

posed a distinct handicap in attracting the "hard-to-reach" young people to the center. A perusal of budget allocation reveals the reason for this lack of equipment. In one budget, for example, over three-fourths of the total (which was nearly \$1,000,000) was used for staff salaries while "activities supplies" amounted to only \$16,000. Clearly, the administrators who drew up and those who approved this budget were sold on the vital role which human relations play in the success or failures of local poverty efforts. However, they appear blind to the role played by material incentives!

Most of the remarks above have been concerned with those aspects of center functions involving services. There is in addition to this feature of center activity a community action phase. Basically this involves trying to organize the area residents to help themselves. The Center's efforts to promote this sort of development have taken the form of setting up a Neighborhood Improvement Association and participating in the General Area Council discussed earlier. Regular meetings of these groups are held, and the officers are local area residents. At meetings of these groups various problems are taken up such as trying to get access to a field for youth recreation purposes; how to cope with the anti-social, destructive behavior of a youth group in the area; petitioning the city to put in street lights in the area and to do something about an incinerator installation in the area (this is apparently some kind of area dump), etc. As was noted earlier in this report, there seems to be no explicit consideration of the idea that community action might be used to organize the poor to exercise more effective political power. This brings us to the general question of just how participation of the poor is exhibited in this setting.

We have already noted that the CAA Board of Directors numbers between forty and fifty members of whom about nineteen are present or past residents of the poverty area being served. We have also noted that the recruitment procedures pretty well guarantee a Board composition controlled by the Establishment. To a considerable extent this picture of Board stability and respectability is reflected in the lower levels—that is, at the center level. It is the "respectable poor" who participate in the Center programs and occupy leadership positions. They are poor people, but they are people with stable families and full-time jobs. What is more, they have adopted middle class values centering around standards of decency, good manners and the importance of education. Under their leadership activity at the Center is conducted in an atmosphere of middle class values. For example, our field worker witnessed an episode in which a youth wandered into the Center with his hat on. He was reprimanded for this and was permitted to go about his business only after he had removed his hat. On another occasion at a meeting of a Young Citizens Club two distinct groups were clearly visible; one was serious about the meeting and tried to shape the youths' behavior in accordance with that of the adult "respectables" while the other group grimaced and talked during the meeting. This latter group was lectured on the impropriety of gum-chewing and coke-drinking during meetings.

One of the consequences of this situation is the problem of a rebellious youth element. There are teen-age boys who hang around and engage in various acts of a more or less destructive nature. The Center personnel have not been able to "reach" these young people at all. It may be suggested that part of the reason for this failure is that the Center does not provide a strong enough incentive in its programs for these "non-respectables" to endure what they regard as "chicken-shit" behavior. This is why the lack of adequate material resources is so frustrating to some of the residents and staff members of the Center.

It is also possible that the relationship of the Director (and by association perhaps his staff) with probation and parole "officialdom" serves to identify the Center with an alien, if not outright enemy, element from the point of view of the delinquent or rebellious youth. An episode involving our field researcher points this up. He attended an evening meeting of the neighborhood Advisory Committee at the Center. During the meeting which was called to discuss what to do about the delinquent youth of the neighborhood, these self-same youths proceeded to strip the meeting-goers' cars of their radio antennae, hubcaps, windshield wipers, gas tank caps, etc. The automobiles which were most mistreated belonged to the members of the Center staff. Our field researcher suffered only the loss of a gas tank cap. When he inquired as to why he got off so lightly, one of the Center staff said, "Oh, they probably didn't know who you were."

Another feature of this situation which may well aggravate the problem of trying to reach the "hard-to-reach" poor involves the administration of the CAA