

1967

Implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as Evidenced by a Community Action Program in Baltimore, Maryland

Maria M. Carroll
mmcarroll46@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Social Work Commons](#)

© The Author

Downloaded from

<http://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/4416>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at VCU Scholars Compass. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of VCU Scholars Compass. For more information, please contact libcompass@vcu.edu.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

AS EVIDENCED BY A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IN

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

by

Maria M. Carroll

Submitted to the School of Social Work, Richmond Professional Institute,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Social Work

April, 1967

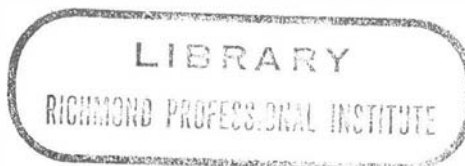


TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	5
III. COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	20
IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	30
V. ANALYSIS OF DATA	35
VI. CONCLUSIONS, SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS	56
APPENDIXES	
A. Interview Schedule	64
B. Neighborhood Development Assistants and Counselors: Characteristics, Examples of Duties, Minimum Qualifications	68
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Age of Assistants	36
II. Marital Status of Assistants	36
III. Number of Children of Assistants	36
IV. Length of Residence (in years) of Assistants	36
V. Total Family Income Before Employment as Assistant . . .	37
VI. Relation between Assistants' Total Family Income and Family Size	37
VII. Length of Employment (in months) as Assistant	38
VIII. Previous Work Experience of Assistants	38
IX. Source of Assistants' First Hearing about Neighborhood Development Program	38
X. Reason for Assistants' Application	39
XI. Assistants' Direct Referrals and Influence in Returning the Poor to School, Jobs, and/or Training Programs .	40
XII. Adequacy of Police Protection according to Housing Location	48
XIII. Improved Police Protection According to Housing Location	48
XIV. Adequacy of Recreational Facilities According to Housing Location	48
XV. Adequacy of Housing according to Housing Location	48
XVI. Improved Housing according to Housing Location	49

ABSTRACT

This research is directed to a rough and beginning evaluation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as evidenced through one Community Action Program, the Neighborhood Development Program, in Baltimore, Maryland during the late fall of 1966. In this study the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is evaluated according to the perceptions of the Neighborhood Development Assistants who are the indigenous workers in the program. The purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and each Community Action Program were taken directly from the Act itself, and then various phrases were operationally defined.

The data was collected through interviews using a fairly open-ended schedule. The sample of twenty assistants was selected randomly from the second level of assistants of a program in which there are four levels and level I requires the least education and experience. A pilot study to test the interview schedule was conducted before the collection of any data.

Due to the newness of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the resulting antipoverty program there is a wealth of recent literature concerning poverty and what the program should do and, as yet, apparently no evaluative studies. The data collected here is analysed primarily with respect to theories and other pertinent research, and thus much of the discussion in the analysis refers back to the literature reviewed.

The main conclusions are: (1) a question concerning how representative of the poor the assistants are, (2) inadequate publication of and communication about presently existing community resources, (3) the assistants' personal satisfaction with their jobs though dissatisfaction with the relationship between themselves and their supervisors and confusion concerning the value of their role, and (4) a strong need by the poor to have their physical needs met (which could be largely accomplished through more and better paying jobs) before attempting to meet more intangible goals (such as increasing political and social power). Although some of the assistants' work is consistent with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 aims (such as referrals to jobs and community resources, and encouraging group efforts, voting, and complaining by the poor themselves), it seems that overall this program is not implementing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 primarily because there is insufficient money, resources, and wide community cooperation to meet their physical needs, and until this goal is reached, efforts in other areas are and will be relatively unsuccessful. The generality and nonspecificity of the conclusions was to be expected and not undesirable considering the purpose and limited scope of this research.

The seven recommendations are directed toward opportunities for increased employment and enabling individuals (particularly men) to return to school or enter a training program, increasing the representativeness of the poor, increasing the assistants' work with and on agencies on behalf of the poor, improving the communication and cooperation between the assistants and the rest of the staff, and pointing out areas for more research. With respect to relevant

research there needs to be focus on the existence of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and if it, as it is operating with its present limited budget, is really doing anything about poverty or is it just raising the hopes of the poor only to smash and frustrate them once more?

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is threefold. First is an initial and rough evaluation of the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Second is to provide a basis for determining the direction of the Community Action Programs. And third is a guideline for areas in which future research may be indicated. In order to fulfill this purpose several research questions were drawn up. (1) What are the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, including amendments through December 1, 1965? (2) What are the objectives of the Community Action Programs under the above mentioned Economic Opportunity Act? And (3) are the objectives of the Economic Opportunity Act being fulfilled through the projects under the Community Action Programs as demonstrated by the Neighborhood Development Program, Baltimore, Maryland during November and December of 1966 as perceived by the Neighborhood Development Assistants? The answers to these questions will hopefully be utilized to maximize the benefits to poverty stricken people. The results will be used by the researcher primarily for broadening and deepening knowledge and partially satisfying curiosity in this area. They may be used by the professional staff of the Neighborhood Development Program in Baltimore, Maryland

and in other cities to clarify their thoughts of the assistants' work so that their efforts will be more productive. They may be used by policy-making bodies as a partial basis for formulating new programs. And they will point the way to other areas for research work.

Before proceeding further, it seems essential to define some of the concepts in the research questions (and to give some of the abbreviations which will be used). EOA will refer to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended through December 1, 1965; the term 'poverty program' and 'anti-poverty program' will refer to the program which evolved from the EOA. The stated purpose of the EOA is "to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in (order to further the policy of eliminating poverty in the US) by opening to everyone the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."¹ The opportunity to live in decency and dignity will be defined as all the characteristics which the poor person wished for himself before the onset of the program and/or wishes for himself now with the exception of those characteristics referring to education, training, or employment. The opportunity for education, training, or work will be operationally defined as those poor persons who are in (or in the process of applying for) schools, training programs, or jobs and who were not in (or applying for) such organizations before this program started operating. Poor persons are all those who are considered to be poor under the sliding economic scale as set up by the EOA.

¹The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended through December 1, 1965, Section 2.

CAP refers to a Community Action Program. The stated purposes of a CAP are that it (1) mobilizes and utilizes resources of a specifically defined geographical area, (2) provides activities aimed toward eliminating poverty or (a) cause(s) of poverty by "developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work", (3) "is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served"² and (4) fulfills the requirements as to administrative technicalities as set by the EOA.

The Neighborhood Development Program (NDP) is one CAP in Baltimore, Maryland. Its stated purpose is to provide a certain area defined as the Action Area with the means "for expediting the use of existing, expanded and new community services and resources. It will use techniques to reach out to persons unlikely on their own initiative to avail themselves of opportunities for self-improvement, and will attempt to exert influence on existing government departments and voluntary agencies to modify unsatisfactory methods of giving service."³ "Persons unlikely . . . self-improvement"⁴ will be operationally defined as those persons, reached by the assistants, who previously have not used agency resources for any reason. "Attempt to exert influence"⁵ will be defined as any attempt to change policies of the government departments or voluntary agencies either through verbal appeal or direct action. "Unsatisfactory methods of giving service"⁶ will be

²Ibid., Title II, Part A, Section 202.

³A Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, November, 1964, 41.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid.

defined as all service methods which are considered to be unsatisfactory by the poor. Throughout this paper the abbreviation GAA (Community Action Agency) will refer to the main, central agency which governs the various CAPs in the city; CAAs will refer to designated neighborhood agencies or centers in different localities within the target areas in the city which are part of one CAP, the Neighborhood Development Program. The term 'indigenous worker(s)' will refer to the assistant(s) as well as to other poor persons who are employed within the antipoverty program.

This is a descriptive study, and the data is analysed primarily with respect to theories and the findings of other researchers; thus much of the discussion in the analysis refers back to the literature. There are several limitations inherent in this study. To what extent is the Neighborhood Development Program representative of the CAPs, or how much can the conclusions be generalized to the other CAPs? This study is concerned only with the assistants, but would another category of involved persons have a contradictory opinion concerning the implementation of the EOA, and how much weight can be attached to the assistants' beliefs? These areas will be mentioned again in the final chapter which deals with the conclusions, summary, recommendations, and other areas for study. In analysing the data percentages will be used in order to simplify and clarify the data.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The aim now is to prevent poverty, not alleviate it, but to prevent its occurrence. How this aim is to be accomplished is the question and is widely debated. Historically, the poor have been considered lazy and "no good" so that the attitude in helping was punitive and humiliating. Poverty itself is very relative. Lourie defines it as "long term inaccessibility to material resources that are adequate to provide a minimum standard of living consistent with the productive capacity and social requirements of the community."⁷ Chronic poverty is a societal or subcultural condition rather than personal inadequacy as has been traditionally held.

Before looking at our present attempt to eradicate poverty through the Economic Opportunity Act, first consider what has inspired other generations to do something. There have been four kinds of threats inciting reform efforts: (1) the ruling class is threatened by the uneducated poor; (2) the working class is threatened by competition of cheap labor; (3) the societal standards are flaunted by people living in idleness; and (4) the stability of the state is threatened by idleness and dependency

⁷Norman Lourie, "Poverty" in Social Work and Social Problems, Nathan Cohen, editor (New York: National Association of Social Work, 1964), 2.

over which they (the idle and dependent) have no control.⁸ The various types of reforms have been (1) negative, restrictive, punitive, (2) a consideration of the poor as individuals who are economic and social resources who should be conserved and protected (through public education and rehabilitation) in an attempt to control their behavior due to the belief that poverty is caused by one's actions, (3) an absorption of the poor into society by making facilities available to all, and (4) an acceptance that many poor people will always be nonproductive and will need financial assistance.⁹

There seem to be two main reasons for our intense concern with poverty now. First is that the Negro isolation has forced Americans "to consider the exclusion of an even larger proportion of our population from the economic and other benefits of the technological revolution."¹⁰ And second is the issue of Federal power and responsibility. The election of 1964 was a question of basic social philosophy; should we use the major government instrumentalities for solving social problems? "The concept of solving problems by beginning first at the local level, then moving to a state level, and finally to a national level is deeply imbedded in our American heritage."¹¹ The Nation is the last to take on the responsibility for the peoples' problems. With broad social problems it is essential that there be interdependence at the various levels and with the national organizations; in other words, the interdependence must be vertical and horizontal. "In the final analysis it is the union of

⁸Ralph Pumphrey, "Past Campaigns in the War on Poverty," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 158-165.

⁹Ibid., 165-170.

¹⁰Elizabeth Wickenden, "Social Change through Federal Legislation," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 26.

¹¹Nathan Cohen, "Future Welfare Policy, Program, and Structure," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 7.

government, private industry, and free labor which gets the job done. Every significant social change in the history of America has occurred because the conscience of the majority of the American people was aroused. In order to achieve a truly productive economy and eliminate poverty we must have bold and imaginative ideas and the courage to put those ideas into action.¹² Some of the ideas are (1) using the system of the World Bank within the United States, (2) having centralized planning and direction with decentralized operation, (3) providing nonagricultural job opportunities in rural areas so as to increase local economic growth, (4) increasing educational opportunities, (5) increasing employment opportunities through the creation of jobs and vocational retraining, and (6) expanding a public works program to contribute in the areas on education, conservation, and recreation.¹³ Humphrey believes strongly in the necessity of using federal funds particularly where the Federal Government is best able to accomplish what is necessary; "all Americans shall share in, and contribute to, the fruits of our progress."¹⁴ Our task is to "preserve America as the place for renewal of human spirit and liberation of human potentiality"¹⁵ and what we do today will determine our future actions;¹⁶ thus, we should deeply reflect our present actions as we

¹²Robert H. Humphrey, War on Poverty (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), 15.

¹³Ibid., a passim.

¹⁴Robert H. Humphrey, "Social Change through the Legislative and Administrative Process," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 21.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., 19.

contemplate the future. The hope of America is through energy, creativity, and innovation of its people.

Presently three ways are seen of coping with poverty; (1) preventing it by changing social institutions (such as public education and the social insurance system) so as to make poverty impossible; (2) relieving it through public welfare which has a derogatory connotation and is thought by some to perpetuate the poor's dependency on society; and (3) implementing a crash campaign against it at a given point of time.¹⁷ The third way, a crash campaign, is the means the government has chosen now through the Economic Opportunity Act.

The purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act is "to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of (the) policy . . . of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."¹⁸ Wickenden elaborates in her saying that the purposes are (1) to enable the poor "to lift themselves out of ignorance, alienation, discouragement, and joblessness into a higher income status",¹⁹ (2) to have an innovative role by being a catalytic agent of tax money for experimentation, and (3) to have involvement of people at every level of society.²⁰ Through the innovative role money is used differently now from the way in which it was handled in 1933; now all tax money spent need not be spent only through government agencies accountable to the public, need not be channeled through the states, and does not have

¹⁷Wickenden, op. cit., 27-31.

¹⁸Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Section 2.

¹⁹Wickenden, op. cit., 31.

²⁰Ibid.

innumerable conditions and restrictions. In other words, tax money can be much more freely spent and can be given to specific localities by the Federal Government without state intervention. There are much broader areas now in which the Federal money may be used. In 1935 there were specific entitlements for beneficiaries of social insurance, unemployment insurance, and public assistance. What are the present criteria for beneficiaries of the Economic Opportunity Act? (Will the present lack of specific criteria be more beneficial in the long run?)²¹

Sargent Shriver sees the poverty program as essentially real communication between the poor and those who are not poor. In achieving this communication the paternalistic attitude and dehumanization of the poor by the nonpoor must be abolished. In order to have a real dialogue not only must the poor be benefited, but all the rest of the population must interact, be dedicated and fulfilled. The poverty program "is to be a dialogue between men, between thinking, feeling human beings blessed with dignity and with those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which form the core of our national credo."²² "A freely willed commitment, a genuine choice, meaningful alternative, and full representation for divergent perspectives -- these are the elements of choice and the essence of the dialogue into which we have now entered."²³

The Economic Opportunity Act was based on three key decisions. First, it would not be a job creation program. The focus was to be training for employment with the emphasis on youth in light of the present evidence

²¹Ibid., 33.

²²George Dunne, editor, Poverty in Plenty (New York: MacMillan Company, 1962), 10.

²³Ibid., 12.

that the inability of youth to get jobs in our present economy is based somewhat on poor and inadequate job skills. (In addition to the job training with the consequential learning and developing skills, the youths are working for and contributing to the United States.) Second, there would be an Office of Economic Opportunity to direct some programs (such as Community Action Programs) and to coordinate others. The decision to have this office seems to have been made in view of the criticism of the social work profession and practice. The existing social work agencies are labelled as encouraging dependency, restricting freedom, and being expensive, unimaginative, and bureaucratic; in addition they are unable to handle multi-problem families, emphasize specific functions rather than overall needs, and are middle-class oriented. And third, there would be Community Action Programs (CAPs).²⁴

The CAPs are recent. Historically, they developed from attacks on social problems financed by the Ford Foundation, President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, and the National Institute of Mental Health in their attempt at an interrelated and integrated program. Administratively, the programs may be public, private, or mixed but must include people in the target areas; there is much heterogeneity. Functionally, they may be connected with agencies or may organize communities; there is much flexibility. Politically, they may develop from or frighten political leaders. Financially, they constitute one or two per cent of the city budget. Socially, they were "almost designed to increase conflict"²⁵; they are to redistribute power by giving the poor a voice. Ideologically, the programs are based on the analysis that the problem of the poor is not their

²⁴Nathan Glaser, "The Grand Design of the Poverty Program," New York Times Magazine, February 27, 1966, 21.

²⁵Ibid., 61.

material lack but their power lack. In order to have the power, they need education, money, time, social and organizational skills, and then the vote; there is the need for community organization. "The effect, it is hoped, will be to improve education, welfare services and housing inspection, to make the police more respectful, to open up new job opportunities and eventually, through the increase in power, to change the pattern of rewards and services distributed by the public agencies."²⁶ The hope is for creative disorder to instigate welfare agencies to work more effectively with greater clientele participation.

Nathan Glaser²⁷ believes that the key decisions were inadequate and inappropriate. The emphasis should have been on increased social welfare and insurance rather than work preparation and training. There is a need to create jobs since the country can not tolerate the high unemployment rate; we should reduce the unemployment rate by increasing public services. Glaser's points seem to be well taken. How can the government through the Community Action Programs support healthy conflict with its own agencies that produce change (such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)? There is a conflict between the ideology of local control for their own localities and the reality of strong Federal control;²⁸ the Federal officials do not necessarily understand the local problems better -- they just have the power since they control the money. Glaser disagreed with the poverty program and believes that, in general, "a democratic polity can not take the position that the major way to improve its institutions of government and welfare is to finance guerrilla warfare against them. It must take up the job of directly improving and transferring them."²⁹

²⁶Ibid., 71.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., 73.

²⁹Ibid.

There has been much literature in the past several years on the Economic Opportunity Act, the CAPs, and the place of the neighborhood centers and the indigenous workers. To my knowledge there are not, as yet, any evaluative studies of the neighborhood centers or indigenous workers, and -- considering the newness of the program -- it would seem that any conclusions drawn would be inconclusive. There have been some descriptive studies of various aspects of the program,³⁰ but much of the literature has been theoretical and in places drawn from earlier programs (still operating) such as Mobilization for Youth in New York City.³¹

First I will discuss the purpose of the indigenous workers, their work, and several ways in which their work may run contrary to the purpose of the poverty program and then will consider the criteria for selecting indigenous workers.

Kravitz has specified the goals of CAPs as (1) to unite the poor and resources, (2) to increase the availability of critical services, (3) to create competent communities by increasing the peors' capacity for leadership, problem-solving, and participation in decision making, (4) to restructure community services so that they are more related to the peors' problems, and (5) to bring together what has been torn apart.

³⁰see James Ridgeway, "Atlanta Fights Poverty," New Republic, GLII, 22 (May 29, 1965), 12-14. James Ridgeway, "Poor Chicago: Down and Out with Mayer Daley," New Republic, GLII, 20 (May 15, 1965), 17-20. Arthur Shostak, "Containment, Co-optation, or Co-determination?" American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 15-19. Arthur Shostak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor: Philadelphia's Antipoverty Program," Social Work, X, 1 (January, 1966), 64-72. "When the Poor are Powerless (Los Angeles)," New Republic, GLIII, 10 (September 4, 1965), 7.

³¹see George Brager, "Organizing the Unaffiliated in a Low Income Area," Social Work, VIII, 2 (April, 1963), 34-40. George Brager and Harry Specht, "Mobilizing the Poor for Social Action," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 197-210. Henry Cohen, "Community Action: Instrument of Change," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 20-23.

The total effect would be to prevent poverty, to help some move out of poverty, to redistribute resources for better services thus changing the service pattern, and to provide a takeoff point for local, state, and national change.³² The use of indigenous workers hopefully will "increase the meaningful participation of other urban slum residents in social welfare and community programs", permit more frequent and effective contact with the other residents, allow for a bridge between residents and the agency, and increase effective role models.³³ As the recipients of help become dispensers of help (indigenous workers), there is frequently marked personality development and growth with their own problems decreasing; as the rehabilitated take on new roles, they can provide more help to others. Use of indigenous workers provides job opportunities, enhances self-image, and is psychological support and a source of satisfaction. They are particularly useful in decreasing the alienation between the two classes due to role distance and rapport difficulties as the co-operative aspect is a more prominent feature in the lower classes.³⁴

It appears that the largest need is in the area of employment which has several aspects, namely more job opportunities for unskilled workers,

³²Sanford Kravitz, "Community Action Programs: Past, Present, Future," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 1-6.

³³see George Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," Social Work, X, 2 (April, 1965), 33-40. Michael Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty" in Poverty in America, Margaret Gordon, editor, (San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), 27-37. David Hunter, The Slums: Challenge and Response. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

³⁴see George Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," op. cit., 33. David Hunter, op. cit., 266. Frank Riessman, "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Poor" in Poverty in America, Margaret Gordon, editor (San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), 404-405. Frank Riessman, "The 'Helper' Therapy Principle," Social Work, X, 2 (April, 1965), 28-29.

increased knowledge about available jobs, higher pay, and more meaningful jobs. There seem to be two main problems concerning employment: (1) insufficient jobs for unskilled men actually existing, and (2) inadequate knowledge of available jobs. Both factors are important and are emphasized considerably in the literature.³⁵ One primary characteristic of the lower class is racial disequilibrium and the predominance of Negroes; many Negroes are employed but in low-paying jobs, and the aim has been to get them into the better paying and more skilled jobs that heretofore have been reserved for the whites; racial discrimination seems to have been important in the perpetuation of poverty.³⁶ Moynihan has found that where the income gap between Negroes and whites is narrowing, it is due to the increased number of women working rather than to a gain in the Negro man's income.³⁷ Negroes suffer under direct victimization by the whites through their own decreased access to power, limited franchise, employment discrimination, unequal pay for similar work, and inferior or absent training; indirect victimization is manifested by their decreased life chances due to prejudice and high illness rates.³⁸

³⁵see Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty," op. cit., 29. Riessman, "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Poor," op. cit., 403-404. Simon Slavin, "Community Action and Institutional Change," Social Welfare Forum (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 151. Kenneth Waterman, "Local Issues in the Urban War on Poverty," Social Work, XI, 1 (January, 1966), 62.

³⁶see Rashi Fein, "An Economic and Social Profile of the Negro American," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 815-834. Ridgeway, "Atlanta Fights Poverty," op. cit., 13. James Tobin, "On Improving the Economic Status of the Negro," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 878-890.

³⁷Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 757.

³⁸St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 773.

Another large need which relates rather directly to employment is that of education. Increased emphasis needs to be placed on the value of education so as to increase motivation to stay in school.³⁹ Along with employment and education are training programs which will enable the poor to gain skill and thereby to increase their likelihood of being employed. With automation there is a decrease of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and thus, in order to be employable, some skill is almost essential.⁴⁰ Other needs are health programs, day care, homemaker, and birth control services.⁴¹ It is necessary that the resources be available for the poor who really need them. One large aim of the indigenous workers is that they (being aware of resources) will be able to reach the poor people individually and to direct them to the appropriate place for help; in the other direction the indigenous workers will seek to make needed services available where they have not been in the past.⁴²

One theme that recurs constantly in how the poor can be helped is that they must gain power so that they will have the means to help themselves; this includes social power as well as political.⁴³ Brager and Specht see the underlying issues as political and the powerless poor incapable of political action. Ways to increase power and participation

³⁹see Slavin, op. cit., 151. Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty," op. cit. 28.

⁴⁰Michael Harrington, "The Politics of Poverty," Dissent, XII (October, 1965), 420-422.

⁴¹see Hunter, op. cit., 266, 277. Lourie, "Poverty," op. cit., 30-40.

⁴²see Kravitz, op. cit., 1-6. Robert Morris and Martin Rein, "Emerging Patterns in Community Planning," Social Work Practice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 156-176. Frank Riessman and Martin Rein, "The Third Force: An Antipoverty Ideology," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 10-14.

⁴³see Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," Social Work, XI, 1 (January, 1966), 74. Waterman, op. cit., 61.

are "social brokerage" (those with a common problem work together to correct the situation and such groups will lead to a greater interest in community problems), integrative mechanisms to strengthen organizations (which may be the beginnings of political pressure groups), and social protest to support social movements (with expression of social protest).⁴⁴

There are various problems inherent in the CAPs. First is the possibility of circumventing red tape. One goal is system change -- not special favors for a few, and therefore, though circumvention of red tape may help some, it does not help the many who do not come to the attention of the CAPs. Second is the neutralization of discontent or the acceptance of the status quo through emphasizing cooperation. In order for the poor to have their needs known and met, they must speak up and make themselves heard; by cooperating with the present power structure, nothing will be gained. Third is losing "neutrality" between the consumers and suppliers so that the CAAs take sides (or so it may appear to one or both sides). In this instance the CAA loses its force as a "go-between". And fourth, the CAA becomes a competitor by becoming a service supplier. By intention, they are to direct the poor to service suppliers, not be suppliers themselves.⁴⁵

The indigenous workers are chosen as being representative of the lower class and therefore they should have the same characteristics and viewpoints of the poor people. Grosser did a study at Mobilization for Youth of the professional and indigenous workers to determine how representative the indigenous workers really were. He found that "the

⁴⁴Brager and Specht, op. cit., 199-210.

⁴⁵See Martin Rein and Frank Riessman, "A Strategy for Antipoverty Community Action Programs," Social Work, XI, 2 (April, 1966), 19-12. Riessman and Rein, "The Third Force: An Antipoverty Ideology," op. cit., 12-14.

nonprofessionals were significantly more accurate in assessing community views than their professional colleagues" and that the indigenous workers tended to respond more like the professionals than the lower class. This latter conclusion indicated that the indigenous workers were not very representative. His data also revealed that although the nonprofessionals had more accurate predictions, the professionals had higher performance due to their increased objectivity. His study would seem to indicate that the indigenous workers would be most useful in a consultation type capacity, verbalizing and clarifying the poors' needs to the professionals but that the latter are better actually working with the peer.⁴⁶

Another study⁴⁷ of Mobilization for Youth was concerned with the effectiveness of various community programs. Brager's conclusions were that the Community Development Program did increase participation by reaching many people not previously reached by the agency services but did not increase communication between low-income persons and the middle class persons and institutions and had little influence with the agencies. It would seem here that the Community Development Program was primarily effective working directly with the poor but not with the middle class or with changing existing policies and services.

"If as a nation we really seek to help the poor achieve a new selfhood, we can only do this by involving them in the guidance of their own

⁴⁶Charles Grosser, "Local Residents as Mediators between Middle Class Professional Workers and Lower Class Clients," Social Service Review, XL, 1 (January, 1966), 56-63.

⁴⁷George Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," op. cit., 39-40.

destinies."⁴⁸ The Economic Opportunity Act came from the Federal Government; how much opportunity do the poor actually have in determining their own destiny? The goal set by the Federal Government was that the poor would be directly involved in the decision making process,⁴⁹ and for this reason a certain proportion of the Community Action Commission for each city must be from the poor. Tendency toward a bureaucracy of the Community Action Agency might defeat their purpose and hinder flexibility, initiative and imagination. Ways to minimize this problem are employment from the poor's residents, training leaders from the poor, and nonCAP groups maintaining pressure on the central planners to consider only the poor's problems.⁵⁰ Waterman is very critical in this area saying that the poor have had nothing to do with the planning of the EOA or CAP and that local control has come from a political appointee board, the city's dominant private powers, the social work, education, and medical power structures and/or a combination of these three. Poverty must be attacked from within, by the poor themselves.⁵¹

How are the poor's representatives chosen? Theoretically, they are representative of the poor, but, in fact, in several cities they have been appointed by the major or through the political power structure, and therefore they either have or are willing to uphold the same viewpoints as the prevailing power elite. This situation has been very evident in

⁴⁸Arthur Shestak, "Promoting Participation of the Poor: Philadelphia's Antipoverty Program," op. cit., 39-40.

⁴⁹Charles Grosser, "Community Development Programs Serving the Urban Poor," Social Work, X, 3 (July, 1965), 15.

⁵⁰Kravits, op. cit., 4.

⁵¹Waterman, op. cit., 60.

Chicago⁵² and Los Angeles.⁵³ In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania the poor were elected by the poor themselves, but it is not known if and how much political pressure was involved.⁵⁴ In Atlanta, Georgia the Community Action Commission Board is about sixteen percent Negro (one-sixth) although the city is about forty percent Negro.⁵⁵ This policy does not seem very conducive to changing the existing resources and power structure or providing an opportunity for the poor to make themselves heard.

The power elite in urban politics seem threatened by the poor stating their interests. The private agencies are also threatened as the poor don't wish to continue the traditional pattern of giving and taking.⁵⁶ To offer adequately the necessary programs, there will have to be new and/or large welfare organizations which will mean more jobs and which will be managed by new sources of power. Will these programs be dominated by the professionals or by the poor.⁵⁷

⁵²Ridgeway, "Poor Chicago: Down and Out with Mayor Daley," op. cit., 17-19.

⁵³"When the Poor are Powerless (Los Angeles)," op. cit., 7.

⁵⁴Shostak, "Containment, Co-optation, or Co-determination?" op. cit. 22.

⁵⁵Ridgeway, "Atlanta Fights Poverty," op. cit., 12-13.

⁵⁶Richard Cleward, "The War on Poverty: Are the Poor Left Out?" The Nation, CL, 3 (August, 1965), 57.

⁵⁷Cleward, Ibid., 56.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

The original plan to help the disadvantaged people of Baltimore, Maryland grew out of a publication, A Letter to Ourselves, by the Health and Welfare Council. The Human Renewal Program would involve two stages, the first of which would be a plan translating rough ideas into concrete, interrelated programs and the second would mobilize the plan. In 1962 attempts were made to obtain Ford Foundation money but to no avail. After this unsuccessful attempt the City of Baltimore, Community Chest, Associated Jewish Charities, and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore agreed to finance the plan, and representatives of each group plus a representative from the Health and Welfare Council formed a steering committee. When the EOA became a reality, federal financial subsidy made the plan possible, and the City Mayor presented Baltimore's Plan to the OEO for a grant under the EOA, Title II.⁵⁸

A broad survey showed that some of the characteristics of the inner city inhabitants are lack of understanding of modern society, actors in the lower class subculture with its values and customs, mobility, transiency, minority group status, educational and cultural deprivation,

⁵⁸Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 1-2.

marital instability, physical and mental illness, delinquency, impaired motivation and/or capacity to improve their life, and impaired opportunities and/or motivation for responsible citizenship.⁵⁹

In approaching human renewal three beliefs were held: (1) ability for attitudes and behavior to change, (2) better coordination of existing resources, and (3) possibility for individuals to be better adjusted and more involved in the external world.⁶⁰ The essentials of the program were considered to be a comprehensive and coordinated approach, experimentation, integration, self-analysis, innovation, more intense and better coordinated services, broad community support, and expansion of any program to a large area and for a long time.⁶¹ Five areas were specified for program emphasis. These areas are: (1) programs to raise educational and occupational services, (2) teamwork on a family-centered basis, (3) community organization projects, (4) programs of acculturation, and (5) research programs.⁶²

As plans progressed, nine objectives were defined:

1. Designate as an Action Area to receive priority attention that section of the City with the greatest prevalence of poverty and special problems.
2. Divide the Action Area into smaller parts in order to provide functional areas for administering certain programs within the overall Plan.
3. Identify the specific social problems within this Action Area so that programs can be specifically and realistically tailored to actual conditions, rather than only to theoretical concepts.
4. Involve in the planning the heads of those governmental and voluntary agencies and organizations

⁵⁹Letter to Ourselves. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, Inc., January, 1962, 3.

⁶⁰Ibid., 5.

⁶¹Letter to Ourselves, op. cit., 5

⁶²Ibid., 10-15.

- which have responsibility for or a relevant interest in the health, education and welfare services of Baltimore City.
5. Obtain the advice of citizens providing services of all kinds to the Action Area who are in a position to have direct knowledge about poverty and social problems in the Area and may have sound ideas on how best to cope with its causes.
 6. Learn directly from a representative group of low-income residents of the Action Area what their perceptions of their own problems are, and what kinds of solutions they would prefer.
 7. Learn from the experiences of other cities which have tried new approaches in providing community services in order to incorporate into Baltimore's plan the most promising features of experimental programs.
 8. Obtain up-to-date information on how Baltimore's attack on the problems of its disadvantaged people might be financed from Federal Programs, national foundations, and local sources.
 9. Develop detailed plans for services specifically addressed to the problems and needs identified.⁶³

In defining the Action Area, information was collected from census data, agencies with large programs, old and new local studies and special programs, and other communities which have dealt with similar problems. Original fact finding was found to be essential and was carried out. The City's census tracts were studied with respect to family income, education, occupation, age dependency, and household tenure; the tracts were then ranked according to degree of pathology. The most important data from agencies concerned public financial dependency, adult crime, and juvenile delinquency.⁶⁴

A complete inventory of the tentative Action Area and environs was done with regard to a working file for staff, identification of the community resource people, involvement of agencies and related organizations, and assessment of the resources so that they could be utilized to their

⁶³Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 4.

⁶⁴Ibid., 6-8.

fullest extent. The community resource people were interviewed in order to increase knowledge about the Action Area. The area residents were also intensively interviewed, and the criteria for sampling was the degree of overcrowding.⁶⁵

An Action Area was thought to be essential as the amount of time, energy, and money was limited and needed to be concentrated in order to be of maximum effect. As of 1960 some of the specific characteristics were (1) population 219,467 with 171,000 nonwhite, (2) 46,000 families with 40% having incomes less than \$3,000 and 20% over \$6,000, (3) of 115,000 over 25 years of age more than 50% did not finish eighth grade while 86% had not completed high school, (4) unemployment rate for men was 12%, for women 10% (almost double the city's rate), (5) 70% had unskilled or semiskilled employment, (6) 45% of the 64,000 housing units were said to be unsound, and (7) almost 30% paid rents of greater than \$80./month with about 33% paying between \$60. and \$80.⁶⁶ No small functional neighborhoods within the Area were found to exist to the extent of being useful. According to the community resource people the main problems fall into nine categories which are: environmental problems, anti-social behavior (including delinquency and crime), inadequate City services, unemployment and lack of job opportunities, inadequate income necessitating much public dependency, and education, health, family, and housing problems.⁶⁷

During the planning stage a survey of the Action Area residents

⁶⁵Ibid., 10-12.

⁶⁶Ibid., 13-18.

⁶⁷Ibid., 19-20.

was conducted to ascertain their perceptions of their problems and the solutions they would want. Their summary of findings of problem areas are divided into those which apply to adults and families and those to youths. The main findings for adults and families are:

1. little mobility and transiency;
2. little ambition to improve socio-economic status;
3. feeling that their concerns are not those of others;
4. fear of agencies and governmental departments particularly out of their own locality;
5. inadequate services received (infrequent visits by public assistance workers and frequent change of worker; ineffective city sanitation and rodent control services; inadequate recreation; school classes excessively large and teachers' insensitivity to childrens' needs; not reached by voluntary social service agencies);
6. inadequate education for employment and therefore much unemployment and underemployment;
7. poor physical health;
8. adequate housing unavailable due to money and discrimination;
9. hostility toward authoritarian figures;
10. exclusion from neighborhood clubs and organizations due to their poverty and lack of education;
11. improper supervision of children;
12. inadequate cultural stimulation in homes;
13. inadequate services by landlords and neighborhood business-
14. little participation in politics or civic obligations due to their belief that they are not important.⁶⁸

The findings for youth are:

1. day-to-day existence with little value attached to home life;
2. fatalistic and negative attitude toward future (some unrealistic optimism);
3. delinquency and school behavior problems;
4. low regard attached to school and education;
5. hostility to authority and belief that they are not cared about;
6. little relationship between sons and fathers;
7. no parental help with school work;
8. little participation in existing recreational programs;
9. no constructive activity during school vacations;
10. reasons for dropping out of school were feelings that school was unimportant, graduation is unnecessary, pregnancy or a need to earn money;
11. unemployed or only parttime employed;

⁶⁸Survey of Action Area Residents. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, January, 1965, 55-60.

12. lack of initiative to return to school (with much ambivalence) and wish for a more interesting school curriculum were they to return; definite realistic obstacles to returning such as no day care plan for children.⁶⁹

The original plan was to provide needed services to the low income areas with emphasis on helping dependent families to become economically self-sufficient and on serving youth. Some problems, such as alcoholism and mental illness, were not involved in this attack as they were being handled by other programs. The proposed programs were not to be demonstrations but would be permanent. The GANCO (Community Action for Neighborhood Development and Organization) Program was set up to see that the desired results would be achieved and to make any necessary changes. The steering committee stressed that the Human Renewal Program was not the whole answer and that other work was essential particularly in the areas of more job opportunities, increased civil rights, and continual physical redevelopment.⁷⁰

The Program proposals were:

- I Educational Programs for Non Professional Assistants and Aides,
- I Volunteer Service Corps,
- I Library Services,
- I Day Care for Pre-School and Young School Age Children,
- I Comprehensive Homemaking Services,
- I Maternal and Child Health Services,
- I Street Club Program
- Character Building Youth Services,
- I Consumer Protection Program,
- Legal Service Program,
- I Neighborhood Youth Corps,
- I Manpower Training Program for Youth and Adults,
- Broadening Horizons through Television,
- I Early School Admissions Program,
- After School Study and Tutoring Program,

⁶⁹Ibid., 60-64.

⁷⁰Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 27-29.

Summer Program - Enrichment and Remedial,
Sex Education for Special Curriculum Pupils,
I Special Reading Programs - Elementary and Secondary,
Supplemental Teaching Service - Elementary,
Team Teaching Organization,
Educational Work Assignments,
School Aide Program,
Vocationally Oriented Curriculum for Youth with Special Needs,
Program of Pre-Service Education and Teacher Recruitment, Retention and Retraining for Service in Inner City Schools.

Future program possibilities were:

Out-patient Medical Services,
Day Training Schools,
Policy-Community Relations Program,
Public Recreation Programs,
I Program to Serve Unwed Mothers of School Age,
Adjustment School for Early Adolescent Girls,
Family Planning Programs,
Pre-Trial Release Program,
Sanitation Services,
General Sex Education Program.⁷¹

As of December, 1966 the programs preceded by a capital I have been implemented; in addition other programs implemented are Operation Reason, Project Enable, Job Corps, Work Experience and Training, Neighborhood Youth Corps In-School Program, Small Business Development Center, Work Study, Baltimore Youth Opportunity Center, and Emergency Services.

The CANDO program has two purposes: "to oversee the implementation of the total Human Renewal Program as outlined by the Steering Committee; and to synchronize and expedite the delivery of remedial education, employment, health, welfare, and related services to Baltimore's low-income population, with special emphasis on designated neighborhoods."⁷² One area is the administration of all the CAPs and the other is the Neighborhood Development Program (NDP) for implementing the programs and combatting obstacles. The main needs met by the NDP are reaching out, intermediary

⁷¹Ibid., xi-xii.

⁷²Ibid., 35.

role between lower class and the agencies, enabling those with the most difficult problems to obtain help, decentralization, immediate help, flexibility, involvement of the people for whom it is intended, and use of indigenous workers.⁷³

The administrative staff handles the funds, deals with all the community action programs and administers the NDP. A governing board consists of the Mayor, President of the City Council, City Comptroller, eleven others appointed by the Mayor, and ten others elected by the action area residents. The professional staff is made up of an Executive Director, two Associate Executive Directors, Fiscal Supervisor, Supervisor of Personnel and Staff Development, two Chiefs of Neighborhood Operation, twelve Neighborhood Development Supervisors, thirty counselors, and two hundred and seventy assistants.⁷⁴

The services of the NDP are:

- a. encouraging, persuading, and otherwise motivating persons in need of help to seek it from existing resources.
- b. acting as intermediary on behalf of persons or families who need a service from a department or agency which they are not receiving.
- c. helping workers from a variety of departments and agencies who are currently serving a particular family to integrate their efforts.
- d. helping families moving into a neighborhood to adjust to their new surroundings.
- e. helping residents to organize into small self-help groups for group action purposes, and for informal education on such subjects as health, family living, good homemaking, economical buying practices, individual legal rights, etc..
- f. calling the attention of appropriate authorities to gaps in services and unresolved problems in particular neighborhoods.

⁷³Ibid., 35-37.

⁷⁴Written communication from Mr. Lenwood Ivey, Chief of Neighborhood Operation in East Baltimore, Neighborhood Development Program, Community Action Agency, Baltimore, Maryland, March 2, 1967.

g. supplementing existing counselling, group work, and neighborhood organization services in neighborhoods where the volume and/or quality of such services is less than satisfactory.⁷⁵

The methods of working would be through the use of neighborhoods, counselors, assistants, supplementation of services, neighborhood indexes (complete record of all services and to whom), centers within each neighborhood, round the clock availability, and organizing residents for self-help. ⁷⁶

I will limit my description of the staff to that of the counselors and assistants. Here I will outline very general qualifications while the specific characteristics, examples of duties, and minimum qualifications are in Appendix B. The counselor is responsible for the NDP in his area; he must have at least a bachelor's degree plus five years of relevant experience.⁷⁷ Originally there were two grades of assistants; grade level I required a high school diploma and level II required an Associate in Arts degree.⁷⁸ Now there are four levels: level I requires a general knowledge of the community's agencies and the conditions of the poverty and the ability to maintain positive relationships with others;⁷⁹ level II - tenth grade education and three years of paid work experience;⁸⁰

⁷⁵Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 41.

⁷⁶Ibid., 41-46.

⁷⁷Civil Service Commission of Baltimore, position announcement 94319, January 12, 1967.

⁷⁸Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 52.

⁷⁹Welfare and Recreation Service, Social Work Group, announcement 94307, October 14, 1965.

⁸⁰Civil Service Commission of Baltimore, position announcement 94309, February 10, 1966.

level III - two years of college;⁸¹ and level IV - college graduation.⁸² Levels II and III also require that the assistant live in a certain geographical area of the city; levels II, III, IV as well as the counselors must be comprised of United States citizens, and vacancies are filled upon passing an open competitive examination. As of March 1, 1967 there were thirty positions for counselors (with twenty-five filled), thirty for assistants IV (fifteen filled), thirty for assistants III (twenty-five filled), eighty for assistants II (fifty filled), and eighty for assistants I (fifty-one filled).⁸³

⁸¹Ibid., announcement 94313, February 16, 1967.

⁸²Ibid., announcement 94315, November 10, 1966.

⁸³written communication from Mr. Lenwood Ivey, op. cit., March 2, 1967.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology

The original research plan based the methodology of this study on Baltimore's plan for the Neighborhood Development Program which came out in November, 1964,⁸⁴ The population was to be the Neighborhood Development Assistants I and II (who had the qualifications as specified by the Urban Renewal Program in Baltimore which is the name given to the program in Baltimore "to deal with poverty under the Federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and other relevant Federal legislation"⁸⁵) and totaled a number of 300. A sample of thirty (30) was to be selected randomly (using a table of random numbers) from the population; with respect to a limitation of both time and money twenty (20) individuals would be interviewed (with myself being the sole interviewer), but these twenty would be taken in order from the sample so as to preserve the random order. The Program has changed so that now there are four levels of Neighborhood Development Assistants, with varying numbers of positions available; at no level were all the positions filled (as of November 15, 1966).⁸⁶ The

⁸⁴ A Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People. Ibid., 52.

⁸⁵ Ibid., iii.

⁸⁶ Baltimore Community Action Agency. Personal interview with Stanley Mazer, Assistant Director of the Baltimore Community Action Agency. November 23, 1966.

Neighborhood Development Program will be explained in much more detail as to its original plans and its present mode of operating in Chapter III, The Community Action Agency in Baltimore, Maryland. As the Program itself has changed, it became necessary to change my research plan with respect to the population. I have limited the population to the Neighborhood Development Assistants II who total in number thirty-four (34). There were several reasons for choosing this level. First, levels III and IV require some college, and I questioned the degree to which these Assistants would be representative of the poor. Second, many of those in level I are new and therefore would not be in a very good position to evaluate the program. Third, some of those in level II had been promoted from I and thus would undoubtedly have some reactions to the program in light of their own advancement and increased salary. And fourth, inasmuch as the population of assistants II numbered thirty-four, data from twenty of the thirty-four would be far more representative of the total population than if a larger population had been used. Although the population changed from what was originally in the research plan, the size of and method for determining the sample remained the same. The sample was chosen from a list of all assistants II as of November 15, 1966; (the list was sent me by the Baltimore CAA).

Though there are no hypotheses, the interview schedule was constructed on the basis of the review of literature and the seemingly important areas for study. Hypotheses could have been formulated, but there did not seem to be any need to do so.

A pilot study was planned in order to test the interview schedule with respect to content, order of the questions, and actual wording of the questions as well as to increase my familiarity with the schedule. The pilot study would consist of at least two interviews and more if it seemed

necessary. The assistants for the pilot study were the last ones on the list after the random order had been established. The pilot study was conducted according to plan; as a result the word 'instead' was deleted from the question which originally read 'Do you find yourself providing some service or giving advice (counsel) when you might instead refer the person to an agency?' The reason for this change is elaborated on in the following section.

Gathering the Data

The actual process of accumulating the data was time consuming, exhausting, and extremely interesting. This chapter will bring out various characteristics of the interviews and problems encountered which should be kept under consideration in evaluating the results.

The interviews ranged in length from fifty to seventy-five minutes depending on the interest and verbosity of the assistant. All the interviews were held in the neighborhood centers, but the degree of privacy varied. In one center there were no empty rooms so that we had to remain in the medium-sized room in which there were several other assistants and the counselor. At another center the assistant said, after hearing the purpose of the study, that she did not care if the other assistant then present heard what she said since she always said exactly what she thought. (The other assistant was not in the sample.)

The interviews were conducted during the second two weeks in December, 1966 on weekdays though the time of day varied from eight-thirty a.m. to four-thirty p.m. The time of day with respect to the assistants' and my physical and emotional stamina may have had some effect on their interest and clarity of thought. If an assistant is rushed or if she or I am tired, the quality of the interview is very apt to be affected.

At the beginning of each interview, I assured the assistant complete confidentiality saying that his or her name would not in any way be

attached to the notes I was taking during the interview. During the pilot study I learned that a woman from New York had been doing a similar research study and that her interview schedule had not been unlike mine; evidently she, also, had been interviewing the assistants. Therefore, at the onset of each interview I said that I understood that there had been a similar study done during the summer and perhaps she (or he) would be somewhat familiar with my questions. Although I did not keep any record as to the number who had been used in the previous research study, I would estimate that close to three-fourths had either been so interviewed or were aware of that study.

In the middle of December, the Sunday between my two weeks of interviewing, there was a convention for the poor in Baltimore in which they would be free to speak up about the poverty program and their representation on the Commission. The only difference apparent in the data from each week was that in the second week one assistant indicated that he would like more such conventions at frequent intervals. There were no other referrals to the convention.

There were two confusing areas, one dealing with one of the questions and the other concerning my role. The confusing question was the one which read 'Do you find yourself providing some service or giving advice (counsel) when you might refer the person to an agency?' My aim was to ascertain whether the assistants would give a service themselves or would refer the person to an agency which would provide the service. The assistants were about equally divided as to whether they interpreted the question the way I intended it or understood it as asking if they would give directions or advice when referring the person (such as telling a person what he would expect to find and to be asked when he went to an agency).

In the pilot study I had the word 'instead' preceding 'refer', but in reading the questions during the pilot study I felt that with 'instead' the question became a leading one with an expected answer. The uncertainty concerning my role was due to the fact that two of the assistants knew that I was working with Family Day Care, and for this reason they might have been hesitant to criticize the program.

In general, I felt that the Assistants had a very open, sincere, and responsive manner. Many of them did ask if what they said would actually help them. To this question my only answer was, and could be, that I would write up a complete report, on copy of which would go to the Community Action Agency, and then it would be up to them.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

A wealth of data was collected concerning the assistants themselves, the people within the target area, the Neighborhood Development Program, and the Community Action Agency. All raw data except those referring to characteristics of the assistants are converted into percentages for the sake of simplicity. It should be kept in mind, though, that with this small sample, 5% would mean only one assistant. This chapter has been divided into five sections which deal with the assistants' personal characteristics, actual work, activity with CAA and other agencies, evaluation of self and the job, and general impressions of the CAA.

Characteristics of the Assistants

Of the twenty assistants there were three Negro males and seventeen Negro females. Eight were located in neighborhood centers within the housing projects, and other twelve covered areas that did not include the projects. This distinction seems important with respect to interpreting the poor peoples' concern with housing, police protection, and recreational facilities which are discussed later in this chapter. The breakdown into categories for the assistants' age, marital status, children, length of time in immediate neighborhood and in the city, total family income before employment in this position, length of present employment,

previous work experience, source of first hearing about program, and reason for application are presented in Tables I - X.

From Tables I - III it can be seen that the assistants, for the most part, are under forty, either are or have been married, and have four or less children. It seem significant to note that almost one-

TABLE I
AGE OF ASSISTANTS

under 20	1
21-30	8
31-40	9
41-50	1
over 50	1
	<u>20</u>

TABLE II

MARITAL STATUS OF ASSISTANTS	
single	5
married, living with husband	9
separated	3
divorced	1
widowed	2
	<u>20</u>

TABLE III
NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF ASSISTANTS

none	6
1-2	5
3-4	6
over 5	3
	<u>20</u>

half (nine) are married and living with their spouses and that only four are either separated or divorced. Due to the financial expense of obtaining a divorce it is not surprising to find only one divorce though I did expect to find more separations with the emphasis in the literature on "manless" homes. Similarly large families are "typical" of the lower class; thus it is interesting that only three had more than four children. In considering the length of residence in the city and the immediate neighborhood (Table IV), there seems to be little geographical

TABLE IV

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (IN YEARS) OF ASSISTANTS			
In Baltimore		In Neighborhood	
all life	11	all life	7
over 20	4	over 20	2
15-20	2	15-20	0
10-14	1	10-14	5
5-9	2	5-9	4
0-4	0	0-4	2

mobility; eighteen have been in Baltimore for more than ten years while fourteen have remained in the same neighborhood for that period of time, and an additional four have been in the neighborhood for more than five years. This lack of mobility comprises several factors, both positive and negative. Positively it would seem to indicate a certain stability and a close, intimate knowledge of the community, both of which would be advantageous in their job. On the negative side the ability to improve themselves and "move-up" is lacking which may be the result of low initiative or of social and economic inability (especially taking into account the racial factor). In considering the total family income before employment as an assistant (Table V) there are two main areas in the \$2,000-\$3,000

TABLE V
TOTAL FAMILY INCOME BEFORE EMPLOYMENT AS ASSISTANT

under \$2,000	0
\$2,001-\$2,500	3
\$2,501-\$3,000	5
\$3,001-\$3,500	0
\$3,501-\$4,000	4
\$4,001-\$4,500	4
\$4,501-\$5,000	3
over \$5,000	1

bracket and in the \$3,500 - \$4,500 bracket. These figures in themselves do not yield much useful information, but comparing income and family size (Table VI), I found that the two largest families (of eight members)

TABLE VI
RELATION BETWEEN ASSISTANTS' TOTAL
FAMILY INCOME AND FAMILY SIZE

Family Size	Income		Totals
	under \$3,000	over \$3,001	
1-2	3	3	6
3-4	3	3	6
over 4	2	6	8
Totals	8	12	20

received less than \$3,000. The other comparisons show no differences though the lack of difference may be due to the small sample.

The length of employment (Table VII), under six months and over twelve months, was close to being evenly divided, eight and twelve.

TABLE VII
LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT (IN MONTHS) AS ASSISTANT

less than 6	8
6-12	0
over 12	<u>12</u>
	20

The effect of the length of employment is later discussed with respect to the assistants' impressions of the program and aspects which they would like to see changed. As might be expected their previous work experience was in the unskilled labor market (Table VIII). The newspapers

TABLE VIII
PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE OF ASSISTANTS

unskilled (clerk, aide, factor, volunteer)	15
clerical	1
tabulator	1
newspaper	1
none	<u>2</u>
	20

were the most frequent first source of hearing about the program (Table IX) and may be some indication of the wide circulation of the Baltimore

TABLE IX
SOURCE OF ASSISTANTS' FIRST HEARING ABOUT
NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

newspapers	14
flyers distributed in neighborhood	2
housing project meetings	1
posted announcements (in store and Civil Service Commission building)	2
through previous work	<u>1</u>
	20

newspapers; the Afro, a Negro newspaper, was the one most frequently read. Their reason for application centered on their desire to help others and to work closely with people (Table X). This result which

TABLE X
REASON FOR ASSISTANTS' APPLICATION

liked people, "wanted some sort of social work"	19
needed a job	6
	25*

*five assistants indicated both reasons

needs to be further substantiated with a larger sample and in other populations may be important with respect to making available and creating jobs in the service professions with the aim of having more creative and satisfying jobs and the result of a decreased labor turnover.

There seems to be a question about the assistants' being truly representative of the poor. Some characteristics of poverty are large families, absent fathers, low income, geographical mobility, and little education.⁸⁷ These assistants have completed tenth grade at least, over one-half are either single or married and living with spouses, over three-fourths have four or less children, have not had an extremely low income, and have been fairly geographically stable. Their apparent lack of representativeness is consistent with Grosser's⁸⁸ study at Mobilization for Youth in which he reached a similar conclusion although his was based on the indigenous workers' tendency to respond more like professionals than the lower class.

Actual Work of the Assistants

As the most important areas (as reflected in the literature) were education and employment, several questions were directed at the assistants'

⁸⁷Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," op. cit., 750-760.

⁸⁸Grosser, "Local Residents as Mediators between Middle Class Professional Workers and Lower Class Clients," op. cit., 56-63.

influence and aid in getting poor persons back into school or the labor market. The assistants' influence was defined as the quality which motivated the poor person to apply on his own after he has talked with the assistant. These figures are what the assistant knows and therefore may be less than actuality (Table XI).

TABLE XI

ASSISTANTS' DIRECT REFERRALS AND INFLUENCE IN RETURNING THE POOR TO SCHOOL, JOBS, AND/OR TRAINING PROGRAMS.

place	Direct Referrals			totals
	none	few	many	
school	12 (60%)	7 (35%)	1 (5%)	20
job	0	9 (45%)	11 (55%)	20
training program	0	11 (70%)	6 (30%)	20
Totals	12	30	18	60

place	Direct Referrals			totals
	none	few	many	
school	10 (50%)	10 (50%)	0	20
job	3 (15%)	15 (75%)	2 (10%)	20
training program	9 (45%)	11 (55%)	0	20
Totals	22	36	2	60

It seems that the majority of referrals and influence is in the area of employment. Although education and training were considered to be important, financial income was essential immediately. Almost without exception, the assistants felt that the training programs were too long and once training was completed, jobs were not available. In addition the educational requirements for most of the programs were far higher than those the poor people could fill. The assistants who had been in the program for more than a year said that most of their referrals came at the beginning and that now very few people wanted training. Another question concerning employment dealt with the purpose of working with respect to personal interest and fulfillment or simply financial income. A little over half of the assistants (60%) said that most poor people worked solely for money while the rest (40%) placed personal satisfaction

as a factor. The types of jobs which did lead to personal satisfaction were nurses' aides and those dealing with the poverty program. These findings concerning employment are consistent with the literature in which there is emphasis on more job opportunities for unskilled workers, increased knowledge about available jobs, higher pay, and more meaningful jobs.⁸⁹

Slavin⁹⁰ and Harrington⁹¹ emphasize the value of education and encourage all attempts to increase the motivation of adults to return to school and of youngsters to remain in school. From the assistants' view of the poor it seems more important to help the adults find a job rather than to say they should return to school. A woman can go to school and still receive AFDC, but if a man returns to school rather than to work, he and his family are left without any source of livelihood (if he is to remain at home). As far as training programs are concerned, the poor find them totally inadequate as they do not teach a skill which will enable the person to find a job readily. This finding is somewhat contradictory to Harrington's belief that the training programs will enable the poor to gain skill and thereby to increase their likelihood of being employed. Of course, Harrington is not promising complete employability after training, and it is difficult to measure the increased likelihood of employment in a large sample let alone the small sample used in this study.⁹²

⁸⁹see Riessman, "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Poor," op. cit., 403-4. Slavin, op. cit., 151. Waterman, op. cit., 62. and Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty," op. cit., 29.

⁹⁰Slavin, op. cit., 151.

⁹¹Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty," op. cit., 28.

⁹²Harrington, "The Politics of Poverty," op. cit., 420-422.

All of the assistants said that they frequently referred people to community resources, particularly to the DPW (Department of Public Welfare) and those resources which operated within the community. They felt handicapped by their own limited knowledge of available resources and believed that the number of referrals was decreasing as increasingly more people were aware of existing resources and were able to go to these resources on their own without the assistants' aid. This finding is in line with several researchers⁹³ who hold that one aim of the indigenous workers is their being able to reach the poor people individually and to direct them to the appropriate place for help.

The assistants estimated that 35%-60% of the poor people had never used agency resources in the past. Of the resources used 90% said DPW, 20% - health services, and 5% each - Salvation Army, birth control, job counselling, and Unemployment Security.

All the assistants said that in referring someone to a community resource they were able to direct the poor person to a particular individual connected with the resource involved so that in essence the individual who used the aid of a neighborhood center had an advantage over that person who went on his own and undoubtedly would not know anyone in the resource agency. Their referral to a particular person raises a problem which several researchers have anticipated, that is the possibility of circumventing red tape. The goal is system change -- not special favors for a few, and therefore, avoiding the red tape may help some but not

⁹³see Hunter, op. cit., 266-7. Kravitz, op. cit., 1-6. Lourie, "Poverty," op. cit., 30-40. Morris and Rein, op. cit., 156-175. Riessman and Rein, op. cit., 10-14.

those who escape the attention of the CAPs.⁹⁴

All of the assistants encouraged voting and registering for the November election. About one-half (55%) knew that those whom they encouraged actually did vote whereas the others (45%) weren't sure but thought that they voted. The assistants were active on Election Day transporting people to the polls and babysitting so that adults could vote. The various centers also had speakers about the nominees and issues before election day. This emphasis on voting is consistent with stress throughout the literature that the poor must gain power which can be accomplished in part by voting for the people and issues which will help them so that they will be represented.⁹⁵

The vast majority (95%) were active in starting groups of various sorts. The most frequent type was the neighborhood and block group though there was some work with children and teenage groups, social interest groups, and purpose oriented groups. All the assistants felt to a greater or lesser degree that group organization was slow since most of the people are still too interested and involved in their own problems and immediate needs to be able to see beyond themselves that perhaps group action is one means of meeting their needs. The importance of group participation is that it is often the means whereby the individuals may increase social and political power; purpose oriented groups may not only solve the problem for which they were organized but may also create interest in community problems; groups may also be a means of political pressure and may initiate social movements.⁹⁶

⁹⁴see Rein and Riessman, op. cit., 10-12. Riessman and Rein, op. cit., 12-14.

⁹⁵see Brager and Specht, op. cit., 199-210. Piven, op. cit., 74. Waterman, op. cit., 61

⁹⁶Ibid.



Over one-half of the assistants (60%) tried to change existing policies and/or practices such as inadequate housing and sanitation. Their methods primarily were letters, petitions, phone calls and personal contacts; every assistant felt that letters and appeals to City Council were not effective. In certain geographical areas there was improved police protection, more adequate sanitation, and better housing, but the areas did not appear to be similar in any way, such as the presence of housing projects or a certain section of the city. The 40% who did not themselves attempt to change policies were trying to get the poor people to produce changes, but the main difficulty seems to be that the poor people are not yet ready to work together. One aim of the indigenous workers is that they will seek to make needed services available where they have not been in the past.⁹⁷ There appears to be little influence with existing agencies and with middle class institutions which supports Brager's study on Mobilization for Youth.⁹⁸ Although there is some attempt at direct change, the assistants appear to be split as to whether they or the poor people themselves should attempt to get changes.

All of the assistants said that they encouraged the poor people to complain and believed that this encouragement was an important part of their work. There seemed to be increased responses now and as a result of the poor people themselves complaining there are some evidences of improvement, particularly with housing and cooperation from landlords. In addition encouraging complaints prevents the possibility of neutralizing discontent or advocating acceptance of the status quo which would

⁹⁷see Kravitz, op. cit., 1-6. Morris and Rein, op. cit., 156-176. Riessman and Rein, op. cit., 10-14.

⁹⁸Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," op. cit., 39-40.

very apt to be the result if cooperation were the main emphasis.⁹⁹

All the assistants said that they frequently provided a service or gave advice rather than refer someone in need of help to an agency. The main criticisms about the agencies and the reasons against referral are that the assistants never hear what the agency does (referral forms were instituted but are rarely, if ever, returned), most agencies provide material services but don't counsel, and many agency workers are unable to establish rapport with the poverty-stricken people. The assistants attempt to establish better rapport, don't refer until the person is able to admit that he needs help, refer only when absolutely necessary, and refer for the more tangible needs rather than for counselling. The assistants did not make the decisions about referral on their own but discussed each situation with their individual counselors so that there was consistent consultation with and advice from someone more experienced. By intention the indigenous workers are to unite the poor people and the resources and should not become competitors of the resource agencies by being suppliers themselves. Here the assistants are supplying a service rather than directing the poor to appropriate resources (and attempting to change existing agency policies and services to make them more adequate for meeting the needs of the poor.)¹⁰⁰

With respect to the poor person's relationship with the middle class, 65% thought that it was much improved since the onset of the poverty program, while 30% believed that it was worse and 5% didn't know, saying that it depended on the individual. Those who thought that the relationship

⁹⁹see Rein and Riessman, op. cit., 10-12. Riessman and Rein, op. cit., 12-14.

¹⁰⁰see Ibid. Kravitz, op. cit., 1-6.

had deteriorated said that the middle class had a punitive attitude, was not interested in them, and there was inadequate communication between the two classes. Those who saw an improved relationship were aware of such things as the poor person calling his worker when needing help, being able to communicate more easily with his worker, having less fear, the worker demonstrating less neglect of her clients, and both sides using the assistants as a "go-between". To a certain extent the assistants are bridging the gap between the classes although not as much as various researchers think is needed.¹⁰¹ This study does not completely support Brager's conclusions from his research on Mobilization for Youth in which he found that the Program did increase participation by reaching many people hitherto not reached but did not increase communication between the classes.¹⁰²

With respect to their own effect on the poor people 65% thought that they were role models, 15% thought not, and other 20% didn't know. The reason for not being a role model was attributed to the majority of the poor equating the CAAs with preexisting agencies who have failed them so often that now there remains a lack of faith in any agency. The 65% who saw themselves as role models cited specific cases of individuals getting off welfare, returning to school, moving out of the target area (which one assistant has been able to do), pressuring landlords for improving housing, and developing better habits of dressing and cleanliness.

¹⁰¹see Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," op. cit., 33. Hunter, op. cit., 266. Riessman, "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Poor" in Poverty in America, op. cit., 404-405. _____, "The 'Helper' Therapy Principles," op. cit., 28-29.

¹⁰²Brager, "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," op. cit., 39-40.

Several researchers believed that the indigenous workers would provide effective role models.¹⁰³ This study tends to support others but a larger sample would be needed to furnish clearer evidence.

One question dealt with the characteristics which the assistants thought the poor people wanted before the poverty program began and which ones had improved; some examples were less racial discrimination, better housing, more and better recreational facilities and police protection, money, and privacy of housing units. All these characteristics were wanted (according to all the assistants) so that the following percentages are for those assistants who emphasized certain areas or added other characteristics; 20% stressed less racial discrimination, 25% - education and improved schools, 90% - more and better paying jobs, 30% - sanitation, and 25% - more knowledge of resources. A few (15%) thought there was improved sanitation, and some (20%) believed that there were more job opportunities now partially due to the training programs and partially due to the whole poverty program which does hire indigenous workers in various capacities. About one-half (55%) stressed housing with 25% seeing improvement in this area with respect to better tenant-landlord relationships, rats, roaches, paint, privacy, and enclosed yards; 45% emphasized recreation, and 50% - police protection with 20% seeing improvement.

The last three characteristics (housing, recreation, police protection) were considered with respect to whether the assistants worked primarily with poor people living in or out of project housing. I thought that there might be less dissatisfaction in the projects as the city had

¹⁰³Brager, Ibid. Harrington, "The Reformer's View of Poverty" in Poverty in America, op. cit., 27-37. Hunter, op. cit., a passim.

a part of the maintenance, there were recreational facilities within the housing projects, and there might be increased pressure for more adequate police protection. Contrary to my expectations there were more project tenants who saw police protection as a problem, and there was no difference as to improvement between those living in and out of the projects. (Tables XII and XIII).

TABLE XII

ADEQUACY OF POLICE PROTECTION ACCORDING TO HOUSING LOCATION			
housing	adequate	inadequate	Totals
in project	3 (15%)	5 (25%)	8
out project	7 (35%)	5 (25%)	12
Totals	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>

TABLE XIII

IMPROVED POLICE PROTECTION ACCORDING TO HOUSING LOCATION			
housing	improved	unimproved	Totals
in project	2	3	5
out project	2	3	5
Totals	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>

There also seems to be no significant difference with respect to recreational facilities. (Table XIV). There is a definite difference with respect to housing (Table XV); one out of eight who worked in the project

TABLE XIV

ADEQUACY OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ACCORDING TO HOUSING LOCATION			
housing	adequate	inadequate	Totals
in project	4 (20%)	4 (20%)	8
out project	7 (35%)	5 (25%)	12
Totals	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>20</u>

TABLE XV

ADEQUACY OF HOUSING ACCORDING TO HOUSING LOCATION			
housing	adequate	inadequate	Totals
in project	7 (35%)	1 (5%)	8
out project	2 (10%)	10 (50%)	12
Totals	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>

considers it a problem area whereas ten out of twelve who do not work mainly in the project consider it a problem. The assistants who do not work in the project and who do see a problem with housing are split regarding any improvement in this area. (Table XVI)

TABLE XVI

IMPROVED HOUSING ACCORDING TO HOUSING LOCATION	improved	unimproved	Totals
housing in project	0	1	1
out project	5	5	10
Totals	5	6	11

Thus it would appear that the project housing does represent an improvement in housing itself but not in environmental factors such as police protection and recreational facilities. (It should be remembered that these are the characteristics which the assistants think that the poor people want and in which there is improvement, but these data may not necessarily reflect the actual desires of the poor. Although I have distinguished between the assistants who worked primarily in and those out of the projects, I did not make this distinction during the interviews so that the assistants may have considered the characteristics of all poor people not only those with whom they actually worked.)

Activity of Assistants with CAA and Other Agencies

Many (80%) said that they attended meetings, the Community Action Commission meetings and those for the staff of the neighborhood centers; the other 20% attended the staff meetings but not those of the Commission. Most (85%) said that they felt free to express an opinion either in a meeting or individually with a superior; of the 85%, 10% felt free to talk up in Commission meetings. Concerning what effect their opinion has on superiors and/or other agencies, 75% felt a definite effect; of

the 75%, 50% were unable to specify how they were aware of a definite affect, 10% thought that the immediate supervisors (the neighborhood counselors) were positively affected but were unable to alter the policies originating from the hierarchy, 5% said that definite changes had been made from what had been discussed, and the others said their opinions "gave them something to think about" or something to "take into consideration". Almost all (95%) felt the freedom to disagree with their superiors with 30% stressing that they took advantage of the opportunity and 10% able to disagree only with immediate supervisor; 5% thought that disagreeing did no good. From these data it would seem that the assistants, on the whole, feel that they are an important part of the poverty program in that they can honestly express their opinions, and that what they say has a little affect on at least their immediate supervisor. They appeared to feel much more rapport with and influence on their individual neighborhood counselors than with the administrative staff.

About three quarters (75%) were satisfied with their relationships with professionals although 20% had not been satisfied in the beginning. The dissatisfaction was based on several things all of which seemed to go back to the attitudes of the workers in the DPW. Some of the criticisms were that many professionals don't know about CAAs, the DPW workers are difficult to get along with (often on account of their young age), and frequently there is a derogatory attitude by professionals. The general feeling was that the DPW workers are not interested in the poor people. (The assistants did not make any differentiation between trained and untrained workers and lumped all the workers together into one category. As is true in most large public agencies, the bulk of the workers in the DPW are not trained.)

Assistants' Evaluation of Self and the Job

All of the assistants felt better of themselves and more of a person by being useful in this program. Some of their comments were that now they could help others, had increased self-confidence and self-respect, were finding out really for the first time what poverty actually is, have more independence and responsibility, have a new educational experience, have a knowledge of what is trying to be accomplished through the program and a beginning realization of how much can be accomplished, are becoming stronger citizens, and are able to understand themselves more in regard to their work and relationships with others. The reactions of the assistants in regard to their participation in the program is consistent with the literature (on the use of indigenous workers) in which there is discussion of marked personality development with personal problems decreasing, the new roles enabling them to provide help to others, enhanced self-image, psychological support, and a source of satisfaction.¹⁰⁴

With respect to their being satisfied with their job and work, 90% evinced positive attitudes. The 10% who were dissatisfied placed the problem in two areas; one, there were insufficient resources to offer the poor and two, they had originally been promised an opportunity to increase their education, but this promise was never kept. The satisfaction was not all positive as they also wanted more resources, more available jobs, more time and skill, the ability to do more for the poor, and fulfillment of the promise made to them for increased education. But the negative aspects were far outweighed by the positive in that now they were helping themselves as well as others, learning about the city government, and

¹⁰⁴see Brager, Ibid., 33. Hunter, Ibid., 266. Riessman, "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Poor" in Poverty in America, op. cit., 404-405. _____, "The 'Helper' Therapy Principle," op. cit., 28-29.

and increasing feelings of self-respect and self-worth.

Of the 10% who were dissatisfied with their job and work 5% (one assistant) had been employed for over a year while the other 5% - less than six months; thus there doesn't appear to be a relationship between satisfaction with their job and length of employment. The reasons for dissatisfaction were mentioned as unpleasant characteristics of the job by those who were essentially satisfied so that I am inclined to believe that the dissatisfaction was due to these assistants' negative outlook rather than the job itself. It should be noted that although 10% were dissatisfied, all of the assistants had positive attitudes regarding their increased self-worth and usefulness in this program so that evidently the dissatisfaction was not sufficient to detract from more positive benefits of the program (with respect to their own self-evaluation).

Assistants' Impressions of the Program

In discussing the assistants' general impressions of the program and changes which they would like to see incorporated into the program, I will list their comments according to the length of time the assistants have been in this job so that there will be two main groups, one of those who have been employed for less than six months and the other of those employed for more than twelve months. One separate category is those impressions which the two groups share.

Impressions shared by all the assistants:

terrific, splendid, apathy replaced by hope
"one of the greatest things that has happened to the poor people"
insufficient involvement of the poor
insufficient direct work with children and adolescents
inadequate quantity of resources and job opportunities
Federal poverty income scale excessively high
need for more immediate and direct benefits.

Impressions of assistants employed less than six months:

has something for everyone of all ages and conditions
hope that it lasts long enough to eradicate poverty
people are beginning to accept the free services
something is being done
someone to complain to and who will listen
learn by experience
excellent library service
better communication with the poor, concern with the individual
concrete help with household management
beginning to change and raise values
inadequate knowledge of resources
too small a Work Experience Program
need for weekly meetings of all assistants to trade information
need for another large poverty convention within six months
much uncertainty about continuance of poverty program
inadequate quantity and quality of publicity about CAA
inadequate training program for Assistants
eradicate weekly reports since they don't reflect accuracy
eradicate referral forms since they aren't returned
close neighborhood centers when the agency resources are closed;
either close centers at night or keep resource agencies open
in evenings
ineffective work with groups as the poor are too involved with
personal problems.

Impressions of assistants employed more than twelve months:

program was a long time coming
program has helped eradicate old feeling that money was essential
to get anywhere
beginning courage from the poor to demand their own rights
slightly better chance now to find jobs
improvement with onset of Emergency Program
Emergency Plan should have baby food and formulas
need for more time before evaluating results
need for more job opportunities for women in MDTA and Youth Oppor-
tunity
impression that society doesn't care about the poor but belief that
jobs actually do exist
need for legal aid
need more and better ways of working with the aged
procedures too detailed in obtaining access to resources
have center be more than a recreational place; provide more facili-
ties; have a first aid room
have Family Day Care available while mother looks for employment
change derogatory attitude of some of the other agencies, such as
Homemakers
eradicate nonfunctional CAPs, such as Volunteer Services
need for more money in order to expand program's services
still need to reach the people for whom the program is actually
aimed

need to work on increasing the number of intact marriages in the poverty area; the few men present in the area feel hopeless program too long and involved; fear that it will resemble DPW with paper work taking precedence over the people's problems limitation in that it is a political program (ex.: unable to advocate a certain candidate for political office) the present City Council is unsympathetic to the poor; either have program completely controlled by the Federal government or get City Council members who are more sympathetic to the poor grant more authority to the CAA have area supervisors and administrative staff visit the centers and the poor frequently have more indigenous workers in total and in each center lower the requirements for promotion of the assistants need for more screening of assistants eliminate many of the meetings since much of the materials is redundant scale the assistants' pay according to their work; increase salaries do not make promises that will not be kept; "raw deal" not to have had the educational opportunity at the Baltimore Junior College as promised improve relationships between the professionals and nonprofessionals in the CAA, increase cooperation. Assistants originally told that they would be semiprofessionals; later told that they were not that important. How can the professionals say that they want to help the poor when they are derogatory about the assistants who supposedly represent the poor? element of deceit initiate new policy; any children born after a woman goes on welfare would not add income to the family through DPW; grant would remain the same.

In all the groups there are many more negative comments than positive, but in comparing the assistants by length of employment some interesting points emerge. The new assistants did not make as many comments in total, 21 as compared with 32. Almost one-half of the new assistants' comments tended to be complimentary, 10 out of 21, as compared with those of the older assistants in which it was about 5 out of 32. The longer-employed assistants were more specific in their criticisms and were quite negative about CAA and their relationships with the administrative staff and superiors; whereas the newer assistants seemed more accepting of their status and in a sense still awed by the hope and promise seen in the program rather than the unfulfillment of their idealistic wishes and being critical of the program's shortcomings.

The assistants seem to feel that the problem in obtaining employment and reaching community resources is not solely in a lack of job opportunities and insufficient resources but perhaps more in society's general attitude regarding the lower class and Negroes with respect to wider communication and increased availability of the already existing resources and vacant positions. This feeling is somewhat evident in their comments of inadequate knowledge of resources and an impression that society does not care about the poor but a belief that jobs actually do exist.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was concerned with the objectives of the EOA and the CAPs, and the implementation of the EOA through one CAP -- the Neighborhood Development Program as perceived by the Neighborhood Development Assistants. In summarizing I shall present the conclusions drawn from the data and analysis and then shall relate the findings to the aims of the EOA with respect to consistency and inconsistency. The evaluation of the implementation of the EOA and CAP will use as criteria the operational definitions as set forth in Chapter I.

The main conclusions are:

- 1) The assistants do not appear to be very representative of the peer as evidenced by their previous income, marital status, size of family, and education. There is some conflict regarding geographical mobility in that Meynihan¹⁰⁵ found much mobility characteristic of the peer whereas a survey in Baltimore of action area residents found little mobility.¹⁰⁶ (Of course it may be that Baltimore is atypical in this respect.) This conclusion pertains primarily to the assistants II and up but not to assistants I who are almost one-third of the total number of assistants. The qualifications for assistants I are very general and vague and can be interpreted broadly, therefore the degree to which these assistants are representative of the peer would depend upon the persons responsible for accepting applicants for this position. I am inclined to

¹⁰⁵Meynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," op. cit., 750-760.

¹⁰⁶Survey of Action Area Residents, op. cit., 55.

- think that individuals who have a knowledge of the community resources and the poverty conditions will have a wider knowledge and understanding than would be typical of the average poverty-stricken individual.
- 2) The assistants want (and feel that they need) more knowledge of community resources.
 - 3) The assistants feel a freedom to express their own opinions but are dubious as to how much their opinion is worth with respect to its having an affect on superiors to the point of its resulting in some change. Their opinions may not be practicable or realistic but if this be so, then perhaps there should be more communication and discussion between the supervisors and assistants as to why something is not feasible.
 - 4) The assistants are receiving increased satisfaction with their relationships with social workers, particularly with those in the Department of Public Welfare with whom they have had the greatest contact.
 - 5) The assistants are personally satisfied with their jobs in that they have found self-fulfillment for the first time.
 - 6) All of the assistants who had been so employed for more than one year want improved relationships with the CAA administrative staff and supervisors with regard to cooperation and the place and value of their own role.
 - 7) Both the assistants and the peer wish better rapport between the agencies and themselves.
 - 8) Housing is a large problem for those who do not live in the housing projects.
 - 9) The peer require their immediate, physical needs met before they are able and ready to organize into groups, gain political and social power, return to school, and enter training programs.
 - 10) The peer's biggest need, demand, and plea is for more and better paying job opportunities. This finding relates to number nine in that with increased employment and income, physical needs can be met so that efforts can be more fruitfully concentrated into the other areas.
 - 11) The peer see no difference in the quality of police protection and recreational facilities with regard to residence in or out of the housing projects.

It is difficult to evaluate the amount of increased communication between the peer and middle class and the assistants' position as role models since the assistants were fairly closely divided between negative and positive opinions. There did seem to be a very slight tendency toward increased communication and role as a model but more evidence would be necessary before reaching more specific conclusions.

In light of the vast literature on the poverty program and its purposes I found five areas in which the assistants' work was in line with the EOA and four in which it was not. The ones which were consistent with the aims of the EOA are: (1) their intense efforts in job referrals, (2) their frequent referrals to community resources, (3) their initiating and encouraging groups, (4) their encouraging voting due to their strong belief for the need of increased political power, and (5) their encouraging complaints from the poor in order to increase discontent with the status quo. The areas which were inconsistent with the EOA aims are: (1) their little success and evidently increasingly fewer efforts toward getting the poor into schools and training programs, (2) circumvention of red tape in referrals to agencies, (3) competition with other agencies by supplying services themselves (such as counseling), and (4) insufficient and inadequate work with the middle class agencies and institutions in order to change policies and services which do not meet the interests and needs of the poor.

The stated purpose of the EOA is "to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in (order to further the policy of eliminating poverty in the US) by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."¹⁰⁷ Using the operational definitions (in Chapter I) as standards, the EOA does not seem to be adequately implemented through this program. This conclusion is reached on the basis of the assistants' little work and success in enabling the poor to return to schools and enter training programs and of the little improvement in characteristics

¹⁰⁷The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, op. cit., Section 2.

which the poor person wanted before the program. As far as employment is concerned, the assistants seem to be making strong endeavors but are handicapped by the economic structure of insufficient jobs particularly for the unskilled and/or inadequate knowledge of available jobs.

The stated purposes of a CAP are that it: (1) mobilizes and utilizes resources of a specifically defined geographical area, (2) provides activities aimed toward eliminating poverty or (a) cause(s) of poverty by "developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work", (3) "is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served",¹⁰⁸ and (4) fulfills the requirements as to administrative technicalities as set by the EOA. There is some, though very little, evidence that these purposes are being fulfilled. There are: complaints about, though no development of, employment opportunities; little evidences of improved human performance and productivity; some definite beginning efforts toward motivational improvement; and little improvement in conditions for living, learning, and working. As the assistants do not appear to be very representative of the poor, I am inclined to question the maximum feasible participation of residents. The term 'maximum feasible participation' is extremely vague and open to broad interpretation although I do wonder about the policymakers' assumption that persons with little knowledge can not somehow be constructively used in this program. The program does appear to use resources of a specifically defined geographical area (the Action Area), and since the program continues to operate, I assume that it meets

¹⁰⁸Ibid., Title II, Part A, Section 202.

administrative technicalities.

The stated purpose of the Neighborhood Development Program is to provide a certain area with the means "for expediting the use of existing, expanded and new community services and resources. It will use techniques to reach out to persons unlikely on their own initiative to avail themselves of opportunities for self-improvement, and will attempt to exert influence on existing government departments and voluntary agencies to modify unsatisfactory methods of giving service."¹⁰⁹ The assistants do not seem to be making full use of the community services and resources primarily due to their own limited knowledge of available resources. About one-half of the peer whom the assistants encounter in their work have not used agency resources in the past, and the vast majority who have used such resources have primarily used the Department of Public Welfare. Thus it seems that the assistants are mainly reaching the peer who have not previously used agency resources, excluding financial assistance from the city DPW. There seems to be little real effort in exerting influence on government departments and voluntary agencies. Thus it appears that the assistants fall short of the aims of their own program (aside from those of the federal BOA and CAPs).

Recommendations

Due to the nature of this study the conclusions are relatively general and nonspecific, but this factor does not in any way diminish the value or original purpose of this project. As stated in Chapter I, I hoped that the results would be used by professional staffs in order

¹⁰⁹A Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People, op. cit., 41.

to clarify their own thoughts of the assistants' work so as to enable it to be more productive, to point out areas in which new programs could be fruitfully used, and to point out other areas for research. The specific findings as presented and discussed in Chapter V, Analysis of Data, seem to me to be more important with respect to their practical utilization than the general conclusions, and thus I would hope that the conclusions would never be read alone.

There are seven main recommendations:

- 1) There should be increased opportunities for employment with a salary that is sufficient for a minimum standard of living.
- 2) There should be a system of financial subsidy for all persons (regardless of sex) who return to school or enter a training program so as to provide a means of livelihood for all families with the hope of increasing the number of men who would then be able to increase their education or gain a particular skill.
- 3) There should be at least one (perhaps very small) level of assistants who are more representative of the poor in terms of personal characteristics, and the degree of knowledge, understanding and insight into their situation.
- 4) There needs to be more direct and aggressive action by the assistants on the agencies on behalf of the poor people. The primary focal points seem to be housing, sanitation, police protection, and schools. The assistants' activity in this area would not wipe out the need for the poor to complain and work for improvements but would supplement the poors' efforts which are still at a very beginning level.
- 5) There should be an intensive training program for assistants which would include specific information about the many available resources within the city and which would be followed by periodic meetings in which all changes relevant to the assistants' work would be presented and discussed.
- 6) There should be increased communication and cooperation between the assistants and other staff members with an emphasis on the assistants' role. (I am not necessarily advocating a change in their function and role but rather a common understanding between the assistants and staff as to the place and value of their job.)
- 7) There needs to be more research though on a much larger scale (in terms of sample size) and from the perspectives of persons in different positions (such as the professional staff in the CAA, the professional staff in other community agencies, the general public, and very poor, etc.).

In addition, this study was concerned with the implementation of the EOA, but is the EOA the answer to the elimination of poverty? Some research might profitably ask if the EOA should even exist; is it in the process of eliminating poverty to the extent that it is worth the time, energy and money that are presently invested in the program?

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Observe sex and race.

How did you become a Neighborhood Development Assistant?

How long have you been in this program as an assistant?

How did you hear about this program? (for example: by newspaper? radio? TV? speech - by whom? from someone personally - whom? in any other way?).

What made you decide to apply?

Had you any previous experience? What kind? Anything similar to your present type of work?

How long have you lived in this neighborhood? in Baltimore?

Have you through your work directly referred anyone to a school? If so, how many? to a job? How many? and to a training program? How many?

Has anyone after talking with you (as an assistant) then applied to a school - as far as you know? If so, how many?
Has anyone then applied to a job? If so, how many?
And for a training program? If so, about how many?

Has anyone after talking with you found another job which he later indicated meant more to him than just financial income? If so, how many? How did the job mean more?

Have you encouraged anyone to join an organization or group for any reason? If so, how many? For what reason?

Have you referred anyone to community resources, such as community centers, agency services, health programs, day care, homemaker services, and/or birth control programs? If so, about how many?

How many of the people in the target area with whom you have talked (as an assistant) have not previously used agency resources for any reason?

In referring someone to any kind of an agency, are you able to send them to a special person other than someone whom he would ordinarily see if he went on his own?

Did you encourage anyone to vote in this last election who had not done so previously? Did any of those whom you encouraged actually vote, as far as you knew? If so, about how many?

Do you attend any meetings in which decisions are made about the program, such as what services will be offered?

Do you have any say in the meetings or elsewhere about how you want a decision made?

Do you think that what you say has any affect on or influence with your superiors and/or other community agencies? What makes you think so?

Do you feel that you have an opportunity disagree with your supervisors?

Do you feel better of yourself and more of a person by being useful in this program? In what ways?

Are you satisfied with the job and the work you are doing? In what ways?

Are you satisfied with your relationships with professional social workers either in this program or in other programs or agencies?

In this job have you tried to change policies or rules of government departments or any agency through letters, talking with them, phone calls, protest marches or in any other way in order to improve some service or living condition which the people in the target area consider unsatisfactory? If so, in what way? After such an attempt, has the policy been changed? Was there any indication that the policy or rule would be changed? What indication?

In your job have you encouraged anyone to complain and say what they think and believe when there are conditions with which they are dissatisfied? How often?

Do you think that other people in the target area have or are trying to follow you and/or any aspect of your life (such as finishing high school)? What makes you think so?

Do you find yourself providing some service or giving advice (counsel) when you might refer the person to an agency?

From your talking with people in the target area, do you think they find it easier to talk to and be understood by people with more money and education than themselves than they did before the program started? If so, what makes you think so?

Would you please name the characteristics that you believe a person in the target area wanted for himself before the onset of this Community Action Program. Examples are: less racial discrimination; better housing; more and better recreational facilities; more and better police protection; money; having one's home for his own family (and not having to share with other families).
Name the characteristics that that person would want now.

How old are you?

Are you married?

Do you have any children? How many?

What was your income before applying for this position? If married or receiving other income, your total family income?

In your own words, what are your general impressions of the program? Is there anything that you would like to see changed and why?

APPENDIX B

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANTS AND COUNSELORS:
CHARACTERISTICS
EXAMPLES OF DUTIES
MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS

Salary range \$3,423 - \$4,309

94307

CLASS TITLE: NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under supervision, represents the Community Action Agency among residents in an economically and socially deprived neighborhood area; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Receives on-the-job and classroom training; works in a deprived neighborhood, making personal contacts with residents for the purpose of providing them with the services of the agency and the community services that are available; reports residents' problems to supervisors; as directed, makes follow-up visits to residents in need of services; refers residents in simple cases to community service agencies that can meet the needs of individuals and families; refers difficult problems to supervisors; assists in the organization of block clubs or groups intended to foster a sense of community responsibility among residents and to encourage their participation in the antipoverty efforts of the agency.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Knowledge and Skills: General knowledge of the function of community service agencies; knowledge and understanding of the conditions of poverty; ability to maintain effective relationships with the public and with other staff members.

This position is filled exclusively by "moving up" trainees after sixty days.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION OF BALTIMORE

Salary range \$4,115 - \$5,209

94309

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under supervision, represents the Community Action Agency in an economically and socially deprived neighborhood area; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Receives on-the-job and classroom training; works in a deprived neighborhood, making personal contacts with residents for the purpose of providing them with the services of the agency and the community services that are available; reports residents' problems to supervisors; under instructions, makes follow-up visits to residents in need of services; in routine cases, refers residents to community service agencies that can meet the needs of individuals and families; refers difficult problems to supervisors; assists in the organization of block clubs or groups intended to foster a sense of community responsibility among residents and to encourage their participation in the antipoverty efforts of the agency.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Successful completion of the tenth grade and three years of paid work experience; provided that additional training in a high school or college of recognized standing may be substituted on a year for year basis for the experience requirement.

Knowledge and Skills: General knowledge of the function of community service agencies; knowledge and understanding of the conditions of poverty; ability to maintain effective relationships with the public and with other staff members.

Salary range \$5,088 - \$6,468

94313

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under general supervision, represents the Community Action Agency among residents in an economically and socially deprived neighborhood area; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Works in a Deprived neighborhood, making personal contacts with residents for the purpose of providing them with the services of the agency and the community services that are available; reports residents' problems to supervisors; follows up on problems and keeps in touch by visiting and making inquiries; refers residents to other agencies for services offered by those agencies; investigated problems of a more difficult or responsible nature than those assigned to lower level assistants; consults with supervisors on difficult problems; assists in the organization of block clubs or groups intended to foster a sense of community responsibility among residents and to encourage their participation in the antipoverty efforts of the agency; reports to supervisors on problems affecting the neighborhood; may supervise lower level assistants.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Successful completion of two years of training in a university or college of recognized standing or graduation from a junior college of recognized standing.

Knowledge and Skills: Knowledge of individual and group behavior and of the methods and techniques for developing and maintaining effective individual and group relationships; knowledge of the function and organization of community service agencies; knowledge and understanding of the conditions of poverty.

Salary range \$5,880 - \$7,452

94315

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under general supervision, in an assigned area or neighborhood, assists in supervising, coordinating, and participating in rendering the services of the Community Action Agency; and does related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Assists in supervising neighborhood development program activities in an assigned neighborhood; assists in supervising subordinate neighborhood development assistants; seeks to motivate persons in need to seek and accept help from various community service agencies; makes contacts with agencies on behalf of persons needing services and assists in coordinating the efforts of various agencies serving an individual or family; follows up on all referrals, insuring that help has been provided; reports neighborhood needs and problems to superior; consults with advisory and neighborhood groups on program improvement and effectiveness and reports to superior on consultations; maintains records on all contacts and referrals; acts for superior in his absence.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Graduation from a university or college of recognized standing; provided that paid-work experience in a community action, public welfare, health, or urban renewal program may be substituted on a year for year basis for two years of the training requirements.

Knowledge and Skills: Knowledge of individual and group behavior and of the methods and techniques for developing and maintaining effective individual and group relationships; some knowledge of the function and organization of community service agencies; some knowledge and understanding of the conditions of poverty; supervisory ability.

Salary range \$8,220 - \$10,560

94319

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT COUNSELOR

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLASS: Under general supervision, in an assigned area or neighborhood, supervises, coordinates, and participates in related work as required.

EXAMPLES OF DUTIES: Supervises neighborhood development program activities in an assigned neighborhood; supervises neighborhood development assistants; seeks to motivate persons in need to seek and accept help from various community service agencies; makes contacts with agencies on behalf of persons needing services and assists in coordinating the efforts of various agencies serving an individual or family; reports neighborhood needs and problems to supervisor; consults with advisory and neighborhood groups on program improvement and effectiveness; maintains records on all contacts and referrals.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:

Training and Experience: Graduation from a university or college of recognized standing, and five years of experience in an agency providing the public with health, welfare, or employment services; provided that graduate study in social work may be substituted on a year for year basis for two years of the experience requirement. (A Master's degree in social work will be considered the equivalent of two years of graduate study.)

Knowledge and Skills: Thorough knowledge of individual and group behavior and of the methods and techniques for developing and maintaining effective individual and group relationships; good knowledge of the function and organization of community service agencies; knowledge and understanding of the conditions of poverty; ability and willingness to work long hours, including evenings and week-ends; supervisory ability.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Dunne, George (editor), Poverty in Plenty. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1964.
- Freund, Jehn. Modern Elementary Statistics. 2nd edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1961.
- Harrington, Michael. The Other America: Poverty in the US. New York: MacMillan Company, 1962.
- _____. "The Reformer's View of Poverty" in Poverty in America. Margaret Gordon, editor. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 27-37.
- Humphrey, Hubert H. War on Poverty. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964.
- Hunter, David B. The Slums: Challenge and Response. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.
- Ryan, Herbert H. Interviewing in Social Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Jahoda, Marie et al. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Dryden Press, 1951.
- Kershaw, Joseph A. "The Attack on Poverty" in Poverty in America. Margaret Gordon, editor. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 54-61.
- Leshbough, Bernard. "Social Action Programs in Urban Renewal" in Poverty in America. Margaret Gordon, editor. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 335-348.
- Lourie, Norman. "Poverty" in Social Work and Social Problems. Nathan Cohen, editor. New York: National Association of Social Work, 1964, 1-40.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. "Three Problems in Combatting Poverty" in Poverty in America. Margaret Gordon, editor. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 41-53.
- Polensky, Norman A. (editor). Social Work Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

- Riessman, Frank. "Antipoverty Programs and the Role of the Peer" in Poverty in America. Margaret Gordon, editor. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, 403-428.
- Wallis, W. Allen and Roberts, Harry V. Statistics: A New Approach. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956.
- Will, Robert W. and Watter, Harold G. (editors). Poverty in Affluence. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.

PERIODICALS

- Abrams, Charles. "The Housing Problem and the Negro," Daedalus, XCV, 1 (Winter, 1966), 64-76.
- Alinsky, Saul. "Behind the Mask," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 7-9.
- Brager, George. "Organizing the Unaffiliated in a Low Income Area," Social Work, VIII, 2 (April, 1963), 34-40.
- _____. "The Indigenous Worker: New Approach to the Social Work Technician," Social Work, X, 2 (April, 1965), 33-40.
- Brager, George and Specht, Harry. "Mobilizing the Peer for Social Action," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 197-210.
- Burke, Edmund. "The Road to Planning: An Organizational Analysis," Social Service Reviews, XXXIX, (September, 1965), 15-21.
- Cleward, Richard A. "The War on Poverty: Are the Peer Left Out?" The Nation, CCI, 3 (August 2, 1965), 55-60.
- Cohen, Henry. "Community Action: Instrument of Change," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 20-23.
- Cohen, Nathan E. "Future Welfare Policy, Program, and Structure," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 3-19.
- Drake, St. Clair. "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," Daedalus, XLIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 771-814.
- Fein, Rashi. "An Economic and Social Profile of the Negro American," Daedalus, XLIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 815-846.
- Gans, Herbert. "Redefining the Settlement's Function for the War on Poverty," Social Work, IX, 4 (October, 1964), 3-12.
- Glaser, Nathan. "The Grand Design of the Poverty Program," New York Times Magazine. February 27, 1966, 21ff.

- Grier, Eunice and George. "Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation in the Great Society," Daedalus, XCV, 1 (Winter, 1966), 77-106.
- Grosser, Charles. "Community Development Programs Serving the Urban Poor," Social Work, X, 3 (July, 1965), 15-21.
- _____. "Local Residents as Mediators between Middle Class Professional Workers and Lower Class Clients," Social Service Review, XL, 1 (January, 1966), 56-63.
- Harrington, Michael. "The Politics of Poverty," Dissent, XII (October, 1965), 412-430.
- Harseg, Elizabeth. "Some Assumptions about the Poor," Social Service Review, XXXVII (December, 1963), 389-402.
- Humphrey, Hubert H. "Social Change through the Legislative and Administrative Process," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 18-21.
- Kravitz, Sanford. "Community Action Programs: Past, Present, Future," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 1-6.
- Laurie, Norman V. "Automation - Implications for Policy and Practice in Social Welfare," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 173-182.
- _____. "Community Public Welfare Services," Public Welfare, XXIV (January, 1966), 65-72, 90.
- MacDonald, Dwight. "Our Invisible Poor," New Yorker (New York), January 19, 1963, 82-132.
- MacRae, Robert. "Overall Community Planning: How and By Whom?" Social Service Review, XXXIX (September, 1965), 255-260.
- May, Edgar. "The Disjointed Trio: Poverty, Politics, and Power," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, 44-61.
- Mencher, Samuel. "Perspectives on Recent Welfare Legislation, Fore and Aft," Social Work, VIII, 3 (July, 1963), 59-65.
- Morris, Robert and Rein, Martin. "Emerging Patterns in Community Planning," Social Work Practice. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, 156-176.
- Moyrhan, Daniel Patrick. "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 745-770.
- Ohlin, Lloyd E. and Rein, Martin. "Social Planning for Institutional Change," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 85-99.

Orshansky, Mollie. "Measuring Poverty," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 55-66.

Piven, Frances. "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," Social Work, XI, 1 (January, 1966), 73-80.

Pumphrey, Ralph E. "Past Campaigns in the War on Poverty," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 158-172.

Rainwater, Lee. "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," Daedalus, XCV, 1 (Winter, 1966), 172-216.

Ransohoff, Daniel J. "Practical Ways to Develop and Implement Public Issues and Programs," Family Service Highlights, XIVII, 2 (February, 1966), 45-57.

Rein, Martin and Riessman, Frank. "A Strategy for Antipoverty Community Action Programs," Social Work, XI, 2 (April, 1966), 3-12.

Ridgeway, James. "Atlanta Fights Poverty," New Republic, CLII, 22 (May 29, 1965), 12-14.

_____. "Peer Chicago: Down and Out with Mayor Daley," New Republic, CLII, 20 (May 15, 1965), 17-20.

Riessman, Frank. "The 'Helper' Therapy Principle," Social Work, X, 2 (April, 1965), 27-32.

_____. "The Strengths of the Poor," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 183-191.

Riessman, Frank and Rein, Martin. "The Third Force: An Anti-poverty Ideology," American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 10-14.

Rosen, Alex. "A Social Work Practitioner to Meet New Challenges," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 224-237.

Scherr, Alvin. "Policy Issues in Fighting Poverty," Children, XI (1964), 127-131.

Schottland, Charles. "Federal Planning for Health and Welfare," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963, 97-120.

Sherrard, Thomas D. "Planned Community Change," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, 100-118.

Shostak, Arthur. "Containment, Co-optation, or Co-determination?" American Child, XLVII, 4 (November, 1965), 15-19.

_____. "Promoting Participation of the Poor: Philadelphia's Anti-poverty Program," Social Work, XI, 1 (January, 1966), 64-72.

Shriver, Sargent. "Poverty in the US - What Next?" Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 55-66.

Slavin, Simon. "Community Action and Institutional Change," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 117-161.

Tobin, James. "On Improving the Economic Status of the Negro," Daedalus, XCIV, 4 (Fall, 1965), 878-898.

Waterman, Kenneth. "Local Issues in the Urban War on Poverty," Social Work, XI, 1 (January, 1966), 57-63.

"When the Poor are Powerless (Los Angeles)," New Republic, CLIII, 10 (September 4, 1965), 7.

Wickenden, Elizabeth. "Social Change through Federal Legislation," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 22-34.

Young, Whitney. "Civil Rights and an Militant Profession," Social Welfare Forum. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965, 42-54.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Civil Service Commission of Baltimore. Position announcement 94309. February 10, 1966.

_____. Position announcement 94313. February 16, 1967.

_____. Position announcement 94315. November 10, 1966.

_____. Position announcement 94319, January 12, 1967.

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended through December 1, 1965.

Letter to Ourselves. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, Inc., January, 1962.

Plan for Action on the Problems of Baltimore's Disadvantaged People. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, Inc., November, 1964.

Survey of Action Area Residents. Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area, Inc., January, 1965.

Welfare and Recreation Service, Social Work Group. Position announcement 94307. October 14, 1965.

OTHER

Baltimore Community Action Agency. Personal and written communication with Lenwood Ivey, Chief of Neighborhood Operation in East Baltimore, March 2, 1967.

_____. Personal interview with Stanley Mazer, Associate Director of the Baltimore Community Action Agency. November 23, 1966.

Richmond Community Action Program. Personal interview with Weston A. Hare, Director of Richmond Community Action Programs. November 7, 1966.