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is your general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format?"

forum's structure and format?

The significance of the table is how little difference there is between the perceptions of white and black respondents. For the white subjects, 44.8 percent of the responses were "generally favorable" (the combination of favorable and moderately favorable); 31.0 percent of the white responses were generally unfavorable (the combination of unfavorable and moderately unfavorable). For the black respondents 38.9 percent of the responses were generally favorable and 33.4 percent generally unfavorable. It is interesting to note that as many blacks were favorable (27.8 %) as were unfavorable (27.8 percent). Whites tended to be less intense in their favorable responses and preferred to be moderately favorable (31.0 %) rather than outrightly favorable (13.8%).

Both whites and blacks had those who showed ambivalent responses, 20.7 percent and 27.8 percent respectively.

#### The Public Hearings' Worst Aspects

In Table 13 data is presented which shed light on the question: "What is/are the worst aspects(s) of the public hearing?" The responses are organized into three basic categories: logistical aspects, operational aspects, and efficacy aspects. The logistical aspects include such items as the time, length, frequency and place of the hearing. The operational aspects are made up of such elements as the format, physical structure, agenda and focus of the forum, as well as the participants. The efficacy aspects are those concerns that speak



otherwise the consumer may just show up and make a lot of noise and all that kind of stuff. What that does (protest) is dissipate their position...

A low-level white public official who is quite negative about the process saw the worst aspect as:

...the lack of commitment on the part of the people from HRA... I think they (HRA officials) are bureaucrats and have very little commitment or idealism...the information (from the public hearings is recorded and that's it.

One of the few black policy analysts for a large city-wide agency who expressed the need for a true "public" hearing said:

They are not truly public in the sense that their existence is not widely circulated. People who tend to appear at these public forums are professional analysts or representatives of organizations who tend to monitor the funding process of HRA. They don't really provide the opportunity for consumers to have input...

It appears, from this data, that blacks are less cynical and would be more amenable to administrative changes. This is so because the blacks tend to focus more on the operational aspects than whites. This may mean that the agency could invite more consumers to the hearings, have the hearings in a black community, and send a written comment to each participant, and the blacks might view such as progress.

#### The Public Hearings' Best Aspects

In Table 14, the data is organized to show what the respondents viewed as the best aspect of the public hearing. The significance of this table is the fact that there is hardly any difference in perception between white and black. Both felt that participatory democracy

TABLE 13

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED WORST ASPECTS OF THE PUBLIC HEARING(S) - BY RACE<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Logis- tical Aspects	Opera- tional Aspects	Efficacy Aspects	Logis- tical & Efficacy Aspects	Logis- tical & Opera- tional Aspects	Logis- tical, Opera- tional/ Efficacy Aspects	Opera- tional/ Efficacy	Other	Total
	(percentaged across)								
White	10.3	13.8	51.7	6.9	3.4	3.4	3.4	6.9	61.7 (24)
Black	5.6	33.3	33.3	11.1	11.1	--	5.6	--	38.3 (18)
Percent Total	8.5 (4)	21.3 (10)	44.7 (21)	8.5 (4)	6.4 (3)	2.1 (1)	4.3 (2)	4.3 (2)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is/are the worst aspect(s) of the public hearing?"

to responsiveness, impact, influence or, simply, "clout."

What is significant about this table is that whites are by far more cynical of the public hearing process - 51.7 percent of all white responses point to the inefficacious nature of the process. Blacks seem to level criticism equally on efficacy aspects (33.3%) and operational aspects (33.3%). The following quotes are representative of the different white/black perceptions. The white director of a Lower East Side agency who saw little connection between the public hearing) and decision-making commented:

I think...(there is) a sense of futility because there is a long way to go between the public hearing and what actually comes out. There is no way of knowing...if the decisions have already been made...Nobody really reads this stuff; it usually is a waste of time. Now, I have seen on occasion it lead to something but generally speaking, nil. I think people are cast into certain roles and they are perceived as speaking from those roles.

A black middle level official was concerned about the lack of grass-root participation and commented:

I feel that there should be more grass roots participation... A lot of providers tend to testify as opposed to recipients.

A Harlem community leader felt the worst aspect was the fact that:

You don't really know the people sitting there listening to what you are talking about...and if you have to get your statement in prior to the public hearing...someone should have some kind of comment to make instead of just sitting there...

Horace Morris, Director of New York City's Urban League expressed a major operational issue when he observed:

The worst aspects are that the people who should be there, the consumers...are not there. If they come, they come to register a particular protest and it's an emotional kind of thing as opposed to someone, a staff person, saying to them, 'here is an opportunity for you to participate in the decision-making process, now I want to sit with you and prepare you for this kind of participation':

TABLE 14

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED BEST ASPECTS OF  
THE PUBLIC HEARING(S) - BY RACE<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Participatory Democracy	Oppor- tunities to see Officials	Part. Democ. and Oppor- tunity to see Officials	Part. Democ. and Oppor- tunity to meet and hear others	Part. Democ., Oppor. to see offi- cials, meet + hear others	Other	Total
(percentaged across)							
White	72.4	3.4	13.8	3.4	3.4	3.4	61.7 (24)
Black	77.8	11.1	-	-	-	11.1	38.3 (18)
Percent Total	74.5 (35)	6.4 (3)	8.5 (4)	2.1 (1)	2.1 (1)	6.4 (3)	100. (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is/are the best aspect(s) of the public hearing?"

represents the best aspect of the public hearing, whites (72.4%) and blacks (77.8%).

Bertram Beck, from the Community Service made a statement that is quite representative of the white responses:

It gives people a sense that their voices can be heard, thus... must make them feel more like participants in society because they are heard...People who might not ordinarily have access to a commissioner can get up and speak their piece...

A black policy analyst who is rather negative about Title XX's citizen participation said:

Any opportunity that allows someone to comment on a plan is good although (Title XX) tends to be perfunctory.

The black's point of view is best stated by Horace Morris and Dr. Patricia Morisey; Morris liked the fact that:

That the process does exist, as faulty as it is and while it has some problems it does exist. It does provide an opportunity for those of us who address policy issues all the time to address them...that's good. If it didn't exist, we would be frustrated. We would be chasing the politicians around as opposed to the bureaucrats...I think you can deal better with the bureaucrats than the politicians...because you deal with them in different ways on different things.

Dr. Morisey saw the possibility for some latent results in participation:

I've always believed when there is an opportunity for participation; no matter how imperfect, some new people get involved in the process if only by accident and it does mean that responsible officials have to...give a little more thought to what their planning is, and what the needs of different target groups are.. That doesn't mean that there is a really big impact but I do think that it has some.

Making the Public  
Hearing Better

Table 15 presents data about the respondents' answers to the question: How could the public hearing structure be made better? The responses are organized into the basic categories: logistical aspects, operational aspects, efficacy aspects and the various combinations of these three major aspects.

Not surprisingly, since they had criticized the efficacy aspects of the public hearing (see Table 13), white respondents suggested (41.4% of the responses) that the efficacy aspects needed work. Blacks were more "pragmatic" suggesting that the logistical and operational aspects be worked on (50%). A white policy analyst candidly said:

In all honesty..get highly political; make sure that you have a lot of actual or potential voters behind you, and make that known...You would go to the public hearing because you want to take advantage of every possible way that you can to make yourself, your concerns, your organization known...It certainly helps to go to the public hearing and stand up and say that I represent 'X' coalition of 55,000 registered voters...

A white community leader felt the public hearing structure really didn't matter but could yield some small benefits:

The amount of clout, or voice, or perhaps even noise...you make and maybe at times even threaten...In order to keep the peace, they might say we'll make a little increase here so that we keep the peace here.

On the other hand, Dr. Morisey, a black professional, felt that a structural change, already in process, could make the hearings better - she said:

The charter revision and the establishment of the local planning boards has that potential. I think in more communities there are people who are not part of one establishment or another that are

TABLE 15

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED WAY(S) TO MAKE THE  
PUBLIC HEARING STRUCTURE BETTER - BY RACE

Responses Respondents	Logistical/Operational/Efficiency Aspects							Total
	Logistical Aspects	Operational Aspects	Efficiency Aspects	Logistical/Operational Aspects	Logistical/Efficiency Aspects	Logistical/Operational/Efficiency Aspects	Operational/Efficiency Aspects	
	(percentaged across)							
White	10.3	20.7	41.4	10.3	6.9	-	10.3	61.7 (29)
Black	5.6	5.6	16.7	50.0	16.7	5.6	-	38.3 (18)
Percent Total	8.5 (4)	14.9 (7)	31.9 (15)	25.5 (12)	10.6 (5)	2.1 (1)	6.4 (3)	100 (47)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "How could the public hearing structure be made better?"

beginning to participate...You can get more people involved in thinking about the community as a whole...Title XX should start looking at the community as a whole..

Horace Morris felt that giving people advance notice would be an improvement. He observed:

Sometimes there's not adequate notice...the people just don't know soon enough.

A black Washington Heights GSS chairperson felt that the public hearings could be better if the true intent of Title XX was implemented:

I believe the Title XX program is for community based groups. There has to be a degree of community participation...I believe Title XX has drifted away from that...Only programs that are are funded are aware that Title XX is a funding source.

Perhaps blacks realize that either the public hearing process would never be extremely efficacious or that to make it more efficacious would require so much in the way of time and resources that it is best to concentrate on incremental change.

#### Assessment of the Citizen Participation Process.

In Table 16, data is presented that focus on the responses to the question: "What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process?"

There is not a significant difference in perception between the two races though it may be said that blacks seem a little less ambivalent than whites (22.2% and 35.7% respectively). Also, the blacks "generally negative" response was more intense (22.2% "negative" and 11.1 percent "moderately negative") while the white "generally negative" response was 7.1 percent "negative" and 17.9 percent "moderately



TABLE 16

RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF THE CITIZEN  
PARTICIPATION PROCESS - BY RACE

Respondents	Responses					Total
	Positive	Moderately Positive	Ambivalent	Moderately Negative	Negative	
	(percentaged across)					
White	3.6	35.7	35.7	17.9	7.1	60.9 (28)
Black	5.6	38.9	22.2	11.1	22.2	39.1 (18)
Percent Total	4.3 (2)	37.0 (17)	30.4 (14)	15.2 (7)	13.0 (6)	100 (46)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process?"

negative."

The following quotes highlight the intensity factor. The comments of a white policy analyst notes that the citizen participation process is:

It's (the participation process) elaborate, it is complete (and) leads often to the inclusion of more sections, more statistics, fiscal and other kinds of data into the (annual) plan and then (the participation process) have very little effect on the actual provision of services.

A black policy analyst simply stated:

I think it's perfunctory. It think it was perfunctory in the beginning and it hasn't changed.

Another white policy analyst responded:

I really have not seen very much from it. I participate because we feel that it is important to do so just in terms of being on record...but I really haven't seen much come from it...I'm not impressed.

Dr. Morisey, the black Assistant Dean, looking back said:

I was cynical about it (from) the beginning...I don't feel that it has made a substantial impact...

#### The Perceived Efficacy of Title XX's Citizen Participation

Table 17 addresses the question: Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "charade" or a "sham"? While this table presents a clear picture of ambivalence by both races there are a few marginal intensity differences. Blacks felt more strongly than whites that Title XX citizen participation is a "sham" (22% of black respondents and 3.6% of white respondents stated "strongly agree"). Even when one considers as "generally agree" (the combination of "agree"

TABLE 17

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED EFFICACY OF THE TITLE  
XX CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROCESS - BY RACE<sup>a</sup>

Respondents	Responses					Total
	Yes, Strongly Agree	Yes, Agree	Ambi- valent	No, Disagree	No, Strongly Disagree	
	(percentaged across)					
White	3.6	21.4	28.6	39.3	7.1	60.9 (28)
Black	22.2	11.1	22.2	22.2	22.2	39.1 (18)
Percent Total	10.9 (5)	17.4 (8)	26.1 (12)	32.6 (15)	13.0 (6)	100 (46)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "charade" or a "sham"?"

with "strongly agree"), the picture doesn't change much (25% of white respondents "generally agree" against 33.3% for black respondents).

Blacks tended to disagree more intensively (22.2% "strongly disagree") than whites (7.1% "strongly disagree"). However, there is a striking similarity, when "generally disagree" (the combinations of "disagree and "strongly disagree") is considered (46.4% white and 44.4% blacks "generally disagree") with the notion of calling the Title XX's citizen participation process a "charade" or "sham." So, while both, black and white respondents, have problems with the citizen participation process, neither is convinced that the participation process should be ignored.

#### The Perceived Role of Government

Table 18 is organized to highlight the respondents' conception of government responsibility. Each respondent was asked the following three-part question: What responsibilities does the federal, state and city government have to poor/needy people?

The items on this table can be clustered into two basic categories: (1) major responsibility and (2) supportive responsibility. The "major responsibility" category includes the following items: (a) guarantee an adequate quality of life, (b) guarantee employment and income security, (c) developing and monitoring standards, and (d) provides major funding for social programs. The "supportive" category includes the following items: (a) administration and implementation of

TABLE 18

THE PERCEIVED GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES  
FOR POOR/NEEDY PEOPLE<sup>a</sup>

## A) Federal Government

Responses Respondents	Guarantee Adequate Quality of Life		Guarantee Employment Income Security		Develop and Monitor Standards		Provide Funding Social Programs		Adminis-ter and Implement Programs		Act as Broker		Deter-mine Need		Fill In Funding Gap		Other		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
White	14	21.5	12	18.5	20	30.8	12	18.5	1	1.5	0	0	1	1.5	1	1.5	4	6.2	65	.100
Black	13	30.2	5	11.6	9	20.9	12	27.9	1	2.3	0	0	0	0	1	2.3	2	4.6	43	.100

## B) State Government

White	3	9.4	2	6.3	2	6.3	0	0	10	31.3	3	9.4	2	6.3	7	21.9	3	9.4	32	100
Black	1	3.4	1	3.4	3	10.3	0	0	10	34.5	4	13.8	0	0	9	31.0	1	3.4	29	100

## C) City Government

White	1	2.9	1	2.9	0	0	0	0	14	40.0	1	2.9	8	22.9	7	20.0	3	8.6	35	100
Black	1	3.1	0	0	1	3.1	0	0	11	34.4	0	0	12	37.5	5	15.6	2	6.2	32	100

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "What responsibilities does the federal government have to poor and/or needy people? The state government? The city government?"

of programs, (b) acts as a broker, (c) determines need and (d) fills in funding gaps. Through the use of the "major responsibility," "supportive responsibility" delineation both races overwhelmingly view the federal government as having the major responsibility (89.3% of the white and 90.6% of the black responses). However, both races saw the state and city government as having the "supportive responsibility"; on the state level (78.3% of white and 82.7% of black responses) and on the city level (94.4% of white and 93.7% of black responses).

Within the broad category "major responsibility" there are some marginal differences between the two races. On the federal government level blacks mentioned "guarantee of an adequate quality of life" most (30.2%) whereas whites mentioned "develop and monitor standards" most (30.8% of responses). The second most important area to blacks is "providing major funding for social programs" (27.9%) whereas the second most important area to white respondents is "guarantee adequate quality of life" (21.5%). As mentioned earlier, these differences are marginal at best.

Both races felt the role of the state government was first and foremost to "administer and implement programs" (31.3% white and 34.5% black), and second to "fill in funding gaps" (21.9% of white and 31.0% of black responses).

On the city government level, white respondents felt the city's primary role was first and foremost the "administration and implementation of programs" (40.0%) and, second to "determine need" (22.9%). "Fill in funding gaps" was the third area of importance to whites (20% of the responses).

of the responses). Blacks, on the other hand, felt city government should first and foremost "determine need" (37.5% of the responses) and, and, second to "administer and implement programs" (34.4 percent of the responses). The third perceived area of city responsibility for blacks is "fill in funding gaps" (15.6%).

It appears that blacks see an active responsibility for the city government to "determine need" while whites place a greater emphasis on a more passive activity "administer and implement programs."

#### The Current Condition of Blacks

Table 19 is concerned with the perceived condition of New York City's blacks. Each respondent was asked the question: "Are the social, political and economic conditions of New York City's blacks better today than they were five years ago?"

The overwhelming perception of black respondents is that blacks are not better off than they were five years ago. The data shows that 68 percent of whites and 94.5 percent of blacks felt that the blacks' condition was "generally not" (the combination of "probably not" and "definitely not") better. Blacks felt very strongly that their conditions have not improved (77.8% "definitely not," 16.7% "not") and none "not sure." Whites felt the same way, though not as strongly (36% "definitely not" and 32% "probably not"). A few whites felt that the opposite was true, that the black conditions were better (12% "very much so" and 13% "mildly so").

The following quote from the white director of a state-wide

TABLE 19

RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED CONDITION OF NEW YORK CITY'S BLACKS  
TODAY COMPARED TO FIVE YEARS AGO - BY RACE<sup>a</sup>

Responses Respondents	Yes, Very Much So	Yes, Mild- ly So	Not Sure Don't Know	No, Proba- bly Not	No Defi- nitely Not	Total
(percentaged across)						
White	12.0	12.0	8.0	32.0	36.0	58.1 (25)
Black	-	5.6	-	16.7	77.8	41.9 (18)
Percent Total	7.0 (3)	9.3 (4)	4.7 (2)	25.6 (11)	53.5 (23)	100 (43)

<sup>a</sup>Question posed to respondents: "Is the social, political and economic condition of New York City's blacks better today than it was five years ago?"



organization is representative:

From what I've read and seen I don't think it is, I don't see how it can be. The only advance I can see in a broad sense is an increase in the welfare grant...

The intensity of the black sense of lack of progress is demonstrated through the following quotes. Dr. Morisey states that the blacks' condition is:

Much worse, the main reason (is) we lost the political clout whatever it was that we had and certainly the lack of representation on the Board of Estimates and the lack of proportional representation in many of the public departments is just striking... All of the studies show that the increases in the black middle class is more fiction than fact... Even middle class blacks are one month away from poverty... The majority of blacks in New York City achieve middle class status through two people working in the public sector... That has been cut back and no longer can you look forward to the stability of being a teacher, etc., etc... The housing situation is really a crisis for blacks...

Rev. Mitchell's anger is clear:

No, it's worse today... This is being done in conjunction with the rise of black and Hispanic populations. From my point of view, we are not that much different from Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe or South Africa in the sense that we have an increasing population and diminishing power and that's being worked on systematically. From that point of view five years ago we had somebody in the Board of Estimates; we have no black today. There is no sense of virtue, there ain't no white folks saying 'Hey, let's give them a shot'... the gerrymandering process has even developed more so. It is unbelievable, how can people have more population and less representation.

Horace Morris of the Urban League attempts to place black advancement into perspective:

It's sort of relative. There is a small group, less than 10 percent, who are doing better than they were 5, 10, 15 years ago. That group has been able to educate themselves, take advantage of educational opportunities, and occupational opportunities. But I would say generally, overall, the blacks aren't doing as well in New York City as they were five years ago when you had an antipoverty program, when you had Model Cities, when there were more dollars available to employ people in the neigh-

borhoods through federal resources...Inflation has caused everybody to do less well. Those who are poor or needy have done worse than anybody else, which is what a lot of people don't recognize. Inflation has hurt poor and marginal people, people on fixed incomes.

### Comments

The essence of the data in this chapter is the similarity of perceptions between white and black respondents. Whites do tend to be slightly more cynical about issues focusing on the citizen participation process. Blacks, on the other hand, tend to be slightly more cynical about their (blacks') current conditions.

It would appear that blacks are more likely to pursue operational changes in the participation process. This is probably due to the fact that there are limited citizen participation opportunities available today. Times have changed; the citizen participation thrust of the 1960s is not the same as the 1970s and early 1980s. When asked to state the best aspects of the citizen participation process, Horace Morris, from the Urban League, commented: "That the process does exist, as faulty as it is.." In essence, some participation opportunity is better than none."

## CHAPTER VI

### INDEX SCORES: COMPOSITE MEASURES OF THE PARTICIPATION PROCESS EVALUATION

#### Introduction

The objective of this study is the perceived efficacy of the Title XX citizen participation process. Simply stated, the investigation sought to evaluate the process. In this chapter, an index is constructed based upon evaluative factors of this study. To accomplish this, the variables were reviewed and four were identified which appeared to reflect content relevant to the evaluation process.

#### Evaluation of the Process

The items that make up the index are shown in Table 20. They are compacted in such a way that a high index score signifies positive or favorable perceptions and a low score is an indication of negative or unfavorable perceptions of the Title XX citizen participation process.

The first item concerns the respondent's general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format. The range of responses covers options from unfavorable to favorable. The second item deals with the question of the attentiveness of the officials present during the testimonies. The highest score being the perception that

TABLE 20  
INDEX OF EVALUATION OF  
TITLE XX PARTICIPATION PROCESS

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A. Question 8: What is your general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format?

Responses: 3 \_\_\_ Other  
1 \_\_\_ Unfavorable  
2 \_\_\_ Moderately Unfavorable  
3 \_\_\_ Ambivalent  
4 \_\_\_ Moderately Favorable  
5 \_\_\_ Favorable

B. Question 9: Do officials and others listen to the testimonies?

Responses: 1 \_\_\_ No  
2 \_\_\_ Sometimes  
3 \_\_\_ Yes

C. Question 71: What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process?

Responses: 1 \_\_\_ Negative  
2 \_\_\_ Moderately Negative  
3 \_\_\_ Ambivalent  
4 \_\_\_ Moderately Positive  
5 \_\_\_ Positive

D. Question 78: Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "charade" or a "sham"?

Responses: 1 \_\_\_ Yes, Strongly Agree  
2 \_\_\_ Yes, Agree  
3 \_\_\_ Ambivalent  
4 \_\_\_ No, Disagree  
5 \_\_\_ No, Strongly Disagree

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(Continued)

TABLE 20 (Continued)  
 INDEX OF EVALUATION OF  
 TITLE XX PARTICIPATION PROCESS

	Intercorrelations Among Items				Corrected Items - Total Correlations <sup>a</sup>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
A	1.00	.34	.54	.51	.61
B		1.00	.23	.25	.33
C			1.00	.64	.65
D				1.00	.63

<sup>a</sup>Correlation is between each item and the sum of all other items in the index with the item itself deleted to correct for auto-correlation.

Mean Index Score = 2.925  
 Standard Deviation = 3.191  
 Alpha = .746  
 Standardized Alpha = .740

officials do listen to the testimonies. The third item is quite similar to the first item by seeking an assessment of the citizen participation process. The range is from negative to positive.

The last item offers strong, value laden concepts as a possible explanation and description of the Title XX citizen participation process. The responses range from "yes, strongly agree," to "no, strongly disagree."

The intercorrelation of items reveals that they are marginally related to each other. The strongest relationship exists between item (C) and (D) which are the assessment of the citizen participation process as a "charade" or a "sham," respectively. The weakest item is item (B) which deals with the attentiveness of the officials at the hearings. This item was quite weak when related with each of the other items. Three of the four items show moderately high item total correlations ranging from .61 to .65. Item B shows a weaker relationship to the total score ( $r = .33$ ).

It is important to note that the measure of internal reliability of the index, Cronbach's Alpha, is moderately high ( $\alpha = .746$ ). This means that the items appear to share a moderately high degree of common content; in essence they "belong together."

Table 21 presents a one-way analysis of variance comparing mean scores for the three groups in this study (public officials, voluntary organization leaders and GSS chairpersons) on the Index of Evaluation of Title XX Participation Process. The public official group had the

TABLE 21

COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES ON INDEX OF  
EVALUATION OF TITLE XX PARTICIPATION PROCESS  
FOR THREE GROUPS (PUBLIC OFFICIALS, VOLUNTARY  
ORGANIZATION LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES,  
AND GENERAL SOCIAL SERVICES CHAIRPERSONS)

<u>Group</u>	(N)	Mean	S.D.	F-test	Proba- bility
Public Officials	(9)	43.34	7.79	1.858	0.1680 (N.S.)
Voluntary Organi- zation Leaders	(26)	35.98	9.36		
GSS Chairpersons	(12)	37.53	12.16		
TOTAL	(47)	37.79	10.07		

TABLE 22

COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES ON INDEX OF  
EVALUATION OF TITLE XX PARTICIPATION PROCESS  
FOR WHITE AND BLACK INFORMANTS

<u>Group</u>	N	Mean	S.D.	T-test	Proba- bility
White	(29)	38.29	8.89	0.43	0.67 (N.S.)
Black	(18)	36.98	11.97		
TOTAL	(47)	37.79	10.07		

highest mean score (Mean = 43.34), while the GSS group and the voluntary organization leaders group had similar scores (GSS, Means = 37.53; Voluntary Organization, Means = 35.98). The mean scores for the three groups are not significant ( $F=1.858$   $df=2/44$ ,  $P=.17$ ). However, it is quite clear that the mean score of the public officials is considerably higher than the other two groups. If the sample was larger, possibly, the differential would be quite significant. The public officials high mean score is in accord with the investigator's expectation. However, the similarity of scores by the GSS chairpersons and the voluntary organization leaders group was unexpected. The investigator expected the GSS group to score higher.

Table 22 presents the mean scores for the black and white classifications on the Index of Evaluation of Title XX Participation Process. The one-way analysis of variance showed very little difference in mean scores (White, Mean = 38.29; Black, Mean = 36.98). While this finding is in accord with the investigator's expectations, the qualitative material suggests there are racial differences of perspective.

A multiple regression analysis was performed treating the Index of Evaluation of Title XX Participation Process as the dependent variable and the respondents' role, sex, race and organizational affiliation as the series of independent (i.e., predictive) variables. Table 23 shows the results of the analysis.

The analysis is in accord with what has been shown in the previous table using one-way analysis of difference between means. That is, it is quite apparent that there is little differentiation in attitude among



TABLE 23

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF  
EVALUATION OF TITLE XX PARTICIPATION PROCESS

Variable	Simple R	Multiple R	Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	Beta
Role					
(1 = Public Official 2 = Other)	.27	.27	7.36%	7.36%	.22
Sex					
(1 = Male/ 2 = Female)	-.18	.33	11.09%	3.73%	-.21
Ethnicity					
(1 = White/ 2 = Black)	-.06	.35	12.13%	1.03%	-.13
Organizational Affiliation					
(1 = Voluntary Agencies/ 2 = Others)	-.20	.36	13.06%	0.93%	-.12

<u>Analysis of Variance</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>
Regression	4	609.31651	152.32913	1.57749
Residual	42	4055.69736	96.54622	

(High score on index = favorable evaluation; low score = unfavorable evaluation).

the subjects using these background variables as predictors. As a group these variables only account for 13.1 percent of the variation in the index scores for the 47 subjects. The most important predictor is the dummy variable differentiating the public officials vs. others (beta = .22). In the main, however, the analysis tends to support the view that there is an overall disposition among subjects to mildly approve of the opportunity made possible to have some say in the Title XX distribution process. The approval is embedded in a context full of ambivalence, amply demonstrated in the quotations cited in previous chapters.

#### Commentary

The mixed research method approach has several advantages, the enlargement of the researcher's perspective is one. Due to this study's combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology additional analyses are called for at this point.

The quantitative data presented in this chapter demonstrate no significant relationships. From a qualitative point of view, there are differences to report, in particular, racial differences. Clearly, both black and white have ambivalent perceptions about the Title XX citizen participation process. The qualitative material suggests that the ambivalence has, more or less, developed from different "roots." It is this investigator's inference that the white ambivalence is related to the process they must go through to protect what they have;

simply stated "turf protection." The black ambivalence appears to be related to the necessity of going through a process in the hopes of acquiring something. This is a fundamental difference. In summary, qualitatively, it is this investigator's perception that the ambivalence exhibited by both races is a phenomenon related to different perspectives.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Introduction

This study is about the perceived efficacy of the New York City's Title XX citizen participation process. A survey was conducted and the respondents' were categorized into three groups. Quantitative and qualitative data were presented to illustrate and illuminate the respondents' perceptions. What does it all mean? In this concluding chapter, the author will analyze and form generalizations based on the presented data.

#### A Functional Perspective

The consistent ambivalence expressed in this study may be due to "expectation" problems. Specifically, the respondents may be operating under different expectations concerning the role and function of Title XX citizen participation.

Title XX has a political history of controversy and compromise. From its implementation in 1975, ambivalence appears to have been one of its continuous features. The role of citizen participation in the decision-making process may be one of the key sources of doubt about the program. Many students of social welfare policy praised Title XX for its citizen participation stance. Title XX citizen

participation was manifestly viewed as (1) a way citizens could influence social service decisions and (2) it was felt that citizen participation could improve accountability. In reality section 2004 of the law only vaguely mentions "...the need to assure public participation in the development of the program."<sup>1</sup> This vague statement has been defined through the legislation and HEW guidelines as allowing public "review and comment" on the annual state service plan. Manifestly, Title XX citizen participation is not seen as an empowerment mechanism.

It is probably correct to state that the public officials and the voluntary organization representatives are aware of the manifest goals of Title XX citizen participation. To reiterate, when asked if the citizen participation process could be called a "charade" or "sham," Councilwoman Ruth Messinger said:

No, I don't think so. I think that depends on what you want. If you understand that (in this) process, all the decisions are made in response to how many people speaking from which sector of the public - yes, (it's a sham). That's not how I understood it, I understand it is an opportunity to exchange some comments and try to be somewhat responsive to the things that most bother the community that chooses to show up to talk - I think it accomplishes that.

Likewise, remember the middle-level public official who responded to the "sham" or "charade" question by stating:

No, depending on what your expectations are...somebody who goes there not understanding it (the hearing) could really feel it's a 'sham'. Your expectations are going to determine if it's a 'sham' or not. If you think that going there is going to change the plan, it's a 'sham.' If you realize its going to do something else, a lot less than that, then it's not a 'sham.'

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<sup>1</sup>Public Law 93-647, sec. 2004 (a).

Or, remember the high official who observed:

I have seen in the last two attempts much more serious effort to integrate wherever we could some of the comments. It is a fact that a lot of things are tied down sometimes before we get to the public forum. We have to develop a way to be very, very clear about that so that the expectations are real.

Most voluntary organization representatives are quite aware that Title XX citizen participation is, not more than, "review and comment." When asked the question, What is the most effective way to have impact on the Title XX planning process? Remember the leader of a city-wide organization who placed the Title XX public forum into perspective by commenting:

We try to meet directly with those in charge...we have impact by having monthly meetings with HRA and the Department of the Aging where we bring problems and discuss them and try to get resolutions of some of them. We do some direct representation ...Our friends will be calling up and saying that funds haven't come through...This isn't with the Commissioner but with the Director of the Bureau. We are constantly working on policy with them. We started four or five months ago meeting with the Deputy Mayor at City Hall and everyone of our local program (directors) was told to meet with their local councilmen and with their other elected officials. We had groups visit every borough president and we got them solidly behind our issue. We think that's effective...I can call up, and I've done that, one of the borough presidents and say, 'do you know that they (HRA) are going to be closing out one of your centers'...He gets all excited and carries the ball for us; he doesn't want to lose programs in his area because senior citizens vote...This is not the orderly planning process that that should be taking place, but it is the best we can do... going to public hearings is a show thing.

The above graphic response is representative of the voluntary organization group.

Being aware of the manifest functions of the Title XX's citizen participation process, the public officials make no unrealistic demands on the system. They, therefore, tend to see the public forum in

in a rather favorable light. Remember the middle-level public official who makes this point:

Although I can give you examples where I think that hearing testimony has affected decisions, in the long runs, we all know that they (public hearings) are not terribly significant as decision-makers. We must accept the fact that they are not and use them accordingly as just one method.

Why then are the voluntary organization representatives so negative even though they, also, know the manifest function of Title XX's citizen participation process? Likewise, although they are quite negative throughout the study, why do they moderate their position when confronted with the "charade" or "sham" question? An important point to remember is that the voluntary organization group have several processes of influence. Most of these organizations have had a piece of the social service pie for a long time - long before Title XX was legislated. In effect, the Title XX public forum really offers them no benefits because they have exercised their influence via other routes.

GSS District Advisory Council chairpersons are predominantly community-based, black, non-professionals. Many of them have a community involvement history, that includes "The War On Poverty" and "Model Cities" activities. Many of them are probably not aware of the manifest goals of Title XX's citizen participation ("review and comment"). However, they do understand the importance of political involvement even though they tend to currently lack power and influence.

These community based leaders overwhelmingly liked the "participatory democracy" aspects of Title XX's citizen participation

process (83.3 percent; see Table 4); more so than the other two groups (55.6% for the public officials and 76.9% for the voluntary organization group). It is quite possible that the ambivalence projected by this group is really frustration resulting from expectations that are incongruent with the manifest functions of Title XX's citizen participation process. The GSS group may be seeking immediate benefits; benefits the Title XX citizen participation process is not designed to meet.

It is important to distinguish the ambivalence of the GSS group from that of the voluntary organization group. One fundamental difference is that the voluntary organization group has other "tried and true" options and routes to exert influence on the social service decision-making process. The community-based groups options are limited, at best: a community leader from Harlem responded to the the investigator's "charade" or "sham" question by simply stating:

Yes (it's a sham), but we need to keep fighting to make it something positive.

#### Latent Functions

Both the public officials and the voluntary organization representatives saw latent functions in the Title XX citizen participation process.

In the review of the literature chapter (Chapter II), the investigator reviewed the planning manual used for training New York State Department of Social Service staff.<sup>1</sup> Outside of the value of parti-

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<sup>1</sup>Lee A. Williams, Thomas W. Donovan, et.al., Social Services Planning Manual (Albany, N.Y.: The State University of New York at Albany, 1976), p. 32.



cipatory democracy, this publication lists five points in favor of public participation. Three points are reiterated here:

- Participation offers a means for disseminating information to the public.
- Participation provides a mechanism for generating support.
- Participation enhances the legitimacy of the planning process by opening it up.

Clearly, the bureaucracy saw some latent possibilities that transcended the manifest "review and comment" function. In elaborating the latent function of "generating support," a comment from a high public official is reiterated here:

I think citizens should insist on the right to carry (their) participation on to the next level of administration with a direct tie between the local and to insist on helping us to develop legislative change...and help us get it.

The voluntary organization group expressed such latent functions in the following manner:

The public forum gives some visibility to your organization... When I first joined my organization, it was very important for me to go to these hearings because I didn't know who a lot of the people were...I needed to see who was who and what was what...also it gives me a chance to show off a little by giving a good testimony...

By and large, the GSS groups really did not identify a latent function. One white GSS chairperson did, however, see the citizen participation process as providing an educational function for the community.

From a functional perspective, it is possible that the bureaucracy is in a position to use citizen participation to pursue its own goals. The voluntary organization group which is, in fact,

representative of the social welfare establishment of New York City, is relatively secure in its role and function. As such, Title XX citizen participation is, more or less, "another stage to do my dance on..." as the director of an agency commented. If anything, for this group Title XX citizen participation represents a necessary evil - necessary because they have programs or "turf" to protect; evil because they know the decisions are made somewhere else, utilizing a different set of criteria. Thus the ambivalence.

The ambivalence of the GSS chairpersons group is different. It is an ambivalence based on the frustration of going through a process and acquiring a questionable product. To better understand the GSS group's situation, a look at short run and long run ramifications follows.

Short run concerns, like those discussed previously, are goal oriented and focused on the "here and now." A typical short run participation scenario would be: "Since I have a well-documented community needs assessment, since I have been a faithful participant in the community participation process and since I presented a well articulated testimony at the public forum, therefore my community's issues should be addressed." In other words, there is a short time span between "process" and "product"; with the "product" being something concrete.

The long run benefits tend to be latent, a kind of deferred gratification. Such benefits as: (a) the acquisition of leadership and administrative skills, (b) the development or the increased

cohesion of a constituency, (c) the development of access to decision makers, (d) the development of "contacts" with key staff people, (e) the involvement in or development of coalitions, and (f) the enhancement of one's status. While the above benefits are seemingly not manifestly exciting, they are nevertheless important elements if one wishes to acquire influence. The long run benefits obviously, represent potentials for securing influence for the GSS District Advisory group. The voluntary organization representatives are, in fact, the ultimate reflection of a long run process. Some voluntary organizations have been influential since the turn of the century.

From the short run - long run perspective, the question of efficacy takes on an additional dimension; the dimension of relativity. Some of the ambivalence in the GSS group may be due to the short run - long run phenomenon. In essence, for a community leader, a short run posture of righteous indignation may be necessary to pursue potential long run benefits of influence.

#### Blacks and the Title XX Citizen Participation Process

The blacks in this study tend to be either public officials or GSS District Advisory Council chairpersons (see Table 1). Structurally, the GSS Advisory Councils are an appendage to New York City's Human Resources Administration bureaucracy. In essence, citizen involvement comes about through a "politic of participation" or, in Brager and Specht's terms, collaboration. The opposite to a "politic

of participation" is a "politic of protest" or campaign and conflict, according to Brager and Specht. The participation structure is noteworthy because the citizen participation experiences of most of the blacks, especially those who are community-based, are related to the "War on Poverty" and "Maximum Feasible Participation," rallying slogans in the most recent era when the black political posture was "protest."

The Title XX citizen participation process is implemented through a vertical organizational structure. The GSS District Advisory Council chairperson, relates to a district director, who relates to an assistant commissioner. Such a structure facilitates what Hamilton calls a patron-recipient relationship; a political relationship that does not focus upon institutional power or leads to alterations in the way power is distributed.

This attempt to link black empowerment theory to the blacks in this study has important implications. The blacks in this study were very concerned about the erosion of the black condition. Black public officials and their GSS counterparts, frequently expressed concern about the loss of the Manhattan Borough Presidency. Likewise, there was concern about the current "state rights" thrust; they shared an overwhelming view that the federal government has the primary responsibility for providing special aid to the poor and needy. Structurally, Title XX citizen participation does not represent an empowerment process. In essence, Title XX citizen participation will not elect a black borough president or a sensitive mayor; the blacks in this study understood this. Their support for Title XX processes

must, therefore, be seen as a subordinate to larger political goals but nevertheless valued for the opportunity offered in energizing black potential for selfactualization.

At this point, the investigator will raise a related question: Where are the Hispanics in all of this? Although it is estimated that there are over one million Hispanics in New York City, they were not involved in the Title XX citizen participation process. At least their number were not significant. When asked the above question, a public official commented that they tend to take care of their own. Another public official said that many of the Puerto Ricans were going back to Puerto Rico. Manuel Diaz argued that the Puerto Rican community either does not receive the participation information or receives it at the last minute. This investigator's study was not designed to pursue this concern; nevertheless, the lack of Hispanic involvement is an important Title XX issue.

#### Field of Service Issues

To many, the Title XX block grant approach has politicized social service planning by encouraging competition among diverse groups.<sup>1</sup> The argument goes that while Title XX has a fixed amount of money, it has expanded its potential consumers. Thus, a political arena exists among those seeking social service benefits for their

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<sup>1</sup>See Sanford F. Schram, "Elderly Policy Particularism and the New Social Services," Social Service Review (March 1979); and Sanford F. Schram and Richard Hurley, "Title XX and the Elderly," Social Work (March 1977), pp. 95-102; and Lelani S. Rose, et al., "Title XX and Public Participation: An Initial Assessment," Public Welfare (Winter 1977), pp. 24-31.

constituencies which would reward competition not coalition.

This investigator initially shared this point of view and hypothesized that there would be intense competition between two particular fields of service: the elderly and the day care groups. One senior citizen leader told this investigator that Title XX has the "...potential for immoral competition - the old against the young..." The potential is clearly there. However, it is this writer's view, based upon the interviews conducted, that if such competition does exist, it is likely to be minimal.

The information gathered for this study touches upon concerns that transcend fields of service. There is a widespread sense among the respondents of the need to expand the "pie" not just an individual piece. Most, if not all, of the voluntary organization leaders/representatives know exactly how the Title XX "pie" is divided; the largest share going to day care followed by senior citizens programs. This investigator thought, initially, that the elderly would acquire an ever increasing share because of their potential political power. In reality, Title XX is one of several funding sources available to senior citizens' groups. On the other hand, Title XX represents the primary source of funds for New York City day care programs. Given fiscal constraints, the allocation process as related to the interests of the elderly as opposed to day care appears to be fair although not adequate.

It is important to remember that social service programs existed before Title XX. In New York City no major funding change took place

with the implementation of this law. It could be argued that the so-called flexible nature of Title XX never really took place because of a strong past funding history of social service programs. Simply stated, a recategorizing process took place and Title XX became merely another funding source. The view that saw Title XX as a new framework for social services probably lacked predictive validity.

The issue of the common need for a larger "pie" as opposed to individualized field of service competition for a stable "pie" was made rather clear during the spring of 1981. The commissioner of HRA called an emergency meeting for all of HRA's constituent groups, i.e., voluntary organizations, GSS District Advisory Council chairpersons, public officials and others. The commissioner announced that the state government was not "passing along" a substantial portion of the Title XX money. He added that if the situation was not rectified, a Title XX funding crisis would exist in the City. The constituent groups were asked to set up an ad hoc committee, to mobilize their respective members including their board of directors and exert political pressure on state level decision-makers. A "pass along crisis" campaign took place and was ultimately successful. This experience convinced this investigator that field of service competition was not a major issue and that there was, in the above example, a spirit of cooperation when the "pie" was threatened.

The Only Game in Town

Title XX of the Social Security Act is an important law. It represents the largest amount of public money specifically earmarked for social services. The Nixon "New Federalism" philosophy which undergirds Title XX is congruent with President Reagan's conception of federalism and his current block grant proposals. Under Reagan's proposals, the funding level will decrease but Title XX's framework will remain, basically, the same.

The implication of the above projection simply means that Title XX should continue to be monitored and studied; and an efficacious role for citizens should be advocated. This, also, means that the social service policy and funding issues will take place, more and more, in state capitals rather than in Washington, D.C. In essence, it is this investigator's perception that Title XX is not going away but may be, for public social services, the "only game in town."



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## FOLLOW-UP LETTER AND INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear

As a follow-up to our recent telephone conversation, this letter is to confirm your willingness to participate in my study by being interviewed on \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_. I, also, wish to share with you some of my interests and the enclosed interview guide.

To reiterate, I am a professor of social policy at Fordham University Graduate School of Social Service in New York City. I am strongly interested in Public Hearing processes and how citizens influence social welfare decisions. Specifically, I am currently studying the perceived efficacy of the citizen participation process and the annual Title XX public hearing. Relatively few Americans try to affect public policy through such a direct method of participation. In fact, most Americans don't know much about public hearings or how to become a witness. I want to learn more about this whole process and, because of your experience, you could greatly enhance the validity of my study.

The interview should take approximately 45 minutes and your responses will be tape recorded. The information will be treated as "on" or "off the record" depending on your option. Should your situation call for a change of date or time, please inform me as soon as possible (Work 212 841-5562; Home 212 980-1075). Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely

Thomas J. Hopkins  
Assistant Professor

INTERVIEW GUIDE

- What is your assessment of the Title XX Citizen Participation process: Has this assessment changed over the years?
- What motivates people to testify at the public hearings?
- Public Hearings can be effective because.....
- What is/are the worst aspect(s) of the public hearings?
- How are Title XX social service program decisions made?
- Who directly participates and has influence in the Title XX planning process?
- What are the three major factors that have a direct impact on the Title XX planning process?
- What is the most effective way to have impact on the Title XX planning process?
- Why does HRA have public hearings?



THE QUESTIONNAIREPARTICIPATION STRUCTURE

1. What is your general evaluation of the public forums structure and format?
2. Do officials and others listen to the testimonies?
3. What is/are the worst aspect(s) of the public hearing?
4. What is/are the best aspect(s) of the public hearing?
5. What should be the role of HRA/GSS staff?
6. How could the public hearing structure be made better?

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

1. How are Title XX social service program decisions made?
2. Is the Title XX planning process competitive? Why?
3. Who directly participates and has influence in the Title XX planning process?
4. Who do you think are the most powerful groups participating in the Title XX planning process?
5. What would one have to do to maximize their influence?
6. Why does one choose to testify at a Title XX public hearing?
7. What is the most effective way to have impact on the Title XX planning process?
8. From your point of view, who's winning? Who's losing? Why?

ALLIANCES AND LEADERSHIP STYLE

1. Do alliances or coalitions participate in the Public Hearings? Who initiates such alliances?
2. What are the forces keeping groups apart?
3. Is leadership style important? Why?
4. How important is the delivery of a prepared statement? Why?
5. Generally speaking, what type of people participate in the Title XX public hearings? Why?

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS  
AND VALUES

1. Why do you think HRA have public hearings?
2. What responsibilities does the federal government have to poor people? The State? The City?
3. What major issues should the City government be working on?
4. What is the appropriate role for the nongovernmental agencies and programs? Why?
5. Is the social, political and economic condition of NYC's Blacks better today than it was five years ago? Same question for Hispanics?

PERCEIVED POLITICAL  
EFFICACY

1. What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process? Has this assessment changed over the years?
2. What are the three major factors that have a direct impact on Title XX programs?
3. Is Title XX Citizen participation a "sham"? Why?

## INTERVIEW INTRODUCTORY GUIDE

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

PLACE: \_\_\_\_\_

INTRODUCTIONToday I'm interviewing \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

First let me state that this interview can be "on" or "off the record" depending on your desire. Any information you wish "off the record" please indicate so. I am strongly interested in Public Hearing processes and how citizens influence the way social welfare policy is made. You have been identified as someone who could add insight into the policy making process. Specifically, I am currently studying the perceived efficacy of the citizen participation process and the annual Title XX public hearing. My questions will focus on the following themes:

- The Participation Structure
- Political Influence
- Alliances and Leadership Style
- Theoretical Assumptions and Values
- Perceived Political Efficacy

(Start interview)

## CODEBOOK

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
1-2	Card Number e.g. 01 (1st card), 02 (2nd card)	As Is
3-4	Identification Number of Informant	As Is
5	Classification of Informant	1-Bureaucrat and/or Politician 3-Vol. Organization/ Agency Leader or Representative  5-GSS Advisory Council Chair- person
6	Ethnic/Racial Status of Informant	1-White 2-Black
7	Sex of Informant	1-Male 2-Female
8	1 Participation Structure (What is your general evaluation of the public forum's structure and format?)	1-Favorable 2-Moderately Favorable 3-Ambivalent 4-Moderately Unfavorable 5-Unfavorable 6-Other
9	2 Participation Structure (Do officials and others listen to the testimonies?)	1-Yes 2-Sometimes 3-No
10	3 Participation Structure (What is/are the worse aspect(s) of the public hearings?)	1-Logistical Aspects 2-Operational Aspects 3-Efficacy Aspects 4- 1 & 3 5- 1 & 2 6- 1,2 & 3 7- 2 & 3 8- Other

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
11	4 Participation Structure (What is/are the best aspect(s) of the public hearing?)	1-Participatory Democracy 2-Opportunity to see Officials 3-Opportunity to Meet/Hear Others 4- 1 & 2    6-1,2 & 3 5- 1 & 3    7- Other
12	5 Participation Structure (What should be the role of HRA/GSS staff?)	1-Communication/Enabling Role 2-Analysis Role 3-Pre-Planning Role 4- 1 & 2    7-Other 5- 2 & 3    8-No Opinion 6- 1 & 3
13	6 Participation Structure (How could the public hearing structure be made better?)	1-Logistical Aspects 2-Operational Aspects 3-Efficacy Aspects 4- 1 & 2 5- 1 & 3 6- 1,2 & 3    7-2 & 3
14-19	1 Political Influence (How are Title XX social service program decisions made?)	
14	Political Process	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
15	Amount of Money Available	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
16	Need	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
17	Past Funding History	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
18	Legislative Mandate	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
19	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
20	2 Political Influence (Is the Title XX planning process competitive?)	1-Yes, Very Much So 2-Yes, Mildly So 3-Not Sure, Don't Know 4-No, Probably Not 5-No, Definitely Not
21	3 Political Influence (Who do you think are the most powerful groups participating in the Title XX planning process?)	1-Providers 2-Consumers 3-Advocacy Agencies/ Organizational Groups 4-Bureaucrats/ Politicians 5- 1 & 3 6- 1,3 & 4 7- 3 & 8 8-Other 9-Don't Know
22	4 Political Influence (Why does one choose to testify at a Title XX public hearing?)	1-Job Related 2-For Personal Reasons 3-To Present Need For the Public Record 4-To Attempt to Influence 5- 1 & 2      10- 2 & 3 6- 1 & 4      11- 1,3 & 4 7- 1 & 3      12- 2 & 4 8- 3 & 4      13- 1,2 & 4 9- 2,3 & 4    14- 1,2 & 3
23	5 Political Influence (What is/are the most effective way(s) to have impact on the Title XX planning process?)	1-Know/Involve Local Politicians/Bureaucrats 2-Demonstrate Need 3-Mobilize People 4-Make a Lot of Noise 5- 1 & 2 6- 1,2 & 3 7- 1 & 3 8- Other 9- 2 & 8 10- Don't Know

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
24	6 Political Influence (Do alliances or coalitions participate in the public hearings?)	1-Yes 2-Don't Know 3-No
25	7 Political Influence (Is leadership style important?)	1-Yes, Very Important 2-Yes, Mildly Important 3-Don't Know 4-No, Probably Not Important 5-No, Definitely Not Important 6-Other
26	8 Political Influence (Which is more important; the delivery of a prepared or extemporaneous statement?)	1-A Prepared Statement 2-An Extemporaneous Statement 3-A Prepared Statement Delivered Extemporaneously 4-Doesn't Matter 5-Depends on Speaker
27	9 Political Influence (Generally speaking what type of people participate in the Title XX public hearings?)	1-Providers 2-Consumers 3-Advocacy Agencies/ Organizational Groups 4-Bureaucrats/ Politicians 5-GSS Advisory Councils 6-Other
	7- 1 & 3	12- 1,2,3 & 5
	8- 1,2 & 3	13- 1,3 & 5
	9- 1,3 & 4	14- 1,3,4 & 5
	10- 1,2 & 4	15- 3 & 5
	11- 1,2,3 & 4	16- 3 & 5
		17- 1 & 2
		18- 1,2 & 6
		19- 1 & 6
		20- 4 & 6
28	1 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (Why do you think HRA have public hearings?)	1-Legal Mandate 2-To Acquire Information 3-For Public Relations 4- 1 & 2 5- 1 & 3 6- 2 & 3 7- 1,2 & 9 8- 1,3 & 9 9-Other

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
29-37	2 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (What responsibilities does the federal government have to poor/needy people?)	
29	To Guarantee an Adequate Quality of Life	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
30	To Guarantee Employment Opportunities and/or Income Security	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
31	To Develop and Monitor Standards	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
32	To Provide the Major Funding for Social Programs	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
33	To Administer and/or Implement Programs	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
34	To Act as a "Broker"	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
35	To Determine Need	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
36	To "Fill In" The Funding and/or Program Gaps	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
37	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
38-46	3 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (What responsibilities does the state government have to poor/needy people?)	
38	To Guarantee An Adequate Quality of Life	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned



<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
39	To Guarantee Employment Opportunities and Income Security	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
40	To Develop and Monitor Standards	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
41	To Provide the Major Funding for Social Programs	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
42	To Administer and/or Implement Programs	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
43	To Act as a "Broker"	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
44	To Determine Need	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
45	To "Fill In" the Funding and/or Program Gaps	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
46	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
47-55	4 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (What responsibilities does the City government have to poor/needy people?)	
47	To Guarantee an Adequate Quality of Life	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
48	To Guarantee Employment Opportunities and Income Security	1- Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
49	To Develop and Monitor Standards	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
50	To Provide the Major Funding for Social Programs	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
51	To Administer and/or Implement Programs	1- Mentioned 2- Not Mentioned
52	To Act as a "Broker"	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
53	To Determine Need	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
54	To "Fill In" the Funding and/or Program Gaps	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
55	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
56-63	5 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (What major issues should the City government be working on?)	
56	Health Care	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
57	Transportation	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
58	Housing	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
59	Education	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
60	Employment (Youth and/or Adult)	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
61	Services For the Elderly	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
62	Day Care and/or Services for Children	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
63	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
64-68	6 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (What is the appropriate role for the nongovernment agencies and programs?)	
64	To Deliver Services	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
65	Watchdog the Government	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
66	Program Innovation	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
67	Service Advocacy	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
68	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
69	7 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (Is the social, political and economic conditions of NYC's Blacks better today than it was five years ago?)	1-Yes, Very Much So 2-Yes, Mildly So 3-Not Sure, Don't Know 4-No, Probably Not 5-No, Definitely Not
70	8 Theoretical Assumptions and Values (Is the social, political and economic condition of NYC's Hispanics better today than it was five years ago?)	1-Yes, Very Much So 2-Yes, Mildly So 3-Not Sure, Don't Know 4-No, Probably Not 5-No, Definitely Not

<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>ITEM</u>	<u>CODE</u>
71	1 Perceived Political Efficacy (What is your assessment of the Title XX citizen participation process?)	1-Positive 2-Moderately Positive 3-Ambivalent 4-Moderately Negative 5-Negative
72	2 Perceived Political Efficacy (Has your assessment changed over the years?)	1-Yes 2-Somewhat 3-No
73-77	3 Perceived Political Efficacy (What are the three major factors that have a direct impact on Title XX programs?)	
73	Politics	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
74	Money Available	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
75	Documented Need	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
76	Funding History	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
77	Other	1-Mentioned 2-Not Mentioned
78	4 Perceived Political Efficacy (Could Title XX citizen participation be called a "Charade" or a "Sham"?)	1-Yes, Strongly Agree 2-Yes, Agree 3-Ambivalent 4-No, disagree 5-No, Strongly Disagree

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND THE NEW YORK CITY  
TITLE XX PLANNING PROCESS: IT'S PERCEIVED  
IMPACT AND EFFICACY

Thomas J. Hopkins

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare  
in the School of Social Work

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
1982

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THOMAS J. HOPKINS

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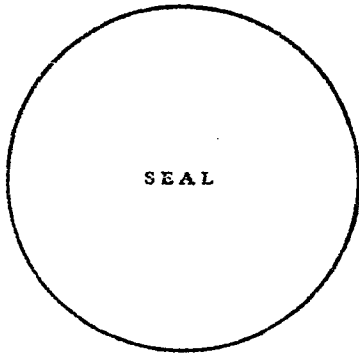


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