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A Study of Selected Antipoverty Interventions Among the United States Poor

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A STUDY OF SELECTED ANTIPOVERTY
INTERVENTIONS AMONG
THE UNITED STATES POOR

Carol A. Garvin, B.A.

A Digest Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Lindenwood Colleges in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

This thesis has several components. Its review of antipoverty literature leads-in to a theoretical perspective of the causes, effects, and remediation of poverty in the United States. A small minority of powerful individuals and corporations who monopolize decision-making apparatuses consistently make decisions which nurture unjust, inequitable allocations of the nation's resources. As they protect their vested interests, the socio-economic and political systems which perpetuate the gross economic imbalance between rich and poor are nurtured. The poor (and increasingly, the middle class) are left virtually powerless, even over the decisions which affect their own lives.

In order to explore various approaches to poverty, a survey of 65 agencies was conducted. It studies the goals, scope, modus operandi, staffing, funding, eligibility requirements, and other features of primarily nonprofit organizations. These agencies play a vital role in the reduction of poverty. They provide material aid, crisis intervention, advocacy, and supportive relationships to the poor. Their services are a partial solution to the problem of poverty, but the sheer volume of clients acts as a deterrent to their effectiveness. They cannot continue the struggle against poverty alone.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This project studies selected aspects of community development and the reduction of poverty among the poor in the United States of America. After a review of the literature and a largely theoretical orientation to the problem of poverty, practicable alternatives to certain aspects of poverty will be explored.

In the course of my study, I hope to become familiar with the United States welfare system: its parameters, limitations, regulations. In addition, I hope to become familiar with a sample of existing agencies whose primary purpose is intervention on behalf of the victims of poverty. To achieve these goals, I will review the literature in the fields of community development, poverty theory, and social justice. Concomitantly, a telephone interview schedule will serve as the primary methodological tool in an exploratory survey of the goals, services, clientele, modus operandi, funding sources and other features of a predetermined sample of social service/social welfare agencies.

Both the exploratory survey and the review of the literature will focus especially on those agencies and programs which seem to encourage voluntary participation and facilitate indigenous leadership among the poor in a variety of settings. The basis of this self-help orientation is the assumption that successful change must be clearly supported, if not initiated, by those who are directly affected by the causes and conditions of poverty.

A simultaneous focus will be on agencies whose work is a tangible expression of the "human richness of the poor" (Maryknoll, 1980, p. 3); that is, of the innate value and dignity of each individual, even the poorest of the poor. I suggest that any community development/anti-poverty program whose primary goal is to satisfy basic human needs for food, dignified work,

clothing and adequate shelter can best be realized in an atmosphere of concern for total human development. The process of combatting poverty by nurturing the experience of personal control, dignity, and self-respect enables and empowers the poor to work together for lasting solutions to poverty.

My personal convictions about the innate value of each individual and about the unjust and inequitable distribution of material and human resources in the United States (not to mention the entire world), combined with the conviction that justice is possible, have influenced the selection of my research topic. To date, my role in the struggle for justice and human development has been frustrated by my ignorance of alternatives to injustice and poverty. I have been among the ranks of those who want to do something without knowing what to do. This in mind, I am confident that my research will, at the very least, open my eyes to a variety of alternatives to poverty. As such, my efforts and time will have been well-spent.

As Studs Terkel (Prescott, 1980, p. 120) so aptly expressed,

My goal is to survive with a semblance of grace, curiosity and a sense I've done something pretty good. I can't survive the day unless everyone else survives it too. I live in a community, and if the community isn't in good shape, neither am I.

The vast scope of poverty necessitates certain limitations in this study.

Therefore,

1. it will deal with the effects of poverty on the millions of poor in the United States only;
2. it will not analyze the social order which determines resource allocation and utilization in the U.S. (i.e. laws, economy, politics);
3. it will not examine such administrative functions as hiring, firing, acquiring funds, budgeting;
4. it will compile ideas and possible alternatives only, and is not intended to present an answer or solution to the problem of poverty.

The elimination of poverty is contingent upon such factors as the needs

and capabilities of the poor, demography, and the availability of resources. Appropriate solutions, then, must be tailored to unique combinations of these factors. Hopefully, the ideas in this study will provide some incentive to take action against poverty of any kind under any circumstances.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study surveys four interrelated areas. Its foundation is built upon a combination of poverty-related statistics, community organization literature, social justice literature, and numerous publications of social welfare practitioners. The underlying theme in all of these sources is that poverty is a monumental problem in our society.

Sociologists, political scientists, economists, politicians, and lay persons alike share what Frederickson calls an "assessment of urban malaise" (1973, p. 264). Their assessment typifies a broader societal malaise, vis-a-vis the causes and conditions of poverty. It is an admonition, warning of the existing and pending hazards of poverty. Yet, the problem of poverty is not readily soluble. No single person, theory, or practice is capable of providing a definitive remedy.

Of all the literature I reviewed, only one author, an economics professor, suggested that "the war on poverty is almost won" (Boskin, 1981, p. 15). In an editorial about the misuse of statistics, Michael Boskin complains that in-kind transfer payments such as food stamps, medical care, and subsidized housing, accounting for a substantial portion of income assistance for many poor, are ignored in the calculation of poverty indices. The poverty index includes only money income. Boskin concludes with the "startling discovery" that only about 3% of America's population (approximately 7 million persons) lives below poverty level, and that government programs have virtually eliminated poverty.

Although I have no argument with Boskin's right to argue as he does, I must take issue with the logic and the apparent basis of his argumentation. From the perspective further explained in Chapter 4 and adopted throughout this study, one person's subsistence below poverty level reflects inequitable

political, economic, and social "freedom and justice for all." As such, any degree of poverty, whether 30%, 3%, or .003%, constitutes due cause for concern.

Even assuming the accuracy of Boskin's 3% statistic, a figure confirmed by other writers, the inequitable distribution of resources still plagues the United States. I suggest that poverty is relative. The standard of living, for many "near poor", may be just an iota above the standard for those labeled poor on the basis of the poverty index, an index often considered arbitrary. The living standards of many other Americans, on the other hand, portray relative opulence and extremes of wealth. The question, then, seems not to be how many people live at or below a calculated standard labeled "poverty level", but why the great gap between standards of living among diverse segments of the population exists at all.

Boskin's attribution of poverty reduction to the federal government weaves a common thread throughout the literature. Alpern (1981, p. 24) refers to "two decades of remarkable progress" when speaking of government assistance programs. The federal government continues to play a vital role in the War on Poverty, maintaining what is known as the "safety net" of social welfare.

Evidence of progress abounds. In 1960, 22.2% of the population lived below poverty level. That figure was dramatically reduced to 11.6% by 1979. In 1967, a group of doctors surveyed poverty-stricken areas, finding evidence of serious malnutrition, high rates of nutrition-related infant death and overall infant mortality. A decade later, each malady had noticeably declined. The progress was attributed to federal assistance programs (Bread for the World, February 1981). Federal assistance has lifted at least 15 million people above poverty level (Alpern, 1981, p. 24).

The Social Security Act of 1935 and its amendments established programs to protect against the cost of medical care in old age and/or disability and

against wage loss due to retirement, death, disability or unemployment. The Old-Age, Survivors and Disability Program assigns monthly cash benefits to retired or disabled insured workers, their dependents, and qualified survivors. About 9 out of 10 (approximately 114 million) workers were insured in 1980. Exceptions include retired railroad employees who are covered by the Railroad Retirement Act, some agricultural and domestic services, and some nonprofit agencies. Ninety-five percent of the people reaching age 65 in 1980 and 94% of those 65 and over by 1980 are eligible for full benefits. "Survivors" include children under 18, and their mothers, whose family breadwinner dies. Disability covers people aged 21-64 whose family breadwinner suffers severe or prolonged disability (Social Security Administration Program Circular #720, 1980).

Some facts on the recipients of Social Security, provided by a recent Social Security Administration Publication (1980, p. 1) indicate the scope of the program.

BENEFICIARIES IN CURRENT-PAYMENT STATUS ON JUNE 30, 1980

	<u>Number of beneficiaries</u>	<u>Monthly rate</u>
Retired workers and their dependents, total.....	22,791,000	\$7,084,000,000
Survivors of deceased workers, total.....	7,594,000	2,104,000,000
Disabled workers and their dependents, total.....	4,734,000	1,265,000,000
Non-insured persons aged 72 and over.....	101,000	11,000,000

Medicare, the federal health insurance program, is paid for by a payroll tax on workers (including self-employed and employers). It began in July 1966 and provides for most people over 65. It includes hospitalization and supplementary medical insurance. In 1973, Medicare was expanded to include qualified disable beneficiaries. It also includes special benefits for

uninsured persons over 72 and hospitalization benefits for uninsured persons over 65. Payment is allocated through general revenue funds.

Medicaid provides basic health services for eligible low income persons. Although some Medicare recipients are eligible for Medicaid, not all Medicaid recipients qualify for Medicare. Most cash-welfare recipients are automatically eligible for Medicaid. The basal assistance rate is established and paid for by the federal government, but states have the option of increasing the benefits.

According to a 1980 Social Security Administration circular (p. 2), about 27.6 million persons were eligible for hospital insurance protection. Approximately 95% of the aged population (24.6 million persons) were over the age of 65, while 3 million were disable beneficiaries under age 65. Between June of 1979 and June of 1980, payments were made for 5.7 million elderly and 8 million disabled beneficiaries.

State Unemployment Insurance pays benefits to eligible workers on the basis of past earnings. Although regulations vary from state to state, the benefits are usually payable for 26 weeks. This program is funded by a tax levied on most employers, usually on the first \$8,000 of each employee's wages.

Other federal assistance programs include Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the largest program; food stamps; Supplemental Security Income for the aged, blind, and disabled; and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. The federal government is the primary source of cash and non-cash assistance to the poor. The size and scope of assistance from the private sector is in no way comparable to that of the federal government. The private sector's role is necessary but supplemental.

Numerous authors concur with Dan Brunner of Sacramento's Center for Law and Poverty who warned that taking away federal assistance to the poor signals the return to former rates of poverty in the U.S. (Alpern, 1981, p. 24).

Reduction of poverty, especially to such a rate as Boskin's 3%, is indeed cause for pride, but the ultimate end, total elimination of poverty, remains. "Renovating the ghetto must not distract us from the larger task of making the ghetto unnecessary" (Frederickson, 1975, p. 54).

Statistical resources such as Bureau of Labor Statistics publications seemed the most reliable sources of "proof" that poverty exists, proof which cements this study's basic premises. Detailed analyses of the many facets of poverty proved an invaluable reference to its scope and character. According to recent Bureau of the Census figures, poverty is a fact of life for more than 25 million Americans (2nd Harvest, 1980, p. 1). The National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity reports that "another 40 million are near poor, so that 1/3 of our citizens are materially deprived" (Wolf, 1981, p. 11).

When the poverty index was developed by the Social Security Administration in 1962, 22% of all Americans fell below poverty level (Boskin, 1981, p. 15). Today, poverty level statistics are based on the Federal Interagency Committee's 1969 modification of the 1964 index. While all federal agencies are required to use the Census Bureau statistics for publications, programs, and reports, eligibility for many welfare programs lies at 125% rather than 100% of poverty level. Hence, the number of persons eligible for aid is beyond what the statistics indicate initially. In 1977, for example, 24.7 million persons (11.6% of the total population) were below poverty level. At the same time, 35.7 million (16.7% of the total population) were at 125% of the poverty level (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1979, p. 462).

Annual adjustments of the poverty income thresholds are based on the Consumer Price Index (CPI). For instance, the 1959 CPI of 95.2% paralleled the average poverty income threshold of \$2,973 for a non-farm family of 4. In 1963, the average threshold of \$3,128 was commensurate with a CPI of 100%. By 1978, the CPI of 212.9% paralleled the average poverty income threshold of

\$6,662 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980, p. 206). (See Appendix I for the 1978 weighted average thresholds at poverty level, for changes in the CPI, and for changes in the average poverty threshold between 1959 and 1978.) These adjustments consider such factors as family size, age of the family head, ages of dependents, and residence, with farm family thresholds set at 85% of non-farm family levels.

Other statistics from Characteristics of the Population Below Poverty Level: 1978 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980, p. 2) indicate the vast scope of poverty in the United States. Even an abridged version of the original table (See Table 1) reflects its proportions.

A few elaborations seem warranted here for the purpose of this study. Although the average poverty rate was 11.4% in 1978, many group rates significantly deviate from the average. The poverty rate of 9% for whites, for example, was consistently lower in all three years than the rate for blacks (31%) and persons of Spanish origin (22%).

These and further breakdowns reveal that the proportion of women, youth and minorities in the poverty population is increasing. The number of poverty-level male householder (male-maintained) families declined between 1969 and 1978, whereas the number of female householders with no male present rose. The difference is even more pronounced when black female householders are compared to white female householders and to both black and white male householders. Black female householders accounted for 74.5 of the percentage distribution among blacks in 1978, up from 53.9 in 1969. Only slight increases were found in white female-maintained households. This trend may well continue as single-parent and female-headed households become more widespread.

The decline in elderly poor from 4.8 million in 1969 to 3.2 million in 1978 may be due to increases in social security benefits. Annual increases in poverty level thresholds based on the CPI must also be considered. It is

possible that more elderly persons are receiving sufficient aid to bring them over the thresholds.

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF POVERTY POPULATION: 1969, 1977, 1978
 (Numbers in thousands. Persons, families, and unrelated individuals as of March of the following year)

TABLE 1

Selected Characteristics	Below Poverty Level			Poverty Rate			Percent Distribution		
	1978	1977	1969	1978	1977	1969	1978	1977	1969
All persons.....	24,497	24,720	24,147	*11.4	11.6	12.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
White.....	16,259	16,416	16,659	*8.7	8.9	9.5	66.4	66.4	69.0
Black.....	7,625	7,726	7,095	30.6	31.3	32.2	31.1	31.3	29.4
Spanish Origin ¹	2,607	2,700	(NA)	21.6	22.4	(NA)	10.6	10.9	(NA)
65 years and older.....	*3,233	3,177	4,787	*13.9	14.1	25.3	13.2	12.9	19.8
In metropolitan areas.....	*15,090	14,859	13,084	*10.4	10.4	9.5	61.6	60.1	54.2
In central cities.....	* 9,285	9,203	7,993	*15.4	15.4	12.7	37.9	37.2	33.1
Outside central cities.....	* 5,805	5,657	5,091	6.8	6.8	6.8	23.7	22.9	21.1
Outside metropolitan areas.....	* 9,407	9,861	11,063	*13.5	13.9	17.9	38.4	39.9	45.8
All families.....	5,280	5,311	5,005	*9.1	9.3	9.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male householder.....	*2,626	2,701	3,179	*5.3	5.5	6.9	49.7	50.9	63.5
Husband-wife.....	2,474	2,524	(NA)	5.2	5.3	(NA)	46.9	47.5	(NA)
No wife present.....	152	177	(NA)	9.2	11.1	(NA)	2.9	3.3	(NA)
Female householder, no husband present.....	*2,654	2,610	1,827	31.4	31.7	32.7	50.3	49.1	36.5
White families.....	3,523	3,540	3,574	*6.9	7.0	7.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male householder.....	*2,132	2,140	2,505	*4.7	4.8	6.0	60.5	60.5	70.1
Husband-wife.....	2,033	2,028	(NA)	4.7	4.7	(NA)	57.7	57.3	(NA)
No wife present.....	99	112	(NA)	7.5	8.8	(NA)	2.8	3.2	(NA)
Female householder, no husband present.....	*1,391	1,400	1,069	23.5	24.0	25.7	39.5	39.5	29.9
Black families.....	*1,622	1,367	1,365	27.5	28.2	27.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male householder.....	*414	475	629	+11.8	13.5	17.9	25.5	29.0	46.1
Husband-wife.....	+366	429	(NA)	+11.3	13.1	(NA)	22.6	26.2	(NA)
No wife present.....	48	46	(NA)	17.7	17.1	(NA)	3.0	2.8	(NA)
Female householder, no husband present.....	*1,208	1,162	736	50.6	51.0	53.2	74.5	71.0	53.9

*Significantly different from 1969 figure at 95% confidence level.

+Significantly different from 1977 figure at 95% confidence level.

NA - Not available

¹ Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Another trend during the 1970's was the increasing proportion of poor living in central cities. Statistics show that between 1969 and 1978 the percentage of poor living in central cities rose from 33% to 38%, with 67% being female householders. The number of poor living in non-metropolitan areas declined from 46% to 38% (36% being female householders), while metropolitan area statistics showed an increase from 54% to 62%. Suburban area statistics also rose from 21% to 24% (47% being female householders).

A recent Bread for the World newsletter (February 1981) reports that 22 million Americans receive food stamps. Of these, 60% are children, elderly, or disabled. Sixty-nine percent are single-parent, female-headed households. Eighty-five percent have annual incomes less than \$6,000. Of the less than 3% with annual incomes exceeding \$9,000, many are large families. Striking workers constitute less than 1% of the recipients, while 1980 amendments virtually preclude student eligibility. Prior to 1980, less than 2% of food stamp recipients were students.

The average food stamp benefit is 33¢ per person per meal. Recipients with no other income may receive a maximum of \$2.00 per day in food stamps, but most receive less because of the income-based allocation. One million people become eligible for the program with each 1% rise in the unemployment rate.

All 18-60 year old members of a family receiving food stamps must register to work, with the exception of those adults responsible for the care of invalids or children. The nearly 30% of those recipients who do work qualify because their wages are so low. It seems that these and other statistics unequivocally support the supposition that poverty is a fact of life for millions of Americans. More shocking than statistics, however, are the conditions of poverty.

The literature on community organizing and community development provides

a theoretical frame of reference for this study. It surveys the causes of, the conditions of, and the responses to poverty. Although much of the literature on community organizing is a direct response to the turbulent decade of the 60's, it still proves valuable. The seeds of contemporary community organization practice were planted and nurtured during that period.

In 1969, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops launched the Campaign for Human Development (CHD), a program designed to respond to the needs of the poor by funding self-help programs designed and operated by the poor themselves. They took, as the CHD motto, "For God's sake, break the hellish circle of poverty" (OSV, 1980, p. 4). The phrase, "circle of poverty", implies that poverty is an ongoing, perpetual pattern which is difficult, if not impossible, to alter or circumvent. Numerous theories of poverty, most of them overlapping, influence social welfare practice in the attempt to shed some light on the persistent challenge of poverty.

Gilbert & Specht (1974, p. 96ff) propose a three-fold classification of poverty theory. Central themes characterize each classification. They include:

1. the theme of resource deficiency
2. the theme of institutional deficiency
3. the theme of individual deficiency

Proponents of the first theorize that a resource deficiency contributes to and characterizes poverty. Deficiencies may be in material (money, goods, land, etc.) or in non-material resources (education, social status, prestige, etc.). It follows that the logical solution to poverty is to somehow make necessary resources available to the poor.

Proponents of the second classification, institutional deficiency, suggest that poverty is sustained through dominant institutional structures and functions. The way institutions are managed and the use of power precipitate commensurate degrees of poverty. According to this theory, changes in institutional administration and increased decision-making and participation

by the poor within the institutions serving them will reduce poverty.

Proponents of the third classification, individual deficiency, postulate that inherent personal defects and individual deficiencies precipitate poverty. Social Darwinism fits into this category as does the "culture of poverty" theory.

In his culture of poverty theory, Oscar Lewis (Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, 1974, p. 481) documented seventy traits of the poor ranging from unemployment to feelings of powerlessness to lack of savings. He theorized that poverty is passed from generation to generation as a way of life and that a particular set of values, norms, and environment nurtures poverty. Proponents of this theory attribute to the poor a lack of desire to participate, to advance, or to accept the values of the larger society. Poverty reduction, accordingly, can be achieved by changing the poor, by rehabilitation.

The question of whether poverty is a cultural inheritance, a personal problem, or an economic problem is moot, writes Sally Van Til (Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, 1974, p. 155). Regardless of whether a poor person does not want to work, is disabled, or is unable to find adequate employment, the general public tends to label all poor as disreputable, that is, as too lazy to work. The myth that "anyone who wants to work can work" persists despite evidence to the contrary, she writes. The majority of poor, able-bodied males work year-round and are still impoverished. Seasonal, temporary, or sporadic employment results in a loss of income and places an additional burden on many poor.

In its restrictive view, the culture of poverty theory fails to consider the implications of many crucial factors. Like Van Til, most researchers dismiss the culture of poverty theory for a more situational interpretation of poverty. They take into account such factors as resource allocations, culture,

education, environment, economy, and political processes. Various combinations of the resource and institutional deficiency theories continue to bear considerable weight in the field of community development and social welfare today.

The publications of existing agencies (e.g. brochures, pamphlets, newsletters) increased my awareness of what is being done to combat poverty. Such literature seems vital. It provides practical examples and ideas as well as an impetus to hope for the future, to hope that efforts to fight poverty can and do work.

My initial research uncovered the wealth of practical information available through various agency publications. It revealed the diverse types, purposes, sizes, and modus operandi of these agencies. They range from small neighborhood groups such as welfare rights organizations to international lobbying groups such as Bread for the World to national leadership training organizations like the Institute for Social Justice to federal welfare agencies like the Division of Family Services. Their literature provides valuable information about their goals, techniques, philosophies, eligibility requirements, and services. Much of the literature consists of "how to" suggestions for setting up programs, lobbying, working with citizens' groups, and other specific organizational tasks. A national hunger agency publication, for example, outlines steps for establishing a food pantry. Another publication offers suggestions for community and personal involvement in tax reform.

The portrayal of concrete examples of local, national, and international social action for the poor in this type of literature is invaluable. The fact that it is usually free, or of minimal cost, is an added attraction for many nonprofit organizations whose struggle for funds is a constant source of pressure. In addition, many activists find support in the realization that

somewhere, someone is doing the same thing, feeling the same way about a particular aspect of poverty. The benefits of having role models and consultation services in existing, experienced agencies are potentially immense.

Readings in social justice influenced my understanding of the causes of poverty and provided feasible responses leading to its dissolution. Before proceeding, I would like to credit a few authors whose particular focus on the inequities in the United States' social order (no doubt, yet excusably a one-sided view because of its general orientation) reflects their zeal for change. Their unique styles of evangelism make a more just social order in the U.S. and in the world seem possible. They have been a source of inspiration. They have initiated my concern and increased my understanding of the injustice and inequity perpetuated by our present social order. These authors are: E.F. Schumacher, William Valentine & Frances Moore Lappé, Arthur Simon, Peter Bachrach & Morton S. Baratz, and Charles A. Reich.

The amount of literature on what has and has not worked, why, and for whom within the field of social welfare is massive. Yet, common patterns of thought are distinguishable. Virtually all authors implicate the "dominant institutions" of our society as forebearers of injustice and poverty. The dominant institutions - governmental, educational, political - emphasize the values of efficiency and production. They equate material possessions with success and happiness. They maintain the status quo and the existing allocations of power, material goods, and services.

The remainder of this review explicates some of the ideas and insights to which most recent community development, poverty, and social justice theorists ascribe. Other theories are presented in later chapters as well. The primary purpose of any community development invariably is the achievement of what that community perceives as betterment, as growth. Because the terms community development and community organization have similar connota-

tions, they are used interchangeably in the context of this study.

S.K. Khinduka states that community development is alternately "process, method, program, movement, philosophy, or profession" (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 133). It consists of behavioral as well as programmatic responses tailored to particular situations. The plurality of people, circumstances, and needs impinging upon community development efforts dictates its eclectic nature.

Kramer & Specht (1975, p. 6ff) define community organization as a variety of interventions whereby a community collectively deals with social problems within a democratic system of values. Community development, in other words, is purposive, directed, and/or planned change. Although no universal theory exists, the common goals of citizen and community participation in decision-making, realignment of resources, and development of local leadership seem to guide the practice of community development. Its mission is to alleviate the needs of the poor through comprehensive programs of material aid, information and referral, advocacy, and supportive relationships. It is to promote changes leading to concern for people rather than for cases, to independence and to dignity among the poor. It wedds theory to practice by testing theory in the laboratory of society, supporting some hypotheses while challenging or negating others. In practice, the use of imaginative, innovative techniques to deal with unique situations supports an underlying assumption which lends legitimacy to the practice of using "whatever works".

Community development takes no single form. It involves all levels of government: local, state, regional, national. It involves disparate social groups: church, neighborhood, advocacy, self-help. It occurs in a variety of settings: welfare agencies, city halls, community centers, public hearings, national planning meetings. It derives support from any combination of sources: government grants, individual donations, private foundations, revenue sharing, clubs, religious organizations.

Community development envelops both technical tasks and interactional processes. Technical tasks involve identifying, defining, and analyzing problems; developing strategies; taking action; evaluating the entire operation. Interactional processes, on the other hand, involve the relational and interpersonal exchanges which are integral to any social interaction.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter emphasizes the important organizational considerations of the human, relational aspects of building viable community. She capsulizes the main organizational problem encountered in community organizing, the problem of "how people arrange to do the work that the community needs to survive as a group, and how the group in turn manages to satisfy and involve its members over a long period of time" (1973, p. 64). Components of the relational task include:

1. accomplishing organizational goals without coercion
2. choosing and socializing new members
3. retaining members
4. ensuring members' commitment and cohesiveness
5. establishing processes for decision-making to the satisfaction of all members
6. allowing for certain degrees of individual autonomy and uniqueness

Considering the many "worthy causes" bombarding the individual, vying for commitments of time and energy, the organization's relational task may prove challenging. After securing an initial commitment, says Moss Kanter, the task of reinforcing the individual's self-interests in coordination with the organization's interests is necessary to cement the individual's commitment to the organization. Moss Kanter's ideas of commitment and the community organization differ from those of Hillery and Gottschalk.

Hillery (Gottschalk, 1975, p. 133) coined the term "community organizations" to refer to highly institutionalized social systems which lack primary, specific goal orientations (e.g. nations, families, neighborhoods). In the same vein, Gottschalk (1975, p. 18) defined community as a specific type of

human group (e.g. town, village, city) or sentiment (e.g. loyalty, commitment, patriotism) in which there is no unanimity, but there is a territorial concept and a concept of social interaction. A communal organization, Gottschalk continues, is "a relatively highly institutionalized social system characterized by low goal orientations" which "is internally linked primarily by means of generalized cooperation, and is normatively controlled by peers and informal leaders".

To be sure, some aspects of community organization continue to fit Hillery's and Gottschalk's definitions. However, over time, and especially with the changes wrought by the "idealism and unrest" of the 60's (Ellis & Noyes, 1978, p. 206) a much broader definition of community and of community organization has been adopted. Precise goal orientations, high degrees of commitment, and highly structured internal organization characterized many groups and activities in the 60's (e.g. the Congress of Racial Equality, First Young Americans for Freedom, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, John Birch Society, and countless Civil Rights groups). The 1963 March on Washington, for instance, brought together over 200,000 black and white activists. "The March was a climax and a beginning. It served notice that American Negroes were no longer willing to wait for rights that other citizens took for granted. It brought American face to face with her full responsibilities as a nation" (Ellis & Noyes, 1978, p. 220). Sponsored by over 400 national organizations, it was a blatant indication of organizational skill, individual and collective commitment, and of pointed goal orientation. (Such groups continue to develop and wield influence today.)

Fruitful community organization must involve both theory and practice, technique and relationship. Its essential components are:

1. commitment to justice and change

2. technical and expert knowledge
3. a balance between human and efficiency values
4. an understanding of theory
5. service delivery improvements; efficient and economical utilization of resources (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 2)

Furthermore, write Kramer & Specht (p. 7), community organization is based on unique combinations of such elements as:

- character of the action system (grassroots, elitist, etc.)
- locality
- nature of the problem (housing, education, victimization, etc.)
- character of the issue (conflict, consensus, etc.)
- target system
- organizational structure (mass movement, planning council, etc.)
- role of the professional worker, assuming there is one (enabler, activist, etc.)
- sponsor of the project (government, citizen's group, etc.)

Roland Warren's list of strategies (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 131ff) presents the options generally accepted by other authors as well. In cooperation, little opposition between two parties is expected. The possibility of agreement in this strategy, also called collaboration, precludes the use of other strategies.

In competition, or campaign strategies, the differences between the opponents are more substantial. Although overt conflict is avoided, bargaining, negotiating, and other tools of "moderate coercion" are used to pressure and persuade.

Conflict, or contest, strategies are used when differences between the parties are even more marked. In this strategy, one party challenges the authority and legitimacy of the other, and the gain of one inevitably signals the loss of the other. Human nature seems to dictate that we fight hardest when the threat of loss is greatest and nearest. Because of its win-lose nature, the risk of violence in this strategy is much greater than in any other.

Kramer & Specht propose three models of change and community action based on the collective character of these elements. The models are:

1. locality development
2. social planning
3. social action

Differences in the three are basically in degree and priority. The first model, locality development, draws together those people affected by a problem, facilitates a pooling of their major resource (that is, numbers), and enables collective action. With a frequent emphasis on education, locality development builds organization among a previously unorganized, wide range of citizenry as it seeks to develop indigenous leadership.

The initiators of the second model, social planning, are professionals. Their goal is to bring about changes (attitudinal, structural, functional, resource allocational, decision-making) by integrating and coordinating community agencies with one another and with extra-community action systems. The representatives from various community and extra-community organizations are usually biased by, if not personally committed to, the organizations which they represent. As a result, their decision-making may be dictated by the agency which, in a sense, owns them. The degree of citizen participation in social planning varies. Its focus on particular problems emphasizes technical tasks rather than relational processes.

Along these lines is that aspect of the literature stressing the benefits of networking among community organizations, groups, and established institutions whenever possible to enhance service provision. It considers inter-organizational networking essential to constructive, comprehensive, and lasting change.

William J. Reid (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 118) suggests that some community agencies are totally independent of each other. Their roles in the community are separate and distinct, creating no need for cooperation and linkage.

Some agencies, on the other hand, are interdependent. Linkages, cooperation, and communication are extremely important for effective inter-agency functioning and for service provision. Networking is an informational

tool which helps to avoid duplication of services and which affords organizations a frame of reference within which to work. Knowledge of what other agencies do, who they serve, their relationship to other community groups, their eligibility requirements, their willingness to share resources, and so on provides a greater degree of control and certainty. Because agencies do not function best in a vacuum, networking serves as a basis for planned change. Failure to build networks and linkage systems inevitably handicaps social welfare and community development efforts.

Finally, social action demands redistributions of resources and changes in community power structures. In this model of community development, the clients are assumed to be disadvantaged. Their desire to effect change apparently outweighs the repercussions of challenging existing institutions. Again, the civil rights movement and student activism of the 60's fall into this classification. Each model's effectiveness depends on the confluence of a strategy, its component parts, and the presence of essential elements. Some models may be characterized by particular clusters of features, but all three assist people through the processes leading to change.

Successful community organization takes its character from the nature of its clients. Its basis is a common culture, geography, problem, or shared concern. In order to fully utilize resources, to motivate the citizenry, and to mobilize for action, practitioners must know the community. Roland Warren (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 131) writes that, regardless of whether or not the community is the target, the initiator, or the vehicle of change, knowledge of decision-making, the distribution of power and other resources, the roles of different groups, etc. are absolutely prerequisite to successful community development. For instance, Anthony F. Panzetta (Kramer & Specht, p. 28) suggests that organizing geared to *gemeinschaft* community is senseless

if the predominant form of social interaction is *gesellschaft*.* Organizers must be aware of the entire system encompassing the target of change.

References to the decade of the 60's make up a large portion of community development literature. A brief overview of the occurrences of that period may help to explain why. The market mentality of the time seemed oblivious to the expansion of social, geographical, and psychological slums. It was ill-equipped to deal with mushrooming urban crises. Since then, heightened awareness of poverty has shifted our preoccupation to one with the economics of resource allocations and the politics of power and legitimacy.

Present values consist of what Lewis Lipsitz considers "beyond democracy": culture, meaningfulness, compassion, local involvement, limited central power. These values, writes Lipsitz (Frederickson, 1973, p. 40), were "forgotten until recently. We were preoccupied with the past and with our differences with totalitarian governments. We failed to see the deprivation, restlessness, oppression in our own society." The values depicted by Lipsitz definitely seem to be more prevalent today than ever before. The values of rapid technology, industrialization, and booming business have not disappeared. In fact, the values of meaningfulness, self-fulfillment, etc. might possibly have influenced the expansion of big business, technological progress, and, as an indirect result, the inequitable distributions of resources that exist today.

Activities of the 60's fostered the practices of increased neighborhood

**Gemeinschaft* community, according to Tonnies, is a community bound and guided by shared values, cultural tradition, and norms. Relationships approximate those of an extended family. *Gesellschaft* is characterized by more formal, explicit bonds which guide behavior and interaction. People come together through church, work, civic organization, and other institutions rather than neighborhood or family settings (Kramer & Specht, p. 28).

control, citizen participation, and a collective commitment to bring about much-needed change at the local, state, and national levels. S.K. Khinduka argues that that core of community development is the promotion of citizen participation (1975, p. 133). Similarly, Frederickson (1973, p. vii) explains how the popularization of participatory democracy in the early 60's preceded the practice of maximum feasible participation of the poor in the mid-60's, and the demand for community control at the end of the 60's. The decade of the 60's marked a movement to decentralize government, to reevaluate the dominant value of efficiency, and to achieve participation in decision-making by the governed. At that time, explains Frederickson (p. ix), neighborhood control came to be the "ultimate expression of administrative decentralization and citizen participation."

Howard Hallman (Frederickson, 1973, p. 7ff) capsulizes the history of neighborhood control. Although the concept has existed since the boom of the American city in the mid-1800's, a revival of interest was launched under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (EOA) with the Community Action Program (CAP). John Strange (Frederickson, p. 168) calls maximum feasible participation the EOA's most important provision because, he says, it expanded eligibility for federal funds to previously ineligible local, private, and nonprofit agencies, many whose survival depended on outside aid. With the requirement of maximum feasible participation, citizen involvement became a national issue and priority.

The predecessor of CAP, continues Hallman (Frederickson, 1973, p. 12), was the Juvenile Delinquency Program sponsored jointly by the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and the Ford Foundation. It was chaired by Robert Kennedy, and David Hackett was its Executive Director. The program was influenced by the ideas of L. Ohlin and R. Cloward, both who were later to become members of the President's Commission. They believed

that "delinquency was caused by lack of opportunity for the poor, not by individual delinquency." They suggested that institutional changes be made to provide more opportunity for the poor, and they proposed neighborhood organization and citizen action as the major instruments of institutional change. Most Office of Economic Opportunity projects (Head Start, Legal Services, etc.) originated from this basis; however, the OEO became more an administrative base than a means of citizen participation.

In 1964, the official "War on Poverty" was declared, with Ohlin, Cloward, Kennedy, Hackett, and other influential commission members in key positions. In 1966, the Model Cities program was developed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to treat the problems of the inner city. It called for widespread rather than maximum citizen participation, but Hallman reports that it actually enhanced more citizen participation than did the original CAP programs. It involved the local citizenry with neighborhood agencies and city planning commissions.

By 1967 and 1968, citizen involvement and neighborhood action loomed large. Advocacy for the poor and for minorities became an important feature of the movement. Schmandt (Frederickson, 1973, p. 17) states that citizen participation was originally demanded by blacks, then by Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans, and finally by whites. In the late 60's, students began to demand more voice in university governance. Ellis and Noyes (1978, p. 206) credit boycotts, sit-ins, and other public demonstrations with the increasing social and legislative civil rights successes.

In 1968, the National Commission on Urban Problems recommended that efforts to improve poor neighborhoods be accelerated by providing adequate city services and decentralizing municipal services to neighborhood city halls. Neighborhood control gained ground as a viable partial solution to urban malaise.

Frederickson places administrative decentralization, citizen participation,

and neighborhood control in the same theoretical family, noting that they are also "closely coupled in reality" (1973, p. 263). Set in motion by the anti-poverty program, various forms of administrative decentralization have gained wide acceptance.

Frederickson defines administration as "a delegation of authority to subordinate units of a single administrative apparatus in a jurisdiction." He defines decentralization as a "territorial distribution of functional authority among national, state, and local governments and the vertical allocation of power within each of these levels" (1973, p. 18). The devolution of power and authority in administrative decentralization extends to groups and organizations outside the governmental structure.

Because its practice is contingent upon local resources and priorities, there are no fixed factors in administrative decentralization. The consensus among community development experts is that exemplary administrative decentralization allows local groups to identify and define problems and to propose acceptable solutions based on their own experiences and perceptions. Although it does not bring about local autonomy and complete self-sufficiency, administrative decentralization does bring the government closer to the people, making local variations in governance plausible.

Administrative decentralization is an administrative, not a political reform. It is a mechanism for allocating authority and responsibility to lower territorial-based groups, but involves no redistribution of political power. It does not generally entail separate revenue raising powers or political autonomy. Its effectiveness from the client's perspective is important. Each neighborhood or community is a unique collective of citizens with specific needs, and what is highly effective for some may be ineffective or injurious for others. As such, administrative decentralization alone will not accomplish equality in the quantity and quality of public services (Freder-

ickson, 1973, p. 267).

The call for widespread citizen participation affirms and extends the efficacy of administrative decentralization. Fessler's summary (1970, p. 1ff) of the importance of citizen participation in successful neighborhood community organization is supported in most of the literature. Citizen participation refers especially to involvement by the poor, the under-educated, the discriminated against, and others previously excluded from community decision-making. It calls for "minority rights in the face of majority rule" (Frederickson, 1973, p. 271).

Although high levels of participation in day-to-day policy-making are not feasible in the United States, those who do participate should, according to Frederickson (1973, p. 272), be the victims rather than the elite or public service officials. Fessler agrees, saying that clients are the major source of change in what can be a dehumanizing system, but that those most in need tend to participate the least. Similarly, Grosser (Kramer & Specht, 1975, p. 300) argues that the poor are socialized into apathy and inaction. They cannot be induced to participate by appeals to civic duty, patriotism, morality, or other middle class values. "As a rule, they lack those interests which most middle class persons can best be satisfied in group activity" (Fessler, 1970, p. 2).

Fessler suggests that the poor are more responsive to participation which satisfies immediate physical and psychological needs. Considering their needs, community development efforts geared toward education of and advocacy for the poor are more appropriate measures for gaining participation. "Effective participation...requires knowledge about existing social welfare policy" (Gilbert & Specht, 1974, p. 14). In other words, the poor must know about existing options and alternatives to poverty in order to make sound decisions. The role of the community organizer comes into play here. Gilbert & Specht (p. 16) list the professional roles which go hand-in-hand with each stage of the com-

community development policy formulation process:

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Professional Role</u>
1. identify the problem.....	direct service
2. analyze the problem, its causes.....	research
3. inform and educate the public.....	community organization
4. develop policy goals.....	planning
5. build political support, gain legitimacy.....	community organization
6. design program.....	planning
7. implement program.....	administration; direct service
8. evaluate, assess process.....	research; direct service

The change agent may take any one or combination of roles depending upon the circumstances. As an advocate for the poor, his/her primary role is to work with and for the poor, educating them, enabling them to deal with problems, and facilitating indigenous leadership.

Grosser points out that the poor's route to achieve a share in community resources and their major contact with the government is currently through interaction with such public services agencies as the housing authority, the welfare office, and the police (Frederickson, 1973, p. 270). Unfortunately, many agencies may seem threatening, if not overtly hostile to their poor clients. In addition, they can be "information brokers"; that is, they have the power to divulge as much or as little vital information to the poor as they find momentarily convenient. The misuse of this power can chip away at what little self-respect, pride, and independence which many poor do have. The complete or near-complete dependence of the poor on an often hostile system, yet one vital to their survival, demands that the poor be educated about its workings. It demands advocacy on behalf of the poor until such time when they can be their own advocates. It demands that the poor be induced to participate in decision-making within the system affecting their lives.

David Perry suggests that, with the present alignment of resources and determinants of control, "neighborhood control is a viable option for suburbs but is a potentially futile goal for most ghettos." He writes that suburbs

exhibit a greater share of those determinants of neighborhood control unattainable in poor areas:

1. cultural identity to show racial and ethnic equality, and proof of acceptance into the community - "a collective community of choice"
2. economic resources for fiscal solvency
3. governmental jurisdictions/structures that provide the potential for an efficacious articulation of resident demands (Frederickson, p. 85)

Perry calls for a modified structure of government to provide central cities with neighborhood control of the services affecting them. The basis of neighborhood control, he continues, is a federated system which shares the power, resources, and manpower of a central government. It delineates definite geographical boundaries or jurisdictional status as well as precise areas of autonomy and control.

Suburbs are legal entities, making administrative decentralization and citizen participation feasible, and giving them the potential for community control. They have political, economic, and social power to sustain and protect their suburban lifestyle. Residents have proven by their mobility and their acceptance into the community that they are value maintaining. They can make the government responsive to their needs and ideologies whether in the setting of zoning standards or the selection of a pattern of government. Neighborhood control can be exercised precisely because it maintains existing values, protects the status quo, of its residents. It is a community of choice.

Perry then suggests that the suburban model of neighborhood control be transplanted to the city. Using a suburban model of government in the inner city would involve the poor in running health, housing, educational, law enforcement, and other local systems. Unlike the suburbs, cities are dominated by partisan politics (patronage, ethnic coalitions, etc.) and bureaucracy (administrative centralization, bigness, "red tape", etc.) (Frederickson, 1973, p. 92). City government frequently seems unresponsive, unavailable, oppressive,

and/or rule oriented to the poor. Its virtual unapproachableness makes city government unfit to deal with the malaise of the inner city, with rural poverty, or with poverty in any part of the United States.

The economically useless and marginally useful poor find their condition of poverty and powerlessness to be a secondary consideration in a profit-oriented society. The ghetto is not a community of choice as is the suburb. People may move from the ghetto community, but not to it by choice. Perry's look at statistics between 1958-1963 highlights the deteriorating conditions of many cities. Although nearly two decades old, they continue to be an accurate reflection of the circle of poverty. During that period, thirty of the most populous metropolitan areas lost a net total of 33,000 jobs while suburbs picked up a net total of 1.29 million. The fifteen largest central cities lost 195,000 jobs directly to the suburbs. New central city jobs are held by commuters from the suburbs. Low-skill manufacturing jobs, in the meantime, moved to the suburbs, becoming unavailable to many inner city poor. Many inner city jobs were replaced by white collar jobs for which inner city residents were under-qualified. In the urban areas where blacks comprise 1/4 of the population, only about 5% of the businesses were owned by blacks (Frederickson, 1973, p. 89ff). The stagnating economic base of the inner city is a threat. The poor, in a stalemate, bear the brunt of the problems caused by such economic transition.

The division of ghettos into neighborhood groups, says Perry, is pointless unless there is some fiscal solvency on which to ground neighborhood control. The urban poor simply do not have the tax base needed to support public services. They need community development precisely because of their lack of resources and control. To meet the difficult problem of financing, they need a system of revenue sharing which disperses funds based on need per capita and need per neighborhood (Frederickson, p. 97). They need outside aid

(federal and state revenue sharing, government grants, and other) coupled with a large voice in determining its utilization in community revitalization.

Alan Altshuler (Frederickson, 1973, p. 168) warns that community control will come about as a "product of protest and pragmatic compromise", not as a result of white altruism. The demand for citizen participation through neighborhood control spells turbulence if the administration of current systems is not revamped to meet these demands. In its call for local representation, citizen participation makes all levels of government by and for the people rather than to the people. Altschuler states that "the possession of property and exercise of responsibility are both conservatizing experiences. Power is a form of property; it gives its holders a great psychic stake in the system" (Frederickson, p. 173). In other words, those persons who already possess larger degrees of power and responsibility than the poor are more conservative in perceiving and demanding change. They are more inclined to be satisfied with the status quo. Participation by the poor, however, would also encourage a huge segment of the population to have a psychic stake in the system...one which stems from their ownership in the decision-making process.

Conversely, the poor have neither property nor power. Their stake in the system is understandably minimal. As long as the vested interests at all levels of government and society continue to monopolize financial and other resources, neighborhood control among the poor is impossible. As Orion White Jr. said, "political processes are techniques that express deeply rooted patterns of allocation: political decisions merely reflect underlying economic and social distributions of power based on class" (Frederickson, 1973, p. 117). Lipsitz reports that "most Americans are far from economically comfortable despite all of the talk about an affluent society" and that "the distribution of wealth in the U.S. has remained relatively unaltered in the last twenty years" (Frederickson, p. 48). Then he warns that "the ability of the elite to quash a move-

ment may be very great, especially when public sentiments have not been crystallized in a politically meaningful fashion" (Frederickson, p. 47). Thus, even if a majority of the U. S. citizenry support a more equitable allocation of resources, the conditions of poverty will persist unless political legislation mandates change.

Local work is in vain unless accompanied by a restructuring of national priorities. Lipsitz (Frederickson, 1973, p. 42) says, "we have begun to admit that power and wealth are inequitably distributed in our society; that bureaucratic styles can be deeply oppressive both to bureaucrats and their clients; that many people need and want greater knowledge of and control over the matters that affect them directly." Unfortunately, many individuals and factions stand to gain by retaining national life as it is. Our first need, then, seems to be a receptiveness to change, followed by practicable suggestions which facilitate change. Neighborhood control is not a panacea for all poverty-related problems. It is an attempt to foster self-determination and to "overcome alienation by making the government more responsive to the needs of people" (Frederickson, 1973, p. 258).

The challenges of the 60's still haunt us. The slow pace of change may be a blessing in disguise. It allows us to look at and evaluate social change as it occurs, to identify its consequences, to curtail what seems to be harmful and to nurture what seems to be beneficial. As Victor Jones said, "the basic responsibility is mutual - once those in power have been brought around to listening, demands must be translated into acceptable policies" (Frederickson, p. 74).

The authors of What Can We Do? (Valentine & Lappé, 1980, p. 4f) suggest that factors in the economic system that generate an inequitable concentration of power must be defined and harnessed for human development to occur. The two factors which they single out as generators of inequity are:

1. the view that resources are to be used for private gain, a view which encourages competition for profits and eventually results in concentrations of power;
2. the self-perpetuating nature of inequitable concentrations of power.

Both factors warrant further discussion. Concentrations of power abound in virtually every aspect of social, economic, and political life. Big-ness often determines survival while small-ness dictates extinction. Small-ness forces tens of thousands of farms out of business each year (Lappé, 1981, p. 1) while 2% of all farms control almost 40% of production. Most small farms are unable to keep up with the technology and expensive machinization of the 2% of the large farms which monopolize production.

In 1975, one third of United States land was publicly owned. Two thirds of the remaining private property was owned and operated by an estimated 5% of the population (Barnes, 1975, p. x). A survey of land tenure in Kansas supports the suspicion that absentee owners control a disproportionate amount of land. Among other things, the study revealed that 28 corporations and 164 individuals (including families, partnerships, estates, and trusts) each owned more than 5,000 acres of land in a fifty-five county area. Of these owners, sixty-seven owned more than fifty thousand acres. Land in Kansas is bought and sold at a rate of forty thousand transactions per year. Given the high cost of land which makes it virtually impossible for low and middle income persons to buy, this last fact implies that already wealthy landowners bought the land, adding to their concentration of this valuable resource (Barnes, p. 50).

Corporate control is not limited to land ownership. Struggles to monopolize resources continue in the production industry. Meyerhoff (1980, p. 11) reports that "in the mid-1960's, when the tomato harvester was introduced in California, that industry was entirely labor-intensive. In less than ten years, the number of harvest-time jobs declined from more than 50,000 to less than 18,000. The number of tomato farmers dropped from more than 4,000 in 1963 to

only 597 in 1973. The average tomato plot grew from 32 acres to 363 acres. Only the most affluent growers had access to the capital needed to purchase these harvesters (at as much as \$150,000 each); the companies used the machines and their financial clout to take over the tomato industry. This change has hardly been a boon to consumers, however. During the same time, this now highly concentrated industry increased the price of tomatoes by 111%, substantially more than the increase in price for any other fruit or vegetable."

Examples of corporate power over individual Americans abound. Of 32,000 U. S. food manufacturers, fifty make 75% of the net profits (Food Monitor, 1978, p. 9). Ninety-one per cent of the ready-to-eat cereal market is dominated by Kellogg, General Mills, General Foods, and Quaker Oats (Barnes, 1975, p. 90). In 1976, Boeing, Tenneco, and United Brands controlled 51% of the fresh fruit and vegetable markets. Greyhound, Pillsbury, and Continental Grain controlled 92% of the broiler chicken market. Del Monte, Campbell, and General Foods controlled 88% of the processed fruit and vegetable market (Food Monitor, 1980, p. 9). Five multi-national grain corporations control 85% of U.S. grain trade (Lappé, 1981, p. 1). According to a recent USDA study, monopolization in the food-production industry cost the consumer from 12 to 15 billion dollars in overcharges in 1977 alone (Meyerhoff, 1980, p. 11).

Food industries are capable of subsuming consumer needs as they create needs to increase their profit. Food advertising accounts for 73% of all television advertisements. Fifty food firms control approximately 90% of these ads. (Valentine & Lappé, 1980, p. 5). Seventy per cent of food ad time promotes low nutrient, high calorie foods such as soft drinks and candy, while only .7% promotes fresh fruits and vegetables (Food Monitor, 1980, p. 9). In 1978, General Foods spent ten million dollars to advertise Tang. The two billion dollars spent on food ads in 1950 ballooned to thirteen billion dollars by 1978. (Valentine & Lappé, 1980, p. 5). Considering the importance of television in

most American lives, the impact of such promotional "propaganda" cannot be overlooked.

Before proceeding with the theoretical orientations of this study, I would like to turn to the inevitability of bias and to the utilization of research findings in the social sciences. Sociologist George Lundberg posited the notion that sociology must be absolutely value-free, a position widely accepted until after World War II. He argued that politicians and administrators, as opposed to social scientists, be responsible for initiating change on the basis of research if the research findings are to remain trustworthy and unbiased. Lundberg's contemporary, Robert Lynd, argued that social scientists be morally responsible to study, and then to use their knowledge to effect desirable change.

After World War II, many atomic physicists publicly opposed the use of the controversial hydrogen bomb as well as the use of any technology for destructive purposes. In 1956, the American Association for the Advancement of Science endorsed the concept that scientists be responsible for using scientific findings for mankind's benefit. Accordingly, Lynd's concept of morally responsible social science gained popularity as Lundberg's concept of value-free social science lost ground.

Today, most social scientists are committed to the ideal of value neutrality, even though, according to such scientists as Alvin Gouldner, value-free science is a myth. Gouldner maintains that value assumptions and predispositions are inherent in the very process of selecting a topic and of doing research (Leslie, Larson, 1973, p. 27). Regardless of the exact position held by modern social scientists, a general consensus exists that the intrusion of values poses a serious threat to the integrity of research findings. Such bias can, suggest Leslie, et. al., be eliminated in one of two ways. Researchers can disclaim responsibility for the manner in which their research findings are used. This approach denies the legitimacy of directed social change as a goal in social

scientific research.

The second thought is that the very choice of topics reflects researcher bias. Accordingly, researchers have the right and at least as much responsibility as politicians and administrators in determining how their findings, their knowledge and expertise can be used. By virtue of their expertise, they may in fact be the best equipped to move society in the right direction by steering the development of goals. This line of thought implies that social control is important because it allows, not only an understanding and the ability to predict the course of society, but the ability to influence that course.

In any instance, bias must be guarded against. I tend to sympathize with the latter position, that social scientists have the right and responsibility to use their knowledge for the good of society. My choice of topic is biased, an admission I readily concede. While I have attempted to conduct an impartial and unbiased study, my personal convictions have influenced the course I have chosen.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

For many people, justice is a moral issue, one which invokes individual and collective responsibility alike in the creation of fair, equitable, and humane systems for the governance of all peoples. Unfortunately, a strictly moral understanding of justice may unduly restrict its existential accomplishment.

Since morality, as commonly understood, reflects individuals' conceptions of right and wrong, collective definitions of morality (hence, of justice) tend to minimize, if not completely overlook, any but the most blatant, violent, or detestable occasions of injustice. As a result, circumstances which violate a minority but merely discomfit the majority gain sanction by virtue of their passive reception. Bachrach & Baratz's concept of nondecision making, discussed later, warns of the dangers of such passive, nonchalant acceptance of injustice.

Sister Mary Ann Walsh (Wolf, 1981, p. 7) suggests that justice is also a relationship. She contends that it is impossible to establish good relationships when one party feels deprived, exploited, or oppressed by another.

In the United States, the roots of justice lie in our unique democratic heritage: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, court decisions. As former president Jimmy Carter said in his farewell address to the nation, "America didn't invent human rights; human rights invented America" (January 13, 1981). The historical prominence of struggles for inalienable rights, shared responsibility in decision-making, equal opportunity, and equal access to resources regardless of social status and role upholds the notion that justice is, the very least, a political issue.*

The conditions of poverty are obvious: hunger, malnutrition, unemployment,

*Equality refers herein to equal opportunity rather than to equal income, residence, etc. It refers to equality in social relationships and the capability to move up and down the wide scale of social status.

inadequate health care - the list is endless. Unfortunately, the visible manifestations of inequality have invisible counterparts. Poverty in one facet of life seems to breed poverty in another. Poverty affects the whole person: body, soul, psyche.

The counterpart of visible poverty has a dehumanizing affect on many poor. The daily struggle for basic necessities precludes, for example, any endeavors of personal growth and fulfillment. The question of enjoying work is irrelevant. For many poor who are able to find employment, the purpose of work is to earn enough money to pay the rent and buy essential goods. Even still, many working poor are forced to remain on welfare roles because of insufficient wages. In the struggle to subsist, all concerns are subsumed under the need for a regular paycheck.

Only the question of subsistence, the acquisition of the bare essentials necessary for survival, is relevant. "The freedom of self-fulfillment and personal responsibility essential to total growth are greatly diminished when an individual exists in extreme poverty" (Catholic Key, 1980). The need to subsist controls the poor. Quality of life inevitably deteriorates as poverty thrives.

Thoughts of people rummaging through trash cans for food, suffering from the heat of summer and sub-zero temperatures of winter, wearing old and ragged clothing, or living in rat infested rooms may provoke a wide range of emotions. Disgust. Discomfort. Disbelief. Anger. Sadness.

Peer & Gelman (1981, p. 72) estimate that 36,000 "bag ladies", vagrants, destitutes in New York alone make their homes in subway vents, parks, and doorways. They are victims of our politico-economic system, of unemployment, militarism, scarce low-cost housing or shortages of beds in public shelters, deficient mental health programs and so on. They live on garbage pail scraps, occasional restaurant leftovers, nickels and dimes found or begged, articles of clothing retrieved from trash piles to be hocked.

Less than 5% of a sample taken by Peer & Gelman receive any income at all. Few receive public assistance: some prefer the streets to public shelters, some are too embarrassed to admit that they are homeless and hungry, many are mentally ill. Seemingly insurmountable obstacles preclude the humane care of these destitutes. The reality of poverty and its human victims forces a plea of "mea culpa", a challenge to ameliorate such injustice.

The pervasiveness of poverty in virtually all facets of society is inescapable, though we try not to see it. Frequent references to poverty by the mass media lead some to the misconception that poverty is a fait accompli. And so, poverty persists. More than temporary assistance to the poor is at stake. "Burn-out", lack of funds, discouragement often precipitate short-lived attempts to help the poor. While temporary forms of relief are not to be denigrated, even the best efforts fall short unless they contribute to a long-lasting solution to the problem.

Justice first requires that basic human needs be satisfied. The security of a steady supply of material necessities must take precedence. Nonetheless, poverty exists on a much deeper level than hunger, joblessness, or helplessness against the elements of nature. Its existence within the poor nurtures feelings of powerlessness, worthlessness, loneliness, and self-hatred. Long term changes that heal all levels of poverty are necessary for temporary relief to be effective.

In Senior Opportunities and Services (National Council on Aging, 1970, p. 1), Mel Ravitz is quoted as saying,

A society which repudiates its cardinal values of human concern and individual dignity is a society that has defeated itself. It is a society which many of its citizens will surely lose faith in; it is a society on the brink of moral decay with no significant future.

Since we are all, in one way or another, faced with poverty, we must develop ways to confront it. Three broad options come to mind, constituting a spectrum of choices which reflects individual actions and attitudes toward

poverty. For some, indifference is the easiest way to cope with poverty. It provides a sense of personal non-involvement, of detachment, of security that nothing can be done or that any action would be futile. This is a decision to ignore the problem. It shelters the complacent from any blame for the existence of poverty.

Similarly, blaming the victims of poverty rather than the unjust system which nurtures it shelters the complacent and apathetic from any hint of personal responsibility. Oft-heard comments reflect attitudes of bitterness, anger, and resentment directed at the poor themselves rather than at the conditions of poverty:

- Why don't they clean the place up?
- Why doesn't she just get a job?
- And to think that my hard-earned tax dollars support him!
- The more kids she has, the more money she'll get. Why not have more?

Scapegoating the victims of a system which conditions powerlessness through poverty and vice versa does nothing to attack the problem. It does nothing to promote change or to prevent the expansion of poverty. It is a blinder to the real problem. It is, I feel, a waste of energy which could best be channeled for more constructive purposes.

A second option is rooted in what Bachrach & Baratz call "nondecision making" (1979, p. 9). A decision, they begin, is a set of actions which includes the choice of one alternative over another. Regardless of whether it involves power, influence, force, or authority, a decision expresses either concrete choices to bring about change or choices which sustain a particular bias.

A nondecision is a decision which, by its acceptance of the existing mobilization of bias*, thwarts any latent or manifest challenges to the status

*Mobilization of bias, according to Bachrach & Baratz (1979, p. 43), is "a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures that operate systematically and consistently to benefit certain persons and groups at

quo. The nondecision maker, then, is cognizant of the problem of poverty; however, s/he declines to make those choices which carry the potential for change by challenging the existing order. A nondecision prevents challenges to the status quo from ever arising.

The ultimate aim of action against poverty is to meet basic human needs while concomitantly improving the quality of life. In this 3rd option, positive change is rooted in the belief that the human person has certain inalienable rights. Any violation of these rights is unjust and requires immediate attention. The decision to take positive action requires that the causes of poverty be examined, harnessed, and redirected. It is a commitment to a system which values the person and fosters human development. It initiates an attack on poverty and its causes by facilitating a more equitable distribution of the nation's resources. Economic systems and political structures in the United States greatly determine who shares what goods. The reality of poverty in a nation which offers an abundance of comfort and convenience at every turn for only a select group must be dealt with.

Morality aside, justice is a political obligation and a responsibility grounded in the American tradition. Some argue that justice has too many political implications, and that our elected officials should be responsible for the determination of what is and is not just. However, as Mary O'Connell points out, even charity becomes political if it reinforces an unjust social order (Wolf, 1981, p. 28). The cry for justice demands that personal as well as socio-political decisions be made.

Just as there are short term explanations for poverty, there are long term explanations. We must begin to look beyond the short term explanations to the roots of poverty. The value of a system of free enterprise which deifies unlimited personal gain to the detriment of the general welfare must be questioned.

Seymour Martin Lipset (1974, p. 2) states that the linkage between equality

and achievement throughout American history is largely due to the concepts of inalienable rights and equality for all. In colonial America, status depended on achieved rather than ascribed characteristics (family, wealth, etc.) The mutual struggle for survival, followed by economic, educational, and other reforms tended to narrow the gap between persons of divergent backgrounds.

Today, however, the ascription of various and unequal cultural, environmental, and social factors influences, perhaps dictates, the capacity of individuals to use "equal" opportunity. Even such remedial efforts as the quota system popularized by the Civil Rights movement cannot diminish the significant impact of ascription on an individual's development. In fact, as black economist Thomas Sowell (Lipset, 1974, p. 22ff) suggests, the quota system may have a demoralizing effect on those it seeks to help.

Sowell's example of Ivy League schools illustrates his point. Black students, taken from institutions for which they are qualified, are recruited by institutions for which they are not prepared. For example, the black students recruited to fill Ivy League schools' quotas are well prepared for state colleges, but ill-prepared to compete in the Ivy League academe. The pattern continues as state colleges drain lower level institutions for students to meet their quotas. Since underqualified white students are not similarly recruited and placed, white students tend to be academically superior to many of the black students. This mismatching, says Sowell, fosters feelings of inadequacy and inferiority in the black students.

This is only one arena in which a sizable number of Americans are circumstantially denied access to the mainstream of equal opportunity. Despite increases in welfare expenditures and attempts to equalize opportunity, slums and "assorted other social morbidities" continue to exist (Lipset, 1974, p. 14). As such, the American egalitarian ideal is hardly realized. Something more is needed to foster justice.

Virtually every society places limitation on individual freedoms for the achievement of societal goals. Ideally, these limitations function as a collective conscience, bridging the gap between political ideals and social conditions. Citizens are expected to live within the confines of societal laws, norms, and mores. It follows that they be assured access to those institutions which constitute the political decision and policy-making structures. In the United States, then, social conditions should concur with and complement the political ideals of equality, liberty, and justice for all.

Individual limitations in the U.S. are largely economic in nature (Valentine & Lappe', 1980, p. 6). An individual's income is a major determinant of the degree of freedom* involved in such choices as residence, lifestyle, and mobility. America's more than eight million unemployed (Catholic Key, 1980) are not as free, qualitatively speaking, as are those with steady, sufficient incomes. As economic status (determined by income) decreases, freedom of choice decreases.

Conversely, as economic status increases, freedom increases. The rich can choose to go places, to do things. Personal preference becomes the primary determinant in precisely those areas which restrict the poor. The resources at the disposal of the affluent broaden their spectrum of freedom as more options become available. Ironically, the more affluent can even choose to live in voluntary poverty, usually with the option or the wherewithal to revert to a previous, more comfortable lifestyle.

The gross economic imbalance between rich and poor is inseparable from the unequal distribution of resources which nurtures poverty. The discrepant degrees

Freedom is a term which has psychological as well as sociological implications and overtones. It is "universally understood to represent a good and desirable human condition or objective" (Gottschalk, p. 104). While one person may feel free in a certain place and under certain circumstances, another may feel restricted, threatened, and dissatisfied. "Freedom," continues Gottschalk, "is increased as one's options are increased."

of freedom in a nation "united" relate to Bachrach & Baratz's continuum of power (1979, p. 19ff). They define power, not as a possession, but as a relationship between people in which person A controls or dominates person B's rewards. This implies a conflict of interest between the two in which B complies with A's wishes because non-compliance carries the threat of undesirable sanction.

In economic terms, A and B disagree as to the allocation of resources. A has a disproportionately greater influence in decision-making, even over factors impinging upon B's life, than does B; therefore, B complies because A's threat to impose sanctions seems genuine. B lacks the resources necessary to influence decisions and has little or no input as to the allocation of resources.

The continua of income, freedom, and power are so inter-related that adjustments in one invariable affect the others. Progressively less in any one continuum signals less in each of the others.

If power entails the ability to influence decisions, as suggested by such authors as Bachrach & Baratz, Domhoff, and Valentine & Lappé, the poor are virtually powerless. High income individuals, on the other hand, have the power necessary to influence decisions. They control the allocation of resources because they are equipped with the "right" education, social status, money, personal associations, and so on. As a result, those who already have power, etc. acquire still more of the same while the power of the poor diminishes. In this system, the gain of one signals the loss of another.

In Who Rules America?, Domhoff suggests that a definite power structure, a governing class, exists in America (1967, p. 10). He defines this governing class as "a social upper class which receives a disproportionate amount of a country's income, owns a disproportionate amount of its wealth, and contributes a disproportionate number of its members to the controlling institutions and

key decision-making groups in that country" (p. 142). The upper class's control is solidified by what C. Wright Mills calls a power elite whose power is derived from the institutional hierarchies which they command (Domhoff, p. 8). A member of the power elite may not historically belong to the social upper class; however, sharing in upper class goals engenders cooptation into the upper class. It follows, argues Domhoff, that the aims of the power elite are the aims of the upper class.

The values, goals, and interests of the upper class loom large in institutional decision-making. Governing class control encompasses nonprofit foundations, elite universities, the mass media, such opinion-molding agencies as the Council on Foreign Relations and National Advertising Council, the Executive branch of the federal government, and regulatory agencies to name a few. Its influence extends to the legislative branches of federal, state, and city governments (Domhoff, 1967, p. 10).

Although only certain aspects are highlighted herein, Domhoff's presentation of the American governing class is enlightening. It corresponds to Dahrendorf's concept of "propertied" class. Both hold that ownership of the means of production, in conjunction with decision-making influence, virtually ensures the protection and perpetuation of upper class interests.

Dahrendorf says that property is the condition that determines resource utilization, economic power, and societal structure. Furthermore, an individual's material status depends upon his or her position in production (1968, p. 11ff). Those with disproportionately more property or ownership of the means of production control the allocation of resources. Directly or indirectly, they shape contemporary modes of thought, values, and ideas. Again, the similarity of Dahrendorf's propertied, and Domhoff's governing class control of educational institutions, media, opinion-forming agencies is striking.

The basic assumptions of this project are simple yet vital as they stress

the urgency of reform for human and social development. Specifically:

1. Poverty is a fact of life for millions of people in the United States today.
2. A gross imbalance in the distribution of resources exists in the U.S. to perpetuate this poverty.

Both assumptions form the backdrop for my personal conviction that too many people suffer needlessly in our country. The coexisting extremes of wealth and poverty throughout the U.S. directly contradict the American dream (nay, value and right) of equality for all.

A cogent analysis of the inequities in our system is useless unless accompanied by positive change. The future holds both crisis and promise. Reform which will move us from the collision course with injustice and dehumanization is possible only when the "have's" of society employ an equitable system of shared power and decision-making, of resource allocation and utilization. For many, this will involve a radical change in attitude and lifestyle.

Obviously, societal upheaval or outright revolution is not desirable, even if the times would permit it. The starting point of change is the individual, poor and wealthy alike, and the local community. Grassroots efforts at the local level can engender the change which is eventually hoped for in the larger society. The key to reform is enablement and empowerment of people who, by virtue of their poverty, have been placed on the same quantifiable, expendable level as the products of their labor. The "how" of empowerment rests in a participative planning which considers human needs. The goal is a system in which the individual simultaneously profits and contributes to the good of the whole society, in which people come before profit.

The leap from complacency, to commitment, to justice and the final alleviation of poverty is not an easy one. Nor is it glamorous. It is a radical departure from the status quo. It often threatens the existing power structure. As such, it carries a degree of risk and uncertainty about how people and systems

will react. Change takes time, and some support will undoubtedly diminish when immediate results are not seen. The leap from complacency responds to the plea of "mea culpa" and to the challenge to personally change patterns of consumption, attitudes, lifestyles, and modes of complicity with the existing order.

All the while, the national scope of poverty cannot be forgotten or undetermined. Despite my dissatisfaction with the current system's limitations, I must concede that it does help countless poor and, more importantly, that it holds much promise. But what of the people who need additional financial, educational, psychological, material, or other support? Individuals and local community agencies must step in where the government falls short. These agents must have an expert knowledge of the welfare system. Such knowledge is the most effective tool for maximizing governmental benefits. From there, efforts to supplement the federal system and to facilitate its effectiveness can be built upon.

The responsibility belongs to each of us. Poverty, whether in the form of hunger, loneliness, joblessness is not a fait accompli. If power remains in the hands of a few, the powerless will continue to die physically and psychologically. Empowerment of a majority of people ensures that decisions which have an impact on all people will in fact benefit all people, or at least the majority of people.

Paul Simon (Bread for the World, A Guide to Effective Letter-writing) commented that, "Someone who sits down and writes a letter...almost literally has to be saving a life...." Neither rich nor poor need be passive recipients of the decisions made by a minority, decisions which subjugate a majority. We are not impotent. Each individual can have an impact on the course of social justice: an equitable system which provides freedom, dignity, and justice for all. The fruit of this dream will be realized when people take responsibility for themselves and for others in an effort to create alternative systems which shape the direction of our future society as they modify and humanize existing systems.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Because individual agencies tend to develop and evolve unique techniques for meeting client needs, they can become exemplary tools for program formulation and service provision. The age-old maxim warning against reinventing the wheel is certainly applicable to community development among the poor. The successes and failures of veteran providers, an invaluable source of practical expertise, calls for careful evaluation.

This study's primary methodological tool is a telephone interview schedule administered to a selected sample of agencies which serve the poor. It is designed to explore several facets of each agency, from eligibility requirements to funding to staffing patterns.

Before the findings can be considered indicative of social service provision for the poor as a whole, the results of the interviews must be tabulated and condensed. Since descriptive statistics such as the measures of central tendency will be used, a cursory review may prove helpful before proceeding.

They include:

1. the arithmetic mean - the sum of scores in a group, divided by that group's total number of scores;
2. the median - the midpoint in a high-to-low distribution of responses;
3. the mode - the most frequent score in a group.

The telephone interview schedule was selected for several reasons. It affords the opportunity for dialogue between interviewer and agency staff which is unattainable in a mailed questionnaire. An informal, conversational approach to the interviews can also be used to facilitate and enhance dialogue. The percentage return of mailed questionnaires would probably be smaller than the return/response to telephone interviews. In addition, the telephone interview gives me a greater degree of control over the date collection than would a mailed questionnaire which, in essence, relinquishes control of the collection process

to agency personnel.

Finally, on-site interviews were not conducted because of limitations in time and resources. In the event that participant observation does become possible, several issues will be addressed. Various aspects of agency operation (i.e. atmosphere, number of staff and clients, appearance of clients, interaction between clients and staff and between staff and staff, etc.) will be used to supplement and validate the information obtained in the telephone interview. Other issues to be addressed include the possible creation of needs and the services which are needed, but not provided.

By using the telephone interview schedule, I hope to conduct as many interviews as possible in an informal, conversational manner which allows for dialogue between myself and the contact persons. I hope to become familiar with the integral components of community development and the factors which affect service design and provision. The sample is not intended to accurately portray the entire scope of services offered within the boundaries of the study's universe. Many valuable services are omitted because they seem comparatively less crucial to the needy than the services which have been selected.

Limitations: The Potential for Error

The potential for error is inherent in any research. It may stem from the researcher's point of view, the respondent's attitudes and perceptions, the environment, research tools, and any number of other sources. Sampling errors, also called standard errors, account for the differences between the sample and the total universe, differences which are inherent precisely because only a fraction of the universe is studied. Adjustments for sampling errors can be made in the formula used to determine the sampling frame. In this study, a (.10) adjustment for error and a (.05) degree of confidence are used.

Both reliability and validity, potential sources of sampling error, have far-reaching ramifications. Reliability refers to a dependability of interview responses. Reliable responses would be relatively similar if remeasured under similar circumstances. A lack of objectivity in scoring procedures may cause unreliability. To avoid this pitfall, the survey questions are designed to elicit responses which can be scored on the basis of objective measures rather than subjective judgement. Reliability can be assessed:

1. by retest - duplicating the administration of the interview schedule;
2. by multiple evaluation - scoring of the same responses by more than one evaluator; or
3. internally - asking the same questions in different forms.

This study's limitations preclude conducting a retest, and multiple evaluation is likewise impracticable. The schedule is, however, designed in such a way that many open-ended questions are followed by more direct questions, allowing reliability to be checked. Responses will also be checked against current information on individual agencies, and discrepancies will be considered in the final assessment.

Although reliability does not guarantee validity, a measuring device cannot be valid unless it is reliable. Validity refers to the extent to which an

instrument actually measures what it is supposed to measure. In this study, the telephone interview schedule must be a cogent, sound measuring device. It must be designed to elicit the information necessary to make generalizations about a wide range of approaches to poverty reduction on the basis of a representative sample. The results of this study are, I feel, proof of its validity.

Nonsampling errors which arise from other sources can be random or nonrandom. Random errors result from nonuniform ways of asking questions, interpreting and recording responses, and so on. Nonrandom errors, on the other hand, result from non-response, incorrect responses, undercoverage of certain segments of the population, and so on.

One potential source of nonsampling error is stereotyping. A stereotype is an over-simplified, unjustifiable assessment of an entire group based on preconceived and/or misconceived notions about appropriate behavior, attitudes, appearances. The "halo effect", another source of nonsampling error, refers to the subjective judgement of an individual as "good" on the singular basis of such characteristics as presumed intelligence or likeableness. Other sources of error include socio-economic, cultural, and racial differences; the desire to favorably impress the "other"; unwillingness or inability to give correct answers; varying interpretations of questions, behaviors, attitudes; subjectivity. Data must be relatively error-free to be useful, and error unnecessarily restricts its qualitative content. Fortunately, error can be minimized.

The use of standardization circumvents difficulties in data-gathering, yielding data which is less subject to bias and which can be scored and evaluated objectively. To minimize error, the interview schedule used herein is standardized to the extent that it uses a predetermined set of questions for each interview. The initially prearranged order of questions was disrupted during the course of the majority of interviews when subjects responding to open-ended questions answered questions scheduled to be asked later. This was under-

standable since none of the participants were informed of the interview contents, let alone the order of questions. The diverse types, locations, and hours of the sample agencies prohibited further standardization.

Certain guidelines were established to foster standardization. A one-month period during the months of December and January was stipulated in which to complete the interviews. An agency was considered "unavailable":

1. if no one answered the phone in seven attempted calls during regular business hours over a five-day period and in three attempted calls between 6 and 9 p.m., or
2. if agencies using either answering services or message recorders did not respond to four requests, made over a two-week period, that they return my call.

In some cases, after futile attempts to reach pre-established contact persons, alternate staff persons were interviewed. Although they were not always able to answer all questions, the alternates provided more information than the original contacts who were, for all practical purposes, inaccessible.

Unfortunately, the "Christmas rush" occasionally caused inconveniences in scheduling and conducting interviews. Some contacts were frequently out of the office, others were overwhelmed by seasonal projects and program deadlines, while still others were on vacation. Interviews were conducted at various times during the day and night, depending upon office hours and on contact schedules. In a few instances, the contact arranged to call me or suggested a more convenient time for the interview. All the interviews were conducted over the telephone, but the respondents were contacted variously at home or office, depending upon their personal preferences and convenience.

Selection of the Sample

The multi-faceted, complex scope of poverty requires some type of systematic classification which will facilitate identification and definition of problems, and finally, aid the selection of appropriate alternatives. In this study, poverty-related interventions are categorized into six sometimes overlapping areas. Although these areas are by no means all-encompassing, they do capsulize areas of critical need for the poor.

<u>Type of Intervention</u>	<u>Example</u>
1. General Relief.....	regular monetary and/or in-kind relief i.e. food stamps, medicaid
2. Advocacy/referral.....	victimization services, lawyers' references
3. Senior citizen.....	socialization activities, meal sites, transportation
4. Crisis intervention/ emergency assistance.....	short-term, immediate relief i.e. food, heat, hotlines, shelters
5. Youth development/ character building.....	social activities, scouting, recreation, leadership training
6. Community organization/ community development.....	community centers, educational enrichment, community betterment

The sample was drawn from four resource directories:

1. The St. Charles County Women's Crisis Center Referral Directory
2. The St. Louis Department of Human Resources Directory
3. The St. Charles Community Council's 1980 Directory
4. The August 1979 Southwestern Bell Yellow Pages - listings under "Social Services and Welfare Organizations"

Of the 431 agencies listed in these directories, 200 pertain to the treatment and prevention of poverty. These 200, categorized in Table 2, constitute the sampling frame (N).

Table 2. Number of agencies in each category according to resource

Category	Women's Center	Human Resources	Community Council	Yellow Pages	Totals	% of
General Relief	4	0	10	7	21	10.5
Advocacy/Referral	3	16	5	19	43	21.5
Senior Citizen	0	2	12	9	23	11.5
Crisis Intervention	7	9	8	10	34	17
Youth Development	0	17	10	6	33	16.5
Community Organization	0	1	1	44	46	23
Totals	14	45	46	95	200	100.0

The formula $(n = \frac{Z^2 \alpha^2}{4E^2 + Z^2/N})$ was used to determine the self-weighted probability sample. The calculation shown below produced a sample of sixty-five (65) agencies.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \alpha^2}{4E^2 + Z^2/N} \quad (1)$$

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2}{4(.10)^2 + (1.96)^2/200} \quad (2)$$

$$n = \frac{3.8416}{.04 + .0192} \quad (3)$$

$$n = \frac{3.8416}{.0592} \quad (4)$$

$$n = 64.892 \text{ (rounded to 65)} \quad (5)$$

Key

α =alpha (.05) degree of confidence
 E=(.10) error
 N=sampling frame (200)
 n=sample size

Based on this calculation, the number of agencies to be selected for each of the six categories was determined, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Number of sample agencies per category

Category	% of N	# of agencies per category	rounded # of agencies per category
General Relief	10.5	6.825	7
Advocacy	21.5	13.975	14
Senior Citizen	11.5	7.475	7
Crisis Intervention	17	11.05	11
Youth Development	16.5	10.725	11
Community Organization	23	14.95	15
Totals	100.0	65.000	65

After establishing the number of agencies in each category, a sample of agencies was selected from the directories in order to reflect the broad, disparate scope of interventions currently being used. The selection process was purposive. Some agencies were selected because they sounded interesting. The names of some agencies implied their small, grassroots nature, of special interest herein. Still others were selected because of their vital role in the fight against poverty and can be found in virtually every community across the country. They make up the safety net of our social welfare system. They include such federally mandated agencies as Divisions of Family Services and Social Security Offices. It is my hope that the 65 sample agencies provide an array of alternatives and innovative approaches with which to formulate and guide community development among the poor.

The Introductory Letter

Contacts were initiated via an introductory letter which was mailed to the sample (see Appendix III for a copy of the letter). Its purpose was to introduce myself, to familiarize agency contacts with my study, and to request cooperation in the telephone interview schedule. The letters were personalized as much as possible. They were addressed to the director, president, or other agency personnel specified in the directories. Those agencies which did not specify contacts were called and asked the name of the director or contact person. Over a three-day period, I was unable to establish contacts in five (5) agencies (7.69% of N). In these cases, the introductory letter was addressed to "Director".

Although letters addressed to "Director" might have initially received less favorable responses than those with personalized salutations, no other alternative seemed more advantageous. As the interviews progressed, I found that only three agency contacts were unfamiliar with my letter. In some cases, the original contact recommended that I interview another staff member. Such personal recommendations provided inside introductions in lieu of introductory letters. Of the 65 letters which were mailed, one (1.5%) was returned to me "addressee unknown". The others obviously reached their destinations.

The Telephone Interview Schedule

To check clarity and relevance and to ensure a smooth transition from question to question, two interview schedule pretests were conducted. In both cases, changes were recommended to expedite a smoother interview and to alleviate less-than-necessary questions.

After some deliberation, a few changes were implemented. Some questions were completely eliminated because they seemed too time consuming and tended to disrupt the flow of the interviews. Other questions asked the same question in different words, but since separating them in the text of the interview seemed awkward, they were combined. In these cases, the open-ended questions were placed first, followed by the more direct questions. The direct questions, regardless of their placement, were intended to confirm and complement the responses to open-ended questions. Finally, several questions were reworded. (See Appendix III for the amended interview schedule.)

Each question has a specific information-gathering function. They are all intended to provide enough background data to conduct a relatively error-free, useful, and usable exploratory survey which can be generalized to a wider population group. The duplication of several questions is intended to check the reliability and comprehensiveness of responses.

Because of the time involved in the preparation, administration, and tabulation of the pretests, it was assumed that expanding the interviews would have been inadvisable. I was grateful for the opportunity to speak with agency contacts and did not want to risk any imposition on their time and work-related responsibilities by expanding the schedule. The remainder of this chapter briefly summarizes the purpose(s) of each question.

<u>Question #1:</u>	Agency name	Interview date
	Telephone numbers	Time span of interview
	Address	Contact person
	Hours	

Purpose: Most of the information gathered in this question is for purposes of identification and reference. The agency name, address, and telephone number are essential for referral and classification as well. Knowledge of the office hours is particularly important since an agency can only help if it is available to potential clients. Office hours structure hours or periods of availability.

The interview dates and contact persons were recorded for reference. The time-span of each interview can indicate many things, as will be discussed later.

Question #2: Length of time in operation

Purpose: An agency's initial establishment often indicates contemporary needs and values. This information looks at the longevity of the agencies, making it possible to draw conclusions about adaptability, viability, support, need, etc. In a roundabout way, it also allows a glimpse of each agency's raison d'etre.

Question #3: Is your agency nonprofit?

If yes: Do you have a 501 (c)(3) status with the IRS?

If no : Is your agency for-profit or governmental?

Purpose: The first question is open-ended, giving the contact a chance to respond freely. The second, depending upon the previous response, is included to validate and substantiate the first response. This question is important because the underlying premises of profit and nonprofit agencies are generally different, and a comparison of the two might reveal distinguishing characteristics.

Question #4: What needs does your agency hope to meet? What services do you provide?

-and-

Question #5: Does your agency provide food, clothing, shelter, legal aid, referrals, employment counseling, crisis intervention, psychological counseling, financial assistance, character building, other services?

Purpose: Question #4 is open-ended in order to allow the contact to respond on the basis of his/her own perception of the agency. Although no major discrepancies are expected in the two questions, a possibility exists that certain aspects of service provision take precedence over others. Since it was deemed impractical to ask what percentage of agency time was spent on each aspect of service, it is assumed that the contact's responses will reflect the most important and/or most frequently used services.

Question #5 is designed as a direct expansion of #4 in order to glean information about specific services which the contact may not have mentioned previously.

Question #6: Who are your clients?

Purpose: Again, an open-ended question which allows the contacts to express personal perceptions of the client population. Perceived client attributes will be compared to agency modes of total service provision, from initial reception of the client to solution of problems. This question is closely related to #7 and #10 which ask more specific information regarding the clientele.

Question #7: How do you determine eligibility for your services?

Purpose: An expansion of #6, this question focuses more on requirements, regulations, and restrictions. It narrows the field of potential clients.

Question #10: What restrictions are placed on persons applying for your agency's services? Are there any restrictions based on age, race, sex, income, religious preference, other characteristics?

Purpose: The first question asks for specific restrictions which guide eligibility. The second part clarifies and expands upon questions #3, 6, 7, and 10a by listing various restrictions. All of these questions disclose who is eligible for services. Perhaps more importantly, they disclose who is not eligible, thus who is not being served by existing agencies.

The findings of questions #7 and 10 will be jointly discussed in the next chapter.

Question #8: Does your agency have any religious affiliation?
If yes: What is the nature of this affiliation?

Purpose: This question is asked in order to further classify the agencies, to indicate how many and what kinds of services are provided by religious groups or under church-related auspices, and to note the kinds of restrictions such affiliations incur. It will also be used in comparison with the agency's *raison d'etre*.

Question #9: What are your agency's funding sources:
United Way, private donations, fees for services, local government, federal or state government, local, national or regional foundation, other?

Purpose: The initial question is open-ended, but is followed by pointed questions regarding specific sources primarily because of the multiplicity of possible sources. The questions are asked to determine funding sources, but also because of the influence and control which can be exercised by funding sources over recipients. Requirements and restrictions may be such that vested interests are protected at the expense of the agency's stated goals. Information about funding is also helpful in analysis of and comparison of the size, scope, programming, etc. of individual agencies.

Question #11: How many staff, and in what capacity, does your agency have?

Purpose: This question is asked to indicate the number of agencies which use volunteers and the degree of their dependence on volunteers. The data should be comparable to data from other questions regarding agency size, funding sources, budget, etc. The number of staff persons, relative to agency needs, is a major determinant of the services which are offered and the manner in which they are offered.

Question #12: Is your agency affiliated with any local, regional, national, or international organization?
If yes: What is the nature of this affiliation?

Purpose: Since larger organizations often impose certain restrictions on their

affiliates, this is an important consideration. The degree of control coming from "outside" agents necessarily governs agency services to a certain extent. The impact/degree of such control may present a clearer picture of effected agencies.

Question #13: Are you interested in using practicum students?

Purpose: This question was originally designed to introduce agency contacts to the Lindenwood 4 practicum placement program; as such, it had few implications for this study. Its inclusion, however, may serve other purposes as well. Agency responses may be indicative of their willingness to use volunteers, to take the time needed to establish and maintain practicum students, to be open to the presence of "outsiders" in the agency, etc.

Question #14: If the opportunity arises, may I visit your agency?

Purpose: The main purpose of this question is to establish some conditions in the event that an on-site visit becomes possible. Responses may also indicate agency openness to outsiders' visits, possible uncomfortableness of the threat implied in participant observation on agency premises.

R E S E A R C H F I N D I N G S

This chapter examines the data collected in the interviews, question by question. In two instances, the findings are discussed jointly because of their complementarity. The findings and conclusions, drawn on the basis of a sample population, are intended to be representative of the broad universe of social service agencies, particularly those working among the poor.

Before describing the interview findings, a note about the agencies which were not interviewed. In all, eight agencies (7.76% of the sample) were unavailable for interviews. As previously mentioned, one letter was returned, "addressee unknown". I assume that the agency went out of business.

I was unable to contact three agencies, day or night, according to the established guidelines (see Chapter 4). The first of these was a personalized shopping and delivery service for senior citizens. According to a brief analysis in one of the resource directories, it was provided by local grocery stores, making it possible that the service's home-base was one of those stores. I suspect that the agency is no longer operational although my introductory letter was never returned. The letter may have reached its destination, but been disregarded by the staff if the service, once operating out of a grocery store, is now defunct.

In the second, an advocacy/referral agency (#65), the nonresponse was somewhat more puzzling. In an interview with the agency which rents the office space directly below #65, I learned that the agency's staff were, at that time, in the office, and also received a confirmation of their telephone number and office hours. After several futile attempts, I was forced to label this agency "unavailable" although they were in residence and still operational.

Calls to the third agency at various times of day and night elicited no response whatsoever. No "outside" information was available to aid my assess-

ment of the situation.

Four agencies were contacted but never interviewed. Two of these were community organization/development agencies. In both cases, I spoke 3-4 times with the pre-established contact persons. Each twice arranged to call me at more convenient, yet scheduled, times. Neither called. Several additional calls to both agencies were to no avail since the contacts were either out of the office or busy with something else. Although both contacts initially expressed enthusiasm about being interviewed, I suspect that their schedules and workloads were not conducive to such extra-agency, time-consuming activities as the interview. It is possible that the contacts attempted to call me at a time when I was away from the phone, an additional deterrent which cannot be readily dismissed.

The third and fourth agencies, a victim's advocacy/referral and a crisis intervention/emergency aid agency never returned calls in which I left recorded messages. Unlike the two previous agencies, I did not indicate the purpose of my calls, and unless the staff persons who received the messages recognized my name from the introductory letter, they had no way of distinguishing my call from that of any other needy person, no way of determining the urgency of my need for assistance. It seems safe to say that, had I been an individual in need of immediate aid, their unavailability and lack of follow-up could have magnified my problem(s).

Since I have no conclusive evidence indicating the circumstances contributing to their nonresponse and/or unavailability, I cannot make blanket condemnations of the unavailable agencies. Nonetheless, on the basis of interview responses, I can conjecture that an "availability crisis" threatens persons in need of intervention. For a person in need, whether victim of violent crime, unemployed head of a hungry and homeless family, or apartment resident facing impending eviction, (un)availability of traditional helping agents is crucial. Any social service agency hoping to effectively fight poverty in its various

forms must first and foremost face the battle of being available for those whom it seeks to serve.

The eight unavailable agencies were not replaced by other agencies from the original population. They were retained because their unavailability seems to be a valid indication of the circumstances under which many social service agencies operate, a sad commentary on the state of human services in the United States. The remainder of this chapter addresses the interview findings.

Agency	Availability	Source	No. of Agencies	%
1	Regular	Non-ops	21	41.4
2	Hours	Non-ops		
3	Non-ops	Non-ops	12	23.1
4	Hours	Non-ops		
5	Hours	Non-ops	4	7.7
6	Hours	Non-ops	5	9.6
7	Hours	Non-ops	2	3.8
8	Hours	Non-ops	1	1.9

Some agencies, such as youth clubs and community centers, are open at non-regular hours in addition to regular hours for meetings, recreational, and other activities. For the most part, they are identified as having regular business hours.

The unavailability of some agencies at certain times during the program planning and development process during these hours is a result of various factors. In some instances, agencies are not available only during regular business hours. The 2 agencies (2.8%) with no recorded hours were identified as agencies that are not available during the study period. They are not available during the study period because they are not available during the study period.

<u>Question #1:</u>	Agency name	Interview date
	Telephone number(s)	Time span
	Address	Contact person
	Hours	

Each agency's name, address, and telephone number are basic reference material. They seem to require no further discussion. Office hours establish periods of availability; thus, they are essentially agency commitments to the clientele. Each agency's classification is contingent upon its formally established and publicly designated hours. They have been classified as follows.

<u>Hours of Availability</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
weekdays, "regular" business hours	9am-5pm 8am-4pm	31	54.4
set office hours in addition to flexible hours as needed	10am-3pm 9am-1:30pm	10	15.8
evening hours	6pm-12am	4	7.0
no set hours	random	5	8.7
24 hours	around-the-clock coverage	7	12.3

Some agencies, such as youth clubs and community centers, are open at irregular times in addition to regular hours for meetings, recreational, and other functions. For the most part, they are classified as having regular business hours because:

1. the administrator(s) are available at these times
2. program planning and development occurs during these hours
3. crisis intervention is not an aspect of service provision for these agencies

As many contacts pointed out, crises often circumvent regularity, arising in the late night or early morning when activity is at a standstill. Yet, over 50% of the sample agencies are available only during regular business hours.

The 5 agencies (8.7%) with no set office hours were difficult to contact by telephone. All are small agencies staffed by volunteers. They are basically advocacy/referral agencies. Fortunately, they are not crisis/emergency aid

services, but still, their unavailability cannot help but restrict their service provision and their accountability.

Those agencies with either specified evening or flexible hours in addition to regular office hours seem more capable of meeting client needs. The 4 agencies with established evening hours are employment, youth, crisis intervention, and advocacy services. Most of the 10 agencies with flexible hours offer low and fixed income assistance. These agencies can respond immediately to calls for food, shelter, counseling, transportation, and related needs. Staff are generally available to collect supplies or otherwise serve the needy at other-than-regular hours. Although these agencies are not all on call 24 hours a day, once contacted, they adjust schedules and arrange to help the needy as effectively as possible. Many list the home telephone numbers of staff person(s) as alternates, increasing availability.

There seems to be a desperate need for, but a glaring shortage of 24-hour services for those who find it impossible to seek help during regular office hours and for those who encounter crises at other-than-regular times during the evening, late night, early morning, weekends, or holidays. In question here are crisis/emergency aid services, whether they attend to psychological trauma, victimization, natural disaster, or other immediate needs.

All 7 of the 24-hour services in the sample provide either crisis intervention (e.g. hotlines) or low income assistance and emergency aid (e.g. referrals to food agencies, victimization services, etc.). Their existence is evidence enough that crisis and emergency services can and do operate around-the-clock to meet needs. Unfortunately, the data indicates that the 7 agencies (12.3% of the sample population) meet different needs, and are scattered sparsely in areas of great need. The Red Cross, for instance, is on call only for natural disasters. Another sample agency provides services only for abused women and their children, with additional limitations on length of stay in a

shelter and residential capacity of that shelter. Another is a hotline which receives an average of 12-14,000 calls each month. This is unfortunate because, in each area of need, only one (possibly two) services are offered at times when crises are most likely to culminate: the late night and early morning.

Given this scarcity, certain agencies might consider adopting more flexible schedules. Since crises occur at all hours, regardless of time, commensurate crisis intervention at all hours is a pressing need. Availability does not necessitate staffing an office 24 hours a day. Several agencies in the sample demonstrate that availability can be fostered/accomplished simply by using an after-hours telephone recorder, an emergency telephone number, or a beeper system. These and other means of contact foster expanded availability and increase the likelihood of timely, effective intervention.

The interviews varied in length from 2 to 33 minutes. In both of the 2-minute interviews, the agency contacts responded to my requests for interviews by offering to send me agency literature. My assumption in both cases was that neither party wished to be interviewed. A few additional contacts expressly stated or indicated by tone of voice, brief responses, etc. that their busy schedules left little room for interviews. These interviews were characteristically brief.

There were, on the other hand, individuals who were extremely busy, yet took extended periods of time to be interviewed and to provide detailed descriptions of their prospective agencies. In several of these cases, the contacts asked me to call at more convenient times, or arranged specific times to call me.

The longest interview (33 minutes) was trailed closely by 2 interviews of 30 minutes' duration. Combined, the interviews took approximately 770 minutes (13 hours) for the 57 available agencies. The following statistics present a

clearer picture of the time distributions.

<u>Length (in minutes)</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
1- 5	5	8.8
6-10	16	28.1
11-15	16	28.1
16-20	13	22.8
21-25	4	7.0
26-30	2	3.5
31-35	1	1.7
Mean - 13.5 minutes		
Median - 17.5 minutes		
Mode - 11.0 minutes		

The duration of the interviews may be taken to indicate any number of individual or environmental characteristics: willingness of contacts to be interviewed, knowledge of the agency, ability to discuss the agency's programs, current work load, and many other factors. I found that the shortest interviews (aside from those who offered to send me information in lieu of an interview) were brief because the contacts were not well-informed of many aspects of the agency and seemed uncomfortable discussing it. This was particularly true in those cases when the agency contact could not be reached and I interviewed an alternate.

Question #2: Length of time in operation

The duration of sample agencies ranges from 1-147 years.

Mean # of years in existence - 21.3
 Median # of years in existence - 74
 Mode # of years in existence - 6

The following statistics reflect the number of agencies established by 5 year spans between 1959 and 1979.

<u>Period</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
1975-79	10	17.5
1970-74	13	22.8
1965-69	2	3.5
1960-64	3	5.3

Prior to 1959, 12 agencies (21.1%) were established. Data was not available for 17 agencies (29.8%).

I found the historical background of many agencies to contain invaluable information regarding their *raison d'etre*, an interesting comparison to present purposes and practices. A historical perspective often provided more information than the rest of the questions combined. Such was the case with two agencies in particular.

One of these, a neighborhood babysitting network, had recently gone out of business. The director described, in great detail, her reasons for starting the agency, the value of the services, her *modus operandi*, and the circumstances leading to its termination. She spoke of her personal sense of loss when it closed. This was a for-profit agency conducted on a neighborhood scale which could undoubtedly be modified and adapted to a variety of settings. It could provide valuable babysitting services for parents, jobs for community youth, and build a community network and sense of solidarity at the same time.

Another agency, an after-hours referral service sponsored by a metropolitan-wide organization, was to be terminated within a month of the interview. The director, also the founder, freely expressed her personal sense of loss as she recalled its history, services, etc. In this case, the service was a "one of

a kind" in the area. It was being used by the public, but the funding agency did not feel the services provided justified its expense. Again, this service seemed to be one which could be a valuable asset to any community. Unfortunately, a funding dilemma forced its closure.

The types of agencies born in a period frequently indicate the mood and needs of the time. The YMCA, for instance, was founded in London in the mid-1800's as a home for country people moving to the city. With an evangelical bent, it basically catered to white Protestant males. When it came to the U.S. in the 1860's, it served as a type of shelter from the expansion characteristic of the Industrial Revolution. It was designed to maintain the predominant values of patriotism, white Protestant racial and ethnic supremacy, and love of God. Although it has adapted to changes over the decades, the YMCA has retained its philosophy of promoting Christian values in a wholesome environment.

The Boy's Club, another example, was founded by a women's club over 75 years ago in the eastern United States. Its goal of helping socially deprived, low income youth reflected the contemporary concern over a lack of adequate recreational facilities for city youth. It also reflected the progressivist urge to effect social reform through a humanitarianism which fought to instill the urban, industrial lifestyle and economy with moral overtones and a concern for human rights.

The other sample agencies show marked similarities based on their periods of inception. Of the 12 agencies established prior to 1959, the majority (67%) focus on youth development. The remaining 33% are marked by humanitarian concern for the poor and/or victims of unfortunate circumstances as indicated by the works of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Social Security Administration, and the Red Cross.

The 60's and 70's are marked by a combination of advocacy, welfare rights, low income aid, and other citizen participation/civil rights agencies. Some

reflect the "new Frontier" idealism of the 60's which was dominated by citizens' activism. Others characterize the 1970's which saw a less turbulent, more individual breed of activism. This activism was a type of large-scale voluntarism which consisted of commitment to, participation in, and responsibility for personally meaningful attempts to effect change and social progress.

The sample's low percentage of agencies established in the decade of the 60's (8.8%) may be attributed to the types of organizations prevalent and to the mood of that time. Many activist groups lacked both a solid base of dedicated, committed members and a sense of direction. Student activism, for instance, was manifest in large scale, massive demonstrations, but failed to go beyond such public displays. The technique of demonstration became an end in itself rather than a means to the end. Without a more solid direction and attainable goals, such mass movements eventually lost adherents and power...they stagnated.

I did not learn the founding dates for 17 (29.8%) agencies. Since they are largely community development and advocacy/referral agencies, I venture to guess that they were established in the 60's and 70's. If such is the case, the number of agencies established in those two decades significantly increases.

- Question #3: Is your agency nonprofit?
 If yes: Do you have a 501(c)(3) status with the Internal Revenue Service?
 If no : Is your agency for-profit or governmental?

Although several contacts were unfamiliar with the IRS's 501(c)(3) classification for nonprofit and charitable organizations, all were able to confirm their tax exempt status (or lack of it). The contacts were asked a second, more specific question regarding their status to avoid confusion and to clarify any ambiguity regarding agency classification.

Governmental agencies, largely supported by tax monies, are classified herein as a type of nonprofit agency because their primary purpose, as exemplified by the Social Security Administration and the Division of Family Services, is to provide a variety of aid to the needy. In the past 50 years, the mingling of public with private monies has altered the nature of social welfare provision. In the past, relatively few social services predominated the arena social welfare. Today, most agencies serve a much smaller population and provide fewer services, thus reducing the influence of any one agency.

The pervasive governmental presence in social welfare is a dramatic departure from the policy of non-interference characteristic of the past. The immense quantitative and qualitative need for services to meet expanding needs and demands of U.S. Citizens has necessitated governmental involvement. Nowhere else can the billions of dollars necessary for agency and individual program survival be solicited.

Ralph Kramer (1978, pp. 18-19) reports that growth in governmental services is 3-4 times as great as growth in the nonprofit sector, and that the spending ratio between the governmental and nonprofit sectors is 7-1. In 1945, state Cockburn & Ridgeway (1981, p. 45), the federal government spent \$1 billion for such income security programs as Social Security and welfare, compared to the \$127 billion spent in 1976.

Because the government has the "big bucks", nonprofit agencies find it increasingly necessary to turn to government grants, purchase of service arrangements, revenue sharing, and other sources of financial assistance. Kramer (p. 19) reports that "over 60% of federal expenditures in personal social service is in the form of services purchased from nongovernmental providers". A hospital, for instance, may contract with the government to receive and treat Medicare and Medicaid patients. The government in turn reimburses the hospital for part or all of the costs incurred in the treatment.

Federal involvement in at least 400 different social service programs (Kramer, p. 19) tends to refute the claim that governmental funds are inherently inhumane and/or evil. The vast and overwhelming variety of human needs makes it virtually impossible for the government to oversee all service provision. The mutual dependence of government and nonprofit service providers has become a practical necessity. The supplementary services of nonprofit agencies can sometimes be offered at less cost, with more flexibility, and less bureaucratic 'hassle' for the benefit of client, government, and agency alike.

The federal government's role in monitoring, evaluating, and regulating continues to bring more nonprofit agencies under its auspices. Again, such involvement is not inherently evil, considering the importance of consumer protection, checking and balancing, and overall accountability. Governmental funds are used by a countless variety of agencies, each ultimately responsible for the utilization of funds. The government has varying degrees of control, but service provision depends upon individual agencies.

As a rule, the bottom line is not who provides the service, but how the service is provided. The survival of nonprofit agencies depends upon their adaptability and their keeping pace with for-profit and governmental providers. The competitive nature of service provision often necessitates the use of modern technology, which in turn necessitates large capital expenditures, for effective

and satisfactory services. Since the majority of nonprofit agencies lack the funds and technological capabilities essential for survival in the competitive arena, they turn to the government.

In my interviews, I found the overwhelming majority of agencies to be nonprofit.

<u>Type of Agency</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
for-profit	1	1.7
not-for-profit	56	98.3

Of the nonprofit agencies, 7 (12.5%) are governmental or quasigovernmental; that is, they are provided for by law and are governmentally funded, but are governed by nonprofit boards of directors. An example of a quasigovernmental agency is the Legal Services of Eastern Missouri. In 1974, Congress passed the Legal Services Corporation Act, establishing a presidentially appointed corporation in Washington D.C. Its purpose is to meet the legal needs of low income persons by providing free legal advice and services for eligible poor. The corporation disburses grants to more than 300 legal aid societies in the country.

Only one sample agency, the babysitting service which is now terminated, was for-profit. Seven are governmental. The remaining 49 agencies (86%) are nonprofit. Of these, 34 (69.4% of the nonprofit organizations) receive some type of federal aid, but are not "governmental" per se. Although they receive federal subsidies, they are not mandated by federal legislation and could conceivably exist without explicit governmental sanction. The 15 nonprofit agencies which do receive federal assistance are predominantly small, neighborhood improvement groups which provide low income, emergency assistance such as food or clothing to the needy. These "alternative" agencies meet needs not met by traditional helping agencies.

On the basis of these results, it seems safe to presume the continued vital

Question #4: What needs does your agency hope to meet? What services do you provide?

Question #5: Does your agency provide food, clothing, shelter, legal aid, referrals, employment counseling, financial assistance, crisis intervention, psychological counseling, youth/character building, other services?

The responses to questions #4 and 5 were found to be mutually reinforcing in virtually all of the interviews. Because they tend to compliment and validate each other, they are jointly evaluated. The majority of contacts provided a complete and accurate description of their services in the first, more open-ended question. The second question confirmed the initial responses (to #4), and no discrepancies surfaced.

Services were divided into two categories. Because several agencies provided multiple services, the total number of agencies exceeds 57, while the total of the percentages exceeds 100% in the following tabulation.

<u>Provision</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
1. advocacy/crisis intervention	15	26.3
2. community development/organization	10	17.5
3. individual education	3	5.3
4. referral	16	28.1
5. networking	6	10.5
6. low income, supplemental aid	17	29.8
7. employment/training	8	14.0
8. recreation (all ages)	14	24.6
9. housing assistance	4	7.0
10. senior citizens' services	8	14.0
11. special services	3	5.3
12. youth development	11	19.3

Twenty-five agencies (43.9%) offer more than one service. Most of these can be considered "alternative" agencies; that is, agencies which provide assistance to an unserved or underserved clientele. Alternative agencies, including those in the sample, generally provide crisis intervention and low income assistance to supplement such "traditional" welfare programs as those sponsored by the government. Clients may be individuals who are ineligible for welfare, whose welfare allocation is insufficient or who have, for some reason, fallen

through the holes of the welfare net.

Of 25 multiservice agencies, 11 (44%) do NOT receive government subsidies. These include small, neighborhood associations, run on "shoestring budgets" derived from private donations, and staffed primarily by volunteers. Their services supplement, but in no way replace, traditional welfare programs.

The 32 remaining agencies (56.1%) focus on single areas of service such as housing, legal aid, or youth development. Seventeen (53.1% of the single-area programs) receive NO governmental support, a number comparable to that of non-governmental multi-service programs. There is an obvious difference between the single and the multiservice agencies, the former being significantly larger in size and scope than the latter. This can, it seems, be attributed to the types of service provided.

Eleven (64.7%) of the single-service agencies are geared toward youth development/character building and to recreation for all ages. The long history of scouting programs, the YMCA, Big Brothers, etc. indicate their significance and credibility in American society over the decades. Massive memberships indicate their popularity. The St. Louis metropolitan area alone boasts 33,000 Boy Scouts and 15,000 volunteer leaders; B'Nai B'Rith Youth Organization has 35,000 members nationally; St. Louis's Youth Hostel members number 1600. The size of these and similar organizations demands expenditures of "big bucks" in addition to massive memberships. Large corporate and foundation grants can be acquired as today's health-conscious, recreation-minded society assures large memberships. The results of expenditures are apparent to the contributors, a definite boon for fundraisers.

Support for multiservice (and some single-service) agencies, on the other hand is not so readily available. Neighborhood agencies report a scarcity of dependable, regular funding, not to mention even irregular large donations. Virtually all of these agencies exist in low income neighborhoods where they are most

needed...and most invisible to potential contributors. Support is derived from meager private donations: individuals, community clubs, churches, etc. Several contacts reported that the agency staff scour their homes and neighborhoods for the furniture, food, clothing, and other necessities needed by their poor clients. In these cases, it is the poor who help the poor, but with severely restricted resources. Popular support of neighborhood services is simply not feasible, as is support of recreational-type programs. The geographical boundaries of poor neighborhoods alone understandably preclude massive citizen interest, support, and involvement; consequently, the poor continue to serve the poor.

Question #6: Who are you clients?

Each agency is placed in one of five broad categories depending upon the contacts' responses.

<u>Client Type</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
special	services for the deaf, handicapped	3	5.3
youth	recreation, leadership	11	19.3
elderly	transportation, social, supplemental aid	6	10.5
anyone	crisis intervention, referrals	15	26.3
low/fixed income	temporary assistance, welfare	22	38.6
Totals		57	100.0

Special

The small number of services for "special" population groups (3, or 5.3%) can be attributed to the original purposive sampling in which such agencies were not targeted. The small percentage found herein cannot, then, be considered indicative of the percentage of agencies providing such services. All three agency contacts did, however, report a shortage of services for the handicapped. One, a teletype communication system for the deaf, is the only teletype service for 20,000 deaf persons in Missouri and Southern Illinois. It provides information and referrals. It also assists deaf clients with a variety of tasks from locating delayed shipments to ordering pizza. It serves 6-700 people each month and received a total of 30,000 calls in 1979.

Youth

The services of youth agencies (11, or 19.3%) range from day care to after-school recreation to character building programs such as leadership and employment training. The vast majority of youth agencies have age restrictions for specific programs, but on the whole, are open to any community youth within that stipulated age bracket. One unique youth agency provides an alternative to sus-

pension by placing juvenile offenders in community volunteer positions. In addition, it provides study skills and tutoring workshops, various 'advancement in the arts' programs, an outdoor program, and a speakers' bureau/rap session for all interested youth.

Elderly

The survey revealed services for the able-bodied/self-sufficient as well as for the institutionalized/homebound elderly. They range from handiman to volunteer placement to socialization to supplemental assistance programs. One agency coordinates services in a 4-ward area in order to provide referrals, to minimize unnecessary duplication of services, to assess needs, and to direct the establishment of new or joint programming for the elderly. The contact reported that of 15,000 elderly in the agency's jurisdiction, only 10-12% participate in elderly-serving programs. Many elderly, suggested the contact, live in social, physical, psychological need, unaware of or reticent to use existing services. The agency hopes to inform more senior citizens of the services which are available and to encourage greater service usage.

As elderly clients come to depend on services which they were previously unaware of (services which may be convenient but not necessarily essential), needs may be 'created'. The major justification for creating any need is based in the ultimate purpose of these services which is, generally, to enhance the quality of life. Services for the elderly (or any other clientele) need not be restricted to providing only the bare necessities, as this program indicates.

Anyone

Fifteen agencies (26.3%) report that "anyone" is eligible for their services. These agencies offer referrals, advocacy, remedial education, crisis intervention, and so on. In actual practice, their clients are those individuals whose circumstances have created a need. Thus, the determination of "anyone" is restricted by circumstantial needs.

Low/fixed income

Finally, 22 agencies (38.6%) offer services to low and fixed income individuals. Their clientele consists of victims of natural disasters in need of immediate food, shelter, etc.; individuals in need of supplementary income and in-kind assistance necessary for subsistence; and other individuals whose circumstances create a need for temporary relief of some kind. The assistance provided is virtually always food, clothing, shelter, transportation, and such federal aid as medicaid, food stamps, or utilicare.

Question #7: How do you determine eligibility for your services?

Question #10: What restrictions are placed on persons applying for your agency's services? Are there any restrictions based on age, race, sex, income, religious preference, other characteristics?

Because of their complementary nature, these questions are discussed jointly. No contradictions or discrepancies were noted in the interviews. Thirteen types of agency restriction narrow the field of potential clients for specific services. In several cases, more than one restriction limits eligibility. Respondents indicated that eligibility for services is based on:

<u>Restriction</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
1. the program being offered	community center (multiservice)	12	21.1
2. referral	lawyers' referral	7	12.3
3. circumstances of need	unemployment, natural disaster	19	33.3
4. none	advocacy	11	19.3
5. age	senior citizen center	20	35.1
6. residence	community betterment	5	8.8
7. victimization	wife abuse	2	3.5
8. sex	youth group	2	3.5
9. religion	youth organization	1	1.8
10. income or material assets	federal assistance	11	19.3
11. educational	voluntary improvement (G.E.D.)	2	3.5
12. family size	housing assistance	2	3.5
13. disability	deafness	3	5.3

The most common restriction was age (35.1%), followed closely by circumstances of need (33.3%). Actually, all of the services cater to individuals who, on a circumstantial basis, experience a particular need. In this question, "need"

is conditioned by a lack of food, money, necessary and essential transportation, natural disaster, etc. The large percentage of age restrictions is commensurate with the large percentage of youth or senior citizen services (a combined 17 agencies, or 29.8% of the sample).

The agencies with income restrictions are primarily governmentally sponsored. They provide supplemental benefits of food and income. Clients are screened and evaluated on the basis of savings, regular income and other assets before aid is provided.

The seven agencies which require referrals provide low income and emergency assistance such as food baskets, emergency transportation, or money. Referrals are required because these agencies wish to be used only as a last resort, after all other services have been exhausted and the need has not been met satisfactorily. Funding in these programs is generally limited, and disbursement of aid is closely monitored. One county's emergency financial assistance program, for example, was established by a statutory requirement to set aside \$150.00 - \$153.00 per year to provide for food. Its clients are indigents or families whose food stamps have run out, and who are no longer eligible for other avenues of funding or assistance. This program also requires that clients be county residents for at least one year, a requirement comparable to that found in 8.8% of the agencies surveyed.

Question #8: Does your agency have any religious affiliation?
If yes: What is the nature of this affiliation?

<u>Type of Agency</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
no affiliation	42	73.7
some affiliation	15	26.3

Almost 3/4 of the agencies surveyed (73.7%) have no religious affiliation. Of the 15 which do have some type of affiliation, 14 (98.3% of the 'yes' responses) have no restrictions or eligibility requirements based upon religion. Findings correspond to those of question #7 in which eligibility for services is restricted by 1 (1.8%) agency.

Affiliates are either partly or totally sponsored by a religious organization or philosophically rooted in a particular credo. Staff, in most cases, are largely of the same persuasion as the sponsoring agent, but only one agency restricted membership to individuals of that faith. This organization's raison d'etre was to unite youth of that faith, to help them feel comfortable in their faith and religious identity, and to develop leadership potential. Since the organization has not departed from its original purpose, the selective nature of its membership requirements seems justifiable. An open membership would be incongruent with its purposes. Youth of other denominations are not totally barred, but may participate in some programs and activities offered by this organization.

Five agencies with a religious affiliation (33%) are youth related. Four serve the elderly and/or those in need of acute care, while 5 provide low and fixed income assistance in the form of food, clothing, etc. One is a crisis intervention hotline.

The distribution, by affiliation, follows:

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Affiliations</u>
Catholic	6	10.5	40
Christian	6	10.5	40
Jewish	2	3.6	13.3
Lutheran	1	1.8	6.7

The data reveal that, not only are the majority of agencies (73.7%) not religiously affiliated or restricted, but 98.3% of the religiously affiliated agencies are also not restricted by the affiliation. The aims of these agencies seem to be more humanitarian than narrowly evangelical or missionary. They attempt to relieve some of the ill effects of poverty and to build the character of youth by providing "wholesome" recreation and character building opportunities.

Affiliation was generally by funding source: the Church Women United, Jewish Federation, or individual church groups and members. A few agencies are allocated one collection per year as a regular source of funds. Still, the services are not restricted. This seems to reflect the growing spirit of ecumenism which marks our time. Individuals are more willing to contribute to worthy causes for the "good of humanity" while organized religious groups serve "the needy" as opposed to "our" needy, a sign that the distrust and disdain which marked previous relations between diverse religious groups is giving way to a total concern for social justice.

Question #9: What are your agency's funding sources?

Responses indicate dependence on numerous funding sources.

<u>Funding Source</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
United Way	9	15.8
Private donations	31	54.4
Fees for services, memberships	16	28.1
State, county, local government	8	14.0
Federal government	22	38.6
Government contracts	4	7.0
Foundation, corporate grants	15	26.3
Other i.e. intra-agency allocation	2	3.5

The most common source of funds are private donations, accounting for at least a portion of funds in 54.4% of the agencies surveyed. Very few agencies, however, depend solely on private donations which pale considerably in comparison with the "big bucks" of corporate and foundation grants, the government, or other large resources. The data also indicate that the majority of agencies (57.9%) tap more than one source in their fund-raising.

<u>Nature of Funds</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
Diverse sources	33	57.9
100% private donations	9	15.8
100% United Way	3	5.3
100% governmental	12	21.0

Competition for funding was a central theme in the interviews. Numerous contacts indicated that fund-raising is their #1 headache. Shortages of adequate funds curtail program development, expansion, and effectiveness. Shortages of funds also prohibit hiring the quantity and quality of staff requisite to optimum service provision.

Of the 9 agencies funded completely by donation, 8 (14%) are small operations, staffed primarily by volunteers. They are neighborhood centers, low-income assistance programs, advocacy and referral groups. The other is a rapidly expanding food bank, a network of 65 social service agencies which provide short term, emergency food relief to the needy. It serves as many as 15,000

different distribution centers throughout the county. It also provides food donations to at least 100 other food disbursement agencies. It is staffed by three full-time paid, and one part-time volunteer personnel.

The number of agencies run on private donations might be larger if United Way, some grants, memberships and fees for services were included. United Way is a collector of voluntary contributions. Like many other national agencies, it is responsible for the collection and disbursement of individual donations. United Way and similar "favorite charities" are instrumental in soliciting and disbursing private donations in the U.S. They are a fact of life for many people, as regular as the deadline for tax returns, but not as dreaded.

The 12 agencies (21%) which are totally governmental funded consist of such agencies as the Division of Family Services, the Social Security Administration, agencies connected in some way with the court system, and some community development agencies which are part of the Community Action Program. These agencies generally offer a variety of services from employment training to education to housing. The funds are usually channeled to state agencies which in turn oversee the allocation processes.

The near future presents a bleak picture for even federally funded programs, given the current administration's threatened budget cuts. Cuts in Medicaid, WIC, food stamp, and other supplemental assistance programs will place a heavier burden on the small, locally supported agencies to feed, clothe, care for the needy. The elimination of such programs as CETA will place an additional burden on many already understaffed agencies - both those which lose CETA workers and those which must share the brunt of the loss by providing more services to more clients, but with restricted staff. Agencies which receive some federal monies but depend primarily on other sources may be more fortunate. They may have to do without the amenities which federal subsidies have allowed them to grow accustomed to in the past, but they will not have to search for 'big bucks'

in lieu of lost federal monies.

Foundation grants have been acquired by 26.3% of the agencies, a surprisingly large percentage considering the scarcity of such funds. Foundation grants vary in size, of course, but are generally considered a source of 'big bucks'. Unfortunately, many foundations give on 'one-time-only' bases, and their support cannot be considered regular, dependable sources of income. Agencies must seek funds elsewhere as well.

Funding sources may or may not demand that certain guidelines be followed in the use of their contributions. The government has a reputation as the 'bad guy' because of its increasingly apparent role in the restriction and regulation of fund utilization. Foundations are also notorious for placing restrictions on their fundees. United Way's guidelines are considered by some to be equally restrictive. Even the use of some private donations is restricted by donor stipulations. An agency's control over funds is contingent upon the funding source and the strings attached to the "bargain". Most agencies realize that funding is a two-way street, sometimes making concessions in service delivery to acquire desirable funds. Both factors must be weighed in the process of negotiating for funds.

The "strings attached" are not innately evil, and the restrictions imposed may improve services. The restrictions can become positive sources of accountability which is essential in any service provision.

Question #11: How many staff, and in what capacity, does your agency have?

The number and capacity of staff persons can be indicative of anything from financial status to utilization of volunteers to the effectiveness of service provision. The exact number of staff persons varied by sample agency, and I found a large number of contacts who were not certain as to the exact number of staff persons. Nonetheless, the following figures can be taken as an approximation or an indication of the staffing patterns of social service agencies.

<u>Capacity</u>	<u># of Staff</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>
Full time paid	1- 5	27
	6- 10	5
	11- 15	3
	16- 20	2
	70- 75	1
	135-140	1
Part time paid	1- 5	10
	10- 15	1
Full time volunteer	1- 5	9
Part time volunteer	all staff	5
	all but 1 or 2 staff	6
	1- 10	5
	16- 20	3
	65- 85	2
	150-160	1
	250	1
	350	1
Totals:	50 agencies use paid staff	
	33 agencies use volunteer staff	

Thirty-nine of the agencies surveyed use full time paid staff while 11 use part time paid staff, usually as assistant program administrators. Although 50 agencies do pay staff persons, the number of paid staff per agency is limited. Twenty-seven agencies, for example have 1-5 full time paid staff while five have 6-10 full time paid staff, and two have 16-20 full time paid staff. One has 72 and another has 140. Both of the latter are federal assistance programs.

Of the part time paid, 1-5 have 10 while 1 has 15 part time paid staff. A total of 16 agencies function with all paid staff.

Twenty-six (45.6%) of the agencies use both volunteer and paid staff.

However, the number of volunteers outweighs the number of paid staff in 22 of these agencies (84.6%). Seven agencies use only one paid staff and 9 use only 2 paid staff, usually the director and secretary, bookkeeper, or assistant.

Eight agencies are staffed completely by volunteers. In 6 of these, the director is also a volunteer. One agency which uses senior citizen volunteers reported using 2 full time paid staff in conjunction with 98% volunteers for a total of up to 65,000 volunteer hours per year. The few agencies (5) which use more than 65 volunteers are youth or recreational, crisis hotlines, advocacy and referral, or multiservice organizations. One helpline has one paid staff, 152 volunteers, and needs more volunteers. Another legal/advocacy service uses 230 volunteer lawyers and an additional 120 volunteer fundraisers compared to the 3 full time paid staff.

The wide, almost overwhelming, use of volunteers in the social services cannot help but indicate a vital aspect of these services - the human touch. Granted, people volunteer for many reasons, personal satisfaction and fulfillment being justifiable reasons for volunteering. But the time given to help others in need can surely be construed as an indication of the need to help the poor and needy, to help ameliorate the inequities in our society. Mass voluntarism reflects the desire of countless Americans of all ages to feel needed and useful, to belong, to participate in worthy causes. Private donations - money, time, services, in-kind goods - are ways of voluntary participation in the alleviation of human poverty. Such involvement can surely be construed as a sign of hope.

Question #12: Is your agency affiliated with any local, regional, national, or international organizations?

Contrary to my expectations, the majority of agencies (61.4%) did have some type of extra organizational affiliation. Both these and the 22 (38.6%) with no affiliation varied in size, scope and purpose.

<u>Response</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
yes	35	61.4
no	22	38.6

Extra-agency affiliations provide several benefits: advisory and supportive services; association with a larger, often more credible organization; a more extensive and coordinated networking system to name a few. Each of the "yes" responses claimed local self-autonomy, with only minor restrictions or regulations binding them to umbrella organization.

The types of affiliation are classified as local, national and international, or state and regional, with the following results.

<u>Affiliation</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of "yes" responses</u>
local	6	17.1
regional/state	3	8.6
national/international	26	74.3

The locally affiliated agencies tend to be community centers, branches of metropolitan-wide agencies, or special projects of local civic and professional groups such as legal referrals. The regional/state affiliates consist of state community service agencies (part of the Community Action Programs), while the national and international affiliates tend to be interest groups typified by recreational, advocacy, youth, and such large networks as food banks. Even the national CAP agencies claim local autonomy. Their autonomy is, of course, commensurate with the types and degrees of guidelines established by the umbrella organizations. Autonomy exists only within the confines of these guidelines and restrictions.

Question #13: Are you interested in using practicum students?

Some agency contacts were not familiar with the practicum concept, while others were accustomed to using practicum students. Many agencies had never considered using practicum students, but seemed interested in making further arrangements. The noncommittal responses of over 1/3 of the contacts were taken to indicate their disinterest.

<u>Response</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>%</u>
yes	28	49.1
no	8	14.1
not sure	21	36.8

Question #14: If the opportunity arises, may I visit your agency?

<u>Response</u>	<u># of Agencies</u>	<u>% of Agencies</u>
yes	57	100
no	0	0

The vigor with which I was welcomed to visit each agency varied, with the neighborhood alternative agencies responding most favorably. The office arrangements and modus operandi of some agencies were somewhat prohibitive of on-site visits. For instance, some advocacy/referral groups conducted the bulk of their business via telephone, and had little office space to encourage participant observation. Those agencies which conducted business on the premises such as food or clothing distribution centers tended to be more enthusiastic. Many of these agencies initiated an invitation, encouraging me to visit, and emphasizing that participation in the day-to-day activities of the agency could facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the agency's role than anything else. Two out of three federal agencies encouraged me to make on-site visits, suggesting that even the bureaucracy often labelled "impersonal, machinistic" has a human face!

I found the personality of some contacts to be drawing cards in many agencies, a reminder that the subjective, relational character traits of the staff are important considerations in any organizational setting. Knowing how to deal with diverse types of people and the ability to use the "human touch" are especially important characteristics for those staff who work directly with the public.

Summary

Contacts with the sample agencies were marked by cooperation, friendliness, good-humor, and a willingness to share advice and experiences. Most gave the impression of wanting to help in any way and as much as possible. My initial impression of the commitments to their respective 'missions' was solidified when many organizations offered to act as consultants, free of charge, for neophyte groups. Most people could share on emotional as well as purely informational levels, and although subjectivity can be detrimental to this type of research, it has its place. The subjective experiences of others will, I am sure, become part of the basis of my future practice.

On the whole, personal experiences in the interview processes were highly satisfactory. They provided me with information and background material as well as a sense of the mutually supportive network which exists among providers.

It is apparent that a disparate group of clients is served by the sample agencies. Services for those in crises and for those in need are available, though sparsely scattered. They provide the material aid, psychological and emotional support, essential referrals, and development opportunities necessary for human growth. There remains a marked difference between persons who choose to participate in, for example, a recreational, social, or educational program and those whose survival depends upon supplemental assistance. The concern of an individual looking for a recreational facility is incomparable to the concern of a parent whose cupboards are bare and whose food stamp allocation will not arrive until next week.

Qualitative improvements which enhance physical, psychological, and material well-being are as vital, though in a totally different sense, to the relatively comfortable as are qualitative improvements which enable subsistence living for the poor. My concern, however, is for the latter, for those who receive just

enough aid to "get by", and for those who never reach that point. Although 38.6% of the agencies surveyed offer supplemental low income assistance, there is a need for even more effective, long-term assistance. Assistance which equalizes standards of living between diverse population groups hopes to afford the poor with the same kind of freedom enjoyed by the "have's" of society: the freedom to be concerned, not with subsistence, but with qualitative improvements of relatively comfortable lives. Special efforts must be made to educate those who are not aware of the assistance for which they are eligible and for those who, for such reasons as pride, refuse supplemental aid.

Beyond educational efforts directed at the victims of poverty, attempts to facilitate individual involvement in and responsibility for personal and community enrichment are needed: job training, employment opportunities, decision-making power, a greater degree of neighborhood control over specifically local concerns, and other forms of ownership in the processes which impinge upon individual and community life. Changes are needed which will raise the standards of living for millions of poor, even if it means lowering the standards of the rich, by facilitating a more equitable distribution of resources.

C O N C L U S I O N

The premises of this study are molded by a unique concept of poverty, of the extreme polarization between rich and poor, and of the mechanisms which maintain current decision-making structures in the United States. The study explores the field of social welfare, with particular emphasis on poverty intervention.

A review of the literature establishes an overall perspective of the causes and effects of poverty. It surveys pertinent poverty theories, practitioners' publications, and community organization/community development theories. A telephone interview of selected social service providers was conducted in conjunction with the literature review. It surveyed the measures used by existing agencies to establish a more equitable social order and to ameliorate poverty. The survey fortifies the theoretical foundation laid in the literature review.

An overwhelming consensus within the literature is immediately apparent: the poor themselves are not solely responsible for the maladies which plague them. Poverty is imposed. It is not born of laziness, apathy, or other personal attributes. Rather, it is conditioned by societal, political, and economic decision-making structures. These structures, inaccessible to the poor, are controlled by a small minority of powerful individuals and corporations. The poor lack the education, skills, financing, associations, and other resources essential in wielding power.

Resources tend to be channeled away from those most in need of assistance. The sole legacy of many poor is a dehumanizing, oppressive environment, a society in which struggles to subsist subordinate all other concerns. Exerpts from an interview with a former guest of the St. Louis Catholic Worker partially reflect the social, psychological, physical, and economic burdens engendered by poverty (Ramsey, 1981, p. 5).

Q: Where did you live before you came here?

A: I had two rooms, no tub, no face bowl, no space heater.... I looked at a whole list of apartments last week. I called every last one of them. They say, "How many children do you have?" I say, "Four." They say, "That's too many." I feel so hurt...when I call a lot of places and they turn down my children.

Q: What was it like in December living in that two-room apartment without heat?

A: I had some blankets. It was kind of cold there. I had to heat the house with that stove and that ran the gas bill up so high that they talked about cutting the gas off. I want to work. I love to work. I want to get a job. I don't like welfare. I'm just tied down with all these children. I want a house before I get 30. But right now I just can't do better than to just get what's coming to me and be satisfied until I can do better for myself. I do think there is a better chance for me in life. I used to not think that.

Q: So your best hope now is to get into public housing?

A: Those section 8 apartments are good places for children to live. I hope I can get a place to stay. It's hard. There are a thousand people waiting...living in shelters and in old cold houses with rats running around.

Q: Do you find a lot of your friends and relatives in the same situation?

A: Everywhere young mothers are trying to take care of their children by getting the little they make from welfare. It's not enough to live off. The social workers are coming and taking those people's children. And they have been abused, not really by their mothers, but by how this living is...by not having a place to stay that is decent. You can't really rely on welfare. It doesn't take care of you like people think it does. It hurts the mother...the child don't understand why it has to go through this.

Babies are coming into the world everyday without a place to stay. I don't like for anybody to get an abortion, but what is the use of bringing a little child into the world when it's going to come here and suffer? A child turns 8 or 9 and realizes they are drifting. They think it's Mama, but it's not Mama. She is doing all she can to help. It's rough. It is.

My children...don't like living like this. They look at me like they are saying, "Why did you bring me into this world?" I say, "It just happened to get like this when you came. I'm trying to hold on to you...I'm doing the best I can."

This woman's words radiate a sense of powerlessness, despondence, and emotional distress. Her ability to obtain adequate provisions for her family are impeded by her narrow range of options. She is, in essence, at the mercy of the

welfare state.

The decisions of those who currently dominate the decision-making arena have far-reaching ramifications on rich and poor alike. The mobilization of bias which protects their vested interests aggravates the already inequitable distribution of resources and nurtures both physical and psychological deprivation among the poor. On the other hand, decisions geared toward equity would allow the disenfranchised a voice in the determination of resource allocation.

The goal of change is to humanize the institutional perpetrators of political, social, psychological, economic oppression. It is to establish a more just distribution of resources which affords all segments of the population a voice in decision-making.

The accomplishment of change is contingent upon various human, environmental, and institutional factors. Daniel Berrigan (Wolf, 1981, p. 2) points out that,

Even with the most fervent will, it is not possible for everyone to do everything. We cannot level our lance at every evil, right every wrong. But we can do something, and the moral distance between doing something and doing nothing is momentous indeed.

His statement is an apt reminder that no one person or group can win the war on poverty single-handed. The scope and complexity of the problem are so tremendous that no single remedy is broad enough to encompass it. Not only is one approach unfeasible, but the final result of intervention in specific areas may be long in coming. The very nature of social work dictates that change in the behavioral and politico-economic arenas be extremely gradual. Even inconspicuous, seemingly insignificant efforts, however, are important.

Anne Wolf (1981, p. 2) insists that "Shooting b-b's at elephants is a worthwhile task" to emphasize that power and influence can be effectively wielded in the day-to-day lives of individuals. Solidarity with the poor finds expression in a number of ways, as indicated in the sample survey. The smaller,

grassroots agencies are more inclined to provide "band-aid" assistance e.g. food, clothing, temporary shelter, and transportation. Limited staff and funds preclude more extensive relief. Although band-aid efforts are capable of meeting temporary, crisis-type needs, they are insufficient agents of lasting change.

To be lasting, efforts must first permeate, then alter, social, political, and economic systems. The term "armchair activism", for example, describes letter-writing, voting, and other, less-conspicuous, but politically potent, forms of citizen participation. Armchair activism goes beyond band-aid assistance as it seeks to effect legislation and create an environment more conducive to and responsive to change.

For many people, lifestyle changes such as voluntary poverty involve conscious simplifications in patterns of consumption and express solidarity with the poor. Their basic premise is that the materialistic, production-oriented values of our society foster oppression. They decry participation in or complicity with the existing order. Not all lifestyle changes need be as dramatic as voluntary poverty.

For others, more "radical" means of change seem more likely to yield the desired result. Civil disobedience, for instance, demonstrates noncompliance by breaking laws that are felt to be unjust. Picketing, public vigils, tax resistance, and sit-ins are also examples of what are considered extreme departures from the norms of accepted behavior. Chapter 3 mentions that the risk of violence increases proportionately as the goals of the competitors diverge and compromise seems unlikely. The potential for material and human destruction involved makes violent tactics unacceptable alternatives for effecting change. Just as the goals of justice and equity are incompatible with poverty, they are incompatible with the use of violence. (See Appendix I for methods of nonviolent change.)

The sample agencies are classified according to the nature and priority of

services as follows:

1. crisis intervention/emergency assistance
2. advocacy/referral
3. senior citizens
4. youth development/character building
5. general relief
6. community development/community organization

Differences in such factors as purpose, scope, size, staffing, and funding provide a broad overview of the many approaches to poverty intervention.

Of the agencies surveyed, only a few are part of the federal government's "safety net" of social welfare. Locally-based federal assistance programs also provide food, shelter, utility, and other subsistence aid to eligible persons. Since the safety net is not so fine as to catch all the needy, the vast majority of agencies supplement the welfare state. The local grassroots agencies in particular meet subsistence level needs for food, clothing, etc. Their services generally respond to the seen and felt needs of the local community. They are indispensable because they rise above the federal assistance programs to enhance the quality of human lives. In a sense, these agencies defy the impersonal and threatening rigidity of the federal bureaucracy by opting for a more personal, caring, and human approach to poverty intervention. Their services contribute to total human growth. The volume of clients served by nongovernmental agencies indicates that federal assistance does not adequately serve the needy. The workload strain on agency staff indicates that more such provisions are needed.

The remaining agencies seek qualitative improvements once subsistence needs are ensured. The utilization of crisis intervention, advocacy, and referral agencies definitely indicates a need. Victims of violence need immediate assistance, whether psychological, physical, or both in order to deal with traumatic experiences. Advocacy and referral services run the gamut from legal advice to housing problems. They seek to defend and protect the rights of individuals who are not capable of doing so themselves. Their support and guidance facilitate greater degrees of independence and freedom in their clients.

The growing senior citizen population calls for well-planned provisions to meet age-related needs. Beyond subsistence, many elderly are served by handi-man, telephone buddy, transportation, and related assistance which facilitates independence. The social-psychological needs of senior citizens are frequently met through senior citizen center activities and volunteer work experiences, which provide companionship and opportunities for creative expression and personal growth. The number of elderly persons which utilize these services indicates their popularity and value for this significant segment of the population.

The great emphasis on youth development and character-building is not limited to recreational activities as might be expected. Youth programs tend to focus on overall development: personal, social, education, community service, leadership, and so on. The size and apparent popularity of such programs seems to indicate a broad societal emphasis on and concern for the total well-being and development of the nation's future leaders. It also seems to indicate a growing dependence upon extra-familial institutions for the care and socialization of youth. Many youth agencies include family rather than strictly youth components.

Community organization agencies, like youth-serving agencies, tend to focus on a broad range of needs within set geographical boundaries. The mobility, diversity, and impersonality of contemporary communities make close-knit community life difficult, if not impossible. The value of community centers seems to reflect some degree of the need for community life. A physical center for meetings, activities, socials, etc. is often a vital factor in a group's identity as community. Even those communities without a physical center, however, are capable of community development and organization. Varying degrees of citizen participation and administrative decentralization have been shown to create an atmosphere conducive to self-sufficiency, independence, and community betterment. Despite the hindrances, community organization can have a substantial impact upon

the acquisition and utilization of resources within that community.

Crises in resources, resulting from shortages of funding and of qualified staff, contribute to the severe limitations binding helping agencies. Funding is a major concern of virtually all social service agencies. The current administration's plans to cut human service funding will undoubtedly place a tremendous burden on all providers. Funding shortages will have a direct impact on any agency's ability to pay staff persons a decent wage, resulting in many agencies' dependence upon volunteer staff. This is not to imply that volunteer staff are any less qualified and valuable as service providers. However, regulations placed upon agencies by funding and other sources often restrict the use of volunteers. In addition, volunteers are harder to find today. More and more persons find it necessary to supplement their incomes by "moonlighting", leaving less time for volunteering. More women find it necessary and/or desirable to work outside the home, thus limiting a previously abundant source of volunteers. In addition, the tremendous numbers of special interest groups vying for individuals' commitments tend to spread the available volunteers thinly. As a result, even for those agencies whose regulations permit the use of volunteers in any capacity, the short supply is restrictive.

While small grassroots efforts are especially prone to insufficient funding, they may, at least initially, be less dramatically affected by budget cuts. They will not be forced to seek funds in lieu of reduced federal monies because most of them do not depend on federal assistance in the first place. Nonetheless, they will be indirectly affected.

The implications of budget cuts are many and ominous for the poor. More people, refused assistance due to stricter eligibility requirements, will be forced to turn to already overloaded agencies. The agencies themselves will receive less funding to accommodate the increased clientele. Elimination of such programs as the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) will force reduc-

tions in staff, placing numerous nonprofit agencies in a precarious position. While hiring staff to replace CETA workers will cut into restricted budgets, not hiring will place an even greater burden on the remaining staff. Even those agencies which do not receive federal subsidies will be adversely affected by the increased proportion of needy who are forced upon them. Block grants will be largely inaccessible to the poor who lack the politico-economic resources necessary to lobby for even a fraction of the allocations. These are only a few of the problems which seem inevitable in the event that human services funding is cut back.

Money and staff are two of the most vital components of service provision (aside from the client population). The money squeeze- shortages of governmental and private funds alike- in conjunction with staffing shortages not only influence what can be offered in the way of service, but more importantly, ordain the very existence of many agencies.

A basic consideration in the plan to drastically cut human service program spending must be its effect on the ever-widening qualitative gap between the lives of rich and poor. It seems that if already overloaded agencies are to maintain current levels of service (often already strained), action must be taken. As with any kind of change effort, lifestyle changes are important, but the kind of tactics drastically needed at this point are those which advocate for the poor. They aim directly at the heart of the decision-making apparatus of society, that is, the political structures which determine who gets what, when, and how. Letter-writing campaigns, lobbying, and other nonviolent techniques can be used to express noncomplicity with the current patterns and to express support of modifications. Such efforts may succeed in ensuring the maintenance of current levels of care which, judging from the scope and propensity of poverty, are inadequate to begin with.

Fortunately, the call to justice does not require an overnight movement

from riches to rags. Dramatic lifestyle changes are not always wise or feasible. Peer & Gelman (1981, p. 72) note the value of personal sensitivity in working for justice, as exemplified by a "New York watchman named Bill who lends money, finds beds, tracks down lost legal papers and deals with social workers on behalf of the 35 derelicts he has adopted." Most people cannot hope to meet the high standard of personal involvement set by Bill. But, his work does demonstrate the potential for voluntary contributions by individuals, contributions of time, money, material and psychological support.

Although they may lack the knowledge and practical experience necessary for effective lobbying, advocacy, group process, etc., involvement of the poor is an essential ingredient in the process of change. Self-help programs designed and operated by the poor themselves enable them to be their own advocates. Self-help emphasizes self-sufficiency, the development of indigenous leadership, independence among the disenfranchised. It provides them with the skills and training which will enable them to wield their own power in the future.

Whatever the media used by individuals and groups, change requires an awareness of the broad movement to establish an equitable social order. It requires commitment, especially since the precise means and ends of change may vary. "We must," writes Leah Margulies, "create for each other the kind of peer pressure and support to do things that seem beyond our expectations." In other words, strength must be rooted in a vision which is shared by mutually respecting and supporting agents of change. Strength must be rooted in a networking of minds and ideology.

A common thread throughout this study is one of hope. Agency personnel and authors in the field of social justice/social welfare convey an extreme sensitivity to the injustices perpetrated by our systems. However, their responses indicate a belief in the inherent, though often suppressed, potential for justice within these very systems. Hope stems from a belief that our democratic heritage and current governmental structures and processes are strong enough to allow individual and collective participation in alleviating poverty.

APPENDIX I: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

ability - A state of mind or a skill which enables a person to do something. It is a state of mind or a skill which enables a person to do something. It is a state of mind or a skill which enables a person to do something.

group - A collection of individuals who are united by a common interest or purpose. It is a collection of individuals who are united by a common interest or purpose. It is a collection of individuals who are united by a common interest or purpose.

group dynamics - The study of the behavior of individuals in a group. It is the study of the behavior of individuals in a group. It is the study of the behavior of individuals in a group.

group norms - The standards of behavior that are expected of members of a group. It is the standards of behavior that are expected of members of a group. It is the standards of behavior that are expected of members of a group.

group cohesion - The degree to which members of a group are united and committed to each other. It is the degree to which members of a group are united and committed to each other. It is the degree to which members of a group are united and committed to each other.

group identity - The sense of belonging to a group. It is the sense of belonging to a group. It is the sense of belonging to a group.

G L O S S A R Y

Community - a term referring to a wide range of collectives from a small interest group to an entire nation. It may refer to a geographical or functional group, or to a group based on shared values.

Consumer Price Index (CPI) - a measure of the average change in the cost of a constant market basket of goods and services such as food, housing and entertainment. Annual adjustments gauge the price changes in the cost of living.

Community organizer - broadly used to reference to persons in leadership roles in community development efforts. They may be professionals or concerned "laypersons", poor or non-poor, educated or functionally literate. The term is used interchangeably here with the term "change agent".

Poverty income thresholds - federal standards which designate cutoffs for poverty income levels. Federal mandate requires that federal agencies use these thresholds in their eligibility requirements, publications, etc.

Social justice - broadly used herein to describe a philosophy as well as efforts to seek, practice, and institutionalize alternatives to existing social, political, and economic structures. Its focus is on equitable distributions of and accessibility to resources as well as equitable social, political, and economic relationships.

"The poor" - those persons, as defined in the Hunger and Global Security Bill, whose lives or health is risked because of thier lack of economic resources (Bread for the World Newsletter, 1980). Such terms as impoverished, destitute, needy, and disenfranchised are used interchangeably herein.

An abridged version of Gene Sharp's list of non-violent methods of change (1974).

- 1.declarations
- 2.petitions
- 3.lobbying
- 4.picketing
- 5.mock elections, awards
- 6.protest disrobings
- 7.paint as protest
- 8.new signs and names
- 9.rude gestures
- 10.fraternization
- 11.skits, plays
- 12.singing
- 13.walk-outs
- 14.renouncing honors
- 15.turning
- 16.boycotts
- 17.excommunication
- 18.strikes
- 19.social disobedience
- 20.stay-at-home
- 21.non-cooperation
- 22.flight of workers
- 23.sanctuary
- 24.blacklisting
- 25.embargoes
- 26.reporting sick
- 27.economic shutdown
- 28.withholding allegiance
- 29.withdrawing allegiance
- 30.resistance advocacy
- 31.popular non-obedience
- 32.sit-down
- 33.selective refusal
- 34.stalling, obstruction
- 35.deliberate inefficiency
- 36.changes in representation
- 37.withholding recognition
- 38.fasting
- 39.sit-in, stand-in, teach-in
- 40.alternative institutions
- 41.land seizure
- 42.preclusive purchasing
- 43.overloading system
- 44.dumping
- 45.public speeches
- 46.letters of opposition and support
- 47.signed public statements
- 48.slogans, symbols, caricatures
- 49.banners, posters, displays
- 50.leaflets, pamphlets, publications
- 51.records, radio, television
- 52.skywriting, earthwriting
- 53.prayers, worship, vigils
- 54.destruction of own property
- 55.symbolic sounds, light, reclamation
- 56.haunting, taunting officials
- 57.marches, parades, processions
- 58.mock funerals, mourning
- 59.suspensions of social activities
- 60.withdrawal from social institutions
- 61.collective disappearance
- 62.protest emigration
- 63.policy of austerity
- 64.refusal to rent, rent withholding
- 65.refusal to let or sell property
- 66.lockout
- 67.refusal of industrial assistance
- 68.withdrawal of bank deposits
- 69.refusal to pay dues, fees, assessments
- 70.refusal to pay debts, interest
- 71.revenue refusal
- 72.refusal of impressed labor
- 73.refusal of government money
- 74.refusal of public support
- 75.reluctant, slow compliance
- 76.non-obedience in absence of supervisor
- 77.refusal of assembly to disperse
- 78.noncooperation with conscription
- 79.hiding escape, false identity
- 80.civil disobedience of illegitimate laws
- 81.blocking lines of command
- 82.quasi-legal evasion and delays
- 83.severance of diplomatic relations
- 84.expulsion from organizations
- 85.withdrawal from organizations
- 86.self-exposure to the elements
- 87.nonviolent harassment, raids
- 88.seeking imprisonment

APPENDIX II: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

TABLE 1
 COUNTY, DISTRICT, AND CITY POPULATION

Year	County	District	City
1950	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
1955	1,050,000	1,050,000	1,050,000
1960	1,100,000	1,100,000	1,100,000
1965	1,150,000	1,150,000	1,150,000
1970	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
1975	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,250,000
1980	1,300,000	1,300,000	1,300,000
1985	1,350,000	1,350,000	1,350,000
1990	1,400,000	1,400,000	1,400,000
1995	1,450,000	1,450,000	1,450,000
2000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
2005	1,550,000	1,550,000	1,550,000
2010	1,600,000	1,600,000	1,600,000
2015	1,650,000	1,650,000	1,650,000
2020	1,700,000	1,700,000	1,700,000

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, 1991, p. 100.1

Changes Between 1959 and 1978 in the
Consumer Price Index and the Average
Poverty Threshold for a Nonfarm Family of Four

Year	Consumer Price Index (1963=100)	Average thresholds for a nonfarm family of 4 persons
1978.....	212.9	\$6,662
1977.....	197.9	6,191
1976.....	185.9	5,815
1975.....	175.8	5,500
1974.....	161.1	5,038
1973.....	145.1	4,540
1972.....	136.6	4,275
1971.....	132.3	4,137
1970.....	126.8	3,968
1969.....	119.7	3,743
1968.....	113.6	3,553
1967.....	109.1	3,410
1966.....	106.0	3,317
1965.....	103.1	3,223
1964.....	101.3	3,169
1963.....	100.0	3,128
1962.....	98.8	3,089
1961.....	97.7	3,054
1960.....	96.7	3,022
1959.....	95.2	2,973

Weighted Average Thresholds at the Poverty Level in 1978, by Size of Family and Sex of Head,
by Farm-Nonfarm Residence

Size of family unit	Total	Nonfarm			Farm		
		Total	Male head ¹	Female head ¹	Total	Male head ¹	Female head ¹
1 person (unrelated individual)	\$3,302	\$3,311	\$3,460	\$3,196	\$2,795	\$2,898	\$2,690
14 to 64 years.....	3,386	3,392	3,516	3,253	2,913	2,987	2,764
65 years and over.....	3,116	3,127	3,159	3,118	2,661	2,685	2,650
2 persons.....	4,225	4,249	4,258	4,206	3,578	3,582	3,497
Head 14 to 64 years.....	4,363	4,383	4,407	4,286	3,731	3,737	3,614
Head 65 years and over.....	3,917	3,944	3,948	3,923	3,352	3,354	3,313
3 persons.....	5,178	5,201	5,231	5,065	4,413	4,430	4,216
4 persons.....	6,628	6,662	6,665	6,632	5,681	5,683	5,622
5 persons.....	7,833	7,880	7,888	7,806	6,714	6,714	6,700
6 persons.....	8,825	8,891	8,895	8,852	7,541	7,543	7,462
7 persons or more.....	10,926	11,002	11,038	10,765	9,373	9,386	8,813

¹For one person (i.e., unrelated individual), sex of the individual.

Persons Below the Poverty Level, by Family Status, Sex of Head, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1959 to 1978

(NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS, PERSONS AS OF MARCH OF THE FOLLOWING YEAR. ALL TABLES EXCLUDE UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 14 YEARS OLD, INMATES OF INSTITUTIONS, AND MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES, EXCEPT THOSE LIVING OFF POST AND THOSE LIVING WITH FAMILIES ON POST. FOR MEANING OF SYMBOLS, SEE TEXT.)

YEAR	NUMBER BELOW POVERTY LEVEL							PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL								
	TOTAL		IN FAMILIES					UNRE- LATED INDI- VIDUALS	TOTAL		IN FAMILIES					UNRE- LATED INDI- VIDUALS
	ALL PERSONS	65 YEARS AND OVER	TOTAL	HEAD	RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS	OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS	ALL PERSONS		65 YEARS AND OVER	TOTAL	HEAD	RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS	OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS			
ALL PERSONS																
ALL RACES																
1978	24 497	3 233	19 062	5 280	9 722	4 059	5 435	11.4	14.0	10.0	9.1	15.7	5.7	22.1		
1977	24 720	3 177	19 505	5 311	10 028	4 165	5 216	11.6	14.1	10.2	9.3	16.0	5.9	22.6		
1976	24 975	3 313	19 632	5 311	10 081	4 240	5 344	11.8	15.0	10.3	9.4	15.8	6.0	24.9		
1975	25 877	3 317	20 789	5 450	10 882	4 457	5 088	12.3	15.3	10.9	9.7	16.8	6.4	25.1		
1974 ^F	23 370	3 085	18 817	4 922	9 967	3 928	4 553	11.2	14.6	9.9	8.8	15.1	5.7	24.1		
1974	24 260	3 308	19 440	5 109	10 196	4 135	4 820	11.6	15.7	10.2	9.2	15.5	6.0	25.5		
1973	22 973	3 354	18 299	4 828	9 453	4 018	4 674	11.1	16.3	9.7	8.8	14.2	5.9	25.6		
1972	24 460	3 738	19 577	5 075	10 082	4 420	4 883	11.9	18.6	10.3	9.3	14.9	6.5	29.0		
1971	25 559	4 273	20 405	5 303	10 344	4 757	5 154	12.5	21.6	10.8	10.0	15.1	7.2	31.6		
1970	25 420	4 709	20 330	5 260	10 235	4 835	5 090	12.6	24.5	10.9	10.1	14.9	7.4	32.9		
1969 ^I	24 147	4 787	19 175	5 008	9 501	4 667	4 972	12.1	25.3	10.4	9.7	13.8	7.2	34.0		
1968	25 389	4 632	20 695	5 047	10 739	4 909	4 594	12.8	25.0	11.3	10.0	15.3	7.8	34.0		
1967	27 769	5 388	22 771	5 667	11 427	5 677	4 998	14.2	29.5	12.5	11.4	16.3	9.1	38.1		
1966 ^F	28 510	5 114	23 809	5 784	12 146	5 879	4 701	14.7	28.5	13.1	11.5	17.4	9.5	38.3		
1966	30 424	(NA)	25 614	6 200	12 876	6 538	4 810	15.7	(NA)	14.2	12.7	16.4	10.5	38.9		
1965	33 185	(NA)	28 358	6 721	14 388	7 249	4 827	17.3	(NA)	15.8	13.9	20.7	11.8	39.8		
1964	36 055	(NA)	30 912	7 160	15 736	8 016	5 143	19.0	(NA)	17.4	15.0	22.7	13.3	42.7		
1963	36 436	(NA)	31 498	7 554	15 691	8 253	4 938	19.5	(NA)	17.9	15.9	22.8	13.8	44.2		
1962	38 625	(NA)	33 623	8 077	16 630	8 916	5 002	21.0	(NA)	19.4	17.2	24.7	15.1	45.4		
1961	39 628	(NA)	34 509	8 391	16 577	9 541	5 119	21.9	(NA)	20.3	18.1	25.2	16.5	45.9		
1960	39 851	(NA)	34 925	8 243	17 288	9 394	4 926	22.2	(NA)	20.7	18.1	26.5	16.2	45.2		
1959	39 490	5 481	34 562	8 320	17 208	9 034	4 926	22.4	35.2	20.8	18.5	26.9	15.9	46.1		
WHITE																
1978	16 259	2 530	12 050	3 523	5 674	2 852	4 209	8.7	12.1	7.3	6.9	11.0	4.5	19.8		
1977	16 416	2 426	12 364	3 540	5 943	2 882	4 051	8.9	11.9	7.5	7.0	11.4	4.5	20.4		
1976	16 713	2 633	12 900	3 560	6 034	2 906	4 213	9.1	13.2	7.5	7.1	11.3	4.7	22.7		
1975	17 770	2 634	13 799	3 838	6 748	3 213	3 972	9.7	13.4	8.3	7.7	12.5	5.2	22.7		
1974 ^F	15 736	2 460	12 181	3 352	6 079	2 750	3 555	8.6	12.8	7.3	6.6	11.0	4.5	21.8		
1974	16 290	2 642	12 517	3 462	6 180	2 855	3 773	8.9	13.8	7.5	7.0	11.2	4.7	23.2		
1973	15 142	2 698	11 412	3 219	5 462	2 731	3 730	8.4	14.4	6.9	6.5	9.7	4.5	23.7		
1972	16 203	3 072	12 268	3 481	5 784	3 043	3 935	9.0	16.8	7.4	7.1	10.1	5.1	27.1		
1971	17 780	3 505	13 566	3 751	6 341	3 474	4 214	9.9	19.0	8.2	7.9	10.9	5.8	25.6		
1970	17 484	3 984	13 323	3 708	6 138	3 477	4 161	9.9	22.5	8.1	8.0	10.5	5.9	30.8		
1969 ^I	16 659	4 052	12 623	3 575	5 667	3 381	4 036	9.5	33.3	7.8	7.7	9.7	5.8	32.1		
1968	17 395	3 939	13 546	3 616	6 373	3 557	3 849	10.0	23.1	8.4	8.0	10.7	6.3	32.2		
1967	18 983	4 646	14 851	4 056	6 729	4 066	4 132	11.0	27.7	9.2	9.0	11.3	7.2	36.5		
1966 ^F	19 290	4 357	15 430	4 106	7 204	4 120	3 860	11.3	26.4	9.7	9.3	12.1	7.4	36.1		
1966	20 751	(NA)	16 732	4 481	7 649	4 602	4 019	12.2	(NA)	10.5	10.2	12.8	8.2	37.3		
1965	22 496	(NA)	18 508	4 824	8 595	5 089	3 986	13.3	(NA)	11.7	11.1	14.4	9.2	38.1		
1964	24 957	(NA)	20 716	5 258	9 573	5 885	4 241	14.9	(NA)	13.2	12.2	16.1	10.8	40.7		
1963	25 238	(NA)	21 149	5 466	9 749	5 934	4 089	15.3	(NA)	13.6	12.8	16.5	11.0	42.0		
1962	26 672	(NA)	22 613	5 887	10 382	6 344	4 059	16.4	(NA)	14.7	13.9	17.9	12.0	42.7		
1961	27 890	(NA)	23 747	6 205	10 614	6 928	4 143	17.4	(NA)	15.8	14.8	18.7	13.3	43.2		
1960	28 309	(NA)	24 262	6 115	11 229	6 918	4 047	17.8	(NA)	16.2	14.9	20.0	13.3	43.0		
1959	28 484	4 704	24 443	6 185	11 386	6 872	4 041	18.1	33.1	16.5	15.2	20.6	13.3	44.1		
BLACK																
1978	7 525	662	6 493	1 622	3 781	1 094	1 132	30.6	33.9	29.5	27.5	41.2	15.7	38.6		
1977	7 726	701	6 667	1 637	3 850	1 181	1 059	31.3	36.3	30.5	28.2	41.6	17.4	37.0		
1976	7 595	644	6 576	1 617	3 758	1 201	1 019	31.1	34.8	30.1	27.9	40.4	17.8	39.8		
1975	7 545	552	6 533	1 513	3 884	1 136	1 011	31.3	36.3	30.1	27.1	41.4	16.9	42.1		
1974 ^F	7 182	591	6 255	1 479	3 713	1 063	927	30.3	34.3	29.3	26.9	39.6	16.4	36.3		
1974	7 467	626	6 506	1 530	3 819	1 157	961	31.4	36.4	30.3	27.8	40.7	17.6	41.0		
1973	7 388	620	6 560	1 527	3 822	1 211	828	31.4	37.1	30.8	28.1	40.6	18.7	37.9		
1972	7 710	640	6 841	1 529	4 025	1 287	870	33.3	39.9	32.4	29.0	42.7	20.0	42.9		
1971	7 396	623	6 530	1 484	3 836	1 210	866	32.5	39.3	31.2	28.8	40.7	19.1	46.0		
1970	7 548	683	6 683	1 481	3 922	1 279	865	33.5	48.0	32.2	29.5	41.5	20.5	48.3		
1969 ^I	7 095	589	6 245	1 366	3 677	1 202	850	32.2	50.2	30.9	27.9	39.6	20.0	46.7		
1968	7 616	555	6 539	1 366	4 188	1 295	777	34.7	47.7	33.7	29.4	43.1	21.7	48.3		
1967	8 486	715	7 677	1 555	4 558	1 564	809	39.3	53.3	38.4	33.9	47.4	27.1	46.3		
1966 ^F	8 867	722	8 090	1 620	4 774	1 596	777	41.8	55.1	40.9	35.5	50.6	29.4	54.4		
1966	9 927	711	9 112	1 860	5 022	2 230	815	55.1	62.5	54.9	48.1	55.5	44.1	57.0		
SPANISH ORIGIN³																
1978	2 607	125	2 343	559	1 354	429	264	21.6	23.2	20.9	20.4	27.2	12.3	26.8		
1977	2 700	113	2 463	591	1 402	469	237	22.4	21.9	21.9	21.4	28.0	13.5	26.8		
1976	2 783	128	2 516	598	1 424	494	266	24.7	27.7	23.8	23.1	30.1	15.3	37.2		
1975	2 991	137	2 755	627	1 619	508	236	26.9	32.6	26.3	25.1	33.1	16.5	36.6		
1974 ^F	2 575	117	2 374	526	1 414	435	201	23.0	28.9	22.4	21.2	28.6	13.7	32.6		
1974	2 601	116	2 394	527	1 433	434	207	23.2	28.5	22.6	21.3	29.0	13.7	33.7		
1973	2 366	95	2 209	468	1 364	377	157	21.9	24.9	21.5	19.8	27.8	12.6	29.9		
1972	2 414	(NA)	2 252	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	162	22.8	(NA)	22.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	33.2		

SEE FOOTNOTES AT END OF TABLE.

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

THE USE OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Dear

I am a graduate student in Education, College of The Graduate of Ball State, M. S. in Education. I am currently in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics. I am currently in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics. I am currently in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics.

My purpose is to investigate the use of the research instruments in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics. I am currently in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics. I am currently in the Department of Educational Research and Statistics.

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I sincerely appreciate your time and cooperation, and I look forward to speaking with you. Thank you.

Very truly,
Your name,

John A. Smith

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

THE COLLEGE FOR THE DEAF

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I am a graduate student at Washington College in The District of Columbia, St. Charles, Maryland. I am pursuing my M.A. in the Department of Educational Studies, and have completed a Ph.D. degree in Educational Administration. My research interests are in the area of deaf education and the role of the deaf teacher. I have also been a member of the National Association of the Deaf.

My research interests are in the area of deaf education and the role of the deaf teacher. I have also been a member of the National Association of the Deaf.

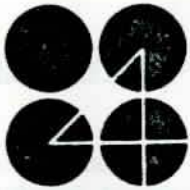
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Very truly yours,

David A. ...



LINDENWOOD 4

THE COLLEGE FOR INDIVIDUALIZED EDUCATION

Dear

I am a graduate student in Lindenwood College 4 of The Lindenwood Colleges, St. Charles, Missouri. I am majoring in the Management of Non-profit Organizations. Lindenwood 4 offers bachelor's and master's degrees to working adults through individualized programs of study. The average student is 33 years old, has a family and works full time. Lindenwood 4 also has a branch office in Clayton.

As part of my thesis, I am researching agencies in the St. Charles/St. Louis area which address poverty and provide emergency assistance to those in need. Since your agency seems to meet these guidelines, I hope to include it in my sample.

My purpose is to explore agencies such as yours. I will call you in the next two weeks to ask you about the services your agency provides and about your client population. The information you give me may be used in the body of my thesis; however, your anonymity and that of your agency will be respected. Of course, a copy of my observations will be available for your perusal.

As a final note, I would like to introduce you to Lindenwood 4's practicum placement program. If your agency is interested in using practicum students, I will be happy to give you more information when we talk next week.

I certainly appreciate your time and cooperation, and I look forward to speaking with you. Thank you!

Best wishes,

Carol A. Garvin

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