

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

operation. By and large it appears to be formal, authoritarian, and rather doctrinaire. The workers appear to have little autonomy. Any innovation must be cleared upstairs, and very often such requests are denied. For example, the field workers are required to wear shirts with ties even during hot summer weather; efforts to secure some punch and a few cookies to take out to the neighborhoods floundered in an incredible snarl of bureaucratic red tape; our field researcher ran into this kind of senseless rigidity on several occasions, one of which was so hilarious that even an upper level administrator felt it necessary to apologize for the absurdity of it all. Needless to say, the kind of atmosphere created by this sort of administration is hardly conducive to bold, innovative, experimental efforts to deal with the "hard-to-reach" poor. This problem group is not being reached at all by the program. On the other hand, the "easy-to-reach" poor—the respectable poor—are being served by the Center, which is providing them with opportunities they would not otherwise have. This represents at least some accomplishment.

CENTER "B"

1. Relationship of Center to Other Organizations

The Neighborhood Center with which our study is concerned was originally set up for the purpose of coordinating the activities of service agencies already existing in the community. It was felt by the CAA founders of the Center that these agencies were not reaching out to the population so that the services could be fully utilized.

At this point a conflict arose over the implementation of the program. Some people thought the Centers should be run by the existing agencies while others wanted the CAA to operate the Centers. A compromise was reached whereby five centers would be run by existing agencies and seven others in the city would be run by the CAA. This compromise served to antagonize those agencies which were not chosen to operate a Center. The evidence available suggests strongly that the conflict exists to this date.

The Center on which we have focused is operated by the CAA and has relationships with many other community organizations which offer services outside the physical location of the Center. The Legal Aid Society has an office in the same building. The Society is an independent agency, although financed by the CAA. These two groups work well together with the Center sending many clients to the Society.

Relations with various city and state agencies appear to be strained. This is particularly true of the Welfare Department. The Center staff complains of bureaucracy and red tape from Welfare and Welfare complaints of the Center as an instigator of complaints among welfare recipients. There has been some effort on the part of the Center staff to organize welfare recipients in the area, and Welfare does not like this. Other city department relationships have also been stormy due to a militant approach of the Center staff and residents who are demanding action, particularly of the Parks and Building Departments. The least cordial relations are those between the Center and the schools. There is conflict over after-hours use of school buildings which the Center is encouraging but which the schools are resisting.

There are a few contacts with private social agencies such as the Red Cross, Salvation Army, and religious service groups. These agencies are called upon in emergency cases and relationships appear to be quite friendly.

Formally, there exists an inter-agency committee which meets monthly at the Center. This committee has not been used effectively as yet.

2. Boards and Committees

Board of Directors (CAA)

The Board is made up primarily of community leaders. Five of its 16 members represent the poor. The Central Advisory Committee nominated ten candidates from which the Mayor appoints three and the county supervisor appoints the remaining two representatives. The Board is the official policy-making body of the Corporation.

Central Advisory Committee

This group is made up of two representatives of the poor from each of twelve areas serviced by neighborhood centers. The main function of this Committee is to advise the Board. The Committee is constantly contacted by the CAA Director to gain their views on proposed programs.

Neighborhood Advisory Committee

Each Center has an NAC which elects representatives to the Central Advisory Committee and formally functions in an advisory and control capacity with regard to the Center. Members of this Committee are in turn elected from neighborhood Assemblies.

Assemblies

The area of the particular Center being studied is divided into 18 assembly districts. The Assemblies consist of all interested residents in their area. The Assemblies elect two representatives each to the NAC. The function of the Assemblies is to advise and control Center operations through the NAC.

3. Organization of Center

Three formally organized departments exist at the Center: Neighborhood Development, Family Services, and Manpower. These departments each have a vertical relationship with corresponding departments at the CAA office. The Center Director acts merely as a liaison agent between the departments. In addition to these departments, there are additional personnel supervised directly by the CAA, administering such programs as the NYC, Small Business Loans, Head Start, and Consumer Education. Temporary programs such as Summer Recreation are under the immediate supervision of the Center Director.

The staff of this Center is large and includes a wide range of educational and experience levels. The staff under the Neighborhood Development Department is composed of some 30 to 55 part-time resident workers. The number is variable due to availability of funds and training time. At the time of this survey, there were thirty workers who had already undergone the training period which consists of attendance at five seminars followed by on-the-job training with a veteran worker. These people work ten to twenty hours per month. Three full-time staff members, also area residents, are employed in this division.

The Manpower Department consists of two employment counselors under CAA supervision and two counselors funded by the State Employment Service. These personnel are experienced in their field, well-educated, and not necessarily residents of the target area.

In the Family Services Department there are professional workers in the fields of Counseling and Health Service, with their efforts being complemented by the services of resident aides.

Professionals on the staff who received training prior to the employment are interviewed and hired by the CAA Director. Neighborhood workers and aides who live in the area are interviewed and screened by the Center Director who in turn refers them to the CAA Director for formal hiring.

At this point it should be mentioned that conflict along two lines exists between some of the professional members of the Center staff and the indigenous neighborhood workers. First, if the workers do not like a particular program they will not work efficiently for the program. A second unique aspect of the work patterns of the neighborhood workers is the difficulty in separating out work from private time. Their Center activities usually involve much more time than they are contracted for but the distribution of time between paid work, volunteer work, acting as resident in the community, and private time is almost impossible to untangle. They themselves do not clearly divide their time into these categories.

4. Who Actually Controls the Center?

It is generally believed that, contrary to what is said to occur in many other cities, the Mayor of this city has not interfered with the operation of the CAA. This may be due to the varied political complexion of the Board. At the same time, the staff of the Center is not immune to pressure coming from City Hall; in fact, they appear to be sensitive to any indication of direction coming from that area.

Policy specifies that residents, through the Neighborhood Advisory Committee, must approve all Center programs and may initiate requests for new programs. This policy is most effective when the desires of the residents coincide with the ideas of the CAA Staff and the Center Staff. Let the residents make a decision that Staff thinks unwise and that decision will become lost. The residents who are actively involved are very much aware of this situation.

Formal structure, policies, and practice indicate that the local CAA attempts

to keep a tight rein on the centers. The vertical organizational structure, with its several chains of command to the departments within the centers, would seem to accomplish control by the CAA.

Center Directors also meet at CAA once a week to discuss problems and policies and programs and in turn have staff meetings on the next day to pass on what was discussed.

Thus, evidence may support a feeling expressed by some staff members that any amount of autonomy presently existing at the Center level may very well be lost in the growing complexity of organization controls, or "there's too much red tape."

5. Budget

The total budget for the current year for the neighborhood center projects in the community was approximately \$1,250,000, fairly equally divided among twelve centers. For the Center under study, approximately 85 percent of its \$100,000 budget is for salaries. The funding for specific projects is done separately. Thus, the CAA budget includes separate items for employment services, health, etc.

6. Center Goals and Programs

This particular Center is one which serves as a focal point for community action to raise living standards of a poor population. The type of community action originating from the Center in its formative months was of a militant and rebellious nature—a demonstration, a strike, a march on City Hall. The program was condoned and, in fact, generated by the Center Staff.

After some months, the CAA staff intervened and instituted a change of emphasis by "promoting" the original Center Director to its offices downtown. New staff members were hired to head the present departments of Manpower, Family Services, and Neighborhood Development. It was the view of the CAA that basic problems of poverty, unemployment, and substandard housing might be solved more systematically. Policy calls for continuing emphasis on achievement of goals without the use of open pressure.

7. Outreach

There is a great deal of emphasis placed on reaching clientele in the area in order that staff members may become more familiar with the locale, its people, and its problems, and so that Center services may become available to all who need them. The attitude of Center personnel is that maximum effort, whether militant or peaceful, is required for community improvement. When the Center was initially organized, the workers enlisted were those with a history of personal contacts through other organizations; e.g., political groups, civil rights, etc. The feeling continues to be that the indigenous worker can provide the liaison between the skilled counselor at the Center and the poor. He contacts clients through door-to-door campaigns and at club meetings and assemblies. The most effective contact is almost always a personal one; this is the contact that brings most residents to the Center. Fliers, loudspeakers, newspaper publicity have been employed with little result. A meeting advertised by one of these methods has been known to bring out only four residents but a multitude of civic leaders.

The Center employs over thirty workers to effect this type of personal contact which seems to be necessary, but their number is inadequate to reach all of the 15,000 homes in the area. Budget limitations at this time will not allow the employment of any more such personnel. This problem is viewed as a most important one by all levels of Center personnel.

There has appeared another factor which represents a problem to the outreach program. The staff has been known to refuse to notify residents about programs with which they do not agree. It was noted that the block workers balked at advertising the Head Start program because they did not agree with the qualifications set up for participants. Additional block workers had to be hired; valuable time was lost; and many residents probably were not notified of the program.

It was noted by our observer that perhaps existing organizations such as churches were not being utilized for outreach. This idea seemingly had not occurred to Center workers.

8. Target Area

The city in which this Center is located in an urban locale of about one million people. The 40,000 population served by the Center has shifted drastically in the last fifteen years from an area identified as Jewish to one clearly Negro (75.

percent). Though the entire area is one that is designated "poverty-stricken," there exists a social and economic hierarchy. On one end of the scale is that 30 percent of the population whose families have been unemployed and raised in extreme poverty for several generations. These people are seldom involved with the Center programs but may have a fleeting association with it—a request for a part-time job or a lost welfare check.

It might be mentioned here that about 25 percent of the area population that is white has shown very little interest in the Center. Our observers saw nothing of this group in the Center itself. A small minority of them are members of the various boards.

It is from the mid-section of this hierarchy that the Center draws its volunteers, staff, and most of its clients. This population group has an income of over \$3,000 per family; most have at least an eighth grade education; their housing is not substandard. They do not consider themselves "poor." However, they have the problems of the poor: a high rate of juvenile delinquency, under-education, and under-employment. Attempts by residents to solve their problems by forceful action have not been successful.

The Center will not be successful in solving these problems if it does not reach the people, according to policy. The following chart is an estimate of clients contacted during March, April, and May of this year.

	March	April	May
Contacted in Center.....	1,045	1,482	915
Contacted outside Center.....	1,711	1,589	1,383
Number of different individuals.....	1,232	1,309	1,202
Provided service.....	865	1,142	968
Participated in Center activities.....	2,141	3,070	2,576

Many clients were questioned by your interviewer regarding their relationship to the Center. Again, the door-to-door contact program had been most effective in notifying those clients who had heard of the Center. Many of the residents in the area, however, were unaware of the Center or were unaware that it offered a wide range of services. Many residents indicated being notified of the NYC or Head Start programs, for example, but the block worker who contacted them had failed to mention that any other programs existed. The Center personnel are all very much aware of this problem of communication with residents. They see no solution other than hiring more workers.

9. Services of the Center

Of the various services offered by the Center, the one most novel (and most often described by our respondents) was its function as a place or address where residents can turn for help. The staff of counselors makes referrals to many different agencies and attempts to aid the "whole person." Many referrals are made to the Legal Aid Society, Welfare Department, and other of the various agencies in the community. The counselor will follow up the case until the various problems are solved in the best possible way.

In addition to making referrals to other agencies, the Center also offers a variety of services under its own roof. The three departments of Manpower, Neighborhood Development, and Family Services administer these programs.

The Manpower Department operates essentially as an employment agency, working in cooperation with and partially funded by the State Employment Service. There is emphasis on testing applicants for interests and abilities—to find the right job for the right person in accordance with his capabilities.

Under the Family Services Department are: counseling services, health services, Consumer Education, and a Thrift Shop where household and clothing items are sold at nominal prices or given away. One of the most recent offerings under the health program was an extensive measles inoculation campaign. A trained nurse (R.N.) administers this division. Social workers and counselors are employed by this department to counsel family members in regard to personal and financial problems.

The Neighborhood Development Department supervises such services as Head Start (although teachers employed in this program are hired by CAA), Day Camp, Summer Recreation, Girls Teen Group, and the outreach program.

Those residents who are aware of the Center and have availed themselves of its services feel that their problems are well understood by its staff. Many

clients interviewed were happy about a definite service performed for them—a job, a referral to LAS for free legal aid. Many clients interviewed explained that they also value the Center has a place to voice complaints and get action . . . as a place for the “little man to voice his opinion.”

Various agencies which have contact with the Center were invited to express opinions on the services offered there. As mentioned before, relationships with most of these agencies have been difficult. With the exception of LAS most agencies were felt to regard the Center as a threat to their status in the community, a duplication of service, or a method of creating more red tape. Also, there was some ill-feeling between traditional agency staff members and the Center Staff because of higher salaries paid under the poverty program.

These poor relationships are being resolved in two ways: (1) by definite and continuing attempts by the Center Staff and Neighborhood Advisory Committee to cooperate with outside agencies (e.g., inter-agency meetings at the Center), and (2) by pressure. This latter method might be illustrated by the incident of a visit to the Welfare Department by one of the more aggressive neighborhood workers. The worker visited the Agency on behalf of a family evicted from its home. He threatened to move their furniture into the Welfare Office unless he received an emergency check for them. They wrote out the check.

10. Community Action

The history of community action in this area predates the formation of CAA by many years. Peaceful demonstrations and protest meetings to overcome social problems were organized and carried out but positive effects of these efforts were limited to a few isolated problems. Though the leaders of these movements were dedicated and aggressive and a definite need for action existed, a large majority of the poor population was apathetic and did not turn out for the demonstrations. The formation of the Center gave to these leaders a focal space for organizing the community for action. These leaders became in fact the first staff of the Center and their attitudes were incorporated into its program.

The threat of a demonstration to be organized to march in front of an apartment building in need of repairs brought timely CAA intervention. At this point the CAA held negotiations with building code inspectors and landlords to set in motion the machinery for effecting the needed repairs. The march was called off before it began. Since this incident and other related incidents occurred, any advertised action meeting or demonstration of the poor is expected to bring out a host of city officials and other involved persons for attempts to encourage the poor to arbitrate instead of march. Because of the history of community action in this area, city officials are on the alert to any advance warnings of rebellious activity.

An emphasis on containment of activist elements is exhibited by the aforementioned reorganization of the Center by the CAA and the change of Center personnel. Efforts are now channelled into other activities with an emphasis on service and achieving settlements without the use of open pressure. At this time, policy states that Center Staff may not participate openly in demonstrations. In practice, however, a member of the staff may very well be an instigator and organizer of such an activity and not make an actual appearance at the scene of the activity.

Concretely, the changes evident to some extent in the neighborhood served by the Center include: additional street lighting in part of the area, improved housing due to slum landlord response to resident pressure and stricter code enforcement, and summer recreational programs. Officials are optimistic that neighborhood action will function creatively and be devoted more and more to recruiting clients for service to the community. It is possible that the “militant” phase of community action will be assumed by privately-financed organizations as these groups build up in the neighborhood.

11. Participation of the Poor

CAA Staff members were questioned regarding the manner and effectiveness of the participation of the poor as board members for “their” program. The consensus of opinion indicated that these communication channels are kept open to the poor but they are not often utilized, except by a few aggressive individuals. The opportunity exists via membership on various boards and committees for representatives of the poor to form policy. However, only the more aggressive personalities speak out. Many of the poor sit in meetings and vote but offer no ideas; they say nothing.

Membership on these boards, viewed from the vantage point of the poor, appears to be a truly democratic place where "the little man can express his mind," make decisions about his own life and community.

Center Staff members are, for the most part, drawn from the area surrounding the Center. Though economically in need of the jobs, most personnel which we interviewed expressed an altruistic attitude, wanting to help others to help themselves. They have a sincere desire to "help the poor." It was mentioned previously that the majority of this group does not consider itself poor.

To this date, participation and attendance at meetings is limited to a minority of the population. There are usually from five to fifty persons at most general meetings. As in any community, there are those who are more active in civic and political affairs than the general population. These are the people who participate actively in center programs, and contribute ideas at the board meetings. At this time, there still exists a great majority of the population in this area which is ignorant of the Center, uninterested in its programs, and apathetic about the conditions the Center is attempting to reform.

CENTER "C"

1. Relationship of Center to Other Organizations

Relations with the city government and its political machines have been especially stormy due to an early schism between CAA and city officials. At this early date there was a struggle for control of the new CAA organization in which funds and jobs were soon to be available. The victorious CAA officials claimed that city officials had wanted to take over the program to exploit its patronage possibilities, while city officials claimed that the other groups wanted to utilize the program to build a new political machine. As a result of this power struggle, the city almost completely disassociated itself from the program, allegedly worked (successfully) to reduce its federal appropriations and did not contribute its support toward the required ten percent local matching funds.

Delegate agencies of the CAA corporation carry out many of the city's anti-poverty programs including remedial reading, preschool, Head Start, recreation, employment, Neighborhood Youth Corps, legal services, and small business development. These organizations generally have their own boards of directors and staffs. The neighborhood center works closely with these agencies and its programs are interwoven into theirs and the Center is viewed by these CAP agencies as a locale for extension of their influence in the community.

The three groups that appear to be a source of conflict with the Center are the members of the Democratic political ward machine, the militant civil rights activists, and the clergy of a particular religious group.

2. Boards and Committees

As previously indicated, the Community Action Agency was established as a corporation. It was decided that this corporation should have a membership composed of all those wishing to join who live in, work in, or perform a direct service to the city. At this time over 7,000 members are carried on the rolls of membership, although actual participation is very considerably less. A board controls the corporation and membership on this board is composed of representatives of city government, traditional agencies, religious groups, civil rights organizations, and the poor. Members are elected to the board at the annual meeting of the corporation. The mayor of the city is Honorary President of the corporation and two members of the City Council are Honorary Vice Presidents. Each neighborhood center board elects three CAA board members. There are, in total, sixty-five CAA board members. The board elects its own officers.

The full board meets monthly and an executive committee of the board (composed of corporation officers and standing committee chairmen) meets weekly.

The standing committees are budget and finance, membership, nominating, personnel, and program.

In addition to the CAA boards there are task forces for each unit of program concern—community action, education, employment, and special projects. Each task force is composed primarily of residents of the city who are members of the CAA. Their function is to evaluate proposals and recommend courses of action to the board of the corporation. In this manner they provide a link between the board and the members of the corporation. Each task force has a membership of from 35 to 100 members which is supposed to insure that there is broad-based participation in the programing process.

3. The Neighborhood Boards

All of the organizations so far described operate on a citywide basis. To develop a mechanism by which the poor could participate more directly in the affairs of the program, the city was divided into a number of neighborhoods and local people were brought together to form boards which perform the following purposes:

"To organize and establish a concrete dialogue between the impoverished or unorganized community and the middle class or established institutions and provide a base for a truly democratic process at all levels."

"To foster a variety of programs obtaining infinite participation, administration and guidance to meet the most critical needs of the poor in the area."¹

Membership in the neighborhood board was officially open to all those in the area. This group was then to elect a governing body of 117 members with the following composition:

Residents of housing projects.....	35
Tenants outside housing projects.....	15
Youth organizations.....	15
Homeowners.....	5
Political organizations.....	5
Church organizations.....	5
Union organizations.....	5
Educational organizations.....	5
Social organizations.....	5
Officers of this group.....	11
Chairmen of standing committees.....	11
Total	117

The membership at large also elects the officers of the above described board.

4. Organization of the Center

In addition to the neighborhood board, a small staff established a center in the community. The staff includes a Community Organizer, a Community Researcher, a Community Worker, and a clerk-typist to serve an area of 100,000 population. They operate from spacious quarters in the center of the area they are to serve. In theory, the staff is to carry out the desires of the board and to provide the board with technical assistance in program formulation and development. Policy indicates that Center personnel are to be hired by the CAA upon the recommendation of the Neighborhood Board.

Although the staffs of the various neighborhood centers in this city are small, their efforts are supposed to be supplemented by services of aides assigned to them by the CAA. There is to be a formal program administered by the CAA which recruits and trains young people for community action work. Their training is to consist of two weeks apprenticeship in the Community Action Division of the CAA followed by on-the-job training assisting in a neighborhood center. During this orientation period, daily supervision is to be given the recruit by the staff, supplemented my weekly conferences with the staff supervisor of the area Board.

One of the most popular aspects of the Center is the opportunity for employment of residents.

5. Who Controls the Center?

The Neighborhood Board was established to fill an advisory role in relation to the Center. It can recommend to the CAA Director the staff it desires and the programs it wishes to carry out. Final decisions regarding staff, programs, and policy remain with the CAA, however. CAA controls the budget.

The original position of the CAA was that the Center staff should serve the Center boards but activities to support this position have not developed. Therefore, the Center staff remains clearly under the domination and control of the CAA official responsible for community organization.

6. Budget

The budget for the staff of the neighborhood centers is allocated from the administrative budget of the entire community action program. To give some

¹ Constitution and By-Laws of Neighborhood Board, Article II.

idea of relative magnitudes, the total community action budget is over \$5 million, central administration is \$100,000, and each neighborhood center is about \$25,000.

7. Goals and Programs of the Center

The neighborhood centers were not established as multiple, service centers, but were designed as a mechanism for participation of the poor. The Center board is supposed to develop policies with respect to anti-poverty activities in the area and the Center staff is to carry out these policies. The program is intended to be one of outreach to the poor so that they may take advantage of the offerings of the poverty program.

After a year of operation it is apparent that the board and staff did not know exactly what they were to do or how to go about it. Only one recommended program emerged from the board. The staff does not use its talents to organize the people in the community and does not appear to make serious efforts in this area. For the most part, the staff stays in the Center, leaving only for three hours on one night a week to organize.

8. Outreach

Formal communication to the community is limited to a weekly canvass and a newsletter that goes out monthly. However, most clients interviewed had become aware of the Center through other organizations.

It was mentioned above that relations with political organizations, some of the churches, and racial organizations have been unfriendly. Ironically, it is through organizations such as these that the outreach program of the Center might have its best results. These groups, long organized in the community and antedating the Center, include a majority of the residents served by the Center. The Center could conceivably provide a meeting place for these groups and in fact recent events have indicated that this is happening. Each of these groups has a contribution to make to the program there. Though events have indicated that it is becoming a meeting place for adversaries, community interest has been stimulated in this manner. The recent hotly-contested elections have also brought many participants to the Center.

Various programs have generated some community spirit, but the Center has not been involved directly with them. For instance, many of the poor were involved in both the programing and staffing of the Pre-School Council and are now being involved in its evaluation. The job-training for adults program is another example of a successful program that was achieved only as the result of resident participation. Both are independent of the Center. According to the residents, many of the attempted programs do not reach the right people. Some of them cited instances of being informed of programs that were not in fact carried through, and being misinformed as to the time and place of the particular activity.

All levels of CAA and Center personnel have agreed that greater effort should be exerted toward outreach. Attempts on the part of Center Staff to get people to meetings are indicated by the organization of car pools and the offering of door prizes. With the exception of those workers with political experience and orientation, most staff members would rather use any other method of outreach than go out and knock on doors.

9. Target

Within an extremely depressed city, the most poverty stricken area is its central core which is the location of the Center herein described. This area is predominately populated by Negroes who have been in the community for many years. It is a concentration of dilapidated single family dwelling units, old rental properties and new "projects." ADC recipients amount to almost fifty percent of the area's population. Within this area are approximately 100,000 persons. In short, the target area has most of the characteristics associated with the typical urban Negro ghetto. One of the area's main problems was glaringly obvious to our researchers—that of housing and neighborhood cleanliness. Not only were some buildings dilapidated but others had been razed or burned to the ground with the resulting debris of broken glass and charred bricks left where they fell.

Manifest social problems of dope addiction, alcoholism, unemployment, and a high crime rate combine to make this area a perfect stereotype of a problem area.

10. Services

The Neighborhood Center functions as a referral agency for the various programs of the CAA. Referrals are made to a remedial reading program,

Pre-School, Pre-High Head Start, Pre-School Head Start, Summer Recreation, Small Business Development, Legal Services; and various youth programs. Each of these program divisions of the CAA has its own organizational structure and personnel to administer its services. Some of these programs also require a great deal of participation on the part of neighborhood residents for success as in the case of the Pre-School Program.

Events occurring on a typical weekly calendar of the Center might include an employment clinic, neuro-psychiatric clinic, Negro and Spanish History, cultural and social events, committee meetings, and karate lessons. Many of these programs are funded and administered by Project ENABLE through its counselor at the Center. Emergency help is also provided to those seeking it at the Center.

The Community Organizer employed by the Center acts in the capacity of referring clients to proper agencies for help and attempts to encourage these clients to participate not only as a client in Center programs. He works with the CAA agencies, churches, city government agencies and private groups in the neighborhood to funnel all their services down to the residents. A clothing drive was also initiated under his direction.

A community Researcher is employed to collect information on housing and other community conditions in need of repair and he feeds this information back to the community. He works with the youth in certain of the programs offered at the Center.

The efforts of the Community Organizer, Researcher, and the ENABLE Counselor are supplemented by the services of a clerk-typist and a Community Worker.

11. Consequences of the Services

No data were available at the Center to indicate the numbers of persons it serves. Client response in this study indicates that those few who have availed themselves of the Center's services are happy with the results, especially those who have found aid for a severe problem such as alcoholism, dope addiction or unemployment. They had been counseled at the Center and referred to the proper agency and were solving their problems in some fashion.

The main results that have been experienced up to this point as a consequence of Center activities are the crystallization of forces in the community. Although very few residents have been reached, those who have been involved seem to have decided what style of organization they prefer. When the organization first started, the community leaders were elected. Now a new activist slate of officers has replaced them.

12. Community Action

There has apparently been local and city-wide dissatisfaction with the way the anti-poverty program has been progressing. City officials feel that the program should not exist at all unless it is under city control. Activists feel that the program has not done enough and that the centers should have more autonomy (staff selection and budget) and should indeed carry out their original mandate to organize the poor of the community. Those in the latter group feel that the Center board and staff were trying to impose values on the people and that the leadership, staff, and programs were of the wrong type.

In recent neighborhood board elections an activist was elected president over a more moderate person. The new president vowed that there will be community organization; there will be protest when appropriate; and that it is his view that the original design must now be implemented. In recent CAA board elections, the same view also was more loudly voiced than ever before. At this time there is ferment; re-evaluation and new forces are becoming important. There is the view by many that the city and the neighborhoods have done enough ineffective discussing and it is time for action. Many observers in all levels of the CAA program and the center program have indicated that too much effort has been extended toward organizing the various organizations and not enough effort has gone into organizing the poor.

13. Participation of the Poor

The area boards are seen as the instruments of achieving full participation of the poor on all levels of the process of meeting their needs in the best possible way. The boards are to focus attention on community action to meet both local and city-wide needs and hasten movement away from mere dependence on traditional social services.

As the instrument of aiding the poor in full participation, the area boards are represented: (1) by each electing three members to the CAA Board, (2) by open

membership of the CAA, (3) by voting at CAA meetings for five members of the Board from the floor, (4) by submitting proposals from the area boards, (5) by being members of boards of corporations under CAA such as Pre-School Council, Legal, etc., (6) by being part of CAA Task Forces which make final recommendations on programs to the Board of Trustees.

Participation of the poor has taken place in three phases. First, at the inception of the Center, there was considerable resident enthusiasm and participation on the board. Subsequently, when the board and Center accomplished so little, participation gradually decreased and was concentrated in a few hands. Currently, activists have won an election by gaining some community support for the idea of revitalizing the Center. Even at this time, there is only a very limited participation of residents in the neighborhood board, staff or activities.

Methods of work of these employees often bring them into conflict with professional workers on the CAA staff. It is the feeling of the professionals that these workers have methods that are too forceful and militant to achieve lasting results in a systematic manner. It appears that militant action and demonstrations have an emotional appeal for these people that is not found in the more peaceful approach. It is under the leadership of these groups that attention of the residents is drawn to the Center and other CAA programs.

One way in which some poor residents of the neighborhood do participate is as employees of one of the CAA programs. The director of community action, who is responsible for all these employees working at centers, treats these people in an authoritarian way and there is resentment between him and the employees.

CENTER "D"

1. History

A private, non-profit corporation which originated at an organizational meeting in March 1965, was slated to become the CAA for a three-county "rururban" area. Subsequent meetings of the founders throughout the spring brought the formulation of various programs (i.e., Head Start, NYC, NSC's) to be submitted to the OEO for funding.

During the summer of 1965, seven Head Start programs became operational and were accepted in the area with great success. By August of 1965, incorporation was completed and verbal assurance had been received that grants approximating a quarter of a million dollars had been approved.

In order to provide for greater outreach the Neighborhood Service Center program was opened in the fall of 1965.

2. Relationship of Center to Other Organizations

In this rural, sparsely populated area there is no such thing as a service center in the physical sense. There is one employee of the CAA who acts in this capacity. He is called the Area Representative. This worker does not have formal relationships with other organizations in the community except the Advisory Council. Relationships to CAA and other organizations in the community are, for the most part, informal rather than highly structured. The representative works directly with concerned individuals in the Head Start program, the Welfare and employment offices rather than the senior officials of these groups. This seems to have resulted in at least enough harmony to keep some forward motion and coordination among programs.

Relationships with the school administration appear to be good. It is this group which has given this worker and his programs the greatest support in this highly conservative area. The interaction between the area representatives and the school group has been advantageous to both. School personnel feel that his work has brought a greater interest and emphasis on education to the community. It has impressed the parents with the importance of education. The morale of the teachers has been raised because of this renewed interest in their field and their work.

Due to the personality of this worker, who is in fact the Neighborhood Center, it may be said that informal relationships with other community organizations are excellent. This is an individual who is native to the community, whose family is respected, and who brought honor to the community prior to his employment by the CAA. Thus, he brought to his position a rapport with the people in established organizations in the area. He works closely with the Welfare Department and has inspired that agency to assume a more active role instead of its traditionally passive one in its work with the poor.

3. *Organizational Structure*

The Community Action Agency's governing body is a board composed of twenty-one members, seven from each of the three counties involved with the program. The board consists of elected officials, professional persons, representatives of public and private social service agencies, businessmen and representatives of the poor served by the program. The board meets monthly and decides questions of policy and of plans for anti-poverty programs in the area. In addition, the board has selected an executive director of the CAA who has, in turn, hired a staff. There are nine CAA employees working at the CAA level providing administrative services, project supervision, planning and development, and community relations functions. There are sixteen persons each working individually in the field to locate and interview disadvantaged persons. These sixteen persons are, in effect, the neighborhood service centers.

In addition to the CAA board, each community has an advisory committee which has been selected by the staff on a geographic and/or functional basis. These committees are supposed to be composed of the persons for whom programs are designed and, in some cases, there is overlap between the advisory committees and the board of directors of the CAA. The stated purpose of the advisory committees is evaluation, i.e., to evaluate the need for programs, how best to organize and gain support for them and how well programs are working. The recommendations of this group are solely advisory.

4. *Staff Selection and Training*

All staff members are hired by the CAA Director. It is his view that the entire program should be run by well-trained professionals who provide the brains of the operation and direct others how to deal with the poor. As this man has considerable force, he has shaped the entire program so that both its virtues and its defects are a reflection of his own thoughts and personality. Sub-professional employees are hired from the area to fill positions of clerical workers and area representatives.

There is the feeling at the upper levels of the CAA that the rural problems that they are dealing with are unique and that unique measures must be devised to cope with them successfully. One of these measures is a specialized training program of twenty days for all area representatives. This program is supposed to teach the representative how to relate himself successfully to the local community and how to encourage community action. There is no evidence to support the view that it does either. It must be noted here that the director of the CAA spends very little time in the field with delegate agencies and program recipients but devotes most of his attention to working in the office and preparing written communications, elaborate job descriptions and rules, and complex directives.

5. *Control of the Center*

Though the organization in this area is small and the CAA might very well exert tight control over the Center (i.e., the area representative) it appears that the area representative is on his own and his actions are autonomous to a large degree. He is free to implement programs, reach his people, and accomplish his goals in the best way he can.

6. *Budget*

The approved budget for the entire Community Action Program is just short of \$500,000 which includes approximately \$100,000 for the service centers in the three counties and the balance for program development and all of the delegated programs. These delegated programs are principally Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and related educational efforts.

7. *Programs*

The rural area in which the program operates is characterized by very conservative views held by most residents, reticence and distrust of outsiders as well as the general feeling that it is sinful to be poor. In view of these characteristics, the area representative spends almost all of his time going from home to home attempting to identify families that can use existing programs and trying to convince these families that they should avail themselves of existing services. This is his primary program. The resistance to participation is generally strong, but the fact that most of the current programs are designed for children has helped to overcome some suspicions. Although many of these people have

given up hope for their own lives, they have a strong interest in anything which will help their children.

An important observation to be made here is that people would rather not avail themselves of poverty programs because this entails admission of being poor. In this small community the whole town knows who takes part in these programs and these families feel the resulting social stigma. Therefore, another goal of the area representative is to change the image of the program from one of a "government give-away" for one group to that of community-wide participation and self-help.

8. Outreach

Due to the geographical layout of the target area a program of outreach is of great concern, with much of the effort of the representative being devoted to communicating with and reaching the people. He must travel large distances to reach them. His method is physically to take his services to the people. His personal contact and rapport seem necessary to encourage these people to accept the new and old services available in the community. During the months of March, April, and May of this year, the representative is known to have contacted from 180 to 400 each month in this manner. His records show that services were provided to 30 people in March, 60 in April, and 70 in May, indicating that in that three-month period the area representative was indeed gaining greater acceptance for his programs.

9. Target

The operations described herein take place in a three-county rural region with a population of almost 170,000 persons spread over an area in excess of 1,300 square miles. This sparsely settled area is almost exclusively white and native American although there are some small concentrations of Negroes and foreign born. Approximately 18 percent of the families of these counties are listed as having annual incomes of less than \$3,000. However, there are very few families with incomes over \$10,000 and the median income is very low. The rate of unemployment in all three counties is very low. Most employed persons travel considerable distances to work.

The area of most concern in this report is a small community with a population of less than 4,500 persons and a surrounding area with very low population density. The poor are not concentrated in geographical pockets but are individually scattered throughout the area. The population is considered to be impoverished in ways other than economic. There are no entertainment opportunities for anyone; the educational system is limited and inadequate; there are few organizations in the community and those that exist do little. The political and social structure is dominated by those who feel that the less government the better and that those who are poor deserve to be. The outlook of the community is inward and conservative instead of outward toward the rest of the world. There is hostility to innovation of almost every type.

10. Services

The services that the area representative provides are many and varied. Head Start, NYC, and other educational programs are offered in the community and the representative performs the service of educating the people about them and encouraging them to participate. He also advises residents on the services available to them under the Welfare and Employment Agencies.

He has been known to perform his services in any way he can think of in order to accomplish these goals and satisfy the need of the moment. He spends a great amount of time traveling to families and a great amount of time visiting with them and explaining the programs. He spends time encouraging representatives of other agencies to explain their programs to various groups. He provides transportation to those who need to visit one of the other agencies or participate in one of the CAA programs.

Because of the suspicions and background of the local people the success or failure of the program is in large part dependent upon the personalities of the persons carrying it out. In the community where our investigations were undertaken, it was clearly evident that the area representative was energetic and devoted and that the people with whom he had contact were responding to him.

11. Community Action

Because of the nature of this area and its people the concept of community action is almost inconceivable. Any innovations whatsoever in the direction of community action may be considered as progress.

Due to the efforts of the present area representative some interest in community activity may be in its early stages.

There is no Center in the community around which activities may be focused. The Community Council which meets in homes of residents is an informal group which has proposed a Community Recreation Facility. In order to be built this proposal has to be submitted to the voters along with a proposal for improvements to the schools. The school improvements portion of the package has been voted down by the people in past elections so if the proposals are accepted during this next election, it may be considered an important sign of progress.

The smallest innovation that is proposed by a member of this community is usually considered extremely radical. During one meeting our observers noted that the area representative suggested that they begin to work on some new ideas for summer programs. Suggestions from the floor brought out proposals for a youth cultural program and fixing up the baseball diamond. A community businessman turned to the observer and asked if she "thought they were crazy for making all these plans."

12. Participation of the Poor

The policies and activities of the CAA and its neighborhood representative are all designed to provide a limited number of services to the poor, and they are not concerned with the participation of the poor in policy making or administrative roles. Thus, there are some arrangements for participation by the poor but the facts are clear that this does not take place in any meaningful way except in the role of employees. On the other hand, it must be recognized that the program is reaching people who have never been served before. In the community under consideration, it is not reaching a large number of people but it is indeed reaching families and particularly their children. In addition, because of the existence of the programs there are certain rather modest changes in established institutions. The school system is attempting to improve itself for the first time in many years, and the Welfare Department is assuming a more active role. There are signs that the members of the advisory councils are becoming restive in their roles and desire to exert a larger influence on the character and extent of the anti-poverty program in their community. It may therefore be said that there are the first faint stirrings of hope, of participation, and of community action to deal with some of the problems of poverty. It is believed in the community that this will occur only when programs are directed for the entire community, not only for the poor, and so recent attention has been devoted to unifying community opinion and action behind one program (the new community building) that will benefit everyone. Should this program succeed, it is likely to be the first of more successes.

CENTER "E"

1. History and Origins

In 1962 a Corporation was established in response to a long-time community interest in the formation of an overall planning and coordinating agency for social services, and in association with a demonstration project for delinquency control. Fundamental to the planning objective was the attempt to bring to bear upon the problems of delinquency the coordinated and integrated influences of existing agencies. A geographically-based unit for the coordination of services became a central concept for implementation. The area in which the present Center is located was selected as the target for the demonstration. The Corporation that had been formed in 1962 became the agency to carry out the demonstration and in 1964 it was delegated to serve as the CAA for the entire city.

The Corporation adopted the concept that existing agencies had failed to meet the needs of the target population in the area and a more aggressive approach to the problems experienced by the area was necessary. This became the underlying philosophy of the Center when it opened. The departure from traditional views of services and a patent distrust of existing agencies meant that the CAA rather than a traditional agency operated the Center.

Prior to the opening of the Center there existed private social welfare agencies which were concerned about the conditions of the poor. The settlement houses and the service projects operated by ministers in the area are cases in point. A most significant conflict occurred between these private agencies and the CAA

before the formation of the Center. The private welfare organization felt that it was the logical one to act as the CAA for the entire community. When, instead, a completely new corporation was formed, a deep fissure was created between the old and new groups. This conflict, coupled with the philosophical differences between the two groups, has served to create misunderstandings which still have not been completely resolved.

The subcontracting of some Center operations to delegate agencies, many of which are constituents of the private coordinating service group, has served to reduce some differences between the CAA and private welfare organizations. It does not appear that these private agencies have changed their views or programs to any significant extent; however, in some instances they have expanded their operations through indirect participation in Center programs.

2. Relations With Other Organizations

The Center works closely with local government agencies such as Welfare and Labor Service; personnel from these agencies are located in the Center. These ties appear to be mildly cooperative but conflicts sometimes arise over policy. For example, the Center has argued with Welfare and taken a position against the "man in the house rule" which cuts the family off relief if a male is present in the home. The Center has also had some conflict with the local Labor Department over criteria for job eligibility. In the area served by the Center, 75 percent of the youths have arrest records and must have police clearance before they can be placed in jobs. The Center feels that, in many instances, the police records should have been overlooked, thus making more of these residents eligible for employment.

A frequent criticism of the Center's relationship with other agencies is that their communication with the Center is not good. They feel that they are not kept informed of the Center's activities. Another impression received from discussions with outside organizations is that Center staff does not follow up their referrals to their agencies so that agencies like Child and Family Services take a dim view of the social services provided by the Center.

3. Organizational Arrangements

The *Board of Directors of the Corporation* is made up of over forty persons. Two-thirds of the members are community leaders in government, business and social services, and one-third are representatives of the poor appointed from among the membership of a Community Advisory Council.

The *Community Advisory Council* was established to advise the Board and is made up of five representatives elected from each neighborhood advisory council.

Neighborhood Advisory Councils work in cooperation with the Centers to formulate policy and approve of Center programs. Any resident of the target area is considered to be a member of the Council in his neighborhood. He may attend all meetings and participate in policy-making and program creation.

The chain of command from the CAA Director to the Center Director goes through an assistant CAA Director, an Operations Director, and a Director of Community Organization.

4. Operation of the Center

The Center has a staff of sixty persons, twelve professional and forty-eight non-professional. Social service, a newcomers' service, and community organization staff are housed at the central location of the Center. Also located within the Center are Welfare Department personnel and people from the Employment Service, who are funded and directed by their respective organizations. Separate housing is maintained for the Legal Aid, Consumer Action, employment, and Credit Union branches of the Center. The services of all these rather autonomous branches are to be coordinated by the Center Director, his assistant and their administrative staff. All personnel of the Center with exception of those employed directly by other agencies are hired by the Center Director. Professional employees are interviewed by the Center Director but they must be approved by the CAA Personnel Office. All staff members must qualify under guidelines set up by this department. Block workers and aides undergo a short informal training period conducted by their respective department heads.

It has been indicated that the Center Director who was relatively new to his job at the time of our study may be lacking staff support. Complaints by some of the staff members indicate that he should put forth more effort to coordinate the various departments. It is their feeling that some departments are allowed

to take over jobs or services that they are not qualified to perform. For example, the Housing Department has complained that another department has been known to take over its duties of locating housing for clients. It appears that, in some instances, the department that initially receives the client tries to perform any and all services that he may require.

Resolutions of organizational problems are attempted through staff meetings of the heads of the various departments. However, a CAA staff member has voiced the opinion that the department heads are not meeting often enough and then only on an irregular basis. Observation and client interviews verify the lack of service coordination.

The Center Director has employed forty-eight area residents to fill various jobs as block workers and aides. Policy is based on the expectation that the people of the community will respond to block workers from their own area and that these workers should play an important role in organizing the community. In practice, many of the workers have shifted their attitudes since their employment and they have lost their identity with the poor and unemployed with whom they are hired to associate. The upward mobility tendency of these workers and their competitive nature for better paying jobs within the Center decreases their effectiveness as contacts with the poor.

5. *Control of the Center*

Policies of the Center are chiefly those of its parent organizations, the OEO and CAA. Where the policies and guidelines are clear, the Center Director is constrained to operate within boundaries set by them. It is true, however, that in some instances the policies are not clear and the Center Director has some discretionary power. In the matters of the general staffing of the Center, positions available, pay scales, and approach to services, rules may be strictly followed.

It is intended that within these boundaries set up for the Center, control is to be extended to the poor via the Neighborhood Advisory Council with its open membership. Yet attendance is small at these meetings—75 at a most important meeting—and it is the complaint of many residents that they cannot accomplish anything by going. Problems that have been voiced at the meetings have not yet been effectively handled and thus participation in the Council is small.

6. *Budget*

The present budget of all CAA operations in the city is about \$28 million. The budget for this Center is about \$400,000. About 90 percent of the Center budget is for salaries. About 15 percent of the total CAA budget is for the Centers.

7. *Center Programs*

The Center is expected to serve as a unit to accomplish several things: (1) supply a limited range of integrated services on a neighborhood basis; (2) through discussion make people aware of the problems they experience; and (3) through organization and discussion have them seek solutions to these problems.

Basic to the operation is the idea that the poor, through organization and collective action, should bring pressure upon existing institutions to effect change. This would result in some relief, if not solution, to their problems. Community action was to be the dominant component of the Center's program, but some services were to be operated for immediate assistance.

Interviews conducted indicate a consistency between the Center's stress on community action and the organizational structure. CAA has indicated its conception of the importance of this role by setting up a directorship of Community Organization. On the staff at the Center are two organization specialists and 19 neighborhood workers. This is, by far, the largest department at the Center.

In general, both the views of the Center's leadership and those of the CAA may be characterized as being opposed to having the Center function as a traditional service agency.

8. *Outreach*

One of the greatest emphases of this Center is that of outreach. Under the auspices of the Community Organization Department an extensive and systematic program has been set up to deal with the problem. Nineteen resident block workers, under the direction of two professionals, have been attempting to reach the population through the systematic organization of block clubs.

The extent and effectiveness of this program is difficult to evaluate. Statistics are available on the numbers of people who are contacted through the block club program and through the services at the Center. Our observers discovered that

in May, 1966, 558 individuals were contacted and services were provided to 114. Thus, about 80 percent of the contacts were for community organization. Given the fact that approximately 33,000 persons reside in the area, the reported number of contacts and persons served in any one month appears small. An independent survey conducted in late 1965 questioned a large sample of residents regarding their knowledge of the Center. The results show that 31 percent of the individuals questioned had heard of the Center but only four percent had actually visited it or participated in its activities. Less than two percent of the population had actually met the neighborhood worker. A general observation is that at no time during our visits to the Center was there any considerable number of persons requesting service. The busiest areas of Center operations were the Employment Department and Credit Union.

The 1965 Survey mentioned above found that 50 percent of the people reported housing as a problem; 36 percent were concerned about prices and quality of goods in stores; 32 percent named crime as the greatest problem; 31 percent named money for essentials; and 25 percent—job availability. Thus, it would appear that the Center is weakest in areas in which people report the greatest problems.

9. Target

The area of the Center under study has a population of about 33,000. It is located close to the core area of a city of over 1,000,000 population. Over 80 percent of area residents are non-white with the largest group being Negro. The unemployment rate among adults is approximately 6.5 percent and about 40 percent of its families have incomes of less than \$3,000. For the non-white segment of the community, over 90 percent of the family units have incomes of less than \$3,000.

Resulting social problems are numerous and complex. They include poor housing conditions, unemployment, and high living expenses. The crime and juvenile delinquency rates are among the highest in the country.

10. Services

The Center Director expressed the view that the main functions of the Center are to demonstrate how needed services can be supplied more effectively through organized pressure groups and to provide some services on an individual basis. To demonstrate the comparative emphasis on the two goals we can cite Center statistics indicating that individual services accounted for 52 percent of total Center contacts for March and only 20 percent of its total contacts for May, 1966. A further example—during May of this year, 444 people were involved in Community Organization while only twenty received Consumer Education.

Despite the emphasis on community action throughout the various departments of the Center, variations from this aim are found. The most notable examples of such variation may be seen in the Legal Services, Social Services, and Employment Departments. The Legal Service is concerned precisely with the individual client and the testing of legal concepts through case law. The professional code of ethics does not allow attorneys to go out and recruit clients and thus they are precluded from engaging in community organization. The Social Service and Employment Departments are not engaged in recruiting or reaching more clients in the community; like the Legal Department, their emphasis is one of service to the individual. The traditional attitude may be a reflection of influence of Welfare Department and Employment Service personnel who are situated in the Center. The Welfare Department workers are primarily interested in servicing their clients in the area and have very little interaction with the rest of the Center. For the above reasons, these departments are not always understood by other divisions of the Center. The Director of the Legal Service stated that he was not fully informed of what the Center was doing and there was no provision for his attendance at staff meetings.

Employment Service personnel work closely with their corresponding departments in the Center but have demonstrated a rather patronizing attitude toward the Center staff. They regard themselves as better trained than the Center staff and feel that they must go over Center-staff work. A team approach is operational in this department, with the Center staff members doing the evaluative work for the client and the Employment Service personnel actually placing the client in his job.

The physical layout of the Center includes a central building which contains Social Service, a Housing Advisor, Newcomers' Service, State Employment Personnel, and the Community Organization staffs. Separate housing throughout

the neighborhood is maintained for the Legal Services, Consumer Action, the Credit Union, and Employment Departments. Policy calls for services to be offered to the client with the respective departments acting as a team, but these services are often uncoordinated and overlapping. There are many clients who receive all services from one department. Lack of coordination between these departments may be due in part to their physical separation.

The Center has been most helpful to people who represent emergency cases—those in need of food, shelter, and material things. Although it has no resources of its own for meeting these needs, it has contact with other agencies who do. As reflected in the interviews with clients, the Center represents a friend in time of need and has earned the gratitude of those served.

The greatest contribution of the Center is in the area of educating people regarding the methods by which available services may be obtained, with the result that many residents now have a greater understanding and appreciation of agencies which dispense services.

11. Community Action

It is basic policy at this Center that every available resource be utilized toward organizing the poor to recognize their problems and take collective action to solve them. This emphasis may be shown in three ways: (1) by personnel selection, (2) emphasis on the organization of block clubs, and (3) the make up of the Council membership.

Many personnel involved with this Center, including the Center Director and Deputy Director, have backgrounds of participation in activist movements. Many other policy-making personnel of the Center and CAA expressed philosophies of community action. It is true that many of the CAA personnel were not as militant in their views as were the Center Director and his Assistant, but all were opposed to the idea of the Center as a service organization only.

The importance of the organization of the block clubs was voiced by Center personnel on every level. The large staff employed to accomplish this objective is dedicated and systematic in its approach but the program is beset with problems. The classic complaint of not having enough workers to accomplish the job (only 19 workers to reach 33,000 people) is voiced the loudest. The Center Director is awaiting funds to hire more neighborhood workers for this department. Another problem in implementing this program is the high mobility rate of the people. About 25 percent of the area residents are new to the neighborhood since last year.

At one time the Neighborhood Council was limited to two representatives from each of the forty block clubs, but the community concern with a new site for one of the junior high schools in the area points to the need of a more broadly-based Council. It was then determined that all residents of the geographic area served by the Council were eligible for Council membership. A by-law provision granting membership eligible to all area residents was approved this summer.

12. Participation of the Poor

The poor are represented on the Center Staff as aides and neighborhood workers. They constitute the majority of the non-professional workers and greatly outnumber the professionals. They appear dedicated and from all indications perform effectively. It was learned, however, that the Center Director has dismissed those neighborhood workers who were not cooperative enough to perform jobs above and beyond their specified duties, such as helping in another department when necessary of running an errand. It has been noted also that some neighborhood workers disassociate themselves from their peers in the area after they have worked at the Center for a time. In the words of one of the staff professionals, "They want to become junior social workers."

It is the intent of the Center organization that the poor participate in community activities through their block clubs. The problems that must be surmounted to organize these groups have been discussed. Because of these difficulties many of the blocks in the area remain untouched. But it takes time for the block workers to visit these people and it takes more time and several more visits to encourage the residents to participate in any programs. Some of the block clubs that have been formed are being advised on how to deal best with housing codes and see that they are enforced. Clean-up details have been stimulated into action in some areas to clean up yards, streets, and homes. However, progress in this direction is slow and evidence of this work in the area is minimal.

Participation of the poor is also encouraged through the Council meetings with membership open to all residents of the area. Thus, the broad-based membership would consist of about 33,000 people. At the meeting which our observers attended, 75 residents could be counted. The subject of the meeting was considered one of great interest and the observer was told that most Council meetings were not so well attended. There has been some conflict among the residents who do attend and participate in Council meetings. Some persons referred to the fact that poor people did not like the fact that middle class residents of the neighborhood assumed active roles in the meetings. The result was that many middle class persons who could make a contribution to the Council decided to lessen their active participation. This is given as one reason for the relative ineffectiveness of the present Council. Some support is given this position from the manner in which the Council handled its by-laws. The document was poorly prepared because persons capable of making a contribution did not participate. The charge is made by the middle class residents that the poor are disorderly at meetings and their behavior prohibits orderly procedure.

It appears that the poor are vying with the middle class residents for control of the Center and this conflict is of itself an indication of progress and involvement of the poor. However, when they have control it appears that they are not yet effective in managing a complex operation.

CENTER "F"

1. History

Upon learning of the formation of the OEO in Washington a private service club in this small community realized that through these channels is a method existed for the improvement and rejuvenation of the town. The local club worked to procure funding for a local CAA organization and in fact became the CAA. The Neighborhood Service Center under examination here is the only one that has become operational under the auspices of the CAA in this community.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

The center is located in a small community which has been left devastated by a number of situations far beyond its control. It suffers from problems so acute that any attempts to solve them are accepted with gratitude by its citizens. The few private organizations which still exist here look upon the NSC programs as the only hope in salvaging the town. Churches in the community have donated their facilities for Head Start and Day Care programs for children and encouraged their memberships to participate as volunteers. Fraternal organizations have donated meeting space for various activities under Center direction.

Traditional government agencies which have served the community are on cordial terms with the Center. They view the Center as a method of increasing their services to those who need them and as a means of being more effective in solving the drastic problems of the area. Most of the public agencies interact well the Center. County Health Department personnel have been most cooperative with the Center's attempts to combat sanitation and health problems. County Child Welfare officials have indicated a respect for Center programs and mentioned a cooperative relationship between the two groups in serving clients. The State Employment Service works with an employment counselor at the Center. No conflicts were evident in this relationship; their aims are identical—to find employment for as many as possible.

The only public agency which does not work closely with the Center is the County Welfare Department which is located in another town in the county. It does not appear that an open conflict exists between the agency and the Center, but they do not work together and there have been isolated instances of Center intervention in Welfare activities that have produced a bad relationship. One case was cited where a young expectant mother was greatly in need of medical care and the Welfare Department refused to send her to the doctor at the Public Health Service until they could provide funds for her medical care. The patient could not provide the necessary papers; they had either become lost or she had never had them. A member of the Center staff was able to help at this point. He took the client to the Public Health Department to see a doctor who said that he would treat her whether her paperwork was in order or not.

Relationships with the schools are excellent. School administration officials were active in setting up the Center and procuring funds for its operation. School policy provides for free use of school buildings and libraries by the

people of the community outside of classroom hours and officials have generously provided space for many Center activities.

Center personnel have been able to get cooperation from almost every segment of the community. Many private business interests and town government personnel have extended aid in every possible way. They view the Center as one of the most promising methods of reviving the town's economy and solving its monumental problems.

3. Organizational Arrangements

CAA Board

The local service organization that worked to procure the funds for the Center is still serving in the capacity of CAA Board to formulate policy, develop programs, and hire all Center employees. No intricate organizational structure exists; the CAA, i.e., the club, operates the one center in the community and all CAA programs are in effect Center programs. The service club is not selective or invitational in its membership but is open to all men who wish to join.

There does exist, in addition to the CAA in this community, a broad-based committee which functions as a CAA for the rest of the county. The Center Director and some residents of the community where the Center is located are also active in this group. Their programs are complementary to those of the subject center.

Center Administration

The Center staff is a relatively small group which includes the Center Director, an Assistant Director, accountant, and secretary. The remaining six employees at the Center administer the following programs: Social Services, Health Services, Housing and Public Services, and Economic and Employment Development. The Neighborhood Service Center is comprised of the offices of these staff members which are located in an area above the community post office.

There is no provision or program for staff training. Funds and personnel are not available to train the poor for the few paid positions at the Center. One of the complaints voiced most often by the poor was that the Center hired people who did not really need jobs. However, criteria for employment were based on qualification, not on need, and most of the Center personnel are people with at least some college education. Those residents in the area who are most in need of the jobs seem to be the ones who are not considered qualified for them. Basic to complaints by these people and a few more affluent members of the community was a misunderstanding of skills needed for the jobs and the salaries paid to Center employees. Many of them were under the impression that Center employees were being paid \$50.00 per day for "A real soft job."

4. Control of the Center

It may be stated clearly that there is no conflict over control of the Center. Control rests with the Center Director and the organization that founded the CAA. Control exerted by the service club is defined by policy but not by actual practice. The Center Director is most often the one who is instrumental in formulating new policies and programs. He is given a great amount of freedom to do so and he usually wins CAA approval for his actions and ideas. Membership in the CAA club is open to all, and men from all income levels are encouraged to join. Thus, the poor can and do participate directly in CAA and Center policy-making.

The club has experienced no resistance on the part of other organizations in the town; there are no others. At one time many similar organizations were active in the community but economic conditions gradually forced many of the population to move away and the other service clubs disbanded. The organization which remained intact assumed the philanthropic duties of the others.

It should be noted that conflicts with townspeople over control of any part of the CAA program are nonexistent in the community. Residents appear to harbor so much concern over the town's plight that those who have remained in the community are interested only in solutions to the problems. Common interest in saving the town from complete decay appears to have formed a bond between the residents who are still active and interested. A receptive attitude was exhibited by Staff and Board members alike toward any program or participation by any member of the community.

Budget data available at the Center indicate that it has received about \$75,000 for its operation this year. Local sources produced almost \$15,000 in the form of

office space, meeting space, public improvement equipment, and classroom equipment. Center staff salaries account for about one-third of the total allocation with the remainder of the money available for Head Start, NYC, and other CAA programs. Staff salaries range from \$1.25 per hour for part-time employees to the Director's salary of \$7,800 annually.

6. Center Programs

A variety of programs has originated from the Center which are designed to overcome some of the community problems as well as the individual problems of the poor. One of the most immediate goals involves a program of beautification and clean-up activities. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and a group of women volunteers have been instrumental in helping carry out these projects. Also, some adults have received part-time employment on the projects. It is depressing to see this community with its run-down buildings, the landscape hideously scarred by hills of chat and discolored, stagnant mill ponds, residuals of a mining operation long since gone. In view of this, the beautification efforts are rather pathetic except as make-work projects.

The town is desperately in need of a completely new sewage system. The sanitation facilities that do exist here are old and substandard and there are many places in the community where the system has broken down entirely, leaving no facilities whatever. Center personnel have been working with city officials to get funding for a proposed new sewage and water system. They have encountered many bureaucratic obstacles in their efforts to get these funds from federal sources and at the time of this study they were looking into possibilities of floating a bond issue for the money.

Due to the lack of recreation facilities, a summer recreational program for grade school children was set up where crafts and games were supervised by three girls from a nearby college. A Day Care Center and Head Start program are operational now due to the cooperative efforts of the Center staff, the schools, and the churches. The only playground facilities in the community are located at the grade school and one of the churches, and they have been made available for Center programs. A swimming pool and public playgrounds for children are included in projected goals for the future.

A Community Center for activities and services for all age groups is a much-discussed goal of the residents. At this time, no such facility exists nor are there funds available for building and operating such a Center. The NSC Director and city officials have been searching for methods of funding an operation of this type.

A number of programs, both recreational and service-oriented, have been set up for senior citizens. A social organization has been formed under Center auspices whereby these people may meet regularly to discuss their personal problems and participate in community activities as a group. This program appeared to our researchers to be a very popular one. Facilities for the meetings have been donated by one of the local fraternal organizations.

A Medicare Alert program was carried out by Center staff members to contact all senior citizens and encourage them to participate in the Medicare program. The Center has organized a group of volunteers to visit the elderly who are ill or confined to their homes to provide companionship, housekeeping services, run errands, or furnish transportation to them. These services are very popular with the many elderly people of the community and they would like to see the program extended to include more frequent visits and a counseling service.

Nursing services for all age groups and physical examinations for children are offered now by the County Health Nurse who works with Center on a referral basis. Her program also includes health information to families, and a Planned Parenthood Program is presently under consideration. Her services are supplemented by those of a sanitary engineer from a nearby county community who advises residents regarding physical conditions in the area which may cause health problems.

An Employment Department in the Center cooperates with the State Employment Service to find jobs for the unemployed in the area. Employers are contacted and encouraged to notify the Center of any job openings they may have.

The Center Director and other community leaders are involved in a constant economic development program for the area, attempting to attract new business and industry for the area, attempting to attract new business and industry to the area which would provide a new employment base for residents.

Cooperation with city officials has resulted in a plan for a new housing project. At the time of our study construction of 38 low-cost housing units was scheduled to begin immediately.

The emphasis of the Center programs and service efforts is on the elderly and the very young. Not much is provided for those in between these age extremes. The Center staff members seem to be at a loss as to how to serve the middle-aged poor. By and large, they have given up on them.

7. Outreach

It appears that the Center Director and his staff have been diligent in attempts to extend their services and programs to the community. It is their conviction that maximum community action and participation is necessary to revitalize the area. They have employed every method known to them to accomplish this goal. Their efforts seem to have been very successful. Our researcher in the area found few residents who were not aware of the Center or one of its programs. The community is small, however, with a population of less than 3,000 and the paid staff members have been greatly aided by the efforts of volunteers. Members of the CAA remain enthusiastic in spreading news of the programs. The few other private groups and the churches in town appear to have been cooperative in informing their memberships about Center activities.

Many of the initial programs were of the type which necessitated door-to-door contact by staff members and volunteers; e.g., Medicare Alert and recruiting children for Head Start. This type of contact is employed continually by the staff.

A weekly newspaper is published in the community with prominent space devoted to Center activities. Posters are often exhibited throughout the business section of town to announce special meetings and activities.

It was noted by our researcher that in a town of this size problems of outreach and informing the citizenry do not exist and that the most effective method of outreach was built into the system long before the invention of the telephone—the "grapevine" could handle the situation very nicely. We might add that this grapevine works both ways. Center personnel are constantly alerted by this informal system to the needs of the community.

8. Target

The area served by the Center is a small community of fewer than 3,000 persons. Ten years ago this was a city of 30,000 population and the hub of an active mining operation. At that time the mines employed over 6,000 people.

In 1957, the decision of the mining company to discontinue its operations there left the community in chaos, both physically and economically. The mines and equipment were located in the center of the city, and in their departure, the company left much of the equipment and debris in the main street of the town. That part of the city is still owned by the mining company and attempts by Center staff to have the area cleared by the company or even to get their approval for such a program have been futile.

Due to the collapse of the city's economic base, many of its most influential citizens and community leaders suffered drastic financial reverses or were forced to move from the city. Almost total depression of the community resulted; many businesses had to close their doors or move. Most buildings in the main business district are empty and boarded up. Unemployment became a chronic problem. Many of those who were skilled, young, and well-educated moved out of the community. Those who remained felt that they were too old to move to another home and start their lives over again or that they had no skills or education to offer industry and thus no prospects for employment if they did move. Many of these people are Welfare recipients.

Traditional public assistance agencies such as the Welfare Department and County Health Department exist in the county where this community is located but their activities during the last ten years have not even partially solved the problems of the area. Their services seem to have included only the distribution of Welfare payments and dispensing of services to take care of immediate needs. No outreach method was employed to take the services to the people or inform them of the services that were available. These agencies evidently were not concerned with the community but only in distributing a few handouts.

This community has almost no resources. There existed no city welfare agencies for aid to the poor prior to the Center. The small city budget of \$12,000 per year allowed no monies for such an agency. The town has no recreation facilities; there are no longer any movie theatres or community centers; there is no swimming pool; and there are no public playground facilities for children. Many of the buildings are unoccupied and in an extreme state of disrepair. Those buildings that are presently occupied are badly in need of repairs for which there are no funds.

The sewer and water system in the community is so antiquated and broken down that its condition is a source of concern to residents and public health officials alike.

The problems of the area served by this Center are not the problems of a small, poverty-stricken segment of the population but are problems of the community as a whole.

9. Services of the Center

The Center has innovated a great variety of services to the people of the community and they are delivered by a variety of methods.

It was the original intent of the founding organization that many services already offered by county agencies could be more effectively utilized if a headquarters could be set up to coordinate all of them. Many of the personnel of these agencies were located in another city about ten miles away and their visits to the community were sporadic. Sometimes it was impossible for a resident of the community to get help when it was needed because of the location of these agencies, and the resident was often unable to travel to the county seat to get assistance if it was needed between visits of agency personnel. In short, the resident was often isolated from help. The inception of the Center brought to the community a method for the resident to learn about and to avail himself of the services to which he was entitled. The "government office up over the post office" now serves as a referral agency to the Public Health Nurse, Sanitation Engineer, and Child Welfare personnel who visit the community to serve their clients. The Center Staff has been known to provide transportation as well as information, when it was needed.

In addition to the referrals the CAA and the Center have innovated many of their own programs for direct service to clients. The Employment Department, Social Service Department, and Housing Department administer such service programs. The Employment Counselor works with the unemployed in the area in an attempt to find jobs for residents. Activities for senior citizens also fall under her direction, and include the Medicare Alert, Senior Citizens Club, and recruitment of volunteers to visit the elderly who are confined to their homes. The Social Services Department has arranged for classes to provide knowledge for low-income people on basic needs such as housekeeping, personal cleanliness, and budgeting of money. The Assistant Director works with the youth of the community and administers such programs as the NYC and the summer recreation program. The Housing Department has helped to develop the program for low-cost housing for the community and a program for the teaching of health practices and home cleanliness.

An integral part of the Center organizational structure is the Health Service. The Public Health Nurse administers such services as physical examinations for children, instructions to parents in health practices and diet, and visits to the bedridden. The distinct impression was relayed to us through our observers that among the middle-aged and elderly population there was a considerable amount of ill-health and injury due to the hazards of mining occupations. The nurse's care is in great demand by members of these groups.

The feeling is almost universal throughout the community that the Center is serving the community effectively. The only criticisms of Center programs offered by our respondents were the lack of programs for teenagers and young adults and the failure of the hard-to-reach poor to take advantage of employment opportunities lest their Welfare allotments be cut down. A large proportion of the hard-to-reach, unemployed poor are former miners. With no more mining jobs available they seem to have given up; they have no desire to work at any other type of job. This serves to frustrate and irritate the Center workers.

According to statistics recorded at the Center its popularity increases monthly. Data were collected on the contacts, services, and activities of the Center through March, April, and May of this year.

	March	April	May
Number of contacts in center.....	93	92	71
Number of contacts outside center.....	594	409	693
Number of different persons contacted.....	637	501	764
Number of persons contacted in surveys of resident needs.....	566	278	529
Number of persons provided services.....	334	378	422
Number of persons involved in activities.....	129	104	455

10. *Community Action*

The primary role of the Center is to provide service to the community through resident participation in various projects. Programs operated by the Center have been instrumental in accomplishing these goals and our researcher noted that many changes became evident during the few months he was there. The cooperation of other organized groups in the community has aided the type of group action that is needed. Churches and fraternal organizations have recruited volunteers to assist the staff in beautification projects, clean-up details, and outreach programs. Many other citizens have given their time to long-range planning for programs and attempting to procure funds for community projects such as sewer system, water system, swimming pool, and playground facilities.

One of the groups most enthusiastic about service to the community is the Senior Citizens Club. The group was formed by the Center personnel for the purpose of providing a service to that age group and to combat their loneliness. It was noted by our observer that discussions during their meetings were becoming more and more community-directed instead of inner-directed. They have realized that their group might also provide service to the town.

Physical reasons would prevent a great deal of participation by this group. Most of them have no cars and since there are no sidewalks in the town, transportation is a problem for them. Nevertheless, the interest is there and this fact in itself is important. These people form a well-established, highly-respected community element and their sanction of any project lends it an important degree of good will. Also, most of them are retired and are unencumbered by family responsibilities so that they have a great deal of time to devote to community activities.

The most active participation in community projects has been exhibited by the group that is considered middle class. It has not been apparent that members of the chronically poor element have organized for group action or even taken part in activities as individuals.

11. *Participation of the Poor*

Due to the economic conditions in the area, almost every citizen of this community is now poor. Many of them were not always poor and it cannot be said that all of them are culturally deprived or educationally deprived. They are middle class in orientation, and they feel that presently (and temporarily) their community is merely economically deprived. These people feel that through collective action they may be able to pull themselves out of these straits. Members of this group are the ones who participate and volunteer their services on board meetings, committees, beautification projects, and clean-up details.

There exists another strata of the poor in the community—the hard-to-reach poor who apparently have been living on public welfare since the closing of the mines. It does not appear that many of these people have been affected by any Center program. They have been known to refuse employment opportunities, educational programs for children, and information programs for adults. One respondent was questioned about the Head Start program. When asked why her child was not entered she replied that the child had no transportation and that she did not want her to ride the bus provided by the Center. Other respondents in this group have offered varied excuses regarding their duties at home for not participating in community activities or going to the Center for classes.

The CAA Board, i.e., the service club, has intended to provide for maximum participation of residents in policy-making and program formulation by opening its membership to all. However, the membership of the organization is a small one, numbering only about twenty, and it appears that many men of this poverty group have not availed themselves of the opportunity to participate.

These hard-to-reach poor are marked by their complacency and apathy toward their situation. It is curious that even though the mining companies took more than a billion dollars of mineral wealth out of this area and left it looking like an abandoned dump, there does not seem to be any deep resentment felt by the surviving residents toward the exploiters of the area.

CENTER "G"

1. *History and Origins*

Early in 1964 there were a number of demonstrations by the Negro community protesting de facto segregation. These events made clear to community leaders who were concerned with the general decay in the city that the city needed to

organize its resources to improve conditions in the area. Thus, a private, non-profit agency was formed in the spring of 1964. The aims of the Corporation were to bind up the wounds of the community, improve the local economy, attempt to present realistic goals to the poor and help them attain these goals. The Board of the Corporation was set up to have low-income representation, civic and nationality group representation, civil rights group representation, public officials, and a few other interested groups. The representation as planned was to include those groups that were most vocal and active in protesting conditions in the community.

The Center was founded in the winter of 1964-65 but did not have a Director appointed until the spring of 1965. The Director is a white male who had just returned from the Peace Corps. His initial problem was to win the support of both the Negro and white portions of the area and to gain active participants for the Resident Council. Establishing himself proved to be a problem but the community did come to accept him. In the fall of 1965 elections were held for the Council and out of the fourteen persons elected three people, one Negro, one white, and one Puerto Rican, became quite active and helped in establishing the Center in the community. There has been a constant battle to maintain interest among the members of the Council as most residents feel that no significant change in the affairs of the area will come from the program because of the perceived entrenchment of the local political machine in the area.

2. Relationship With Other Organizations

An unsatisfactory relationship with the city CAA has had a demoralizing effect on the personnel of this Center and those of the poor who work closely with it. It is their feeling that tight CAA controls over funds and programs are serving to relegate the Center to an obscure and ineffectual position. The difficulty here concerns primarily the CAA Steering Committee which most of the poor feel does not adequately represent them and is not responsive to their needs. Center staff members have complained of a lack of communication between the CAA offices and the Center. The programs which have been submitted to the Committee for approval have either met with no response or with disapproval on the part of the Committee. We were informed that Center personnel were often not notified of CAA programs in time for the Center staff to prepare its residents for them.

Relationships with the Welfare Department have not been of a friendly nature. There is the typical concern on the part of the Welfare Department over the possibility that the Center will work to usurp its powers over its clients and intercede with them to project a bad image on the agency. The feeling has been voiced by Center staff members that the Welfare Department is ineffectual in solving the problems of the people of the area and that their traditional methods of handing out assistance will merely serve to prolong the problems. Center staff feels that solutions to problems in the area call for community organization and the Welfare Department is thought to be afraid of such organization of their clients.

Relations with the Board of Education are considered the poorest, in regard to implementation of all the various educational programs with which the CAA and Center are involved. CAA and center officials concur that lack of cooperation here was a hindrance in getting their programs started.

The Center Director has established satisfactory lines of communication with the Community Nursing Service, Housing Authority, Scouting organizations, and a local college which provides tutoring services to Center clients.

3. Organizational Arrangements

Board of Directors

The Board of the CAA officially decides all significant policy matters and selects and approves of all key staff. The representatives of the poor on the Board are the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of each of four Resident Advisory Councils. These persons were elected from among the Council members who in turn were elected by the residents of their areas. One representative from each of four civic and nationality groups was elected by their respective groups. One representative from each of two civil rights groups was appointed by those groups.

The political establishment has a total of nine members including the mayor and six of his appointees, a county commissioner, and a member of the state legislature. Eight other members of the Board come from various agencies and

groups in the community such as Health and Welfare and the AFL-CIO. Thus, it can be seen that the municipal government has direct and strong representation on the Board.

Resident Advisory Council

The Council in the Center area is composed of twelve resident women who were elected by the other residents of the area. They function in coordination with the Center Director to propose programs to the Board and to approve and direct the programs at the Center. A number of the women on the Council also have become active in other anti-poverty and community groups as a result of their activities on the Council and the encouragement of the Center Director. Council members are also active in publicizing the Center among other residents of the community.

4. Center Operation

The Center Staff consists of a Director, a young man recently returned from service in the Peace Corps, who has about three and one-half years of college; a Neighborhood Worker, a young Negro man with some college experience; and the secretary, a recent high school graduate. The three staff members seem to work well with each other and have earned the respect of the community.

Working in close association with the Center Staff are members of the Advisory Council. The Center Director has devoted a great deal of time to the Council members—advising them and helping them to develop programs and the capacity for leadership in the community.

The Director and Worker spend a majority of their time with individual problems, acquainting people with CAA projects and referring residents to other social agencies when appropriate. The Worker spends most of his time out in the neighborhood talking with residents about their needs, trying to locate those who can use the assistance of the Center, and developing community interest in solving the problems of the area.

Directors for the various service centers in the city were selected by the CAA Board. Notices are posted by CAA regarding the opening of other positions in the Centers and respondents to the notices are referred to the Center Director for his approval. Thus, formal hiring is shared by the CAA and the Center Director. No training program for employees exists at this time.

5. Control of the Center

When one considers actual control of policy it is evident that policies of the Center and Council are directly subject to the decision of the CAA Board and CAA Director. The Council of the Center seems to be given maximum opportunity by the Center Director to formulate policy but these opportunities are limited by the control imposed by the CAA Board. The relationship between the Center Director and Advisory Council appears to be excellent, given the limitations imposed from above. However, there are indications that the tight control by the CAA over the programs is acting to frustrate these persons who are closer to the Center and the poor. They are beginning to feel that getting one of their programs approved is almost an impossibility.

6. Budget

The total CAA budget for the calendar year of 1966 is approximately \$840,000. The Center budget for this period is approximately \$15,000 of which over 90 percent is for salaries. Projecting for the three operational Centers (exact figures were not obtained), the proportion of the CAA budget devoted to neighborhood centers is only about five percent of the total. Specific programs such as NYC are funded separately from the Center budget.

7. Center Programs

The Center has been most effective in its referral service program and by offering individual services. These services were developed partly through the suggestion and initiative of the CAA and partly as a result of requests by the residents.

It does not seem that the CAA has made the primary functions and goals of the Center clear to its personnel. It is the thinking of the Center staff that the Center was not only to be used as a service referral agency but to provide the impetus for community organization, greater participation, and policy formulation on the part of the poor. Actual practice of the CAA seems to negate this as the CAA has not approved a single program initiated by the Center. Specifically, the Council has proposed a detailed plan for the establishment of a community

center, a program of improving vacant housing by volunteers and landlords in the area, and a child care center so that mothers with young children could seek either part-time or full-time employment. The Center Staff and Advisory Committee has not had any communication from the CAA regarding its approval of these programs.

Since the Center has not been allowed to carry out any of its own programs it has had to concern itself primarily with public relations among the residents, and the referring of clients to other agencies which can help them. It also acts as a field representative for the programs planned and sponsored by the Corporation.

8. *Outreach*

The Director and Neighborhood Worker each spend a great deal of time making personal contacts and getting acquainted with area residents. It is estimated by the Director that the Center is known by about 2,000 of the 10,000 residents. A small number of these persons are on record as having availed themselves of the Center's services but the Director feels that the innovation of new programs will bring about participation of greater numbers of the people. In May, 1966 the total number of persons served both in and outside of the Center was 138. Including volunteers, the number of persons involved in Center activities was 347 during that month.

The Director was not optimistic about their outreach program; he did not feel that the Center had yet been able to reach the majority of those individuals in the area who were in desperate need of them. Those clients who had received services, however, were complimentary of the Center and grateful for help that they had received. Our respondents continually noted that the Center personnel did not look down on them as "second class citizens" but actually understood their problems.

9. *Target*

The area in which the Center is located is part of a very old city that has been in a period of decay for some time. The city has lost population; community spirit is poor; and there has been a recent history of civil rights protests. The Negro and Puerto Rican populations are growing and white residents are moving out to the suburbs and away from the area. The Center area has a population of about 10,000 with about 30 to 35 percent of its families earning less than \$3,000 per year. The majority of its adults have less than eight years of schooling and about 45 percent of the housing is substandard.

The political structure is conservative and long established and does not appear to be open to innovative social changes. The public social welfare agencies that have been established in the community also appear to be reluctant to welcome changes in their traditional programs.

10. *Services of the Center*

No direct services are available at the Center with the exception of one employment counselor from the state employment bureau who comes to the Center for about one-half day a week. The Center Staff and Advisory Board are optimistic that they may be able to offer more services to their clients after the CAA has given approval to some of the programs that have been submitted.

Referrals are made by the Center Director on an informal basis and he attempts to solve individual problems by referrals to private agencies, public welfare units, and CAA agencies. The Director has been known to provide immediate service by going over the heads of the agencies and side-stepping the various formal channels. When the need for a fence to surround a playground became apparent, the Director went straight to the Mayor of the city and the results were almost immediate.

Other services of the Center include aiding the residents with their housing problems. The Director may talk with a landlord on behalf of a tenant who is about to become evicted or whose dwelling is in drastic need of repair. A few work committees of resident volunteers have been formed to clean up areas of the community.

Tutoring services are offered to almost 100 school children in the Center with assistance of volunteers from a nearby college. English classes of about 40 Spanish-speaking people of the neighborhoods are also taught by these volunteers. Children's organizations have been established to meet at the Center and to provide activities for the various age groups. A Girl Scout Troop has been formed, and a boys' club and teenage girls group also meet at the Center. These activities are supervised by the Center staff and volunteers from the area and the activities

appear to be popular and well-attended according to our data. The Girl Scout Troop numbers ten, the teen girls group almost fifty, and the boys' club about thirty.

Despite the depressing picture painted about program conflicts, the Center has had its accomplishments since its inception. (1) It is there. The Center is well-established in the community and many residents refer to the popular Director as the "Mayor of East End." It is an institution now. (2) The Center has shown that it is available to people in need. This service is acknowledged by both the area residents and social agency personnel as a unique and needed service. (3) Improved service from existing agencies has been accomplished. Many agency personnel stated that the presence of the Center has extended their contact to persons they did not reach before. (4) There has been some mobilization of area concern through membership on the Councils and through the prodding of the Center Director in other community groups. (5) Through the efforts of the Center Director a fence was obtained for a children's play area.

11. *Community Action*

Early in 1964 there were a number of demonstrations by the Negro community protesting de facto segregation. These events made clear to community leaders who were concerned with the general decay in the city that the city needed to organize its resources to improve conditions in the area. The formation of the CAA and the neighborhood centers was the outgrowth. It was thought that community action and organization were to be the roles of the Center. The Director had the image of functioning as a community organizer and had not been clearly instructed by CAA officials to follow any other direction.

Due to lack of approval by the CAA Board for their proposals, the Center has had to concern itself with providing services and functioning as a referral agency. At the present time it is felt that there is little or no possibility of organizing any area-wide participation on the part of the residents since the only operative programs associated with the Center are those which are administered and planned by the CAA staff. The availability of individual services can help to familiarize the area residents with the Center and promote some good feeling toward the personnel of the Center, but the Center Director feels that these are not the types of activities through which it is possible to organize effective community action.

It is felt by the Center staff that more personnel are essential to any further community development. Two people have their difficulties in contacting 10,000 residents. Another constant complaint is that the Center would like to have at least some monies in its budget that it can control directly.

A further problem with regard to community organization is that there are no effective political or civil rights groups in the city at this time. The Center Director is trying to enlarge the scope of his contacts with existing agencies but claims that the personnel associated with these agencies prefer to deal directly with the administrative staff of the CAA. Thus, he is in a position of contacting agencies for services but receives little support for planning from them.

A number of residents have mentioned that the proposed community center would greatly aid the Center Staff in organizing the community. A new facility would have great resident appeal both for the activities it proposes to offer and for the fact that the surroundings would be pleasant. If the CAA Board does approve this proposal, it is possible that an effective community-based organization may become a reality. If the possibility does not materialize soon, it may be very difficult to restimulate these people and gain their renewed support for the Center.

12. *Participation of the Poor*

CAA organizational policy states clearly that the Poverty Program is to include the poor in its planning, policy making, and the implementation of programs. In theory, the poor are to be represented on the boards and they are to participate in planning Center programs. Residents of the area, clients, board members and center staff are in agreement that actual practice does not fully conform with this policy.

The clearest problems in the operation of the anti-poverty effort in this community are three: (1) the CAA Board is felt to be unresponsive to the poor; (2) the Board is all-powerful and local initiative is restricted and discouraged; and (3) the role of the Center in the total effort is not clearly defined.

It appears that a "conspiracy theory" is developing on the part of the residents to account for the rejection of their proposals. They are unwilling to believe

that monies cannot be allocated for the programs that they believe are absolutely necessary. Their interpretation of these rejections is that the non-poverty members of the Board are afraid that if the Centers are given greater autonomy to plan and implement their own programs that they will become an effective agent in the community for organizing community dissatisfaction with the present power structure of the city.

Though the poor are represented on the CAA Board by fourteen members, they are slightly outnumbered by representatives of the established order. It was noted by non-poverty board members as well as our observer that the "poor" board members are not active in the meetings. They tend to have good attendance records but remain silent during discussions. When our observer questioned a board member who had sat silently through a meeting, he replied that he did not know how to voice his opinions and that he felt at a disadvantage since most of his peers were not with him. He loses confidence when he feels that he will not be able to get an idea accepted by vote and he does not know how to articulate his ideas and get them across to majority members of the board.

The "poor" board member appears to function more effectively on the neighborhood board. The Advisory Committee of the Center under study, composed solely of the poor, has been able to formulate a number of concrete proposals during its meetings.

There are no provisions or funds for employing area residents at the Center. The Center may refer an applicant to another program under CAA direction, such as NYC, for such employment.

The Center staff has been instrumental in recruiting residents to work as volunteers on various clean-up details throughout the area. At the time of our study this type of work seemed to be the only effective participation of the poor that this Center has experienced. It is the opinion of the Center personnel and Advisory Council members that if a program they originate is actually implemented, more interest will be stimulated throughout the community and the poor will feel that participation will be worthwhile.

CENTER "H"

1. History and Origins

In the fall of 1964 an application for program development was submitted to OEO by a committee representing established community leaders, and OEO requested representation by the poor before they would act on the proposal. A more broadly-based committee was formed and in the spring of 1965 a revised proposal was approved. The broadly-based committee, together with a task force of community leaders, set out to establish a program.

Progress was slow and many conflicts developed. A profile study of the community, important to the development of a program, was late in being completed; there were clashes between two contenders for the job of administering the program; there was political maneuvering, with the city government attempting to maintain control over the program while others wanted the program to be independent of city control; and lastly, certain other groups involved with the program wanted to use it as a source of patronage.

The program was funded in the summer of 1965 and some of the difficulties were resolved then. The clash between the two applicants for the directorship was resolved when both were given major positions. Continued maneuvering over control of the program brought about further changes; representatives of a civil rights group and some members of the broad-based committee finally forced the reorganization of the program as a corporation independent of city control. The reorganized program took effect early in the summer of 1966. Due to these struggles, the development of policy and programs has been slow.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

The Center has been in operation since the fall of 1965 and its development has been relatively placid in comparison with that of the CAA. The original director maintains his position to this date; his rapport with residents of the area is excellent; and he has established many ties with other organizations in the community.

The most important difficulties experienced by the Director in establishing his programs involved the Board of Education and the Welfare Department, and their lack of acceptance of CAA and Center programs may be traced to the clashes in the early development of the CAA.

Allegations were made by a school board member that the superintendent of schools had been involved in some of the early power plays to gain control of the CAA. However, since his attempts at empire-building were foiled, he has been unwilling to grant the cooperation of the schools for Center programs. This has been an unfortunate obstacle for the Center Director to overcome as many Center programs are youth-oriented. The first activity requested was a tutoring service for high school students and dropouts who wished to return to school. Despite resistance on the part of the school system, the Director managed to recruit the services of volunteer instructors and get the program into operation.

Contacts with the Welfare Department were stormy from the beginning. This is probably a direct result of the personality of the Center Director who is a blusterer, articulate individual with a penchant for getting immediate results. The Welfare Department resents the fact that the Director acts as a spokesman for the Welfare client in his relations with that agency. The Director invariably aligns himself with the client in a dispute with the agency and has created a dichotomy in the minds of the residents which consists of the Center, the poor, and "a few other good guys" versus "the city, the Welfare Department, and the politicians."

The Center personnel seem to be making some attempts at creating a more cooperative climate in which to work with this department. Their attitude is not compromising but rather cooperative and educational. They are working toward changing the attitude of the Welfare Department or at least the attitudes of some of its personnel, by apprising them of rules and regulations of their agency. The Center Director has been seen researching through voluminous stacks of Welfare Department regulations for methods in which to get the most benefit for clients. It cannot be said that the Welfare Department has improved the quality of its services as a result of Center activities but their quantity has increased.

The Red Cross, State Employment Service, and an active church parish group have lent their unqualified sanction and assistance to the Center. The Employment Service provides a counselor to work in the Center. The church group has encouraged many of its members to participate as volunteers in Center programs. The Red Cross has received Center referrals and assisted the Center with emergency services. With the exception of the employment services, all relationships are informal, unstructured, and largely based on cooperation to alleviate problems of poverty.

3. Organizational Arrangements

Board of Directors (CAA)

The Board of Directors of the present corporation consists of a minimum of 31 members. Eleven are representatives of the poor elected by resident councils; ten are representatives appointed from established community agencies such as the Board of Education, the City government, etc., and ten others are appointed from civic organizations such as the G. I. Forum, N.A.A.C.P., League of Women Voters, etc. There are three standing committees: Executive, Program Review, and Budget and Finance. The Board employs the Executive Director of CAA who is to recommend to them the appointment of other CAA staff members. The CAA Director and his staff administer programs which are approved by the Board and its executive committee.

CAA Administration

Under the Executive Director of the CAA are three units: a Program Support Unit, an Operations Unit, and an Administrative Support Unit. The Program Support Unit is composed of personnel who develop programs and carry out educational and training activities. The Operations Unit consists of an Operations Director who has formal direct contact with the directors of six neighborhood centers in the city. The Administrative Support Unit consists of secretaries and typists to aid the other two units.

Resident Advisory Councils

Each of the centers has an Advisory Council elected from residents in the community. The Center under study has a Council of 18 members, two of whom were elected to be members of the CAA Board. The members of the Council are both Negro and white, and eight of its eighteen members are women. The Council works closely with the Center Director who apparently sets up the agenda and calls Council meetings.

The Council has formed a number of committees which are centered around particular problems in the area and has made contact with various city au-

thorities in regard to specific issues. Their primary function is to work with the Director to formulate policies and programs for submission to the CAA Board.

4. *Organization of the Center*

The Center Director is a young white man with a college background who has been a resident of the area since birth. He supervises a staff of three young women. The Assistant Director is a young woman recently graduated from college who is not native to the area. Her duties involve the supervision of two aides who spend most of their time in the field making contact with the residents. There is an employment counselor contracted to the Center from the State Employment Bureau. This young woman is a professional counselor with a college degree. Finally, there is one secretary who is a young high school and business school graduate from the area. Besides the paid staff of the Center there are five full-time volunteers, two part-time aides, and forty tutorial volunteers. The last category of volunteers consists mainly of non-resident professionals working with remedial reading and tutoring drop-outs.

Within the Center, there is little evidence of a strict formal structure of authority to be followed; duties and spheres of authority overlap. There appears to be complete freedom of communication among the Center workers and the Center Director. In the absence of the Director any member of the staff may speak for him or communicate with authorities. This relaxed atmosphere may be due to the fact that the Director has confidence in his staff. Staff members who in the past were found to be incompetent were dismissed.

Center staff members were hired by the Center Director with the approval of the CAA Director. Qualifications were set up by the Center Director and the staff was selected on the basis of professional competence and ability to relate to the residents. For example, the secretary was a business college graduate as well as an area resident who knew the problems of the people. Another criterion, that of financial need, was employed in the selection of resident aides.

Staff training, is considered important and is a continual process. Aides are given orientation assistance and some extension training by the Director. The Board of Education sponsors adult education programs for aides and resident advisory council members, including an analysis of "middle class cultural values." The training programs for staff members also include YWCA programs, university courses in social work, child development, and seminars on "poverty".

5. *Control of the Center*

The CAA Director is powerful and politically sophisticated. Although various departments have been set up under his leadership, there is general agreement that he does not delegate much of his authority to them. The Operations Department that was formed to supervise the centers is in effect not functioning. The CAA Director still operates personally with the center directors. He would like the resident councils and center directors to express problems to him so that he personally could mediate between the poor and the existing agencies of the community.

The CAA Board recently has emphasized the development of projects by residents and subsequent board action to "direct" the CAA Director to implement the programs. Thus, there appears to be a continuing struggle for primary authority in the program with the Board attempting to gain some initiative powers.

The Center Staff has expressed the opinion of the poor that true control of programs and policies rests with the CAA Staff and Board members who have little knowledge and even less concern over the problems of poverty. Most programs that are presently funded are those which have been imposed on Centers from above; therefore, most policy comes down from above also. The Director of this Center, however, has taken the initiative to act somewhat autonomously at times. He claims to have always acted on suggestions from the Resident Council and on needs defined by individual crisis situations. The people and the Resident Council are his major concerns. The policies that come down from above are followed only when they do not conflict with the needs of the community.

6. Budget Information

The total CAA budget through the spring of 1967 is for slightly less than \$400,000. Of this total, approximately 20 percent is for the administrative units, 50 percent is for all neighborhood service centers in the city, and the remaining funds are distributed through other projects. The Center being studied has a budget of approximately \$30,000. There is also employment counseling at the Center which is not funded through the Center budget.

7. Center Programs

In a sense, the CAA program for the entire city has not yet been entirely formulated; the early conflicts and recent reorganization of the CAA have kept the program in a constant state of flux. Thus, the role of the Center has not yet been clearly defined.

At this time, the functions of the Center are perceived to be: (1) to determine resident needs, (2) to coordinate available services and make people aware of them, and (3) to create demonstration programs to meet needs of the people that are not met by existing agencies.

It appears that there is some inconsistency in the implementation of these goals. Need determination does not seem to be matched by resulting programs and policies. The only needs that have actually resulted in programs seem to be the needs of the youth. Juvenile problems are highly visible in the area and it is appropriate that they should receive attention, but the Center seems to be oriented toward this age group to the exclusion of the needs of the rest of the population. Other age groups also have pressing needs and to date the Center has innovated no programs to take care of them. Problems of the aged and ADC mothers are significant in this area, although they are less evident and less directly disruptive to the community. Health and housing problems in the area have also not been treated with a definite solution by the Center. Individual crises regarding housing, health, the aged, and the ADC mothers, have been dealt with as they occur but no all-inclusive programs have been formulated to arrest such problems.

8. Outreach

In the short time that the Center has been in operation it has managed to reach about one-third of the population of its area. Center policy and methods of operation devote a great deal of emphasis to the outreach program. Determination of resident need requires that the Director and most of his aides spend a majority of their time in the field going door to door, meeting the people face to face, communicating by word of mouth to tell people about the Center and new methods of meeting their problems. The staff emphasizes frequent short visits to people in the surrounding area.

An indirect method of outreach noted by our observer developed as a result of the informality of the Center, which in fact attracts a great many people per day for social visits. Although the Center is generally full of residents they are not necessarily there "on business." Most Center contacts appear to be merely social in nature and neighborhood residents "drop in to find out what's happening."

When residents do not come to the Center, the Center goes out to the residents. This fact was illuminated during the Council elections when Center workers and volunteers took the ballot boxes into the homes so that every resident could vote.

It is difficult to determine from our data exactly how many contacts the Center makes in any given month. Records of services to clients are kept on file at the Center. For instance, we would be able to find out that the employment counselor saw 185 people in June or 56 people in March and that 38 people were referred to the Welfare Department in March, but these figures would be misleading in trying to determine the total number of Center contacts. It is estimated by the Director that almost 1,000 people have some sort of contact with the Center each month.

9. Target

The area served by the Center under study has a population of about 7,000 people living in a small crowded section of a large industrialized city. About 53 percent of the area's people are 19 or younger; about three percent of the people are sixty or over. About ten percent of the residents are Negro and these people live in a concentrated section of the area of the Center. The area is typified by a high birth rate, substandard and overcrowded housing, juvenile arrests, and unemployment.

The Center area was developed during World War II and included a large amount of temporary war housing which is now dilapidated. About 17 percent of the families in the area have incomes of less than \$3,000 per year and the male unemployment rate is about 6.5 percent. About eleven percent of persons under 21 receive ADC. Female unemployment is among the highest in the community.

10. Services

Since its inception, the Center has had a youth orientation due to the unique interests of its Director. Early in its history a group of high school boys seeking academic help came to the Center and the Director recruited volunteers to help them. This was the beginning of the tutoring program which has been greatly expanded. The Director inquired further into the problems of the juveniles. He came into contact with the juvenile probation office and has developed a probation program for youth. The parole program is clearly the one with which the Director is satisfied. He cited instances of praise from various juvenile authorities and brought to our attention a letter from the chief probation officer stating that the noticeable decline in juvenile delinquency in the area was due in large part to his efforts.

This summer, the continuing youth emphasis led to a program of summer recreation. Citizens were encouraged by the Director to volunteer their services to supervise the recreation, and transportation was arranged for the children.

The Center Staff also works with CAA to furnish persons for Head Start, Upward Bound, NYC, and Job Corps programs.

There is some contact, which appears to be functioning well, with the Public Health Service. The Center Staff has made arrangements for children's physical examinations and worked to gain parental permission for the service.

Referrals are made to the Welfare Department, Red Cross, Salvation Army, various religious social services, and the YWCA. To the people of the neighborhood who have received these services, Center personnel function as the "people who know how to pull the right strings" to serve the client. A most helpful service of the Center is that of transportation of the client to the agency which can help him. In this way, many existing services as well as the knowledge of those services are brought within the reach of the people.

The services of the Center and the staff seem to be available to the residents at almost any time of the day or night, whenever a crisis occurs. More than once the Director has been awakened in the early morning hours by a call from the police when one of the young area residents has been arrested. The Director has even provided a temporary home for a youth who was on probation.

We have mentioned earlier in this report that a wide variety of Center-initiated services are not available to any group except the youth. In serving other age groups, however, a great deal of emphasis is placed on utilizing available services of other agencies in such a way as to get their maximum benefits.

11. Community Action

This area of the city had its origin during World War II, and during its early years there was high morale among the residents. The focus of community interest at that time was a high school that produced winning ball teams and other activities which generated a great deal of community spirit.

In the late 1950's, urban renewal attempts directed at this section of the city prompted a removal of this community focus from the area. The high school became a junior high and it became necessary for area students to attend high school in another section of town for completion of their education. The present school is a model high school with advanced programs; its academic curriculum is geared to those of a more affluent class; and it is college preparatory in nature. The school is located in a well-to-do section of the city and many of its students reflect this affluence. Students from the Center area who attend there are under two marked handicaps: lack of educational background comparable to that of the bulk of students, and clothing and grooming habits far below the standard of the other students. This has led to many conflicts between the Center area students and other students. Some of these student conflicts have simply been based on the economic differences between the two groups but a portion of the conflicts are beginning to have racial overtones.

At the present time a lack of esprit de corps is evident in the area; the community spirit that existed before the high school was moved has dissolved. Inter-area conflicts are beginning to show themselves. A very recent incident leads many to believe that efforts must be extended toward making the area residents a more

cohesive group again. A group of grade school children had a minor dispute that quickly escalated to older brothers and friends. Two groups of teenagers were on the verge of a "rumble" when the police intervened. Two white teenagers later returned to the Negro area in which the fight had threatened to occur, and shot a Negro boy in the arm. The wounded victim went to the Center for assistance. The suspects were arrested at their homes within a few hours, before a major racial become the basis for choosing sides and that the Center is accepted by the residents could begin. This incident reflects the fact that racial lines could easily dents as a friendly haven.

There does not seem to be the type of community action that is exemplified by the demonstrations, marches, and protest meetings found in other cities with similar problems. The community spirit of the early days of the area became latent upon removal of the high school but the innovation of the Center may be providing the focal point and leadership to encourage a revival of community interest.

The Center Staff has focused on personal services and private contacts among the residents. There seem to be no *mass* meetings for the purpose of generating action to overcome area problems. The Center Director usually acts individually as a champion or spokesman for a group or a cause. However, he has ingratiated himself with so many individuals of his area that he would probably have the support of the numbers of people necessary for a mass demonstration if such a movement were considered by him to be an effective method of solving a problem.

12. Participation of the Poor

The role of the poor in the overall scheme of the program is defined by the poor as individuals and not by the Center. Some are totally inactive; some are both ADC recipients and program aides in the Center. Others serve on the CAA Board, the NSC Council, and as counselors for other CAA programs. Still others simply make use of the recreational, tutorial, and other activities of the Center.

Quite a number of residents are very enthusiastic about participating in Center activities and in serving on the various boards. But those who are participating are still a small percentage of the total target population, only about 15 to 20 percent. This may well figure in the relative absence of tangible changes in conditions as a result of participation.

The desire on the part of the poor to become more effective and active in actual program planning and policy making has had the effect of creating friction with the CAA, particularly the CAA Director. Several verbal exchanges have occurred because the CAA Director has objected to programs developed by residents. He explained his position in one meeting by telling the residents that, "The kids don't tell the parents what to do," and was countered by the retort from a resident, "You're not dealing with kids." The CAA Director regards resident participation as a handicap to efficiency. The problem is a real one; it is not solely a bias on the part of the Director. Many poor residents are extremely interested in being kept informed of what is going on and often demand to see every detail and piece of paperwork concerning all aspects of the CAA operations. The problem of excessive paperwork would be encountered if these demands of the poor were met and this is not considered practical in an efficient operation.

The possibilities for participation by the poor are in theory maximal in this city, but in practice fall short of this for two reasons: (1) the poor are not fully motivated to take part to the extent they are now permitted to, and (2) they simply do not have, as a group, the know-how, education, training, or self-confidence needed to make the existing participation meaningful or rational. The poor feel that they are not being allowed to participate as fully as they should and that officials of the CAA are imposing programs on them instead of allowing them to formulate their own.

The major result of the participation, and it is a significant one, appears to be a change in the attitudes of these people. They are gaining incentive, realizing that they can make themselves heard, and learning how to articulate and solve their problems.

CENTER "I"

1. History and Origins

The CAA organization covering two counties originated as a result of the foresight of three leading citizens of one of the communities who became interested in forming a CAA early in 1965. Their number grew when these men invited the advice and participation of representatives of various professions

and social agencies. Each municipality in the area was asked to elect a member to their group and to contribute to a fund to finance expenses incurred during this exploration period. The CAA regional director was contacted to solicit his aid regarding policies and procedures in setting up a local CAA. The regional director advised the group to include another county in its plans in order to increase the population that would be served by the proposed CAA. The adjacent county was included in the plans; application was made to OEO for a study grant; the grant was approved and funds were made available in the summer of 1965.

To this date there are in the area no Neighborhood Service Centers per se. Three Field Counselors from the CAA travel from town to town to provide the services of a center from whatever facility is available—town hall, store buildings, or schools.

2. *Relationships With Other Organizations*

The CAA has established working and cooperative relationships that are almost ideal. Established agencies in the two counties were brought into the planning stages of the corporation and their advice and assistance was instrumental in getting the program into operation. Relationships have remained friendly because of the CAA emphasis on referral of the agencies instead of duplication of their services.

The cooperation of service clubs, churches, schools, and other civic groups has been demonstrated by donations of facilities, volunteers, and funds. In this small town-rural area, relationships are on a more informal friendly basis than they might be in a more complex, urban setting. The amiable relationships may be due in part to the personal friendships and agreements which exist between agency, CAA, and civic leaders. The only problems that have developed to hinder the working relationships between these agencies and the CAA have been resolved as a result of these friendships.

3. *Organizational Arrangements*

CAA Board of Directors

There are 29 members of this group which functions to approve program and policy recommendations and to hire administrative personnel. One member is elected from each of the 14 incorporated towns of the area; six representatives of the poor are elected from non-incorporated communities; three were elected at large from the smaller county; six were elected from the large county.

In selecting board members, each town is assigned one of the five following categories from which to choose its representative in order to insure that all groups are represented. The categories are (1) minority, (2) business and civic groups, (3) poverty residents, (4) labor, and (5) education and county governments.

CAA Executive Committee

The president and vice president of the Board of Directors are elected by its membership and are ex-officio members of the Executive Committee. Four additional Executive Committee members are elected from the Board membership at an open board meeting.

CAA Advisory Committee

This body consists of 112 people, seven from each of the 16 townships in the area. The mayor of each town was responsible for organizing a meeting for the election of these representatives. The group functions to initiate policy recommendations for approval by the Board of Directors.

CAA Staff

The staff hired by the Board of Directors and its screening committee consists of eight professionals, including the Director, two Assistant Directors, and an accountant. Under the supervision of a Program Director, three Field Counselors extend the CAA programs by carrying them to the people of the area. In addition, personnel from six established community agencies work in the CAA offices. Three clerk typists who are residents of the area complete the list of staff members.

Applications for CAA staff positions are available at the CAA office and the State Employment Service. Applications for the positions of Director, Assistant Director, and accountant are acted on by the Board of Directors. The hiring of personnel for other positions has been delegated to the Board of Directors' screening committee. In theory, the Board and screening committee are to hire those applicants with the highest qualifications, and a review of staff education

and experience suggests that most staff members are highly qualified for their respective positions. We received complaints about only one case where established criteria seemingly have been ignored. Some board members and agency personnel felt that a man who is mayor of one of the area's communities had "campaigned" among board members for his job and was not qualified by education and experience for his high administrative position. They led us to believe that he had not completed high school and his job experience was largely of a political nature. At the time of his employ, he had promised to resign his position as mayor but had not done so at the time of this research. Our respondents felt that his political duties posed a conflict of interest, time, and effort.

Staff training was carried on during a week-long workshop conducted by established service agencies. Staff members were instructed in interview techniques, operations and eligibility requirements of welfare agencies. In addition to initial training, frequent staff meetings are held to apprise employees of OEO policies and regulations.

4. *Control of the Center*

The control of this Center (i.e. the CAA) appears to be dispersed among boards, advisory committees and the staff. No conflicts were evident and there seem to be no manifest attempts by political or social groups to wrest control of the program to further their own causes.

The CAA Director and his staff make diligent attempts to follow OEO guidelines and policies but have been experiencing difficulties in applying these rules to their area's needs. For example, the CAA Director has stated that numerous OEO policy technicalities relating to the civil rights movement tend to defeat the purpose of the program. It is their feeling that a problem of racial inequality does not exist here; minority groups compromise only about eight percent of the population. The CAA staff has also found that many OEO regulations designed for the urban area are not applicable to a rural area and rural economy. For instance, before an individual may enter the Home Health Aide Training, he must be guaranteed a job paying \$1.25 per hour. The institutions in the area that employ these people can only afford to pay \$.80 or \$.90 per hour. There are so few jobs in the area that pay \$1.25 per hour that many people are denied training because of the rigidity of this rule.

5. *Budget*

Federal funds allocated for the CAA projects for the fiscal year 1967 total \$421,518. The Center budget (i.e., salaries for three Field Counselors) accounts for \$18,900 of this allocation. The local ten percent is supplied by donations of office space, neighborhood and professional services, equipment, utilities, and some financial aid from cities and counties in the area.

6. *Centers Programs*

Acting in the capacity of service center to widely-dispersed neighborhoods are three field counselors who travel throughout the region and carry the CAA programs to the poor. The mobility of the "Centers" is reflected in many of the programs they offer, such as the mobile medical unit, surplus food distributions, and Medicare Alert. Head Start, remedial education, small business loans and counseling, Out-of-Work Training, and Home Health Aide Training are also included in the list of programs.

Of all the many programs offered, the NYC has made the greatest impact on the area, to the extent that the name of the NYC has become synonymous with "poverty program" to many of the area's poor. Comments by the poor indicate that boys enrolled in the project have shown a great deal of improvement in their grooming and study habits. The small amount of money they make gives them a new self respect and optimism. We learned that prior to the inception of the NYC, "chicken-catching" was the only work available for these youths who needed to supplement the family income. We were told that "chicken-catching" is irregular work which is available only when the chicken farmer is preparing for a sale. The boys would work 72 hours or more without sleep during a big "round-up." A specific result of NYC work, specially noted by the middle class citizens of the area, is the cleanup and beautification of highway right-of-ways other public areas.

In a comparison of area needs and existing CAA programs, it appears that health problems, educational deficiencies, high school dropout rates, and unemployment are being counteracted by programs. However, out attention was directed to many problems that had not yet been met with a corresponding CAA

program, namely housing problems, lack of recreational facilities, and retraining programs aimed specifically at the unemployed men between 40 and 65 years of age. Most of the people in this group are former coal miners who have been out of work since the mines closed years ago; they have been existing on welfare or disability payments since that time.

Various programs have proved to be of benefit to many poor individuals in the region by providing loans, jobs, and educational opportunities. These benefits have been received with enthusiasm by many poor individuals. But, the merits of CAA projects are noted by factions other than the poor—namely, the store owners and professional people in the towns. The advent of the CAA is most enthusiastically noted by these people for it has resulted in economic pump-priming. More than half a million dollars has been brought to the area by the funding of the CAA programs.

7. Outreach

It has previously been noted that there are no physical facilities for neighborhood centers existing at this time. One of three Field Counselors visits the sixteen towns in the area on a regularly scheduled basis and sets up shop in one of the public buildings. Prior to his arrival, the time and place of his visit are posted in prominent locations in the community. Information regarding counselors' visits and various programs is spread throughout the community and surrounding area via newspaper, radio, and television media. Community organizations and churches are also instrumental in advertising the programs to community and area residents; both clients and volunteer workers have been recruited from these associations.

A door-to-door type of outreach program was found to be necessary, especially during the early days of the CAA program. Field Counselors discovered that during many of their visits no clients would appear for services and the counselors would find it necessary to start knocking on doors. The demonstrated success of CAA programs and consequent word-of-mouth advertising among the people have served to aid the Counselors in their outreach efforts. The Counselors are now finding it unnecessary to recruit clients, and are devoting more time to counseling those of the poor who appear for services. Since about half the target population have been contacted by the Field Counselors, additional duties in serving these clients preclude the Counselors from devoting all their time to outreach. At the present time, total number of field contacts are between 300 and 500 each month; of these, about 75 are provided some type of service by the Counselor.

The Medicare Alert program, in which about fifty volunteers assisted the CAA staff, was effective in reaching about 95 percent of target (i.e., the elderly) and was an aid to the total outreach program because it was so extensive.

It is estimated by the Field Counselors that about half of the area's poor population remains to be penetrated by CAA programs. They indicate that their greatest problem is geographic—a difficulty in reaching many families of the widely-scattered population.

8. Target Area

The CAA disperses its programs throughout two counties comprised of both rural areas and towns as large as 10,000 population. There are some 16 townships in the area but there are no great concentrations of people in any one urban location. The total population of the two counties is about 70,000. Of this number, about 53 percent have incomes of less than \$3,000 per year. Other statistics indicate that about 50 percent of this total population live in substandard housing, are rejected by selective service, and have fewer than eight years education.

The unemployment rate of both men and women is high—about 16 percent. Many of those presently unemployed are former coal miners who lost their jobs when the coal mines closed many years ago. Those who were physically able to work in an industry other than mining were either untrained or unwilling to do so. In addition, mining accidents and unhealthful conditions left many of these people incapacitated by their physical conditions and unable to work.

9. Services

Initially, many of the poor were under the impression that the CAA was to offer a handout type of program; consequently, a number of interviewees lost interest upon discovering that the CAA did not intend to operate programs of that nature. Those who have taken advantage of the services available do not consider themselves to be recipients of charity; rather, they reflect the philosophy

of the CAA and feel that they are being given an opportunity to help themselves.

Services offered are primarily of a counseling and referral nature, whereby a client is given information about the opportunities available under CAA programs and/or referred to an established agency if he is eligible for aid. The Center (i.e., the Field Counselor) works closely with such agencies as the Farmers' Home Administration, Welfare Department, Employment Service, Pension Board, and Health Department. The Counselors function as coordinators of services offered by these agencies; CAA activities have enabled the agencies to increase the quantity of clientele and the qualities of their services. For example, the Medicare Alert program conducted by CAA staff and many volunteers uncovered not only many who were eligible for Medicare but many who were eligible for social security benefits as well.

The Field Counselors' assistance has enabled many of the poor to take advantage of many services that were previously not known to them. The example was cited of the father of a family of nine whose only income was \$113 per month VA disability payment. The concerted efforts of the CAA Counselor and Farmers' Home Administration enabled this man to secure a loan to buy equipment so that he might supplement his income by doing welding.

Clients appear to be satisfied and grateful for services they have received; they feel that the Counselors understand their problems; they have indicated a desire to assist or help with the CAA programs. In short, no complaints were received from clients. The only criticisms were constructive ones consisting of suggestions for additional program and services to meet needs that were not being met with existing services.

10. Community Action

Community action in this area may be strictly defined as the utilization of existing resources in order to help the poor. There have been no overt demonstrations of mass hostility; rather, the activity has been concentrated toward the systematic use of services and individuals for those people who will avail themselves of the opportunities.

Though the greatest success has been with the NYC program for youth, the CAA and its boards and committees have intended to make opportunities available to people in all age groups. New programs are being developed as the people become more aware of the area's needs and more aware of what is possible for them to accomplish.

11. Participation of the Poor

Maximum participation of the poor has been greatly emphasized by the CAA and an appropriate and workable balance of advisory (i.e., professional) and poor forces seems to have been achieved. All elements of the involved communities are represented on the boards and committees, including minorities, the poor, and professional people. The poor seem to be convinced that they are instrumental in formulating policies and programs and that their suggestions are well-received by non-poor groups. The attitude of professional people on the board further confirms the thinking of the poor; they indicated a satisfaction with the manner in which the poor were participating at meetings; they felt that the poor were indeed contributing useful ideas for programs and policies that were relative to their needs.

However, there are those of the poor population who have not been responsive to the program. It should be noted that political activism involving the poor is completely absent. The participating poor are "tame" people. They are not about to rock the establishment boat. Something of this situation was reflected during a tour of the area by one of the central office research staff. Several times the accompanying Field Counselor (a Negro) made critical, deprecatory remarks about the poor, Negro clients—especially those who had not responded to the Counselor's overtures. They were regarded as the "disreputable poor" for whom nothing could really be done.

CAA Administration

Reporting directly to the executive committee is the Executive Director of the city's anti-poverty program. He directs the central office and its ten divisions: Community Development, Finance, Manpower, Personnel, Program Control, Program Evaluation, Program Planning, Public Information, Training, and Work Training. The Community Development division is responsible for the administration and coordination of neighborhood council activities with center functions and delegate agency programs.

Neighborhood Center Councils

Each of the neighborhood centers has a board the chairman of which is also a member of the CAA Board and its executive committee. Originally, the director of each neighborhood center appointed the chairman and all the members of the neighborhood council. This has been changed so that each center director now appoints sixty board members who in turn elect ten additional members, their chairmen, and one delegate to serve on the CAA Board.

The neighborhood councils are to act in a purely advisory capacity but programs do have to be accepted by them before they are implemented by the service centers.

3. Operation of the Centers

The Executive Director of the CAA, chosen by the mayor, has in turn controlled the selection of all other employees at the CAA central office, the center directors, and all center staff members. The Community Representatives are screened by a private firm of personnel psychologists who test applicants for personality and attitude traits in order that all representatives conform to the desired pattern. All CAA and center employees are city employees and are subject to city rules and regulations. Each center has a director and assistant directors for Recruitment and Referral, Environmental Services, and Program Action. A business manager and a records supervisor also report to center directors.

Working in the Recruitment and Referral sections are community representatives whose job it is to contact people in their areas and to get them to come to the centers for services. Working in the Environmental Services division are employment counselors, family counselors, intake supervisors, and interviewers. This division is designed to assist the client with employment and family problems and to work closely with the agencies concerned directly in these fields. The Program Action division includes activities coordinators and program representatives who work to organize and implement programs in the neighborhood; e.g. youth activities, anti-rodent programs, and housing improvement programs.

Many of the program representatives work outside their respective centers in program stations to implement the programs for which their center is responsible. These stations are located in delegate agency facilities that are also carrying on some program responsibilities. In addition to the program stations, there are out posts which are essentially small centers but are decentralized throughout the community to reach and serve the people more effectively. The program stations and the outposts are the organizations closest to the people in terms of location and intimacy.

One way in which the centers involve the poor is to employ them for positions as community representatives, program representatives, clerical staff and in other posts. There are professionals also employed in administrative and technical positions but most of the work is performed by poor people of the neighborhood. These people receive a relatively small amount of formal training but a great deal of exposure to problems they are expected to handle. The employees interviewed were very pleased to be associated with the program, not only because it meant having a job, but also because of the feeling that it is genuinely serving the people who need it.

It can be noted that most center officials feel that their allegiance is with the city's anti-poverty program and not necessarily the particular neighborhood in which they may be working. Most of the senior center officials are shifted around from neighborhood to neighborhood.

4. Control of the Centers

The system is designed so that policies are established and programs are designed at the highest level with the programs to be carried out at the center level.

The CAA Board and its major committees are controlled by senior officials from the well-established organizations and the controlling official is the mayor of the city. All personnel are hired by the central office and it is clear from widespread interviews that there is a considerable amount of uniformity of view among all persons associated with the program as employees. The CAA Director, his staff, the center directors and their employees all share the same views on the fundamental issues and policies. Since the center directors control the memberships of their respective center boards, these board members too are part of the family and do not represent an element of discord.

5. Budget

Since the formation of the city's anti-poverty program, over \$40 million of federal grants have been provided with an additional \$8 million of funds and contributions from other sources. To give an idea of the magnitude of the center program, its annual budget is approximately \$8 million and each center has a budget in excess of \$1 million.

6. Center Programs

All of the city's anti-poverty programs, including pre-school, youth corps, small business, and others, are closely related to the neighborhood centers, outposts, or program stations which are designed to bring programs and people together.

The neighborhood centers are to have the following functions:

"(1) To provide coordination of public and voluntary services at the neighborhood level.

"(2) To reinforce interaction between public and voluntary agencies and the people.

"(3) To strengthen services of existing community institutions by providing an opportunity for these institutions to propose new programs and review programs coming into their community.

"(4) To provide new services only when there is no institution in that community which can adequately provide the needed services.

"(5) To employ community residents in a wide range of expanded community action services.

"(6) To develop maximum self-support in communities by encouraging creation of new services financed and staffed by local residents."¹

The purpose of the centers is conceived to be to insure that persons in the target area are receiving all of the services they should have. The purpose is not to organize the poor to provide them with power to redress their grievances. This attitude is basic to the entire poverty program in the city and as stated previously is reflected in the views of staff members of every echelon.

CENTER "J" (I)

7. Target Area

The previous section has been a general description of the formal organizational arrangements existing at the CAA and all neighborhood centers in the city. This section describes the activities at one of two centers under study in the city and provides information about specific implementation of programs which are not fully revealed in the formal organizational arrangements.

Center I was established in February of 1965 to operate in an area with over 200,000 persons, 95 percent of whom are Negro. This area of the city is well-established in that it has been a Negro community for many years and it has a highly developed social and political structure. There is a large respectable middle class but there also exists a high percentage of unemployment (12 percent). Approximately 35 percent of all families in the area have incomes of less than \$3,000. All the anticipated symptoms of a poverty stricken area prevail here and the area abounds with crime, gang warfare, crowded and filthy housing conditions, and the various accidents and illnesses resulting from these.

8. Relationships With Other Organizations

The referral and coordinative functions of the centers and the CAA are frequently mentioned as being very important to the success of the entire program. At the highest level the mayor is able to insure the cooperation of all city departments and, to a large degree, of county, State and private organizations. Almost all of the anti-poverty programs of the city actively involve these other organizations as delegate agencies, sponsors or participants in other ways. This is not to say that there are no disagreements of approach, jurisdiction and method but they are clearly "family squabbles" and as such tend to be solved within the family. There are administrative problems but no problems of basic policy. It is the view of the leaders of the anti-poverty program that they have to reform the established agencies to the extent that traditional patterns of service are modified and become more effective. These changes obviously do not take place without some friction.

¹ Community Action Program Narrative Progress Report, for period ending December 31, 1965.

At the center level there is a great deal of referral and coordination activity. In many cases, such as the State Employment Service and the Welfare Department, arrangements have been made for employees of these agencies to work right in the centers. The employees of these agencies have preferred to work according to the traditional patterns of a 9:00 to 5:00 schedule; however, the centers stay open until late at night and the agency people have been prevailed upon to change their work patterns. Some personnel of these agencies feel that the centers duplicate their efforts or encroach on their responsibilities. Others have indicated satisfaction that they have been able to extend their services through the centers. The problems of coordination appear to be principally administrative in that each of the organizations has its own views as to the most effective ways to serve the poor.

The CAA and the centers have not been without criticism from officials of these agencies. These agencies have been forced by the mayor to decentralize, to engage in programs new to them, and to cooperate with the anti-poverty group. The availability of anti-poverty funds as well as the strength of the mayor are the carrot and stick that keep them moving along.

More serious criticism of the program has come from civil rights leaders, from leaders of established neighborhood organizations of the poor, and from private agencies outside the "in" group. These persons charge that the program allows no room for dissent, co-opts programs and personnel from organizations that may threaten their powers, refuses to deal with established community organizations unless these organizations conform completely and entirely to all views of the CAA, and permits no meaningful participation of the poor in policy-making. These persons feel that the program is being used as an extension of the mayor's vast political power and does not deal with the meaningful issues in the war on poverty. They feel that the program fails to organize the poor as a politically independent force, and does not control slum landlords or end segregation in housing. Philosophically, this group feels that the provisions of services should not be the most important aspect of the anti-poverty effort and that the handing out of more services does not attack the root of the problems of the poor or encourage their upward mobility.

9. Programs

Efforts are currently underway at the Center to serve the "whole family" rather than only offering service to one member of the family. The theory is that a man with one problem will have a lot of problems and his family will reflect even more. A reorganization was planned at the time of our study in order that the family could be emphasized and Center services coordinated around this goal. The formerly-named Recruitment and Referral Department is to carry out this activity and coordinate services for the family.

Programs of this Center are said to originate from a variety of sources. Some programs are submitted to the Center Council by community organizations such as the Boy Scouts or church groups. The Council itself may initiate a program or accept a proposed program from the CAA and it has veto power over a CAA-initiated program. However, our observers in the area concluded that the only resident-originated programs that had actually been carried out were innocuous summer play activities and team sports. There could be recalled no incidents where a CAA program had actually been rejected by the council.

Most of the Center programs are offered under the auspices of established community agencies who work closely with Center workers or house Center staff members in their agencies. These agencies include an association for retarded children, Legal Aid, Family Services, Youth Welfare, Public Welfare, work training organizations, a small business opportunity association, and the employment service. Due to CAA and Center influence these agencies have been called upon to offer new types of services in response to area need. Jobs for youth, building inspection, anti-rodent campaigns, and lead poisoning control exemplify the innovative programs.

In an attempt to alleviate the juvenile delinquency problem in the area a number of recreational programs have been setup to attract youth to the Center. Team sports, charm classes, physical fitness classes, and teenage dances are all a part of the recreation program. Tickets for various events outside the Center are often distributed to clients. College scholarships and job-training are offered to members of the youth groups, including a Seafarer's Apprentice Program, training for Civil Service exams, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Arrangements with a nearby university have helped to make scholarships available to qualified high school graduates.

Various client comments pose a question of the outreach and effectiveness of these programs. We were told that Center activities failed to appeal to the really hard-core delinquent who scorns the Center's "sissy games" and cannot lower himself to perform the menial tasks of the NYC. One Center staff member commented that the door-to-door outreach programs and speeches to church groups were not spreading the message to this youth and that in order to reach the "hard-to-reach" it would be necessary for community representatives to visit the bars and pool halls where these youths congregate.

The only success the Center has had with this group resulted from a summer employment program where members of four different "gangs" were hired to work as Center employees. As only one major battle occurred between the gang members at the Center, the staff supervisors considered that some favorable results had been attained.

For the adults of the area, few programs are available that do not fall under the realm of direct individual services. They are offered, however, Negro history, literacy and consumer education classes and "town meetings" to apprise them of community issues.

10. Outreach

The main efforts to reach people in the community are carried out by community representatives who themselves are residents of the community and have strong ties to it. Each representative is assigned a locality with approximately 2,000 people and it is his job to contact these people and to tell them about the Center, services available and the way to obtain these services. It is evident that these people are in the community on a daily basis doing their jobs and that they have indeed reached thousands and thousands of people. Records maintained at the Center as well as observations indicate a constant stream of people coming to the Center for assistance. The Center Director has estimated that 10,000 people per month participate in some Center activity or avail themselves of its services.

The relative strength of the outreach program can best be manifested by pointing out the size of the army of 80 community representatives at the Center who comprise about one-half of the total staff. In addition to the work of these representatives, professional and supervisory staff members disperse information through speaking engagements to various established groups in the community such as church groups and schools. A special event or meeting at the Center is often advertised by newspaper or flier and sufficient interest is aroused by these methods to bring three or four hundred people from the citizenry of 200,000 to the Center for these events.

Our observers in the Center noted that even though the numbers of Center participants may seem relatively small in comparison to the total population of the area the Center exhibited an asset not recorded quantitatively—that of the pleasant atmosphere of the Center's physical structure and in the attitude of the personnel. These attractive features of the Center no doubt account for a great deal of the popularity it has experienced so far and may be expected to contribute further to the outreach program. Client reaction to the Center was favorable and all indicated that they had been made to feel welcome. A willingness to return to the Center and participate in more of its activities was expressed by all clients questioned.

11. Services

A staff of 175 dispenses services to the population of the area, both at the Center headquarters and at one outpost station located some distance away from the Center in another neighborhood.

Upon entering the Center proper, one is met by a cheerful group of receptionists who fill out initial forms and refer the client to an Intake Interviewer. Though there is a gaiety evident in the attitude of this welcoming committee and our observer noted some horseplay among the group, the efficiency does not seem to suffer. The client is led swiftly through a complex but streamlined maze of Center operations and long waits for services are not experienced. In the event that the client does wait for service, however, the duration is short, pleasant, and comfortable, and he is invited to have coffee.

At the Intake Desk the client will be interviewed by any one of the persons in the division. The Intake Interviewer's job is to determine the maximum number of services the Center can provide to the particular client and his family, and after this determination is made he is directed to the first of the respective agencies that can help him.

By far the most popular service of the Center is the Employment Program. Over 50 percent of clients visiting the Center come in search of jobs. Due to the nature and development of the economy in the city, many jobs are available and a great percentage of people seeking jobs are actually placed, and many clients expressed satisfaction with this service. We did receive dissident views here, however, and the complaint was made by some area residents that the program focused on the youth—that an adult could not get a job through the Center without some additional political pull.

The services of numerous other community agencies are offered at the Center through the Counselors and Coordinators. (The Coordinators are called upon in case a client requires more than one service.) The following list of agencies offer services on a referral basis either at the Center or in offices in the immediate vicinity of the Center.

- Association for Retarded Children.
- Youth Welfare.
- Small Business Opportunity Corps.
- Boys Club.
- Youth Center.
- YMOA.
- Legal Aid.
- Public Aid—Slum Housing.
- Food Stamp Program.
- Building Department—Rodent Control.
- Board of Health—Anti-Lead Poisoning.

Center programs and services are delivered to one neighborhood via the Center Outpost. This is a center in miniature with a small staff for intake interviews, referrals, outreach, and one employment counselor. Activity programs are identical to those at the Center but for services other than employment, clients are referred back to the Center or one of the cooperating agencies.

12. Community Action

Policy throughout the entire CAA organization spells out clearly that the program is intended to carry services to the poor on an individual basis. Under no circumstances is there to be concerted action of the people for forcing solutions to their problems. The philosophy is reflected by every participant in this program from the mayor of the city to the most junior of the community representatives. (Note that they are not called "community organizers".) Those who object to the philosophy or who hold loyalties to an organization with dissenting views are quickly drummed out of the corps.

Potential competitors of the Center have had a hard time trying to beat City Hall. A "rival" boys club in the neighborhood of Center I underwent trails which illuminate the futility of such competing efforts. A boys' club, established in that area some eight years ago had developed a membership of about 500 boys and girls, aged 6 to 18. Its goals were to prevent juvenile delinquency by providing recreational programs for the children. Preliminary tactics by Center personnel to undermine the club included attempts to hire club volunteers to work on the Center staff and the sponsorship of competing activities. For example, the club's efforts to hold a bake sale to raise funds were countered with a lower-priced bake sale held at the Center on the same day. Greater pressure was applied when these efforts failed and the club director became the recipient of phone calls threatening the club facilities and himself. A week later an unknown arsonist set fire to the club building destroying about \$4,000 worth of equipment. An interview with the director of the club indicated that he had made efforts to cooperate with the Center and tried to work with it; he had asked for program assistance, personnel assistance, and for coordination of programs. He said he had referred some of his club members to the Center for jobs, but that they had refused to help them.

The tight city controls over every facet of the Center program and the attempted eradication of all outside programs indicate a fear of any resident-inspired community action. It is true that the 200,000 population of this Center area could indeed be an overwhelming force with which to reckon if organized from the grass roots level. Thus, the prevailing attitude is that efficient showering of services in pleasant surroundings should serve to keep the people satisfied and aligned with the powerful establishment.

13. *Participation of the Poor*

The above-mentioned prevailing philosophy indicates that the poor are to be contained, pacified, and provided with services in order that they will not feel the need to make demands by forceful and disturbing collective actions. Policy states that the poor may participate as staff members, as clients, and as board members, but resident activity seems to reach its ultimate level only in their roles as Center employees. All community representative jobs and many of the clerical and supportive positions are filled by the poor from the Center area.

As previously discussed, the outreach of the Center I programs is considerable and the poor are being affected and that they are participating as clients in increasingly significant numbers.

Creative action and planning by the poor is non-existent at Center I and probably throughout the city. Advisory Council activity is limited to its nominal function—precisely that of giving advice, and it cannot even be assured that the Council is representative of the area residents; its members are not elected but merely appointed by the Center Director who, in reality, represents the composite CAA-city establishment. The poor are recipients of services and employees.

CENTER "J" (II)

14. *Target Area*

The second center in the city under study operates in an area with a population of almost 140,000 persons, three-quarters of whom are white and the balance Negro. Approximately four percent of the population is of Puerto Rican birth or parentage and almost a third are either foreign born or children of foreign born parents. Approximately nine percent of the labor force is unemployed and twenty percent of all families have incomes less than \$3,000 per year. This area is much more heterogeneous than the predominately Negro area described in the previous section.

Center II is located at the edge of its target area in a manufacturing and business district with the homes of its residents located several miles away. The Center neighborhood including the building in which the Center is situated is old and dilapidated and despite renovation attempts is still ugly and run down. In contrast to Center I, there is little pleasant about the atmosphere.

15. *Relationships With Other Organizations*

Center II is to function as a coordinating and referral agent to many established community organizations and it appears that it is serving this function satisfactorily. Public agencies and churches appear to work in harmony with the Center. Among these groups there was only one strong dissenter—the Salvation Army, which feels that the Center is an absolute failure in its function, as a coordinator, and that its program has not even attempted to reach those who are most in need of their services—the alcoholics and skid row derelicts who number prominently in the Center II neighborhood. Businessmen and local merchants of the neighborhood view the Center with some alarm as it occasionally attracts a number of young people who loiter in the surrounding area outside the Center.

16. *Center Programs*

The primary role of all Centers in the city is that of a clearing house for service referrals to other agencies. Center II is no exception. Within the Center are located the following agencies: Association for Retarded Children, Welfare Council, and the Department of Public Aid. The Board of Education conducts Americanization classes and the State Employment Service offers a Youth Opportunity Center.

A Leisure Time program has been set up by the Center offering dance classes, cultural activities, grooming, and team sports. Homemaking classes, small business opportunities, and health programs are now offered to adults. To combat housing problems, the housing surveys are made to report building violations, vermin infestation, and lead poisoning. To appeal to the elderly, a Senior Citizens' Club has been formed.

It is apparent that a great deal of activity occurs at the Center and that programs aimed at almost every conceivable community need have been envisioned here. However, the actual implementation and effectiveness of these programs have drawn complaints from all sides. The Center Director complains of an impossible snarl of red tape in the directives from the CAA and the staff complains that they are not given enough time to put a program into operation before they

are directed to change or evaluate the program. Some neighborhood Council members complain that they are not consulted on programs and policy while others on the Council offer the opinion that policy-making ability of most Council and Center staff members is highly limited anyway and that it is best to keep things flexible and let policy and programs evolve from experience and demonstrated needs of the area. Clients complain of the waits they must endure before receiving services; everyone complains about the incompetency of the Center employees, and they complain about each other. The Center Director's comment that his main problem is high staff turnover seems to substantiate the fact that employees are dissatisfied. One Center Council member commented that the only criteria for employment at the Center was skin color and that "they go out and hire just any Negro on the street just because he is colored."

In contrast to Center I, the pleasant atmosphere, the joking among staff members, and the friendly attitude toward the public does not exist here. Efficiency suffers as a result of this lack of cooperation among the staff members and we are led to believe that this factor seriously detracts from the acceptance and effectiveness of the many programs offered by the Center.

17. Outreach

The ability of the Center to reach all the 140,000 residents of its service area is limited by its geographical location. As previously stated, it is at the edge of the area, and several staff members pointed out the difficulties this produced. A program station in the public housing units, several miles away, somewhat extends the Center's reach, but it remains difficult to offer these potential clients a wide range of services. The alcoholics on skid row, another large group of potential clients, have been relatively neglected.

A group of 42 Community Representatives in the Recruitment and Referral Division carry out the bulk of outreach operations via door-to-door contact and the program station. In contrast to Center I, this Center relies a great deal on advertisements and fliers, and many clients at Center II were there in response to these. An examination of the records reveals that over 1,000 people visit the Center during a given week but this figure may be misleading as the number of different individuals participating could not be determined from Center statistics. The very nature of some of the Leisure Time activities might tend to draw some individuals to Center the day after for such things as play practice or basketball practice, etc. The majority of activity seems to take place under the auspices of this Leisure Time program which draws over 500 to the Center each week. The Manpower (or employment) programs account for a quarter of the Center's clients or almost 250 cases per week. An overwhelming number of Center clients are youth; they account for the participation in Leisure Time activities and a great number of the employment interviews. Of the 250 clients interviewed during one week last summer, only 52 were adults.

During a typical week community representatives will visit about 1,200 families, referring most of them to the Center for services and activities. Center personnel are notified of these contacts by the community representatives and potential clients who do not appear at the Center are to be contacted again.

18. Services

The CAA has set up uniform organizational structures in all Centers and in accordance with these guidelines, Center II employs an Environment Services Division to dispense Center services, refer clients to the proper agencies for assistance, and follow-up cases until the problems are resolved. A client at Center II undergoes a procedure similar to that of the client at Center I. He is met at the door by a receptionist or Information Attendant who directs him to an Intake Interviewer who determines his needs and directs him on to the appropriate counselor, program representative, or delegate agency. In addition to the staff of over 100 people, many volunteers work with clients and provide service to them by conducting recreational programs, grooming classes, etc.

The list of services offered by the Center and its corresponding agencies is almost endless. Such an itemized list would include employment counseling and job placement for youth and adults, welfare services, Americanization classes for aliens, homemaking classes, mental and physical health clinics, small business counseling and loans, consumer education, and various housing programs. The Leisure Time program offers its particular variety of services to youth and a similar social program for the elderly has been set up. Services are

provided to Center clients under CAA programs; e.g., the NYC uses the Center to reach clients for its educational programs and NYC employees assist with other Center activities.

In one week, approximately twenty clients participated in homemaking classes, seven were referred for public health services, and 234 were involved in the Manpower program. If participation were to be compared to the problems of the area, it would appear that some of these most urgent needs are being met by Center services; i.e., the high unemployment percentage and the juvenile delinquency problems are being counteracted by the employment services and activities for youth.

Lead poisoning cases numbered 205 during one week last summer. The problem of lead poisoning is one that has been discovered in great prevalence in all the slum areas of the city and, as a result, the city neighborhood service centers, with the aid of the city health department and the Housing Department, have devoted a great deal of attention to solutions to the problem and caring for these emergencies as they arise.

The methods for delivery of services at Center II are similar to those at Center I but there are evident distinctions in their actual operations. Long, discouraging waits between interviews lead clients to point to a lack of staff efficiency and lack of concern for the public. The pervading atmosphere is dismal and unfriendly, and there seems to be a lack of rapport with the clients. Despite the long hours of operation (from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.) and the many services and activities offered, it does not appear that Center II has reached a significant portion of the area's 140,000 residents. The numbers of people availing themselves of the services each week seem very minimal.

19. Community Action

The concept of community action as a means for resolving social and economic problems plays no role in this area or in this Center's programs. The first reason for the lack of community organization is precisely the fact that the city-CAA establishment has strong leanings away from any mass organization of the people and any such movement is discouraged by all levels of CAA and Center personnel. Secondly, ethnic and religious differences separate portions of this population into various groups, each with its own religious and social leaders. Each element has a different skin color, a different religion, and different types of problems. This is not the homogeneous society that was served by Center I. Finally, the geographic location of the Center (i.e., miles away from many of the resident homes) precludes it from becoming a focal point for community action.

20. Participation of the Poor

The poor are involved in the overall program at Center II in much the same fashion that they are involved at Center I; that is, they are allowed to become staff members at the Center and all minor positions are filled by resident workers. They are allowed, of course, to participate as clients, to receive services and to act as volunteers in Center programs. Lastly, they are allowed to become members of the Neighborhood Advisory Council.

It does not appear that the indigenous workers are filling their roles as staff members as effectively as their counterparts at Center I. The complaints about these people by supervisory staff members point to the facts that their leadership, training, and/or innate capabilities may be inadequate for successfully carrying out their roles as staff members. Whatever the reason may be, the feeling persists that many of these indigenous employees are not performing their jobs with skill and dedication.

The relatively small number of people who have been reached by Center II programs and services are definitely poor under the poverty program guidelines and they are definitely in need of services they have received. But, it cannot yet be said that this Center has drawn a significant number of the poor to its doors. Our observer noted two types of people who frequented the Center—adults who were there for services, experiencing long, uncomfortable, unpleasant waiting periods and growing increasingly disgusted with their treatment and, a second group or type—mobs of teenagers flocking through the door to participate in the recreational activities.

The effectiveness of the poor resident as a Council member is not clear. Poor residents of the area have given lip service to the fact that as Council members they are involved in a great deal of policy and program formulation for the Center. The Center Director's statements negate this; he claims to do all the

planning and policy-making for the Center with the Council relegated to the role of a rubber stamp for his proposals. The views of some middle class Council members seem to support that of the Director.

Regardless of conflicts over who in fact is making policy at the grass roots level, the poverty program is not controlled at this level. Center II and its Council are not autonomous, popularly-controlled entities; they are tightly regimented and absolutely controlled by the CAA-city establishment.

CENTER "K"

1. History and Origins

Prior to passage of the OEO Act of 1964, there were forces already at work in this city to take action toward resolving problems growing out of the poverty areas. In 1962, a planning grant was received from the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency. The center under study in this city was also formed prior to the OEO Act, with funds provided under the auspices of the Manpower Act. Passing of the OEO Act served to expand greatly the existing programs in the city, not, as in many cases, to innovate a completely new concept. In 1964, the OEO funded the "action" portion of the CAA effort and made possible the expansion of services.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

Accumulated information indicates that this Center has earned a high degree of respect from other agencies and community groups with which it has contacts. The churches and the schools have involved themselves with the Center in a number of ways: by providing workers and clients; by assisting in the operations of Center programs; by supplying personnel, funds and equipment; and by advertising Center activities and programs to their memberships.

Center personnel utilize a friendly relationship with the police department and the courts to intercede on behalf of clients who get in trouble and are arrested.

Such long-established service agencies as the Welfare Department, Employment Service and Community Chest agencies involve themselves officially with the Center only on a referral and information basis. Their personnel are not located in the Center but they serve Center clients who are referred to them for help. It was indicated by a number of the CAA staff people that CAA and NSC operations have had an important impact on these established agencies. Not only have the agencies been able to extend the outreach of their services but, more notably, they have begun to see the wisdom of evaluating and revising their services. The effectiveness of their methods is undergoing a period of self-analysis and now, from all indications, they, instead of the poor, are "running scared." The poor are becoming more and more aware of their power and this awareness has led to more active interest in and greater articulation of their needs. The example was cited of the meeting at a Community Chest-operated center in the neighborhood, where the attendance of the poor at this meeting greatly surpassed that of a nearby revival tent meeting held at the same time. We were informed by CAA people that this would never have happened prior to the formation of the Neighborhood Service Center.

3. Organizational Arrangements

CAA Board.—This is a policy-making body made up of 32 citizens, with ten members representing public and private agencies involved with the program, ten members representing neighborhoods being served by the program, and the remainder of the membership comprised of people drawn from the community-at-large. The mayor of the city is an ex-officio member of this board.

Neighborhood Boards.—Each of three neighborhood boards consists of thirty members, one-third of whom are elected at large; one-third are elected from neighborhood organizations; and one-third are elected from the youth population—14 to 19 years of age. Every elected neighborhood board member automatically becomes a member of the CAA corporation. Each neighborhood elects its own representatives to the CAA Board.

CAA Staff.—Senior executives of the CAA staff were hired by the Corporation's Board of Directors. These executives, i.e., the CAA Director and Program Director, hired all other CAA employees including Directors for Research, Education, Manpower, NYC, and Public Affairs, and their supportive staffs.

Center Staff.—The Center under study in this city is staffed entirely by resident workers at this time. The Negro woman who is presently the acting Director of the Center has a high school education and this educational level

has been attained by about half of her staff members. Only one employee has a college degree—the Physical Education Director—and he is native to the Center area. The non-professional staff was hired by the CAA Program Director with the advice and concurrence of the Neighborhood Board and Center Director.

The ultimate amount of resident participation in staff roles has been attained here and it exists to the exclusion of all professionals. This method of staffing has both its advantages and its inconveniences, and they are exhibited here. The staff has been able to reach the people of the area and does have knowledge of the people and an understanding of their problems. However, according to some CAA personnel, the Center is a model of inefficiency. As these non-professional staff members lack the education and the experience of the professionals it is not surprising that they make administrative errors and that they will bring to their jobs little or no supervisory talents.

At this time the CAA is searching for applicants for the position of Training Director and it is hoped that upon filling this position, a comprehensive training program for Center staff members can be put into effect. The present training programs at the Center are very informal and consist primarily of weekly staff meetings where rules, policies, and programs are discussed.

4. Control of the Center

Organization and reorganization have occurred here on every administrative level to reach a *workable* method for the poor to control the Centers. To achieve this end and inspire active resident participation, the CAA has employed every known method of restructuring its organization and the organization of the advisory boards. A campaign in 1965 for the election of new neighborhood board members was particularly notable. Conducted over about a three-month period, the campaign utilized a veritable army of neighborhood workers to encourage people to register and vote. The rationale behind this project was that the poor were not being adequately represented on the existing boards. It was also the contention of the CAA that the poor should be removed from the traditional status of mere recipients of services. To accomplish these goals, great amounts of time, effort, and funds were expended during the campaign in order to increase the direct representation of the poor.

From all appearances it seems that the *mechanism* for Center control is now available to the poor and that those who do participate are doing so in an effective manner. CAA staff and nonpoor members of the CAA Board view the role of the poor in Center policy-making as one that is becoming increasingly more articulate and effective.

5. Budget

Funds allocated to the entire Neighborhood Organization Program for the fiscal year July 1966–July 1967 total \$438,637, to be divided between three centers. Approximately \$370,000 of this amount is to be spent on personnel costs, consultants' fees, and travel expenses for CAA and Neighborhood Board members. To illustrate the growth of this program and the increasing emphasis on community organization it is interesting to note that the budget request for the previous fiscal year was only \$101,868, or less than a quarter of the allocated amount for this year.

In addition to the community organization program allocation, the CAA receives funds for carrying out various other programs, such as Housing, Legal Service, Rehabilitation, Study Centers, and Pre-school. The budget request for all CAA programs for the previous fiscal year was \$1,400,000.

6. Center Programs

The original concept of the CAA founders was that the Center should be set up primarily as a multi-service institution to bring under one roof all the existing available services for the poor. A decentralization of agency services was envisioned, whereby personnel from each agency would be stationed in the Center. The secondary role of the Center was to be that of a focus for community organization and a place for area residents to congregate.

When this idea was actually put into practice, it was discovered that the two roles were proving to be incompatible, and that the primary role—that of the multi-service center—would have to be eliminated for the following reasons: (1) The agencies did not have sufficient confidence in their personnel to decentralize and place them out away from direct and constant supervision. (2) CAA people felt that the decentralization of services was not in fact improving their quality. (3) The residents of this area harbor a great deal of hostility toward

the traditional agencies and their personnel are viewed more as necessary evils than as helpers who are sincerely interested in their problems. Thus, the very presence of the agency personnel in the Center precluded the place from becoming a focus for recreation and community activity.

When the idea of being a multi-service center was scrapped, the role as a local community action center came to have utmost importance. There are now no agency personnel located in the Center, and there are no staff members who could be classified as professional. Services are offered on a referral basis to those individuals who need them and it is the duty of the indigenous staff members to apprise residents of agency services that are available and refer them to the proper authorities.

The current emphasis on activity is reflected in many of the neighborhood-initiated programs, which are designed to attract and involve participation in large numbers. Such efforts are exemplified by the teen council, summer recreation, team sports, free movies, and dances.

CAA programs which are funneled through the Center have both individual and group aspects. The Legal Aid and Housing programs serve the individual while the numerous classes offered (study programs, pre-school, field trips, and homemaking) can accommodate the large groups of residents that the Center staff strives to attract.

7. Outreach

Center records indicate that an average of 150 Center contacts are made each month. The figure includes service referrals and activities participants. It appears that outreach methods are of an informal nature; there is no evidence of a systematic door-to-door campaign by block workers or any indications of mass advertising campaigns. Rather, community development workers circulate informally in the neighborhood and contact people they encounter. Though the staff realizes that in order to serve the people, they first must be reached, the workers are hesitant about forcing the Center program on the people. There still exists in this particular target area a great deal of suspicion of any government or agency program. Center workers realize that overcoming these suspicions and hostilities will take a great deal more time, and that overtures that are too forward or "pushy" will only alienate these people further. The workers clearly indicated the existence of this hostility to our researcher and requested that he not accompany them on their rounds; they felt that if they were accompanied by an outsider the resident negativism would be exacerbated and the worker would be unable to establish any rapport with the residents.

Even under ideal conditions of maximum outreach (i.e., where it is possible to reach 100 percent of area residents) the response is limited. The previously-mentioned election campaign is a case in point. Maximum outreach effort was extended so that every resident could be informed of the election program: every resident was encouraged to register; and every resident was asked to vote for his representatives. Results—26 percent of the total eligible family units allowed themselves to be registered; 16 percent of the eligible family units actually voted. Again, CAA officials attribute this relatively minimal response to resident fear, hostility, and suspicion of any outside forces. The resident who cooperates with these forces is apt to find himself the victim of social alienation from the rest of his community, vulnerable to such verbal attacks as an "uncle tom," "fink," and "tools of the establishment." In order to breach the gap between this population and the Center programs, it appears that Center workers have a long and difficult task ahead of them.

8. Target Area

Located in a city of almost 500,000, the Center area is composed of two large public housing projects and a relatively small number of families living outside the public housing. The Negro population that predominates this area is largely transient due to urban renewal activities. It is estimated that about 10,000 people of the Center area can be included in the poverty classification. The most prominent problems in the area are a lack of educational advantages, juvenile delinquency, and slum housing. The male unemployment rate is high (about 9 percent) and over 35 percent of the housing units are substandard. The afore-mentioned apathy about their conditions and a distrust of any outsiders are other problems and represent a barrier that also must be torn down in order to better the lot of these people.

9. *Services*

It has been mentioned previously that actual individual services are provided with the Center staff acting as intake and referral agent. Information regarding employment, welfare, and housing problems is extended to clients and they are then referred or accompanied to the appropriate agency for service. When a client is provided a service by the Center, it is the policy of the staff to follow-up with the agency and/or the client until his problem has been solved. At this point, he is to be encouraged to return to the Center and participate in a broader sense by acting on a committee or attending meetings. The staff indicated a sincere desire to provide such an excellent quality of service to these clients that they would act as liaison agents to their friends and encourage their participation. In their view, the personal approach is the only effective one in attracting this hostile population.

The most important service to clients, as viewed by personnel of every echelon, is the service of providing a location for activities—a place where the citizens may congregate. To accomplish this purpose and attract people to the Center, a variety of group activities have been made available. In an effort to counteract problems of juvenile delinquency and the school drop-out rate, many services are geared to the youth of the neighborhood. There are recreational programs, such as team sports and dances; there is a study center to provide academic assistance; and jobs are available through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Services for adults are not so varied and activities for them consist primarily of community meetings and a number of classes to provide information basic to their daily lives, e.g., homemaking and consumer education.

An informal service is provided by some staff members who are called upon by the police and courts to come to the aid of an arrested client. The service may involve procuring the assistance of an attorney, providing bail or just an offer of transportation.

10. *Community Action*

A discussion of community action in this center area will be a reiteration in order to emphasize further two points previously mentioned. First, it appears that policy-making, program formulation, and even funds are now the responsibility of the poor and there is no outside force to preclude them from availing themselves of these opportunities. Second, the poor of this area feel that they have been held in contempt by social welfare agencies for so long that they doubt the sincerity of any new promises by any new group. This attitude is hardly conducive to positive action and, therefore, even minimum progress in that direction should be viewed with optimism.

11. *Participation of the Poor*

The discussion here will involve a reiteration of the *quality* of participation of those of the poor who have been responsive to the Center activities. It is the contention of CAA staff members that these people are operating as board members and staff members in the most effective way possible in view of their limited education and supervisory experience. The Center is viewed by the CAA as a paragon of inefficiency but these officials also recognize the fact that an indigenous staff is the only group that could communicate to the target population. As a result, the CAA patiently suffers the bureaucratic inconveniences of this method of operation and goes to great lengths to remain in the background in an advisory capacity. Center staff workers voice the occasional complaint that their duties are not clearly defined and that the Center Director is lacking in administrative ability but the fact remains that somehow things do seem to be accomplished at the Center. The neighborhood board feels that their participation has been effective and that they have been instrumental in setting up programs to combat area problems. The Center staff members feel that their efforts too have been effective and that they are doing a difficult job as best they can in view of the hostile attitude of their potential clients. These two groups point with pride to a number of programs and services that they themselves have made operational, and they feel that the Center belongs to them.

CENTER "L" (I)

1. *History and Origins*

During 1962 and 1963, a number of the poor of this large city dramatically called the attention of the entire nation to their plight through a series of marches and demonstrations. They demanded entry into the affluent society and a chance

to share is wealth. The Community Action Agency was designed in 1964 as the instrument to overcome the problems of these people; it grew out of a citizens' committee formed by the Mayor to deal with questions of hard-core unemployment. When the Economic Opportunity Act was introduced, the Mayor asked the citizens' committee to serve in an advisory capacity to develop an anti-poverty program. A group of city planning employees were called upon to make long-range studies of the city's problems and to suggest possible solutions to these problems. An additional study performed by a private firm indicated that only about 4 percent of persons living in target areas who needed services of existing agencies were familiar with the agencies and could make use of them. From these studies, the initial grant request was submitted to OEO during the summer of 1964, immediately after passage of the Act. The CAA was funded in the fall of 1964 and the first Neighborhood Service Centers were formed in the early months of 1965.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

In the earliest days of the Center formation, disagreement arose between city officials, CAA officials, and area board members over the site for the Center and the selection of the Center staff. The area board, searching for ways in which to exert its influence, wanted to have a voice in site and staff selection but their suggestions were ignored. The site for the location of the Center was chosen by CAA and city officials and recommendations of the area board went unheeded. There was a great deal of dispute in regard to a ruling that all CAA and Center personnel would be selected on the basis of civil service exams. Area board members felt that this ruling would preclude the underprivileged from obtaining jobs, and would thus defeat one purpose of the program—that of employment of the poor.

Another staff selection procedure is a source of controversy between city officials and the area board; namely, the practice of moving personnel from various city departments directly over into the CAA structure. It is the contention of area board members that these positions should be offered to members of poverty communities instead of city and government officials already employed. These hiring procedures were interpreted by the poor to be a means of control over and reward for city officials. The conflict grew to the extent that area residents threatened to boycott certain CAA programs. The boycott was not in fact carried out but the hostility between the city government and the board were reflected in the threat. At the present time, there are indications that the city has acquiesced somewhat and made certain changes giving the area advisory committee a minor role in personnel selection.

During the formation of the advisory board itself, power struggles appeared between members of various organizations over control of this board. Basic to these conflicts was the theme that participation and control should rest with the poor. The poor viewed the presence of agency personnel at meetings as a threat to their control at the grass-roots level. Professionals in attendance at these meetings were there at the request of CAA personnel but they were completely ignored by area residents. Now, however, the relationship between the two groups appears to be more friendly and many social workers have gained the confidence of the poor.

During its formative period the area board also had to contend with various political elements which viewed the board and Center as a means for political manipulation of the area. The struggle ended after a period of four months when the board voted to exclude politicians from its membership.

The Center maintains satisfactory contacts with the traditional service agencies, many of which supply personnel who work in the Center location partially because the poverty program functions as a city department, and it is accepted as such by other city departments. The only dissenter among this group of agencies is the Welfare Department.

As in many other cities, the disagreements between these groups center around basic policies and attitudes toward the clients. Unfortunately, this area has a long history of conflict and a mutual distrust between its residents and the Welfare Department. Welfare personnel are said to exhibit this distrustful attitude by showing discrimination and discourteous treatment to their clients and the clients reciprocate by harboring negative and hostile feelings toward this agency.

The Center staff has experienced difficulty in getting Welfare personnel at the Center to coordinate their working hours with those of the Center. Welfare people claim that their presence is unnecessary at night and on weekends and that their case loads at the Center do not warrant their presence for more than four hours per week. Weekend and evening emergency cases, therefore, must be re-

ferred to private and church-affiliated agencies. In some cases staff members have had to donate personal funds to clients who were without food and shelter. Center personnel maintain that the availability as well as the quality of services is important to the client in need of help, and this philosophy is an important aspect of Center operations.

3. *Organizational Arrangements*

CAA Policy Advisory Committee

This central policy-making body is informally known as the "Mayor's Committee;" it is an outgrowth of the original Mayor's Committee which founded the poverty program in the city. At the present time, 23 persons appointed by the Mayor serve on the Committee, and, to represent the poor, there are four citizens from each of four target areas.

Area Advisory Committee

The function of this committee is to involve the poor in policy-making for the neighborhood service center and subcenters in the locale. It is the duty of this group to work with the Center Director to determine area needs and propose programs to meet those needs. However, most Center policies and programs are actually formulated by the CAA Policy Committee and it does not appear that the Area Committee has been instrumental in creation of policy as yet. The Center and Sub-Center under study in this city are served by the same Area Advisory Committee. Delegates from block clubs, social organizations, and public welfare agencies make up the membership of the committee which at the present time numbers 43.

Organization of the Center

The large Center under study has a staff of almost 100 who are employed in one of six units: Social Services, Community Services, Education and Information Services, the Job-Referral Unit, Administration Unit, or the Sub-Centers Unit.

All positions at the Center are filled from a list of applicants who have passed city civil service examinations. Though there are many professionals on the CAA and Center staffs, the majority of employees throughout the program are residents of poverty areas. Community Aide, Counselor Aide, and clerical positions have been designed to be filled by these resident workers, and a battery of civil service tests has been specially devised to qualify people for these jobs.

A division of the CAA, the Civil Service Department of the city, and a nearby university cooperate to provide a comprehensive training program for personnel of every echelon. Training for poor employees begins at the Center where classes are conducted in the methods of taking civil service exams and applying for jobs. The rationale behind this part of the training program is twofold: (1) Many members of the poverty group have a fear of taking tests for any type of job. They are unable to comprehend and follow directions, and they do not understand the concept of working under the pressure of a timed test; and (2) Many of these people are not aware of the manner in which they should conduct themselves in an interview with a prospective employer.

Following this part of the training, the poor who are hired undergo another type of training that will apprise them of policies, programs, available agency assistance, and how to deal with situations they are likely to encounter on the job. They are taught the fundamentals of interviewing techniques and of group organization. The "role-playing" method is utilized to a great extent in this part of the training, and training officers have found the method to be extremely effective. After participating in "role-playing" the new employee feels more secure about the nature of his duties and various methods of dealing with clients.

Executive staff members undergo orientation periods of from 12 to 20 weeks: the courses deal with management and supervision techniques as well as OEO policies and programs.

4. *Control of the Center*

Control of all centers in the city may be traced directly back to the city government which founded the CAA policymaking board and the centers. City officials continue to participate actively in the poverty program, both as members of the Policy Advisory Committee and as employees of the CAA. Hiring, policy-making, and most of the program creation occur at the top level (the CAA Policy Board and CAA Staff) which in turn hands down directives to be followed by Center personnel. The Center is not autonomous and isolated from the overall scheme:

rather, the Center functions as a mechanism through which CAA programs may be funneled to the neighborhoods of the poor.

Ideas and programs formulated by the Area Council must be submitted to the CAA Board which may, in turn, either approve or table the suggestions. Thus, the Area Council has only indirect influence over the Center.

5. Budget

The approved poverty program budget for this city for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1966, was in excess of \$10 million. Monies allocated to operation of four centers and eight subcenters totaled almost \$4 million. Salaries at the Center researched here range from approximately \$4,000 to \$11,000 annually with the entire salary allocation totaling about \$375,000.

6. Center Programs

An attack was launched immediately after the Center was formed to counteract problems of health and unemployment, and priority was given to programs to combat these problems. An extensive medical services program and an employment and training service were set up. The medical program at the Center includes inoculation programs, maternity care, and various examinations. It is anticipated that soon the Center will offer a dental program as well. A job referral division was set up to work with the state employment service to find employment for area residents. A number of educational and training programs are operational to supplement the training and education of area residents and prepare them for better paying jobs. The previously-mentioned classes for civil service exam preparation exemplify the training program.

To a large extent health and employment services remain paramount among Center programs, but new services have been added as the need for them arose. Many of these services fall within the jurisdiction of other agencies but the Center added such services as legal, housing, welfare, and counseling to its program in order to answer the needs of its clients. Each of these service groups also acts to refer clients to the other agencies.

In order to bridge the gap between agency programs and the needs of the poor, the CAA has initiated a number of its own programs which are available at the Center. Most of these programs provide direct assistance to clients through loans, emergency service, or class instruction. A perusal of this list suggests that imaginative concern has been employed in the design of these programs. A pilot project called "Turn on the Gas" has been set up to provide a loan fund for families unable to pay their utility bills. A "Patty-Tap" Project has appealed to hundreds of teen-age girls who were instructed in cleanliness, grooming habits, and etiquette. Homemaking classes attracted many housewives to the Center where they were given, among other lessons, consumer instruction. Field trips to supermarkets and stores were conducted by home economists and counselors who could instruct the women in the elements of wise consumer purchasing.

Scholarship funds are available through universities and private trade schools. Many of the available slots for these opportunities have not yet been filled because many area residents were not sufficiently prepared by the high school education to pass the qualifying examinations.

Another vital role which the Center has undertaken is in reference to community action. With the constant threat of race riots in the city, the Center has assumed the responsibility of a pacifier of racial tensions. Quite often Center staff and area board members have acted to check out rumors of potential trouble. A continuous campaign to advocate indirect and non-violent methods of settling disputes is passed on to the neighborhood citizens by Center workers.

7. Outreach

Outreach to the area residents is achieved through flyers, door-to-door contact, block clubs and other neighborhood organizations. It appears that the methods have been extremely successful in reaching some groups of the population; the Center is a busy and lively place according to our researcher. Center records indicate that over 3,000 persons per month have some contact with the Center as clients and participants in activities.

One problematic area regarding outreach is found in the Polish and Italian sectors of the target area. The Center seems to have experienced its greatest contact and seems to have reached out into the Negro community more than into the white. There are several reasons for this. First, there are more Negroes in the target area. Secondly, the Center is located in a Negro residential area and is not easily accessible to whites. They consider the Negro area a "rough

and dangerous neighborhood" and they are reluctant to pass through the area to get to the Center. Finally, since most of the staff and most of the clients are Negro, the Center is considered by the whites as a program for the Negroes and this image does not enhance its attractiveness to these groups of whites. In order to reach other people who need help under the city's anti-poverty program, CAA officials are considering the possibilities of locating a sub-center somewhere in or near the residential areas of the white groups.

Outreach is extended throughout the Center area by five sub-centers, one of which was studied in detail during the research in this city. The sub-centers are staffed predominately by resident aides who recruit clients and refer them to the Center headquarters or to another agency which can solve their problems.

8. Target Area

This large city has attained one of the highest degrees of industrialization to be found in the world today. Jobs for the skilled and the educated are plentiful; these people command and draw high salaries and the city has a booming and healthy economy. It is a paradox common today that there also exists in this city some of the hardest-hit poverty areas in the country. The unemployment rate for the entire city is ten percent—for the target area of the Center, 20 percent. Almost half the target area population of 25 years and over have less than an eighth grade education. The studies conducted in 1964, prior to the inception of the poverty programs, found many young Negroes graduated from high school for two years who had never held jobs.

Three-quarters of the target population is Negro. Many of these families (22.3 percent) live in substandard housing. Disease, illnesses, and infant deaths are prevalent. The crime rate grows increasingly higher each year.

9. Services

Services to area residents are delivered by staff personnel through one of five service units. The first of these units to be established was that of Job Referral which began working immediately after the opening of the Center to find jobs for area residents. Over one thousand small businessmen in the Center area were contacted and encouraged to list job openings with the Job Referral Unit. The small businessmen proved to be cooperative and in fact provided many jobs for clients of the Center. The problem of unemployment is also the responsibility of a unit of the State Employment Service which is located in the Center. This group is more interested in placing people with the larger private corporations and the government agencies.

The Medical Clinic Program makes available to the public such services as inoculations, emergency care, and prenatal care. Funding for a dental services program has been made available and this program will be in operation soon.

Many services of the Center are offered to clients through the various classes taught by volunteers, such as the Civil Service Training Programs, Senior Citizens Groups, Remedial Readings, Crafts, and Grooming classes. Most of these programs appear to originate with the volunteer instructors themselves, rather than through a demonstrated need in the community. The Center Director told us that many calls are received from individuals who feel they have a special talent or information to impart, and the Center keeps a list of potential instructors in the event that a demand develops for a particular class.

It does not appear that the Center itself has originated anything novel in the way of services, since the services, except for the CAA components, are those that have been traditionally provided by other agencies. What is new, and worth noting is the fact that these services are all centered in one location and that through field workers, some services are brought directly to the clients. Because of their deprived backgrounds, many of these people are very easily confused by bureaucratic procedures and by their own admission, unaware of services that have been available to them for years. By having the Center provide these services in one location, these people are spared the difficulties of going aimlessly from agency to agency to find the particular one to suit their needs.

CENTER "L" (II)

10. Relationships With Other Organizations

The second Center under study in the city is a sub-center under the direction of Center I. The sub-center is served by the same staff and the same

Area Advisory Committee as Center I. It was set up to provide outreach and direct accessibility to a section of the larger target area served by Center I.

The program at the Sub-Center is primarily service oriented and emphasis is on intake and referral to other agencies. The Sub-Center staff has established cooperative and workable relationships with the Welfare Department, Employment, and many other private and public agencies. They make referrals to all agencies which can take care of senior citizens, unwed mothers, employed mothers who have children to care for, as well as those people who are unable to care for themselves. Both the present director and a former director of the Sub-Center reported that they were fortunate in having been able to establish excellent relationships with the established agencies.

11. Organization of the Sub-Center

Technically, the Director of Center I is the Director of the Sub-Center as well, and the staff of the Sub-Center is supervised by him. The complete working staff of the Sub-Center numbers about fifteen, including the Counselor-aid who in fact acts in the capacity of Sub-Center director. On the staff are two doctors, two nurses, secretaries, and four community aides. Three volunteers and three Youth Corps girls complete the list of staff members.

Screening, selection and subsequent training of the Sub-Center staff also fall under the jurisdiction of the CAA offices and the city Civil Service Department. Employees here are selected by the same procedure as their counterparts at the main centers.

12. Center Programs

The Sub-Center, because of its small staff, remains primarily a referral agency, sending clients to Center I or to other community agencies. Like the staff at Center I, the Sub-Center staff also spends much of its time meeting emergency needs of its clients. With pediatric and group counseling services located at the Sub-Center, the staff there is kept busy in the intake process of accepting referrals as well as dispatching them.

Group activities play a role in the Sub-Center program. Boy and Girl Scout troops, classes for unwed mothers who have not finished high school, and junior block club groups all meet at the Sub-Center to carry out their respective activities.

The community agent function was noted to be important here in dealing with delinquents, truants, and problem children. This part of the program includes seeking out problem children and subsequent counseling in which an attempt is made to rehabilitate and reorient them. Counseling for these youngsters is supplemented by various other services of the Center and Sub-Center—the Pediatrics Clinic, NYC, and many employment and training opportunities.

There are available through various universities and vocational schools a wide variety of unfilled scholarships and work-training programs. The Center reports that, in spite of their efforts, they have not been successful in filling all slots for the programs due to the fact that many of the youths who have finished high school in the area are not prepared to pass the qualifying examinations. Most of the young graduates have been found to be deficient in knowledge of the basic English and elementary math that are necessary for acceptance in a trade school.

13. Outreach

Reaching potential clients in the target area is perceived by the Sub-Center staff to be the most important aspect of the program, as well as its most notable problem. All conceivable methods and media have been utilized to reach the community, with the greatest effort concentrated on personal contact. Community aides are sent out into the neighborhoods to make door-to-door contacts and assist in the organization of block clubs. Also, announcements of Sub-Center activities and services are made to church congregations in the neighborhood. The communications media of radio, television, and newspaper have been used to announce a special or new activity at the Sub-Center. Flyers and posters are occasionally distributed throughout the neighborhood to promote certain of the programs and to announce meetings.

The comments of the Sub-Center staff and clients indicate that the personal approach is the most effective method of outreach. The staff supervisor said that the great majority of clients who came to the Sub-Center for service were there as a result of a recommendation by a friend or a conversation with a staff member who had met them through the door-to-door campaign. Statistics available at the Sub-Center indicate that about 500 people have contact with some aspect of the

Sub-Center program every month. In May of 1966, services were provided to 150 persons while 210 participated in group activities. The above figures are representative of the numbers of clients served during other months; while the quantity of clients increases each month, the increase is a gradual one and consequently, the monthly client statistics do not vary a great deal.

14. *Target Area*

In this area that is 90 percent Negro, the average family income is about \$3,000 per year in contrast to a figure of \$9,000 for the entire city. Rents are fairly high in comparison with the quality of the housing that is available in the area; many of the housing units are substandard, in deteriorated conditions with no plumbing and inadequate heating systems. The number of abandoned buildings is impressive and many of these structures have fallen prey to various acts of vandalism and breakage which further contributes to the ugliness of the area. Most of this section of the city is marked for urban renewal and during the last year many of the old and abandoned structures were razed.

Educational, health, and unemployment problems contribute to the duress of the people of this area. Even those who graduate from high school are unable to find jobs; those who drop out of school have even less opportunity for employment. Thus, the unemployment rate is high, ranging from 20 to 30 percent, and a great number of the area's people receive at least a part of their income from welfare. Due to ignorance, housing conditions, lack of funds or a combination of these reasons, problems of health are monumental. The incidences of tuberculosis, maternal and infant deaths, and epidemics of various diseases are the highest in the city.

15. *Services*

Perhaps the most unique and noteworthy service of the Sub-Center is the pediatrics clinic staffed by two doctors and two nurses who provide medical care to children on a full-time basis. Physical examinations, inoculations, and emergency treatment constitute a program to meet one of the most drastic and immediate needs of the community. The clinic is a part of the larger medical program of Center I and many referrals are made by Center I to this clinic at the Sub-Center. It was noted previously that a clinic located at Center I is designed to serve the health needs of the area's adults, and to provide dental care to residents of all ages.

A small nursery for the children of working mothers is in operation at the Sub-Center and, as space and personnel in the nursery are limited, the staff must make many referrals to a number of similar facilities in the area. Several staff members expressed the desire to see the program enlarged to satisfy the demand for this service.

The intake service provides the client with referrals to outside agencies and to the main center, after an initial interview to determine the particular needs of the client. In some cases, transportation to the receiving agency is provided by Sub-Center personnel. Emergency services are offered to individuals with a particular need for them and staff members have been known to intercede with a landlord who will not fix the furnace for a family without heat, or act as an agent to work out a financial arrangement for a family unable to pay its rent. The Sub-Center functions as a reservoir of information about educational opportunities, recreation facilities, welfare agencies and employment opportunities that are available throughout the entire community.

16. *Community Action (Center I and Sub-Center)*

Community action emphasis throughout poverty programs in the city tends to be officially oriented toward containment of the militant elements that have exhibited themselves in the past. The recent history of violence, racial demonstrations, and riots indicates that the poor are indeed aware of the problems and have leadership sophisticated in the methods of violent community action. Local CAA leaders feel that events during the past year have demonstrated that *control* of hostile and destructive forces must be a primary goal of the poverty program.

Throughout the program, the emphasis is placed upon service to the individual—in helping people as individuals to participate in programs that will enable them to help themselves. An increasing amount of stress is placed on training programs to enable the population to upgrade skills and to correct educational deficiencies. This emphasis on services and training programs does appear to meet with approval of many of the poor; almost all clients interviewed ex-

pressed a desire to see some type of additional training program put into operation.

Though acceptable to clients, the service emphasis of the program is by no means receiving universal approval throughout the poor areas. There are those in direct disagreement with this idea who feel that the poor are not allowed to have enough control over the program through boards and committees; they feel that concerted action is still the most effective method of addressing their grievances and getting immediate results. The complaints of this group are largely directed against the poverty program itself and against those in control of it in the city. Demonstrations planned by these people have never been carried out, however, and CAA officials view the failure of the demonstrations as an indication of popular acceptance of the poverty program.

In the view of one of the Center professionals, it is necessary to continue to meet the needs of the people through services and avert any planned demonstrations before they begin in order to "keep the area from becoming a miniature Viet Nam."

17. Participation of the Poor (Center I and Sub-Center II)

Maximum feasible participation of the poor appears to have been reached only in the roles of employees and clients. During our research, the Center was constantly alive with clients. Of the various clients interviewed both formally and informally, all but one seemed to feel that the Center had been helpful in solutions to their specific problems. Participation through block clubs, church groups and senior citizens' groups is noteworthy. Perhaps the greatest achievement in this area is the hiring of so many employees throughout the CAA and Center programs.

The one "sore spot" in the realm of maximum feasible participation lies with the Area Advisory Committee. The poor feel that they should have more power in determining the Center's programs, activities, and staff selection, and their strong desire to gain greater influence in the program has almost resulted in demonstrations.

The lack of influence of the poor on the CAA Council was cited by some of the poor of this group. They noted the practice of holding these meetings during daytime hours when many of the poor were working. They felt that this unfair practice was serving to eliminate their participation in the program as they were unable to take a day off work to attend meetings without loss of pay. Thus, it appears that one of the major difficulties in the poverty program in this city is the absence of a clear-cut definition of and agreement on the role of the poor in the policy-making functions.

CENTER "M"

1. History and Origins

The concept of a multi-purpose agency was generated in the community about two years ago by the Director of the County Health and Welfare Board. His position afforded him a vantage point from which to see the need for coordination and outreach of the numerous existing services for the poor. With the assistance of a United States Congressman from the district, the Welfare Director promoted his idea among leading citizens of the community and among a group of welfare agency personnel. A group of about 17 interested persons formulated definite plans for the project and submitted them to the OEO for its approval. Approval and funds were officially allocated in May of 1965, and the small group of citizens officially became the CAA Board. A central office was set up for CAA operations and by July, 1965 three Neighborhood Service Centers had been opened.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

The unique aspect of the Center program in this community is its sponsoring organization, namely the Health and Welfare Board which generated the program. The Board has enjoyed the privileges, the status, and the relationships of long establishment in the community, and the Centers have fallen heir to these conditions. Inter-agency cooperation is strengthened by the dispersion of OEO activities throughout various organizations in the community. For example, the Board of Education sponsors Remedial Education, Head Start and the NYC for in-school youth; Public Welfare sponsors Operation Hopeful for ADC mothers; the Family Service Agency sponsors the Foster Grandparents program; certain city departments were designated to sponsor component programs for the NYC and a year-round pre-school program. All component programs of the OEO ex-

perienced incorporation into an already established order, and as a result, good cooperation exists here between the Center and the existing agencies.

Complaints of agency personnel regarding the Center have been minor—merely “gripes,” not indications of open conflicts. Comments have been made by several agency personnel that the Welfare Board has “raided” their agencies to fill Center staff positions and that their personnel are attracted to the Centers by the higher salaries paid under the new programs. Additional comments concern the inefficiency of Center personnel and the resulting “confusion that reigns at the Center.” However, complaints tend to indicate the existence of administrative problems, not conflicts in basic philosophy. All agency and Center personnel appear to be dedicated to cooperative effort in meeting the needs of the poor in the most expeditious way.

Interdepartment relationships within the entire poverty program structure have been less than ideal. Statements of various CAA and Center staff members indicate that poor relationships have existed between some of these personnel. This may be due to the fact that the first CAA Director was a man of some wealth who did not seem to understand the needs and problems of the poor. He is said to have bragged about his family's membership in the Ku Klux Klan and reputedly stated that he “hated Negroes, Latins, and Jews.” The influence of this man evidently did a great deal to damage the morale and working relationships among the poverty program staffs. This individual has been replaced, and it is said that morale has greatly improved.

3. *Organizational Arrangements*

CAA Board of Directors

This group was originally formed by personnel from various service agencies in the community who had an interest in extending their services to greater numbers of the poor population. At this time, the membership of the Board numbers 24, three of whom represent the target areas. Proposed plans call for increase of the Board membership to 28, with the additional members to come from the target areas.

CAA Administration

The CAA staff is small, numbering only four at the present time. It is the duty of this staff to coordinate the work of various agencies which sponsor projects funded under the poverty program. The CAA staff functions as a service agency for all poverty program components in the city, providing the link between the OEO and the various programs.

Neighborhood Advisory Boards

At the present time, the Center areas are in the process of selecting their respective advisory boards. The poor will be represented on these boards by one delegate per 1,000 people in the target areas. The Center under study is in the process of holding several meetings throughout the area at which one delegate will be selected to represent his particular small group. Plans have been made for a meeting of all these representatives and from that group an elections committee will be chosen; the elections committee will be responsible for the election of the Area Advisory Board. After the Area Board is elected, it, in turn, will select one of its members to serve on the CAA Board of Directors, and one member to serve on the County Health and Welfare Board which administers the Centers. The selection of members of the County Health and Welfare Board was set up by the State Legislature many years ago, and its membership and voting procedures are determined by law. The poor will have no voting power on this board and will be there only to make recommendations. Our researcher noted that most of the poor do not know that their representatives will have no voting power on this board; even the leaders of the poor have not been apprised of this fact.

4. *Organization of the Center*

The Center Director is responsible for Center administration and the supervision of a staff of about sixty people. About 18 of the Center employees are professionals, including the Director, social workers, vocational counselors, and home economists. Seven secretarial employees and thirty neighborhood aides complete the list of employees. Numerous job descriptions indicate that duties and qualifications have been clearly defined.

Training for neighborhood aides appears to be an informal process carried out under the supervision of the Assistant Center Director. The training is supplemented by discussions with representatives from the receiving agencies who

advise workers of the services offered by their respective agencies and voice the needs of the community as they see them.

5. *Control of the Center*

Control of the Center rests with the Health and Welfare Board which determines policies and hires Center personnel. The Board is not representative of the poor at the present time and as stated above, projected plans for the future do not allow for the poor to participate in any capacity other than an advisory one. The Center program is too new to have much history, but our respondents indicated that some nepotism and political expedience may exist in the program. For example, some of the Center staff members alluded to the fact that the supervisor of all Centers is an unqualified and poorly educated Negro whose father is president of a powerful labor union in the community.

6. *Budget*

During its first year of operation, the Center was allocated a budget of approximately \$420,000 or \$35,000 per month. The Health and Welfare Board acts as the sponsoring agent for Neighborhood Service Centers in the city and monies were granted to Centers through this Board, instead of the usual procedure of channeling the funds through the CAA. As all anti-poverty activities are sponsored by established organizations and agencies, the CAA budget does not reflect monies allocated for the operation of these various programs. The annual CAA budget of about \$60,000 covers only the expenses for the salaries of the four employees who act as a coordinating body for the activities sponsored by the other agencies. A department of the city government was allocated \$295,934 in federal funds to administer the Head Start program. Small Business Development receives \$52,000 annually for its operations.

7. *Programs*

The role of the Center is threefold: (1) to provide outreach for existing services in the community, and to see that those eligible for existing services avail themselves of them; (2) to provide new services to fill the gap between existing services and the needs of the community; and (3) to encourage those people to be not only recipients of services but to help themselves. The service center is intended to be the instrument of delivery of all poverty programs and services previously existing in the community.

The Center has organized its personnel to make surveys of problems and, from this information, devise new programs and methods to cope with the problems. Programs offered at the Center run the gamut from the proposed day care nursery for working mothers to services for the aged, including recreation, crafts, home-making, referrals for medical and convalescent care, and home visits. There are available through the Center, programs designed to meet the most basic needs of food and housing, and there are programs to meet recreational and cultural needs as well. Medical referrals cover physical and mental illnesses, alcoholic problems, and retarded children. The many professionals on the Center staff offer counseling on family problems, financial problems, and vocational opportunities.

8. *Outreach*

Outreach to the community is provided by a group of thirty neighborhood aides who recruit clients, provide information to residents about Center programs and services, survey the needs of the community and make these needs known to the Center staff. These indigeneous workers provide the liaison between the professionals at the Center and the poor of the community. The liaison they provide is an important one due to the language and color barriers among people of the area. The personal contact work of the neighborhood aides is supplemented by church groups, schools, and the established service agencies.

The population in general is characterized by an attitude of apathy and lack of aspiration. The overwhelming indifference of these people was referred to by respondents in all echelons throughout the program and by agency personnel serving the area. The prevailing attitude was manifested by clients as well. Some of these people indicated that their desire to help themselves had led to alienation by their neighbors. This was indeed the case with one of our client respondents who told us that the Center had aided her in finding a job and a nursery school for her two children. Her job paid \$30.00 per week and nursery care for her children was free; her neighbors regarded her as a "rich" opportunist.

It appears that the Center has indeed reached several thousand people of the area, and our researcher commented that the Center was constantly overflowing with clients. Counselors now have more clients than they feel they can serve sufficiently, and the Center building itself is becoming more and more crowded. These facts are true, however, of all agencies in the area. During the summer months of last year, the numbers of clients receiving services increased by more than 100 percent. In April 586 persons were served; in May the statistic reached 1,207, and in July 1,198 were provided with a specific service.

Though the statistics and observations reveal that many of the needy are being reached by the Center, Center personnel feel that there exists in the area a hard-core group that is devoid of ambition. The apathy of the hard-core poor is a source of frustration to them. However, the outreach effort has been rewarding to Center and agency personnel in that they have been able to help a great many more people than they possibly could have before the advent of the poverty programs.

9. *Target Area*

The Center under study is one of three located in a city of almost 500,000 people. The area served by the Center includes both urban and rural areas, housing projects and farms. The population of the area is heterogeneous, and includes over 55,000 Negroes, a high percentage of immigrants from Latin American countries, and a smattering of Orientals.

The unemployment rate is not extremely high (less than five percent), but almost 30 percent of the city's population have incomes of less than \$3,000 per year. About 20 percent of the housing is substandard and is typified by extremely filthy and crowded conditions in the housing developments. Clients with whom we talked described their living conditions, and a typical picture emerged of families of several generations living in one room, sharing kitchen and bath facilities with many other families.

Poor education is a prevalent condition, with the majority of the area population having less than an eighth grade education. Among those who finish high school are many who cannot find employment because of lack of vocational skills and training. College is out of reach for most of these youngsters, not only for financial reasons, but because they are ill-prepared academically for any further education.

10. *Services*

The overriding emphasis of Center program is placed on individual service, the coordination of available services, and the provision of emergency service. Basic to the service emphasis is the philosophy that assistance should be provided until the client can be rehabilitated to the status of self-sufficiency.

Unemployment, underemployment, and housing are the most conspicuous problems here, and the greatest demand for services occurs in these areas. The resources of the State Employment Service are utilized to provide vocational counseling, training programs, and job placement for area residents. Many referrals are made to day care centers for the children of mothers who must work, and the Center has plans for the operation of its own day care center. The Department of Urban Renewal has donated and renovated a building for this program.

Problems of housing are met by a number of services, ranging from location of adequate housing for clients to a number of classes in homemaking on a limited budget. A plan for a demonstration apartment in a housing project is proposed. The program is designed to demonstrate low-budget decorating and maintenance, proper food and diet, and safety in the home. To assist with the various housing programs, the Department of Urban Renewal has supplied personnel to work with the Center staff to find better housing for residents.

Problems of health are paramount among this population, and a great deal of activity involves referrals to hospitals, convalescent homes, a rehabilitation house for alcoholics, schools for the mentally retarded and the hard of hearing. Counseling and psychotherapy are offered to the mentally ill. Counselors have been instructed in the symptoms of mental illnesses so that they can refer clients to appropriate specialists, hospitals, or the guidance center of a nearby university.

In surveys of the area, aides are expected to discover individual needs in regard to specific housing problems—plumbing, drainage, overcrowding. Center personnel are often called upon to provide or locate emergency service in situations where a family is suddenly without food and shelter. In such cases, the

disadvantaged client may be referred to Urban Renewal personnel for shelter, and surplus food products are available for direct distribution.

There exist in the area a large group of elderly people, recently immigrated from Latin American countries who are alienated by their lack of finances, their age, and their inability to speak the language. These barriers preclude many of them from availing themselves of medical services when the need arises. At the time, arrangements are underway at the Center to work with the Latin American social organizations to secure funding for a convalescent home for these people.

11. Community Action

The concept of concerted action to express social and economic problems has not been applied here, and it is doubtful that such group action is possible at this time. Apathy and hopelessness in the attitudes of the people preclude self-generated action as a way of voicing their grievances and finding solutions to their problems. Those who receive services appear to be grateful, but there seems to be no social awareness on the part of most of the area residents. Some of the people are willing to do all they can to help themselves as individuals to become self-sufficient, but they feel loyalty to themselves, not to their neighborhoods.

Community action in the city is confined strictly to the established order; it is the middle class that has made the attempt to coordinate the city's resources in order to better the lot of the poor. The program was generated by this group and it is being carried out by this group; the poor have yet to participate except as clients and staff members. It is the Center staff that has been instrumental in setting up the organizations that do exist, i.e., block clubs, etc. The heterogeneous nature of the population serves to alienate many of the people from each other and causes them to seek out among their neighbors only those who speak the same language, have the same color skin, and the same religion.

12. Participation of the Poor

Provision has been made for the poor to participate as employees of the various programs, to work as sub-professionals, and as neighborhood workers. Their work is invaluable in providing a link between the Center professionals and the poor residents of the area. They can survey area needs and carry this information back to the Center officials. They can, in turn, inform the poor about the services and activities of the Center.

It does not appear that there is provision in the program for the poor to learn to function in policy-making or supervisory capacities. Token participation is allowed on the boards, but it is only a token and their presence on boards is viewed by the establishment as advisory only.

The long-established Health and Welfare Board is precluded by law from extending voting privileges to any additional members; therefore, the new members who will represent the poor on the Board will function only to make suggestions and recommendations. The CAA Board of Directors allows the poor to have voting privileges but, as constituted, only three of the 24 members of the Board are representatives of the poor. The effectiveness of the poor who are so greatly outnumbered is questionable.

At the time of our study, area boards had not yet been formed. A few small meetings had been held to initiate the process of choosing these boards. The Boards too will act only to make suggestions; policy-making and program formulation are not intended functions of area boards. Rather, they are to be set up to afford the poor a method of voicing their grievances.

CENTER "N"

1. History and Origins

In January, 1965, a group of about ten religious, educational, and community leaders met to discuss methods of utilizing the newly-passed poverty program legislation in the county. Poverty is a problem that is common to at least half the people of this rural, mountainous area. During several meetings of this group, some fifteen possible projects were explored; one of these was the Home-making Center Program. In setting up the preparations for this program, assistance was sought from the Home Economics faculty of a nearby university. These professionals were able to supply the necessary advice regarding curriculum preparation and staff training. After the initial preparations were made, application was submitted to the OEO for funding of the projects. Funding was granted in July, 1965, and three Centers were opened in September of that year. An additional Center was operational by February of 1966, and a Day Care Center was formed in August, 1966.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

The more established agencies were generally unenthusiastic about the new poverty programs at first, but cordiality grew with understanding of the purposes of the CAA and with knowledge of the group it was trying to reach. More and more community agencies are using the Centers as meeting places, and referrals have increased between the Centers and the agencies. Mothers who might profit from Center training are located by other agencies in the county and are referred to the Centers. The Centers reciprocate by making referrals to the agencies when a client has demonstrated a need for such service. The excellent relationship between the Centers and the Health Department is particularly notable. The Centers have served to demonstrate to the agencies the quality of results that are possible in working with poverty groups.

3. Organizational Arrangements

CAA Board of Directors

Membership in the CAA is open to any individual over eighteen years of age who is interested in the programs. At the present time, the membership numbers over 800. A Board of Directors of 26 persons is elected annually from this total membership. As presently constituted, six members of the Board are from the low income groups and four are from the Negro minority. It is the function of the Board of Directors to vote on policy and program suggestions originating in the corporation, from the CAA Director, or from staff members and clients.

CAA Administration

The CAA staff is supervised by an Executive Director who is in charge of all poverty programs in the county. Directors for component program—Homemaking Centers, Head Start, and Day care Centers—work under his supervision. With the exception of the clerical employees and three aides, the CAA is staffed by professional personnel.

Center Advisory Councils

One person from each Homemaking class has been chosen by her classmates to serve on the newly-formed Center Advisory Councils. In addition, two persons from the small groups being served by Field Homemakers are chosen by fellow clients to serve on each of these four Councils. Center Directors approve three persons representing the immediate community who are not members of the target group to serve on each of the Center Advisory Councils. Each Council elects its chairman and two members of the poor to represent them on an Advisory Committee.

Professional Advisory Council

The Professional Council is composed of professional persons in the field of home economics who work in the area. These people are home economists employed by utilities, the university, and the public high schools. Two representatives are chosen by this group to serve as members of the Advisory Committee. The responsibilities of the Professional Council are to advise the CAA Board of Directors on training and on content of existing and future programs.

The Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee is composed of the two persons elected from each Homemaking Center Advisory Council, two persons from the Professional Advisory Council, and three members named to it from the CAA Board of Directors. The primary responsibilities of the group are to make recommendations regarding project policies and project extension. The Council functions in an advisory capacity to the CAA Board of Directors which takes final action upon the Council's recommendations.

Administration of the Centers

Four Homemaking Centers have been established throughout the County and these are under the immediate supervision of the CAA Director of Homemaking. CAA policy is to employ as many non-professional residents as possible throughout this program. Each Homemaking Center Director supervises a staff of about eleven employees, most of whom are residents of the target area who were trained and hired as Homemaking Instructors. Each Center employs a bus driver-custodian to provide transportation for homemaking "students" to and from their homes. At the present time, 40 residents are employed on the staffs of the Homemaking Centers.

Staff position openings at the CAA office and at the Centers are advertised publicly and applicants go through a process of interview with the Director of the particular program (such as the Center), the CAA Director, and the CAA Board of Directors. It is this Board that has final word on hiring. Emphasis was placed on the fact that no political group reviews employment applications or has any influence over employee selection.

4. *Control of the Centers*

From all appearances, control of the centers is exercised cooperatively by CAA officials, professionals throughout the county, and staff members connected with the Homemaking Program. The Director of Homemaking in charge of all Homemaking Centers works closely with her Center Directors in preparing curriculum to meet the needs of the clients. Due to the technical nature of this field and the particular training involved, Homemaking professionals were allowed leeway to utilize their own knowledge of the field in planning the programs, taking cues about the area's needs from client comments. As the Center Advisory Councils were not in operation during the first year of the program, the role of the poor was informal and undefined, but professionals attempted to elicit suggestions from members of the poor groups who were Center employees and clients. The establishment of Center Advisory Councils during this second year of operation is expected to bring about a clearer, more explicit and influential role for the poor in center programming.

5. *Center Program*

The fundamental goal of the Center program is to locate low-income mothers and homemakers and work with them in improving their homemaking and home management skills, their child care skills, personal grooming, and the state of relationships with their families. Within the scope of this goal, the Centers try:

(a) To advance, wherever possible, participants or homemakers or Center Directors to higher positions as their skills improve. One Center Director has been advanced to Director of the four Centers. Two homemaker instructors have been advanced to positions as Center Directors; and two resident participants have been employed as homemakers.

(b) To follow a policy of traditional services rather than community action.

(c) To do all possible to enhance the employability of participants.

(d) To provide transportation for participating mothers and their children.

(e) To care for the children of participating mothers during the time their mothers are in the classes.

(f) Where necessary and feasible, go into communities to work with mothers in small groups.

(g) To maintain contact with each family through home visitation.

(h) To refer those families in need of additional assistance to the appropriate service agency existing in the community.

The Center programs hopefully will do much to help resident homemakers in the area make the most efficient use of the resources and potential that are immediately available to them. The program is not designed to raise the families above the poverty level of subsistence. This will have to wait upon the improvement of the general economy of the area or other factors not envisaged in the short run.

6. *Outreach*

To penetrate the area, a great amount of time is expended by Homemakers who travel throughout the mountainous and sparsely-populated region to take information and service to residents. Due to the geographic conditions of the county, outreach to the 5,000 poverty families in the area is no small task. The country is mountainous and rough. Settlements are often located in narrow valleys through which run rivers and creeks which flood easily and which are invariably muddy after the frequent rains. Most of the area's population is clustered in a series of small towns, but a few families remain in the rather dilapidated mining villages, living in rooming houses and dormitories that have been converted into apartments.

A study of the client statistics recorded at the Centers indicates that the Homemakers have been successful in their efforts to reach and give service to the population. In March of 1966, 1230 clients were registered in the Centers' classes. By May, the figure had grown to almost 1500. Also in May, 982 contacts were made outside the Center and 34 of these clients were provided with a specific referral service. Some 900 additional families have been located by the homemak-

ers, and it is anticipated that most of these families will be served by one of the Centers in the near future.

7. Target Area

The four Centers under study are located in a county that is predominantly rural in nature; only about 25 percent of the people live in communities of 2,500 or greater population. The population of the entire county is 40,200, or 10,100 families. The county has 5,096 in the labor force, with some 4,625 payrolls being taxable. About half those in the labor force are employed in the mining of coal. Employment in the mining industry has dropped significantly during the last fifteen years due to decreased demand for the product, mechanization in the coal industry, and keen competition in the coal markets. Many of the miners are employed only part-time. Mining runs for generations in families and those miners who become unemployed or underemployed have poor job skills for other work.

Poor health caused by inadequate diet and hazards of the mining industry are acute problems in the area. The incidence of tuberculosis, silicosis, and emphysema are high. For instance, a TB test recently given to about 200 people at one of the Centers revealed fifty positive reactions. The poor health conditions also may be attributed to poor housing conditions and overcrowding.

Lack of education is another factor contributing to poverty; it was revealed that a serious dropout problem exists. Of the students who enter the eighth grade, 40 percent drop out before the completion of high school.

There does exist some amount of optimism on the part of leading county citizens over the future of the area. We were informed of plans for the building of a major highway through the area and it is expected that this will serve to attract a greater tourist and vacation trade. The prospects are bright for locating one or two garment manufacturing plants in the area. The directors of the homemaking centers feel that the many women enrolled in the Home-making classes will constitute a potential backlog or labor pool from which the garment plants might employ workers.

The county is deficient in adequate medical services and facilities. There are only 30 doctors and nurses in the area to serve a population of over 10,000. One community of 2,500 until recently had no medical facility whatsoever. There has been improvement here due to citizen effort in the community, however. A new medical hospital and clinic has recently been completed and the services of a doctor and nurse have been obtained.

It is anticipated that new opportunities for employment will be available with the imminent opening of additional mines in the southern portion of the county.

8. Services

Three of the Homemaking Centers are located in abandoned Negro school buildings which became available when the schools were integrated and consolidated. The fourth Center is located in a building that was formerly a restaurant. The facilities appeared to our researcher to be adequate and all had been renovated to suit the purposes for which they are now used.

The Center programs are oriented toward service and the uplift of individuals through the learning and using of greater skills. Services are offered primarily through classes where the women of the poor community are taught the elements of nutrition, home management, money management, child care, sanitation, decorating, and sewing. In addition to the classes, individual service in the form of counseling and referrals to other agencies is provided to residents.

Center staff members informed us that indirect services are experienced by clients as a result of their participation in the classes. The staff members view a day-by-day improvement in the outlook and social sophistication of clients. We are informed that during initial visits to the Centers, many of the clients were withdrawn, depressed and showed little facial expression. After a few days the women became outgoing, participating in conversation and discussion with the other students and instructors. It appears that the isolation has been broken down and mental outlook of many clients has been improved by the social aspects of the program. Many families have developed some motivation and aspiration to better their situation in life. Clients informed us that intra-family relationships were greatly improved, as well as the conditions of their homes. Homemaking instructors can see marked improvement in the cleanliness and dress of participating mothers and their children; also, their children appear to be better fed and in better health.

An appreciation of the services was evident from our interviews with community leaders as well as clients and in many instances, the appreciation approaches enthusiasm.

9. *Community Action*

It was previously mentioned that the emphasis of the poverty program in this county is placed upon service to the individual, not on the encouragement of community action. The geographical nature of the area, and the reticence of the residents would seem to preclude any type of mass organization of the poor for expression of grievances. Many of the area residents are isolated from each other and from the ideas of the outside world. Thus, in this area we find no indication that the idea of concerted action has even occurred to the area's residents.

10. *Participation of the Poor*

Participation by the poor is encouraged through the policy of open membership in the CAA corporation, through the board structure, and through the direct employment of many of the poor throughout the program.

As presently constituted, six members of the Board of Directors represent the low income groups and four represent the Negro minority. The representatives of the poor and the minorities on the Board report that they feel they have gained the acceptance of the not-so-poor Board members; they feel that their suggestions are considered with respect, that their opinions are actively sought, and that their recommendations are given attention. Participation is a new experience for the poor here. Professionals involved with the program feel that the poor residents will assume responsibility more effectively if they are allowed to assume it gradually. After experience as Board members or as clients of one of the Homemaking classes, the poor seem to develop more courage that enables them to articulate their ideas and speak out at meetings. This is a population traditionally characterized by silent despair, depression and isolation from the ideas of the world outside their immediate area. They are unaccustomed to the oral expression of ideas and concepts of an abstract nature; therefore, active participation is not easy for them.

The poor are afforded participation through the CAA's policy of employing non-professionals from the low income group. They are exposed to the concept of incentive reward through the policy of advancement to higher positions with the development of the skills and experience. The Homemaking Instructors are all residents of the area who have undergone training for their positions, and several of these people have been advanced to higher positions as supervisors and Center Directors.

The client role is an active one. Here, the poor are not passive recipients of services but are encouraged through the informal classroom and group environment to give voice to their opinions and to make suggestions regarding curriculum to meet their needs. The staff attempts to follow resident suggestion where feasible and reflect these recommendations in the actual curriculum. The present approach is to provide the clientele with the opportunity for a gradual but continuing increase in participation.

CENTER "O" (I) (II)

1. *History and Origins*

The Community Action Program is an outgrowth of a previously existing Youth Opportunity Board, a joint powers committee of state, county and city governments and the city and county school boards. Funds were provided by the Department of Labor and disbursed by this board to operate projects and activities for the benefit of delinquent and pre-delinquent juveniles. In 1964, when the prospect of OEO funds entered the picture, a meeting was called to reorganize under OEO guidelines and to apply for available OEO funds. However, the poor were not represented at the reorganizational meetings, and OEO refused for this reason to fund projects for the area. For over a year, progress was held up, while the OEO, the poor, and the Board haggled over the amount of representation that should be afforded the poor.

During the summer of 1965, one of the poverty areas was literally torn apart by riots, and the governor and federal authorities intervened to hasten the development of the poverty program. The governor chose a panel to select members of a new board from applications received from target area residents. A board numbering 24 was chosen, with seven members representing the 13 poverty areas. OEO allocated funds in the fall of 1965, and projects for the 13 designated poverty areas finally became operational in December of 1965.

One of these projects was set up to provide a comprehensive employment program for the poor. To date over 1,000 adults have been employed in various established service agencies and in service centers in poverty neighborhoods. During the first few months of operation the program was operated directly by the CAA through a coordinating staff and center personnel, and a rather stormy relationship developed between the CAA and the program coordinators. This was due to basic philosophical differences between the two groups over the scope of activities under the program. The CAA exhibited a reluctance to see the program extend beyond that of a manpower and employment service, while personnel closer to the program wished it to be extended to include community action. The problem was resolved by OEO by placing the program under a Settlement House Federation which has expressed a philosophy more compatible with that of the program coordinators.

2. Center Programs

The activities of two neighborhood centers participating in this program were the focus of study in this city. The placement program is of foremost importance at both Centers. Each Center acts as an employment bureau to recruit neighborhood personnel for placement as nonprofessional workers or aides in the more established service agencies. It is also the function of each Center to work with the agencies to evaluate the on-the-job performance of these aides. Resident aides have been placed in the schools, Senior Citizens Agencies, Probation Department, Consumer Education, State Employment Service, and the libraries. Each aide so employed is to work for a period of no longer than 18 months at which time he is, theoretically, to be ready for employment outside the scope of the poverty programs. Each aide spends 35 hours per week in the offices of the receiving agency and five hours at the Center. At the Center, aides are to participate in feed-back sessions with their counterparts from other agencies and with the Center personnel.

The placement program has been established with the following goals in mind: (1) to provide for upgrading of skills of some of the poor and their subsequent preparation for entry to the job market, (2) to bring about changes in agency perception of resident needs, and (3) to give the poor an opportunity to pinpoint area problems, to discuss them with their peers, and make program suggestions at feed-back sessions.

The program does meet one of the primary needs of the people of these poverty areas—that of providing immediate employment for a great number of people. However, the emergence of many problems has led to questions as to the long-term effectiveness of such a program. For example, the aides employed away from the Center have been subjected to supervision from two Directors—the director of the particular agency involved and the director of the Center. Thus, the aides experience a dual loyalty and aides do not feel themselves to be an integral part of either staff. Several of the aides said that since they were to return to the Center and report on agency activities, they were made to feel more like “spies” than agency personnel. It was also observed that in many cases skills were being upgraded as aides were relegated to routine clerical or janitorial duties with no effort on the part of the agencies to instruct them in the scope of agency activities. Some agencies showed a complete lack of concern over the performances of the aides assigned to them, the nature of their duties, or even their whereabouts at a particular time.

A second benefit of this program is supposed to be reflected in changes in the agencies as a result of exposure to the viewpoint of the poor. However, this was based on misconceptions about how traditional agencies operate. It appears to our field researchers that the aides were so far down in the structure of the agencies that very little of their influence was percolating up to the decision-makers.

In addition to the adult employment placement function, personnel at the Centers carry out programs to provide emergency and referral services for area residents. Special temporary projects (e.g., voter registration drives) and a minimal number of community action activities complete the list of Center programs.

3. Organization Arrangements

CAA Board of Directors

The Board of Directors forms the top echelon of decision-making and program determination; it hires the staff which coordinates all anti-poverty component

programs for the city. It is a group of 24 people, most of whom are representative of the civic, government, and school leaders. Seven of the 24 members are representatives of target areas.

CAA Staff

The Board of Directors has hired a sizeable staff to plan, supervise, and direct OEO programs throughout the city. Under and executive director and his retinue of special, legal, public relations, and other assistants, are directors of seven departments. One of the departments is concerned with Manpower programs and this department initially directed the Placement Program with which our research has been concerned. This program is now operated by a delegate agency.

A *Settlement House Federation* is the delegate agency concerned with this particular placement program. The Federation supervises a *Coordinating Staff* which controls operations of 13 Centers and their respective programs throughout the city.

Area Boards

An area board comprised of neighborhood residents has been formed in each of 13 poverty areas. In theory, the boards are to function to assist the Center Directors in hiring and placement, and to develop additional programs to meet the neighborhood needs.

Program Coordinating Board

At the time of our research, plans were being made for the election of a city-wide board to preside over activities of the city's 13 Centers. The group is to be comprised exclusively of poverty area residents, and the membership is to include representatives from each of the 13 neighborhood boards.

Administration of the Centers

A Director, Assistant Director, and five or six aides make up the staff at the Neighborhood Centers. In addition, Center II employs a Job Placement Aide who makes referrals to the State Employment Service and occasionally makes the job placements on his own. All Center personnel are target area residents. Center Directors are hired by the Center Coordinating Director; all other staff members are hired by Center Directors.

At the Center which shall be designated as Center I, conflicts between the Coordinating Level and various Center Directors had resulted in a high turnover of personnel. The Center had had three directors in a little more than a year and at the time of this project the staff was headed by a Negro woman with a grade school education who had been in her job about three weeks. The woman appeared to have a great deal of difficulty in expressing herself by written communication, lacking the ability to spell and put together even a simple sentence. Thus, there was a very notable lack of written policy, staff directive, and formal record keeping at the Center. The Director's administrative capabilities appeared to be equally lacking according to comments from various neighborhood residents and Center staff members. It seems that the Director was in the habit of issuing verbal, contradictory orders to her staff, and thereby confusion reigned.

The Director gives lip service to the fact that each employee should use his own initiative and develop his own leadership qualities; in practice, decisions on the part of employees are not allowed and even routine matters must be approved or acted upon by the Director. The Director also exhibits an overwhelming lack of trust in her staff—even to the extent of giving away the emergency stock of canned goods so that it would not be stolen by staff members.

Agency personnel and neighborhood residents pointed to a lack of competence of the staff in carrying out assigned duties. Their comments focused around a lack of supervision of Center staff members and aides whom they had often seen "riding in cars instead of knocking on doors."

At Center II, the Assistant Director appeared to take over a number of the Director's administrative and supervisory duties, assigning work to aides and providing general assistance to the Director. The Center Director had been in his position since the inception of the Center; he exhibited more confidence in his own abilities and those of his staff than did the director of Center I. A Job Placement Aide was on the staff to make referrals to the State Employment Service, or in some cases, make the actual placement. About five of the many aides present at the Center were permanent employees there, spending most of their time in the field.

Staff Training

The lack of sufficient training for new staff members was a complaint voiced universally by our respondents. The Center Coordinating Supervisors offer a meager amount of initial training through a two-week school where new aides are apprised of poverty program operations throughout the city. They are then sent out to work in an outside agency or in a Center. Center II attempts to supplement this training by holding weekly conferences and providing on-the-job training in interviewing, procedures for filling out forms, etc. No such training is held at Center I. Both Centers conduct weekly "feed back" sessions where aides assigned to the outside agencies come back in to the Center to exchange views on the needs of the community, how the needs are being met by the agencies, and how gaps between the needs and agency services might be filled by new programs. At Center I the "feed back" sessions were not so successful; Center supervisors were unable to elicit information and draw out the aides. Aides appeared to be uninterested and displayed a lack of attention and lack of interest in agenda items.

4. Control of the Centers

Day to day control of Center operations appears to be left to the Center Directors, with a powerful Director of the Coordinating Staff holding the power of hiring and firing Center Directors and the CAA theoretically holding the "trump card" in regard to budget.

At Center I, the Director rules her own small domain with jealous authority; she does not trust the ability of her employees and refuses to delegate routine tasks to them. This Director spends a good deal of her time in the "field" doing contact work and providing services—functions usually fulfilled by staff members in other centers. At the same time, administrative duties at Center I appear to be sorely in need of attention.

Control of Center II also appears to rest with the Center Director to a large extent. Generally, this Center is fairly autonomous; and there are few explicit policies about the operation sent down from the CAA, the Settlement Federation, or the Coordinating Level. The director feels that he has been given a great deal of freedom and he fancies himself somewhat of a non-conformist who must take action on his own initiative, using the resources at his disposal at the moment. This Director makes every attempt to keep the control of the Center within the Center staff: neighborhood board members who are on the "hiring panel" were the ones who claimed to be cronies of the Director. We were told by the Director that "Other board members who had wanted to take over had been set straight and he didn't expect any more trouble with them."

5. Relationships With Other Organizations

Most of the relationships between these Centers and other service organizations in the community revolve around the aide placement program. At the time of this research project, relationships seemed to be typified by an attitude of tolerance on the part of the agencies, complacency on the part of Center Staffs, and complete delight on the part of the aides involved. The agencies exhibited a willingness to cooperate in the program, but found it difficult to direct an employee who was "called away often and at the drop of a hat" to attend meetings and participate in other activities over which the agencies had no control. Others expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of aides who had been assigned to them. Center personnel reported that outwardly their relationships with agencies were cordial, but they maintained reservations about the effectiveness of agency services. They expressed the desire to see changes in the client relationships of the agencies and seemed to resent the fact that agency personnel were somewhat patronizing in their attitudes toward clients. The aides were exuberant in their comments about the placement program and the vast amount of good they were doing to "help the poor."

A few agencies, vainly attempting to become participants in the aide program, mentioned the negative attitude of the Center Directors. They reported that all efforts to get information from these Directors had been met with silence.

Between the police department and one of the centers, relationships were rather "shaky" due to Center instigated efforts to organize against the police department, to protest police brutality, and to maintain a registry of alleged cruelty to residents.

Both Center I and Center II make service referrals to outside agencies and report cooperation with regard to this part of their program. Center II appeared

to have gained a greater degree of respect from the agencies; Center II receives referrals for its employment service and is used as a liaison with other agencies.

6. *Budget*

Since September, 1965, the CAA has been the recipient of grants in an amount of \$28.8 million for anti-poverty projects in this city. Each of the Centers costs between \$30,000 and \$50,000 per year to operate and, in addition, almost \$4 million has been allocated to pay the salaries of the aides who work in the outside agencies. Each aide is paid a salary of \$4,000 per year. Salaries of CAA professional personnel are more generous; for example, the CAA Director makes a salary of some \$26,000 per year.

7. *Outreach*

At both Center I and Center II, small groups of five or six aides are expected to provide the link between their respective communities and Centers. This is an immense task for so few people to accomplish; Center I is located in an area of over 16,000 population while Center II serves over 100,000 people. The actual methods of going about this task were difficult to pin down. There was no continual campaign at either Center for going from door-to-door as seen in so many other cities; workers appeared to be very hesitant to go out to the homes where they were not known unless they had a definite program to present such as Head Start, an Inoculation program, etc.

Very little in the way of written publicity was apparently available for distribution throughout the area, and there was a general lack of publicity through the news media. In general, the outreach effort is notable for its informality and workers place a great deal of emphasis on word-of-mouth advertising among clients, their relatives and friends, and the relatives and friends of the aides. No shortage of applicants for jobs as aides was evident.

8. *Target Areas*

Center I is located in an area termed a "poverty pocket" with a population over 16,000. The people are predominately Negro with a minority being of Spanish-American origin. Most of the housing units are old and dilapidated. The population is largely composed of families newly-arrived into the area from the southern states and from other areas of the city. The building of new freeways through the city has displaced many residents who have been forced to move into this increasingly more crowded area. The area has a high rate of unemployment (12 percent) and about half the families live on incomes under the poverty level, computed in this area to be \$4,000 per year.

The target area of Center II is one of the city's major poverty areas with a population of 105,000. A majority of the area inhabitants are of Spanish or Mexican descent. It is a "tame" area, and its residents are not prone to rioting and violence as are the poor of many other sections of this city. Most of these people are respectable, quiet, and withdrawn, but they are poor, and the "quaint old area" of the city in which they live is becoming rapidly more ugly and more dilapidated.

About 30 percent of the families in the Center II area have incomes under \$4,000 per year and the majority of the others hover immediately above this guideline. The unemployment rate is about six percent; about 38 percent of the people over 25 years of age have less than eight years of education.

9. *Services*

Referrals to outside agencies, community centers, and hospitals make up the focus of service efforts at these two centers. Information regarding agency services and the provision of emergency transportation are integral to the referral program. The Centers also offer services on an emergency basis; food, clothing, and shoes are kept on hand at the Centers for distribution to area residents who have been displaced from their homes and/or with no money to buy food.

Certain other services and programs are offered on a temporary basis and not as permanent components of the Center program. Typical of such services were voter registration drives, distribution of Christmas baskets, and the dispensing of information about inoculation programs offered by the Health Department.

A need for additional services to fill gaps between community needs and existing services was voiced by many of our respondents, especially at Center II. Out of the "feed back" sessions at this Center have come such ideas as a dental clinic, a planned parenthood clinic, English classes for the Spanish-

speaking residents, comprehensive vocational training programs, and information about college scholarships and grants. The Center design was not initially intended to include any programs except the adult placement program; it appears that other services to the community, if they are indeed to be offered, are being left for the neighborhoods to propose.

Our field researcher made attempts to secure some sort of accurate data on the number of clients being served by the two centers and discovered that it was almost impossible to get any information from center records. He then contacted the CAA Research department for the figures and was told that they were in the process of preparing such statistics for their own use. He was invited to return the following week to pick up the data. He returned and was told that the data was not yet ready and that they would call him the next day when it was ready. Two months later our researcher received a call saying that the data was ready but it was unintelligible since much information was missing. Figures for May and June were obviously conflicting. The figure for "number of contacts" includes clients, agency people, university researchers, and our staff man who was listed eight or nine times in the records during July and August. Whatever its value, the records indicate that at each center about 50 people per month are referred for service; of these, about half were sent out on job interviews; the hiring panel conducted about twelve interviews. Two staff meetings were held and about 50 tons of rubbish was collected.

10. Community Action

The CAA and the Centers have a basic philosophical difference regarding community action. Center people feel that "action" should incite people to bring about changes in themselves and in the community to make it a better place in which to live. CAA and city officials feel that the only actions advisable are the minimum changes in agencies and in the community structure that will enable the poor to live without disturbing the rest of the community. One CAA board member stated that "It is ridiculous to spend the taxpayer's money to finance demonstrations against the system that is providing the money."

The minimal amount of community action that has occurred in these Center areas has been focused on cleanup details (rubbish and trash removal campaigns) and the circulating of petitions for more street lights, marking of certain narrow streets as one-way streets, and for improved ambulance service.

The people of both areas have shown a reluctance to be organized, and this may be due to several factors: First, Center employees are not emphasizing and indeed have received no training in community organization. Second, the heterogeneous nature of both population groups may not be conducive to organization. In both areas, local population groups have been somewhat at odds with each other in the past and are isolated from each other by differences in skin color, religion, and attitudes. Also, it has been mentioned that the population is transient; many of the residents are new to the neighborhood. Many of the Spanish-Americans and other Caucasians at Center I feel that the poverty programs are designed for Negroes; its employees for the most part, are Negro; and therefore, the program at the Center does not appeal to them.

The Director at Center II has a background of labor union organization and for this reason he places more emphasis on community action. However, his recent attempts along these lines have been rather pathetic. Our observer noted that the Director seems to be successful only in organizing aides already employed by his Center. His attempt to organize a demonstration against the local school board was unsuccessful. Protest meetings have been known to bring out about seven of 2,000 notified residents.

Among the rather staid people of Center II area, the Director has been successful in organizing groups of less militant activities. Groups of property owners have been meeting to solve problems of special interest to them. Other groups and informal clubs have been formed by aides; these are neighborhood groups, meeting in homes to discuss area problems. These are not "action" or militant groups but through these activities, people are becoming aware of their problems and beginning to discuss them.

11. Participation of the Poor

Policy calls for the poor to participate as staff members, as members of various boards, and as volunteers in community service. It appears that a maximum feasible amount of participation has been achieved in the employee roles, but at

Center I, the quality of their performances in this role has been seriously questioned by agency personnel and officials at various levels of the anti-poverty program. Complaints were made that the aides at both Centers were not able to fill out time cards properly or make reports of their field activities. This may be due to the afore-mentioned lack of training and lack of adequate supervision from the Directors.

Because they are in such a definite minority, the poor on the CAA Board have no power to effect any noticeable changes. It is expected that when the new area boards become operational and begin to meet regularly, the poor will be afforded a new instrument for participation at the policy-making level.

People from the poverty areas who serve on the CAA Board and the Area Boards have expressed disappointment over their lack of influence in the poverty program. Several CAA Board members have complained that they, as a minority of the Board, are unable to influence the "establishment." They were indignant over the fact that so much of the OEO money was going, not to the poor, but into the pockets of CAA administrators and for payment of rent for "plush offices." The fact that they were incapable of remedying this situation was a great source of frustration to poor board members. Area Board members also indicated their disillusion about their lack of influence over Center activities. It appeared that at both Centers, only certain board members designated by the Center Directors were invited to participate in "hiring panels," and as this is the only function of the Boards at the present time, many of the board members were forced to remain inactive.

Participation by the poor who were not employees or board members was still minimal at the time of this research. At Center I, several neighborhood residents and Center clients indicated that they would be happy to participate as volunteers but that Center personnel had not indicated that they were needed. At Center II, the Director openly discourages the use of resident volunteers in Center activities because he feels that they do not fit into the general scheme of things at the Center, and that "those who have anything to offer are already employed under some program or other."

Citizen groups that have been successfully organized in the area through Center efforts appear to be those which focus upon a definite problem and envision specific and short-range goals.

CENTER "P"

1. History and Origins

Ninety-five percent of the Negro population of this large urban area is compressed into a single section of the city where the number of housing units is diminishing and the demand for them is continually on the increase. Federal urban renewal programs are in the process of razing many of the dilapidated structures, forcing the inhabitants to relocate and thus severely crowding those buildings that still remain. Over-priced housing and open discrimination practices close most other areas of the city to the Negro, and he often has no recourse but to live in this ghetto.

Various public and private agencies have made token attempts to serve this population in the past but the turbulence and disorder in the lives of these people give evidence to the fact that past agency efforts have been largely ineffective. Other than providing space for decentralization of the established agencies, neighborhood centers in the city offer nothing that is novel in the way of service to this area. The centers do not in themselves provide for outreach or offer programs of their own creation. These centers are atypical of other centers under study throughout the country in that they merely house units of established social service agencies and a few CAA programs; and they employ no personnel other than a director whose duty it is to coordinate the services offered by the agencies in his building.

It is the "Outreach Program" under the sponsorship of an association of private welfare agencies that is the focus of the research conducted in this city. Originally under the direction of a CAP organization, the Outreach Program was funded in July, 1965 but was at that time located in two settlement houses, both members of the private welfare association. The original CAP was terminated in February, 1966, and a new CAA structure was set up to operate neighborhood service centers and other OEO components. Funds for Outreach were allocated to the private association which renamed itself the Neighborhood Centers Association. At the present time, the administrative unit of the Outreach

Program and one of its working teams are headquartered in one of the neighborhood centers sponsored by the CAA.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

The Outreach Program is a small part of a vast, complex service network composed of many organizations and agencies, both public and private. Personnel of the Outreach Program have working relationships with the CAA, its neighborhood centers and other components; the private Welfare foundations, one of which sponsors the Outreach Program; a Community Information Program and its sponsor, also a private welfare federation; and the various settlement houses and traditional public welfare agencies serving the area.

The line of authority for the Outreach Program begins with the CAA structure, extending down through the Neighborhood Centers Association to two private settlement houses which supervise the Outreach staff. Due to a similarity of philosophy, the Welfare Federation, settlement house people and Outreach personnel experience a good working relationship. They are community action oriented rather than merely service oriented as are the established public agencies which are aligned with the CAA. It was the distinct impression of our researcher that CAA and public agencies were doing everything possible to contain action elements, including the Outreach Program, and concentrate on providing more and more services to the people. Subsequent events bore out the opinion of our researcher when the CAA made the decision to reduce organization personnel from 120 to 19 by cutting down this part of the budget request. Duties of Outreach workers will in the future be confined to dispensing information about available services and providing referral or immediate service to the client.

It is intended that Outreach workers recruit clients and refer them for service to the established agency personnel in the neighborhood service centers. This procedure is not always carried out in practice, however, as the Outreach worker often finds that he is able to personally perform a service for the client that he feels is superior to the agency services. This may in fact be true. The needs of the people and demands for services are so overwhelming that the neighborhood center is constantly teeming with clients. Consequently, the case loads of agency personnel are too burdensome to allow for the type of personalized service and counseling that each individual requires. Outreach workers do provide a more personal type of service for their clients. They feel that the inadequacy of the agencies in meeting the needs of the population necessitates duplication of agency services by outreach personnel.

There has been some conflict between Community Information and Outreach workers over the tendency of Outreach to take over responsibilities of other agencies and programs. As viewed by Community Information, its duties are to work with block and neighborhood action groups after they have been initially organized by Outreach. We were told by Community Information that Outreach refuses to let go of groups they have formed; Outreach tends to want to follow through and take over the responsibilities which should be allotted to Community Information.

The same conflict exhibited in anti-poverty programs in other areas can be seen here—a conflict of community action emphasis versus the service emphasis. Here we find that the CAA and established agencies are aligned together, sharing the philosophy that action elements are dangerous and should be suppressed. Emphasis, in their view, should be on a greater utilization of available services. The voice of dissent is provided by the two private welfare groups and the poverty program personnel under their sponsorship. They feel that traditional services have been proved ineffective and that with proper direction and leadership, potentially "dangerous" action elements can be channeled into constructive appeal groups which give voice to their grievances through legal and peaceful methods.

3. Organizational Arrangements

CAA Board of Directors

In order to provide an overall view of this Board it is necessary to discuss its development in two stages. (1) The first is the planning stage during which the city officials attempted to set up a private corporation separate from the city government. It was not intended that representatives of the poor be included in its membership; the original board was comprised of a group of civic leaders appointed by the mayor. In March, 1964, the group began to develop proposals and

by November of that year the package was submitted to OEO for funding. A dispute arose between city founders and the OEO over the fact that the poor were allowed no participation. This stage was beset by controversy over the role of the poor. The resulting holdup of federal funds caused many difficulties in securing personnel and space for the various programs. (2) The second stage of development began when the Mayor's Committee acquiesced to OEO and the board membership was broadened to include representatives of poor groups and target areas. Of the thirty members now on the board, seventeen live in or have businesses in the target areas; twelve are Negroes; and five were elected by the poor. Projected plans call for two (instead of one) representatives to be elected from each of the five Center Boards.

Neighborhood Centers Association

This federation consists of representatives from various private settlement houses and welfare agencies located in target areas throughout the city. The association acts as a sub-contractor to the CAA to sponsor the Outreach Program. A perusal of their regulations indicates that the membership of the association is open to representatives of all private welfare agencies and other interested citizens. There was no express regulation providing for participation of the poor on this board.

Center Opportunity Boards

Consisting solely of neighborhood people from target areas, these five boards are in a position to afford the poor some participation in CAA programs. The boards function to discuss needs of the area and make recommendations to the CAA and Center Directors concerning programs to meet these needs. Memberships of Center Opportunity Boards are composed of delegates from various neighborhood clubs that have been formed throughout the target areas by Outreach Workers. At the time of our study, each Center Board was represented by one delegate on the CAA Board of Directors. Future plans include the election of an additional CAA Board member from each of the Center Boards.

Outreach Boards

These boards are the counterparts of the Center Opportunity Boards and are to be set up to direct the activities of the five Outreach Programs. At the time of our study, the Outreach Program on which we focused was still in the process of forming the neighborhood clubs which would in turn elect the delegates to the Outreach Board in that area.

Administration of the Outreach Program

Under the supervision of the Outreach Director for this area of the city are five teams of workers whose primary functions are "to familiarize the residents of the area about the services available to them and to motivate participation."¹ Each team is headed by a supervisor who is a professional, and includes five or six Outreach Workers, a Vista volunteer, a secretary, and neighborhood volunteers. With the exception of the professionals and the Vista volunteers, the staff people are residents of the target area.

All staff members in the Outreach Program were hired by the Neighborhood Centers Association. Training for staff workers is almost nonexistent. An allocation of \$7,500 per year for staff training indicates the lack of emphasis afforded this part of the Outreach Program and the importance CAA must give to on-the-job training. A part-time professional training consultant, part-time clerical assistance, building space, and supplies are all budgeted out of this amount.

4. Control of Outreach Programs

The chain of command from the CAA offices down to the various Outreach workers is so complex that from all appearances, many of the workers operate independently of directives "from up there." This trend has developed to the extent that various workers have developed their own particular specialties for service and have worked out reciprocal referral arrangements.

Supervisory personnel connected with the Outreach program informed us that a great deal of their time and energy is expended toward coordinating the directives of the CAA offices with those of their sponsoring organization, the Welfare Association. These instructions, they told our researcher, are frequently

¹ CAP Form 20., dated 7-11-66.

contradictory because of the basic philosophical conflict existing between the two groups. The conflicting directives usually concern community organization instructions from one group countered by an instruction from the CAA to suppress planned organization.

Nominal control of the area's Outreach Program is intended to rest directly with the two private settlement houses in the neighborhood which are represented in the Welfare Association. However, the control they exercise is very flexible and consists primarily of advisory assistance in making plans, providing space for neighborhood meetings, etc.

Many agency personnel, Center staff members, and settlement house people gave voice to the opinion that the philosophical conflict between the Outreach program and the CAA is indeed real and may not be resolved to the satisfaction of both groups. They feel that CAA is determined to gain direct control of the Outreach program in order that community organization activities there may be suppressed. CAA officials feel that Outreach workers are misinterpreting the phrase that defines the workers' duty as "to motivate participation." To CAA officials, this phrase means that residents are to be encouraged to use their *individual* talents and available services to improve their lot. Outreach interprets this phrase to mean that poverty families should be aided in forming groups to criticize conditions in their neighborhoods and demand improvements. (Events occurring subsequent to this research indicate that the CAA officials had the ammunition that won the battle. They removed about nine-tenths of the Outreach Program funds from the new budget request to the OEO.)

5. Budget

A total amount of \$197,238 was approved by the OEO for the Outreach Program in this area during its first eight months of operation. The amount provides for salaries of some 25 staff members, office space, and supplies. A look at the CAA budget for a seven month period indicates that it was allocated almost \$300,000 in federal funds, \$46,806 in local funds and contributions. Of the total CAA operating budget, \$258,469 was spent for salaries, \$13,899 for contract services, \$30,548 for space rental, almost \$27,000 for equipment and supplies, the rest for travel and other expenses. Maximum salary expense was the Executive Director's salary of \$1,500 per month.

6. Programs

The Outreach Program is a highly personalized type of service whereby the professional agency skills are linked to the community via the neighborhood worker. The duties of these workers include:

(a) A systematic dissemination of information to residents of the community regarding services made available by public agencies, private welfare groups, and various CAA components. Outreach workers themselves also conduct information classes for residents to apprise them of methods of keeping apartments clean, encouraging clean up of neighborhoods and hallways, and providing information about sanitary methods of waste disposal in order to discourage attraction of rats and insects.

(b) Liaison activities from the community to the service agencies, providing agencies with information regarding resident needs. Housing problems are paramount and Outreach workers are in the process of conducting surveys to list instances of extreme overcrowding, code violations, and individual needs for heat, plumbing, and improperly functioning electrical equipment. Outreach works closely with the Legal Aid Society (located in the Neighborhood Center) regarding building code violations which in the past have been ignored by the Housing Authority. Where the unsafe conditions appear to be the owner's responsibility. Outreach workers make the initial contact with landlords. If the landlord refuses to cooperate with the Outreach worker and tenant to remedy the situation, the case is then referred to Legal Aid.

(c) Organization of residents into participating groups. The latter function is the one that is the greatest source of controversy throughout the entire anti-poverty program in the city; this conflict is discussed in detail in previous sections of this report.

7. Outreach

The very fact that Outreach is awarded the status of a separate component with its own staff and budget indicates the high degree of importance placed on the concept of Outreach by CAA. The budget allocations allow for the employ-

ment of five teams of about five workers each, and the efforts of the paid staff are supplemented by Vista and NYC workers. Each team is stationed in a separate location, and all teams are supervised by the Outreach Director who has offices in a CAA-operated Neighborhood Center.

Each worker is assigned certain blocks in the area and his duty is to systematically visit each family in his designated section, discover the needs of these families, encourage them to take advantage of services, and organize them into block clubs for overcoming broader social problems.

A look at the statistical data for the month of August, 1966 indicates that over 1,000 area residents were contacted by Outreach Workers during the period. Over 400 of these were active in group organizations. The remainder were provided with service by Outreach or referred to another agency for service.

8. Target Area

Located in a city of over 1,500,000 population, the area served by the Outreach Program under study includes about 85,000 individuals, or over 18,000 family units. Of these families, 5,169 (about 28 percent) have incomes falling under poverty guidelines. The male unemployment rate is 13 percent. Housing conditions are deplorable and residents of this area have long been the victims of false promises by the city government and the housing authority to extend help.

About 90 percent of the Negroes of this city live in the area where our study was conducted. These people have been subjected to open practices of discrimination in almost every area of their lives. As a matter of city government policy, there has been a lack of housing code enforcement in Urban Renewal areas and in this particular target area. The Housing Authority has tacitly practiced discrimination and Negroes are placed on long waiting lists until all non-colored applicants are given priority for newly-built urban renewal units. Thus, for the Negro with a large family there is an acute shortage of available low-cost housing.

The building trade unions practice discrimination almost as conspicuously as does the Housing Authority. The building trade unions have achieved little or no compliance with federal laws requiring equal employment opportunity, and many unions have no Negroes at all on their membership rolls. Those who do allow Negroes in their memberships allow them to play only a minority role in policy-making. For example, there are only 17 Negroes among 1,038 apprentices in 22 building trade unions.

Lack of educational preparation precludes many of these people from attending college and thus entering into the professional fields. As in many cities, inadequate financing is a major obstacle to quality education in low-income Negro areas. Thus, per-pupil expenditures in these areas are lower and, consequently, the students in Negro schools show lower levels of achievement than students in white schools.¹ The school dropout rate is high in this area—about 15 percent each year.

Health problems caused by filthy and overcrowded living conditions, inadequate diet, and lack of medical care reach serious proportions in the area. Incidences of infant mortality, maternal deaths, and mental retardation are particularly high.

Without recourse or alternative, the Negro population of this city has been for many years confined to life under these conditions. Their efforts to seek government assistance have been completely ignored or met only with unkept promises. After many years of complacent acceptance of these conditions, residents could contain themselves no longer and during the summer months, the area became the scene of violent eruption of looting, burning, and terrorism which in the words of one national guardsman, looked "worse than anything he had encountered during World War II."

9. Services

The direct provision of services was not intended to be a function of the Outreach Program; rather, the original role of the Outreach Worker was that of liaison between the residents and the rather complex maze of services available in the community under the auspices of established agencies and the new OEO-sponsored programs. The Outreach program was funded to provide information regarding services and to direct clients needing specific service to the agency which could provide it. Outreach Workers do in fact make many referrals to

¹ "Unfinished Business in the Inner City," a report by a Subcommittee of the State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

other agencies, but in practice they also receive referrals for services on a reciprocal basis. We discovered, for example, that the State Employment Service (one of the receiving agencies of Outreach) had referred many of its clients to an Outreach Worker whose success in job placement was particularly notable. Some 100 job placements were made by this man during the last week in August, 1966, and we were informed that many of these applicants were referrals from the state agency. Several of the Outreach Workers have developed a special area of competence in providing services directly to clients.

Many services are available via the numerous public and privately-operated centers in the area. The CAA-operated Neighborhood Center offers the services of many established agencies such as the Welfare Department, State Employment Service, Legal Aid, Maternity and Infant Care. In addition, a few OEO-funded programs are available through the Center (NYC, Small Business Development, ENABLE) and may receive referrals from the Outreach Workers. The privately-endowed centers offer a number of recreational and group activities for children and teenagers, the aged and the handicapped. Private agencies also make available a number of educational programs and special programs for adults (voter registration drives, Christmas Season Employment Program, etc.). The list of services available in the city to which the Outreach Worker may refer his clients appears endless, but a glance at this list indicates that one area of service may have been completely neglected—that of employment and vocational training. There are available the services of hospitals, credit unions, organizations, clubs, employment clinics, etc. They serve all age groups from Head Start for children to the Soldiers and Sailors Relief, but it may be that vocational training for these undereducated people is sadly lacking.

10. *Community Action*

This is an area where community action has in the past taken the form of a periodic explosion of violence with a resultant damaging effect on property, individuals, and the morale of the area as a whole. The younger members of the community are most active in the disastrous riots that have occurred. Older citizens of the community appear to be resigned to their lot in life and too discouraged to take an active role in concerted attempts to air grievances. These older citizens have been discouraged by the past negligence of authorities to do anything for the area and many of them have resigned themselves to being passive recipients of welfare services or employment at a menial job. Most of them are too concerned with meeting the basic needs of their everyday lives to think abstractly about airing grievances of a broad social nature. However, it is this group—the “tame” members of this society—that is the target of Outreach. They want to interest the families, the elderly, and the handicapped into organizing for peaceful participation. Outreach has been instrumental in forming neighborhood clubs, street and block clubs, mothers organizations, and special interest groups to concentrate on solving specific area problems. Neighborhood conferences formed by Outreach meet to discuss and act on a variety of community problems such as housing, lack of city services, inadequate street cleaning and lighting, rodent control, street hazards, etc. During the month of August, 1966 the following new service groups were formed:

(a) A young adults group for young men aged 18 to 30 interested in working toward a solution of some of the problems of employment, housing, police relations in the area.

(b) A mothers group interested in Safety Patrol along various streets in school areas.

(c) A businessmen's group with the SBA and Urban League participating.

(d) Various block clubs and street clubs.

(e) Groups of middle class families from outside the target area are being encouraged to “adopt” needy families, providing the poor families with companionship and exposure to middle class values.

Almost half the population of the area is under 21; this group is regarded by Outreach and settlement house people as the dangerous element whose rebellious tendencies had best be channeled into constructive activity. Realizing that this group will be the most difficult to reach, Outreach officials feel that the only answer to communication with them lies in the direct employment of some of their leaders. Outreach people feel that if there is no outlet provided for these youths and no immediate attempts to incorporate them into the program, the area may be turned into a battlefield again before the aftereffects of the latest riots have been cleaned up.

11. Participation of the Poor

The poor participate in the poverty program on various boards, as members of neighborhood organizations and interest groups, as employees, and as clients. The participation of the poor on the boards is a new role. Only a small minority of the needy was allowed on the CAA Board during its first year of operation. Neighborhood Outreach boards were, at the time of this research, in the process of forming their membership. Consequently, it is difficult to make any definitive statements about the effectiveness of the poor on the various boards.

The majority of Outreach employees are indigenous workers. Despite the fact that most of these workers are undereducated and very little staff training is provided, it appears that their efforts have been very effective. Hundreds of clients have been contacted as a result of the work of these people; many organizations have been formed; and many direct services have been performed by the workers themselves.

The Outreach program has opened new doors to clients by making them aware of the fact that there may indeed be answers to their problems. They are encouraged to be active participants, not merely recipients of welfare services. Client groups have been organized to communicate directly with authorities, and they have, for example, toured various residential buildings with landlords, pointing out unsafe and unsanitary conditions. Plans are being formulated to put pressure on City Hall to enforce building codes, provide proper street lighting and police protection. Thus, the greatest area of participation of the poor appears to be apparent at present in the roles of clients and members of the newly-formed interest groups.

CENTER "Q"

1. History and Origins

An overcrowded, urban, predominately Negro ghetto is the setting of the Center research in this city. The area contains an overwhelming number of social ills—unemployment, sub-standard housing, crime, broken families, and juvenile delinquency. Traditional agencies, though accepted, have long been viewed by the residents with contempt, fear, and mistrust. Realizing that their charities were merely proliferating bad conditions instead of alleviating them, personnel of some of these agencies initiated the idea of a multi-purpose Community Center, where the poor could help themselves.

Initial meetings of a group of agency professionals together with church and private welfare people occurred in October of 1964, at which time a temporary development committee was elected. The temporary committee was heavily weighted with area residents with a few social welfare professionals acting as advisors. The duties of this committee included the nomination of permanent area committee members who were elected on March 19, 1965. The primary function of the permanent committee was to work with the city CAA for development of a Neighborhood Service Center, which in August of 1965, became a reality. It is interesting to note the active part taken by the area citizens in the initial phases of the organization. The Center program was generated, promoted, and designed at grass roots level with only supplementary advice from the CAA.

2. Relationships With Other Organizations

Youth Opportunity Center, Public Welfare, Family Counseling, Legal Aid and Community Council are established agencies which have decentralized and situated personnel at the Center either full or part time. The inter-relationships between these groups and the Center appear to be workable but characterized by occasional personality conflicts and rifts over procedures. The Legal Aid attorneys, for example, feel that Center and agency personnel exhibit a failure to respect the confidential nature of the Legal group's client relationships. They recounted instances of informal questioning by Center staff members and the offer by another agency to share its clerical staff with Legal Aid. These advances are interpreted by the attorneys as attempts to pry into Legal Aid's activities.

The policies of Urban League and the Center do not make for a compatible relationship between the two groups. Though located within the Center building, the operations of Urban League have become autonomous of those of the Center. Center employees feel that Urban League concentrates too much of its effort on finding white collar jobs for middle class Negroes and does not seek to aid the destitute, lower class Negro on whom the Center concentrates. Urban

League feels that this image does not reflect the total scope of its activity, that it does indeed serve people of the Center's target population. Urban League representatives informed us that "No matter how many lower class Negroes we place in jobs, they (Center staff) won't believe us."¹

A conflict exists between the NAACP similar to that of the rift between the Center and Urban League. Many of the Center clients feel that NAACP is attempting to attract middle class Negroes into its membership and shows an obvious lack of interest in the lower class Negro.

The Center experiences an excellent relationship with churches in its target area, to the extent that churches constitute a media for the advertising of Center programs, services, and activities. The churches have set up a CAP organization which sponsors programs to curb rebellious youngsters and prevent juvenile delinquency. The church-sponsored CAP has very little contact with the Center except in the cases of occasional referrals.

3. Organizational Arrangements

CAA Board of Directors

Originally a group of seven appointed by the Mayor, the board has been enlarged to 17. Ten additional members were appointed (on the advice of OEO) to represent the public. These new members were also appointed by the Mayor, and included representatives of various civic groups, schools, and businesses. The Mayor is an ex-officio member of the board. Most of these are community leaders. The function of the board is to create a policy framework within which various poverty programs in the city can be run.

CAA Administration

The CAA maintains a skeleton staff which includes a Director, his assistant, an accountant, and secretary. The staff functions as a coordinator of all the city's poverty programs and as the link between OEO and the various programs.

Neighborhood Poverty Committee

Thirty-one resident poor and their representatives comprise the membership of this powerful committee which sets up policies and designates Center programs. The committee has assumed the responsibility for evaluation of Center procedures and activities and has the final word on hiring of staff members.

Center Administration

Seven professionals and 25 neighborhood employees make up the staff roster for this Center. These employees work in one of four departments which are under the supervision of the Center Director: Community Services, Housing, Employment, and Administration.

In addition, nine professionals from outside agencies have offices in the Center at the present time. These agencies are Urban League, Family Counseling, Legal Aid, Youth Opportunity Center, and Welfare. Planned Parenthood, a division of the Health Department, has plans for placing staff in the Center in the near future. Six of the neighborhood workers have been assigned to assist the agency personnel. While these agency personnel are responsible to their respective agencies, they also are administratively responsible to the Center Director through the Community Services Supervisor.

Theoretically, all departments of the Center are under the supervision of the Center Director but many events indicate that the Director may not in fact have the authority to oversee the operations of all departments. There have been numerous instances where a particular Center department head corresponded directly with an agency and the Center director was ignorant of decisions made until he read about them in the newspaper.

The Director seemingly has little authority over hiring of his personnel. The responsibility for choosing Center employees is intended to be shared by the Director and the Board, but most of the personnel were hired directly by board members. Employees feel a loyalty to the board.

Extensive training programs have been set up for community service workers and clerk aides. Community Service Workers undergo orientation by Center supervisors where they are instructed in methods of group organization and given information about available services. The clerk aide training is an extensive program under the supervision of the Assistant Center Director. On-the-job

¹ The Urban League representatives at the Center were not funded for the second year of operation.

training in typing, shorthand, basic English usage, office machine use, and receptionist duties are offered to "student-workers" under this program. Several students have been employed by government and private employers at good salaries as a result of their training under this program.

Group discussions and visits to offices of receiving agencies are included in the initial staff training for professional and untrained workers. Center and CAA officials conduct a brief orientation period to apprise new staff members of the objectives of the Center program and the roles played by other community agencies in the Center program.

4. *Control of the Center*

The Neighborhood Board practices strict control over the Center through the hiring of its staff, setting up policy, and approving all programs. Their influence is carried to the extent that they have taken it upon themselves to evaluate Center operations, causing a "nervous" Center staff to submit to interrogation by a panel of board members. Center employees, including the Director, are often reminded by the board that they are employees of the board and that staff loyalty should be to the board, not the director. This grass-roots organization has given a group of poor people its first experience of control and these people are enjoying their authority. When Center stationery ordered by the Director was shown to the board, board members were indignant because their names were not printed on it. They voted to have the stationery reprinted, at Center expense, and have board members names printed.

5. *Budget*

Federal grants and local contributions for the city's anti-poverty efforts totaled \$1,176,274 for the first year of its operations. The Center under study, for example, shows a total budget of approximately \$160,000 for its first year of operation.

6. *Program*

The objectives of this Neighborhood Service Center are, in order of their relative importance:

- (a) To provide organization for local resident involvement in the development of action programs to give voice to their needs.
- (b) To identify needs and develop solutions to problems in the area.
- (c) To redirect and coordinate various separate community services in the neighborhood.
- (d) To train local residents for participation in Center programs and community affairs.

To carry out the above objectives, the Center is organized into the following departments:

Community Services

The objective of the Community Services Department is to carry information to the community about pre-existing and new Center activities. This is accomplished by the employment of low-income residents who know the community and who can communicate with the people. Organization of residents is the responsibility of this department.

Community Housing

The need for adequate low-cost housing, especially rental, is acute. Some portions of the community are undergoing changes due to the construction of freeways, thereby displacing many area residents. These families on limited incomes are at a decided disadvantage in the location of new housing. The housing staff maintains a housing registry which serves as a central file of available low-cost rental housing in the community. In some cases, volunteers are recruited to assist in moving displaced families. Housing clinics are held to inform residents about securing loans, minor household repairs, legal obligations of contracts, and housing and building codes. Another aspect of the program includes counseling of individual families who are moving away from the target (Negro) area in regard to fair housing practices and to work toward the formation of fair housing groups in other sections of the city.

Vocation-Career Department

The program under this department is basically one of career and opportunity counseling for residents. Actual job placement is carried out by representatives of the State Employment Service; the services of the Vocation-Career Depart-

ment are supplementary. Center employees in this department bring information on a variety of training programs available through universities and high schools. In many cases, scholarships and loan funds are going unused, and there also are conditions where fees may be waived until a student completes the training and is on the job. This department of the Center attempts to bring together these opportunities and people who can take advantage of them. Vocational counseling also plays a major role in this department in order to help the client make the most efficient use of his latent abilities.

Participating Agencies

A number of established agencies have assigned staff to the Center to receive referrals from the Center staff. All agencies who participate in this program have received the approval of the neighborhood board, and their continuance within the Center is also subject to board approval. At the present time, Youth Opportunity Center, Public Welfare, Family Counseling, Legal Aid, and Community Council have placed personnel at the Center. The Health Department intends to open a Planned Parenthood Clinic in the near future.

7. Outreach

The concept of reaching the poor by direct contact is basic to the operations of all Center departments. Community Services takes over the majority of this responsibility with neighborhood workers organizing block clubs, coffee klatches, and interest groups for action. These workers extend to contacting the people door-to-door, finding those who need service, and following up later to determine if the client has been helped. Eleven staff members have the duty of attempting to serve the eight or nine thousand poverty families in the area and they feel that so far they have only scratched the surface.

Various other methods of outreach are utilized—churches, news media, civic groups—to broadcast activities and services of the Center. Flyers circulated throughout the neighborhood advertise special programs and Center meetings. Innovative methods have been proposed by staff members, such as a portable booth which could be set up near a crowd to dispense information about the Center. From the area residents has come the idea of "Operation Job Hunt" which not only would locate available jobs in small businesses in the area but also serve to pass on information about Center activities.

Center records indicated that over 3,000 people had been served by the Center through June, 1966, and we were informed that about 4,500 people had been reached by the Medicare Alert Program.

8. Target Area

In a city of over half a million people, about three-fourths of the Negro population (or about 12,000 people) are literally jammed into an area of a few city blocks. The area and its people fit neatly into the "poverty" category; almost a quarter of the families there fall below the \$3,000 per annum income guideline. These people are living under conditions of extremely overcrowded housing, unemployment (about 6.5 percent), undereducation, and health problems.

The area is undergoing definite changes in connection with the building of a new freeway, causing many residences to be razed and thereby displacing occupants. There is a severe shortage of low-cost, rental housing.

Social problems often erupt into a show of violence, delinquency, and crime. Racial tensions, and housing problems are to the residents perhaps the most frustrating of all problems and the most difficult for them to endure. As a result, this area of the city is occasionally the scene of stormy activity where hostilities are unleached and grievances are brought out into the open.

9. Services

Services are dispensed through the Housing Department, the Vocational Department, and the Community Services Department. The Housing Department maintains a log of available low cost rentals, information obtained from realtors, city government offices, and other sources. Surveys are conducted by Housing Department workers to identify situations where poor conditions exist that might be fixed by a landlord. Homemaking classes are held to instruct women in home sanitation and decorating. Clinics are offered monthly (often by professional speakers) to instruct residents in household repairs and financial matters regarding leasing and purchasing of homes. The Housing Department has been known also to assist in cases where discrimination in housing is alleged.

Fair housing clubs are being formed by the Center to work with the NAACP in seeing that the Fair Housing Law is upheld.

The Vocational Program has previously been mentioned. Service through this department is of a counseling nature whereby the capabilities of the client are matched by scholarships or training programs available through schools in the community.

Through the Community Service Workers (neighborhood residents) information about agency services is carried to area homes. For those in need of services, the Workers provides transportation to the agency, following up with the case at a later date. The whole complicated procedure of getting agency service is simplified for the resident by having the worker "untangle the red tape."

At the present time, Center officials are concentrating more effort on study groups and volunteer work details to encourage residents to give service as well as receive services from the community.

10. Community Action

It was intended by the Neighborhood Board that community action take precedence over services. First, however, they felt that basic needs of the people had to be met. The people could not be encouraged to think abstractly about the needs of the community until they had adequate amounts of food, clothing, and shelter. During the first year of operation, it was necessary that the Center program be focused on service aspects of the program, through the mobilization of service resources in the community and the delivery of those services to the people who needed them.

Community action prior to the poverty programs in the city took the form of violence, vandalism, and property damage. Containment of violence and prevention of rioting and delinquency has been the focus of the church-affiliated CAP. The action goals of the Center under study and its Board include the development of groups to study needs, propose programs for submittal to the Board, and take peaceful and legal action to solve problems. "Action" here is interpreted to mean neighborhood clean-up detail, groups to hold discussions with landlords, etc. Results of the "need" surveys form a solid background of information with which to arm the action groups, to assist them in articulation of their grievances and thereby increasing the effectiveness of action.

The Center Director noted that there has been some difficulty in getting the poor out to meetings of the various interest groups. Also, he mentioned the lack of volunteers and the general reticence of the people in getting out to help others. It appears that those of the poor that the Center encourages to act (i.e., the non-violent poor) are precisely the people who are most reluctant to do so. During the summer months, greater effort was expended on group activity and there was some increase in meeting attendance.

12. Participation of the Poor

Due to the apparent lack of interest and lack of direction on the part of the CAA, the poor on the Neighborhood Board have been given a great deal of freedom in running the Center. Several comments of civic leaders indicated that some members of the conservative city government were totally opposed to poverty programs in general and were willing to let the program expire for lack of their administrative guidance. The Board appears to be one of few examples of "maximum feasible participation" in policy-making roles, where the Neighborhood Board in fact is all-powerful, even to the extent of turning down suggested programs from the national and state levels. This is a group that was instrumental in every stage of Center operation, from the initial planning stages to Center operations to program formulation for the future. The poor Board members exercise their new authority with a vengeance and insist upon being alerted to everything that occurs at the Center. Consequently, the Director they have hired has very little authority over the day to day operations there and as a result, many personnel and policy conflicts remain unresolved. Since staff members were hired by the Board and profess a loyalty to it instead of the Director, the Director has experienced some difficulty in coordinating his departments and smoothing out difficulties as they arise.

In spite of the conflicts, the Center has been successful in reaching many of the people, providing service to many residents to meet their basic needs, and

interesting at least some of the residents in community involvement. The Board has been able to determine and voice the needs of the area; they have demonstrated creativity of thought and liberal innovation in a number of unique programs to solve problems peculiar to the neighborhood.

COMPLIANCE OF THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE ON URBAN OPPORTUNITIES WITH
SECTIONS 202(c)(2) OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Since March 1, 1967, one-third of the members of the governing boards of community action agencies must be representatives of the poor. This is required by Section 202(c)(2) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, which provides:

"The Director shall not approve, or continue to fund after March 1, 1967, a community action program which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a board on which representatives of the poor do not comprise at least one-third of the membership."

The "Rules and Policies Governing the Organization of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity" provides that "not less than one-third of the members" of both its board and its executive committee "shall be representatives of the poor." Thirty of the ninety members of CCUO, and eight of the twenty-four members of the executive committee have been selected by the local Urban Progress Center Advisory (Neighborhood) Councils or community organizations in the outpost areas in which poor reside but not in concentrated numbers. Each Urban Progress Center sends three representatives to CCUO, though a *pro forma* appointment is made by the Mayor of Chicago. The Neighborhood Councils which serve the Urban Progress Centers are predominantly composed of representatives of the poor. The community groups in the area must be consulted before any persons are selected as members of the Neighborhood Councils. The selection of persons for the Neighborhood Councils is to be done in a manner that gives "significant representation" to the groups served by the Center. Up to sixty persons are appointed by the Center Directors, and these members select no more than an additional ten persons for the Neighborhood Councils.

Under procedures established by the Executive Director of CCUO, neighborhood residents, block clubs, churches, minority groups and neighborhood organizations make nominations to the Neighborhood Councils for representatives of the poor. The participating organizations, all of which are integral parts of the community family, include the Woodlawn Organization, local chapters of NAACP and CORE, the United Block Club Council, and Lakeview Citizen's Council. From those recommended, the Center Directors make the appointments.

These procedures are within the OEO guidelines for implementation of § 202(c)(2) established in CAP Memo 57. Several procedures were suggested in that memo, as examples of ways to comply with the representation requirements. That list was not intended to limit the variety of possible selection processes, and it was explicitly stated that "any process which insures maximum feasible involvement of the poor is potentially acceptable."

The Chicago procedure represents a combination of many of the suggested processes, with some novel aspects added. The neighborhood residents have a significant role in the selection of the neighborhood board which chooses the representatives of the poor to the community-wide board. The examples given in the guidelines recognize neighborhood boards as an acceptable part of the selection process. They also sanction to use of existing organizations predominantly composed of poor persons, which have a role in the procedure for selecting members of the Neighborhood Councils.

Since the selection procedures were not subject to the March 1, 1967 deadline established for compliance with the one-third poor representation requirement, OEO has permitted the adoption of procedures sufficient to meet the initial requirements of § 202(c), even though it is contemplated that changes will be made in the processes to increase the degree of participation by the poor. The selection procedures in Chicago, as in other places, could be improved, and OEO intends to work with CCUO, as well as other community action agencies, to achieve this.

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¹ Representatives of the poor on CCUO.

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