

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION EFFORTS, POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE,  
AND THE DIFFUSION OF CHANGE PRODUCED BY  
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Report #3:

Final Report of Phase I of a National Evaluation  
of Urban Community Action Programs

by

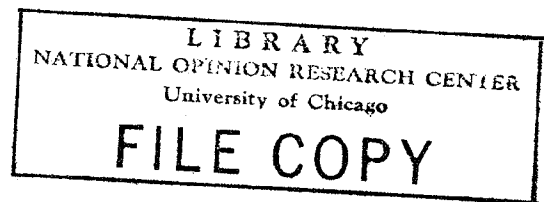
James J. Vanecko

with the assistance of

Susan R. Orden

and

Sidney Hollander



The evaluation reported herein was performed pursuant to Contract #B89-4645 with the Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D.C. 20506. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and should not be construed as representing the opinions or policy of any agency of the United States Government.

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER  
University of Chicago  
6030 South Ellis Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60637

NORC Report No. 122

April, 1970

(This version supersedes that of December, 1969)

## PREFACE

This is the final report of the first phase of a national evaluation of urban Community Action Programs (CAP). This research is being conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The first phase, which this report analyzes, includes a probability sample of 50 cities with populations of 50,000 or more. The second phase is a probability sample of 50 additional cities. Together the two phases of the project provide a single probability sample of 100 cities.

Three reports subsequent to this one are planned. One will test the findings of this analysis in the second sample of 50 cities. A second will present an analysis of the full sample of 100 cities. The final report will extend the analysis of the present report utilizing the full sample of 100 cities and shall include more detailed multivariate analysis.

In addition to the work of NORC, several other contractors are involved in analysis of these data. Barss, Reitzel & Associates of Cambridge, Massachusetts, have been involved throughout the project--in the design, fieldwork, and analysis. In addition to analysis of the same data as presented here, Barss-Reitzel have conducted interviews with residents and "grass-roots leaders" in the target neighborhoods and are analyzing those data. Other analyses of these data are being conducted at the University of California at Los Angeles, at the Institute for Poverty Research of the University of Wisconsin, and in the Social Relations Department of Johns Hopkins University.

In addition to the two phases of interviewing in the two samples of 50 cities, there was a preliminary phase during which social scientists

and other professional observers submitted standardized reports on the community action programs and institutional change in the first sample of 50 cities. The fieldwork for this preliminary phase was carried out in August and September, 1968. The first-phase fieldwork was conducted during November and December of 1968 and January of 1969, and the second-phase fieldwork during April, May, and June of 1969.

The interviewing was done by NORC's staff of executive interviewers. The majority of these were regular NORC interviewers, but some were recruited especially for this work. They all were given training which goes beyond that given to interviewers used in population samples. Most had had experience on previous studies using NORC's Permanent Community Sample.<sup>1</sup>

Many people have contributed greatly to this project, and their help has been invaluable. However, they should not be held responsible for any of the errors, misinterpretations, or shortcomings of this report.

Research assistance, administrative help, and secretarial aid have been provided by Joyce Feinberg, Barbara Gubbins, and Elizabeth Kilmer. Research assistance has also been given by Sheila Boegner, James Crimmins, Peter Friedman, Susan Hansen, Robert Hawkinson, James Houlihan, William Jaeger, and Douglas Zeman.

The Herculean task of launching this research and keeping us afloat in the field has been accomplished by several people. Eva Weinberg contributed the wisdom and understanding necessary to get us out of port and on our course. Celia Homans navigated us through the turbulent waters. The precision and scope of the questionnaires are a

---

<sup>1</sup>The Permanent Community Sample is a research apparatus developed by Peter H. Rossi, Robert L. Crain, and the present senior author for use in large-scale, comparative urban research. It is a probability sample, stratified by population size, of cities with populations of 50,000 and over. There are interviewers in each city, and contact is maintained with informed observers, primarily social scientists and newspaper reporters. For a more precise description of the Permanent Community Sample, see Rossi and Crain (1968).

clear sign of her careful dedication. Suzanne Morrison, Carol Richards, and Miriam Clarke contributed much to the development of the questionnaires. Marge Miller, with the able assistance of Florence McKinney, supervised the fieldwork and prevented breakdown countless times.

The preparation of the data was guided and made intelligible by Jarvis Rich and Winona Adkins. Francis Harris and Carmen Wilson supervised a team of patient and hard-working coders. The computer manipulation, development, and tabulating of the data have been carried out by Jarvis Rich, Frank Schilling, and Edward Weston. C. Edward Noll initiated and planned the entire data-processing operation.

Intelligible data have been guided on their course toward intelligible prose by the editorial pen of Mary Spaeth. The report was typed by the Steno Pool under the supervision of Toshi Takahashi, and Elaine Richardson has provided both editorial and typing assistance.

Throughout this project the research has benefited from the support and encouragement of Norman M. Bradburn, Director of the National Opinion Research Center; Robert McDonald, former Business Manager of NORC; and Shelby Orrell, present Business Manager.

Several people have given thoughtful and insightful advice, and two have contributed greatly. Peter H. Rossi has played an important role through direct consultation, the influence of his writing and teaching, the provision of a stimulating intellectual environment during the beginnings of the senior author's career, and critical encouragement. Robert L. Crain has been the senior author's mentor, colleague, and friend. His fulfillment of each of those roles has been superb. Immeasurable is our debt to him. The analysis that he and Laura Morlock performed at Johns Hopkins University during the spring and summer of 1969 has provided a much clearer understanding of these very complex data.

In addition, there has been consultation and intellectual exchange with J. David Greenstone of the University of Chicago, Bettye Eidson of Johns Hopkins University, Carol Weiss of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, Barbara Sizemore and Russel Meyer of the University of Chicago, and Bruce Jacobs of Barss, Reitzel & Associates, whose own analysis has provided us with a most helpful precedent.

Throughout this project, Jonathan P. Lane of the Office of Economic Opportunity has been a reasonable client, an encouraging and stimulating colleague, and a severe but still helpful critic.

This report is the product of three analysts' efforts. Overall guidance, coordination, and direction have been the responsibility of the senior author. Primary responsibility for and drafting of the individual chapters were in the hands of the persons as listed below:

Chapter I	Vanecko
Chapter II	Vanecko
Chapter III	Orden
Chapter IV	Vanecko
Chapter V	Orden
Chapter VI	Vanecko
Chapter VII	Hollander
Chapter VIII	Vanecko

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE . . . . .	iii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	xi
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	xxi
Chapter	
I. DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDINGS: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY . .	1
Methodology . . . . .	7
Analysis . . . . .	14
Plan of the Report . . . . .	23
II. GOAL ORIENTATIONS OF COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES AND OVERALL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE . . . . .	25
Community Organization Goal Orientation as a Predictor of Overall Institutional Change . . . . .	25
Specific Institutional Change Variables . . . . .	33
Social Service Sector . . . . .	33
Public School Sector . . . . .	35
Employment Sector . . . . .	38
Neighborhood Political Organization Sector . . . . .	39
Summary . . . . .	41
Two Tests of Community Organization Effectiveness . . . .	41
Test of Spuriousness Due to City Characteristics . .	41
Statistical Significance . . . . .	52
III. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR . . . . .	61
Measures of Change . . . . .	61
Community Organization and School Change . . . . .	65
Other CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics and School Change . . . . .	71
Citizen Pressure and CAP Pressure on Schools . . . . .	75
Association between Pressures and CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	81
Citizen Pressure for Change Controlling for CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	84
CAP Pressure for Change Controlling for CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	87
CAP Pressure for Change Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	90
Summary and Conclusion . . . . .	93

## TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

Chapter	Page
IV. THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR . . . . .	97
Goal Orientation and Employment Change . . . . .	97
Employment Goal Emphasis and Employer Change Control- ling for City Characteristics . . . . .	105
Emphases of the CAA Employment Program . . . . .	108
Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics and Employment Change . . . . .	115
Pressures for Change in the Employment Sector . . . . .	117
Summary and Conclusions . . . . .	119
V. THE PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE SECTOR . . . . .	121
Measures of Change . . . . .	121
Community Organization and Change in the Social Service Sector . . . . .	125
Other CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics and Change in the Social Service Sector . . . . .	129
CAP Impact on Change in the Social Service Sector . . . . .	130
CAP Impact on SSA Change Controlling for CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	136
CAP Impact on SSA Change Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	139
Summary and Conclusions . . . . .	142
VI. NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE . . . . .	145
Goal Orientation and Political Organization Change . . . . .	145
Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics and Neighborhood Political Organization Change . . . . .	148
Correlations between Change Variables . . . . .	162
Citizen Pressure and Political Organization Change . . . . .	164
Political Organization Change and Change in Other Institutional Sectors . . . . .	173
Summary . . . . .	182
VII. THE DIFFUSION OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE . . . . .	183
Introduction . . . . .	183
Measures of Diffusion . . . . .	184
Correlates of Diffusion . . . . .	188
CAA Emphasis on Community Organization . . . . .	191
CAA Board Dissensus . . . . .	198
Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Organization . . . . .	200
Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control . . . . .	205
Neighborhood Center Outreach Emphasis . . . . .	208
Summary . . . . .	209
The Correlates of Diffusion and the Correlates of Change . . . . .	210
CAA versus Non-CAA Diffusion Activities . . . . .	217
Conclusion . . . . .	221

## TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

	Page
Chapter	
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION . . . . .	227
Appendix	
A. CONSTRUCTION OF VARIABLES . . . . .	231
Part 1: The Dependent Variables . . . . .	233
Social Service Variables . . . . .	235
Public School Variables . . . . .	264
Employment Variables . . . . .	287
Neighborhood Political Organization Variables . . . . .	298
General Index of Institutional Change . . . . .	308
Part 2: Pressure and Impact Variables . . . . .	309
Part 3: Community Action Agency and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	327
Variables . . . . .	329
CAA Program Code . . . . .	365
Part 4: Control Variables . . . . .	375
Part 5: Diffusion Variables . . . . .	381
B. LIST OF FIFTY CITIES USED IN STUDY . . . . .	393
C. RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED . . . . .	395
D. ORIGINAL HYPOTHESES . . . . .	397
E. SUPPLEMENTARY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TABLES . . . . .	401
REFERENCES . . . . .	443

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
2.1 CAA Goal Orientation and Institutional Change Variables . . . . .	29
2.2 CAA Community Organization Goal Orientation and Institutional Change toward Increased Responsiveness to the Poor, Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	42
2.3 CAA Community Organization Goal Orientation and General Institutional Change . . . . .	56
2.4 CAA Community Organization Goal Orientation and General Institutional Change, Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	58
3.1 Correlations between Measures of Change in the School Sector . . . . .	63
3.2 CAA Goal Orientation, CAA Emphasis on Community Organization, and Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity, by Change in the Public School Sector . . . . .	66
3.3 Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics, by Change in the Public School Sector . . . . .	73
3.4 Citizen Pressure and CAP Pressure on Schools, by Change in the Public School Sector . . . . .	77
3.5 Citizen Pressure by Change in Response of Schools to Parent-Community Pressure . . . . .	79
3.6 Citizen Pressure by Change in Parent-Community Assessment of School Quality . . . . .	79
3.7 Association between Pressures and Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	83
3.8 Citizen Pressure for Change in the Public School Sector, Controlling for Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	85
3.9 CAP Pressure for Change in the Public School Sector, Controlling for Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	89
3.10 CAP Pressure on Selected School Change, Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	92

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
4.1 CAA Goal Orientation and CAA Goal Emphasis, by Change in the Employment Sector . . . . .	98
4.2 CAA Emphasis on Employment Goals and Changes in the Employment Sector, Controlling for CAA Community Organization Emphasis . . . . .	102
4.3 CAA Emphasis on Employment Goals and Changes in the Employment Sector, Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	106
4.4 CAA Employment Program Emphases and Changes in the Employment Sector . . . . .	110
4.5 CAA Emphasis on Employment Goals and Changes in the Employment Sector, Controlling for Employment Program Emphasis on Placing People in Jobs . . . . .	113
4.6 Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics, by Change in the Employment Sector . . . . .	116
4.7 Neighborhood Center Pressure and Citizen Pressure, by Change in the Employment Sector . . . . .	118
5.1 Correlations between Social Service Agency (SSA) Change Dimensions on City Level . . . . .	124
5.2 CAA Goal Orientation, CAA Emphasis on Community Organization, and Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity, by Change in Private Social Service Agencies . . . . .	126
5.3 Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics, by Change in Private Social Service Agencies . . . . .	129
5.4 CAP Impact on Change in Private Social Service Agencies . . . . .	131
5.5 CAP Impact by Change in Service to the Poor, Controlling for Interaction with the Poor . . . . .	133
5.6 Interaction with the Poor by Service to the Poor, Controlling for CAP Impact . . . . .	135
5.7 CAP Impact on Change in Private Social Service Agencies, Controlling for Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	137
5.8 CAP Impact on Change in Social Service Agencies, Controlling for City Characteristics . . . . .	140

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
6.1 CAA Goal Orientation and CAA Emphasis on Community Organization, by Neighborhood Political Organization Change	146
6.2 Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics, by Neighborhood Political Organization Change . . . . .	150
6.3 CAA Emphasis on Community Organization and Neighborhood Political Organization Change, Controlling for Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity . . . . .	153
6.4 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity and Neighborhood Political Organization Change, Controlling for CAA Emphasis on Community Organization . . . . .	154
6.5 Neighborhood Political Organization Change by Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity and CAA Emphasis on Community Organization . . . . .	159
6.6 Correlations between Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variables . . . . .	163
6.7 Neighborhood Political Organization Change and Citizen Pressure . . . . .	165
6.8 Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variables and Other Institutional Change Variables . . . . .	174
7.1 Average Corrected Scores for Type of Diffusion by Institutional Sector . . . . .	186
7.2 Average Corrected Scores for Type of Diffusion and Institutional Sector . . . . .	186
7.3 Average Weighted Institutional Sector Scores . . . . .	187
7.4 Correlations between Average Weighted Sector Scores within Cities . . . . .	188
7.5 Correlations between CAA, Neighborhood Center, and City Characteristics . . . . .	189
7.6 CAA and Neighborhood Characteristics and Diffusion of CAA-Induced Changes by Institutional Sector . . . . .	192
7.7 Diffusion of CAA-Induced Changes and City Characteristics by Institutional Sector . . . . .	194
7.8 CAP Expenditures and Mean Diffusion, Controlling for Selected CAA, Neighborhood Center, and City Characteristics	195

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
7.9 CAA Emphasis on Community Organization and Mean Diffusion, Controlling for Selected City and Neighborhood Center Characteristics . . . . .	196
7.10 CAA Board Dissensus and Mean Diffusion, Controlling for CAP Expenditures and City Size . . . . .	199
7.11 Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Organization by Mean Diffusion, Controlling for Selected Variables . . . . .	202
7.12 Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control and Mean Diffusion, Controlling for Selected Variables . . . . .	206
7.13 Correlates of Change by Correlates of Diffusion . . . . .	212
7.14 CAA, Neighborhood Center, and City Characteristics by Type of Diffusion . . . . .	218
Appendix	
Table	
E.1 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Per Cent of Clients Earning \$5,000 . . . . .	403
E.2 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Per Cent of Clients Who Are Minority Group Members . . . . .	403
E.3 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Number of Employees . . . . .	404
E.4 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Number of Volunteers Working for SSA . . . . .	404
E.5 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Referrals among SSAs . . . . .	405
E.6 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Number of People Served by SSAs . . . . .	405
E.7 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by General Service Dimension . . . . .	406

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.8 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Service to the Poor . . . . .	406
E.9 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by SSA Interaction with Poor . . . . .	407
E.10 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Participation of Poor in SSA . . . . .	407
E.11 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by SSA Involvement with Community . . . . .	408
E.12 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by SSA Total Change . . . . .	408
E.13 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Minority Group Members on School Staff . . . . .	409
E.14 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Student-Teacher Ratio . . . . .	409
E.15 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Crowding of Physical Facilities . . . . .	410
E.16 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Auxiliary Staff . . . . .	410
E.17 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Resident Participation in Public Schools . . . . .	411
E.18 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Promotion of Participation by Public Schools . . . . .	411
E.19 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Number of Innovations . . . . .	412

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.20 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Parent-Community Assessment of Schools . . . . .	412
E.21 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in PTA Membership . . . . .	413
E.22 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Per Cent of Parents Attending PTA Meetings . . . . .	413
E.23 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in PTA Meetings with Community Groups . . . . .	414
E.24 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Responsiveness to Parent-Community Pressure . . . . .	414
E.25 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increased School Cooperation with Programs . . . . .	415
E.26 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in Efforts To Hire Minority Group Members . . . . .	415
E.27 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Hiring of Hard-core Unemployed . . . . .	416
E.28 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Hiring of Training-program Graduates . . . . .	416
E.29 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Employer-CAA Referral Cooperation . . . . .	417
E.30 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Number of New Community Services Offered per Employer . . . . .	417
E.31 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Employers Advertising Equal Opportunity . . . . .	418

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.32 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Per Cent of Unskilled Black Workers . . . . .	418
E.33 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Employers Running Job-training Programs . . . . .	419
E.34 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Level of Organization and Demands by Residents . . . . .	420
E.35 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Participation of Residents in Electoral Politics . . . . .	420
E.36 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Voter Registration Drive and Increased Registration . . . . .	421
E.37 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Increase in the Proportion of the Population Who Are Members of Community Organizations . . . . .	421
E.38 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Change in Petitioning of Public Agencies by Organizations . . . . .	422
E.39 Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity as Reported by the Political Leader by Index of General Institutional Change . . . . .	422
E.40 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Per Cent of Clients Earning \$5,000 . . . . .	423
E.41 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Per Cent of Clients Who Are Minority Group Members . . . . .	423
E.42 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Number of Employees . . . . .	424
E.43 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Number of Volunteers Working for SSA . . . . .	424

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.44 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Referrals among SSAs . . . . .	425
E.45 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Number of People Served by SSAs .	425
E.46 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by General Service Dimension . . . . .	426
E.47 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Service to the Poor . . . . .	426
E.48 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by SSA Interaction with Poor . . . . .	427
E.49 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Participation of Poor in SSA . . . . .	427
E.50 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by SSA Involvement with Community . . . . .	428
E.51 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by SSA Total Change . . . . .	428
E.52 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Minority Group Members on School Staff . . . . .	429
E.53 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Student-Teacher Ratio . . . . .	429
E.54 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Crowding of Physical Facilities . .	430
E.55 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Auxiliary Staff . . . . .	430
E.56 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Resident Participation in Public Schools . . . . .	431
E.57 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Promotion of Participation by Public Schools . . . . .	431

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.58 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Number of Innovations . . . . .	432
E.59 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Parent-Community Assessment of Schools . . . . .	432
E.60 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in PTA Membership . . . . .	433
E.61 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Per Cent of Parents Attending PTA Meetings . . . . .	433
E.62 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in PTA Meetings with Community Groups .	434
E.63 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Responsiveness to Parent-Community Pressure . . . . .	434
E.64 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increased School Cooperation with Programs . .	435
E.65 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in Efforts To Hire Minority Group Members . . . . .	435
E.66 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Hiring of Hard-core Unemployed . . . . .	436
E.67 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals in Neighborhood Center by Change in Hiring of Training-program Graduates	436
E.68 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals in Neighborhood Center by Employer-CAA Referral Cooperation . . . . .	437
E.69 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals in Neighborhood Center by Number of New Community Services Offered per Employer . . . . .	437
E.70 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals in Neighborhood Center by Employers Advertising Equal Opportunity . . .	438

## LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Appendix Table	Page
E.71 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Per Cent of Unskilled Black Workers	438
E.72 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Employers Running Job-training Programs . . . .	439
E.73 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Level of Organization and Demands by Residents . . . . .	440
E.74 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Participation of Residents in Elec- toral Politics . . . . .	440
E.75 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Voter Registration Drive and Increased Regis- tration . . . . .	441
E.76 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Increase in the Proportion of the Population Who Are Members of Community Organizations . . . . .	441
E.77 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Change in Petitioning of Public Agencies by Organizations . . . . .	442
E.78 Emphasis on Community Organization Goals by Neighborhood Center by Index of General Institutional Change . . . . .	442

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.1	Diagram of Gamma Correlation Coefficients among Community Action Agency Characteristics, General Level of Political Activity, and Pressure Exerted on Schools and Social Service Agencies (SSAs) . . . . .	19
3.1	School Change When CAA Emphasis Is Community Organization	94
6.1	Neighborhood Political Change Typology . . . . .	160
6.2	Diagram of Association within and between Types of Neighborhood Political Change . . . . .	164
6.3	Diagram of Sequential Model #1 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change . . . . .	167
6.4	Diagram of Sequential Model #2 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change . . . . .	168
6.5	Diagram of Sequential Model #3 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change . . . . .	169
7.1	Diagram of the Conditioning Effects of City Size on the Relationship between CAA Emphasis on Community Organization and Mean Diffusion . . . . .	223

ments over the political questions involved.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it has been possible in the past year to launch the first attempt at a national evaluation of the Community Action Program. This report presents the results of that initial evaluation.

The theoretical basis of the Community Action Program is built on the proposition that poverty in an affluent society is not the result of the inability of individuals to obtain and control economic resources, but instead is the result of the inability of groups of poor people to obtain and exercise sufficient control over institutions that serve them, or should serve them. The theory states that unless people have enough power to exert some influence over the institutions that affect their lives, they will not participate in those institutions, will not benefit from the resources that those institutions offer, and will become detached from the social system.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the existence of poverty as a social problem is a matter neither of lack of individual economic resources nor of simple "relative deprivation" but of removal from the poor of control over institutions that serve them. The theory states that this power vacuum has come about in a wide variety of ways, such as the increasing scale of society, the elimination of ethnic politics and/or urban political bosses, and the concentration of the black poor population in the northern urban ghettos. However, the critical fact is that all of these processes together are producing an increasing detachment on the part of the poor population and thus are intensifying the cycle of poverty. Both power itself and self-awareness of power are necessary.

---

<sup>3</sup>For examples see Moynihan (1969) and reviews of this book (Levine, 1969; Walinsky, 1969).

<sup>4</sup>The more neutral word "detached" is used here in preference to the more common and graphic word "alienated." This statement is a rather simple summary of some complicated theoretical arguments. See, for example, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) and Merton (1957).

The implication of this theoretical perspective is that intervention into this process has to take one of two courses. Either the poor must be given or must attain political power so that they can influence the institutions affecting them, or the institutions themselves must be changed so that they are more responsive to the needs and demands of the poor. Community action, in theory and practice, aims at both targets, although there is considerable disagreement about which course should have priority.

The translation of this theory into practice has been, to say the least, complicated by a wide variety of constraints and modifications--administrative, practical, political, and even theoretical. In general, however, the theory in the simple form stated above provides the backdrop for the establishment of the Community Action Program. It has resulted in what Moynihan (1966) describes as four ideas of what community action is.

1. The Bureau of the Budget concept.--The guiding principle of this concept is efficiency. Community action under this rubric is seen as a device to coordinate services.
2. The Alinsky concept.--Named after Saul Alinsky, patriarch of the Back of the Yards Council, the Woodlawn Organization, FIGHT, and several other conflict-oriented community organizations, this concept made the need of the poor to acquire political power the central and overriding theme.
3. The Peace Corps concept.--The guiding principle in this idea is the provision of services and, more explicitly, the delivery and decentralization of services.
4. The Task Force concept.--The guiding principle here is political effectiveness and the participation of the poor in the Community Action Agencies themselves. This concept, of course, produced the "maximum feasible participation" clause.

In similar ways, other writers have characterized the idea of community action as involving all or some of these aspects (Donovan, 1967; Kravitz, 1969). In the concrete, these concepts can be translated into a set of goals that the Community Action Program has and that individual Community Action Agencies emphasize to greater or lesser degrees. These goals are:

1. Community action aimed at organizing and mobilizing the poor or, more precisely, the residents of poor neighborhoods ([2] and [4] within Moynihan's scheme).
2. Community action aimed at direct service to the poor and at the transformation of institutions serving the poor. This kind of community action aims at:
  - a) Better coordination of services ([1] under Moynihan's scheme);
  - b) Better delivery of services ([3] under Moynihan's scheme);
  - c) The development of innovations in services or service mixes ([3] under Moynihan's scheme).

The legislation creating the CAP is, in fact, open and flexible enough to allow a local CAA to concentrate its efforts toward achieving any one or a combination of these goals. Administrative practice, Congressional appropriation, and the earmarking of funds by OEO do not allow such complete local autonomy, but a wide range of actual programs and informal practices is still permitted. Thus, it is possible to evaluate CAAs from the perspective of the kinds of goal and program orientations they maintain and the kinds of results they achieve. This is the approach used in the evaluation presented in this report.

The analysis here rests on five assumptions that derive both from the characteristics of CAP and from the program of analysis.

1. The CAP is designed to produce an impact in a given city through two channels. The first is through the stimulation, coordination, and encouragement of activities of other institutions within the city so that they become more open and aggressive in serving the needs of the poor. The second channel involves CAAs directly serving the needs of the poor. The present project is limited to a consideration of the first channel. It is further limited to examining only the ways in which related institutions are changed and does not trace out the results of such change for the poor themselves. The analysis ends before assessing whether more or fewer people move out of poverty due to institutional change or some alternative path.

2. The CAP is best conceived of in terms of two separate goal orientations that have direct and significant relevance for the impact of CAAs on related institutions. The first goal orientation is toward changing the organization of services for the poor. This involves three strategies: (1) the coordination of what are now or have been disparate services; (2) the development of more extensive and more efficient delivery systems; and (3) the creation of innovative services, service mixes, and service organizations. The second goal orientation is toward the mobilization of poor communities. This orientation is directly related to the way in which the needs of the poor are expressed to the significant institutions within the community.

3. Critical reasons behind the strategy suggested by (1) and (2) are that CAP activities and organizational coverage represent only a small fraction of all poverty-related activity of the federal government, that CAP represents an even smaller proportion of poverty-related activity of all governments and private institutions, and most importantly, that CAP represents a minute collection of resources in comparison with all of the economic, social, and political resources that coalesce to form the ghettos of American cities, the pockets of poverty in various forms, and the general exclusion of people from participation in American affluence. The limited resources of CAP dictate a strategy that deploys OEO's resources so that they most productively stimulate, coordinate, and encourage the other institutions in a given community to provide more access to the poor and more appropriate services and activities for the poor, and so that ultimately the institutional and organizational life of the community permits and encourages people to move out of poverty. The stimulation, encouragement, and coordination of other institutions will assume different forms in different communities and when directed at different institutions and organizations.

The CAP dispenses the equivalent of about forty dollars per poor person each year. If "poverty" in the United States could be eliminated by such supplements to income, we would no longer have a poverty "problem." It is evident that the direct impact of CAP funds

cannot greatly reduce poverty. If CAP intends, nevertheless, to contribute significantly to that end, then some strategy of indirect impact seems most appropriate. Other arguments having to do with the etiology and pathology of poverty also commend indirect strategies, but the logic of insufficient funds commands most agreement.

A strategy of indirect effects requires influencing the institutions that do or might affect the poor, in the belief that the number of poor assisted can be maximized in this way. "Institutional change" thus becomes the central intermediate goal of CAP, and the extent of institutional change engendered by CAP becomes the measure of its success.

4. The implications of the above three assumptions are that one needs to outline the important institutions of a city and the ways in which CAP activities will influence change within these institutions. It is not possible in research of the scale of the present project to study satisfactorily all of the important institutions of a city. Thus, it was decided to focus on four institutions because of their obvious and crucial importance. These are the public school system, the private welfare sector, the employment sector, and neighborhood political organizations. If one can find substantial change in these institutions that is attributable to CAP, then one can conclude that CAP has a significant impact. The changes to be examined in these four institutions must be hypothesized in terms of the generic goals outlined in (2) above, i.e., changing the organization of services for the poor through better delivery, new services, and better coordination, and changing the organizational life of poor communities so that the needs of the poor are better expressed.

5. The final assumption is that the characteristics of community action programs dictate a model of effectiveness. The facts are that CAAs have been created as totally new, broadly defined organizations and have been in existence for only a short period of time. These facts have several implications for the expected results of the program and for the conduct of the present research. These implications are: one cannot expect CAAs to always have the same results, although these will be similar;

the results one may perceive may not yet be of extensive proportions, but may nevertheless be quite significant; in order for less extensive changes to be significant, there must be some expectation that these changes will eventually generate more extensive changes in the institutions of a community; and finally, one must develop a model of the ways in which CAAs and the other institutions in question develop over time.

### Methodology

The research project reported here uses survey procedures, with predefined interview schedules, trained interviewers, and specified respondents. It is in survey research in the more general sense that we make a large number of observations on a large number of cases. The entire study encompasses a probability sample of 100 U.S. cities of 50,000 or greater population. The analysis reported here includes 50 of those cities since the interviewing was done in two stages of 50 cities each.<sup>5</sup>

The interviews were designed to obtain information on the attributes of CAAs; to learn about the activities, goals, and organization of CAAs; to gain knowledge about the characteristics of the cities and of the neighborhoods expected to be important factors in the changes being studied; and to actually uncover changes. The respondents in each city included the following:

- I. Five members of the CAA board (selected from members of the executive committee, if possible)
  - A. The president
  - B. A representative of the public, closely associated with the mayor

---

<sup>5</sup>The sample of 100 cities was constructed by selecting two probability samples (probability proportionate to size) of 50 cities each that together amount to a single probability sample. The sampling was done in this way in order to cover the contingencies of either halting the effort after beginning analysis of the first 50 cities or going on to 100 or more cities with the same or a modified design. The data for the second 50 cities were not yet ready for analysis at the time this report was written. It will be possible to do a split sample test of the hypotheses developed in this initial analysis of 50 cases using the second 50 cities and also to do more elaborate multivariate analyses of the entire sample of 100 cities. (See Appendix B for a list of cities.)

- C. A representative of the private sector
- D. A representative of the poor not associated with the civil rights movement
- E. A representative of the poor associated with the civil rights movement
- II. The CAA executive director
- III. The director of the Neighborhood Center (NC) program
- IV. The director of the employment program
- V. Three directors of neighborhood centers (randomly selected)
- VI. Presidents of three PTAs in a target neighborhood chosen randomly from among the three involved in (V)
- VII. Directors of three private social service agencies in the target neighborhood
- VIII. Personnel officers of the three largest potential employers for persons living in the target neighborhood
- IX. Three political leaders involved in the target neighborhood

Each of the nine main categories above represents a different interview schedule. Some of the schedules, as is obvious, were administered to several different respondents, some to only one. We feel that this set of respondents gives the best representation and will provide the most reliable estimates of the data needed to do the evaluative analysis.

The data collected from CAA personnel are of three general kinds: (1) data that are common to all respondents, (2) data that are parallel but are actually specific to the particular respondent, and (3) data that are unique to the particular respondent. The first two kinds are outlined below:

- 1. Data common to CAA respondents
  - a) Demographic information on the respondent
  - b) Perceptions and attitudes concerning the cause of poverty

- c) Perceptions and attitudes concerning the goals and actions of the CAA
  - d) Perceptions and attitudes concerning the city
2. Data parallel for all respondents but specific
- a) Degree of autonomy from those above
  - b) Degree of control exerted over those below
  - c) Amount of cooperation, conflict, and competition with parallel components of the CAA
  - d) Job definition

The unique data involve the following specific information gathered from each CAA respondent:

1. CAA board members
- a) Political organization of the city
  - b) Political settlement that resulted in the formation of the CAA
  - c) The ways in which the political settlement surrounding the CAA has continued and changed
  - d) The composition of the board--personal characteristics and whom board members represent
  - e) The internal organization of the board: executive and other committees, level of activity, conflicts, coalitions, and factions within board
2. CAA executive director
- a) Political settlement that resulted in the formation of the CAA
  - b) The ways in which the political settlement surrounding the CAA has continued and changed
  - c) The source and kinds of demands made upon him from the board
  - d) The source and kinds of demands made upon him from outside the board

- e) The programs and projects being operated by the CAA
  - f) The effectiveness of programs, policies, and projects
  - g) Staff recruitment
3. Neighborhood Center (NC) program director
- a) Description of the neighborhoods covered
  - b) Description of the programs, projects, and activities of the NCs
  - c) Evaluations of the effectiveness of NCs
  - d) How NCs could be more effective
  - e) Relationship between NCs and other centralized programs
  - f) Relationship among NCs--competition, conflict, cooperation
4. Employment program director
- a) Kinds of programs being operated and the level
  - b) Relations with the employment service and other employment agencies
  - c) Relations between various employment programs and the NCs
  - d) Relations with and responsiveness of employers
  - e) Specification or perception of employment needs
  - f) Relations with other federal employment programs
5. Neighborhood center directors
- a) Social structure of the neighborhood
  - b) Political structure of the neighborhood
  - c) Organization structure of the neighborhood
  - d) Internal organization of the NC
  - e) General description of the activities of the NC

- f) More specific description of the activities of the NC directed at:
  - (1) The schools of the neighborhood
  - (2) The private welfare institutions of the neighborhood
  - (3) Community political organizations
  - (4) Potential employers of neighborhood residents
- g) Description of NC staff and staff recruitment
- h) Evaluation of affectiveness of NC

The data collected from the twelve persons in the four related institutions in the target neighborhood consist of information about the specific institutions, the community itself, the changes that have taken place within the institution since 1964, and the sources for these changes, including CAP. More specific information from these four groups of respondents is as follows:

- 1. PTA officers
  - a) Major changes in curriculum, staff organization and operation, supportive services, extracurricular programs, parent participation and influence, adult education, community relations
  - b) When such changes occurred
  - c) How and why such changes occurred and who was influential
  - d) Whether the local NC was involved in any changes
  - e) Whether any other part of the CAA was involved in such changes
  - f) Social structure of the neighborhood
- 2. Social Service Agency (SSA) directors
  - a) Changes in clientele and constituency
  - b) Changes in internal organization
  - c) Innovations in kinds of services provided

- d) Changes in the use of subprofessionals, indigenous workers, and residents
- e) Changes in scope of activities
- f) Changes in the neighborhood that might affect SSAs
- g) How changes occurred; whether influenced by NC or CAA

3. Personnel officers of employers

- a) Changes in the number of applications received from the poor, minority groups, and the residents of the target area
- b) Changes in the number of contacts made by the poor, minority groups, and residents of the target area
- c) Changes in the receptiveness of the employer to these persons
- d) Changes in the willingness of employers to educate and train
- e) Changes in establishment of recruitment, hiring, training, and educational programs by the employers
- f) Changes in employer involvement in the target neighborhood
- g) Changes in ancillary services provided by employers
- h) How changes occurred; whether influenced by NC or CAA

4. Neighborhood political organization officials

- a) Changes in the kinds, numbers, and activities of neighborhood political organizations
- b) Changes in the kinds of persons active in such organizations
- c) Changes in the kinds of issues raised by such organizations
- d) Changes in the level of participation in elections
- e) Changes in the demands made on candidates

- f) Changes in the issue orientation of the neighborhood electorate
- g) Changes in the kinds of representatives of the neighborhood
- h) Social structure of the neighborhood
- i) Political structure of the neighborhood
- j) Organizational structure of the neighborhood
- k) How residents feel about the neighborhood
- l) How change has occurred; whether influenced by NC or CAA

The data presented in this report represent only a small proportion of those collected in this research. The actual data used for the variables in this report are outlined in Appendix A.

The interviews were conducted between November, 1968, and January, 1969, by trained NORC interviewers. In order to reduce interviewer bias, separate interviewers conducted the CAA interviews and the interviews with people from institutions not part of the CAA. The latter interviews were organized so that the respondents reported changes before mentioning anything about CAA's influence. These latter respondents were also not informed that this was a CAA evaluation, although they were told of OEO's sponsorship and if they specifically asked whether it was a study of the CAA, they were so informed. Thus, we think that estimates of change are not unduly biased either by the research purposes or by the interviewers themselves.

It was not possible in all cities to obtain all twenty-three interviews, but an overall response rate of 95 per cent was obtained. There are, of course, variations in this response rate by city and by respondent type. (See Appendix C for a fuller presentation.)

### Analysis

The research presented in this report is guided by one central hypothesis and three corollary hypotheses. There were originally thirteen hypotheses guiding the design of the research. Some of these have been abandoned, some are incorporated in the analysis presented here, and some have not been fully tested. (See Appendix D for a statement of the original hypotheses.) The hypotheses presented in this report were stated a priori as null hypotheses, but serve as the focus of the analysis here because they have been analytically derived from the data. We did not start with only the main hypothesis presented here.

The central or main hypothesis will be stated in the most neutral way possible, but it should be noted that the test of this hypothesis implies answers to arguments often stated in quite dramatic political rhetoric. Thus it has implications for the question of how important the "maximum feasible participation" provision is and how important political mobilization is to the success of the CAP. The hypotheses are the following:

Main Hypothesis: If CAAs emphasize community organization and mobilization, then the institutions serving the poor are more likely to become responsive to the needs and demands of the poor.

Corollary Hypothesis 1: If CAAs emphasize community organization and mobilization, then change in the institutions serving the poor is more likely to come about from pressure exerted by the poor themselves than through direct intervention of the CAA.

Corollary Hypothesis 2: If CAAs emphasize community organization and mobilization, then the types of changes that institutions serving the poor are likely to undergo are those concerning involvement of the poor rather than increased service.

Corollary Hypothesis 3: If CAAs emphasize community organization and mobilization, then change in the institutions serving the poor is more likely to come about from the involvement of the NCs with community organizations.

The first step in the analysis of these hypotheses is to measure the goal and program orientation of the CAAs. This has been done in an admittedly crude but, we think, reliable manner. Each of the board members and the executive director were given fixed-choice questions on the four most emphasized goals of the CAA and the one of those four that is best developed in the programs of the agency. Then they were asked which programs aimed at achieving these goals. On the basis of these questions, CAAs can be classified on a scale of the degree to which they emphasize each of four goals:<sup>6</sup>

1. Educational goals
2. Social service goals
3. Employment goals
4. Community organization and mobilization goals

On the basis of the interviews with persons not in the CAA, we can measure several dimensions of institutional change. Each of the dimensions used here was measured by asking each of the three respondents in the specific institutional sectors about the characteristics in 1964 and in 1968. Then change from 1964 to 1968 was calculated, and the answers of the respondents from a given city were averaged.

Three previous reports have been issued by NORC following the analysis outlined above (Vanecko, 1969a, 1969b; Orden, 1969).<sup>7</sup> These reports have brought us to some important conclusions that form the take-off point for the analysis in this report. The first of these reports

---

<sup>6</sup>There is some bias in the measurement of these four variables caused by the use of the same items in different variables. The bias is not so strong as to rule out the analysis of these variables separately. They have been combined into a typology of goal orientation that will be used in Chapter II.

<sup>7</sup>In addition to these reports from NORC, there is a report by another contractor on this study, Barss, Reitzel & Associates, Inc. (1969). All these reports are available from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia 22151, at \$3.00 (paper copy) prepaid.

(Vanecko, 1969b) was an extensive survey of these characteristics of CAAs that are associated with institutional change. Only zero-order associations were examined. Characteristics of the CAP included in this analysis are listed below:

1. The degree of emphasis on educational goals and programs within the CAA
2. The degree of emphasis on community organization goals and programs within the CAA
3. The degree of emphasis on employment goals and programs within the CAA
4. The degree of emphasis on social service goals and programs within the CAA
5. The degree to which the neighborhood centers emphasize referrals in their activities
6. The degree to which the neighborhood centers emphasize community organization and mobilization in their activities
7. The degree to which the neighborhood centers emphasize "outreach" in their activities
8. The degree to which the neighborhood centers emphasize planning and coordination in their activities
9. The degree of neighborhood center emphasis on community control of the NC
10. The degree of the CAA's commitment to participation of the poor in decision making within the CAA
11. The degree to which the CAA's employment program emphasizes efforts to change the practices of employers
12. The degree to which the CAA's employment program emphasizes efforts to place people in jobs
13. The degree to which the CAA's employment program emphasizes training and education

A range of dependent variables was also included, but these are fully described in Chapter II of this report. (See Table 2.1. Those variables not indicated as "new" were included in Report #1 [Vanecko, 1969b].)

The most important finding of Report #1 was that orientation toward community organization goals and programs by CAAs shows the most consistent association with institutional change. Characteristics of the neighborhood center activities--as measured for this report--do not show such consistent and strong association with institutional change. Neither do characteristics such as emphasis on participation of the poor in decision making within the CAAs nor emphasis by the NCs on community control of the neighborhood centers, although these two characteristics especially were shown to be relevant and will be treated further in this report. (See Appendix E for a presentation of contingency tables showing community organization variables by change variables.

The second report (Vanecko, 1969a) pursued the findings of the first report along several lines. First, additional variables were created to extend the analysis. These included visible community-organizing activity by the neighborhood centers,<sup>8</sup> support for militant activity by the neighborhood centers, pressure exerted by the neighborhood centers on specific institutions, pressure exerted by citizens on specific institutions, and the general level of political activity.

The measure of association used in that report and here is the gamma correlation coefficient, which is a measure of association between ordinal variables and is particularly appropriate for the type of survey data presented here.<sup>9</sup> It is a measure of association that can generally be interpreted as the increased probability of correctly predicting whether one of a pair of cases is higher than another on a given measure of institutional change when one knows which of the two cases is higher on a given characteristic of the CAA. Gamma is the generic name for the

---

<sup>8</sup>This variable is measured from the reports of political leaders in the neighborhood, not from the neighborhood center director himself. The variable thus measures visible activity. It is in fact not very strongly associated with emphasis on community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center director (gamma = .19).

<sup>9</sup>For a fuller discussion of the gamma coefficient of association and the problem of ordinal association in general, see Davis (1967), Goodman and Kruskal (1954, 1959, 1963), Kruskal (1958), and Wilson (1968).

measure applicable to any number of ordered categories. The Q coefficient, which is used frequently in this report, is a specific form of gamma used when both variables are dichotomies. In our previous reports, gammas were shown measuring the association between characteristics of the CAAs and types of institutional change with both variables trichotomized. This was done to indicate more clearly the strength of association and to reveal whether or not it was linear. We have also used Q coefficients of association in previous reports and will do so more in this report. This change is dictated by the need for large enough case bases in individual cells that will be subjected to multivariate analysis.

Figure 1.1 is a diagram showing the gamma correlation coefficients between various characteristics of CAAs, pressure exerted on schools and social service agencies, and the general level of political activity in the target neighborhood. It presents a model from which we can construct the appropriate analysis of the activities of CAAs and institutional change. There are several important findings outlined in this diagram. The model flows from left to right beginning with the general context within which NCs operate--the goal orientation of CAAs and the general level of political activity in the neighborhood--then moving to the activities of the NC and finally to the pressures exerted on schools and social service agencies. The model does not provide an exact description of CAAs but does allow a rather helpful typology from which to further the analysis. Thus, there are four types of CAAs that emphasize a community organization goal orientation.

The first type exists in cities that have a high level of political activity in the neighborhood being studied. These agencies have a high level of neighborhood center support for militant activities. This type is projected from the positive association of community organization goal orientation of the CAA with neighborhood center support for militant activities, plus the positive correlations of general political activity with neighborhood center community-organizing activity and with support for militant issues and the positive association between community-organizing activity and neighborhood center support for militant activity. This

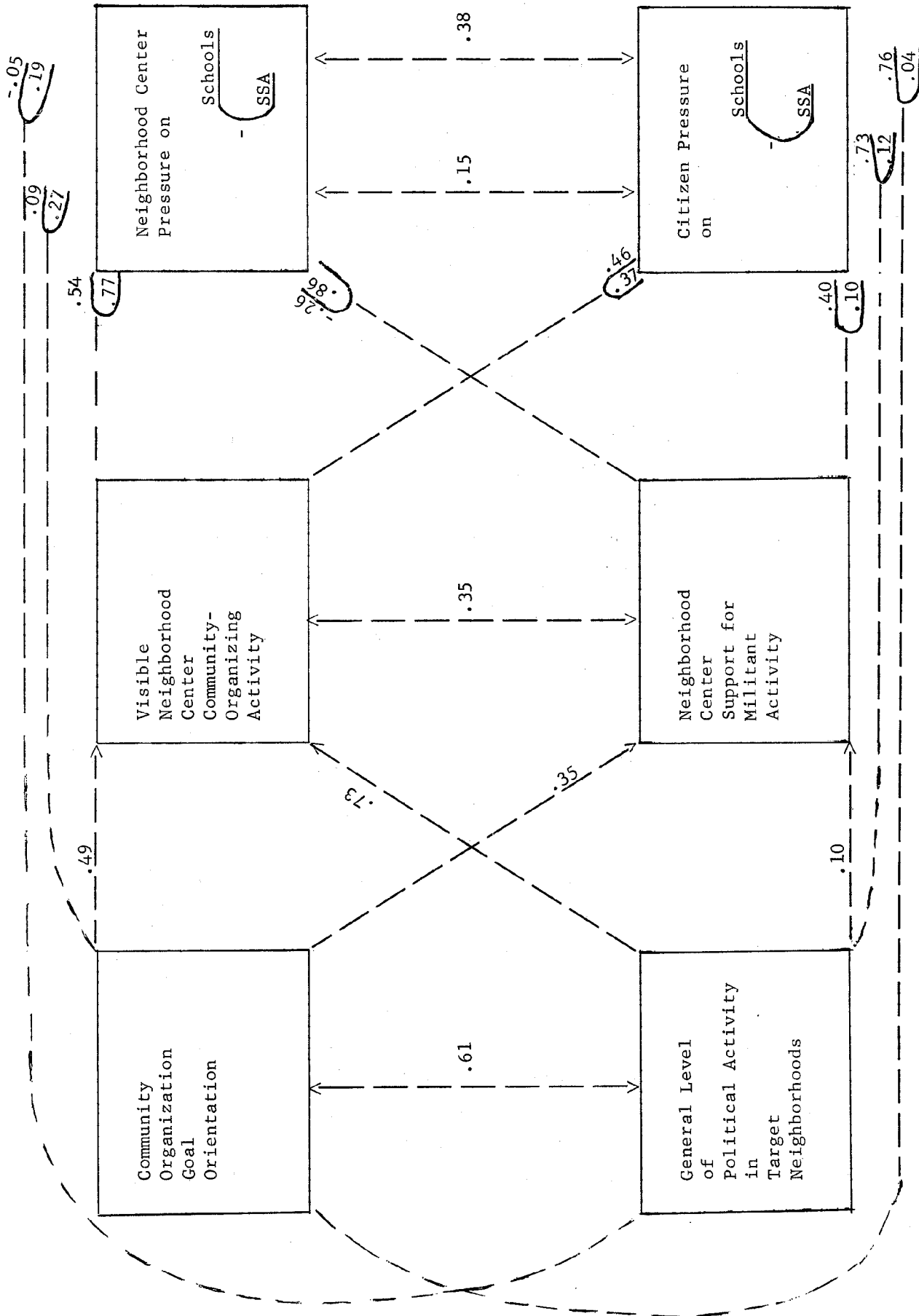


Figure 1.1--Diagram of Gamma Correlation Coefficients among Community Action Agency Characteristics, General Level of Political Activity, and Pressure Exerted on Schools and Social Service Agencies (SSAs)

type of CAA is thus the predominant one among those oriented toward community organization. The kind of pressure that we would expect to come from this type of agency can be constructed by looking at the gamma correlation coefficients in the part of the table farthest to the right. There are two kinds of pressures with which each of the four characteristics mentioned above is positively and rather strongly associated--neighborhood center pressure on social service agencies and citizen pressure on schools.

The second type of CAA emphasizing community organization goals is projected from the observation that the positive associations of general level of political activity and of neighborhood center community-organizing activity with neighborhood center support for militant issues are not so strong--.10 and .35, respectively--as to preclude many exceptions. This type, then, is one that also exists in cities where there is a high level of political activity in the target neighborhood and where the agencies have a high level of neighborhood center community-organizing activity, but where the community action agencies do not show much support for militant activity. If we look at the four dimensions of pressure, selecting those showing a positive association with activity level and neighborhood center community-organizing activity while showing no association or a negative association with neighborhood centers support for militant activity, we see that the dimension of pressure produced by this type of agency is citizen pressure on the social service agencies.

The third type of CAA exists in cities where the level of political activity in the target neighborhood is low. These are agencies with a low level of neighborhood center community-organizing activity and a high level of neighborhood center support for militant activity. The level of community-organizing activity would be low because of the very high correlation between general level of political activity and neighborhood center community organizing (gamma = .73). It is possible to have a high level of support for militant activity and a low level of community-organizing activity since the correlation between them is not too high (gamma = .35). There would obviously not be very many agencies

of this type. There are apparently no components of observed pressure generated by this type of agency. Thus, any influence exerted toward institutional change from this kind of agency must flow directly from the militant activity that it supports.

The fourth type--the least prevalent--is one in which there is little community-organizing activity and little support for militant activity by the neighborhood center. This kind of agency also does not generate pressures. Thus, its effects must derive solely from the community organization emphases of its board and executive director.

The most important intent of the analysis in Report #2 was to describe the process through which a policy orientation to community organization and mobilization effected change. We did this by means of the diagrammatic model that was presented above (Figure 1.1).

The interpretation of this figure has described each of the four types of CAAs as a projection from the data offered. It is clear that the typology cannot be constructed from the data at hand since the case base is too small. There are only twenty agencies that we score high on CAA community organization emphasis, and thus at best we could have five cases within each type. In fact, since most of these agencies would fall into the first type, the distribution would be even worse.

The conclusion of the analysis in Report #2 is clear. It is a simple description of the effective CAA, which is one that has central office support for community organization, has NCs actively involved in community organizing, has NCs uninvolved in militant activities, and does not spend time pressing specific demands on other institutions. Since such agencies exist primarily in cities with relatively high levels of political activity in poor neighborhoods, their effectiveness is in extending or in some way complementing the activity and involvement of the residents of these neighborhoods.

The Peace Corps and the Task Force concepts that were outlined at the beginning of this chapter taken together seem to come closest to describing the effective CAA. It differs from the Peace Corps concept

in that the involvement is not so much with economic technical assistance but with political technical assistance. It differs from the Task Force concept in that the participation of the poor is not in the CAA itself but in other institutions and organizations. It will be possible in later reports to see to what extent participation in the CAA itself will be associated with such participation in other organizations.

The second report concluded that there are evidently two critical stages in the development of CAAs that lead to their effectiveness. The first stage is obtaining support from the board and the executive director for community organization emphasis. The second is developing community-organizing activities within the neighborhood centers. To the extent that CAAs are able to do this, they are effective in bringing about change in the institutions serving the poor. They are as likely to bring about change in concrete service as in the more ephemeral areas of participation in decision making.

Another report (Orden, 1969) concerned one institutional sector--private social service agencies. It was a supplementary analysis that did not follow the main theme presented in the two reports already discussed. This report provided a detailed analysis of the components and dimensions of change within the private welfare sector and made some assessment of the degree to which change within private social service agencies is attributable to the influence of the CAAs in the fifty cities. The basic finding of the report was that the twenty-two variables measuring change among social service agencies are logically and empirically divided into three basic dimensions--general service, proportion of service that is directed to the poor, and interaction with the poor. The final dimension can further be broken down into participation of the poor in the decision making of the social service agencies and involvement of the social service agencies in the target neighborhood. An additional finding concerned the impact of the CAAs. A measure of the degree to which pressure for change was attributed to CAAs was developed based on the reports of the social service agency directors. This measure was seen to be strongly associated with interaction with the poor and moderately associated with general

service and service to the poor. Through an analysis of partial associations, it was suggested that CAAs also exert an indirect influence on service to the poor.

### Plan of the Report

This report begins where the previous reports ended. Chapter II reviews the general findings concerning the goal orientation of CAAs and its association with institutional changes. A general index of institutional change is developed in order to test the significance of the associations observed. The associations of community organization goal orientation with institutional changes and with the general index of institutional change are further tested for spuriousness by controlling for characteristics of the cities under study.

Chapter III examines changes in the public school sector in more detail. These changes are divided according to logical and empirical patterns. The processes or activities leading to change in this sector, as well as specific kinds of change, are described.

Chapter IV presents an analysis of change in the employment sector. An employment goal orientation is seen to be more important for change among employers than is a community organization goal orientation. Characteristics of the employment programs, as well as other characteristics of the CAA, are thus examined in this chapter.

Chapter V uses the dimensions of social service agency change developed in our third report (Orden, 1969) and assesses the processes through which these changes take place. Community organization goal orientation is traced through the activities leading to change. Neighborhood center influence, as well as citizen influence, is analyzed.

Chapter VI analyzes changes in neighborhood political organizations. These changes are not only examined as dependent change variables but also as intervening process variables in the influence of CAAs on changes in other institutions serving the poor. A model of the process of change is developed in this chapter.

Chapter VII is a new departure. This chapter pursues the notion outlined in the beginning of the present chapter concerning the evaluation of CAAs' ability to diffuse low-level, neighborhood-centered, concrete changes to other parts of the city. Diffusion is described and the characteristics of CAAs that facilitate diffusion are analyzed. A comparison is presented between the characteristics of CAAs that lead to diffusion and those that lead to change.

The final chapter is a brief summary and conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### GOAL ORIENTATIONS OF COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCIES AND OVERALL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In this chapter, we present the most important and clearest findings of the analysis. The central finding treated here is the degree to which Community Action Agencies (CAAs) with differing goal orientations influence institutional change. We discuss both findings that we have reported previously and some that we have not reported before. These findings are presented in a somewhat different manner from previously, using percentage differences rather than gammas. Finally, this chapter considers the question of statistical significance.

#### Community Organization Goal Orientation as a Predictor of Overall Institutional Change

In previous reports (Vanecko, 1969a, 1969b), we measured and analyzed four distinct goal orientations--social service orientation, educational orientation, community organization and mobilization orientation, and employment orientation. In fact, clear patterns of association were found among these goal orientations. Social service goal orientation and educational goal orientation were very highly and positively associated ( $\gamma = .90$ ). Both these orientations were strongly and negatively associated with community organization goal orientation ( $\gamma = -.77$  for educational goal orientation,  $\gamma = -.72$  for social service goal orientation) and were negatively, though not quite so strongly, associated with employment goal orientation ( $\gamma = -.34$  for educational goal orientation,  $\gamma = -.60$  for social service goal orientation). Finally, community organization goal orientation and employment goal orientation were not

associated ( $\gamma = .03$ ). Given this pattern, it is possible to construct a single variable that divides CAAs into three groups--those oriented toward educational and social service goals, which we refer to as a "traditional orientation"; those oriented toward community organization goals, which we call "organizational goal orientation"; and those oriented toward employment goals. There are seventeen CAAs oriented toward traditional goals, eighteen oriented toward organizational goals, and fifteen oriented toward employment goals. (For a more detailed description of the construction of these variables, see Vanecko, 1969<sup>b</sup>, and Appendix A of this report.)

In addition to constructing a single variable to measure goal orientation, we have constructed several new measures of specific types of institutional change. These measures are intended to expand the specific substantive content of Community Action Program (CAP) influence and to provide a more reliable overall view of institutional change. The new variables introduced are in three sectors--the public schools, employers, and neighborhood political organizations. Social service agencies have already been treated in detail in Orden (1969), and the variables developed in that report will be used here.

Turning to the new variables in this report, we introduce seven in the public school sector.<sup>1</sup> The first of these new variables is a measure of the number of innovations introduced in the public schools. The second concerns change in the degree to which parents favorably assess the performance of the schools. The third is the increase in membership in the PTA of the public schools, and the fourth is the increase in the number of parents attending PTA meetings expressed as a ratio of parents to students. The fifth variable is the degree to which the PTA has become involved in the neighborhood beyond the concerns of the school. The sixth is the degree to which the school has become more responsive to the parents and/or other residents of the neighborhood.

---

<sup>1</sup>For the construction of these and other new variables introduced in this chapter, see Appendix A.

The last new variable is the cooperation of the schools with extra-educational programs, such as adult education, Head Start, and vocational training.

In the employment sector, we introduce five new variables. The first is the amount of cooperation between employers and the CAA on job referrals. This variable is measured in terms of actual job openings and actual placement of persons in those openings. A second variable is the number of services offered to the community or to employees who are residents of target neighborhoods. These include services such as donating equipment or space for recreation programs, providing a scholarship fund, donating funds, and other types of community programs. The third variable is the proportion of employers who have instituted advertising that declares that they are "an equal opportunity employer." The fourth variable looks at the increased employment of blacks in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. We found that the increase in employment of blacks among all employees including management and white collar was not large enough to be analyzed. However, if one limits consideration to semi- and unskilled employees, there is considerable increase among some firms (ranging as high as 63 per cent) and considerable variation among individual firms (ranging from 63 per cent to -61 per cent) and among cities (ranging in average change per employer from 26 per cent to -61 per cent). The high category used here is an average increase of 4 per cent or more. This does not seem especially high. However, one should consider that in many cities this is an increase equivalent to more than half the proportion that blacks represent in the city population. The final new variable in the employment sector is whether employers run job-training programs.

Three new variables are introduced in the neighborhood political organization sector: (1) whether voter registration drives have been conducted and whether registration has increased, (2) increased membership in community organizations, and (3) increased petitioning of public agencies by neighborhood political organizations. The third variable is

similar to a previously used variable, i.e., increased level of organization and number of demands by residents. It differs, however, in that it deals only with petitioning that carries the weight of large active organizations rather than all petitioning by residents of the neighborhood.

Table 2.1 shows the percentage of cities scoring high on each of the institutional change variables within each of the three groups of CAAs. The data are presented as percentage differences both because this mode of presentation is more familiar and easier to understand than the Q and gamma statistics used in earlier analyses and because it is a form appropriate to the categorical variable describing CAA goal orientation. The dependent variables--measures of institutional change--are arranged according to institutional sector, with social service agencies first, public schools second, employers third, and neighborhood political organizations last. The variable numbers correspond to those used in Appendix A, which describes the construction of these variables.

Before discussing institutional sectors or specific items of institutional change, some general comments should be made. This table very clearly corroborates the findings of earlier analyses because it shows that cities in which the CAA emphasizes organizational goals are much more likely to be undergoing institutional change than are cities in which the CAA emphasizes service goals. This is indicated by the fact that in twenty-one of the thirty-eight institutional change variables, the highest per cent showing a high level of change is in the middle or "organizational" column. In only three instances is the highest per cent in the "traditional" column. In another twelve instances, the "employment" column shows the highest per cent of change. There are two ties for highest per cent change. The fact that employment orientation is negatively associated with traditional orientation and not associated with organizational orientation suggests that the employment-oriented CAAs give some emphasis to community organization. This adds to our confidence in the original finding that organizational emphasis is associated with change while service emphasis is not. There is wide variation in the size of the percentage differences, ranging from 48 per cent between the highest

TABLE 2.1

CAA GOAL ORIENTATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE VARIABLES

(Per Cent High on Change Variables)

Institutional Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation		
	Traditional (N = 17)	Organizational (N = 18)	Employment (N = 15)
<u>Social service agencies:</u>			
1. Increase in per cent of clients earning \$5,000.	33	40	29
2. Increase in per cent of clients who are minority group members . . .	24	43	43
3. Increase in number of employees <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	18	56	21
4. Increase of 100 per cent or more in number of volunteers working for SSAs . . . . .	6	31	14
5. Increase of 100 per cent or more in referrals among SSAs <sup>a</sup> . . .	18	57	31
6. Increase of 30 or more per cent in number of people served by SSAs .	35	61	29
7. Highest increase in general service dimension <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	29	39	43
8. Highest increase in per cent of service to poor <sup>a, b</sup> . . . . .	35	72	43
9. Highest increase in SSA interaction with poor <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	47	61	29
10. High increase of participation of poor in SSA <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	41	67	36
11. High per cent SSA involvement with community <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	53	44	29
12. High per cent SSA total change <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	53	67	36

(Table 2.1 continued)

TABLE 2.1--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation		
	Traditional (N = 17)	Organizational (N = 18)	Employment (N = 15)
<u>Public schools:</u>			
13. None or some increase in minority group members on school staff <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	46	14	60
14. Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	50	65	43
15. Decrease in crowding of physical facilities <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	29	22	0
16. Largest increase of auxiliary staff . . . . .	18	33	29
17. Increase in resident participation in public schools . . . . .	18	22	29
18. Increase in promotion of participation by public schools . . . . .	12	17	14
19. High number of innovations <sup>a,d</sup> . . . . .	59	67	36
20. High change in parent and community assessment of schools <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	35	56	64
21. Increase in PTA membership <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	24	50	38
22. Increase of over 1 per cent of parents attending PTA meetings <sup>c,d</sup> . . . . .	27	75	46
23. High change in PTA meetings with community groups <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	35	56	50
24. Increase in responsiveness to parent and community pressure <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	35	44	57
25. Increase in school cooperation with programs <sup>a,d</sup> . . . . .	47	61	21

(Table 2.1 continued)

TABLE 2.1--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation		
	Traditional (N = 17)	Organizational (N = 18)	Employment (N = 15)
<u>Employers:</u>			
26. Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . .	33	50	64
27. Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	88	83	67
28. Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	7	7	0
29. High employer-CAA referral cooperation <sup>d</sup>	44	44	50
30. Three or more new community services offered per employer <sup>d</sup>	23	22	36
31. Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity <sup>c,d</sup> . . . . .	7	53	50
32. Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black <sup>d</sup> . . .	54	53	78
33. Most employers run job-training programs <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	13	28	50
<u>Neighborhood political organization:</u>			
34. Increase in level of organization and number of demands by residents <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	0	35	0
35. Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics	25	12	38
36. Voter registration drive and increase in registration <sup>d</sup> . .	47	50	60

(Table 2.1 continued)

TABLE 2.1--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation		
	Traditional (N = 17)	Organizational (N = 18)	Employment (N = 15)
37. Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations <sup>d</sup> .	25	33	8
38. Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	25	56	54

<sup>a</sup>Using the  $\chi^2$  test, this is statistically significant at the .10 level or better.

<sup>b</sup>Variable developed in detailed analysis of SSAs (Orden, 1969).

<sup>c</sup>Using the  $\chi^2$  test, this is statistically significant at the .05 level or better.

<sup>d</sup>New variable introduced for the first time in this report.

<sup>e</sup>Using the  $\chi^2$  test, this is statistically significant at the .01 level or better.

and the lowest for attendance at PTA meetings to 7 per cent between the highest and the lowest for increased hiring of training-program graduates. In fact, using the chi-square test of significance, we find that ten of the thirty-eight tables of association are statistically significant at the .10 level or better. Eight of the ten that are significant at this level are patterns in which the highest per cent change is among CAAs that are oriented toward community organizational goals. Two of the three patterns that are significant at the .05 level are variables for which the highest change is among community-organization-oriented CAAs. The only variable for which the association is significant at the .01 level--number 34 (increase in level of organization and number of demands by residents)--is also one that is highest among organization-oriented CAAs.

All of the above observations concerning Table 2.1 strongly confirm our initial finding that community organization goal orientation is a very important predictor of CAA influence on institutional change. We shall return to this question again in this chapter, but first it will be helpful to discuss the specific variables in institutional sectors.

#### Specific Institutional Change Variables

##### Social Service Sector

It is apparently among social service agencies that community-organization-oriented Community Action Agencies have their most extensive influence. In nine of the twelve social service agency variables listed (plus one tie), the per cent high on institutional change is highest among organization-oriented CAAs. This is true in eight of thirteen cases for change variables within the public school category, one of eight cases (plus one tie) of change variables in the employer category, and three of five change variables concerning neighborhood political organization. It seems reasonable that this would be the case since social service agencies probably come closest to sharing the ideology of CAAs, are most likely to share with the CAA the goal of moving people out of poverty, and are least likely to have resources that insulate them from the influences of the CAA.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>For a different interpretation of change within social service agencies, see Chap. III of Barss, Rietzel & Associates (1969).

The extent of influence on social service agencies is somewhat overstated since we are dealing with one set of variables, numbers 1 through 6, which are also used in the construction of the second set of variables, numbers 7 through 12.<sup>3</sup> Among the second set, four out of six show the highest per cent in the organizational goal column. This is still the highest proportion within any institutional sector, but it is not as high as for the entire twelve variables. This set of six variables was constructed out of a longer list of twenty-two variables. The dimensions were derived by doing a cluster analysis of these variables and dividing them into three main dimensions--number 7 (increase in general service), number 8 (increase in per cent of service given to the poor), and number 9 (increase in social service agency interaction with the poor). These three clusters include fifteen of the twenty-two variables. Variables number 10 (increase in participation of the poor in social service agencies) and number 11 (increase in social service agencies involvement with the community) are subsets of variable number 9. Finally, variable number 12 is an overall measure of change within social service agencies combining all three of these dimensions.

When we consider the fact that the one variable, among the major dimensions of social service agency change developed in our earlier detailed analysis, that is not highest among organization-oriented CAAs is actually highest among employment-oriented CAAs, we have further corroboration of the finding that organizational emphasis is more effective than social and educational service emphasis. We can observe also that the total change variable is highest in cities where the CAAs emphasize community organization, thus adding further credence to this finding.

---

<sup>3</sup>The previous reports included eight variables within this first group. Two of those--increased use of physical facilities and participation of the poor--are excluded here because they are so thoroughly covered in variables 9, 10, and 11. We have also excluded several variables constructed in the detailed analysis of social service agencies. These exclusions were made simply to keep the tables less complicated. The variables included are items in which there is some specific interest.

The final observation that should be made concerning the social service sector is that among the variables developed in the detailed analysis presented in the earlier report (Orden, 1969), increase in the proportion of service to the poor is highest (72 per cent versus 43 per cent and 35 per cent) among cities in which the CAA is community organization oriented. This is the one variable among these analytically developed dimensions that shows a significant association. It is also the variable that was found in the earlier report to not have a very strong association with CAP impact, i.e., reports of CAP having an influence on change, but was argued to be indirectly a result of such impact through interaction with the poor. The finding here helps to substantiate that interpretation.

#### Public School Sector

When we turn to institutional changes within the public schools, we see that community organization goal orientation is still the most effective direction for CAAs to take. However, such an orientation is not as effective in changing schools as it is in changing social service agencies. For eight of the thirteen public school variables, the highest change is in the organizational column. Three of these eight are significant at the .10 level or better. For two of the five cases in which the organizational column is not highest, the association is significant. Thus, it is among the public school variables that other goal orientations are more likely to be effective.

Variables 13 through 18 are changes within the public schools that have been discussed previously (Vanecko, 1969b). The analysis of these variables within the context of the goal orientation typology does present some new understanding. Variable number 13 (increase in minority group members on the school staff) was seen previously to have a rather strong negative association with community organization orientation. In Table 2.1 we can see that the stronger alternative to community organization emphasis seems to be employment emphasis, with 60 per cent high on this change variable compared to 46 per cent high for CAAs with a traditional orientation and 14 per cent high for CAAs with an organizational

orientation. There is no readily apparent explanation for the fact that employment-oriented CAAs show the highest per cent change. The ambiguity of this variable as a desired institutional change has been noted previously. The finding presented here simply heightens that ambiguity.

Variables 14 through 18 behave as we would expect on the basis of previous analyses. Decrease in the student-teacher ratio, increase in auxiliary staff, and promotion of participation by the public schools are all highest on per cent change among organization-oriented CAAs and previously showed moderately strong gamma associations with this emphasis. Decreased crowding of physical facilities, which had a gamma of  $-.01$  with community orientation emphasis here shows that the highest per cent change has occurred among traditional CAAs. Increased resident participation had a weak positive gamma association with community organization emphasis and here shows that the per cent change is highest among employment-oriented CAAs (29 per cent), is next highest among organizational-oriented CAAs (22 per cent), and is lowest among traditionally oriented CAAs (18 per cent). No consistent pattern according to the substance of these variables can be constructed. Crowding and student-teacher ratio, which are very similar, show opposite patterns. Actual increased participation has a very weak association with organizational emphasis, while promotion of participation has a moderately strong association. It can be noted that the percentage differences for promotion of participation are actually lower than we would expect on the basis of earlier findings.

Among the variables introduced for the first time here, the general tendency is for community organization emphasis to be a better predictor than it was among the variables previously presented. The highest per cent change is in the organizational column for five of the seven new variables, whereas this is the case for only three of the six previously introduced variables. For three out of these five among the new variables, the observed association is significant at the  $.10$  level or better. These are number of innovations, increase in attendance at PTA meetings, and increased school cooperation with programs. The other two variables that are highest on change in the organizational column show

a moderately strong association. These are increase in PTA membership and increased involvement of the PTA with community groups. In the former case, the association is significant at the .12 level. In the latter case, the association is not at such a high level of significance, but this is because change is also high among cities with employment-oriented CAAs. Fifty-six per cent of the cities with a CAA oriented toward organizational goals are high on increased meetings with community groups, while only 35 per cent of those cities in which the CAAs are traditionally oriented are high on this variable.

Among the new variables within the public school sector, we also notice that the two on which cities with a CAA emphasizing organization are not highest (numbers 20 and 44) are highest for those in which employment is emphasized. In both cases, cities with a community organization orientation show a higher percentage change than cities with a traditional, or social and educational service, orientation.

These findings regarding the public school sector indicate that while our original finding that the emphasis on community organization was more influential in the social service sector than in the public school sector does hold up, the difference between the two sectors is nowhere near as great as initially thought. There is considerably more and a stronger association between community organization goal orientation and the public school variables introduced in this report than those reported earlier. In four out of five cases where change is not highest among cities showing a community organization emphasis, it is highest among those showing an employment emphasis. In three of these four cases, cities in which the CAA is community organization oriented are second highest. We can clearly conclude that a community organization orientation is the most conducive to change within the public schools, but also that public schools are the institutional sector most susceptible to change associated with other emphases on the part of the CAA. Why cities in which the CAA emphasizes employment goals should show a high level of change on public school variables is not easily interpretable, but one would suspect that the reasons lie outside the activities of the CAA.

Employment Sector

The employment sector is treated much more thoroughly here than it has been in previous reports. It is the sector in which the emphasis on community organization is least effective. It is also the sector in which an employment goal orientation is most effective, as we would expect. For five of the eight variables shown, the highest per cent showing institutional change is among the cities in which the CAA is employment oriented. These are efforts to hire minority group members, employer-CAA referral cooperation, community services offered, per cent of unskilled workers who are black, and the actual running of job-training programs. It is encouraging to know that when CAAs emphasize employment goals, employers are likely to change.

One of the variables--number 31 (increase in employers advertising equal opportunity)--is highest among cities in which the CAA has organizational goals. However, the difference between cases in which community organization is emphasized and cases in which employment goals are emphasized is very small, 53 per cent versus 50 per cent. The large difference is between these two and cases in which social and educational services are emphasized, where only 7 per cent score high on institutional change. The difference is actually significant at the .02 level. This finding increases our confidence both in the general effectiveness of CAAs that are organization oriented and in our less dramatic finding that employment emphasis does have an effect on employers.

Increased hiring of training-program graduates is equally high among community organization and traditionally oriented CAAs, but the difference between these and those emphasizing employment goals is quite small, 7 per cent versus 0 per cent. This variable is somewhat peculiar. The group shown in this table includes all cities in which there was an increase in hiring. The other two categories of this variable are actual decreases in the number hired and places in which no graduates of training programs are hired. On the assumption that decreases in the number hired are actually better than no graduates being hired, the find-

ings are quite different. Seventy-three per cent of the cities in which the CAA is employment oriented have employers who are hiring some graduates of training programs, while 57 per cent of the cities in which the CAA is organization oriented and 50 per cent of the cities in which the CAA is traditionally oriented have employers who are hiring some graduates. This is probably simply a reflection of whether or not training programs are being operated.

#### Neighborhood Political Organization Sector

When we look at the neighborhood political organization sector, the influence of an emphasis on community organization is again demonstrated. We would expect it to be most strongly demonstrated here, but this is not the case. Three of the five variables show the highest per cent change in cities having CAAs that are community organization oriented. One of these--number 34 (increased level of organization and the number of demands by residents)--is the only association that is significant at the .01 level.

There are three new variables introduced within this sector. When they are combined with the variables introduced earlier, they present an interesting pattern. The two variables that deal with participation in electoral politics (numbers 35 and 36) show the highest per cent change among cities in which the CAA emphasizes employment goals. The first of these variables, which measures actual turnout in elections, is lowest among cities that have CAAs emphasizing community organization. The second does not show a very big difference even between the highest and the lowest, but cities in which CAAs are community organization oriented are in the middle. In an earlier report, it was suggested that the positive association between community organization emphasis and level of organization, along with the negative association between community organization emphasis and participation of residents in electoral politics, might be explained by an interpretation which said that the two were alternative forms of political participation. These findings reinforce that interpretation and also suggest that participation on an

organizational basis may precede electoral participation either because of conscious strategy or because of practical necessity. The process of political mobilization may go from organization and demonstration to voter registration to actual voting. These suggestions will be pursued further in Chapter VI.

The three variables that show the highest level of change among cities in which the CAAs emphasize community organization are all very directly measures of organizational participation and organizational aggressiveness. The first one (number 34) is a measure of the degree to which people actively participate in organizations and present their views and demands to public agencies. The difference between this variable and the last one--number 56 (petitioning of public organizations)--is that the first one largely involves whether anyone from the neighborhood petitioned or testified before public bodies and the last one only treats the two to four most important neighborhood political organizations and whether they petitioned public agencies. It is interesting to note that the more diffuse or general kind of organization and petitioning is significantly associated with community organization emphasis while the more direct influence of one or a few organizations is not quite so strongly associated. Even the latter association is significant at the .15 level.

Variable 37 (per cent of the population who are members of community organizations) is an extremely surprising variable because an increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population of an area belonging to one to four organizations is a very large increase.<sup>4</sup> It is also surprising because we might expect that variables which are strongly associated with a community organization emphasis, such as the level of organization and the number of demands or the petitioning of public agencies, might be kinds of activities that only include a small, select group of leaders or elites.

---

<sup>4</sup>For examples of studies that examine the proportion of a neighborhood's population involved in community organizations, see Gans (1962), Rossi and Dentler (1961), and Wolf and Lebeaux (1969, pt. 3).

Increases in membership of the magnitude described here suggest that the change taking place really extends down to the "grass roots."

### Summary

The detailed findings in Table 2.1 show that community organization emphasis seems to be the most effective policy and program orientation for CAAs to influence change in all sectors combined. Furthermore, community organization is the most important program orientation within each of the institutional sectors except employment, in which, appropriately, an emphasis on employment programs and goals is most effective. Finally, the variables introduced in this report show the effectiveness of community organization emphasis even more dramatically than the variables included in previous reports.

### Two Tests of Community Organization Effectiveness

Two important doubts remain concerning the findings in Table 2.1. The first is the question of whether the observed associations are spurious and are actually due to the characteristics of the cities in which community action programs operate. Second is the question of whether we can adequately test the statistical significance of these associations.

### Test of Spuriousness Due to City Characteristics

The question of whether these findings are spurious is considered in Table 2.2. This table presents zero-order (two-variable) and net partial gamma correlation coefficients between community organization goal orientation and the thirty-eight measures of institutional change.

The possible reasons for doubting the causal implications of the association between community organization emphasis and institutional change are nearly infinite. One kind of doubt that is clearly extremely important and probably the most important derives from the argument that the CAAs themselves are reflections of the cities in which they exist, as are institutional changes. This doubt would lead us to the proposition that both CAA type and institutional change are the results of the kind of

TABLE 2.2

CAA COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOAL ORIENTATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE TOWARD INCREASED RESPONSIVENESS TO THE POOR, CONTROLLING FOR CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Gammas)

Institutional Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Gamma)					Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity		
<u>Social service agencies:</u>								
1. Increase in per cent of clients earning \$5,000.	.37	.33	.36	.37	.41	.36	.47	
2. Increase in per cent of clients who are minority group members . . .	.39	.49	.45	.69	.64	.58	.55	
3. Increase in number of employees . . . . .	.59	.54	.58	.63	.49	.72	.78	
4. Increase of 100 per cent or more in number of volunteers working for SSAs . . . . .	-.02	-.02	-.02	.03	-.05	-.21	-.08	
5. Increase of 100 per cent or more in referrals among SSAs . .	.68	.73	.71	.57	.68	.62	.83	
6. Increase of 30 or more per cent in number of people served by SSAs .	.40	.36	.45	.33	.40	.48	.50	
7. Highest increase in general service dimension <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.18	.20	.21	.07	.23	.22	.28	
8. Highest increase in per cent of service to the poor <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.45	.45	.42	.67	.49	.46	.40	

(Table 2.2 continued)

TABLE 2.2--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Gamma)					
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
9. Highest increase in SSA interaction with poor <sup>a</sup> .	.27	.36	.24	.43	.27	.19	.26
10. High increase of participation of poor in SSA <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.50	.63	.49	.56	.49	.52	.52
11. High per cent SSA involvement with community <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.40	.37	.35	.44	.57	.50	.50
12. High per cent SSA total change <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.54	.62	.52	.58	.56	.55	.42
<u>Public schools:</u>							
13. None or some increase in minority group members on school staff . . . . .	-.53	-.43	-.64	-.50	-.64	-.64	-.67
14. Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	.33	.35	.33	.40	.28	.47	.23
15. Decrease in crowding of physical facilities . . . . .	-.01	-.04	-.04	.02	-.02	-.15	.14
16. Largest increase of auxiliary staff . . . . .	.27	.30	.30	.20	.45	.42	.40
17. Increase in resident participation in public schools . . . . .	.09	.12	.02	.10	.09	-.13	.17
18. Increase in promotion of participation by public schools . . . . .	.30	.33	.28	.28	.32	.27	.13

(Table 2.2 continued)

TABLE 2.2--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Gamma)					
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
19. High number of innovations <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.33	.32	.35	.29	.37	.32	.15
20. High change in parent and community assessment of schools <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.13	.18	.11	.11	-.03	-.07	-.02
21. Increase in PTA membership <sup>b,c</sup> . . . . .	.26	.39	.25	.21	.37	.41	.22
22. Increase of over 1 percent of parents attending PTA meetings <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.52	.52	.52	.52	.39	.48	.51
23. High change in PTA meetings with community groups <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.27	.35	.21	.33	.29	.13	.24
24. Increase in responsiveness to parent and community pressure <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	-.17	-.12	-.19	-.19	-.26	-.25	-.17
25. Increase in school cooperation with programs <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.48	.60	.50	.42	.48	.45	.31
<u>Employers:</u>							
26. Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . . . .	-.11	-.11	-.16	-.23	-.15	-.24	-.24
27. Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	-.02	-.11	-.01	.04	-.14	.24	.06

(Table 2.2 continued)

TABLE 2.2--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Gamma)					Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Per Cent CAP Expenditures		
28. Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	.12	.14	.08	.22	.17	.07	-.03	
29. High employer-CAA referral cooperation <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.48	.55	.45	.49	.39	.41	.35	
30. Three or more new community services offered per employer <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.20	.24	.20	.24	.18	-.06	-.04	
31. Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.40	.41	.39	.36	.41	.46	.21	
32. Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	-.55	-.54	-.53	-.52	-.38	-.49	-.62	
33. Most employers run job-training programs <sup>b</sup>	.21	.29	.26	.31	.37	.22	.29	
<u>Neighborhood political organization:</u>								
34. Increase in level of organization and demands by residents . . . . .	.74	.76	.73	.65	.84	.59	.67	
35. Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	-.41	-.27	-.45	-.31	-.63	-.41	-.33	

(Table 2.2 continued)

Table 2.2--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Gamma)					CAP Expenditures
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity	
36. Voter registration drive and increase in registration <sup>b</sup> . . .	-.53	-.50	-.59	-.48	-.65	-.41	-.41
37. Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.52	.49	.52	.54	.36	.42	.59
38. Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	.44	.57	.42	.52	.50	.28	.36

<sup>a</sup> Variable developed in detailed analyses of SSAs (Orden, 1969).

<sup>b</sup> New variable introduced for the first time in this report.

<sup>c</sup> This variable is dichotomized here as increase versus no change or decrease. The marginal totals are 17 versus 29. It can also be dichotomized as decrease versus no change or increase. The marginals would be 20 versus 26. The latter dichotomy shows a gamma of -.03. This indicates that the effect is to produce an increase given the appropriate conditions, not to prevent a decrease.

city with which we are dealing rather than the results of any policy, program, or activity of the CAA in that city. A somewhat different way of stating this is that CAA emphasis on community organization is a response to change rather than a cause of it. This statement of the problem would suggest that some cities are changing and that our measures of institutional change are simply measures of that. It would further suggest that CAAs emphasize community organization when they find themselves in an environment of change. In either event, the test of the argument is the same.

The variables considered here certainly do not provide an exhaustive list of the characteristics of cities that might be important. They are, however, variables that seem to be critically important and thus, taken together, provide a fairly confident estimate of whether the cities themselves explain the associations observed between CAA characteristics and institutional change. The variables include size of city, per cent of the population that is nonwhite, per cent of the population that is poor, region of the country, and general level of political activity within the target neighborhood. A sixth variable, which is an indirect indicator of general characteristics of the city and also important because it is an indirect indicator of overall CAA effort, is the general level of CAP expenditures within the city.

The size of a city can be a critical factor from a number of different perspectives. There is likely to be a threshold of social and institutional organization beyond which change is much more likely. Larger cities are probably growing more and thus are more susceptible to change. In fact, one might argue that the limited level of change we are measuring might be less critical or upsetting to the status quo and thus more likely in larger cities.

The second city-characteristic variable is the per cent of the population that is nonwhite. The War on Poverty and the Community Action Program especially have been in various ways identified with the civil rights and black pride movements. It might be argued that change is much more clearly a result of these activities than of CAP activities. It

might be argued that neighborhoods are most likely to be changing. Therefore, we have included this variable.

The per cent of the population that is poor is a variable that might operate in different ways. It might be positively associated with change because it means there is a larger constituency for increased services to the poor. It also means that there has been more change simply because of increased in-migration of poor people or because of economic fluctuations. On the other hand, it could mean that change in the institutions serving the poor would represent a more critical systemic change for the entire city.

The fourth variable, region of the country, is divided into four regions--Northeast, South, Midwest, and West. One would guess that the most critical differences would be between the South and the other regions, but the data are not always that clear in this regard. Thus, we have left this variable divided into the four regions instead of simply dividing it into South and non-South. What prediction one might make about which regions would be undergoing the highest level of change is not clear, but regional differences are interesting for a wide variety of reasons.

The level of political activity in the target neighborhood is a variable that we expect to be very closely related to institutional change. It is the one variable here that is derived from the data collected in this research. It is constructed from the reports of the community political leaders and involves questions concerning community organization membership, voting, registration of voters, presentations before public bodies, and demonstrations. While this variable is not a direct measure of the level of political activity in the city as a whole, it is related to the institutional change measured within the particular target neighborhood, and we have no particular reason to believe that these neighborhoods are not representative of the city or at least of the poor population of the city.

The final variable included in this discussion is the per capita amount of CAP funds that have been expended from 1964 to 1968 in these cities. This variable is derived from reports of the Office of Economic Opportunity. On the one hand, it measures the degree to which the cities are generally involved in obtaining resources and specifically federal resources in order to insure welfare. Looked at in this light, it is a measure that characterizes the city. It could also be argued that the different goal orientations of the CAA are in some ways simply a reflection of the general amount of "community action" that is characteristic of a city. This argument would contend that the observed associations are not tied into the specific goal orientation but are rather a reflection of the overall effort by the CAA.

If the association between community organization emphasis and the measures of institutional change presented here hold up when we control for these variables, that is, regardless of the effects of these variables, then our confidence in the causal connection is much greater. If the association does not hold up, either we can conclude that it was simply spurious or perhaps we can specify the conditions under which a community organization goal orientation does result in institutional change.

In Table 2.2 we present both zero-order and net partial gamma coefficients. The gamma coefficient and its specific form for two dichotomies (Q) have been discussed in Chapter II. The net partial gamma coefficient is simply a weighted average of the partial gamma coefficients for each of a set of categories of the control variable. In this instance, each of the control variables is dichotomized at the median, and thus the net partial gamma correlation coefficient is the weighted average of the two gammas, e.g., the gamma for small cities and the gamma for large cities. If the gamma coefficient is reduced considerably from the zero-order association to the net partial association, then we can conclude that the control variable predicts both community organization emphasis and institutional change. The majority of variables included in this report are actually measured as Q coefficients of association, which are

a species of gamma used in the dichotomous case. A trichotomy was used only when one or the other of the two variables, community organization emphasis and institutional change, could not be dichotomized into relatively equal categories. This dichotomization was done so that the partial coefficients and to some degree the net partial coefficients would be based on a large enough case base to be reliable.<sup>5</sup>

Table 2.2 presents a vast amount of data. Some clear and simple conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, one has to make some decisions concerning what will be considered an important difference between the zero-order association and the net partial association. These decisions must to some degree be arbitrary. Complicated criteria for making this decision could be developed, but they are unnecessary in the present situation. A very simple criterion can be used by establishing what difference will be judged important. The figure chosen here is a difference of .10 or greater. In determining whether associations that were observed to be strong on a zero-order level are spurious, this is a rather stringent criterion. For variables that are strongly associated, a decrease of .10 certainly does not greatly reduce the strength of their association.

When we inspect Table 2.2 for differences of .10 or greater, we find that out of a possible 228 such comparisons, only 73 or 32 per cent, are differences of .10 or greater. More importantly, we find that only 35 out of 228, or 15 per cent, are actually in a negative direction, either diminishing positive associations or increasing negative associations. Fifty-two per cent of all important differences are in a positive direction, that is, increasing positive associations or decreasing negative associations. It can be concluded on this basis that overall the introduction of these control variables in no way suggests that the zero-order associations are spurious. Thus, there is no reason to alter our initial findings.

---

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion of the net partial gamma and Q coefficients, as well as a guide to calculation, see Davis (1967).

It would be helpful to examine this matrix in two additional ways. First, we could look at each of the four institutional sectors to see if the control variables have an important effect on the associations and to compare institutional sectors. Second, we could compare the control variables to see which ones produce the most change and in what direction.

When we compare institutional sectors, we find some rather surprising differences. The institutional sector that shows the most overall change in both a positive and negative direction is neighborhood political organization. This sector is followed in order by public schools, social service agencies, and employers. In 12 of 30 possible comparisons, or 40 per cent, there is an important difference between the zero-order and the net partial association for neighborhood political organizations. This is true in 25 of 78, or 32 per cent, of the possible comparisons in the public school sector, in 22 of 72, or 31 per cent, of the comparisons in the social service agency sector, and in 14 of 48, or 29 per cent, of the comparisons in the employer sector.

Besides being highest in important differences, neighborhood political organization is also highest in the proportion of negative changes. Twenty per cent of the possible comparisons, or 50 per cent of the actual important differences, are negative. The pattern in the public school sector is similar, with 19 per cent of all possible comparisons and 60 per cent of the actual important differences being in a negative direction. In the employment sector, the pattern is quite similar, with 19 per cent of the possible comparisons and 64 per cent of the important differences being in a negative direction. However, the pattern among the social service agency variables is quite different. Here 7 per cent of all possible comparisons--5 of 72--and 23 per cent of all observed important differences are in a negative direction. The association between CAA community organization emphasis and institutional change withstands the test of control variables best in the social service agency sector. In the other three sectors, the test is withstood quite well although not as well as among social service agencies, with very little difference between the three.

An intriguing pattern is also found when we inspect and compare the control variables. The amount of CAP expenditures most frequently shows important differences--22 of 38 comparisons, or 58 per cent--and also most frequently shows negative differences--12 of 38, or 31 per cent. The next most critical variable is the general level of political activity in the target neighborhood. For this variable, 19 of 38, or 50 per cent, of the comparisons show an important difference, with 11 of 38, or 29 per cent, being negative. Following these two is region of country, with 15, or 39 per cent, being important differences and 8, or 21 per cent, being negative. In the per cent poor column, the degree of effect is next highest with 9, or 24 per cent, showing important differences, but the direction of the effect is different. In only three cases is this in a negative direction. City size shows more cases in a positive direction--7, or 18 per cent--while the total number of important differences in this column is also 7. Finally, in the per cent nonwhite column, there is only one case of an important difference and that one case is in a positive direction.

The findings presented in Table 2.2 can be summarized in three statements. First, the association between CAA community organization emphasis and institutional change is not a spurious one actually due to characteristics of the city. Second, within the context of what little difference there is between the zero-order and the net partial associations, the sector that is least affected by the control variables is social service agencies. Third, the level of CAP expenditures and the level of political activity in the target neighborhood are the two variables that have the strongest impact, while the per cent of the population that is nonwhite has the weakest impact.

#### Statistical Significance

We can now turn to the very difficult question of statistical significance. The problem of statistical significance in survey research has vexed social scientists since the beginning of survey analysis. It is apparently not going to be solved in any simple or single manner. Nor will it be possible to review and summarize the pertinent arguments in any

comprehensive manner in this report.<sup>6</sup> We can, however, give a brief general statement of the problem and offer a solution appropriate to the research at hand.

One of the most literate statements of the problem is found in Kish (1959, p. 336):

There is no easy answer to this problem. We must be constantly aware of the nature of tests of null hypotheses in searching survey data for interesting results. After finding a result improbable under the null hypothesis the researcher must not accept blindly the hypothesis of "significance" due to a presumed cause. Among the several alternative hypotheses is that of having discovered an improbable random event through sheer diligence.

The problem is quite simply that tests of statistical significance presume that the researcher is testing a single hypothesis. The entire purpose of survey research is to test a large number of hypotheses, that is, to measure in an equivalent manner a large number of characteristics from a large number of cases and to explore the relations among them.<sup>7</sup> The problem is that a matrix of association of the variables in a survey study will produce a number of associations that are significant at the .05 level. Indeed, such a matrix will show that approximately 5 per cent of the associations are significant at that level.

One could argue that more than 10 per cent of the associations shown in Table 2.1 are significant at the .10 per cent level and thus the association between community organization emphasis and institutional change is apparently significant at better than the .10 level. There is some merit to that argument. However, it is far from being totally satisfactory.

---

<sup>6</sup>For discussions of the problem of statistical significance in survey research and in research using categorical and ordinal variables, see Goodman (1961, 1964), Kish (1959), McGinnis (1958), and Selvin (1957). Readers interested in the problems of statistical significance should also consult the works cited in Chapter I, footnote 9, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>The most comprehensive overview of this research tradition can be found in Rosenberg (1968). See also Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1955).

There is a rather simple alternative to this solution that we would like to suggest. On the basis of the analysis so far, we have developed the following hypothesis: If a Community Action Agency emphasizes community organization goals as opposed to traditional social and educational service goals, then institutions serving the poor will become more responsive to the needs and demands of the poor. We can test this hypothesis by developing a general measure of institutional change, observing the association between this measure of change and community organization emphasis and testing the significance of this single association.

Ideally we would want to test this hypothesis with an entirely different set of data. We shall be able to do this in the analysis of the data from the second sample of fifty cities. However, a less satisfactory but more immediate solution is to develop an overall measure with these data, realizing that the data are the same as used for the development of the hypothesis. There is certainly some bias in this procedure since we have already observed some association between the individual components of overall institutional change and community organization emphasis, but this bias is not so great as to prevent our use of this procedure. The logic of the procedure is analogous to first driving through the city of Chicago and observing that the more expensive houses tend to be on the periphery or in the suburbs and then going to the census and testing this hypothesis by correlating value of housing with distance from the center of the city. The actual cases observed and the measurement of them at least overlap and may be equivalent. Nevertheless, it is a good compromise solution.

The construction of an index of general institutional change has the added advantage that it increases reliability a great deal by incorporating thirty-four different indices of specific institutional change, each of which is composed of something between two and ten individual items. The validity of this index is much less clear because the specific content of concrete meaning of "institutional change" is not at

all specific. The real-world referent of this index is only vaguely conceived, except as the sum of all of the individual items that go into it. The degree to which these items are representative of institutional change is based on several decisions and judgments made early in the project on the basis of the knowledge and understanding of the authors. Evaluation of the validity of a general index of institutional change can only be based on the detailed content of the specific items that form it and the relations among them. Such an evaluation requires judging whether or not the institutional sectors and the particular variables adequately represent "institutional change."

The procedure used in constructing our index of general institutional change is really quite simple. Thirty-four indices of specific institutional changes are used. The general index does not include the six comprehensive dimensions of social service agency change developed through cluster analysis. However, it does include two additional items of change within the social service agency sector that are not in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. These are increased participation of the poor in social service agencies and increased use of the physical facilities of social service agencies. Otherwise the variables that are incorporated in the general index of institutional change are those shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Each of the thirty-four variables in the index is dichotomized at the median. A score of one is given if the variable is above the median and a score of zero if it is below the median. This score is then divided by the total number of variables for which there are answers. The resulting scores range from .04 to .75. The mean is .47, as is the median. The index is divided into quartiles for presentation here so that the presentation will be comparable to other tables in this and previous reports. The ranges of scores are from .04 to .39 for the first quartile, from .40 to .46 for the second quartile, from .47 to .57 for the third quartile, and from .58 to .75 for the fourth quartile.

Table 2.3 shows the relation between CAA community organization goal orientation and our index of general institutional change. The

association is very strong and almost totally linear. The only exception to linearity is seen in the third quartile, where 29 per cent of the CAAs with no emphasis on community organization and only 13 per cent of the agencies with some emphasis appear. Otherwise we have such dramatic contrasts as 40 per cent of the agencies with most emphasis being in the highest quartile and none of the agencies with no emphasis appearing there. Also, 57 per cent of the agencies with no emphasis on community organization are in the lowest quartile and none of the agencies with most emphasis are in that quartile.

TABLE 2.3

CAA COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOAL ORIENTATION  
AND GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE  
(Per Cent)

General Institutional Change	CAA Community Organization Goal Orientation			N
	No Emphasis	Some Emphasis	Most Emphasis	
1st quartile (lowest) .	57 (8)	31 (5)	- (0)	13
2nd quartile . . . . .	14 (2)	25 (4)	25 (5)	12
3rd quartile . . . . .	29 (4)	13 (2)	35 (7)	12
4th quartile (highest).	- (0)	31 (5)	40 (8)	13
Total . . . . .	100 (14)	100 (16)	100 (20)	50

gamma = .59  
tau = .47  
Z $\tau$  (.05) = .19  
Z $\tau$  (.01) = .25  
Z $\tau$  (.001) = .30  
 $\chi^2$  = 18.16  
df = 6  
significance level = <.01

The association shown in this table is represented by a gamma coefficient of association of .59. It is also represented by a tau coefficient of .47. The tau coefficient of association is used here primarily because it has a less complex and more general test of significance than does gamma. Tau is a measure of ordinal association just as is gamma, but with more stringent criteria. It predicts not only that the individual in a pair that is higher on one variable will not be lower on the other variable but also that it will not be tied on the other variable.<sup>8</sup>

Two tests of significance are shown for the data in Table 2.3. The test of significance for the tau statistic is the more powerful one because it takes into account the fact that these are ordinal variables instead of simply being responsive to any association between them. This test shows that the tau association is significant at the .001 level when it equals .30. Thus, the association here is significant at better than the .001 level. The chi-square test, which does not take ordinality into account, shows that the association is significant at better than the .01 level. There can be very little doubt about rejecting the null hypothesis and accepting our alternative hypothesis.

Even in the face of this dramatic table, there may be some lingering doubt concerning this association. Clearly some doubt exists about the validity and meaning of the finding, both in terms of institutional change and in terms of what kinds of things CAAs emphasizing community organizations actually do. These doubts are the subjects of Chapters III-VI. The other doubt that might linger is the same as that expressed above about whether change and the characteristics of the CAA are both functions of the characteristics of the city, thus making the association between community organization goal orientation and change spurious. This doubt is considered in this chapter.

---

<sup>8</sup>For a discussion of these statistics and their relative merits, see the works cited in Chapter I, footnote 9. Also, general discussions are contained in Anderson and Zelditch (1968), Levy (1968), Mueller and Scheussler (1961), and Walker and Lev (1953).

Table 2.4 shows the zero-order association between CAA goal orientation toward community organization and the general index of institutional change plus the partial and net partial coefficients controlling for variables describing characteristics of the city. Again the Q coefficient of association--a gamma coefficient for the dichotomous case--is used in order to obtain reliable partial coefficients.

TABLE 2.4

CAA COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOAL ORIENTATION AND GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Zero order	.71	Partial Q	
City Characteristics	Net Partial Q	When Control Variable Is--	
		Low	High
City size . . . . .	.71	.83	.50
Per cent nonwhite . . . . .	.65	.84	.39
Per cent poor . . . . .	.64	.91	.38
Region . . . . .	.64	-	-
Level of political activity . .	.58	.81	.03
CAP expenditures . . . . .	.70	.14	.80

The results are impressive. The zero-order association between community organization orientation and institutional change is .71. This simply reflects the small departure from linearity observed in Table 2.3 and the resulting avoidance of that when the variables are collapsed into dichotomies. More important is the fact that five out of the six control variables do not substantially alter the level of association between community organization emphasis and institutional change as shown by the net partial Q coefficients. City size, per cent nonwhite, per cent poor,

region of the country, and level of CAP expenditures clearly do not explain the relationship between community organization orientation and institutional change. The general level of political activity in a target neighborhood also does not explain the relationship, but there is a substantial difference between the zero-order association and the net partial association when this variable is controlled. It is a difference of .13, going from .71 for the zero order to .58 for the net partial. A net partial of .58 is still extremely strong. The general level of political activity was also observed to be very important in Table 2.2.

The section of the table showing the partial coefficients is also quite interesting. The clear pattern is that when the control variable is low, the association between community organization goal orientation and institutional change is much higher than when the control variable is high. Each of these control variables is positively associated with general institutional change but in widely varying degrees.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it is among cities that have few other factors inducing institutional change that CAAs emphasizing community organization are most effective. This is most clearly true in regard to the general level of political activity within the target neighborhood, where the partial coefficient equals .03 when activity is high and .81 when political activity is low. The difference between the two partial coefficients is almost as high for CAP expenditures, where the partial coefficient is .80 when expenditures are high and .14 when expenditures are low.

In conclusion, we can state that the association between community organization orientation of CAAs and institutional change has withstood every test to which it has been subjected. Thus, we infer that the association is a clear indication of a characteristic of community action programs that makes them effective. CAAs that emphasize community

---

<sup>9</sup>The Q coefficients are as follows: city size = .24, per cent nonwhite = .39, per cent poor = .04, CAP expenditures = .49, level of political activity = .58.

organizations produce results. It is now necessary to describe, analyze, and interpret what such CAAs actually do and how they produce change. These subjects are covered in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR

This chapter deals with the process of change in the public school sector. The analysis covers several different aspects of change. First we shall analyze the characteristics and orientation of the central Community Action Agency. Then we shall move in order to the emphases and activities of neighborhood centers in the target areas, to the pressure for change generated by the CAAs and by citizens' community groups, and lastly to the characteristics of the city.

#### Measures of Change

Change in the public school sector is measured by thirteen variables, which were constructed from responses to a questionnaire administered to the presidents of three parent-teacher associations in the target areas in each of the fifty cities in the sample. A total of 142 interviews were completed.<sup>1</sup> Six of the change variables are the same as those used in the first report (Vanecko, 1969b), and seven are new constructions. (The details for the construction of the variables are described in Appendix A.)

The thirteen change variables have been grouped into three major categories: those describing internal school change, those describing change in school-community relations, and those describing change in the PTAs.

---

<sup>1</sup>In forty-five cities all three PTA presidents responded, in one city two PTA presidents responded, in three cities only one responded, and in one city no one responded.

The six variables that describe change within the schools are as follows:

1. Increase in the number of principals and teachers who are members of minority groups
2. Decrease in the student-teacher ratio in schools serving target areas
3. Decrease in crowding of physical facilities
4. Increase in the auxiliary staff supporting schools in the target areas
5. Extent to which schools have adopted innovations in methods, personnel, and curriculum (New variable)
6. Extent to which schools cooperate with extra-educational programs (New variable)

The five variables that describe change in relations between the school and the community are:

1. Parent and community assessment of change in the schools (New variable)
2. Change in the responsiveness of the schools to parent and community pressure (New variable)
3. Change in PTA interaction with community groups (New variable)
4. Increased participation of residents of target areas in school affairs
5. Increased attempts by the schools in target areas to promote parent and resident participation

The variables in the school-community relations area are further subdivided into two groups--appraisal and interaction. The first two variables are measures of appraisal, and the other three are measures of interaction.

The two variables describing change in the parent-teacher associations are as follows:

1. Change in the proportion of parents who are members of the PTA (New variable)
2. Change in the proportion of parents who attend PTA meetings (New variable)

Table 3.1 shows relationships among these thirteen variables measuring change in the public school sector. In general, the variables

TABLE 3.1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEASURES OF CHANGE  
IN THE SCHOOL SECTOR

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	Minority Groups	Student-Teacher Ratio	Decreased Crowding	Auxiliary Staff	Innovations	Cooperation with Programs	Assessment	Responsiveness	PTA Interaction with Community Groups	Resident Participation	School Promotes Participation	PTA Membership <sup>a</sup>	PTA Attendance
<u>Change within schools:</u>													
Hiring minority groups . . . . .	--	.46	-.12	.32	.01	.43	.40	.13	-.01	.20	.33	-.07	-.34
Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	--		.19	.28	.51	.22	.21	.06	.13	-.07	.69	.29	-.18
Decreased crowding . . . . .			--	-.05	.68	-.24	.29	.29	-.18	-.25	.15	-.18	.10
Auxiliary staff . . . . .				--	.41	.24	.28	.07	.30	.28	.36	.65	.44
Innovations . . . . .					--	.46	.50	-.02	-.11	-.09	.58	.15	.19
Cooperation with programs . . . . .						--	.13	.02	-.05	.03	-.22	.20	-.35
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>													
Assessment . . . . .							--	.68	.62	.32	.58	-.03	.35
Responsiveness . . . . .								--	.56	.36	.19	.20	.27
PTA interaction with community groups . . . . .									--	.61	.32	.19	.27
Resident participation . . . . .										--	.26	.30	-.04
School promotes participation . . . . .											--	-.21	.42
<u>Change in PTA:</u>													
Membership <sup>a</sup> . . . . .												--	.19
Attendance . . . . .													--

Mean Q among school changes = .25  
 Mean Q among changes in school-community relations = .45  
 Mean Q among PTA changes = .19

Mean Q between school change and school-community relations changes = .15  
 Mean Q between school change and PTA change = .08  
 Mean Q between PTA change and school-community relations change = .17

<sup>a</sup>These coefficients are gammas, not Q's.

were dichotomized at the median and the coefficient of association is expressed as a value of the Q correlation coefficient. On one variable, change in PTA membership, the distribution could not be dichotomized without sharply skewing the distribution. In this case the distribution was trichotomized, and the measure of association is a value of gamma.

The matrix of associations shows that generally there are positive associations between the various measures of change. Fifty-eight of the seventy-eight associations are positive. This suggests that desired change in one aspect of the school sector is likely to occur in conjunction with desired change in other aspects of the school sector.

A cluster analysis of the thirteen school change variables reveals a strong association among the items in the area of school-community relations (mean Q coefficient for this group is .45), a moderate association among the items in the internal school change area (mean Q = .25), and a somewhat lower association among the items in the PTA area (mean Q = .19). Change in school-community relations has some association both with internal school change and with PTA change (mean Q = .15 and .17, respectively). There is little association between school change and PTA change (mean Q = .08).

In this analysis the change variables will not be combined into three distinct indices, even though this procedure has the advantage of increasing the reliability of the individual measures. The average coefficients are high enough to justify the construction of indices, but preliminary investigations indicate that two of the variables in the school-community relations area--assessment and responsiveness--tend to show negative associations while the other items show positive associations when they are cross-tabulated with other variables. This is true to a lesser degree with one of the items in the internal school change area--the increase in hiring of minority groups on school staffs. Indices would obscure these tendencies, and important insights into the process of change in the school sector might be lost. The individual items will therefore be retained. However, the three categories--

internal school change, change in school-community relations, and change in the PTA--will be considered as separate groups, and the mean associations will be used to summarize the data. The three distinct groups are conceptually meaningful and provide a useful framework for the analysis of change in the public school sector.

#### Community Organization and School Change

A basic finding in this evaluation study is that CAA community organization is related to institutional change. Cities in which CAAs emphasize organizational goals are more likely to be undergoing institutional change than are cities in which the CAAs emphasize service goals. Starting with this finding as a point of departure, we shall pursue the relationships of CAA goal orientation and CAA emphasis on community organization with the change variables in each of the three school groups. We shall then move to the activity level and observe how neighborhood center community-organizing activity is associated with change in the public schools.

Table 3.2 shows the relationships of change in the public school sector with CAA goal orientation, with CAA emphasis on community organization, and with neighborhood center community-organizing activity. The CAA variables were derived from responses to a questionnaire administered to the directors and board members of Community Action Agencies in the fifty cities in the sample. The data on neighborhood center organizing activity were derived from two sources: (1) responses to a single question asked of the neighborhood center director in the target area, and (2) responses to several questions asked of three leaders of community organizations involved in political activity in the same target neighborhood. (The construction of the CAA goal typology was described in Chapter II, and the construction of the other CAA and neighborhood center variables can be found in the first report [Vanecko, 1969b] and is included in Appendix A of this report.)

TABLE 3.2

CAA GOAL ORIENTATION, CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION,  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY,  
BY CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR

School Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation (Per Cent High on Change Variable)			Q Coefficients of Association		
	Tradi- tional (N = 17)	Organiza- tional (N = 18)	Empley- ment (N = 15)	CAA Emphasis on Community Organiza- tion	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity	
					As Reported by--	
				NC Directors	Political Leaders	
<u>Change within schools:</u>						
Hiring minority groups . . . . .	46	14	60	-.53	.22	.57
Decrease in student- teacher ratio . . . . .	50	65	43	.33	-.13	.53
Decreased crowding . . . . .	29	22	0	-.01	-.44	-.08
Auxiliary staff . . . . .	18	33	29	.27	.01	.42
Innovations . . . . .	59	67	36	.33	-.17	-.12
Cooperation with programs	47	61	21	.48	-.27	.28
Mean Q . . . . .				.15	-.13	.27
Mean Q (excluding hiring of minority groups) . . . . .				.28	-.20	.21
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>						
<u>Appraisal:</u>						
Assessment . . . . .	35	56	64	.13	-.15	.34
Responsiveness . . . . .	35	44	57	-.17	-.43	.37
<u>Interaction:</u>						
PTA interaction with community groups . . . . .	35	56	50	.27	-.28	.51
Resident participation.	18	22	29	.09	.38	.45
School promotes parti- cipation . . . . .	12	17	14	.30	.01	.29
Mean Q: Appraisal . . . . .				-.02	-.29	.36
Interaction. . . . .				.22	.04	.42
Total . . . . .				.12	.08	.39
<u>Change in PTA:</u>						
Membership <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	24	50	38	.26	-.16	.59
Attendance . . . . .	27	75	46	.52	.34	.00
Mean Q . . . . .				.39	.09	.30
Total mean Q . . . . .				.17	.11	.32

<sup>a</sup>These coefficients are gammas, not Qs.

For each of the thirteen school change variables, the table shows the per cent scoring high on the three different types of CAA goal orientation--traditional, or social and educational services, community organization, and employment. The table also shows the coefficients of association between school change and CAA emphasis on community organization, which is simply another way of looking at goal orientation.

We note that the highest per cent on eight of the thirteen school change variables occurs when the CAA goal orientation is community organization, the highest per cent on four of the change variables occurs when the CAA goal orientation is employment, while the highest per cent on only one school change variable occurs when the CAA goal orientation is traditional.

Within the group of variables describing internal school change, four of the six variables are highest when the goal orientation is community organization. These variables are decrease in student-teacher ratio, increase in auxiliary staff, increase in innovations, and cooperation with educational programs. The mean association of these four variables with CAA emphasis on community organization is .35, while the mean association for all the six variables in the internal school change category is only .15. This low overall level of association results from the fact that there is no association (-.01) between decreased crowding and CAA emphasis on community organization and a strong negative correlation (-.53) between increase in minority group members on school staffs and CAA emphasis on community organization.

Employment-oriented CAAs show the highest per cent change on the variable measuring the increase in hiring of minority groups on school staffs. The per cent high on this variable is 60 per cent when the CAA goal orientation is employment, 46 per cent when the orientation is traditional, and only 14 per cent when the orientation is community organization. The actual hiring of minority groups by the public schools increases more in cities where CAAs emphasize employment goals than in cities where CAAs emphasize traditional or community organization goals.

Additional evidence to support this hypothesis is presented in Chapter IV, which deals with change in the employment sector. The data there show that the effect of CAA employment goal orientation is stronger on three of the employment change variables when community organization orientation is low. There is a greater effort to hire minority group members, increased advertising of "equal opportunity," and increased per cent of unskilled workers who are black when CAAs are employment oriented and CAA community organization orientation is low. The implication is that a CAA's influence on employers toward opening job opportunities for blacks and other minorities is strongest when it concentrates on employment goals and does not get involved in community organization activities.

Looking next at the five variables measuring change in relations between the school and the community, we note that two of these variables show the highest per cent change when the goal orientation is community organization. These variables are increased PTA interaction with community groups and increased promotion by the schools of resident participation in school affairs. Three variables are highest when the goal orientation is employment. These are parent-community assessment of school change, change in responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure, and increase in resident participation in school affairs. This pattern is reflected in the coefficients measuring the association between these variables and CAA emphasis on community organization. For the two variables that are highest on organizational goal orientation, the mean Q with CAA community organization emphasis is .29. For the three variables that are highest on employment emphasis, the mean Q with CAA community organization is only -.02.

Turning last to the two variables measuring change in the PTA-- increase in membership and increase in attendance--both show the highest per cent change when the CAA goal orientation is organizational. For these variables the mean Q with CAA emphasis on community organization is .39.

We can conclude, based simply on the quantity of change in the school sector while setting aside any evaluation of the relative quality of the change, that CAA community organization orientation is the strongest predictor of change, employment orientation is the second strongest predictor of change, and traditional orientation is the weakest predictor of change.

We shall now look at neighborhood center community-organizing activity. The fifth column of Table 3.2 shows the association between neighborhood center emphasis on community-organizing activity, as reported by the NC directors, and the school change variables. There are only two moderately strong positive associations and two strong negative associations. The former associations are with resident participation and increased attendance at PTA meetings ( $Q = .38$  and  $.34$ , respectively), while the latter are with decreased crowding and responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure ( $Q = -.44$  and  $-.43$ , respectively).

The negative association with decreased crowding is consistent with the finding that a traditional CAA goal orientation emphasizing social and educational services shows the highest per cent change for this variable. Such an orientation appears to be most closely associated with reducing crowding in the schools.

The negative association with responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure suggests that neighborhood center community-organizing activity increases the level of dissatisfaction of citizens with the schools' response to pressure.

The positive associations with resident participation and attendance at PTA meetings suggest that neighborhood community-organizing activity is directed toward mobilizing resident participation in cooperation with the parent-teacher associations.

The near absence of positive associations with the internal school change variables for this measure of neighborhood center community-organizing activity is in contrast to the associations we observed for CAA emphasis on community organization. The four change variables in this

area that were positively associated with CAA emphasis on community organization are negative or close to zero for neighborhood center emphasis on community-organizing activity as reported by the NC directors.

The overall pattern of the associations with the school change variables suggests that neighborhood center community-organizing activity has little direct effect on desired change in the public schools. Neighborhood centers concentrate on mobilizing resident participation to work with the PTAs to produce desired change through parent-community pressure. Raising the community's level of discontent with the schools' response to its pressure may be an important strategy in motivating the community to press for change.

The second measure of neighborhood center community-organizing activity, which is based on responses from political leaders, may reflect both the direct and indirect effects of these neighborhood center activities. Political leaders probably responded in terms of the visible changes or visible activity that had actually taken place in the schools and may have attributed change directly to neighborhood center community-organizing activity. The political leaders' measure of neighborhood center community-organizing activity is shown in the last column of Table 3.2. The associations of this measure with the school change variables are considerably stronger than the ones we observed for either CAA emphasis in community organization or neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the NC directors. Ten of the thirteen associations are strong and positive--four of the coefficients are over .50, two are between .40 and .49, two are between .30 and .39, and two are between .25 and .29. The mean coefficients are .27 for the variables measuring internal school change, .39 for the variables measuring change in school-community relations, .30 for the variables measuring change in the PTA, and .32 for all the school change variables taken together. In contrast, the corresponding mean coefficients of association with neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the NC directors are -.13, .08, .09, and .11.

It is not entirely clear why the political leaders should yield such widely different results than the NC directors. Part of the explanation may simply be that the political leader measure is based on reports from three individuals in each target neighborhood, who were asked several questions, while the neighborhood center measure is based on a single report from the NC director in that neighborhood, who was asked a single question. A more substantive explanation is the distinction between the direct and indirect effects of community-organizing activity on school change. The NC directors appear to be making this distinction, the political leaders do not. The political leaders are reporting visible changes in the school sector that can be attributed directly to neighborhood center efforts to mobilize citizens to press for change and indirectly to the neighborhood center through the changes that result from community pressure. The political leader's perspective covers the neighborhood. The neighborhood center director's perspective covers his staff.

Other CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics  
and School Change

We turn now to other characteristics of the CAA and the neighborhood centers to see how they relate to change in the public school sector. The characteristics that will be considered are the following: (1) CAA emphasis on participation of the poor, (2) neighborhood center emphasis on community control, (3) neighborhood center support for militant activity as reported by the neighborhood center director, and (4) neighborhood center support for militant activity as reported by the political leaders. The first variable, which is derived from interviews with the board of the CAA in each of the fifty cities in the sample, includes the selection of the CAA board, representation on the CAA board, hiring of the poor in positions with some control over decision making, and expressed commitments to the idea of participation. The second variable, which is based on interviews with the neighborhood center director in the target area in each of the cities, shows the degree to which the neighborhood

center emphasizes community control over itself and autonomy in its program. This is measured in terms of the selection and representation on the neighborhood center advisory board (NCAB) and the degree of control which the NCAB has over the neighborhood center. The last two variables measure the degree to which the neighborhood center is involved in supporting militant activity. Militant activity refers to organizations concerned with activities directed at three issues--welfare rights, tenants' rights, and community control of schools. These two variables are from two sources: an interview with the neighborhood center director in each target area and interviews with three political leaders in the same target neighborhood. The data are presented in Table 3.3.

In the first column, we see that in cities where CAAs stress participation of the poor, there are very strong associations with innovations in the public schools ( $Q = .74$ ) and with promotion of resident participation in school affairs by the schools ( $Q = .55$ ). There are also moderate associations with decreased crowding (.30), responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure (.30), and parent-community assessment of school change (.29). On the other hand, there is little or no association with increases in PTA membership, increases in PTA attendance, PTA interaction with community groups, or resident participation in school affairs. The absence of an association between CAA emphasis on participation of the poor and resident participation in school affairs seems out of line and is difficult to explain. A possible explanation is that in these cities schools promote resident participation (the association is .55) either on their own initiative or under gentle prodding from the CAA. However, this may reflect one of two situations: parent participation may be so lacking that it takes a longer time to mobilize parents or participation may already be quite high and not likely to increase.

The absence of an association between CAA emphasis on participation of the poor and PTA change suggests that there is a tendency to bypass the PTA in cities where the CAAs emphasize participation of the poor. In these cities there is apparently a tendency to exert direct pressure for change on the schools and to concentrate this pressure on

TABLE 3.3

SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS,  
BY CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity As Reported by--	
			NC Directors	Political Leaders
<u>Change within schools:</u>				
Hiring minority groups	.19	.24	.73	.00
Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . .	-.22	-.04	.20	-.26
Decreased crowding . .	.30	.17	.14	-.02
Auxiliary staff . . . .	.00	-.28	.09	.33
Innovations . . . . .	.74	-.39	.42	.22
Cooperation with programs . . . . .	.10	.33	-.09	.10
Mean Q . . . . .	.19	-.01	.24	.06
Mean Q (excluding hiring of minority groups) . .	.18	-.04	.15	.07
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>				
<u>Appraisal:</u>				
Assessment . . . . .	.29	-.48	-.25	-.52
Responsiveness . . . .	.30	.48	.42	-.30
<u>Interaction:</u>				
PTA interaction with community groups .	.00	.42	-.34	.15
Resident participation . . . . .	.17	.23	-.06	.43
School promotes participation . . . . .	.55	-.18	-.15	-.05
Mean Q: Appraisal	.30	.00	.09	-.41
Interaction	.24	.16	-.18	.18
Total	.26	.09	-.18	-.06
<u>Change in PTA:</u>				
Membership <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	-.20	.33	.15	.24
Attendance . . . . .	.11	-.49	-.32	.32
Mean Q . . . . .	-.05	-.08	-.09	.26
Total mean Q . . . .	.18	.11	.16	.05

<sup>a</sup>These coefficients are gammas, not Qs.

innovative change. Finally, these efforts tend to increase the parent-community satisfaction with the schools.

The second column of Table 3.3 shows the association between neighborhood center emphasis on community control and the school change variables. In the aggregate there is little or no association. The mean Q coefficients are  $-.01$  with the internal school variables,  $.09$  with the school-community relations variables,  $-.08$  with the PTA variables, and  $.02$  with the total of all the school change variables. However, there are individual coefficients of association that range from strong to moderate in both the positive and the negative direction. The positive associations are with change in school response to parent-community pressure ( $.48$ ), PTA interaction with community groups ( $.42$ ), PTA membership ( $.33$ ), and school cooperation with extra-educational programs ( $.33$ ). The negative associations are with auxiliary staff ( $-.28$ ), innovations ( $-.39$ ), assessment ( $-.48$ ), and PTA attendance ( $-.49$ ). These data suggest some desired change in the school-community relations area, but little change in internal school affairs other than in the school's cooperation with extra-educational programs such as Head Start, adult education classes, and tutoring programs.

The association between school change and two different measures of neighborhood center support for militant activity is shown in the third and fourth columns of Table 3.3. As in the case of neighborhood center support for community-organizing activity, one measure is derived from responses of the neighborhood center director in the target area and the other from responses of three political leaders in the same target area. Both measures are based on questions about neighborhood center advisory board support and neighborhood center staff support of demands by residents for welfare rights, community control of schools, and tenants' rights. The variable covers both formal and informal support and in this sense the neighborhood center director and the political leader measures are not comparable. The political leaders report only visible support, while the neighborhood center directors may have knowledge of informal support, private support, or personal opinion that is not visible to the

political leaders. This may account for the differences in the associations between the two measures of support for militant activities and the school change variables.<sup>2</sup>

The average associations between neighborhood center support for militant activity reported by the neighborhood center director are .24 for the internal school change variables, -.18 for the school-community relations variables, and .09 for the PTA change variables. The corresponding associations with the political leader measure are .06 in the internal school area, .06 in the school-community relations area, and .26 in the PTA area.

The most dramatic difference between these two measures of neighborhood center support for militant activity occurs on the variable measuring increase in minority groups on school staffs. The associations are .73 for the neighborhood center director measure and .00 for the political leader measure. This difference suggests that the kind of informal support implied in the responses of the neighborhood center directors may play an important role in negotiating increases in the hiring of minority groups on school staffs.

#### Citizen Pressure and CAP Pressure on Schools

Two variables measuring pressure for change in the public school sector were constructed from the PTA questionnaire, using responses made by PTA presidents to questions designed to specify the role played by parents and community groups and by CAAs and neighborhood centers in effecting specific changes that took place in the schools from 1964 to 1968. The first variable, which we shall refer to as "citizen pressure,"

---

<sup>a</sup>The two measures of support for militant issues are positively associated with each other ( $Q = .32$ ). However, there is a difficulty because both are negatively associated with the number of militant issues reported. Thus, neighborhood centers are more likely to support militant issues in neighborhoods where there are relatively few such issues. This suggests that the relationship between neighborhood militancy and change is curvilinear. High- and low-militant neighborhoods undergo change and moderate ones do not. It will be possible to test this hypothesis with the full 100-city sample.

describes the degree to which parents and community groups are visibly or directly influencing or trying to exert influence on change within the public school sector. The second variable, which we shall term "CAP pressure," describes the same variable for the CAAs and neighborhood centers.

Table 3.4 shows the associations between these two pressure variables and school change. The first column gives the zero-order associations between citizen pressure and the thirteen school change variables, which are divided into the three major categories used previously. Looking first at the six internal school change variables, we note a strong to moderate positive association between citizen pressure and all but one of these variables. The exception is the increased hiring of minority groups on the school staff. On this variable the coefficient of association is  $-.28$ , which suggests that schools may consider hiring and firing as their exclusive province and consequently are resistant to citizen pressure in this particular area. It appears to take something more than citizen pressure to effect change in school hiring practices. We observed earlier that CAA emphasis on employment goals and neighborhood support for militant activity as reported by the neighborhood center directors are good predictors of change in the hiring of minority groups on the school staff.

While schools are resistant to citizen pressure for change in the hiring of minority groups, they appear to be responsive to citizen pressure in all other areas of internal change. The strongest association between citizen pressure and internal school change occurs with school innovations ( $Q = .58$ ). The associations with the other internal school change variables range from  $.31$  to  $.39$ . The mean  $Q$  for this group of six variables is  $.28$ . Excluding the negative association with the hiring of minority groups on the staff, the mean association increases to  $.39$ .

Looking next at change in school-community relations, we can see two interesting negative associations with citizen pressure that may shed some light on the process of change. There is a very strong negative

TABLE 3.4

CITIZEN PRESSURE AND CAP PRESSURE ON SCHOOLS, BY CHANGE  
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	Zero-order Association		Citizen Pressure		
	Citizen Pressure	CAP Pressure	Partial Q When CAP Pressure Is--		Net Partial Q
			Low	High	
<u>Change within schools:</u>					
Hiring minority groups	-.28	.14	-.14	-.14	-.31
Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . .	.36	.48	.36	.32	.34
Decreased crowding . .	.32	.04	-.38	.79	.32
Auxiliary staff . . . .	.31	.14	.50	.08	.29
Innovation . . . . .	.58	.06	.76	.35	.56
Cooperation with programs . . . . .	.39	.18	.81	-.14	.33
Mean Q . . . . .	.28	.18	.32	.21	.26
Mean Q (excluding hiring of minority groups)	.39	.17	.41	.28	.37
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>					
<u>Appraisal:</u>					
Assessment . . . . .	-.39	.08	-.89	.35	-.31
Responsiveness . . . .	-.72	-.06	-.93	-.35	-.67
<u>Interaction:</u>					
PTA interactions with community groups .	.26	.41	-.04	.45	.24
Resident participation . . . . .	-.18	.30	-.39	.08	-.15
School promotes participation . . . .	-.10	.07	-.29	.00	-.11
Mean Q: Appraisal	-.55	.01	-.91	.00	-.49
Inter-	-.01	.26	-.24	.18	-.01
action. Total.	-.23	.16	-.51	.11	-.20
<u>Change in PTA:</u>					
Membership <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.32	.18	.14	.45	.33
Attendance . . . . .	-.07	-.04	.00	-.11	-.07
Mean Q . . . . .	.13	.07	.07	.17	.13
Total mean Q . .	.06	.15	.04	.16	.06

<sup>a</sup>These coefficients are gammas, not Qs.

association between citizen pressure and citizen appraisal of the responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure for change ( $Q = -.72$ ). There is also a moderately strong negative association between citizen pressure and citizen assessment of change in school quality ( $Q = -.39$ ). In order to clarify the meaning of these two variables, the details of the associations are shown in Tables 3.5 and 3.6.

We see in Table 3.5 that in cities where citizen pressure is low, 73 per cent are high on school responsiveness to change. On the other hand, when citizen pressure is high, 69 per cent of the cities are low on school responsiveness to change. This is the association described by the  $Q$  coefficient of  $-.72$ . We cannot say with any degree of certainty whether dissatisfaction with school response motivates citizens to press harder for change or whether active citizens are dissatisfied with the level of change that has taken place. What we can say is that strong citizen pressure goes hand in hand with heightened dissatisfaction with the schools' response to parent-community pressure.

The same kind of negative association holds, but to a somewhat lesser extent, between citizen pressure and change in the assessment of school quality. Table 3.6 shows that when citizen pressure is low, the change in assessment of school quality is twice as likely to be favorable as it is to be unfavorable. Thus, 67 per cent of the cities where citizen pressure is low are high on assessment, while only 33 per cent are low. When citizen pressure is high, assessment is almost as likely to be high as it is to be low. The association of citizen pressure with parent assessment is described by a  $Q$  coefficient of  $-.39$ .

Returning to our discussion of Table 3.4, we see that on the variables measuring change in the PTA, citizen pressure is positively associated with increases in PTA membership ( $\gamma = .32$ ) but has little association with increase in attendance. Citizen pressure clearly involves something more than an active PTA.

TABLE 3.5

CITIZEN PRESSURE BY CHANGE IN RESPONSE OF  
SCHOOLS TO PARENT-COMMUNITY PRESSURE

(Per Cent)

Responsiveness	Citizen Pressure		Per Cent of Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	27 (4)	69 (22)	55 (26)
High . . . . .	73 (11)	31 (10)	45 (21)
Total	100 (15)	100 (32)	100 (47)

Q = -.72

TABLE 3.6

CITIZEN PRESSURE BY CHANGE IN PARENT-  
COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF  
SCHOOL QUALITY

(Per Cent)

Assessment	Citizen Pressure		Per Cent of Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	33 (5)	53 (17)	47 (22)
High . . . . .	67 (10)	47 (15)	53 (25)
Total	100 (15)	100 (32)	100 (47)

Q = -.39

How does citizen pressure for change in the school sector compare with CAP pressure for change? The second column of Table 3.4 shows that CAP pressure has little effect on five of the six variables in the internal school change category. The only strong positive association is with decrease in the student-teacher ratio, where the Q coefficient is .48. The mean Q for the group of six internal school variables with CAP pressure is only .18, compared to the mean of .28 with citizen pressure.

On the variables measuring change in school-community relations, there is little association between CAP pressure and citizens' assessment of change or citizens' appraisal of the schools' responsiveness to change. This is in contrast to the strong negative association we observed with citizen pressure. On the other hand, CAP pressure is more effective than citizen pressure in increasing PTA interaction with community groups (Q = .41 for CAP pressure, Q = .26 for citizen pressure). CAP pressure is also more effective than citizen pressure in increasing resident participation in school affairs. The Q coefficients are .30 for CAP pressure and -.18 for citizen pressure. The mean Q on the appraisal items in the school-community relations area is .01 with CAP pressure and -.55 with citizen pressure, while the mean Q on the interaction items is .26 with CAP pressure and -.01 with citizen pressure.

We turn now to the question of whether citizen pressure and CAP pressure are related to each other. The gamma coefficient of association between these two variables is .40 when citizen pressure is dichotomized and CAP pressure is divided into four groups. When both variables are dichotomized, the Q coefficient of association becomes .19, indicating that the association is linear and the dichotomy tends to suppress some of the relationship. Since these two variables are related, we want to know whether CAP pressure explains the associations we observed between citizen pressure and the school change variables or whether it reinforces or suppresses these associations.

The third and fourth columns of Table 3.4 show the partial coefficients of association between citizen pressure and change in the school sector when CAP pressure is low and when it is high. On three of

the six internal school change variables, citizen pressure is more effective when CAP pressure is low than when it is high. These variables are auxiliary staff, innovation, and cooperation with programs. On two of the variables (minority groups on staff and student-teacher ratio), there is no difference. On only one variable, decreased crowding, is citizen pressure stronger when CAP pressure is high (.79) than when it is low (-.38).

On all of the school-community relations items and on PTA membership, citizen pressure is more positive when CAP pressure is high than when it is low. For PTA attendance, the reverse is true. The partial association is slightly negative when CAP pressure is high and zero when CAP pressure is low.

The final column of Table 3.4 shows the net partial association between citizen pressure and change in the public schools, controlling for CAP pressure. Comparing this column with the first column, we see that there are no changes between the zero-order associations and the net partials. This means that CAP pressure does not explain the associations between citizen pressure and school change. It also means that CAP pressure neither strengthens nor suppresses these relationships.

The picture that emerges from this analysis is that CAP pressure is effective in organizing citizens to press for change in the public school sector, while citizen pressure is effective in actually producing change within the schools. This may be a very efficient division of efforts. Generally schools may be resistant to outside interference in their internal affairs. They may be more disposed to respond to pressures from their own parent-community groups than to pressures from the CAP.

#### Association between Pressures and CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics

In an earlier section of this analysis, we investigated the relationship between change in the public school sector and selected CAA and

neighborhood center characteristics. Now we want to know how citizen pressure and CAP pressure are related to these characteristics and whether the findings on citizen and CAP pressure hold up when we control for CAA and neighborhood center characteristics or whether the pressures are simply a function of the characteristics.

Table 3.7 shows the associations between the two pressure variables and selected CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. Looking first at citizen pressure, we can see that the strongest association is with CAA emphasis on community organization ( $Q = .76$ ). The fact that there is an association between these two variables is not at all surprising. It is simply a restatement of the dominant theme in this analysis. Yet the strength of the association is impressive. It adds evidence to support our conclusion that CAA community organization goal orientation is associated with institutional change. It also suggests a description of the process of change: CAAs that are community organization oriented apparently work through citizen groups to effect change in the public school sector. This description is supported by the strong positive association between citizen pressure and neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the political leaders ( $Q = .46$ ). On the other hand, neighborhood center community-organizing activity reported by the NC directors is difficult to interpret. As we noted earlier, the views of the NC directors and the political leaders do not predict change in the same way, although they are positively correlated. Finally, on one neighborhood center characteristic--support for militant activity as reported by the NC directors--there is a negative association with citizen pressure ( $Q = .43$ ).

Looking next at the associations between CAP pressure and the CAA and neighborhood center characteristics, we note that CAP pressure is most strongly associated with neighborhood center emphasis on community control ( $Q = .60$ ) and with neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the political leaders ( $Q = .50$ ). These associations fit into the general overall picture, but the negative association between CAP pressure and the neighborhood center director's view of neighborhood center organizing activity ( $-.46$ ) is again difficult to explain.

TABLE 3.7

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN PRESSURES AND SELECTED CAA AND  
 NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS  
 (Q Coefficients of Association)

Characteristic	Pressure	
	Citizen	CAP
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .	.76	.20
CAA emphasis on participation of poor . . . . .	-.04	.11
Neighborhood center emphasis on community control . . . . .	-.09	.60
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity (reported by NC directors) . . . . .	-.16	-.46
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity (reported by political leaders) . . . . .	.46	.50
Neighborhood center support for militant activity (reported by NC directors) . . . . .	-.43	.24
Q coefficient of association between citizen pressure and CAP pressure . . . . . = .19		

Generally the associations of the CAA and neighborhood center characteristics with both citizen pressure and CAP pressure indicate that it would be interesting to introduce the CAA and neighborhood center characteristics as control variables. This would enable us to determine whether these characteristics explain the general association of citizen pressure with internal school change and the association of CAP pressure with change in school-community relations. The investigation may reveal that these characteristics reinforce citizen and CAP pressures, or they may reveal previously suppressed associations.

Citizen Pressure for Change Controlling for CAA  
and Neighborhood Center Characteristics

Table 3.8 shows a comparison of the zero-order associations between citizen pressure and the school change variables and the net partial associations when CAA and neighborhood center characteristics are introduced as controls. In these comparisons, a difference of .10 or greater between the zero-order association and the net partial association will be set as an arbitrary criterion to signify change in the levels of association. The table shows that in general the positive association of citizen pressure with five of the six internal school change variables holds up when controls are introduced. In nineteen of the thirty positive associations, the difference between the net partial and the zero-order association is less than .10. This means that CAA and neighborhood center characteristics do not explain away the effects of citizen pressure on school change. In seven of the thirty associations, the net partial is higher than the zero-order association by .10 or more, indicating that the control variables operate to reduce the effects of citizen pressure on school change. Three of the higher net partials occur when the control is CAA emphasis on participation of the poor, three when the control is neighborhood center emphasis on community control, and one when the control is neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the political leaders. On only four of the thirty associations is the net partial lower than the zero-order association by .10 or more. In these cases, the particular

TABLE 3.8

CITIZEN PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR, CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	Zero-order Association	Net Partial Controlling for:					
		CAA Emphasis on Community Organization	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity (NC Directors)	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity (Political Leaders)	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity (NC Directors)
<u>Change within schools:</u>							
Hiring minority groups . . . . .	-.28	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.13<sup>a</sup></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.12</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.15</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.02</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.23</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.11</span>
Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	.36	.33	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.50<sup>b</sup></span>	.36	.44	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.08</span>	.36
Decreased crowding . . . . .	.32	.39	.38	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.50</span>	.34	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.48</span>	.34
Auxiliary staff . . . . .	.31	.34	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.45</span>	.40	.28	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.16</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.19</span>
Innovation . . . . .	.58	.59	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.70</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.70</span>	.51	.56	.59
Cooperation with programs . . . . .	.39	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.12</span>	.43	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.57</span>	.40	.44	.32
Mean Q . . . . .	.28	.27	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.39</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.40</span>	.33	.25	.28
Mean Q (excluding hiring of minority groups) . . . . .	.39	.35	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.49</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.51</span>	.39	.34	.36
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>							
Appraisal:							
Assessment . . . . .	-.39	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.53</span>	-.36	-.40	-.36	-.39	-.44
Responsiveness . . . . .	-.72	-.77	-.66	-.75	-.76	-.81	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.91</span>
Interaction:							
PTA interaction with community groups . . . . .	.26	.24	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.16</span>	.29	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.16</span>	.25	.28
Resident participation . . . . .	-.18	-.23	-.21	-.21	-.10	-.20	-.19
School promotes participation . . . . .	-.10	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.27</span>	-.03	-.07	-.10	-.19	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">-.20</span>
Mean Q: Appraisal . . . . .	-.55	-.65	-.51	-.58	-.56	-.60	-.68
Interaction . . . . .	-.01	-.09	-.03	.00	-.01	-.05	-.04
Total . . . . .	-.23	-.31	-.22	-.23	-.23	-.27	-.29
<u>Change in PTA:</u>							
Membership . . . . .	.32	.37	.39	.40	.33	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.16</span>	.23
Attendance . . . . .	-.07	-.27	-.08	-.12	-.17	-.08	-.19
Mean Q . . . . .	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">.13</span>	.05	.16	.14	.08	.04	.02
Total mean Q . . . . .	.06	.01	.12	.12	.08	.02	.02

<sup>a</sup>Circles indicate an increase of .10 or more between zero-order association and net partial association.

<sup>b</sup>Boxes indicate a decrease of .10 or more between zero-order association and net partial association.

CAA or neighborhood center characteristic does explain some of the effect of citizen pressure on school change. For the reader's convenience, the net partials in Table 3.8 that are higher than the zero-order association by .10 or greater are circled and those that are lower by .10 or greater are boxed.

On the sixth variable in the internal school change group--increase in the hiring of minority groups on the staff--the zero-order association with citizen pressure is negative ( $Q = -.28$ ). The CAA and neighborhood center controls reduce the negativity of this association by .10 or more in all but one case. However, in no case do the controls raise the association to a substantial positive level.

The mean  $Q$  for the group of internal school change variables provides a convenient way of summarizing these data. The mean  $Q$ 's of .39 when the hiring of minority groups on the staff is excluded and .28 when this variable is included hold up across all of the control variables. This means that CAA and neighborhood center characteristics do not explain the association between citizen pressure and school change. On two of the control variables--CAA emphasis on participation of the poor and neighborhood center emphasis on community control--the net partials are higher than the zero-order associations by .10 or more. This means that the CAAs' emphasis on participation of the poor and the neighborhood centers' emphasis on community control interfere with the effectiveness of citizen pressure as an agent of change in the public school sector. Without the effects of the control variable, the association between citizen pressure and change in the public schools is stronger than it is with the effects of the control variable.

Looking next at the school-community relations change variables, we see that in general the CAA and neighborhood center controls do not modify the association between citizen pressure and change in school-community relations. In this group twenty-five of the thirty net partial associations show no change from the zero-order association, i.e., the difference between the net partial and the zero-order association is less than .10. Three show a difference of just .10, but the three zero-order

associations that show the greatest change are all in the direction of stronger negative associations. Two of these changes occur when the control is CAA emphasis on community organization. Here the net partial between citizen pressure and assessment of school change is  $-.53$ , compared to a zero-order association of  $-.39$ , and the net partial between citizen pressure and the school promotes participation is  $-.27$ , compared to a zero-order association of  $-.10$ . The third major change occurs when the control is neighborhood center support for militant activity. In this case, the net partial between citizen pressure and school responsiveness to parent-community pressure is  $-.91$ , compared to a zero-order association of  $-.72$ .

In the PTA change group, the association between citizen pressure and PTA membership of  $.32$  holds across all of the CAA and neighborhood center controls except one--neighborhood center community-organizing activity as viewed by the political leaders. In this case, the net partial is  $.16$ , which means that political leaders attribute some of the impact of citizen pressure on increased PTA membership to the community-organizing activities of the neighborhood center.

The evidence is clear that, in general, controls for the selected CAA and neighborhood center characteristics do not explain the positive impact of citizen pressure on internal school affairs and PTA membership. Nor do they explain the negative relationship between citizen pressure and the two appraisal measures--assessment of change and responsiveness of schools to parent-community pressure. Some emphases reduce citizen pressure and others explain some of the association, but in general citizen pressure emerges as a strong agent for change in the public school sector.

#### CAP Pressure for Change Controlling for CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics

In this section we turn to CAP pressure and investigate its effects on change in the public school sector when controls are introduced for selected CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. As we

noted earlier, CAP pressure is concentrated in the school-community relations area. CAP pressure is positively associated with increase in PTA interaction with community groups and with resident participation in school affairs. Table 3.9 shows that the zero-order associations are .41 and .30, respectively. In the area of internal school change, CAP pressure is associated with only one of the change variables--decrease in student-teacher ratio ( $Q = .48$ ). These three variables that are associated with CAP pressure are boxed in Table 3.9, and will be discussed first. CAP pressure on the other school change variables is negligible, but they are shown in Table 3.9 simply to determine whether CAA characteristics suppress the association between CAP pressure and school change.

Using differences of .10 or greater as the criterion, we see that with one exception the controls for CAA and neighborhood center characteristics do not modify the association between CAP pressure and decrease in the student-teacher ratio. Except for .38 for neighborhood center support for militant activity, the net partials range from .39 to .49, compared with the zero-order association of .48.

On the variable measuring change in resident participation in school affairs, the association with CAP pressure holds up for the various CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. On this variable, the net partials range from .22 to .36, compared with the zero-order association of .30.

On the variable measuring increased PTA interaction with community groups, there are two control variables that reduce the zero-order association of .41 by .10 or more. These are neighborhood center emphasis on community control (net partial = .25) and neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the political leaders (net partial = .29). This means that these controls explain some but not all of the association between CAP pressure and PTA interaction with community groups. Even after the efforts of the control variables are eliminated, a moderate association remains. CAP pressure thus retains its strength as a good predictor of change in the area of school-community

TABLE 3.9

CAP PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SECTOR, CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	Zero-order Association	Net Partial Controlling for:					
		CAA Emphasis on Community Organization	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity (NC Directors)	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity (Political Leaders)	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity (NC Directors)
<u>Change within schools:</u>							
Hiring minority groups . . . . .	.14	.32	.15	.07	-.03	-.13	.02
Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	.48	.49	.48	.43	.39	.44	.38
Decreased crowding . . . . .	.04	-.03	-.08	.21	-.33	-.02	-.06
Auxiliary staff . . . . .	.14	.07	.18	.14	.22	-.06	.08
Innovation . . . . .	.06	.03	.09	.14	.14	.07	.02
Cooperation with programs . . . . .	.18	.22	.22	.05	.13	.19	.14
Mean Q . . . . .	.18	.18	.17	.17	.09	.08	.10
Mean Q (excluding hiring of minority groups) . . . . .	.17	.16	.18	.19	.10	.07	.11
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u>							
Appraisal:							
Assessment . . . . .	.08	.00	.22	.17	.04	-.09	.06
Responsiveness . . . . .	-.06	-.07	-.09	-.24	-.28	.30	-.15
Interaction:							
PTA interaction with community groups	.41	.37	.42	.25	.41	.29	.42
Resident participation . . . . .	.30	.28	.22	.22	.36	.23	.28
School promotes participation . . . . .	.07	.03	-.03	.14	.13	-.01	.08
Mean Q: Appraisal . . . . .	.01	-.04	.07	-.04	-.12	-.20	-.05
Interaction . . . . .	.26	.23	.20	.20	.30	.17	.26
Total . . . . .	.16	.12	.15	.11	.13	.02	.14
<u>Change in PTA:</u>							
Membership . . . . .	.18	.21	.33	.11	.23	-.02	.19
Attendance . . . . .	-.04	-.16	-.05	.11	.12	-.09	.04
Mean Q . . . . .	.07	.03	.14	.11	.18	-.05	.12
Total mean Q . . . . .	.15	.14	.16	.14	.12	.04	.12

relations and as a limited predictor of direct change in the internal school area.

Two controls that appear to interfere with the association between CAP pressure and change in the school sector are worth noting. The first is CAA emphasis on community organization. In this case, the association between CAP pressure and change in minority groups on the staff increases from a zero-order association of .14 to a net partial of .32. This finding is consistent with the finding that CAA employment goal orientation is a better predictor of change in hiring practices than is CAA community organization goal emphasis. The individual partials reveal that the CAA has a positive impact on hiring practices when the community organization emphasis is low (partial = .68) and a negative impact when it is high (partial = -.38). This is consistent with our finding that CAA employment emphasis is more effective than CAA community organization emphasis in producing change in the hiring of minority groups on school staffs.

The second control that interferes with the association between CAP pressure and school change is CAA emphasis on participation of the poor. In this case, when the effect of the control variable is eliminated, the association between CAP pressure and PTA membership increases from a zero-order association of .18 to a net partial of .33. This would appear to confirm our speculation that when CAAs emphasize participation of the poor, there is a tendency to bypass the PTAs. The individual partials add support to our interpretation. The partial association between CAP pressure and PTA membership is positive (.58) when CAA emphasis on participation of the poor is low and negative (-.82) when it is high.

CAP Pressure for Change Controlling  
for City Characteristics

The final step in this analysis will be to test the observed association between CAP pressure and change in the public school sector by controlling for city characteristics. This test will enable us to determine whether the observed relationships are spurious and are

actually functions of city characteristics that result both in CAP pressure for change and in actual change in the school sector. The city characteristics used are described in detail in Chapter II. They are city size, per cent of the population that is nonwhite, per cent of the population that is poor, region of the country, general level of political activity within the target neighborhood, and per capita amount of CAP expenditures within the city.

Table 3.10 presents only the three school change variables on which we have observed an association with CAP pressure. These are decrease in student-teacher ratio, increase in PTA interaction with community groups, and increase in resident participation in school affairs. The table shows both the zero-order associations between CAP pressure and these three variables and the net partials controlling for the six city characteristics. On four of the control variables--city size, per cent nonwhite, per cent poor, and region--there is little change from the zero-order association to the net partial. All of the differences are less than the .10 criterion we have been using. This means that the association between CAP pressure and school change is not a function of these particular characteristics.

One city characteristic, general level of political activity, reduces the association between CAP pressure and PTA interaction with community groups. The association between CAP pressure and PTA interaction with community groups is reduced from a zero-order association of .41 to a net partial of .25 when the general level of political activity is controlled. The partials that comprise the net partial are .35 when the general political level is low and .00 when high. These individual partials specify that CAP is more effective in producing change in PTA interaction with community groups when the general level of political activity is low than when the level is high. This suggests that there are fewer competing activities in cities in which the general level of political activity is low and that CAP activities are, therefore, more visible in these cities.

TABLE 3.10

CAP PRESSURE ON SELECTED SCHOOL CHANGE, CONTROLLING  
FOR CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

School Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Q)					
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
<u>Change within schools:</u> Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . .	.48	.47	.46	.43	.43	.43	.42
<u>Change in school-community relations:</u> Increase in PTA interaction with community groups . . .	.41	.45	.50	.39	.40	.25	.52
Increase in resident participation . . .	.30	.31	.33	.29	.34	.26	.61
Mean Q . . . .	.44	.41	.43	.37	.39	.32	.52

The sixth control variable, per capita CAP expenditures, suppresses the association between CAP pressure and both school-community relations variables presented in Table 3.10. Controlling for CAP expenditures, the association between CAP pressure and PTA interaction with community groups increases from a zero-order association of .41 to a net partial of .52, and the association between CAP pressure and resident participation in school affairs increases from .30 to .61. The individual partials between CAP pressure and PTA interaction with community groups controlling for CAP expenditures are .63 when CAP funds are high (more than \$100 per person) and .00 when CAP funds are low. Similarly the partials between CAP impact on resident participation in school affairs are .69 when CAP expenditures are high and .27 when CAP expenditures are low. These partials specify that CAP pressure is more effective in producing change in school-community relations in cities where federal funding is high than in cities where funding is low.

#### Summary and Conclusion

This section pulls together the various threads in the analysis of the public school sector and presents a graphic picture of the process of change when the CAA emphasis is community organization. Figure 3.1 shows zero-order Q coefficients between CAA characteristics, pressures exerted, and school change. The diagram follows a temporal and causal path from left to right.

CAA community organization emphasis is the strongest predictor of change among the three goal orientations. This finding is reflected in the rather strong associations between community organization emphasis and the intermediate processes of neighborhood center community-organizing activity ( $Q = .49$ ) and citizen pressure ( $Q = .79$ ). Community organization emphasis is not so strongly associated with direct CAP pressure ( $Q = .20$ ), which in turn is not strongly associated with the various school change variables.

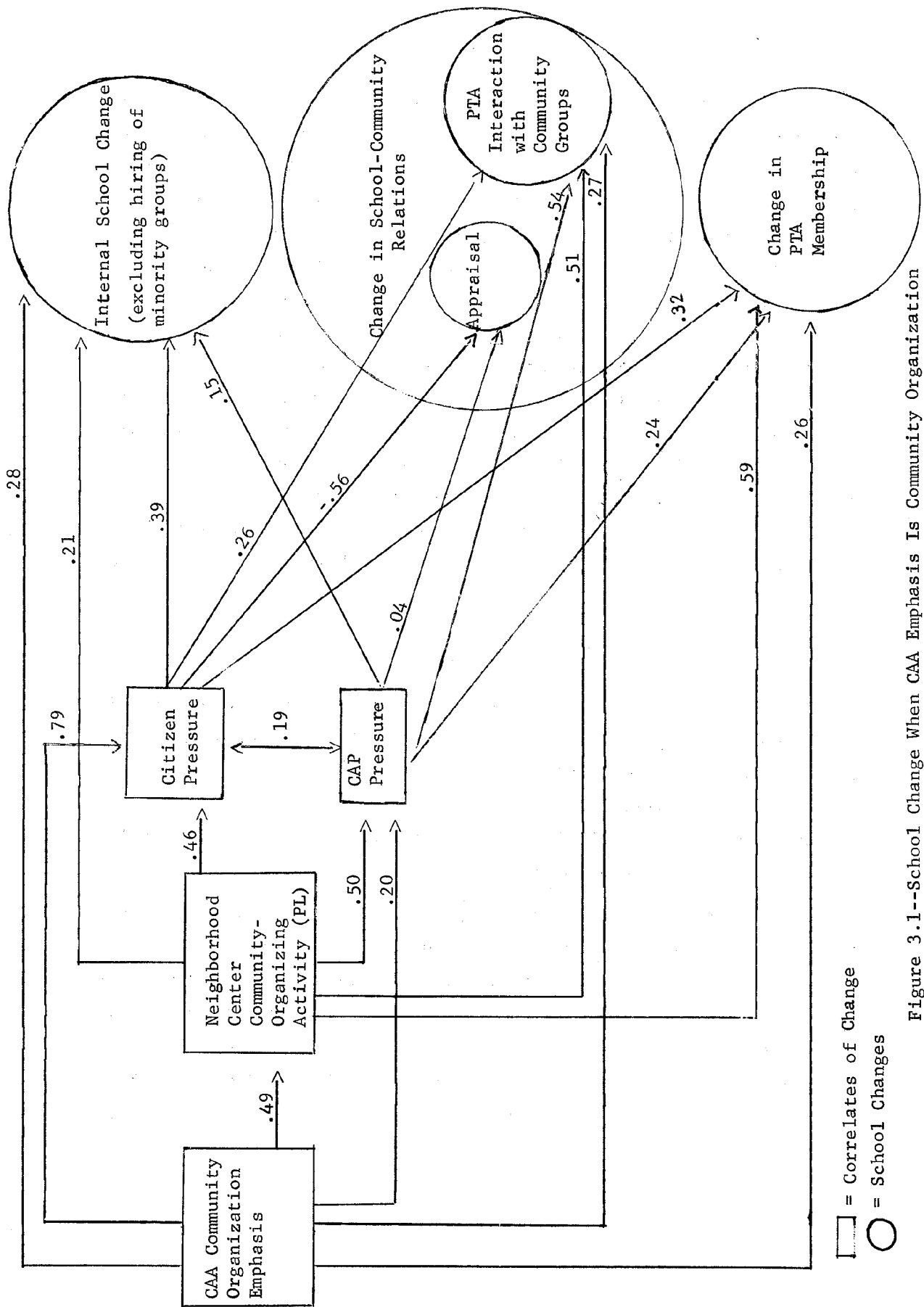


Figure 3.1--School Change When CAA Emphasis Is Community Organization

The degree to which a community organization goal emphasis is a necessary prerequisite to the effects of community-organizing activity and citizen pressure is seen in the associations between CAA community organization emphasis and the change variables. These associations are all moderately positive ( $Q = .26$  for change in PTA membership,  $Q = .27$  for PTA interaction,  $Q = .28$  for internal school changes). Thus, the evidence is clear that a community organization emphasis is a contributing factor in effecting change. We suggest, in the diagram, that the process through which it contributes to change includes both community-organizing activity and citizen pressure on the schools.

The effects of citizen pressure can be seen in the diagonal lines between it and the change variables. The coefficients given indicate moderately strong positive associations. The effects of neighborhood center community-organizing activity, which are also shown, appear somewhat stronger.

There are apparently two paths leading to school change. The first is a path that goes from CAA community organization emphasis to neighborhood centers community-organizing activity to both CAP pressure and changes in the school relationship with the community. The second path goes from community organization emphasis to community-organizing activity to citizen pressure to internal school changes.

This second path, which leads to change within the schools, indicates that when CAA community organization emphasis is translated into neighborhood center community-organizing activity, residents are mobilized to work with the PTA and other community groups to press for change. These are the cities in which school change is most likely to occur. The impact of citizen pressure on school change is not merely a function of CAA community organization emphasis and neighborhood center community-organizing activities. Citizen pressure emerges as an effective agent for change, independent of these correlates. However, parent-community groups can be strengthened and activated by neighborhood center community-organizing activities, such as efforts to increase PTA member-

ship and PTA interaction with community groups. These activities are more likely to be visible in an inactive political environment than in an active one.

The picture that emerges is that CAAs that emphasize community organization are effective in organizing citizens to press for change, while citizen pressure is effective in actually producing change. This may be a very efficient division of efforts. Schools may resist outside interference in their internal affairs. They may be more willing to respond to pressures from their own parent-community group than to pressure from the CAA. Schools appear to be responsive to citizen pressure for most internal school changes, but resistant to citizen pressure for change in the hiring of minority groups on the school staff. In this area CAAs that emphasize employment goal orientation are more effective than CAAs that emphasize community organization goals. This makes some intuitive sense since the hiring of minority groups on school staffs is in fact an employment activity.

If the CAAs want to influence public schools, they have two choices. Either they can try to deal with the schools and exert direct pressure on them or they can mobilize and organize the parents and residents of school districts and thus exert indirect pressure on the schools. Mobilization and organization is clearly the more effective strategy.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of the employment sector. We shall examine the basic goal orientations of the CAA and their relationships to employer change, the emphases of the CAA employment program, and the kinds of activities carried on by the CAAs and the pressure they exert in the employment sector.

The data analyzed in this chapter include emphases within the employment program on either placing people in jobs or running job-training programs. Other characteristics of the CAA are considered. The relationships among these characteristics of the CAAs are examined as well as their partial associations with the change variables. As in other sectors, the characteristics of the city are controlled. The findings revealed in this chapter are that where CAAs emphasize employment goals, employers are likely to change, that this is slightly more true where the CAA does not emphasize community organization, that the characteristics of the city tend to prevent the effects of employment goal orientation, that emphasis on placing people in jobs also tends to prevent employment program effects, and that the other characteristics of the CAA do not influence employer change.

#### Goal Orientation and Employer Change

Table 4.1 shows the relationship between CAA goal orientation and change in the employment sector. For each of the eight employer change variables, the per cent scoring high on change is shown for each of the three types of goal orientation--traditional (or social and educational services), community organization, and employment. In addition, the

TABLE 4.1

CAA GOAL ORIENTATION AND CAA GOAL EMPHASIS, BY CHANGE  
IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

Employer Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation (Per Cent High on Change Variable)			Goal Emphasis	
	Tradi- tional (N = 17)	Organi- zational (N = 18)	Employ- ment (N = 15)	Organi- zational (Q)	Employ- ment (Gamma)
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . . . .	33	50	64	-.11	.29
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	88	83	67	-.02	.19
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	7	7	0	.12	.39
High employer-CAA referral cooperation . . . . .	44	44	50	.48	.31
Three or more new community services offered per employer . . . . .	23	22	36	.20	.25
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity . . . . .	7	53	50	.40	.64
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . . .	54	53	78	-.55	.22
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	13	28	50	.21	.21
Mean coefficients . . . . .				.09	.31

table presents the Q coefficients of the employer change variables with community organization goal emphasis and the gamma coefficients of the change variables with employment goal emphasis.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the mean coefficients for each of these two goal emphases is shown.

The findings in this table are clear. When we look at the first three columns, which show the per cent high on the change variables, we can see that for five of the eight variables, the highest per cent showing change is in the employment column. These are efforts to hire minority group members, employer-CAA referral cooperation, new community services offered, per cent of unskilled workers who are black, and the actual running of job-training programs by employers.

In two of the other three, the percentage difference between the employment goal orientation and the column with the highest per cent on change is quite small. For the hiring of training-program graduates, both traditionally and community-organization-oriented CAAs show 7 per cent high on this change variable with none high for the employment-oriented CAAs. This is partly the result of the skewed distribution of this variable, as can be seen by the gamma of .39 between employment goal emphasis and the hiring of training-program graduates. Cities in which the CAA emphasizes employment goal orientation are most likely to be in the middle category on increased hiring of training-program graduates. More precisely, this means that employers are much more likely to be hiring at least some graduates because the lowest category is no hiring.

---

<sup>1</sup>There are two reasons for the different kinds of coefficients shown in these two columns. First, the organizational emphasis column gives Q's in order to be consistent with similar data presented in Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 3.1 and various subsequent tables. Second, the employment emphasis column shows gammas so that the reader interested in determining whether or not there are curvilinear patterns can do so by comparing these coefficients with the Q coefficients presented in Table 4.2. Since this is the first presentation of these data in any of our reports, it seems useful to provide for such a comparison. In fact, the Q and gamma coefficients for each of these two variables differ very little from each other. Therefore, the comparisons made in Table 4.1 are satisfactory.

The second variable with a rather small percentage difference between the highest change column and employment orientation is increased advertising of equal-opportunity employment. For this variable, the highest change occurs in cities in which the CAA emphasizes community organization (53 per cent), but the per cent high is 50 per cent in cities in which the CAA emphasizes employment goals. The difference is small, and observation of the coefficients indicates that there is a stronger pattern of association with employment emphasis ( $\gamma = .64$ ) than with community organization emphasis ( $Q = .40$ ). (The comparison here is between a gamma coefficient and a Q coefficient. However, the gammas and Q's for each of these variables are very similar. In fact, both the gamma and the Q for CAA emphasis on employment goals are .64.) This discrepancy between the percentage differences and the coefficients again shows that the relationship is curvilinear and that the moderate change category is high in cities where employment goals are emphasized. All in all, then, an examination of the per cent high on changes indicates that an employment goal orientation is the most effective in influencing employer changes.

The observations made regarding the percentage differences among the different types of CAAs are verified when we examine the coefficients between community organization emphasis and employment emphasis. We already observed that the coefficient for increase in employers advertising equal opportunity was higher for employment emphasis than for community organization emphasis. This fact lessens the doubt concerning the general pattern of the table. On more complete examination, we can see that in seven out of eight cases, the coefficient between employment emphasis and change is higher than the coefficient between community organization emphasis and change. The one exception is employer-CAA referral cooperation. The per cent change on this variable, strangely enough, is highest in the employment column. Again, the relationship is curvilinear, but the effect is opposite from the other two seen in this table. There is one variable for which the two coefficients are exactly the same-- employers running job-training programs. The majority of the remaining differences between the gammas are relatively large. Finally, we can

observe that the mean gamma of .31 between employment goal emphasis and employer change is higher than the mean Q of .09 between community organization emphasis and employer change.

Table 4.1 clearly shows that cities in which the CAA emphasizes employment goals are cities in which employers are most likely to become more responsive to the needs of the poor. These findings are certainly intuitively reasonable. Since we have observed a very strong and clear relationship between community organization emphasis and institutional change, it would be useful to see whether the apparent effects of an employment emphasis are reinforced, suppressed, or even explained by a simultaneous emphasis on community organization goals. After doing this, we can pursue questions concerning the activities of the employment program that lead to change.

The first two columns of Table 4.2 give the per cent high on each of the eight change variables for cities in which CAA emphasis on employment goals is low and for cities in which the emphasis is high. This part of the table is presented simply for comparison with Table 4.1. Since we are using two different measures of employment goal orientation--one simply showing the level of emphasis on employment goals and the other putting that into a relative context in order to divide CAAs into three types--it seems useful to present similar data for the different measures so that the interested reader can pursue the findings further.

The third column of Table 4.2 presents the zero-order Q coefficients between emphasis on employment goals and the employer change variables. The values of these coefficients vary slightly from the values of the gamma coefficients in Table 4.1 because both variables in the present table are dichotomized while the dependent variables were trichotomized in the earlier table. The largest difference is for increased hiring of training-program graduates, which has a gamma of .39 and a Q of .31. The Q coefficient is used, as before, in order to obtain reliable partial coefficients to permit consistent comparisons between the zero-order associations and the partials. The fourth and fifth columns in Table 4.2 are partial Q coefficients, the former when community

TABLE 4.2

CAA EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT GOALS AND CHANGES IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR,  
CONTROLLING FOR CAA COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION EMPHASIS

Employer Change Variable	Per Cent High When Employment Emphasis Is--		Zero-order Q <sup>a</sup>	Partial Q When Emphasis on Community Organization Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High		Low	High	
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . .	43	58	.29	.56	-.13	.33
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	79	85	.19	-.25	1.00 <sup>b</sup>	.12
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates	4	9	.31	.43	.36	.41
High employer-CAA referral cooperation	39	62	.25	.02	1.00 <sup>b</sup>	.31
Three or more new community services offered per employer . . . . .	24	31	.29	.08	.62	.27
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity	26	61	.64	.85	.33	.69
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black	50	70	.28	.33	.14	.23
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	27	31	.18	.21	.20	.21
Mean Q <sup>a</sup> . . . . .			.32	.28	.44	.32

<sup>a</sup>Mean and zero-order associations are different from Table 4.1 because that table presented gammas and this table presents Q's since the variable was dichotomized here.

<sup>b</sup>These variables have distributions that provide only small case bases for the partial Q coefficients. There are zero cells in these tables. The pattern of association otherwise does go in the direction indicated.

organization emphasis is low and the latter when such an emphasis is high. Finally, the sixth column in the table shows the net partial Q's when community organization emphasis is controlled. At the bottom of the table, the mean Q coefficient for each of the last four columns is shown.

One important general observation to be made from this table is that CAA emphasis on community organization does not determine whether a simultaneous emphasis on employment goals will be effective. The net partials are mixed. Five are higher than the zero-order associations, and three are lower. None is dramatically different. The largest difference is for the increased hiring of training-program graduates, where the coefficients go from a zero-order Q of .31 to a net partial Q of .41. The mean Q's for the zero-order associations and the net partials are exactly the same--.32. Thus, the table clearly indicates that the observed association between employment goal emphasis and employer changes is not simply a function of a simultaneous emphasis on community organization goals.

We would also like to know whether the effects of an employment goal emphasis are stronger when community organization emphasis is high or when it is low. This is a different question from whether community organization emphasis explains the effects of employment goal emphasis. We answer the question by comparing the fourth and fifth columns. Unfortunately the comparison does not provide a very clear answer. The association of employment goal emphasis with change is higher when community organization is low than when it is high in five out of eight instances. In one case--running job-training programs--the difference is only .01. The mean Q coefficient is actually higher in the high community organization column than in the low community organization column. However, a great part of this difference is explained by the two Q coefficients of 1.00, which, as noted in the table, are not reliable. If we were to eliminate those two variables from consideration, the low column would be higher in five out of six cases and the mean Q would be considerable higher for the cities with low emphasis on community organization.

At best, these comparisons indicate that there is little difference between low and high emphasis on community organization. The comparisons tend to go in a direction indicating that the effects of an employment emphasis are stronger when community organization emphasis is low. The evidence, however, is very mixed, and the tendency is only very slight. It is most likely the result of other characteristics of the city, which we shall consider shortly.

Looking at specific change variables, we can observe one very clear pattern. In each of the three variables pertaining to the employment of minority groups or blacks, the partial Q coefficient is higher among cities in which the community organization emphasis of the CAA is low. For efforts to hire minority group members, the partial Q's are .56 when community organization emphasis is low and -.13 when it is high; for increased advertising of "equal opportunity," the partials are .85 when community organization emphasis is low and .33 when it is high; and for increased per cent of unskilled workers who are black, the partials are .33 when community organization emphasis is low and .14 when it is high. All three of these differences are large and in the same direction. The implication is that a CAA's influence on employers toward opening job opportunities for blacks and other minorities is strongest when the agency concentrates on employment goals and does not get involved in community organization activities. The explanation for this may lie in a CAA's concentrating on actually getting jobs for these people when employment is emphasized, as opposed to a diffusion of efforts toward other kinds of employer changes when goals other than employment are emphasized. Referral cooperation and community services, for example, are very different kinds of changes from actual hiring. An expressed commitment to hiring the hard-core unemployed is probably for many employers simply a small-scale charity operation instead of an actual change in hiring practices. To some degree, the pattern of actual hiring practice being affected by employment emphases and other variables not being affected may be explained by characteristics of the city and the specific local needs. Possibly it is in cities where

blacks and other minorities are unemployed or underemployed that CAAs emphasize employment goals. Whatever the explanation, the finding is clear.

Employment Goal Emphasis and Employer Change  
Controlling for City Characteristics

It would be helpful at this point to test whether or not the observed associations between employment goal orientation and employer changes are actually functions of city characteristics that result both in CAA emphasis on employment goals and in change in the employment sector. Table 4.3 shows the zero-order Q coefficients between employment goal orientation and the employer change variables, along with the net partial Q coefficients controlling for each of six city characteristics. These are the same six control variables introduced in Chapter II. They are city size, per cent of the population that is nonwhite, per cent of the population that is poor, region of the country, general level of political activity within the target neighborhood, and per capita amount of CAP expenditures within the city.

The clearest finding that can be seen in the overall pattern of Table 4.3 is that none of these city characteristics explains away the association between CAA employment emphasis and employer change. This is indicated by the fact that except for one case the mean Q's for each of the net partials is actually higher than the mean Q for the zero-order association. The average difference is .03. This difference is quite small, but given the fact that all but one of the differences go in the same direction, we have even more confidence in this finding. Not only do these variables describing city characteristics fail to explain away the association, but to some degree they actually suppress the association that does exist.

The two control variables that most suppress the association between employment emphasis and employer change are city size and the general level of political activity in the neighborhood. For both of these the net partial coefficient is .37, or .05 greater than the zero-

TABLE 4.3

CAA EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT GOALS AND CHANGES IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR,  
CONTROLLING FOR CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Employer Change Variable	Zero-order Association	City Characteristics (Net Partial Q)					
		City Size	Per Cent Nonwhite	Per Cent Poor	Region	Level of Political Activity	CAP Expenditures
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . .	.29	.33	.33	.31	.37	.33	.50
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	.19	.44	.22	.21	.14	.23	.19
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates	.31	.45	.32	.27	.36	.30	.25
High employer-CAA referral cooperation . . . . .	.25	.33	.42	.60	.49	.50	.31
Three or more new community services offered per employer . . . . .	.29	.15	.27	.32	.14	.37	.40
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity	.64	.71	.68	.80	.60	.69	.67
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . . .	.28	.54	.51	.41	.42	.46	.30
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	.18	.00	.00	-.02	.02	.05	.16
Mean Q . . . . .	.32	.37	.34	.36	.32	.37	.35

order association. Even this difference is quite small and would lead us to no conclusions specific to these two control variables. Generally, the variation among the control variables is very slight.

Looking at differences among the dependent variables, i.e., the employer change variables, we see a very different picture. There is considerable variation, and the changes are rather large.

The majority of the employer variables still do not change very much from zero order to net partial. This statement is based on the average net partial. There is considerable variation among specific control variables applied to specific dependent variables. For example, the average difference between the net partials and the zero-order association for increased hiring of the hard-core unemployed is .05. However, the range of the differences for this variable extends from a decrease of .05 to an increase of .25. It does not seem very fruitful to attempt to make sense out of all of these specific instances. The other variables that do not change very much from the zero-order to the average net partial coefficient are increased hiring of training-program graduates, increased efforts to hire minority group members, offering new community services, and increased advertising of equal-opportunity employment.

There are two variables in Table 4.3 that show a relatively large increase from the zero-order association to the average net partial. For employer-CAA referral cooperation, the average difference is .19. For an increased per cent of unskilled workers who are black, the average difference is .14. These are cases in which city characteristics clearly suppress the association between employment goal orientation and employer changes. Why these two variables should be particularly responsive to such control variables is not clear. However, since the per cent of unskilled workers who are black is the one variable that is closest to being a labor-force characteristic, we might argue that it would also be most responsive to city characteristics. Employer-CAA referral cooperation, on the other hand, would seem to be the most directly responsive to CAA activities and therefore not simply a function of city characteristics.

Thus, we would argue that the city characteristics tend to work against cooperation in those cities in which CAAs are most likely to emphasize employment goals.

One variable--employers running job-training programs--shows a large decrease between the zero-order and the net partial coefficients. The average decrease is  $-.15$ . This result would be somewhat puzzling except that the more effective strategy for employment programs to take, as we shall see below, is to run job-training and education programs rather than to attempt to place people in jobs. Thus, we would expect that effective CAAs emphasizing employment goals would also be actually running job-training programs and thus would not be particularly concerned with inducing employers to run such programs.

In summary, Table 4.3 shows that the relationship between CAA emphasis on employment goals and employer changes is not an artifact or function of characteristics of the cities in which the CAAs exist. Further, we can say that the associations between CAA emphasis on employment goals and two variables--employer-CAA referral cooperation and per cent of unskilled workers who are black--would be even higher if it were not for the suppressing effects of city characteristics. Finally, the association between employment emphasis and the running of job-training programs by employers might be an artifact of city characteristics.

#### Emphases of the CAA Employment Program

We can now turn to more concrete descriptions of activities associated with employer changes. We shall first consider the general orientation of the employment program of the CAA. We are concerned here with two general emphases, which seem to be alternative policies regarding the types of things employment programs do.<sup>2</sup> Employment programs can be

---

<sup>2</sup>An attempt was made to measure the extent to which the employment program of the CAA emphasized efforts to change employers' hiring and other practices. Unfortunately, there was no variation. There were no CAAs emphasizing these efforts. This may reflect reality. More likely, it indicates that our measures were insensitive to the actual variation that exists.

set up as service systems running job-training and education programs. Alternately, employment programs can forgo the job of running programs, by ignoring this task, by attempting to delegate it elsewhere, or by judging that it is adequately fulfilled by some other institution, and can concentrate efforts on serving as the liason between potential employers and employees by trying to place people in jobs. Both of the variables measuring these two emphases are derived from the interview with the employment program director in each city and are constructed from a detailed coding of his report of employment program activities. (See Part 3 of Appendix A for a more detailed description of the construction of the variables.)

Table 4.4 shows the associations between the two specific emphases of the employment program and the employer change variables. The clearest overall finding of this table is that an emphasis on running training programs is more effective than an emphasis on placing people in jobs. On five of the eight change variables, the association is more strongly positive with emphasis on training programs than with emphasis on placing people in jobs. On one variable--hiring of hard-core unemployed--there is almost no difference. The mean gamma coefficients of association are .24 for employment programs running job-training and education programs and -.07 for those putting their effort into placing people in jobs.

It is helpful at this point to look at the individual employer change variables with regard to these specific emphases of the employment program. The three of the four variables that pertain to employers' efforts to hire show a mixed pattern. Hiring of training-program graduates has a moderately strong and positive association with the running of training programs by the CAA ( $\gamma = .31$ ). It is negatively associated with CAA employment program emphasis on placing people in jobs ( $\gamma = -.15$ ). This comparison is quite reasonable since running training programs would provide graduates and probably would mean that there was some effort to place the graduates of these programs. An emphasis on job placement may indicate that this effort was directed toward people

TABLE 4.4

CAA EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM EMPHASES AND  
CHANGES IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR  
(Gammas)

Employer Change Variable	CAA Employment Program Emphasis	
	Placing People in Jobs	Running Training Programs
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . . . .	-.58	.63
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed	.62	.64
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	-.15	.31
High employer-CAA referral cooperation .	-.44	.17
Three or more new community services offered per employer.	-.25	.17
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity . . . . .	-.16	.10
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . . .	.16	-.04
Most employers run job-training programs . .	.25	-.06
Mean gamma . .	-.07	.24

regardless of whether they had participated in training programs. The other two "hiring" variables are quite different. Hiring the hard-core unemployed is positively associated with both emphases. Thus, it is probably simply related to the CAA's concern with employment. Efforts to hire minority group members is strongly and positively associated with the CAA employment program emphasis on operating training and education programs ( $\gamma = .63$ ), but it is strongly and negatively associated with the CAA employment program emphasis on placing people in jobs ( $\gamma = -.58$ ). Little explanation can be offered for this comparison, especially when we note that for the actual per cent of unskilled workers who are black, there is a positive association with placing people in jobs ( $\gamma = .16$ ) and a slight negative association with running training programs ( $\gamma = -.04$ ). Since the first variable measures an expressed commitment and the second measures actual change, our tendency is to say overall that efforts to place people in jobs do not have very much effect on employers' hiring practices and that efforts to run training programs produce an expressed commitment but little apparent actual change.

This type of effect is further indicated by the positive association between employers' advertising of equal-opportunity employment and CAAs' running training programs ( $\gamma = .10$ ), along with a negative association between such advertising and CAA emphasis on placing people in jobs ( $\gamma = -.16$ ). Such advertising is more concrete, or at least more public, than the statement that they are trying to hire. It is not clear how such advertising effects actual hiring practices.

The two variables that to some extent measure employers' relations with the community--employer-CAA referral cooperation and the offering of community services--both are positively associated with the CAAs' running training programs and negatively associated with the CAAs' efforts to place people in jobs. There is little reason to anticipate that the offering of community services would be associated one way or the other with these two employment program emphases. However, we would expect employer-CAA referral cooperation to be positively associated with

efforts to place people in jobs. Remembering that this variable is composed of statements about the employer calling the CAA when he has job openings and the CAA being able to supply people when he calls, the finding here suggests that when CAAs run training programs, they have people to refer when the opportunity arises. Apparently trying to place people in jobs does not include having people to refer.

The last employer change variable is the running of job-training programs by employers. As we would expect, this variable is negatively associated with the CAA's running of training programs and positively associated with CAA efforts to place people in jobs.

Table 4.4 shows the general negative effect for CAA employment programs that emphasize placing people in jobs (mean gamma =  $-.07$ ). Since we observed in an earlier report (Vanecko, 1969b) that CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs is positively associated with having the employment program concentrate on job placement, it would be helpful to determine whether such a concentration tends to deflate the influence of employment programs. It may be that the influence of CAA employment programs would be much greater if they were not pre-occupied with trying to place people in jobs. Table 4.5 shows the partial and net partial Q coefficients between CAA emphasis on employment goals and employer changes when the degree of employment program emphasis on placing people in jobs is controlled.

The findings of Table 4.5 can be stated in three sentences. First, when concentration on placing people in jobs is low, the effects of emphasizing employment goals and programs is higher than when such concentration is high. Second, concentrating on placing people in jobs does deflate the effects of an emphasis on employment goals. Third, there is an intuitively reasonable pattern according to which employer changes concerned with hiring practices are influenced by an employment program emphasis when employment programs concentrate on placing people in jobs.

TABLE 4.5

CAA EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT GOALS AND CHANGES IN THE  
 EMPLOYMENT SECTOR, CONTROLLING FOR EMPLOYMENT  
 PROGRAM EMPHASIS ON PLACING PEOPLE IN JOBS  
 (Q Coefficients of Association)

Employer Change Variable	Partial Q When Emphasis on Placing People In Jobs Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . .	.20	.80	.70
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	.14	1.00	.59
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates.	.69	.41	.50
High employer-CAA referral cooperation . . . . .	.78	.09	.18
Three or more new community services offered per employer . . . . .	.44	.28	.15
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity . . . . .	.78	.40	.63
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . . .	.23	.55	.50
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	.45	-.09	.24
Mean Q . . . . .	.46	.43	.44

The stronger impact that an employment program emphasis has on employer changes when the employment programs do not concentrate much on placing people in jobs is indicated by three comparisons. The mean Q coefficient is higher for the partial coefficient when emphasis on placing people in jobs is low than when it is high. This difference is small, .46 versus .43. For five of the eight comparisons, the partial Q when there is little concentration on job placement is higher than the partial Q when there is high concentration. Finally, one of the cases where the partial Q is higher when emphasis is high is a case in which there is an extremely small case base, and a zero cell in the table inflates the association greatly. This is the coefficient for increased efforts to hire the hard-core unemployed.

The finding that there is an intuitively reasonable pattern according to which the variables describing changes in hiring practices show a greater association with an emphasis on employment goals when employment programs concentrate on placing people in jobs is observed in the three variables that are higher in that column. These variables are increased efforts to hire minority group members, increased efforts to hire the hard-core unemployed, and increased per cent of unskilled workers who are black.

The most important finding of this table is probably that employment program emphasis on placing people in jobs serves as a suppresser to the effects of emphasis on employment goals and programs. Both mean partial coefficients and the net partial coefficient between employment program emphasis and employer changes are higher than the original zero-order coefficient of .32. The partial coefficients are .46 when emphasis on placing people in jobs is low and .43 when emphasis is high, and the net partial coefficient is .44. Thus, these differences are all greater than .10, which is rather substantial. It seems that the effects of an employment program emphasis are deflated by too much concentration on placing people in jobs.

The general trend of these findings suggests that the effects of CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs are tied to the level of effort in actually running job-training and educational programs. The degree to which employment programs emphasize placing people in jobs and concentrate their efforts in that area deflates the influence of the employment program. CAAs that emphasize employment goals and programs are also likely to emphasize placing people in jobs, and thus they limit their own influence.

Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics  
and Employer Change

Having examined the specific characteristics of CAA employment efforts that influence employer changes, it would be helpful to consider some of the other characteristics of CAAs that were also used in Chapter III in relation to change in the public school sector and to examine their influence on change in the employment sector. In this section, we shall briefly discuss the effects of some general characteristics of the CAA and its neighborhood centers, and then in the next section we shall turn to a consideration of the pressure exerted on employers from various sources.

Table 4.6 shows gamma coefficients of association between employer changes and four characteristics of the CAAs and the neighborhood centers in the target areas--CAA emphasis on participation of the poor, neighborhood center emphasis on community control, neighborhood center community-organizing activity, and neighborhood center support for militant activity. These variables are similar to those used in Chapter III except that the degree of community-organizing activity and support for militant activity are based only on data obtained from the community political leaders.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>In this and subsequent chapters, we use community-organizing activity and support for militant activity as reported by the community political leaders. These variables have also been reported by the neighborhood center directors. However, the reports by the community political leaders are preferable because three respondents are involved instead of just one, because these respondents have no "self-interest" that would bias

TABLE 4.6

SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS,  
BY CHANGE IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

(Gammas)

Employer Change Variable	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity <sup>a</sup>
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . . . .	.13	-.14	-.11	.67
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed	.50	.16	-.58	-.59
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	.17	.40	.14	-.05
High employer-CAA referral cooperation .	.05	-.31	.05	.25
Three or more new community services offered per employer	-.40	-.42	-.11	-.63
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity . . . . .	-.17	.19	.16	-.79
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . .	-.40	-.13	.23	-.05
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	-.26	-.20	.07	-.45
Mean gamma . .	-.05	-.06	-.02	-.21

<sup>a</sup>As reported by the community political leaders.

We shall limit our concern here to the general findings of the table rather than dealing with the more specific questions concerning the individual control variables or the individual employer changes. The general pattern of the table can be stated briefly. None of the control variables has an overall positive association with employer change. The mean gammas are all negative, with neighborhood center support for militant activity showing the strongest negative association (mean gamma = .21). Six out of the eight coefficients in this column are negative. These four CAA and neighborhood center characteristics, with the possible exception of neighborhood center support for militant activity, have little or no effect on the degree to which employers change. If anything, neighborhood center support for militant activity tends to retard employer change. We can conclude from these findings both that the effects of CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs are not functions of these other CAA characteristics and that these characteristics do not make much difference for employer changes.

#### Pressures for Change in the Employment Sector

We shall now consider the impact of the pressures for change that are exerted on employers by the neighborhood center and by the citizens of the neighborhood. Table 4.7 shows the gamma coefficients of association and the employer change variables. The data here are rather difficult to interpret. There are three different measures of neighborhood center pressure on employers, each being derived from the reports of a different set of respondents. The three respondent types are the employment program director, the employers, and the neighborhood political leaders. The three measures of neighborhood center pressure do not correlate with each other very strongly nor are their effects on employer changes consistent. The fourth pressure variable presented in Table 4.7 is citizen pressure on the employers as reported by the neighborhood political leaders.

---

their answers, and because they are more likely to report "visible" or public activity, which is probably more relevant. See Chapter III for an additional discussion of these measures.

TABLE 4.7

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER PRESSURE AND CITIZEN PRESSURE,  
BY CHANGE IN THE EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

(Gamma)

Employer Change Variable	Neighborhood Center Pressure As Reported by:			
	Employment Program Directors	Employers	Political Leaders	Citizen Pressure
Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . .	.04	-.39	.22	-.33
Increase in hiring of hard-core unemployed . . . . .	-.25	-.25	-.30	-.11
Increase in hiring of training-program graduates .	-.16	.44	-.20	.45
High employer-CAA referral cooperation . . . . .	.46	.70	.60	.39
Three or more new community services offered by employer	.33	.42	-.22	.25
Increase in employers advertising equal opportunity . .	.29	-.37	.10	-.23
Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . . .	-.20	-.22	.58	.01
Most employers run job-training programs . . . . .	.39	.18	.28	.62
Mean gamma . . . . .	.11	.06	.13	.13

The best that can be said concerning this table is that, overall, the effects of neighborhood center and citizen pressure are slight. The mean gamma coefficients are all positive but none is very high. For the three measures of neighborhood center pressure, the mean gammas are .11, .06, and .13. For citizen pressure the main gamma is .13. It would not be very useful to attempt specific explanations for all of the peculiar interplays between the individual measures of pressure and the individual employer changes. It should suffice to conclude that neighborhood center and citizen pressure, which in other institutional sectors have been seen as important predictors of change, are not very important in the employment sector.

#### Summary and Conclusions

The findings of this chapter can be briefly summarized. Employer changes are more highly associated with an employment emphasis on the part of the CAA than with a community organization emphasis. They are least likely to be associated with a traditional or service emphasis. The association between employer changes and an employment emphasis by the CAA is not a function of city characteristics or of an accompanying community organization emphasis. In fact, city characteristics tend to a slight degree to suppress the association between CAA employment emphasis and employer changes. An accompanying community organization emphasis by the CAA has little effect on the association between employment emphasis and employer change but tends slightly toward depressing that association. Within the employment program, a concentration on actually running training and education programs is more effective than a concentration on placing people in jobs. Concentrating the activities of the employment program on placing people in jobs tends to deflate the association between employment program emphasis and employer changes. Finally, characteristics of the CAA that are extraneous to the employment program efforts have little effect on employer changes.

In conclusion, it seems that the most important determinant of employer change is the degree to which the CAA concerns itself with

employment problems by committing large and probably visible resources to running job-training and education programs. If a CAA concentrates its efforts on employment, then it is apparently effective only when it actually administers programs. Job-training programs are expensive. When CAP expenditures are high, the association between employment emphasis and employer change is highest. One would guess that in some way CAAs that administer job-training programs must make contact with employers and influence them to change. The measurement of how that contact differs from the contact made by CAAs that do not administer programs is beyond the present analysis. Thus, we cannot state whether employers change in response to the presence of employment programs or whether they change because of direct communication and interaction with the CAA.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE SECTOR

This chapter deals with the process of change in the private welfare sector. First we transform the findings of the preliminary report on this sector (Orden, 1969) from the individual social service agency level to the city level. Then we extend the analysis to consider the effects on changes in the private social service sector of (1) the characteristics and orientation of the central Community Action Agency, (2) the emphases and activities of the neighborhood centers in the target areas, (3) the pressure for change generated by the CAAs and by citizen groups,<sup>1</sup> and (4) the characteristics of the city.

#### Measures of Change

In the preliminary report on the private welfare sector (Orden, 1969), we demonstrated by means of a cluster analysis of variables measuring change in private social service agencies (SSAs) that these variables can be differentiated and combined into conceptually meaningful and analytically useful dimensions of change. Fifteen of the twenty-two change variables cluster along three dimensions. The three clusters are

---

<sup>1</sup>In Report #2 (Vanecko, 1969a) we discussed a variable referred to as "citizen pressure on social service agencies." This variable was discussed in reference to its impact on social service agency changes and was compared with neighborhood center pressure. It is also alluded to in Chapter I of this report. This variable is composed of several of the same items that are included in the general variable described as "interaction with the poor" in this chapter. This new variable contains additional items that give it a face meaning closer to change by the social service agencies than to change external to them but directed at them. Thus, the name given the variable here is more accurate for its use than the name used for the previously cited variable. Using this name also

not completely independent of each other, but the associations within each of the three clusters are high enough to suggest that they are tapping somewhat different dimensions of change.

The first cluster is change in general service, which includes changes in budget, in the number of staff, in the number of referrals among social service agencies, and in the number of people served. The second cluster is change in service to the poor, which includes changes in the proportion of clients who are unemployed, who are welfare recipients, who are poor (in families with incomes less than \$5,000), and who are members of minority groups, and the development of new programs. The third cluster, change in interaction with the poor, is subdivided into two clusters--participation of the poor within the social service agency and involvement of the agency with the community. Participation of the poor includes changes in the proportion of the SAA board who are poor, changes in the proportion of the board who are neighborhood residents, and the role of the poor in decision making within the SAA. Involvement with the poor includes changes in the agency's involvement with neighborhood groups, the publicity given to services by the agency, and the voice of neighborhood groups. The clustering of the change variables along dimensions that have face validity justifies the construction of separate indices based on these clusters. The rationales for following this procedure are: (1) to increase the reliability of measurements of change, (2) to obtain a clearer understanding of the underlying dimensions of change, and (3) to facilitate the handling of large masses of data in a conceptually meaningful way.

---

avoids the danger of confusing the two variables. Finally and most importantly, this variable is constructed from a more thorough analytic procedure and involves a more complete set of indicators, making it more reliable than the former variable. Since the two variables are so similar in meaning, they can be thought as providing somewhat different emphases, but more confidence can be placed in the findings presented in this chapter utilizing the second variable.

In the construction of the indices of change, each social service agency was rated on each of the fifteen variables. The agency was given a score of 0 for no change or a decrease. Increases were dichotomized, generally at the median, and agencies were given a score of 1 for a moderate increase and a score of 2 for a considerable increase. Thus the index reflects, for example, the fact that an agency reporting an increase in both budget and the number of people it serves changed more in the general service area than an agency reporting only one change in that area.

The indices were converted from the individual agency level to the city level by averaging the scores for the agencies within each city. In order to provide an adequate case base for analysis, the city-level scores were then dichotomized at the median on all the SSA change dimensions except general service. On this dimension the scores could not be dichotomized without sharply skewing the distribution. The scores were therefore trichotomized into low, medium, and high categories. Because these are trichotomies, the gamma coefficient is used.

The relationships among the indices of change in the social service sector on a city basis are shown in Table 5.1. We see that the index of change in the general service dimension is virtually independent of the indices of change in both service to the poor and overall interaction with the poor. The gammas are  $-.09$  between general service and service to the poor and  $-.06$  between general service and overall interaction with the poor.

In contrast to the independence of the general service dimension, there is a substantial positive association between the index of change in overall interaction with the poor and the index of change in service to the poor ( $\text{gamma} = .62$ ). One could argue that since these two indices have such a strong positive correlation, they are in fact measuring the same thing and should be combined into a single index. However, we believe that the distinction between actual service to the poor and interaction with the poor through participation of the poor in the social service agency as well as through involvement of the agency with neighborhood

organizations provides a conceptually useful way of analyzing change. We want to be able to talk about interaction with the poor as a separate concept since we are looking for avenues by which change in service to the poor takes place. Interaction with the poor seems a potentially fruitful avenue for change, and therefore we have kept it as a separate dimension. Our data indicate that the actual delivery of service to the poor and interaction with the poor go hand in hand--that one is a function of the other. Together these two indices may be describing an important mechanism by which change is effected in the private welfare sector.

TABLE 5.1  
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY (SSA)  
CHANGE DIMENSIONS ON CITY LEVEL  
(Gammas)

SSA Change Dimension	General Service	Service to Poor	Interaction with Poor			Total SSA Change
			Overall Total	Participation of Poor in SSA	Involvement of SSA in Neighborhood	
General service .	--	-.09	-.06	-.15	.19	.16
Service to poor .		--	.62	.43	.74	.77
Interaction with poor . . . . .			--	.98	.81	.86
Participation of poor . .				--	.78	.88
Involvement with community . . .					--	.88
Total SSA change .						--

N = 50

Within the overall interaction-with-the-poor dimension, the associations are very high. The overall dimension is, of course, highly associated with each of its parts (gammas = .98 and .81, respectively). This gives clear evidence that these components can be analyzed as a single dimension. The two components are also strongly and positively associated with each other (gamma = .78). Based on statistical criteria alone, one would not analyze these separately. However, since the substantive meanings of these variables are analytically very different and very important, we choose to also analyze them separately.

The final column of Table 5.1 shows the association between an index of total change within social service agencies and the dimensions of change. The total change index was constructed by giving equal weight to each item composing the three dimensions, dichotomizing each at the median, and giving a single point if the case was above the median and zero if it was below. The associations are all positive, as we would expect since the index is a composite measure of each of the parts. The associations are also mostly quite strong, the one exception being the association with the general service dimension, where the gamma coefficient is only .16. Thus, expansion of private social services and all other changes are not so clearly part of the same process.

#### Community Organization and Change in the Social Service Sector

We shall follow here the same general lines of investigation used in the two preceding chapters. We start with the basic finding in this study that CAA emphasis on community organization is related to institutional change. We observe first how CAA goal orientation and CAA emphasis on community organization is related to the SSA change dimensions. Then we move to the activities of CAAs to see how neighborhood center community-organizing activity is related to change in the social service sector. These relationships are described in Table 5.2. (The construction of the CAA and neighborhood center variables can be found in the first report [Vanecko, 1969b] and is included in Appendix A of this report.)

TABLE 5.2

CAA GOAL ORIENTATION, CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION,  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY,  
BY CHANGE IN PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

SSA Change Dimension	CAA Goal Orientation (Per Cent High on Change Variable)			Q Coefficients of Association	
	Traditional (N = 17)	Organizational (N = 18)	Employment (N = 15)	CAA Emphasis on Community Organization	Neighborhood Center Community- Organizing Activity <sup>a</sup>
General service . . . . .	29	39	43	.18	.18
Service to poor . . . . .	35	72	43	.45	.18
Interaction with poor . . . . .	47	61	29	.27	.28
Participation of poor . . . . .	41	67	36	.50	.28
Involvement with community . . . . .	53	44	29	.40	.12
Total SSA change . . . . .	53	67	36	.54	-.02

<sup>a</sup> As reported by the community political leaders.

The table shows the per cent scoring high on the three different types of CAA goal orientation--traditional, or social and educational services, community organization, and employment. The table also shows the associations between CAA emphasis on community organization and the SSA change dimensions, which is simply another way of looking at goal orientation.

The highest per cent on the aggregate index measuring total change in the social service sector occurs when the CAA goal orientation is community organization. The per cent high on this summary measure is 67 per cent when the CAA goal orientation is community organization, 53 per cent when the orientation is traditional, and 36 per cent when the orientation is employment.

On the separate SSA change dimensions, the highest per cent difference between CAA organizational goal orientation and the other goal orientations occurs on the change in the proportion of service to the poor. The per cent high on this change dimension is 72 per cent when the CAA goal orientation is community organization, 43 per cent when the CAA goal orientation is employment, and 35 per cent when the CAA goal orientation is traditional. As indicated in Chapter II, this is the one variable among the SSA change dimensions that shows a significant association. This association between CAA goal orientation and change in the proportion of service to the poor is significant at the .10 level.

On the overall interaction dimension, the highest per cent also occurs when the CAA goal orientation is community organization, but the percentage differences are somewhat smaller. The per cents high are 61 per cent for organizational orientation, 47 per cent for traditional orientation, and 29 per cent for employment orientation.

When we look at the two separate parts of the interaction dimension, we can see that on the participation dimension the highest per cent occurs when the CAA goal orientation is community organization, while on the involvement dimension the highest per cent occurs when the CAA goal

orientation is traditional. In cities where the CAA is oriented toward mobilizing the poor, the poor are involved. In cities where the CAA is oriented toward service, the SSAs are seeking involvement.

On the general service dimension, the highest per cent occurs when the goal orientation is employment. The per cents high are 43 per cent for employment orientation, 39 per cent for organizational orientation, and 43 per cent for traditional orientation.

These observations are reflected in the associations between CAA emphasis on community organization and the SSA change dimensions. We note that there is little association with the general service dimension ( $Q = .18$ ), a strong association with the service-to-the-poor dimension ( $Q = .45$ ), and a moderate association with the overall interaction-with-the-poor dimension ( $Q = .27$ ). On the separate parts of the interaction dimension, CAA emphasis on community organization has strong associations with both participation and involvement. The  $Q$  coefficients are .50 and .40, respectively. The strong association with involvement is interesting since it occurs despite the fact that the highest per cent on the CAA goal typology occurs when the orientation is traditional. This suggests a curvilinear relationship. Finally, on the summary measure of change in the social service sector, the association with CAA emphasis on community organization is .54. These observations confirm our initial finding that community organization is an important predictor of CAA influence on institutional change.

Moving next to the activity level, we see in the last column of Table 5.2 the association between the SSA change dimensions and the measure of neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by the political leaders. On this measure we can see that neighborhood center community-organizing activity is related to interaction with the poor, but not to service to the poor or general service. Apparently actual community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center is not sufficient to effect overall change in social service agencies.

Other CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics  
and Change in the Social Service Sector

We turn now to other characteristics of the CAA and the neighborhood centers to see whether they are related to change in the private welfare sector. The characteristics considered are CAA emphasis on participation of the poor, neighborhood center emphasis on community control, and neighborhood center support for militant activity as reported by political leaders.

It is clear from Table 5.3 that only neighborhood center emphasis on community control is related to the total change dimension in the private social service sector. The Q coefficient is .48. The association of both CAA emphasis on participation of the poor and neighborhood center support for militant activity with the overall SSA change dimension is -.14.

TABLE 5.3

SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS, BY CHANGE  
IN PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

SSA Change Dimension	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity <sup>a</sup>
General service . . . . .	-.43	-.28	-.26
Service to poor . . . . .	-.14	-.03	-.14
Interaction with poor . . . . .	.14	.33	.08
Participation of poor . . . . .	.14	.58	-.08
Involvement with community .	.05	.01	-.14
Total SSA change . . . . .	-.14	.48	-.14

<sup>a</sup>As reported by the community political leaders.

It is interesting to note that CAA emphasis on participation of the poor is actually a weak predictor of change in participation of the poor in SSAs ( $Q = .14$ ), while neighborhood center emphasis on community control is a strong predictor ( $Q = .58$ ), and support for militant activity is a weak negative predictor of this change ( $Q = -.08$ ). Community control appears to be a good middle course. It implies more specific action than does general emphasis on participation of the poor and less directive action than does support for militant activity. It seems to take more than general emphasis on participation of the poor and less than militant activity to actually produce change in the participation of the poor.

#### CAP Impact on Change in the Social Service Sector

A measure of the impact of community action programs on change was derived from responses to the questionnaire administered to the directors of three private social service agencies in the target neighborhoods in each of the fifty cities in the sample. The index was constructed from responses to both open-ended and probe questions that were designed to specify the part played by CAAs and neighborhood centers in the changes that took place from 1964 to 1968. A test index was also constructed that established the validity of CAP impact as a measure of an underlying dimension of impact and demonstrated that CAP impact was not biased by the scoring procedures. The construction of the CAP impact index and the test index is described in detail in the preliminary report on the private welfare sector (Orden, 1969). CAP impact measures the degree to which CAAs and neighborhood centers are visibly and directly exerting influence on change within the social service sector.

The relationships between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions are shown in Table 5.4. The first column describes the relationship in terms of the individual SSAs, the second column describes the relationship in terms of the fifty cities. The city variables are simply the average of the individual SSAs within each city.

TABLE 5.4

CAP IMPACT ON CHANGE IN PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

SSA Change Dimension	CAP Impact	
	Individual SSAs	City Averages
General service . . . . .	.20	-.03
Service to poor . . . . .	.11	.20
Interaction with poor . . . . .	.41	.77
Participation of poor . . . . .	.39	.70
Involvement with community.	.33	.43
Total SSA change . . . . .	.33	.27

On an individual SSA basis we see that CAP impact has a strong association with interaction with the poor ( $Q = .41$ ), a moderate association with general service ( $Q = .20$ ), and little association with service to the poor ( $Q = .11$ ). When the individual SSAs are combined into a city variable, there are some changes in these relationships. The association of CAP impact with general service decreases from .20 to -.03, while the association of CAP impact with service to the poor increases from .11 to .20 and the association of CAP impact with interaction with the poor increases from .41 to .77.

These associations indicate that city effects tend to obscure some relationships and emphasize others. When we measure at the agency level, there are random variations that may tend to cancel each other out or reinforce each other when we measure at the city level. At the city level, CAP effects tend to cancel each other out on the general service dimension and to reinforce each other on the service-to-the-poor and interaction-with-the-poor dimensions. This suggests that CAP impact on service to the poor and interaction with the poor is related to something within the city that is common to the three SSAs. It is clear that in cities where there is a great deal of CAP pressure for change, there is a great deal of interaction with the poor and a moderate amount of change in service to the poor. On the other hand, at the city level CAP impact is not related to overall change in general service. A different way of stating this would be to say that the influence of CAP pressure on service to the poor and interaction with the poor is not selective, while CAP influence in general service is selective.

In the preliminary report on the SSAs, we suggested that interaction with the poor is the mechanism through which CAAs have an impact on increases in service to the poor. We can test this model by controlling for interaction with the poor and observing the association between CAP impact and service to the poor. When a control variable is introduced, the partial coefficients measure the association between the dependent and independent variables under specific conditions of the control variable. The net partial, which is a weighted average, measures the association without the effects of the control variable.

Table 5.5 shows a dramatic difference in the partial associations. When interaction with the poor is low, the association between CAP impact and service to the poor is strong and negative ( $Q = -.80$ ). In contrast, when interaction is high, the association between CAP impact and service to the poor is strong and positive ( $Q = .84$ ).

The net partial  $Q$  between CAP impact and service to the poor, controlling for interaction, is  $-.18$ , compared to a zero-order association

TABLE 5.5

CAP IMPACT BY CHANGE IN SERVICE TO THE POOR,  
CONTROLLING FOR INTERACTION WITH THE POOR  
(Per Cent)

Service to Poor	CAP Impact		Per Cent of Total
	Low	High	
Low Interaction			
Low . . . . .	50 (8)	90 (9)	65 (17)
High . . . . .	50 (8)	10 (1)	35 (9)
Total.	100 (16)	100 (10)	100 (26)
High Interaction			
Low . . . . .	75 (3)	21 (4)	30 (7)
High . . . . .	25 (1)	79 (15)	70 (16)
Total.	100 (4)	100 (19)	100 (23)

Partial Q (low interaction) . . . = -.80  
 Partial Q (high interaction) . . . = .84  
 Zero-order Q between CAP  
 impact and service to poor . . . = .20  
 Net partial Q controlling for  
 interaction . . . . . = -.18

N-NA = 49  
 NA =  $\frac{1}{50}$   
 N = 50

of .20. This means that when the effects of interaction are absent, CAP impact is negatively associated with service to the poor. If the net partial were higher than the zero-order association, it would imply that interaction operates to reduce the strength of the zero-order association between CAP impact and service to the poor. If the net partial were zero, it would mean that interaction explains away the association between CAP impact and service to the poor. When the net partial is negative, as it is in this case, it means that interaction operates to increase the zero-order association between CAP impact and service to the poor. Without interaction the association is negative, with interaction it is positive. Thus, interaction emerges as an important intervening variable in describing the impact of community action programs on the expansion of social service to the poor.

Another interesting question to consider is what happens to the association between interaction and service to the poor if we take out the effects of CAP impact. Table 5.6 shows that when the effects of CAP impact are eliminated, there is no modification in the zero-order  $Q$  between interaction and service to the poor of .62, which in this case is identical to the gamma given in Table 5.1. The net partial  $Q$  is .67. This means that the association between interaction and service to the poor is not simply a function of CAP impact. However, the partial associations specify that the association between interaction and service to the poor when CAP impact is low is strong and negative (partial  $Q = -.50$ ). The partial association when CAP impact is high is positive and almost perfect (partial  $Q = .94$ ).

We can conclude that when they are considered separately, interaction with the poor is more effective than CAP impact in predicting service to the poor. Taken together, high CAP impact and high interaction are very strong predictors of change in service to the poor.

TABLE 5.6

INTERACTION WITH THE POOR BY SERVICE TO THE POOR,  
CONTROLLING FOR CAP IMPACT

(Per Cent)

Service to Poor	Interaction		Per Cent of Total
	Low	High	
Low CAP Impact			
Low . . . . .	50 (8)	75 (3)	55 (11)
High . . . . .	50 (8)	25 (1)	45 (9)
Total	100 (16)	100 (4)	100 (20)
High CAP Impact			
Low . . . . .	90 (9)	21 (4)	45 (13)
High . . . . .	10 (1)	79 (15)	55 (16)
Total	100 (10)	100 (19)	100 (29)

Partial Q (low CAP impact) . . . = -.50  
 Partial Q (high CAP impact) . . . = .94  
 Zero-order Q between interaction  
 and service to poor . . . . . = .62  
 Net partial Q controlling for  
 CAP impact . . . . . = .67

N-NA = 49  
 NA = 1  
 N = 50

CAP Impact on SSA Change Controlling for CAA and  
Neighborhood Center Characteristics

We turn now to the question of whether the associations between CAP impact and the dimensions of change in the social service sector are modified when we control for selected CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. The characteristics that we shall consider here are CAA goal orientation, CAA emphasis on community organization, neighborhood center community-organizing activity as reported by political leaders, neighborhood center emphasis on community control, and neighborhood center support for militant issues as reported by political leaders.

Table 5.7 shows the net partial associations between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions when selected CAA and neighborhood center characteristics are introduced as controls. For all except CAA goal orientation, the table also shows the partial associations when the control variables are dichotomized. The net partials will be compared with the zero-order associations, which are given in the first column. In these comparisons a difference of .10 or greater between the zero-order and the net partial will be used as the criterion to signify change in the levels of association.

The table shows that, in general, the pattern of association between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions holds up when the selected characteristics are introduced as controls. On twenty-six of the thirty comparisons, the difference between the net partial and the zero-order association is less than .10. This means that the pattern of association between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions is not simply a function of the particular CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. These characteristics do not explain away or reduce any of the effects of CAP impact on change in the social service agencies.

There are four exceptions to this general pattern. Three occur when the control variable is neighborhood center community-organizing activity and involve the relationship of CAP impact with general service, with service to the poor, and with involvement with the

TABLE 5.7  
 CAP IMPACT ON CHANGE IN PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES, CONTROLLING FOR  
 SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS  
 (Q Coefficients of Association)

SSA Change Dimension	Zero-order Association	CAA Goal Orientation		CAA Emphasis on Community Organization			Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity <sup>a</sup>			Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control			Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity <sup>a</sup>		
		Net Partial	Partial	Low	High	Net Partial	Low	High	Net Partial	Weak	Strong	Net Partial	Weak	Strong	Net Partial
General service . . . .	-.03	.05	-.26	.44	-.04	.26	.12	.13	.35	-.25	.21	-.08	-.29	-.07	
Service to poor . . . .	.20	.26	-.01	.50	.16	.07	.46	.30	.06	.67	.14	.64	.33	.21	
Interaction.	.77	.75	.75	.80	.77	.75	.87	.82	.75	.80	.76	1.00	.52	.70	
Participation of poor . . .	.70	.67	.70	.79	.73	.36	.87	.72	.63	.91	.70	.85	.52	.66	
Involve-ment with community .	.43	.42	.35	.54	.42	.75	.51	.56	.28	.50	.35	1.00	-.03	.35	
Total SSA change . . . .	.27	.24	.28	.29	.28	-.07	.46	.26	.28	-.29	.26	.64	.33	.26	

<sup>a</sup>As reported by the community political leaders.

community. The fourth exception occurs when the control variable is neighborhood center emphasis on community control and the association is between CAP impact and general service. In all these four cases, the net partials are higher than the zero-order association. Thus, the associations are higher when the effects of the control variables are removed than when the control variable is allowed to operate on the relationship. The control variable, therefore, has the effect of suppressing the relationship between CAP impact and SSA change.

The partial associations when the control variables are dichotomized indicate some clear and consistent patterns that should be noted. First, when CAA emphasis on community organization is high, the associations between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions are consistently stronger than when CAA emphasis on community organization is low. However, the most dramatic differences occur not on the interaction dimension, as one might expect, but on the general service and service-to-the-poor dimensions. The partial associations between CAP impact and general service are  $-.26$  when CAA emphasis on community organization is low and  $.44$  when this emphasis is high. On the service-to-the-poor dimension, the corresponding partials are  $-.01$  and  $.50$ .

When neighborhood center support for militant activity is the control variable, the partial associations between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions are consistently stronger or less negative when support is weak than when support is strong. The total SSA change dimension reflects this pattern: when support of militant activity is weak, the partial association between CAA impact and the total change dimension is  $.64$ . When support for militant activity is strong, the partial is  $.33$ .

On two control variables, neighborhood center community-organizing activity and neighborhood center emphasis on community control, there is no consistent pattern in the partial relationships. It should be noted, however, that on both of these variables, the association between CAP impact and service to the poor is strong when the control variable is high and close to zero when the control variable is low.

We can conclude from the net partials that, in general, the pattern of relationships between CAP impact and SSA change is not simply a function of CAA and neighborhood center characteristics. From the partial relationships, we can conclude that certain characteristics specify when the relationships between CAP impact and SSA change will be high. Heavy CAA emphasis on community organization strengthens the association between CAP impact and all of the change dimensions. High neighborhood center community-organizing activity, high neighborhood center emphasis on community control, and weak neighborhood center support for militant activity strengthen the association between CAP impact and service to the poor.

#### CAP Impact on SSA Change Controlling for City Characteristics

The final step in this analysis will be to test the observed associations between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions by controlling for city characteristics. This test will enable us to determine whether the observed relationships are spurious and are actually functions of city characteristics that result both in CAP impact on change and in actual change in the private social service sector. (For a similar test of the associations between CAA community organization goal orientation and SSA change, see Table 2.2.) The city characteristics used here are the same as those used in previous chapters and are described in detail in Chapter II. They are city size, per cent of the population that is nonwhite, per cent of the population that is poor, region of the country, general level of political activity within the target neighborhood, and per capita amount of CAP expenditures within the city.

Table 5.8 shows the partial and net partial relationships between CAP impact and the SSA change dimensions for the various city controls. In general, city characteristics do not modify the zero-order relationship. In twenty-eight of the thirty-six comparisons in this table between the zero-order association and the net partial, the change is less than .10. On the eight comparisons where the change is

TABLE 5.8

CAP IMPACT ON CHANGE IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES,  
CONTROLLING FOR CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

SSA Change Dimension	City Size			Per Cent Nonwhite			Per Cent Poor			Region				Level of Political Activity			CAP Expenditures					
	Partial	Net Partial		Partial	Net Partial		Partial	Net Partial		Partial	Northeast	South	Midwest	West	Net Partial	Partial	Net Partial		Partial	Less than \$100	More than \$100	
		Under 250,000	Over 250,000		Low	High		Low	High													
General service .	.19	-.22	.00	-.11	.00	-.05	.17	-.15	-.04	.07	.00	.23	-.54	.01	.16	.04	.11	.50	-.08	.03		
Service to poor . . .	-.08	.47	.18	.08	.50	.30	.43	.02	.17	-.67	-.52	.74	1.00	.00	.27	.33	.27	-.30	.57	.42		
Interaction.	.44	.94	.72	.35	1.00	.78	.43	.91	.78	.09	1.00	.85	.78	.72	.71	.92	.77	1.00	.76	.80		
Participation of poor . .	.11	.96	.60	.19	.96	.68	.48	.83	.71	-.09	1.00	.74	1.00	.66	.71	.71	.71	.78	.76	.76		
Involvement with community .	.26	.59	.42	.45	.47	.46	.66	.22	.39	-.30	.67	.43	1.00	.32	.45	.75	.52	.52	.62	.61		
Total SSA change . .	.09	.38	.22	.19	.50	.35	.27	.26	.27	-1.00	.67	.64	.78	.15	-.09	.71	.16	.30	.29	.30		

.10 or greater, the net partial is higher than the zero-order association in six cases and lower in two.

Two control variables that suppress the relationship between CAP impact and service to the poor should be noted--per cent nonwhite and CAP expenditures. When we control for the per cent nonwhite, the relationship between CAP impact and service to the poor increases from a zero-order association of .20 to a net partial of .30. The partials specify that there is more CAP impact on SSA change when the per cent nonwhite is high (.50) than when it is low (.08). When we control for CAP expenditures, the relationship between CAP impact and service to the poor increases from .20 to .42. In this case the partials are .57 when CAP funds are more than \$100 per capita and -.30 when CAP funds are less than \$100 per capita.

This means that CAP is more effective in redirecting services to the poor in cities where CAP funds are high than where CAP funds are low. The service-to-the-poor dimension measures change in the proportion of poor served, not change in the actual number of people served. Even if redistribution efforts are not expensive, actual expansion in the delivery of services may be quite expensive. On the other hand, the general service dimension measures actual expansion in the number of people served. On this dimension, we see that the situation is reversed. CAP is likely to have more impact when funds are low than when funds are high. The partial associations between CAP impact and general service are .50 when CAP expenditures are less than \$100 per capita and -.08 when CAP expenditures are more than \$100 per capita. We have argued elsewhere that CAP funds are an indirect indicator of service orientation by the CAA. It may be that well-financed service-oriented CAAs do not offer any opportunities for other social service agencies to expand. On the interaction-with-the-poor dimension, the association with CAP impact is strong and positive both when funds are low (partial = 1.00) and when they are high (partial = .76).

The partial associations specify that community action programs are most likely to have an impact on service to the poor in larger cities, in the West, when CAP expenditures are high, where the per cent of the population that is nonwhite is high, but where the per cent poor is low.

CAP impact on changes in SSA interaction with the poor is most likely to occur in larger cities, in the South, where the per cent nonwhite is high, where the per cent poor is high, and when the general level of political activity is high.

CAP impact has little effect on change in general service, and the city characteristics do not specify conditions under which CAP's effectiveness is strengthened on this dimension except in one case--the level of CAP expenditures. When CAP expenditures are low, the CAP has a strong effect on change in general service (partial Q = .50). When CAP expenditures are high, the CAP has no effect on change in general service (partial Q = -.08). In two other cases, there is a large difference between the two partial associations, but neither is strongly positive. They are city size and per cent poor.

#### Summary and Conclusions

This analysis confirms the basic finding in this study that Community Action Agency emphasis on community organization is an important predictor of institutional change. The analysis specifies that cities in which the CAA emphasis is community organization are ones in which community action programs play a significant role in increasing the proportion of poor served by private social service agencies. The mechanism for bringing about change in the proportion of service to the poor is through expansion of the social service agencies' interaction with the poor. When the neighborhood centers concentrate on community-organizing activity, there is a marked increase in interaction between the SSAs and the poor residents of the community. Cities in which the SSAs are increasing their interaction with the poor are clearly ones in

which the SSAs credit community action programs with helping to generate or sustain this change. It is this change in interaction with the poor that then produces change in the proportion of the poor served. The association between interaction and service to the poor is not simply a function of CAP impact. In fact, considered separately, interaction is far more effective than CAP impact in predicting change in the proportion of social services going to the poor. However, CAP is effective in strengthening the SSAs' level of interaction with the poor. Taken together, high CAP impact and high interaction with the poor are very strong predictors of change in the proportion of poor served by the private social service sector.

## CHAPTER VI

### NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE

This chapter provides an excursion through changing neighborhood political organizations. It differs from the other chapters on institutional change in that the changes in political organization that provide greater participation and greater representation are not only treated as dependent variables but are also looked at as intervening processes through which change is brought about in other institutions. Within this chapter, the analysis goes through citizen pressure for change in other institutions and extends to the association of change within these institutions to neighborhood political organization change. In Chapters III, IV, and V we have seen the relationship between citizen pressure and change within the public school, social service, and employment sectors.

This chapter presents data on the relationship between the goal orientation of the Community Action Agency and neighborhood political organization change, between other emphases and activities of the CAA and such change, and between the separate dimensions of neighborhood political organization change. From these relations, a model of change in neighborhood political organizations is presented showing alternate paths of political organization change and institutional change.

#### Goal Orientation and Political Organization Change

Table 6.1 repeats part of the data that were presented in Chapter II regarding the relationship between CAA goal orientation and changes in political organization. This table shows the per cent of cities scoring high on neighborhood political organization change for each of the three CAA goal orientations--traditional or service, organizational, or employment.

In addition, Table 6.1 shows the Q coefficient between CAA emphasis on community organization and neighborhood political organization change. In light of the evidence already presented concerning the overall impact of a community organization emphasis by the CAA, it is surprising that the effects are not greater here. On only three of the five variables is the per cent changing highest in the organizational column. On the other two variables, not only do cities where the CAA emphasizes organization fail to show the highest per cent of change but the Q's are actually negative and strongly so (-.41 and -.53).

TABLE 6.1

CAA GOAL ORIENTATION AND CAA EMPHASIS ON  
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	CAA Goal Orientation (Per Cent High on Change Variable)			CAA Emphasis on Community Organiza- tion (Q)
	Tradi- tional (N = 17)	Organi- zational (N = 18)	Employ- ment (N = 15)	
Increase in level of organi- zation and number of de- mands by residents . . . . .	0	35	0	.74
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	25	12	38	-.41
Voter registration drive and increase in registration .	47	50	60	-.53
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations . . . . .	25	33	8	.52
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .	25	56	54	.44
Mean Q . . . . .				.15

The pattern presented by these percentage scores and by the Q coefficients permits a straightforward interpretation. The three variables that are highest on change in the organizational column and show a strong positive association with CAA emphasis on community organization are all variables describing increased organizational density within the target neighborhood and an increased ability to present the demands and interests of the neighborhood to public agencies. All three are outside the scope of electoral politics. The two variables that are not highest in the organizational column and are negatively associated with a community organization emphasis are both measures of electoral participation. They are increased registration and increased election turnout. Apparently, CAA emphasis on community organization is an influential factor leading to increased expression of neighborhood concerns before public agencies but not in carrying those concerns to the polls.

There are a variety of explanations that could be offered for the findings in Table 6.1. A few factors appropriate to most explanations are important for our analysis here. First, CAAs are directed by law, by consensus, by mandate, and by guidelines to be concerned with the establishment and support of community organizations that will represent the interests of the neighborhood before public and private institutions. The variables that are positively associated with community organization emphasis are those that we would expect to be more directly related to the efforts of the CAA. Involvement in voter registration and in actual electoral campaigns is specifically prohibited for CAAs. Thus, we might expect some results here as a spinoff of organizing efforts, but no direct results. Added to this is the fact that electoral participation is influenced by a large number of factors having little to do with the neighborhood. The clear difference of choice between candidates, the salience of issues raised, the relevance of the offices sought, the kinds of political organizations and election machinery that exist are all factors that could be outside the control of the neighborhood, or at least perceived that way. Thus, given the definition and scope of CAA efforts, these findings make intuitive sense.

A final note should be added in regard to the findings of Table 6.1. In both cases where change is not highest in the organizational column, it is highest in the employment column. Changes in electoral participation are not so directly a function of differing goal orientations of the CAA as of other characteristics of the city. For example, employment emphasis by the CAA is associated with city size, and city size is associated with changes in electoral participation. A large part of the change in electoral participation is explained by city size and other characteristics of the city. Looking back at Table 2.2, we see that the negative association between CAA community organization goal orientation and the two electoral participation variables (numbers 35 and 36) is diminished somewhat when we control for some of the city characteristics. Thus, we can initially suggest that community organization emphasis and activity by the CAA do not prevent increased electoral participation by offering community organization participation as an alternate. This suggestion will be pursued further in the remainder of this chapter.

An additional observation that should be made concerning the relevance of Table 2.2 for the findings shown in Table 6.1 is that city characteristics do not account for the association between community organization emphasis and neighborhood political organization change. The positive associations with the three aspects of community organization are not spurious. The difference between the zero-order and net partial coefficients are less than .10.

Selected CAA and Neighborhood Center Characteristics and  
Neighborhood Political Organization Change

We shall now examine the characteristics of CAAs that are associated with neighborhood political organization change. This is the first step in the process of elaborating what it is that CAAs emphasizing community organization do that leads to changes in political organization.

Table 6.2 shows the gamma coefficients of association between some CAA and neighborhood center characteristics and neighborhood political organization change. The four characteristics presented here are the degree to which the CAA emphasizes participation of the poor, the degree to which the neighborhood center emphasizes community control over itself, community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center, and support for militant activity by the neighborhood center.

The first finding presented in Table 6.2 is that community-organizing activity by a neighborhood center has a relatively strong impact on neighborhood political organization change (mean  $Q = .28$ ). In fact, it has a stronger overall impact than CAA emphasis on community organization emphasis (mean  $Q = .15$ ). Second, neighborhood center emphasis on community control of itself also shows a positive association (.14) that is approximately as strong as the association for CAA emphasis on community organization. Third, CAA emphasis on participation of the poor has a weaker though still positive association (.07) with neighborhood political organization change; and, fourth, neighborhood center support for militant activity has a negative, though not very strong, association (-.11).

One interesting aspect of Table 6.2 is community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center, which is more strongly associated with the three variables involving changes in the organizational density and amount of petitioning from the target neighborhood than with the two variables involving changes in electoral participation. This pattern is similar to that shown in the association between CAA community organization emphasis and neighborhood political organization change, but in this case the association with the first group of change variables is not so strongly positive and the association with the second group is not so strongly negative as was the case with community organization emphasis. These second two variables measuring dimensions of electoral participation show a pattern in which registration is weakly but positively associated with community-organizing activity ( $Q = .12$ ) and voting turnout is not associated ( $Q = -.03$ ). This again suggests that community-organizing

TABLE 6.2

SELECTED CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER CHARACTERISTICS,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	CAA Emphasis on Participation of Poor	Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control	Neighborhood Center Community - Organizing Activity <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Center Support for Militant Activity <sup>a</sup>
Increase in level of organization and number of demands by residents	.30	.16	.82	-.25
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	-.06	.20	-.03	-.27
Voter registration drive and increase in registration . . . . .	-.31	.24	.12	.07
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations	.21	-.29	.07	-.05
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .	.20	.39	.41	-.05
Mean Q . . . . .	.07	.14	.28	-.11

<sup>a</sup>As reported by the community political leaders.

efforts do not provide an alternative that detracts from or deflates electoral participation. A policy directed toward community organization, as well as community-organizing activities, are predictors of organizational change, but they do not prevent electoral participation. The other aspect of neighborhood center community-organizing activity that provides an interesting contrast with CAA community organization emphasis is the association with increased membership in community organizations. The association of this change variable with neighborhood center community-organizing activity is at best very slight ( $Q = .07$ ), compared to the quite strong association with CAA community organization emphasis ( $Q = .52$ ). Oddly enough, actual neighborhood-level efforts to work with and support community organizations are less likely to encourage increased membership than is a value or policy commitment to community organization at the city-wide level.

Another interesting aspect of Table 6.2 is the second column, which shows the association between neighborhood center emphasis on community control and neighborhood political organization change. Overall this association is positive, although not so strong as neighborhood center activity. It is interesting, though, to note several things. First, the association with the fifth change variable, petitioning of public agencies by organizations, is equally as strong ( $Q = .39$ ) as is the association of community-organizing activity with that variable ( $Q = .41$ ). Second, emphasis on community control has positive, though moderate, associations with both of the variables measuring participation in electoral politics. There is one very clear, straightforward explanation for these associations. The community control variable includes the question of whether residents of the community participate in selecting the neighborhood center advisory board. Resident participation normally implies elections for the advisory board. Increased participation in electoral politics is a natural spinoff from such campaigns.

Emphasis on participation of the poor shows a moderately positive association with the three organizational variables and a moderately

negative association with the two electoral participation variables. We saw in our first report that CAA emphasis on participation of the poor in decision making is positively associated with CAA emphasis on community organization goals ( $\gamma = .26$ ). Therefore, most of the association observed here is a substitute for the association of CAA community organization emphasis with neighborhood political organization change.

In summarizing Table 6.2, it is most important to note the positive association of community-organizing activity with neighborhood political organization change and to incorporate that into the analysis which follows. It is also important to note the positive association between neighborhood center emphasis on community control of itself and increased participation in electoral politics, but little more can be done with this association until we analyze the full sample of 100 cities.

One could look at neighborhood center community-organizing activity as simply a concrete manifestation of community organization emphasis by the CAA board and executive director. However, the data do not indicate such a simple equation. The two variables are strongly associated with each other but not so strong as to suggest that they are equivalent ( $\gamma = .49$ ). The different associations that each of these two variables has with the measures of neighborhood political organization change also suggest that they are not the same thing.

We still must ask whether a large part of the association between either one of these two variables and neighborhood political organization change is actually explained by the other. It may be that actually working with community organizations in the neighborhood is only effective when it is backed up by a CAA board and executive director who are committed to community organization. On the other hand, it may be that a commitment by the board and executive director to community organization is only effective when they are able to clearly extend it into the activities of the neighborhood center so that they are involved with community organizations. Table 6.3 and 6.4 present data pertinent to this problem. They show the partial and net partial coefficients between each

TABLE 6.3

CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	Partial Q When Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
Increase in level of organization and number of demands by residents . .	1.00 <sup>a</sup>	.28	.76
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	-.17	-.82	-.56
Voter registration drive and increase in registration . . . . .	-.50	-.51	-.52
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations . . . . .	.14	.73	.46
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .	.78	-.01	.33
Mean Q . . . . .	.25	-.12	.09

<sup>a</sup>If one case is shifted into the zero cell in the table, the maximum value would be .71.

TABLE 6.4

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE, CONTROLLING FOR  
 CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION  
 (Q Coefficients of Association)

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	Partial Q When CAA Community Organization Emphasis Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
Increase in level of orga- nization and number of demands by residents . .	.90	-1.00 <sup>a</sup>	.76
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	.27	-.27	.12
Voter registration drive and increase in regis- tration . . . . .	.28	.26	.27
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations . . . . .	.08	.69	.23
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .	.66	-.26	.38
Mean Q . . . . .	.44	-.12	.36

<sup>a</sup> If one case is shifted into the zero cell in the table, the maximum value would be .42.

of these two variables--neighborhood center community-organizing activity and CAA community organization emphasis--and neighborhood political organization change, controlling for the other of the two.

The first observation that can be made concerns the net partial coefficients. Neither the effects of neighborhood center community-organizing activity nor the effects of CAA community organization emphasis are explained away by holding the other constant. There is, however, an important difference. In Table 6.3 we can see that the mean net partial coefficient of community organization emphasis with the neighborhood political organization change variables is .09, while the zero-order coefficient in Table 6.1 was .15. Thus, controlling for community-organizing activity, we see that the effects of community organization emphasis are not as strong. In Table 6.4 we see that the mean net partial coefficient between neighborhood center community-organizing activity and neighborhood political organization change is .36, while the zero-order coefficient in Table 6.2 was .28. Thus, community-organizing activity actually has a stronger effect when community organization emphasis is held constant. These observations suggest that community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center produces change regardless of other characteristics of the CAA, but that the association is statistically suppressed by CAA emphasis on community organization goals. Community organization emphasis by the CAA is partially dependent on community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center. Thus, of these two variables community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center is clearly the stronger predictor of neighborhood political organization change.

It is also useful to examine specific change variables in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 and to compare the net partials with the zero-order associations in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. An increase in the level of organization and the number of demands made by residents does not change to any important degree from the zero-order to the net partial coefficients for either community organization emphasis (.74 vs. .76) or community-organizing activity (.82 vs. .76). Increased election turnout becomes more strongly negative for community organization emphasis (-.41 vs. -.56)

but increases for community-organizing activity (-.03 vs. -.12). Increased voter registration shows no change for community organization emphasis (-.53 vs. -.52) but shows a weaker zero-order coefficient than net partial for community-organizing activity (.12 vs. .27). Based on these two electoral participation variables, we can infer from these differences that community-organizing activity by the neighborhood center is a moderately good predictor of electoral participation, which is suppressed by the effects of community organization emphasis by the CAA. Moving on to the next change variable, we can see that for membership in community organizations there is a decrease from zero-order association to net partial for community organization emphasis (.52 vs. .46) and an increase for community-organizing activity (.07 vs. .23). However, the net partial between community organization emphasis and increased membership in community organizations is still considerably stronger than the net partial between the community-organizing activity and membership. Finally, the association between community-organization emphasis and increased petitioning of public agencies goes down noticeably from the zero order to the net partial (.44 vs. .33) and that between community-organizing activity and petitioning goes down slightly (.41 vs. .38). However, both of these net partials stay fairly close to each other.

The most important implication of this examination of the net partial coefficients is that neighborhood center community-organizing activity is positively associated with increased electoral participation. The other important implication is that community-organizing activity is positively associated with increased membership in community organizations. Thus, we can conclude that there is a moderate association between community-organizing activity and increased participation of the target area population in both electoral and non-electoral politics.

Looking at the partial coefficients in Tables 6.3 and 6.4, we see that for both community organization emphasis and community-organizing activity, the mean partial coefficient is higher when the other variable is low. This could be anticipated simply on the basis of the statistical

relations among the variables at the zero-order level. It is interesting to note, though, that there is less difference between the mean partial coefficients for community organization emphasis than for community-organizing activity. For community organization emphasis, the mean partial coefficients are .25 when community-organizing activity is low and -.12 when community-organizing activity is high. For community-organizing activity, the mean partial coefficients are .44 when community organization emphasis is low and -.12 when community organization emphasis is high. The implication is that community-organizing activity in the neighborhood is more effective when divorced from a community organization goal orientation than a community organization goal orientation is when divorced from community-organizing activity. Operations apparently are more important than policy.

Looking at the partial associations for the individual political organization change variables is also useful. For both community organization emphasis and community-organizing activity, the first change variable is problematic because of the small case base. At best, we can conclude for both that the partial is higher when the other variable is low, and that the partial when the other variable is low is close to the zero-order association. For the two variables measuring electoral participation, the pattern of differences between partials is the same for both community organization variables. There are large differences for voting and small differences for registration. All four differences go in the direction of a more positive association when the control variable is low. The important comparison, though, is that for community-organizing activity the association with voting is moderately positive ( $Q = .27$ ) when community organization emphasis is low, but for community organization emphasis the association with voting is still negative ( $Q = -.17$ ) even when community-organizing activity is low. This rather clearly suggests that community organization as a policy deters poor citizens from electoral involvement by providing an outlet in the activities of community organizations and groups whether or not the citizens actually participate. The reasons for this, of course,

may be in a realistic assessment of the political system. That is a question beyond the scope of this research.

Another extremely interesting characteristic of the partial coefficients is the one change variable that shows a reversal from the mean partials. This variable is increased membership in community organizations. For both community organization emphasis and community-organizing activity, the partial coefficient is higher when the control variable is high than when the control variable is low. For community organization emphasis, the partials are .73 when the control variable is high and .14 when it is low. For community-organizing activity, the corresponding partials are .69 and .08. The implication of this is that both a policy commitment to community organization and actual community-organizing activity are reinforcing influences on participation in community organizations.

The final change variable, petitioning of public agencies, shows the same pattern as the mean partial Q's. When the control variable is low, the partial coefficient is strongly positive. When the control variable is high, the partial coefficient is slightly or moderately negative. Either a policy or actual operations directed toward community organization will produce increased petitioning.

The complicated relationships shown in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 are presented in less detailed and less precise form in Table 6.5. This table shows the per cent high on each of the five neighborhood political organization change variables for each of four categories derived from combining the low and high categories of neighborhood center community-organizing activity and CAA community organization emphasis. While detail and precision are sacrificed in this form of presentation, clarity is gained.

A simple way of examining this table to begin with is simply to look for the highest per cent in each row. Doing this, we see that for two variables--increase in level of organization and number of demands and change in petitioning of public agencies--the highest per cent is in the column indicating low community-organizing activity and high community organization emphasis. For the two electoral participation variables, the highest per cent is in the category of high community-organizing activity and low community organization emphasis. Finally, increased membership in community

TABLE 6.5  
 NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING  
 ACTIVITY AND CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION  
 (Per Cent High on Change Variable)

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	Neighborhood Center Community-Organizing Activity and CAA Emphasis on Community Organization			
	Low Activity Low Emphasis (N = 15)	Low Activity High Emphasis (N = 6)	High Activity Low Emphasis (N = 11)	High Activity High Emphasis (N = 13)
Increase in level of organiza- tion and number of demands by residents . . . . .	33	100	91	92
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .	33	17	36	0
Voter registration drive and increase in registra- tion . . . . .	60	33	73	46
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population are mem- bers of community organi- zations . . . . .	60	67	64	92
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .	20	67	54	54

organizations shows the highest per cent change in the column for high community-organizing activity and high community organization emphasis.

We can think of the change variables as being characterized along two dimensions that form a four-cell table. One dimension is electoral versus non-electoral political activity. The other dimension is whether political activity involves participation of a relevant proportion of citizens or whether it involves activity that could be, though may not necessarily be, limited to elites. The five variables can be placed in the four cells as shown in Figure 6.1.

	No Necessary Increase in Citizen Participation	Proportional Increase in Citizen Participation
Electoral Activity	(A)	Increase in participation of residents in electoral poli- tics Voter registration drive and increase in registration (B)
Non- Electoral Activity	Increase in level of organi- zation and number of demands by residents Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organi- zations (C)	Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organi- zations (D)

Figure 6.1--Neighborhood Political Change Typology

Cell A is empty within this analysis. It is a logically and realistically possible category that would include such things as increased campaigning or the raising of more relevant campaign issues. More important for our purposes are the other three cells. Cell B includes those variables that involve a proportional increase in citizen participation and electoral activity. The variables are increased voter turnout and increased voter registration. We saw in Table 6.5 that both of these variables are highest when neighborhood center community-organizing activity is high and CAA community organization emphasis is low. Thus, neighborhood center community-organizing activity is the best predictor of these variables.

Cell C includes variables that do not necessarily imply an increase in citizen participation and that are non-electoral activities. The variables included here are an increase in level of organization and number of demands and an increase in petitioning of public agencies. These variables are most strongly predicted by CAA emphasis on community organization. Table 6.5 showed that the per cent high on these changes is largest in the column that has a low score for neighborhood center organizing activity and a high score for CAA community organization emphasis.

Cell D, which includes variables implying a proportional increase in citizen participation and non-electoral activity, has only one variable in it--increase in community organization membership. This is the one variable that showed the largest proportion high on change in the column in Table 6.5 designated as high on community-organizing activity and high on community organization emphasis. This variable is predicted by both community organization variables, and both these variables reinforce each other.

This presents a useful typology of the effects that the community organization efforts of community action programs have within the neighborhood political organization sector. A policy directed toward community organization influences organizational intensity. Community organization operations influence electoral participation. Both influence organizational participation.

Some cautionary statements should be made regarding this explanation of Table 6.5. Community-organizing activity has a relatively strong effect on registration of voters but a very weak effect on actual voter turnout. Thus, the effects are not uniform within types. Also, while the largest percentage for increase in level of organization and number of demands is in the column indicating a low score on community-organizing activity and a high score on community organization emphasis, the differences between that percentage and those in the column for high community-organizing activity and low community organization emphasis and in the column high on both these variables are not very large, 100 per cent versus 91 per cent and 92 per cent, respectively. The same pattern is true for the petitioning of public agencies by organizations. Thus, for both variables in cell C of Figure 6.1, the

biggest difference is between cities scoring low on both community organization effort variables and those scoring high on one or the other or both.

#### Correlations between Change Variables

The next step in analyzing the process of change within the neighborhood political organization sector is to look at the actual associations between the neighborhood political organization change variables. Table 6.6 presents a matrix of the gamma coefficients between these variables. The coefficients are approximately as one would expect. Increase in level of organization and in number of demands is strongly associated with increased membership in community organizations (.72) and increased petitioning of public agencies (.71). This first variable is very weakly associated with increased participation in electoral politics (.08), and is negatively, though relatively weakly, associated with increased voter registration (-.14). Increased participation in electoral politics has a perfect association with increased registration (1.00), has a fairly strong association with increased membership in community organizations (.36), and has a negative association with increased petitioning of public agencies (-.26). Increased voter registration has a weak association with increased membership in community organization (.09) and has practically no association with increased petitioning of public agencies (-.02). Finally, increased membership in community organizations is weakly and negatively associated with increased petitioning of public agencies (-.09).

It is helpful to reorganize these associations within the context of the figure presented above, indicating whether or not variables indicate proportional increase in citizen participation and whether or not they involve electoral activity. This is done in Figure 6.2 by showing the four cells introduced in Figure 6.1, indicating the association between the two variables within cell B and cell C, respectively, and indicating the mean coefficients between the variables across cells.

This diagram provides a clear picture of the pattern of relationships among the political organization change variables. Looking first at the associations within cells, we see that the variables within cells B and C, which contain two variables each, are very strongly associated with each

TABLE 6.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE VARIABLES

(Gammas)

Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable	Level of Organization and Demands	Participation in Electoral Politics	Voter Registration	Community Organization Membership	Petitioning of Public Agencies
Increase in level of organization and number of demands by residents . . . . .	--	.08	-.14	.72	.71
Increase in participation of residents in electoral politics . . . . .		--	1.00	.36	-.26
Voter registration drive and increase in registration . . . . .			--	.09	-.02
Increase of 10 to 18 per cent of the population who are members of community organizations . . . . .				--	-.09
Large change in petitioning of public agencies by organizations . . . . .					--

other. Looking at the associations between cells, there is a moderate association both between the variables in cell B and cell D and between the variables in cell C and cell D. The average association between variables in cell B and cell C is slightly negative. Thus, increased citizen participation in electoral politics and increased intensity of community organization demands are clearly distinct forms of political change. However, they are linked to some extent and in some fashion to each other through positive association with increased citizen participation within community organizations.

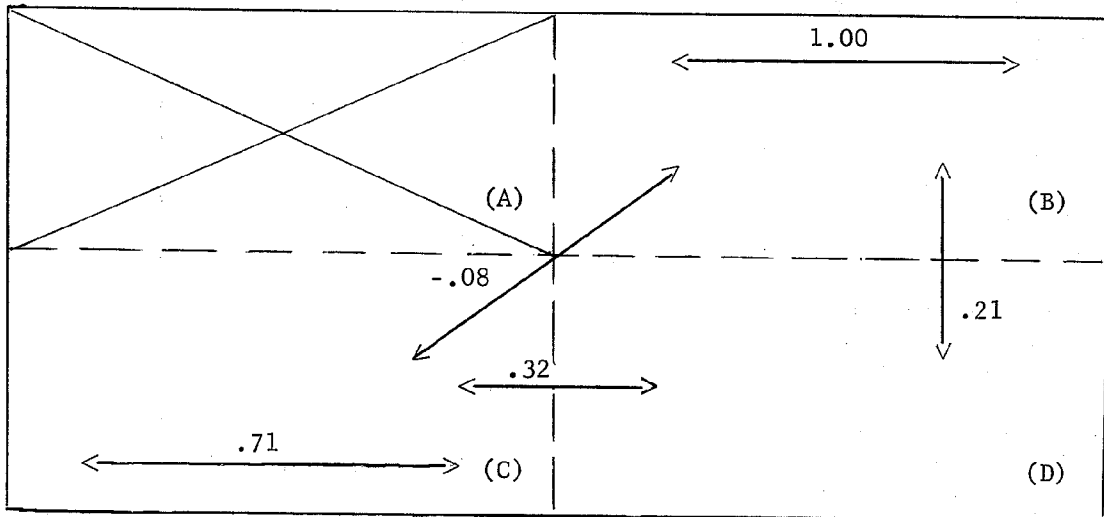


Figure 6.2--Diagram of Association within and between Types of Neighborhood Political Change

Citizen Pressure and Political Organization Change

One additional variable should be introduced before attempting to develop a model of the process of change in neighborhood political organization and institutions serving the poor. This variable is citizen pressure on institutions serving the poor. The relationship between citizen pressure and institutional change has already been shown in Chapters III through V in relation to the public school, the employment, and the private social service sectors. Here, we want to examine the association between change in the neighborhood political organization sector and the various forms of citizen pressure. Table 6.7 shows the gamma coefficients between these variables.

TABLE 6.7  
 NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE  
 AND CITIZEN PRESSURE  
 (Gammas)

Citizen Pressure	Neighborhood Organizational Change Variable				
	Level of Organization and Demands	Participation in Electoral Politics	Voter Registration	Community Organization Membership	Petitioning of Public Agencies
Citizen pressure on social service agencies . . . . .	-.17	-.55	-.40	-.44	.25
Citizen pressure on schools . . . . .	.68	-.13	.26	.41	.20
Citizen pressure on employers . . . . .	.04	-.06	-.62	-.24	.07
Mean gamma . . . . .	.18	-.25	-.25	-.09	.17

It is not necessary or particularly helpful to discuss here the associations with the specific institutional sector pressures. Rather we can limit our discussion here to the mean associations between the neighborhood political organization change variables and citizen pressure. Again the findings are clear. The two variables that fall into cell B of the diagram above, i.e., those involving electoral participation, both show the same moderately strong negative association with citizen pressure (mean gamma = -.25). Apparently voting and directly applying pressure to institutions serving the poor are alternatives for each other. The second aspect of this table to be noted is that the variables indicating increased organizational density and petitioning are moderately and positively associated with citizen pressure (mean gammas = .18 and .17, respectively). These positive associations are as we would expect. Finally, increased membership in community organizations has a slightly negative association with citizen pressure (mean gamma = -.09).

Apparently the more extensive citizen involvement in community organizations is, the less likely that community organizations will be exerting direct pressures on institutions serving the poor. This makes intuitive sense since the more people there are involved in an organization, the more likely there are to be differing interests, differing goals and values, and disagreements, thus making mobilization around a specific issue more difficult.

We can now construct alternative models of the process of neighborhood political organization change and citizen pressure. Such models will lead us into a consideration of how political organization change and citizen pressure bring about change in the institutions serving the poor. These models can be tested, but not in a totally satisfactory manner. There are three sequential models of political organization change that are consistent with the analysis presented in this chapter. These three models are presented in Figures 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5.

The form of each of these diagrams is the same. Variables are listed within boxes. Boxes placed on top of each other indicate that the variables involved are part of the same underlying phenomenon. Thus, in all three models the three CAA and neighborhood center characteristics that are considered are placed on top of each other. These characteristics are CAA emphasis on community organization goals, neighborhood center community-organizing activity, and neighborhood center emphasis on community control of itself. The model proceeds from left to right as an indication of temporal sequence. Arrows indicate the sequential pattern of variables, the association between them, and by inference, a causal relation. Chains of causal relationship are indicated by the pattern of one of the three forms of arrow--a solid line, a series of dashes, or a series of dashes and dots. There are two primary criteria used in constructing these patterns. First, for an arrow to be drawn and for a series of arrows, there must be a positive zero-order association between each of the variables included. Second, one variable is placed in sequence before a second variable if the partial association of the CAA or neighborhood center characteristic with this variable is higher when the second variable is low. However, the sequence constructed according to this criterion is

Time<sub>0</sub> Time<sub>1</sub> Time<sub>2</sub> Time<sub>3</sub>

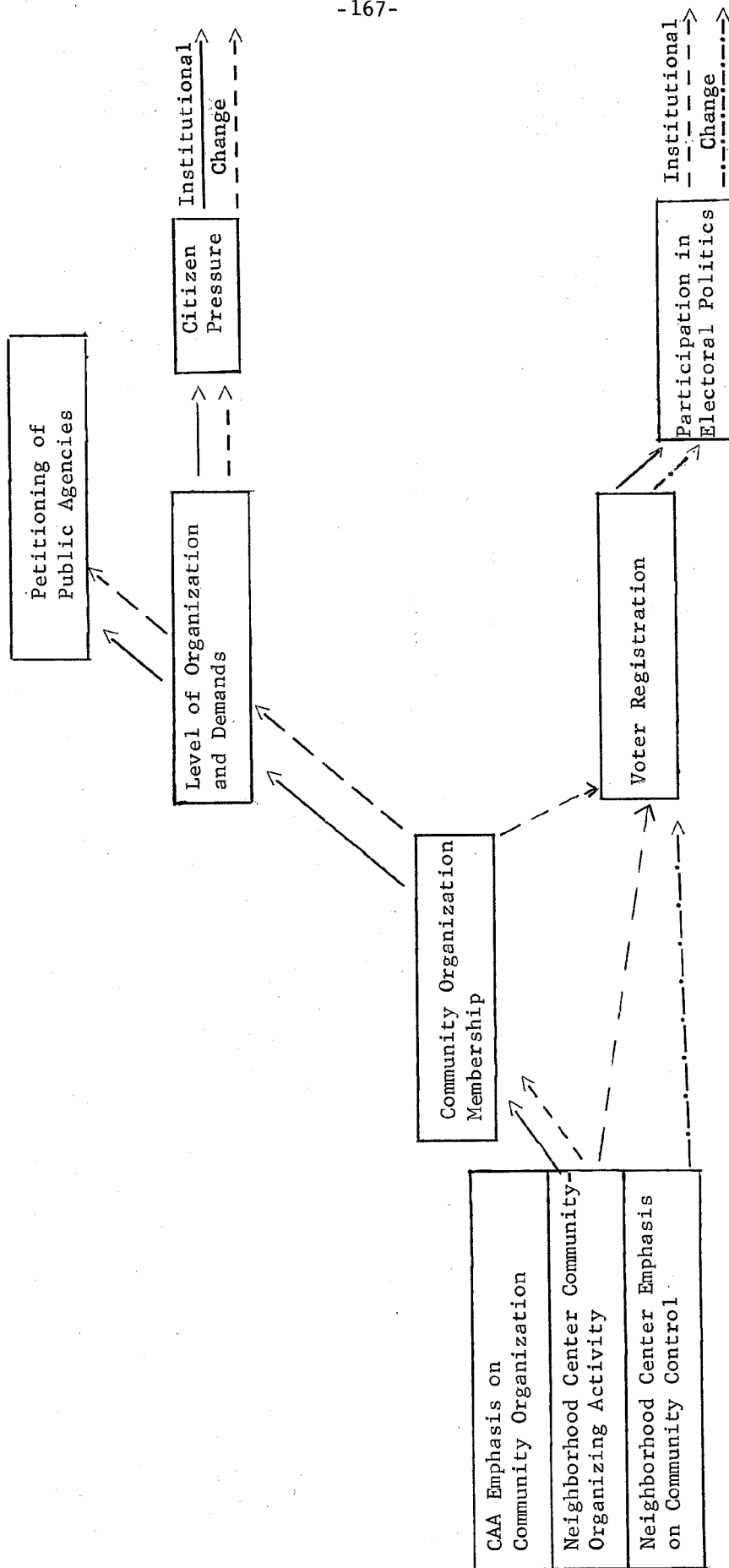


Figure 6.3--Diagram of Sequential Model #1 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change

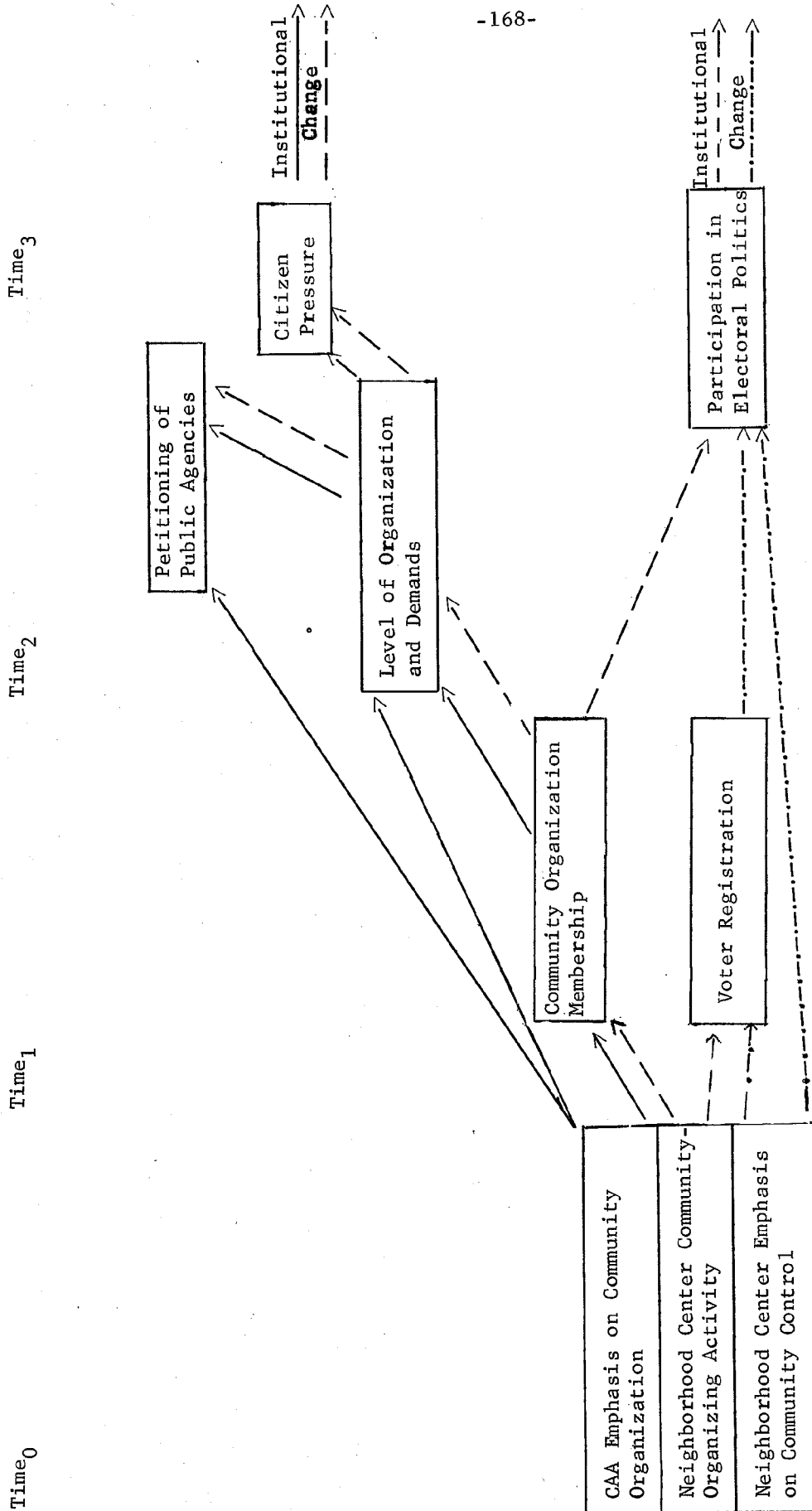


Figure 6.4--Diagram of Sequential Model #2 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change

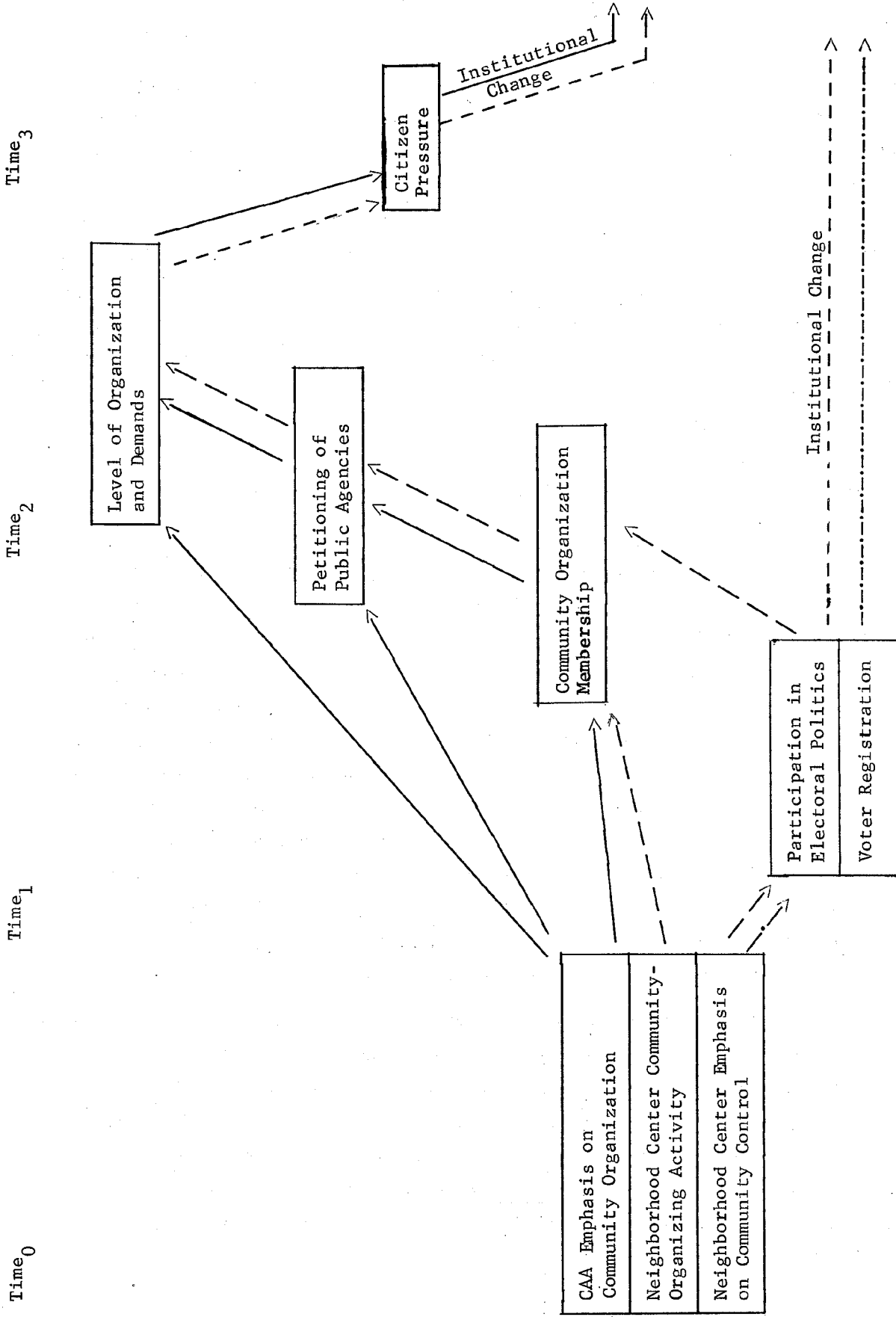


Figure 6.5--Diagram of Sequential Model #3 of Influence of CAA Community Organization Effort on Neighborhood Political Organization Change

only partially satisfactory. Thus, if community-organizing activity shows a zero-order association both with membership in community organizations and with an increased level of organization and number of demands, we cannot clearly state whether one of these dependent variables precedes the other. On the other hand, if community-organizing activity has a high association with the membership variable when the organization and demand variable shows low change and a high association with organization and demand when membership is high, then we can make a fairly reliable inference that increased membership precedes increased level of organization and number of demands. This second criterion is the best approximation we can make of sequential ordering, given that the measurement of all five of these variables takes place within the same very limited time span. The results of applying these criteria are not altogether uniform, which is why three separate models are offered.

One part of the model remains the same throughout all three forms. This is the path that goes from CAA emphasis on community organization and neighborhood center community-organizing activity to membership in community organizations to increased level of organization and number of demands to increased petitioning of public agencies to citizen pressure on institutions serving the poor. This sequence fulfills the criteria described above. The juncture at which both an increased level of organization and number of demands and increased petitioning of public agencies are shown as directly leading to citizen pressure is the only point at which the path does not follow a single sequence from one variable to the next. This is because the differences observed according to the criterion by which the partial coefficients indicate the ordering of variables were slight. Most confidence can be placed in this part of the three models.

One part of the three models that changes is the direct relationship between CAA emphasis on community organization and the organizational density and petitioning variables. In the first model, these direct associations are not indicated. In the second and third models, they are. The direct associations are indicated in the second and third models to reflect the strong zero-order associations, the strong net partial associations when city characteristics are controlled, the strong net partial associations

when community-organizing activity is controlled, and the strong partial associations when community-organizing activity is low. There are no rigid criteria used for inclusion of these direct relationships in the second and third models and their exclusion in the first one. They could be entered in all three or they could be left out of all three. The choice of inclusion or exclusion is simply based on what seems to fit most appropriately with the overall model.

The bottom halves of the three models differ most from one to another because the application of the two criteria yield ambiguous results for the variables involved.

The first model, presented in Figure 6.3, shows the most complicated and complete pattern. It indicates one path of influence going from neighborhood center community-organizing activity to increased membership in community organizations to increased voter registration to increased voter turnout. The variables within this path fit the criteria, but the coefficients are so low that it is extremely tenuous. The second path indicated in this first model goes from neighborhood center community-organizing activity to voter registration to voter turnout. The zero-order associations here are more substantial. The problem is that the partial coefficients for the ordering of the variables do not show the differences that were set up as criteria. However, based on the simple logic that you cannot vote unless you are registered to vote, the sequence seems appropriate. The final path in the bottom half of Figure 6.3 goes from neighborhood center emphasis on community control through voter registration to voter turnout. This path fulfills the criteria of zero-order coefficients but not partial coefficients.

The second sequential model, presented in Figure 6.4, differs from the first model primarily in the relationship shown between increased membership in community organizations and increased voter registration. In this model, voter registration is moved into the same time span as community organization membership and the arrow connecting them is eliminated. The elimination of the connection is simply a reflection of the small zero-order association ( $\gamma = .09$ ). Moving increased voter registration back into the same time span as increased membership in community organizations reflects the very small difference between the partial association of neighborhood center

community-organizing activity with increased membership when increased voter registration is low or high. It also reflects an a priori judgment that the acts of registering to vote and signing a membership application are nearly equivalent and thus on a group level can be placed in the same time span.

The final model, presented in Figure 6.5, makes a more drastic revision of the relation between the electoral participation variables and increased membership in community organization. First, it reflects the zero-order association between voter registration and voter turnout, which is 1.00. Second, it moves these two electoral participation variables back into the time span prior to increased membership in community organization. It does not show the very low association between voter registration and membership in community organizations but does indicate the association between voter turnout and community organization membership. However, this model reverses the sequence of these two variables. This reflects the fact that the sequential arrangement of these two variables in the first two models was the result of partial coefficients that were inflated because of a zero cell and further shows the additional data that the partial coefficients between neighborhood center community-organizing activity and voter turnout suggest the sequence shown in the the third model.

It is not possible to make a clear choice between these alternative models. The data do not present clear criteria by which to accept or reject any of them. Each model could be an accurate reflection of the data. They do reflect differences in the process of neighborhood political change that might be important considerations in the strategy adopted by the Community Action Program. Unfortunately, it is not possible at this point to suggest which model is most appropriate and thus suggest what strategies are most appropriate.

While we cannot make a precise choice between the three models presented in Figures 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5, some definite characteristics of the process of neighborhood political organization change are indicated by all three models. First, there is the separation of two general areas of change--electoral participation and non-electoral political change. Second, there is the ordering of non-electoral change according to which increased

membership in neighborhood political organizations precedes the petitioning of public bodies with the needs and demands of the neighborhood. Third, there is the clear difference at the final stages of each path which shows that both an increased level of organization and demands and the petitioning of public agencies are related to citizen pressure on public schools, employers, and social service agencies, while increased electoral participation is not associated with citizen pressure. Given the complex and often ambiguous relation between citizen pressure and institutional change, it would probably only confuse the analysis to try to continue with an elaborate model of the process of change. However, it would be helpful to simply, although rather comprehensively, look at the relationship between neighborhood political organization change and changes in the three institutions serving the poor with which we are concerned.

Political Organization Change and Change in  
Other Institutional Sectors

Table 6.8 shows the gamma coefficients of association between each of the five neighborhood political organization change variables and each of the other institutional change variables plus the index of general institutional change that we used in Chapter II. Looking first at this general index of institutional change, we see rather substantial differences among the political change variables. The variable that is by far the highest is increased level of organization and number of demands presented by residents (gamma = .57). The petitioning of public agencies is next highest with a gamma of .20. Next is increased voter registration with a gamma of .13. Voter turnout is quite low (gamma = .06), and increased membership in organizations shows absolutely no association. The evidence with regard to general institutional change is that increased organizational density and demands and increased petitioning of public agencies form the clearest path to institutional change. Electoral participation certainly does not lead directly to institutional change. In addition, these findings suggest that general mobilization or participation of the citizen, whether electoral or not, is not so critical for institutional change as is the activation of some elites. To the extent that participation itself is valued or seen as an alternative to alienation, participation is desired for itself. As a path to institutional

TABLE 6.8

NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CHANGE VARIABLES  
AND OTHER INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE VARIABLES

(Gammas)

Institutional Change Variable	Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable				
	Level of Organiza- tion and Demands	Partici- pation in Elec- toral Politics	Voter Regis- tration	Community Organiza- tion Mem- bership	Petition- ing of Public Agencies
<u>Social service agencies:</u>					
1. Increase in per cent of clients earning \$5,000 . .	.14	-.12	.19	-.21	-.07
2. Increase in per cent of clients minority group members . . . . .	-.08	.02	-.03	-.45	.29
3. Increase in number of employees . . .	-.03	-.20	-.09	-.05	.18
4. Increase of 100 per cent or more in number of volunteers working for SSA . . . . .	-.03	-.28	.23	-.04	.70
5. Increase of 100 per cent or more in referrals among SSAs . . . . .	.44	-.19	-.08	.05	.11
6. 30 or more per cent increase in number of people served by SSA . . . . .	.11	-.38	-.13	.19	-.10

(Table 6.8 continued)

TABLE 6.8--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable				
	Level of Organiza- tion and Demands	Partici- pation in Elec- toral Politics	Voter Regis- tration	Community Organiza- tion Mem- bership	Petition- ing of Public Agencies
7. Highest increase in general ser- vice dimension .	.16	-.21	.07	-.28	.04
8. Highest increase in per cent of service to poor .	.27	.05	.09	-.12	.27
9. Highest increase in SSA interac- tion with poor .	.01	-.16	-.09	-.22	.51
10. High increase of participation of poor in SSA . . .	.14	-.46	-.22	-.11	.64
11. High per cent SSA involvement with community . . . .	.21	-.56	-.34	-.02	.15
12. High per cent SSA total change . .	.07	-.55	-.47	-.32	.47
Mean gamma for SSA dimen- sions . . .	.14	-.11	-.02	-.21	.27
<u>Public schools:</u>					
13. None or some in- crease in minority group members on school staff . .	-.43	.31	.11	-.19	-.19
14. Decrease in student-teacher ratio . . . . .	.08	.06	.41	.22	-.32

(Table 6.8 continued)

TABLE 6.8--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable				
	Level of Organiza- tion and Demands	Partici- pation in Elec- toral Politics	Voter Regis- tration	Community Organiza- tion Mem- bership	Petition- ing of Public Agencies
15. Decrease in crowding of physical facilities . . . . .	.31	.11	.14	.31	-.19
16. Largest increase of auxiliary staff . . . . .	.48	-.16	-.13	-.16	-.28
17. Increase in resident participation in public schools . . . . .	.18	-.07	-.18	-.18	-.15
18. Increase in promotion of participation in public schools . . . . .	.09	.00	.04	-.17	.14
19. High number of innovations . . . . .	.43	.08	-.15	.49	-.25
20. High change in parent and community assessment of schools . . . . .	.40	.08	.07	-.04	.02
21. Increase in PTA membership . . . . .	.37	-.23	-.06	.19	-.09
22. Increase of over 1 per cent of parents attending PTA meetings . . . . .	.41	-.11	-.14	.23	.30

(Table 6.8 continued)

TABLE 6.8--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable				
	Level of Organiza- tion and Demands	Partici- pation in Elec- toral Politics	Voter Regis- tration	Community Organiza- tion Mem- bership	Petition- ing of Public Agencies
23. High change in PTA meetings with community groups	.38	.06	-.02	-.24	.00
24. Increase in responsiveness to parent and community pres- sure . . . . .	.23	.15	.15	.14	-.02
25. Increase in school coopera- tion with programs . . . . .	.25	.25	-.29	-.07	-.28
Mean gamma for public school sector . . . . .	.24	.04	-.01	.04	-.10
<u>Employers:</u>					
26. Increase in efforts to hire minority group members . . . . .	-.22	-.12	.05	-.44	.31
27. Increase in hiring of hard- core unemployed .	-.20	.31	.21	-.04	-.26
28. Increase in hiring of training-program graduates . . . . .	.21	-.23	-.18	-.35	-.01

(Table 6.8 continued)

TABLE 6.8--Continued

Institutional Change Variable	Neighborhood Political Organization Change Variable				
	Level of Organiza- tion and Demands	Partici- pation in Elec- toral Politics	Voter Regis- tration	Community Organiza- tion Mem- bership	Petition- ing of Public Agencies
29. High employer-CAA referral cooper- ation . . . . .	.11	-.05	-.29	-.01	.44
30. Three or more new community services offered per em- ployer . . . . .	.14	.09	-.07	.01	-.32
31. Increase in employ- ers advertising equal opportunity .	-.04	-.12	.02	.08	.23
32. Increase in per cent of unskilled workers who are black . . . .	.05	.17	.41	-.67	.26
33. Most employers run job-training pro- grams . . . . .	-.15	.06	-.31	-.24	-.20
Mean gamma for employment sector . . . .	-.02	.02	-.03	-.21	.06
Index of general institutional change . . . .	.57	.06	.13	.00	.20

change, it is not a very efficient strategy. If Community Action Agencies want to bring about institutional change, they do best to intensify the activities of citizen organizations, regardless of whether there is widespread membership in these organizations.

We turn now to the specific institutional sectors in our examination of Table 6.8. We do this to see if the data in this table clarify the findings concerning the patterns of association among CAA community organization emphasis, neighborhood center community-organizing activity, pressure for change from citizens and from the CAA, and change within the three institutional sectors other than neighborhood political organization. The purpose of this analysis is to determine whether the association between CAA characteristics and institutional change can be understood as an indication of the process of neighborhood political development induced by the efforts of the CAA.

First, we look at the social service sector. For the sake of clarity, we limit our discussion here to the six analytically developed variables describing discrete dimensions of change, i.e., variables number 7 through 12. (The table also presents the other social service variables for the reader interested in more detailed pursuit of these findings.) Looking at total SSA change, we see that the association of neighborhood political organization change with overall change in social service agencies is quite similar to the association of neighborhood political organization change with CAA community organization emphasis and neighborhood center community-organizing activity. The same two political organization variables that are associated with these two CAA characteristics--the level of organization and demands and the petitioning of public agencies--are also positively associated with total SSA change (gammas = .07 and .47). The three variables describing citizen participation are all negatively associated with overall SSA change (gammas = -.55, -.47, and -.32). If we look at the mean gammas for these three variables, we find that they are not so strongly negative, but the finding does not wash out. It appears that the effectiveness of the CAA in encouraging neighborhood political development is in selectively mobilizing an active elite rather than the entire population.

When we look at the dimensions of SSA change separately, we also see a pattern of association similar to that between the CAA characteristics and SSA change. For the two political organization variables not involving citizen participation, the associations with service to the poor and interaction with the poor are positive and in some instances strong, while the associations with general service are quite weak. Thus, both increased organization and increased petitioning show gammas of .27 with service to the poor. Increased petitioning has a very strong positive association with interaction with the poor (gamma = .51), while increased organization has almost no association with this SSA dimension (gamma = .01). For general service by SSAs, the gamma associations are .16 with increased organization and .04 with petitioning. For all three of the political change variables indicating increased citizen participation, the associations with these three social service change dimensions are either close to zero or negative.

Finally, with regard to the social service sector, it should be noted that the associations with the political change variables are higher within this sector than within the other two sectors. This clearly parallels the findings presented in Chapter II that CAA community organization emphasis and neighborhood center community-organizing activity are more strongly associated with SSA change than with other sectors.

Looking at the public school sector, we see a somewhat different pattern. Overall, increased organization and demands are positively associated with school change (mean gamma = .24). The other four political change variables show very slight associations with overall school change, with the exception of increased membership in community organizations, for which the association is moderately negative. There is considerable variation among the different school change variables, but the closest we can come to describing a general pattern is to say that an increase in the level of organization and number of demands is more strongly associated with changes describing the school's relationship with the community than with internal school changes.

These observations with regard to the public school sector are consistent with the complicated pattern of public school change described

in Chapter III. It can be argued on the basis of the findings of that chapter and the data presented here that effecting changes in public schools depends on the activation of parents and to some degree of other residents of the school district. Overall changes in community organizations and citizen participation do not influence school change unless these changes include mobilization of parents.

The final institutional sector in Table 6.8 is employers. The change variables in this sector show almost no association or a negative association with the political change variables. This parallels our findings in Chapter IV that community organization emphasis and community-organizing activity are much less important than employment program emphasis in bringing about employer changes. The variations among the associations of the employer variables with neighborhood political change show no consistent or clear pattern.

Thus, Table 6.8 shows that the process through which CAA emphasis on community and neighborhood center community-organizing activity bring about changes in the public schools, among employers, and among private social service agencies is by activating organized demands and petitions that express the interests of the target neighborhood. Change does not come about through proportional increases in citizen participation. Such increases, though, may be considered a desired goal in their own right. In addition, we can specify two characteristics of this process of CAA influence on institutional change. First, we can specify an ordering of the institutional sectors according to their susceptibility to community organization efforts. Social service agencies are the most susceptible, schools are next, and employers are third. However, employers are susceptible to other kinds of influences from the CAA. Second, we can state that characteristics of these institutional sectors describing their relations with the neighborhoods in which they exist tend to be more susceptible to CAA influence than characteristics pertaining to their internal operations.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to describe and analyze neighborhood political organization change both in itself and as an intervening process in the relationship between community organization efforts by the CAA and institutional change. We have seen that both the policy of community organization emphasis and the operation of community-organizing activities in the neighborhood are influential predictors of neighborhood political change. We have specified to some degree the relationship between community organization policy and effort. We have delineated a process that leads from community organization efforts to mobilization of community residents within community organizations to an increased level of organization, number of demands, and petitioning of public agencies to changes in the ways schools, employers, and social service agencies serve the poor.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DIFFUSION OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

#### Introduction

Changes in the institutions that affect the poor can help them become less poor. Thus, institutional change as an object of Community Action Program policy is an indirect strategy for eliminating poverty. An indirect strategy for inducing institutional change might involve the diffusion of institutional change. Institutional changes, in themselves, are even more desirable if they trigger similar changes in other institutions. This is the process that we shall call the "diffusion" of institutional change.

To the extent that CAP-induced institutional change diffuses spontaneously or with a small assist from CAP, the program has, in a sense, lowered the unit cost of institutional change. Accordingly, the simple absence of diffusion implies merely the loss of this "saving" and the need to effect change on a case-by-case basis. But it is possible that the absence of diffusion means much more than that; it may mean that some change tends to be achieved at the expense of further change, that the process of effecting change entails doing things that diminish the propensity of other institutions to change in similar ways.

A number of questions about diffusion suggest themselves. What, exactly, is it? How much of it is there? Do different kinds of diffusion occur in differing amounts? What characteristics of CAAs predict diffusion? What is the relationship between the predictors of diffusion and the predictors of change? And finally, how does diffusion undertaken by representatives of the CAA differ from diffusion undertaken by representatives of other institutions? In this chapter we shall address ourselves to these questions.

### Measures of Diffusion

"Diffusion of institutional change," as used in this report, refers only to attempts to extend changes in the institutional sectors under consideration to institutions in neighborhoods other than those in which the changes first occurred. We shall consider only changes arising from activities of the neighborhood centers. Efforts to diffuse these changes range from simply advocating the widespread adoption of the change to actually adopting it. Generally, we measured diffusion in several neighborhoods in each city. Consequently, it is seen as a characteristic of the city as a whole rather than of a single neighborhood.

Those who engage in efforts to diffuse these changes might be called "diffusers," since they are agents of diffusion. They include such people and institutions as the executive director of the CAA, the board of the CAA, the board of the neighborhood center, the superintendent of schools, the school board, labor unions, the mayor, the chamber of commerce, and the health and welfare council.

The measures of diffusion we shall use in this discussion are in reality measures of the frequency and/or strength of attempts to diffuse CAA-induced changes, as reported by the neighborhood center program director in each of the cities under study. Only diffusion, not change, affects a city's diffusion score. If, for example, one city had a given level of diffusion in each of two institutional sectors that had experienced change while a second city had the same level of diffusion in only one sector that had experienced change, then the two cities received identical diffusion scores.

We constructed several measures of diffusion based on three dichotomies: (1) whether or not the diffuser was connected with the CAA, (2) whether or not his activity involved the commitment of concrete resources, and (3) whether or not he was based at the neighborhood level. We then counted the number of times each of these six types of diffusion occurred within each of the four institutional sectors--public schools,

employers, social service agencies, and neighborhood political organizations. This procedure yielded twenty-four indices, one for each combination of type of diffusion and type of institutional sector. A score on an index was assigned by counting the number of instances of diffusion (of the type and within the institutional sector appropriate to that index) recorded for that agency.

These scores, although well suited to purposes of correlation, cannot be compared with each other properly until they have been corrected for some biases. The probability that any given type of diffusion will occur depends, in part, on the number of times it was listed in the neighborhood center program director questionnaire. Since this number varied from type to type within each institutional sector and from sector to sector, we had to multiply the score on each type by the fraction (or unity) that would set the total number of listings of each type in each sector to a constant (in this case, three). Because the total number of diffusers (counting all types) varied from sector to sector, we had to multiply each component of each sector score by that fraction (or unity) that would set the number of diffusers per sector equal to a constant (in this case, one). It should be emphasized that none of these corrections was very great. Table 7.1 presents the average corrected scores for each type of diffusion in each institutional sector. Table 7.2 shows the average scores for each type of diffusion and each institutional sector.

Not all types of diffusion activity seem equally likely to succeed. We reasoned that diffusion per se should be scored; that diffusion involving the commitment of resources should be given additional weight since it implied a stronger commitment to the diffusion of change; and that diffusion by a non-CAA diffuser should also be given additional weight since the CAA, as initiator of a change, was likely to favor diffusion of that change as well as the change itself, but diffusion by a non-CAA diffuser contributed a larger increment of support for diffusing the change. On the basis of this reasoning, we weighted the different types as follows: one point was given for each act of diffusion,

TABLE 7.1

AVERAGE CORRECTED SCORES FOR TYPE OF DIFFUSION  
BY INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR

Type of Diffusion	Institutional Sector			
	Public Schools	Employment	Social Service	Neighborhood Political Organization
CAA . . . . .	.89	1.17	1.09	1.38
Non-CAA . . . . .	1.00	1.35	1.09	1.46
Neighborhood level .	1.02	1.30	.92	1.38
Non-neighborhood level	.91	1.26	1.18	1.46
Commitment of resources . . . . .	.68	1.26	1.18	.62
Non-commitment of resources . . . . .	1.21	1.29	1.00	2.21

TABLE 7.2

AVERAGE CORRECTED SCORES FOR TYPE OF DIFFUSION  
AND INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR

Item	Average Score
<u>Type of diffusion:</u>	
CAA . . . . .	1.13
Non-CAA . . . . .	1.22
Neighborhood level . . . . .	1.16
Non-neighborhood level . . . . .	1.40
Commitment of resources . . . . .	.94
Non-commitment of resources . . . . .	1.40
<u>Institutional sector:</u>	
Public schools . . . . .	1.89
Employment . . . . .	2.52
Social service . . . . .	2.18
Neighborhood political organizations	2.84

a second point was given for an action that involved the commitment of resources, and a third point was awarded for action taken by diffusers unaffiliated with the CAA. The average weighted score for each institutional sector is presented in Table 7.3. Finally, we gave each city a summary measure of diffusion by taking the mean of the weighted sector scores in the city.

TABLE 7.3

AVERAGE WEIGHTED INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR SCORES

Institutional Sector	Average Weighted Score
Public schools . . . . .	3.6
Employment . . . . .	5.1
Social service . . . . .	4.4
Neighborhood political organization . . .	4.9

"Diffusion" is the dependent variable to be explained in this chapter. We examined the data to determine which measure of diffusion would best facilitate the task of explanation. Was it important to distinguish among the six types of diffusion? Did they operate very differently? Or did types tend to covary on the whole, suggesting that perhaps in each of the four institutional sectors diffusion was "all of a piece" but that there existed great differences among sectors? Finally, it was possible that diffusion seemed to vary more from city to city than from sector to sector or type to type. In fact, this last possibility receives the strongest support from the data. The correlation among types of diffusion within each sector (mean  $Q = .71$ ) is stronger than the correlations between a type from one sector to another (the mean  $Q$  of three selected types =  $.47$ ). From this one can infer that the determinants of diffusion tend to lie more in the sectors than in the types of diffusion. Although it is not possible to perform an analogous comparison of the importance of sectors and cities, it is

possible to correlate sector scores within cities. The results (mean Q = .48) presented in Table 7.4 strongly suggest that when diffusion reaches a high level in one sector in a city, it is also likely to be high in other sectors of that city. It seems, therefore, that we can learn little from distinctions among types of diffusion, or even among the institutional sectors in which diffusion occurs. In any given city, variation in the amount of diffusion among types or sectors appears slight. Diffusion in a city does seem to be "all of a piece." Accordingly, much of the following analysis will focus on the mean (weighted) diffusion score of the city.

TABLE 7.4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AVERAGE WEIGHTED SECTOR SCORES WITHIN CITIES  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

Institutional Sector	Public Schools	Employment	Social Service	Neighborhood Political Organization
Public schools . . . .	--	.78	.40	.54
Employment . . . . .		--	.20	.40
Social service . . . .			--	.56
Neighborhood political organization . . . . .				--
Mean Q = .48				

Correlates of Diffusion

In this section we shall seek to explain the mean diffusion variable. The variables employed in this undertaking are shown, correlated with each other, in Table 7.5. They fall naturally into three groups: characteristics of the CAA as a whole, characteristics of the neighborhood centers, and characteristics of the city as a whole. The CAA and neighborhood center variables may be thought of as independent variables, while city characteristics function, for the most part, as

TABLE 7.5

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CAA, NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER, AND CITY CHARACTERISTICS  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

Characteristic	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
<u>CAA characteristics:</u>																			
1. CAA emphasis on educational goals and programs . . . .	--						.09	-.22	.14	-.79	.38	.04	-.12	-.45	-.31			-.02	-.11
2. CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs . . . .	--				.23	-.06	-.02	.20	-.20	.23	.14	.44	-.42	.69					
3. CAA emphasis on social service goals and programs	--				-.15		.14	-.16	.30	-.08	-.01	-.48	-.86	-.23	-.23			-.08	.06
4. CAA emphasis on community organization goals . . . .	--	.24	.15	-.07	-.17	.04	-.21	-.31	-.16	.48	-.52	-.39	.24					-.38	.25
5. CAA emphasis on participation of the poor . . . .	--							.50	-.09	.25		.05	-.38	.22	-.55	.00			
6. Dissensus between CAA and neighborhood centers . . . .	--					.53	-.60	-.06	-.08	.66	-.17	-.08	-.03	.36	-.13	-.03	-.01	.17	
7. Dissensus within the CAA board . . . .	--						-.27	-.02	-.27	.13	-.03	-.51	-.15	-.23	-.08	.16	.07	.44	
<u>Neighborhood center characteristics:</u>																			
8. Neighborhood center emphasis on referrals . . . .	--							.23	.17	-.05	.48	.11	-.14	-.14	.03	-.03	.47	-.07	
9. Neighborhood center emphasis on community organizations . . . .	--								.91	.67	.15	-.33	-.30	.85	.57	.21	.00	.41	

(Table 7.5 continued)

TABLE 7.5--Continued

Characteristic	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
10. Neighborhood center emphasis on community control										--	.39	.64	.01	.45	.89	.30	-.33	-.01	.06
11. Neighborhood center emphasis on outreach . . . .										--	.38	.18	-.21	-.01	.07	-.41	.22	-.52	
12. Neighborhood center emphasis on planning and coordination of services . . . .										--	-.44	.30	.62	.62	-.09	.44	-.25		
13. Neighborhood center community-organizing activity <sup>a</sup> . . . .										--	.35	.67	.66	-.04	.12	.65			
14. Neighborhood center support for militant activity <sup>a</sup> . . . .										--	.22	.22	.03	-.38	.45				
<u>City characteristics:</u>																			
15. City size . . . .										--	.52	.16	.25	-.04					
16. Per cent of population nonwhite										--	-.45	.76	.37						
17. Per cent of population with family income over \$10,000 . . . .										--	-.59	.18							
18. Per cent of population with family income under \$3,000 . . . .										--	.24								
19. CAP expenditures										--									

<sup>a</sup> As reported by community political leaders.

control variables. In the analysis that follows, however, any variable may occupy any position (independent, control, conditioning, antecedent, intervening) as the need arises, since the causal ordering is rarely determinate. Given this indeterminacy, we shall treat only those variables that are strongly correlated with diffusion rather than test pre-conceived hypotheses.

#### CAA Emphasis on Community Organization

One CAA characteristic that correlates strongly with mean diffusion is CAA emphasis on community organization. Table 7.6 shows that the association between this goal emphasis and mean diffusion is .43. This is consistent with previous findings relating community organization and institutional change. CAA community organization emphasis, however, tends to be negatively correlated with the measures of diffusion in the individual sectors.

Although these two findings seem to contradict each other, this is not actually the case. Mean diffusion is formed from the total scores across the four sectors. Since mean diffusion is not highly correlated with diffusion in each sector, the general measure reflects varied combinations. It can be high when all four sectors or a majority of them are high, when all or a majority are medium, when some are high and some are low, or when some are high and some are medium. In other words, this means that we are talking about five different scales: one scale for each sector and a fifth scale for mean diffusion. A city's designation of high or low on each scale depends solely on its relation to the scores of the other cities on that same scale. Thus, the absolute value of high varies from scale to scale. It means further that a high score on mean diffusion rarely represents a high score in all four sectors.

It seems that when a CAA stresses community organization at the city-wide level, it inhibits the development of the conditions that are most favorable to the diffusion of changes within each sector, but it also creates or reinforces conditions that most effectively promote the "simultaneous" diffusion of changes in all sectors.

TABLE 7.6

CAA AND NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND DIFFUSION OF CAA-INDUCED  
CHANGES BY INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR

(Q Coefficients of Association)

City Characteristic	Institutional Sector				Mean Diffusion (All Sectors)
	Public Schools	Employment	Social Service	Neighborhood Political Organization	
CAA emphasis on educational goals and programs . . . . .	-.50				
CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs . . . . .		-.06			
CAA emphasis on social service goals and programs . . . . .			.14		
CAA emphasis on community organization goals . . . . .	.03	-.29	-.38	-.62	.43
CAA emphasis on participation of the poor . . . . .	.14	.25	.00	-.20	-.14
Dissensus between CAA and neighborhood centers . . . . .	.13	.29	1.00	.57	-.14
Dissensus within the CAA board . . . . .	-.10	-.40	.13	-.17	.28
Neighborhood center emphasis on referrals . . . . .	.20	-.32	.67	.00	.17
Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization . . . . .	-.35	.14	.47	.00	-.28
Neighborhood center emphasis on community control . . . . .	.16	.71	.36	.11	-.30
Neighborhood center emphasis on outreach . . . . .	.60	.31	.08	.45	-.64
Neighborhood center emphasis on planning and coordination of services . . . . .	-.39	.49	-.13	.32	-.14
Neighborhood center community organizing activity <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	-.07	.63	.27	.14	-.21
Neighborhood center support for militant activity <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.67	.63	.20	.14	.23

<sup>a</sup>As reported by community political leaders.

Several explanations suggest themselves. The first involves the per capita amount of CAP expenditures within the city. The relationship between this variable and the diffusion variables is similar to the relationship between community organization and diffusion. Low per capita expenditure strongly predicts high diffusion in each sector, but it strongly predicts low mean diffusion of the four sectors taken together (Table 7.7). Further, as we saw in Table 7.5, CAP expenditures and community organization emphasis correlate positively with each other ( $Q = .25$ ). We might hypothesize, therefore, that the level of expenditures determines the emphasis accorded to community organization, which, in turn, determines both the individual and the average sectoral levels of diffusion.

If such a model were valid, then the correlation between per capita expenditures and mean diffusion would be significantly reduced when the emphasis on community organization was held constant. Table 7.8 shows that correlation is indeed reduced from a zero-order association of .62 to a net partial of .47 when we control for CAA emphasis on community organization. But this certainly does not explain away the association since it remains quite strong. Therefore, it seems that a plenitude of CAP funds per se encourages CAA community organization emphasis, which, in turn, promotes diffusion of changes across sectors but discourages a high level of diffusion in individual sectors.

These findings do not imply that CAAs which emphasize community organization perform the tasks of multisectoral diffusion themselves. On the contrary, as we shall see later such an emphasis predicts a slight tendency of CAA diffusers not to engage in diffusing activities and of non-CAA diffusers to engage in them. Community organization by the CAA presumably activates others, who then effect diffusion. Those activated, while lacking any specialized power to diffuse changes in any particular sector, can act on all four sectors with some efficacy. In contrast, those who diffuse single-sector changes best are not those who are activated by CAA organizing.

TABLE 7.7

DIFFUSION OF CAA-INDUCED CHANGES AND CITY CHARACTERISTICS  
BY INSTITUTIONAL SECTOR

(Q Coefficients of Association)

City Characteristic	Institutional Sector				Mean Diffusion (All Sectors)
	Public Schools	Employ- ment	Social Service	Neighbor- hood Political Organiza- tion	
City size . . .	.10	.43	.25	.00	-.66
Per cent of population nonwhite . .	-.23	.29	.00	-.18	.41
Per cent of population with family income over \$10,000 . . .	-.20	-.60	-.48	-.33	-.36
Per cent of population with family income under \$3,000 . . .	-.47	.14	.25	.00	.14
CAP expenditures	-.57	-.57	-.37	-.76	.62

TABLE 7.8

CAP EXPENDITURES AND MEAN DIFFUSION, CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED  
CAA, NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER, AND CITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Selected Characteristic	Partial Q When Control Variable Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .	.11	1.00	.47
Dissensus within CAA board . . . . .	.81	.14	.58
Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization . . . . .	.54	1.00	.77
Neighborhood center emphasis on community control . . . . .	.44	1.00	.54
Neighborhood center emphasis on outreach . . . . .	.80	.00	.53
City size . . . . .	.74	.59	.65
Per cent of population non-white . . . . .	.64	.52	.55
Zero-order Q = .62			

The emphasis placed on community organization by the CAA continues to predict mean diffusion even after the imposition of a series of controls for selected city and neighborhood center characteristics (Table 7.9). None of the three city characteristics--size of city, per cent nonwhite, or level of CAP expenditures--accounts for the zero-order association. Only city size reduces the correlation significantly--from a zero order of .43 to a net partial of .31--suggesting that a small part of the correlation is an artifact of the tendency of a city size to affect both CAA emphasis on community organization ( $Q = -.39$ ) and mean diffusion ( $Q = -.66$ ).

More interesting relationships emerge from the conditional associations shown by the partial Q's. We can see in Table 7.9 that the proportional size of the nonwhite population has virtually no effect on the relationship between CAA emphasis on community organization and mean diffusion because the zero-order Q and the net partial Q differ by only .04.

TABLE 7.9

CAA EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND MEAN DIFFUSION,  
CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED CITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER CHARACTERISTICS

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Selected Characteristic	Partial Q When Control Variable Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization .	.75	-.02	.43
Neighborhood center emphasis on community control . . . .	.45	.00	.41
Neighborhood center emphasis on outreach . . . . .	.20	.54	.29
City size . . . . .	.86	-.50	.31
Per cent of population nonwhite	.50	.34	.39
CAP expenditures . . . . .	-1.00	.66	.45

Zero-order Q = .43

In contrast, differing levels of CAP funding seem to make an enormous difference in the interaction between these two variables. Unfortunately, the low CAP expenditures partial is based on only thirteen cases. At high levels of CAP funding, CAA community organization emphasis operates very strongly to promote diffusion (Q = .66), while at low levels the relationship is completely reversed (Q = -1.00). It should be borne in mind that this is not a restatement of the fact that CAA community organization emphasis and level of CAP funding are positively correlated; rather it describes conditions or settings that affect the relationship between community organization emphasis and mean diffusion. In other words, something about an environment of abundant funding makes community organization emphasis effect mean diffusion, whereas a low level of funding constitutes part of an environment in which community organization emphasis tends to retard mean diffusion.

Well-funded community-organizing activities seem able to foster multisectoral diffusion, but when the same activities lack adequate financial support, they appear to inhibit such diffusion. It may well be that well-funded programs, possessing resources adequate to organize large numbers of people, can and do act as effective agents of diffusion insofar as they undertake to organize the poor rather than to dispense services. This is broadly consistent with previous findings. Poorly funded programs, however, lack the resources to do large-scale organizing. Community organizing in such circumstances must differ significantly from its more affluent variant. It may be that only the initial steps toward large-scale organizing can be taken by underfunded CAAs, and that the immediate effects of such beginnings are counterproductive. Alternatively, some entirely different strategy of community organizing may be forced on underfunded CAAs--a strategy that somehow alienates rather than attracts support for the diffusion of CAP-induced institutional change. Notice, however, that the positive correlation of .25 between level of CAP expenditures and CAA emphasis on community organization tells us that most poorly funded CAAs appreciate the adverse effects of their attempts at community organizing: such attempts are not often made.

To conclude our examination of CAA emphasis on community organization as a cause of mean diffusion, we shall consider the partials when we control for the effects of city size. Table 7.9 shows that in small cities, CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion are strongly and positively correlated ( $Q = .86$ ), whereas in large cities, the correlation is almost as strongly negative ( $Q = -.50$ ). Just what aspect of city size produces this effect is unclear. We saw above that race, which is one possibility since per cent nonwhite and city size correlate strongly ( $Q = .52$ ), does not condition the relationship appreciably.

Another possible explanation involves neighborhood center emphasis on community control. Since it is strongly related to city size ( $Q = .89$ ), it might be a factor whose presence distorts the effect of

CAA community organization emphasis on mean diffusion. One might reason that a CAA with decentralized neighborhood centers would lack the ability to enforce its community organization emphasis at the neighborhood level. Further, community organization would probably result in quite different activities as the extent of centralization varied. Thus, it might well be that in a setting characterized by a high level of neighborhood center emphasis on community control, the influence of CAA community organization emphasis on mean diffusion would decline or even reverse. In Table 7.9 we see that CAA community organization emphasis does indeed correlate positively with mean diffusion when neighborhood center emphasis on community control is low ( $Q = .45$ ), but that the correlation reduces to zero and does not reverse when neighborhood center emphasis on community control is high. Thus, this variable probably accounts for much, but not all, of the conditioning effect of city size.

#### CAA Board Dissensus

A second variable that predicts mean diffusion is dissensus within the CAA board. Table 7.6 shows that the association between this variable and mean diffusion is .28. CAA board dissensus is a variable concerned with disagreement among the members of the CAA board. It measures, in the main, disagreement over several classes of important decisions faced by most boards. Like CAA emphasis on community organization, CAA board dissensus tends to retard diffusion in any single institutional sector but to facilitate mean diffusion for all sectors. It also varies directly with CAP expenditure level ( $Q = .44$ ). One can speculate that a CAA with a dissensual board has tapped fundamental cleavages in the city and is one of the arenas in which a range of basic issues is raised. The forces activated in such a setting would tend to function best, compared to other kinds of forces, as agents of general, trans-institutional change. In contrast, consensual boards might flourish where a broad area of agreement on "solutions" to the poverty problem leads to extensive change and diffusion of change in one or two selected critical sectors.

Although board dissensus depresses the level of CAP expenditures, other factors also affect that level. By examining the partials in Table 7.10, we can see that when, for whatever reasons, CAP expenditures are low, board dissensus and mean diffusion are strongly and positively associated ( $Q = .78$ ). But at high levels of CAP funding, board dissensus virtually ceases to foster mean diffusion ( $Q = .05$ ). This suggests that when funds are in short supply, disagreement over CAA goals among board members is an important part of the process by which support for diffusion is attracted. Institutional change itself may not be very extensive under such circumstances, but whatever is achieved will be diffused more readily as central authority in the program experiences internal disagreements.

TABLE 7.10

CAA BOARD DISSENSUS AND MEAN DIFFUSION, CONTROLLING FOR  
CAP EXPENDITURES AND CITY SIZE  
(Q Coefficients of Association)

Selected Control Variable	Partial Q When Control Variable Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
City size . . . . .	-.36	.63	.18
CAP expenditures . . . . .	.78	.05	.19
Zero-order $Q = .28$			

None of the coefficients shown in Table 7.5 indicate a significant positive association between CAA or neighborhood center emphases and board dissensus. This suggests that any poorly funded CAA activities can produce mean diffusion to the extent that the CAA board is a forum for the debate of important issues. For example, although we have seen that CAA community organization emphasis appears to produce mean diffusion, it is essentially uncorrelated with board dissensus ( $Q = -.07$ ) and thus cannot explain away the association between dissensus and diffusion.

The correlations between city size and board dissensus ( $Q = -.23$ ) and between city size and mean diffusion ( $Q = -.66$ ) raise the possibility that the correlation between board dissensus and mean diffusion is spurious and can be explained as the result of the correlations between each of them and city size. To test this possibility we control in Table 7.10 for city size and find that the net partial association ( $Q = .18$ ) is appreciably lower than the original zero-order association ( $Q = .28$ ). Therefore, a part, but not all, of the association between board dissensus and mean diffusion is explained away by their respective dependences on city size. More important, the conditioning effect of city size on the relationship is great. The partials in Table 7.10 indicate that board dissensus raises the level of mean diffusion in large cities ( $Q = .63$ ) and retards it in small cities ( $Q = -.36$ ). This is true despite the fact that higher levels of both mean diffusion and board dissensus are more likely to occur in small than in large cities.

We may hypothesize, then, that board dissensus functions most effectively to facilitate mean diffusion in large, poorly funded cities. Because they are poorly funded CAAs in large cities, they probably do not emphasize community organization (Table 7.5). Perhaps board dissensus and CAA community organization emphasis are alternative sources of mean diffusion since the conditions of the effective functioning of either one are precisely opposite to the conditions of the effective functioning of the other.

#### Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Organization

An emphasis on community organization may be found in the actions of the neighborhood centers as well as in the goals and programs of the CAA as a whole. We measured the community organization emphasis at the neighborhood level by ascertaining the extent and quality of the neighborhood center's involvement with other community membership organizations in the neighborhood.

Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization predicts mean diffusion inversely ( $Q = -.28$ ), as we can see in Table 7.6. Paradoxically, CAA emphasis on community organization correlates positively with mean diffusion. The paradox lies not in these relationships, however, but in that between CAA and neighborhood center emphasis on community organization ( $Q = .04$ ). In the absence of any association between the two independent variables, the discovery that they are related to a single dependent variable in different ways is not surprising.

Table 7.6 shows that neighborhood center community organization emphasis is related to diffusion in the four individual sectors inconsistently. While it promotes diffusion of changes in the private social service sector, it retards diffusion in public schools. In the other two sectors the relationship is very small. Unlike the independent variables examined in the two preceding sections, neighborhood center community organization emphasis cannot be said generally to discourage (or more properly, encourage) single-sectoral diffusion. Instead, the relationship varies from sector to sector.

Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization shares with its two predecessors a strong correlation with level of CAP expenditures ( $Q = .41$ ), but in contrast to them, it correlates positively with city size ( $Q = .85$ ). When we control for city size in Table 7.11, we see that neighborhood center community organization emphasis turns out to promote, not retard, mean diffusion. The direction of the association actually reverses from a zero order of  $-.28$  to a net partial of  $.21$ . By controlling for city size, we can observe two differences between the two partial coefficients; they differ in direction and in strength. Together, these two factors make comprehensible the large difference between the zero-order and net partial associations. As we hold constant the effects of city size, neighborhood center community organization emphasis facilitates and does not inhibit mean diffusion because in small cities the facilitating tendency is very strong ( $Q = 1.00$ ) while in large cities the tendency to retard is less strong ( $Q = -.37$ ).

TABLE 7.11

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION  
BY MEAN DIFFUSION, CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED VARIABLES

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Selected Control Variable	Partial Q When Control Variable Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .	.11	-.71	-.19
City size . . . . .	1.00	-.37	.21
CAP expenditures . . . . .	-.100	-.33	-.45
Zero-order Q = -.28			

With city size controlled, neighborhood center community organization emphasis and CAA community organization emphasis seem to effect mean diffusion similarly, both in the partial and in the net partial relationships. Each is effective in small cities and counterproductive in large cities. However, they differ in that CAA community organization emphasis is both more common and more effective in small than in large cities, whereas neighborhood center community organization emphasis is less common and more effective in small than in large cities. We might infer that neighborhood center community organization emphasis functions better in the presence of CAA community organization emphasis, while the latter is more conducive to mean diffusion in the absence of the former.

Surprisingly, only one of these inferences is warranted. Looking back at Table 7.9, we see that CAA community organization emphasis is indeed unrelated to mean diffusion at high levels of neighborhood center community organization emphasis (Q = -.02), while the relationship is strongly positive at low levels of neighborhood center community organization emphasis (Q = .75). But Table 7.11 shows that under no conditions defined by CAA community organization emphasis does neighborhood center community organization emphasis promote mean diffusion. When the

CAA strongly emphasizes community organization, neighborhood center community organization emphasis depresses mean diffusion ( $Q = -.71$ ). When CAA community organization emphasis is low, neighborhood center community organization emphasis appears to affect mean diffusion hardly at all ( $Q = .11$ ).

What is most striking about these relationships is the violence they do to the notion that CAA community organization emphasis is articulated at the neighborhood level as it does its work of diffusion. For some reason, CAA community organization emphasis at either a high or low level interferes with its ability at the other level to cause mean diffusion. If some mechanism at the neighborhood level implements CAA community organization emphasis in causing diffusion, it is not neighborhood center community organization emphasis as we have measured it here.

We are left with the slightly mysterious quality of small cities that makes them very hospitable to the positive association between neighborhood center community organization emphasis and mean diffusion. This quality becomes even more striking when we recall from Table 7.5 that small city size implies high CAA community organization emphasis ( $Q = -.39$ ), which, in turn, defines conditions that imply a strongly negative relationship between neighborhood center community organization emphasis and mean diffusion ( $Q = -.71$ ). Despite these implications, neighborhood center community organization emphasis seems to produce mean diffusion in small cities.

The zero-order relationship of .85 between city size and neighborhood center community organization emphasis means, however, that neighborhood center community organization emphasis rarely attains high levels in small cities. One might suspect that there exists some special set of circumstances, peculiar to a few small cities, that fosters both a high level of neighborhood center community organization emphasis and either a high level of mean diffusion or a positive causal connection between that emphasis and mean diffusion.

When we control for CAP expenditures, we see in Table 7.11 that this variable defines only conditions in which neighborhood center

community organization emphasis inhibits mean diffusion. But controlling for the level of funding does produce a net partial that is much stronger than the zero-order coefficient (-.45 compared with the original -.28). This implies that neighborhood center community organization emphasis is considerably more inimical to mean diffusion when the effects of the level of CAP funding have been removed than when they are allowed to operate on the relationship between the two. The control variable tends to suppress the relationship because while the independent and dependent variable are negatively related, the control variable is related to each of them in a single direction. This means that variation in the level of CAP funding tends to cause a positive (though spurious) correlation between neighborhood center community organization emphasis and mean diffusion, which offsets the predominantly negative (nonspurious) correlation between the two. When these offsetting effects are eliminated, the negative relationship between neighborhood center community organization emphasis and mean diffusion asserts itself more fully, making the net partial more strongly negative than the zero-order association.

Analogously, controlling in Table 7.8 for neighborhood center community organization emphasis in the relationship between level of CAP expenditures and mean diffusion yields a net partial higher than the zero-order association (.77 vs. .62). Thus, neither of the causal models involving level of funding, neighborhood center community organization emphasis, and mean diffusion is supported by these tests. Neither level of funding nor neighborhood center community organization emphasis intervenes between the other and mean diffusion in a causal sequence.

In summary, we must remember the startling (virtual) independence of community organization emphasis at the two levels--CAA and neighborhood center. Not only does the CAA emphasis fail to articulate itself in the neighborhood centers with any regularity, but when it does, the results are disastrous for the mean diffusion of any institutional change that the centers might have produced. In fact, the only conditions under which an emphasis on community organization by the neighborhood centers appears to facilitate mean diffusion are those found in small cities.

And these are the very cities, sadly enough, where the neighborhood centers are least likely to emphasize community organization.

#### Neighborhood Center Emphasis on Community Control

Another variable in Table 7.6 that correlates negatively with mean diffusion is neighborhood center emphasis on community control ( $Q = -.30$ ). However, this variable correlates positively with each of the four sectors. We are tempted to suggest that this decentralizing characteristic of neighborhood center programs tends to dissolve the overarching bonds of purpose and organization that may be required for multisectoral (i.e., mean) diffusion, and thereby facilitates the kind of institutional "imbalance" that we have suggested promotes single-sectoral diffusion.

Neighborhood center emphasis on community control, like the other predictors of mean diffusion, correlates strongly with city size ( $Q = .89$ ). (Unlike other predictors, it shows no relationship with level of CAP expenditures,  $Q = -.06$ .) When we control for city size in the relationship between neighborhood center emphasis on community control and mean diffusion, we can see in Table 7.12 that the effects of city size are dramatic. The direction of the correlation reverses from a zero-order association of  $-.30$  to a net partial of  $.13$ , suggesting that it is only some facet of city size, itself correlated with neighborhood center community control emphasis and mean diffusion, that causes the spuriously negative zero-order correlation between them.

The partials in Table 7.12 show that in large cities neighborhood center community control emphasis and mean diffusion are uncorrelated ( $Q = .00$ ). In small cities it appears that neighborhood center community control emphasis encourages mean diffusion ( $Q = 1.00$ ). Thus, we see that neighborhood center community control emphasis, like neighborhood center community organization emphasis, "works" where it is least likely to occur (or to occur at high levels), i.e., in small cities.

TABLE 7.12

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY CONTROL AND  
MEAN DIFFUSION, CONTROLLING FOR SELECTED VARIABLES

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Selected Control Variable	Partial Q When Control Variable Is--		Net Partial Q
	Low	High	
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .	-.09	-.52	-.20
City size . . . . .	1.00	.00	.13
CAP expenditures . . . . .	-1.00	-.13	-.26
Zero-order Q = -.30			

Another variable that correlates with neighborhood center emphasis on community control is CAA emphasis on community organization. Table 7.5 shows that in this case the association is negative ( $Q = -.21$ ). Controlling for this variable in Table 7.12 shows that some of the inverse relationship between neighborhood center community control emphasis and mean diffusion is spurious, owing to the opposing directions of the relationship of CAA community organization emphasis with neighborhood center community control emphasis on the one hand, and with mean diffusion on the other hand. The net partial between community control emphasis and mean diffusion is  $-.20$  when CAA emphasis on community organization is controlled while the zero-order association is  $-.30$ . Looking at the partials, we see that at high levels of CAA community organization emphasis, neighborhood center community control emphasis retards mean diffusion ( $Q = -.52$ ), while at low levels, the negative relationship almost disappears ( $Q = -.09$ ). We may speculate that something about high levels of CAA community organization emphasis reinforces the fragmenting effects of neighborhood center community control emphasis. (This same reasoning might also explain the very similar relationships between neighborhood center community organization emphasis and mean diffusion when controlling for the effects of CAA community organization emphasis.)

Both neighborhood center emphasis on community control and CAA emphasis on community organization conduce to mean diffusion in small cities. But these emphases do not promote mean diffusion in the same small cities, for each is least favorable to mean diffusion in the presence of the other.

One might reason that city size worked indirectly to help determine the amount of emphasis that the neighborhood centers placed on community control of themselves. As city size increases, this line of argument would run, the CAA de-emphasizes community organization ( $Q = -.39$ ). And as CAA emphasis on community organization declines, the neighborhood center places more emphasis on community control ( $Q = -.21$ ). This is an attractive model, suggesting that a CAA's emphasis on community organization and the neighborhood centers' emphasis on being controlled by their communities are alternative modes of involving residents of the target areas. In the absence of a centralized emphasis on community organization, the neighborhood center itself tends to become the instrument of popular participation. And the inverse association between city size and CAA emphasis on community organization tells us where to anticipate the absence of the latter: in large cities.

If this model were realistic, we would expect that the correlations between city size and CAA emphasis on community organization ( $Q = -.39$ ) and between the latter and neighborhood center emphasis on community control ( $Q = -.21$ ) would both be stronger than the direct correlation between this last variable and city size ( $Q = .89$ ). This is not the case. As we can see, the direct association is much stronger than the other two, which would be its indirect components if the model sketched above were supported by the data. Evidently city size affects neighborhood center emphasis on community control through some mechanism other than the extent to which the CAA emphasizes community organization.

### Neighborhood Center Outreach Emphasis

The last variable that correlates strongly with mean diffusion is neighborhood center outreach emphasis. Again the correlation is negative ( $Q = -.64$ ). We can see from Table 7.6 that this variable tends to promote single-sectoral diffusion. Table 7.5 shows that, not surprisingly, it is negatively associated with CAA community organization emphasis ( $Q = -.31$ ), although it is not, in general, positively associated with service emphases.

Unfortunately, the face validity of this variable is not very great. It was derived directly from a question put to the neighborhood center program directors asking them to assign a rank to the emphasis placed on "outreach of services (educational and publicity efforts directed toward potential clients)" (Vanecko, 1969b, p. 171). Despite the parenthetically supplied meaning of the term, "outreach" could mean many different things. Also, the negative associations between it and neighborhood center community organization emphasis ( $Q = -.33$ ) and neighborhood center community organization activity ( $Q = -.21$ ) are weaker than they would be if they were really mutually exclusive.

Therefore, we shall make only a few comments about neighborhood center emphasis on outreach. It seems to be associated with "service" variables rather than with "organizing" variables. We have already seen this suggested in Table 7.6. Furthermore, outreach tends to be emphasized by poorly funded CAAs ( $Q = -.52$ ). And when introduced as an intervening variable between CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion, it accounts for a substantial part of the association between these two (Table 7.9). It seems that CAA community organization emphasis causes neighborhood center outreach to be de-emphasized, which, in turn, implies alternative neighborhood center emphases more favorable to the production of mean diffusion.

This relationship differs from that shown in Table 7.9 between CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion when controlled for neighborhood center community organization emphasis. In that case the control variable strongly conditioned the bivariate relationship, which was shown to be an artifact of the two conditional relationships.

By contrast, Table 7.9 also shows that neighborhood center outreach emphasis appears not to condition appreciably but to intervene in the relationship between CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion. Whatever may be implicit in the absence of neighborhood center outreach emphasis, its ability to act as an intervening variable does reinstate the belief that something at the neighborhood level articulates CAA community organization emphasis as it operates to produce mean diffusion.

#### Summary

We have examined five strong correlates of mean diffusion--two at the CAA level that promote diffusion, and three at the neighborhood center level that retard it. Of the latter three, two were found to correlate positively with mean diffusion when the effects of variation in city size were removed. The third, neighborhood center outreach emphasis, showed only a small association with city size and hence a comparable table for it was not produced. City size also defines conditions under which the first four independent variables that we discussed produce mean diffusion. Both CAA and neighborhood center emphasis on community organization, as well as neighborhood center emphasis on community control, appear to function effectively as causes of mean diffusion in small cities, but not in large ones. CAA board dissensus, on the other hand, inhibits mean diffusion in small cities but promotes it in large cities.

We have seen that what produces diffusion in several institutional sectors simultaneously is not what produces it in any single sector. The dramatic cases of CAA community organization emphasis and level of CAP expenditures suggest that service-dispensing programs can encourage change in the relevant service-sector (perhaps through "spillover" effects), but that only centrally sponsored community organization goals and activities can activate forces on the broad scale necessary to affect several sectors "simultaneously."

Interestingly, we have seen that community organization emphasis at either the CAA or neighborhood center level is more conducive to mean diffusion in the absence (rather than in the presence) of such emphasis at the other level. Similarly, CAA community organization emphasis is most highly correlated with mean diffusion where the neighborhood center de-emphasizes community control, and this last variable attains its least negative correlation with mean diffusion in the absence of CAA emphasis on community organization.

We must treat these conditional relationships, especially those involving city size, with some delicacy. To the extent that they arise out of tightly knit ecological relationships, tampering with them will have unpredictable results. For example, neighborhood center community organization emphasis may indeed produce mean diffusion in those few small cities in which neighborhood center community organization emphasis attains a high level. But neighborhood center community organization emphasis tends to be low in small cities for a reason. We know neither the principle nor the specific suspension of it in these cities that enables neighborhood center community organization emphasis to be high. Were neighborhood center community organization suddenly to be funded heavily in all small cities, it would be impossible to predict the interaction between the "artificially" produced neighborhood center community organization emphasis and the "unsuspended" principle. Naturally this sort of uncertainty plagues any purposive action, and its existence should constitute no deterrent to acting on the basis of "best estimates." It seemed appropriate, however, to reiterate the caveat in this context.

#### The Correlates of Diffusion and the Correlates of Change

Now that we have identified several CAP correlates of diffusion, we must ask if they are also correlates of institutional change. Differing answers to this question will produce differing inferences about the nature of diffusion. If change and diffusion turned out to correlate with the same variables, in the same directions, we would say that change and diffusion have common causes and are probably part of a single process.

They might, on the other hand, have the same correlates, but the variables that correlate positively with change might correlate negatively with diffusion and vice versa. Although we would still infer that they have common causes, change and diffusion would constitute two distinctive processes, either but not both of which could be pursued extensively. They would be drawing on a common, limited pool of "changeability." This second case would resemble a "zero-sum" game in this regard. A "gain" for one would imply a "loss" for the other.

This same basic reasoning could be extended to the possibilities that the correlates of change and diffusion differ. If the relationships between the correlates of change and diffusion imply that these two covary positively, then their causes may be the same, and in any event can operate to promote both change and diffusion "simultaneously." They will probably be two separate causal sequences but could be part of one; and if they are part of one, it might even be that the causes of diffusion are effects of the causes of change, or vice versa. Should the relationships between the correlates of change and diffusion imply a negative association between these two, the zero-sum game would once again obtain, except that change and diffusion would probably not have common sources. Rather than "competing" for common resources, change and diffusion would be issuing from mutually inhibiting causes.

We have tried to sort out these possibilities in Table 7.13. The variables used in the table are those that correlate with either institutional change or diffusion. First we examined the correlates of change and/or diffusion in each of the four institutional sectors. Then we did the same thing for the correlates of mean diffusion and/or the index of general institutional change (as developed in Chapter 2). In each of these five sections of Table 7.13 the following procedure was employed: each correlate of the appropriate type of change was cross-tabulated with each correlate of the appropriate type of diffusion and then the resulting Q coefficient was assigned to one of the two columns according to whether operation of the two variables on each other tended to make change and diffusion covary positively or negatively.

TABLE 7.13  
 CORRELATES OF CHANGE BY CORRELATES OF DIFFUSION  
 (Q Coefficients of Association)

Variable	Tend To Make Change and Diffusion Covary	
	Positively	Negatively
Public School Sector		
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity by:		
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.67
Outreach . . . . .		.21
CAA educational emphasis . . . . .	.79	
CAA educational emphasis by:		
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.22
Outreach . . . . .		.04
CAA educational emphasis . . . . .	1.00	
Average . . . . .		.11
Employment Sector		
CAA employment emphasis by:		
CAA emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.03
Participation of the poor . . . . .		.04
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.23	
CAA board dissensus . . . . .	.06	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Referrals . . . . .	.02	
Community control . . . . .		.21
Outreach . . . . .	.23	
Planning and coordination . . . . .	.14	
Average . . . . .		.05

(Table 7.13 continued)

TABLE 7.13--Continued

Variable	Tend To Make Change and Diffusion Covary	
	Positively	Negatively
Social Service Sector		
CAA social service emphasis by:		
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .		.72
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.15	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Referrals . . . . .		.14
Community organization . . . . .	.16	
Community control . . . . .		.30
CAA emphasis on community organization by:		
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.15	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Referrals . . . . .		.17
Community organization . . . . .	.04	
Community control . . . . .		.21
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity by:		
CAA emphasis on community organization . . . . .		.49
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.66	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Referrals . . . . .		.05
Community organization . . . . .	.67	
Community control . . . . .	.39	
CAA community organization emphasis by itself .		1.00
Average . . . . .	-.06	

(Table 7.13 continued)

TABLE 7.13--Continued

Variable	Tend To Make Change and Diffusion Covary	
	Positively	Negatively
	Neighborhood Political Organization Sector	
CAA emphasis on community organization by:		
CAA emphasis on participation of the poor . . . . .		.16
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.15	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Outreach . . . . .		.31
Planning and coordination . . . . .		.16
Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization by:		
CAA emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.04
Participation of the poor . . . . .		.50
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .		.06
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Outreach . . . . .		.33
Planning and coordination . . . . .	.30	
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity by:		
CAA emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.49
Participation of the poor . . . . .	.09	
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.66	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Outreach . . . . .		.21
Planning and coordination . . . . .	.44	

(Table 7.13 continued)

TABLE 7.13--Continued

Variable	Tend To Make Change and Diffusion Covary	
	Positively	Negatively
	Neighborhood Political Organization Sector (continued)	
Neighborhood center support for militant activity by:		
CAA emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.52
Participation of the poor . . . . .	.25	
CAA-neighborhood center dissensus . . . . .	.17	
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Outreach . . . . .	.01	
Planning and coordination . . . . .		.30
CAA community organization emphasis by itself .		1.00
Average . . . . .	-.10	
	Multisectoral Measures	
CAA emphasis on community organization by:		
CAA board dissensus . . . . .		.07
Neighborhood center emphasis on:		
Community organization . . . . .		.04
Community control . . . . .	.21	
Outreach . . . . .	.31	
CAA emphasis on community organization by itself	1.00	
Average . . . . .	.28	

The assignment depends on the directions of three Q coefficients: (1) between one variable and change, (2) between a second variable and diffusion, and (3) between the first and second variables. For example, imagine that variable A correlated positively with change, variable B correlated positively with diffusion, and the two variables correlated negatively with each other. We would say that variables A and B operated to make change and diffusion correlate negatively. If we imagine that two other variables, Y and Z, are related positively to each other but that Y correlates negatively with change and Z correlates positively with diffusion, then we must say that they tend to produce a negative association between change and diffusion. The correlation of a variable with itself ( $Q = 1.00$ ) is assigned to the appropriate column when that variable is a correlate of both change and diffusion. The average for each of the institutional sectors and for the multisectoral section consists of the sum of the Q coefficients divided by the number of coefficients.

When the correlates of change and diffusion within each institutional sector are correlated with each other, it turns out, as we can see in Table 7.13, that in no sector is there any association, either positive or negative, between them, or more properly, between their tendencies to produce diffusion and changes. The four sectors average out to exactly .00. Taken together, the strong influences on change and the strong influences on diffusion in each sector have no effect on each other and bear no marks of proceeding from causes that affect each other. The relationship between CAP correlates of change and diffusion in the sectors is strictly independent. Effecting change does not prejudice the extent of subsequent diffusion at all, either favorably or unfavorably.

The few known correlates of the index of general institutional change and the correlates of mean diffusion are positively associated (average  $Q = .28$ ). In other words, while the correlates of change and diffusion within single sectors may be unrelated, at the city-wide level they turn out to be reinforcing. The belief that the sources of single-sectoral and multisectoral diffusion are systematically different gains credibility from this finding. But more than this is involved. When change

and diffusion are measured within a single sector, the correlates of either show no consistent tendency to reinforce or reverse the causal force of the correlates of the other. Apparently, when the processes unfold on a multisectoral basis, the causes that are tapped operate in a much more mutually consistent way in effecting change and diffusion. To effect substantial change or diffusion on a city-wide or multisectoral scale requires the mobilization of an independent complex of forces in such a way that each factor tends to cause each other factor to produce either change or diffusion. One would guess, therefore, that at the city-wide, multisectoral level, change does imply diffusion and that the two flow from the activation of a common capacity.

#### CAA versus Non-CAA Diffusion Activities

As we explained at the beginning of this chapter, the weighting of the measures of diffusion included a point awarded for diffusion activities performed by non-CAA diffusers. This is an especially important category because it singles out the extent to which CAAs can touch off mechanisms external to themselves that lead to desirable institutional change. Such mechanisms are the best possible "multipliers" of the effectiveness of CAP expenditures. To measure the extent of such diffusion we shall use here the unweighted (multisectoral) city mean of diffusion by non-CAA diffusers. Similarly, we shall measure CAA diffusion with the unweighted city mean of diffusion by CAA diffusers. The correlations of these indices with CAA, neighborhood center, and city characteristics are shown in Table 7.14.

To begin with, it is interesting to note that CAA and neighborhood center variables predict CAA and non-CAA diffusion almost equally well. The mean absolute Q between these CAP variables and CAA diffusion is .22, while that for non-CAA diffusion is .19. One would think that CAP characteristics would predict CAA diffusion much better than non-CAA diffusion, but such is not the case. It appears that in matters of diffusion, CAAs are not much more likely to influence their own employees and lay leaders than they are to influence "outsiders."

TABLE 7.14

CAA, NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER, AND CITY CHARACTERISTICS  
BY TYPE OF DIFFUSION

(Q Coefficients of Association)

Characteristic	Type of Diffusion	
	CAA	Non-CAA
<u>CAA characteristics:</u>		
CAA emphasis on educational goals and programs . . . . .	.00	.36
CAA emphasis on employment goals and programs . . . . .	-.33	-.17
CAA emphasis on social service goals and programs . . . . .	.33	.06
CAA emphasis on community organization goals . . . . .	-.10	.18
CAA emphasis on participation of the poor . . . . .	.00	-.25
Dissensus between CAA and neighborhood centers . . . . .	-.24	.37
Dissensus within the CAA board . . . . .	.10	-.10
<u>Neighborhood center characteristics:</u>		
Neighborhood center emphasis on referrals . . . . .	.38	.06
Neighborhood center emphasis on community organization . . . . .	.28	.10
Neighborhood center emphasis on community control . . . . .	.42	-.01
Neighborhood center emphasis on outreach . . . . .	-.33	-.19
Neighborhood center emphasis on planning and coordination of services . . . . .	.10	.38
Neighborhood center community-organizing activity <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	-.18	.27
Neighborhood center support for militant activity <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	.63	.14
Mean absolute Q . . . . .	.22	.19
Mean Q . . . . .	.05	.07
<u>City characteristics:</u>		
City size . . . . .	.00	-.21
Per cent of population nonwhite . . . . .	-.54	-.06
Per cent of population with family income over \$10,000 . . . . .	.67	-.21
Per cent of population with family income under \$3,000 . . . . .	-.62	.22
CAP expenditures . . . . .	.27	.13

<sup>a</sup>As reported by community political leaders.

When the signs of the coefficients are taken into account, both of the mean Q's tend toward zero:  $Q = .05$  for CAA diffusion,  $Q = .07$  for non-CAA diffusion. This says merely that the CAP variables, when viewed as a set of mutually independent, simultaneously operating causes, have no effect on either type of diffusion. When the CAP variables all take on high values, the diffusion variables may or may not take on high values. This says nothing about the amounts of diffusion obtainable by depressing the values of some independent variables while raising the values of other independent variables. It does tell us that the CAP variables are no more inconsistent in their effect on non-CAA diffusion than they are in their effect on CAA diffusion, another surprising discovery.

Underlying the average coefficients are the individual coefficients, whose most striking characteristic is the difference between the CAA and the non-CAA associations for each CAP variable. In only four cases does the correlation between a CAP variable and CAA diffusion approximate the correlation between that same CAP variable and non-CAA diffusion. The four variables involved are CAA employment emphasis, CAA board dissensus, neighborhood center emphasis on community organization, and neighborhood center outreach emphasis.

The chief correlates of non-CAA diffusion are CAA emphasis on educational goals, CAA de-emphasis on participation of the poor, CAA-neighborhood center dissensus, and neighborhood center emphasis on planning and coordination of services. One can only speculate about what they have in common, since they are not systematically correlated with any of the control variables or, it appears, with each other. The theme that best unifies this group is akin to what we shall call "institutional leadership." It clearly embraces education, nonparticipation of the poor, and planning and coordination. Institutional leadership at the CAA level can be inferred from dissensus between the CAA and the neighborhood centers when we observe in Table 7.5 that neighborhood center community-organizing activity and that type of dissensus have a strong positive association ( $Q = .66$ ). If the centers and the CAA do

have different goals and orientations, then the CAA must have some characteristic that is not akin to an emphasis on community organization, and that characteristic probably closely resembles "institutional leadership."

It should be borne in mind that to find a common aspect in these CAP characteristics is not to assert that they all must, or even tend to, occur simultaneously. We merely suggest that this common aspect is the operative element in their common tendency to be associated with non-CAA diffusion. They probably possess differentiating, as well as unifying, aspects that also contribute to their correlations with non-CAA diffusion.

The correlates of CAA diffusion are more disparate. They comprise CAA employment de-emphasis, CAA social service emphasis, CAA-neighborhood center consensus, and four neighborhood center variables--emphasis on referrals, emphasis on community organization, emphasis on community control, and de-emphasis on outreach. No single thread runs through this list, but it is possible to separate these variables into two groups and to locate a different similarity in each group. When we examine the correlations between these variables and city size in Table 7.5, we see that CAA employment de-emphasis, CAA social service emphasis, CAA-neighborhood center consensus, and neighborhood center referral emphasis all bespeak service orientation in small cities, while neighborhood center community organization and community control emphases and neighborhood center outreach de-emphasis all suggest a decentralizing influence in large cities.

These estimates seem inconsistent with findings reported earlier in this chapter suggesting (not unambiguously) that decentralizing activities discourage diffusion in large cities but encourage it in small cities. It must be remembered, however, that the question under consideration here is not "What are the correlates of diffusion?" but "If the CAA is to maximize the amount of diffusing activity that it can engage in by itself, then what must it do?" Apparently, therefore, the kinds of activities engaged in by CAAs that are mobilizing the greatest possible support for change (diffusion here) will differ from those engaged in by

CAAs that are preserving or building their capacities to act directly in advocacy of diffusion. It seems likely that the former activities aim to exploit weakness in the existing community structure, while the latter adapt to its strengths, that is, to the natural fragmentation of larger cities and the greater homogeneity of smaller cities.

The institutional leadership discernible among the correlates of non-CAA diffusion is neither clearly adaptive nor clearly exploitative of weaknesses. Its elements include both a strong central authority subject to strong challenges from the neighborhoods and an active role in welfare-type planning. Although the dominant theme is institutional leadership, it is probable that there are real fights for real stakes in well-defined arenas. Together, these qualities of adaptiveness and institutional leadership not immune to challenge seem to characterize CAAs that are associated with non-CAA diffusion. The correlates of CAA diffusion are different. They seem quite similar to those correlates of non-CAA diffusion that would be most acceptable in each particular setting.

#### Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, it will be useful to recapitulate and rearrange some of the findings of the preceding sections. Community organization, when emphasized by the CAA board, is seen to promote mean diffusion, but when emphasized at the neighborhood level, it appears to retard diffusion. An emphasis on community control of the neighborhood centers by themselves resembles neighborhood center community organization emphasis in that it impairs mean diffusion. CAA board dissensus on the other hand, encourages it. Decentralizing emphases seem to work when affected by the central authority but not when effected at the neighborhood level. But when the effects of city size are removed, all four of these decentralizing variables become remarkably similar predictors of mean diffusion. (The net partial Q's range from .13 to .31.) Three of the four are strongly predictive of mean diffusion in small cities, while

they either depress or fail to affect the level of mean diffusion in large cities. Thus, with the exception of CAA board dissensus, decentralizing characteristics of CAA work in small but not in large cities, irrespective of the level at which they are effected.

These three variables can be brought together in an internally consistent scheme of interrelationships, although no clear causal order can be predicated of them yet (Figure 7.1). It depicts the conditioning effect of the three interrelated variables in the left side of the diagram on the relationship between CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion. The central concepts in Figure 7.1 are (1) that community organization emphasis by the CAA is very strongly associated with mean diffusion in small cities ( $Q = .86$ ) and (2) that the smaller the city, the more likely is the CAA to emphasize community organization ( $Q = .39$ ). In addition, two strong correlates of city size--neighborhood center emphasis on community organization ( $Q = .85$ ), and neighborhood center emphasis on community control ( $Q = .89$ )--also establish conditions under which community organization emphasis and mean diffusion are strongly associated. This means that in small cities neighborhood central and other conditions exist under which CAA community organization emphasis is most likely to lead to mean diffusion, and furthermore, that small cities are precisely where CAAs are most likely to emphasize community organization.

The relationships portrayed in Figure 7.1 do not amount to a causal process. They do imply that something about the size of a city affects the orientation of the neighborhood centers, which, along with city size, affect the relationship between CAA community organization emphasis and mean diffusion. But these conditioning effects are not causes. They need not temporally precede the community organization emphasis of the CAA, and, as pictured in Figure 7.1, they are insufficient, by themselves, to cause mean diffusion. Rather, they interact with CAA community organization emphasis to cause mean diffusion, which is another way of saying that they condition the relationship between those two, making it strongly positive.

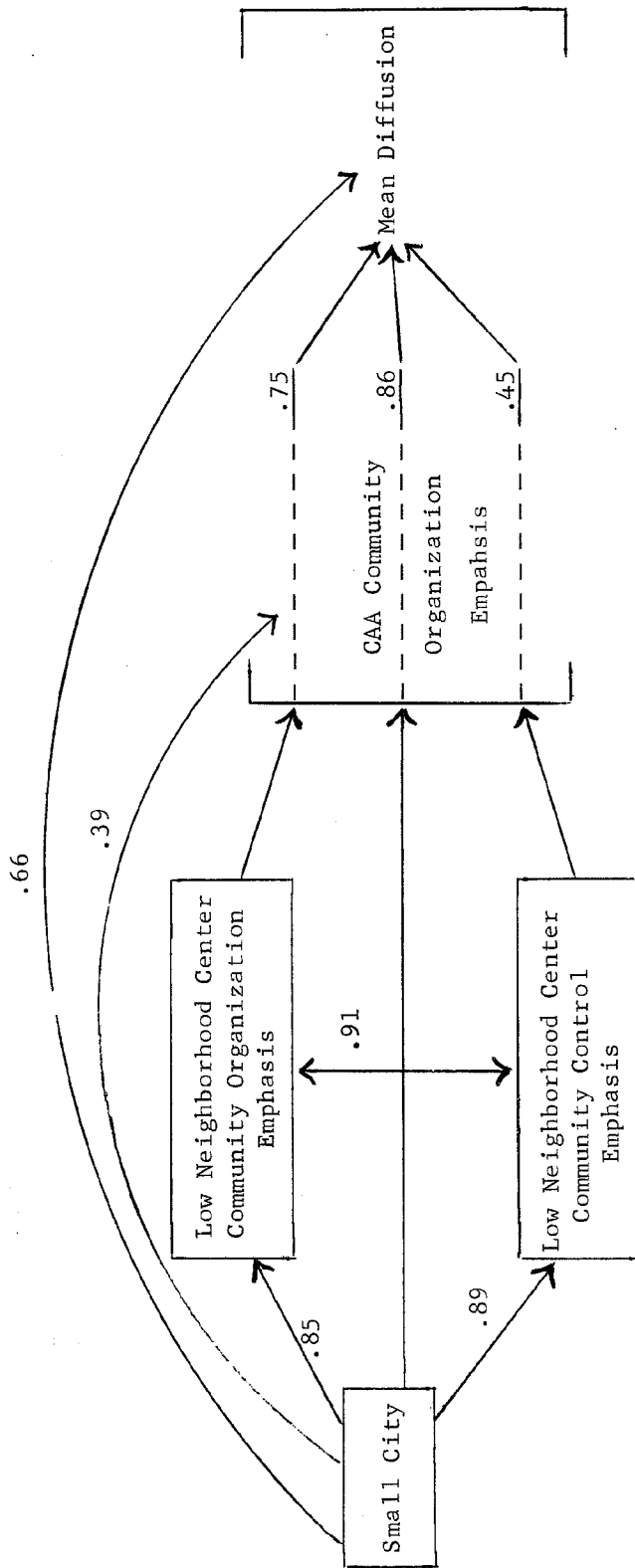


Figure 7.1--Diagram of the Conditioning Effects of City Size on the Relationship between CAA Emphasis on Community Organization and Mean Diffusion

This organization of the data is not fully reflective of all of the foregoing text. Notably, small city size, it will be recalled, set conditions under which both neighborhood center community organization emphasis and neighborhood center community control emphasis seemed to produce mean diffusion. Yet here we have emphasized not the conditioning but the (hypothetical) direct causal effect of city size on these two neighborhood center emphases; small city size depresses them. On the rare occasions when they overcome the depressing effects of small city size, they may, indeed, produce high levels of mean diffusion with virtual certainty. More important, however, is the fact that at the numerically predominant low levels produced by small city size, these two variables establish conditions under which CAA community organization emphasis promotes mean diffusion; and CAA community organization emphasis, unlike neighborhood center community organization and neighborhood center community control emphases, does tend to be high in small cities.

One can only speculate about the characteristics of small cities that produce these pronounced effects. Our data show small cities to have a greater proportion of whites, to be less poor, and to have less CAA-neighborhood center dissensus than large cities. This suggests that they tend to be homogeneous, to have a more advantageous ratio of resources to poverty problems, and to have been spared the antipathies of recent years between the neighborhoods and downtown. Why these cities should encourage CAA community organization emphasis is not clear. But it is easy to see that once such an emphasis has been established, the characteristics of small cities imply a coherence of the city as a whole that allows for multisectoral change and diffusion that could never take place in a more fragmented city.

The tendency of small cities to contain conditions that make decentralizing CAA activities effective agents of mean diffusion is not reproduced in the correlates and conditions of direct CAA diffusion. In the case of each of these types of diffusion, we are talking about the interaction between the CAA and institutions or individuals in its environment. The difference between these two types of diffusion

suggests that this interaction between CAP activity and environment when CAA diffusers undertake diffusion differs importantly from the interaction that accompanies the attainment of high levels of mean diffusion, i.e., diffusion undertaken by non-CAA as well as CAA diffusers. This suggestion is reinforced and specified when we notice the nature of the correlates of non-CAA diffusion. They stress incorporating into the CAA the community's leadership and values, but not to the exclusion of competing elements. Thus, non-CAA diffusion is encouraged by a state of dynamic tension between established leaders and others of much the sort we might expect to find in small cities where CAAs engage in community organizing.

Mean diffusion, which tends to be a phenomenon of small cities, can best be fostered in them by a CAA emphasis on community organization. (In large cities only CAA board dissensus associates positively with mean diffusion.) But even disregarding city size, CAA community organization emphasis may commend itself, because, like city size, it tends to depress neighborhood center control emphasis and thereby to establish conditions under which it promotes mean diffusion. (The correlation between CAA community organization emphasis and neighborhood center community control emphasis may, of course, be spurious due to the association of each of them with city size. No test was made to rule out this possibility.)

Further, CAA emphasis on community organization appears to function powerfully as a cause of mean diffusion where it is well funded (and to be approximately equally as effective as a deterrent where it is poorly funded). A funding strategy that sought to maximize mean diffusion might, therefore, well consist of ensuring generous funding for programs with a strong commitment to and implementation of a community organization emphasis at the central level.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides a very brief summary of the findings presented in this report and concludes with some policy recommendations.

Seven chapters of analysis, detailed statistical tabulations, methodological reservations, and complicated inferential arguments can be summarized in a simple statement: Community organization efforts by Community Action Agencies are the most productive path to bringing about institutional change. The degree to which the CAA's board of directors and executive director state that community organization goals are the goals of the CAA strongly predicts the extent to which other institutions serving the poor will change. This finding is a summary of thirty-seven zero-order associations as well as a statement of the association between community organization emphasis and an overall index of institutional change. The finding holds up in spite of the effects of other variables that influence institutional change, i.e., characteristics of the cities in which CAAs operate, characteristics of the target neighborhood in which the CAA operates, and characteristics of the CAA itself. In addition, as a single test of the hypothesis that community organization efforts predict institutional change, we find that the association between community organization emphasis and the general measure of institutional change is significant at better than the .01 level.

The second measure of community organization efforts--the degree to which neighborhood centers are actively involved in promoting community organization, i.e., the community-organizing activity of the neighborhood center--is also positively associated with institutional change, although not so strongly as above. However, an analysis of the net partial and partial coefficients of association reveals that the association of this second variable with institutional change not only holds up when other factors are

controlled but tends to increase. Community organizing efforts by the neighborhood center tend to influence specific aspects of neighborhood political organization change that are valued in their own right. In addition, neighborhood center community-organizing activity tends to influence a number of variables that are not susceptible to a community organization goal orientation by the CAA board and director.

Thus, we can state confidently that the degree to which CAAs concentrate their efforts on community organization and mobilization, as opposed to concentrating on the provision and delivery of service to the poor within a city, predicts the success of these agencies in inducing institutional change. This is true both at the policy level, i.e., the goal orientation and program emphasis of the board and the executive directors, and at the operational level, i.e., the activities carried on by the directors and staffs of neighborhood centers. This basic finding is true across the four institutional sectors examined--the public schools, private social welfare, employers, and neighborhood political organizations--but with varying degrees of intensity and varying concrete processes of change. Community organization and mobilization is clearly the most effective strategy for community action programs seeking to bring about institutional change.

One caution must be exercised in the use of these findings. A general theory of institutional change in urban communities does not exist. The adoption of a community organization orientation by Community Action Agencies is certainly to some degree a reflection of general characteristics of the cities being studied. These characteristics would have to be incorporated into a general theory of institutional change. If this were accomplished, then it would be possible to precisely specify the conditions under which community organization efforts contribute to change and the conditions under which community organization efforts by the CAA are possible or probable. In the absence of such a theory, we can accept the clear evidence of the effects of community organization efforts, independent of other characteristics of the city and the target neighborhood, as a demonstration that such efforts are at least a contributing cause of institutional change. The more precise and thorough examination of other factors contributing to change that will be presented in the final report of this study will permit a clearer statement of the limits to the contribution made by CAA community organization efforts.

There are some additional findings that indirectly confirm the above conclusion concerning community organization efforts. The degree to which neighborhood centers emphasize community control of themselves generally has a positive association with institutional change. The degree to which the neighborhood center promotes the community's control of the neighborhood center is also related to the neighborhood center's promotion of community organization within the neighborhood. At the very least, such control provides a focus for community organization. The degree to which the CAA directly and visibly promotes participation of the poor on its board could also be considered a somewhat distantly related indication of community organization efforts. It also shows some positive association with institutional change, although the evidence is mixed and weak.

When we look at the individual institutional sectors, we see that there is wide variation in the predictive power of community organization efforts. Social service agencies are the most strongly influenced, with schools coming next. The other two sectors have peculiar qualities. The neighborhood political organization sector shows a rather clear division, with the change variables that are closely related to community organization efforts being strongly influenced. In addition, neighborhood political organization serves as an intervening process between CAA efforts and institutional change. In the employment sector, changes are more directly influenced by employment program emphasis by the CAA than by community organization efforts.

To be more specific, neighborhood political organization change flows in two directions. The first direction includes changes in community organizations, public presentations and demonstrations, and petitioning of public agencies. The second is toward increased citizen participation, especially electoral participation. The first direction is associated with changes in other institutions serving the poor, while the second is not. However, there is considerable reason to think of increased electoral participation as a good in and of itself.

Employer changes are most directly associated with employment program emphasis. Further, they are more closely associated with employment programs that involve the running of training and education programs rather than with

referral and various other types of liaison work with employers. Generally, though, employers comprise the institution least susceptible to the influences of community organization efforts.

The final part of the analysis presented in this report concerns the ability of the CAAs to take a small though important and concrete change from one target neighborhood and transfer it to other parts of the city. This analysis shows that community organization efforts by the CAA are positively associated with overall diffusion across the institutional sectors, although the opposite is true within sectors. It shows in detail the kinds of CAA characteristics that are associated with change and with diffusion and also indicates the relationship between these two factors.

We have given a very brief but straightforward summary of the findings of this research. The policy implications seem clear. Due to a variety of factors, CAAs have had considerable freedom of choice in the kind of agency they become. This choice ranges from being a simple service agency to being a militant protest organization. More concretely, it involves choices between actually running and administering services versus organizing citizens and mobilizing the poor. The question to be answered is whether the addition of another federal agency providing some particularly needed services and probably directly seeking new efforts from other agencies could materially alter the conditions of apathy, detachment, and apparent alienation in which the poor live or whether an effort by the CAA at changing those conditions would be most productive. The agencies we have examined have been divided between these two orientations. The latter has shown itself to be clearly more productive. The Community Action Program would do well to encourage Community Action Agencies to get out of the business of running and administering services and get about the business of pushing and prodding other institutions serving the poor to become more responsive through mobilization and activation of the poor themselves. Forty dollars per poor person in services is not worth as much as forty dollars per poor person in increased demand for those services.

APPENDIX A

CONSTRUCTION OF VARIABLES

Part 1

The Dependent Variables

Variable numbers correspond to numbers  
used in Table 2.1 and subsequent  
comprehensive tables.

SOCIAL SERVICE VARIABLES

VARIABLE 1: CHANGE IN INCOME OF CLIENTELE OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

9. A. During 1968 what percentage of the people who used your services would you say came from families in which the annual income was under \$3,000, what percentage had a family income from \$3,000 - \$5,000, what percentage from \$5,000 - \$8,000? Were there any people whose family income was over \$8,000?
- B. What was the distribution of your clients by income groups in 1964? What percentage had a family income under \$3,000, what percentage from \$3,000 - \$5,000, what percentage from \$5,000 - \$8,000? In 1964 were there any people whose family income was over \$8,000?

	<u>A. 1968</u>	<u>B. 1964</u>
\$3,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
\$3,000 - \$5,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
\$5,000 - \$8,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
Over \$8,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %

It is obtained by subtracting 9B from 9A. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Fewer under \$5,000	9	20.5
Same under \$5,000	20	45.5
More under \$5,000	15	34.1
No answer	<u>6</u>	_____
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE 2: CHANGE IN PER CENT MINORITY AMONG SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES'  
CLIENTELE

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

10. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now are Black?  
B. How does this compare with four or five years ago? At that time, what percentage of your clients were Black?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964  
Black: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

11. A. What percentage of the people who use your services are whites from Southern Mountain areas or other rural areas?  
B. How does that compare with the percentage in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964  
Southern Mountain whites: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

12. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now (1968) are Puerto Rican?  
B. What was the percentage of Puerto Ricans in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964  
Puerto Rican: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

13. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now (1968) are Mexican-Americans?  
B. What was the percentage of Mexican-Americans in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964  
Mexican-American: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

It is constructed by summing the 1964 totals from all four questions and the 1968 totals from all four questions, then subtracting. The resulting distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	6	13.3
No change	11	24.4
1-9 per cent increase	12	26.7
Increase more than 9 per cent	16	35.6
No an er	<u>5</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 3: INCREASE IN NUMBER OF EMPLOYERS WORKING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

39. A. How many people did you employ in 1968?	Col. A <u>1968</u>	Col. B <u>1964</u>
B. How does this compare with 1964?	Number of Employees: _____	

It is calculated by subtracting Column B from Column A and dividing by Column B, then averaging for all agencies. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
9 per cent or less	9	18.4
10 - 99 per cent	24	49.0
100 or more per cent	16	32.7
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE 4: INCREASE IN NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS WORKING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

41. A. How many volunteers do you have on your staff now (1968)?	<u>A. 1968</u>	<u>B. 1964</u>
B. How many did you have in 1964?	_____#	_____#
	Volunteers	Volunteers

Column B is subtracted from Column A and divided by Column B. A city average is then computed. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
9 per cent or less	17	36.2
10 - 99 per cent	22	46.8
100 or more per cent	8	17.0
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 5 : INCREASE IN REFERRALS AMONG SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

53. A. IF ANY REFERRALS (52A OR B):  
 How many referrals did you make in 1968?      Number \_\_\_\_\_
- B. ASK EVERYONE:  
 How many referrals did you make in 1964?      Number \_\_\_\_\_

56. A. How many people did your agency get through referrals in 1968?
- B. How does this compare with 1964? At that time how many people did your agency get through referrals?

A. 1968                      B. 1964

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

In both questions, Column B is subtracted from Column A and divided by Column B. These answers are summed and averaged. The results are as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
9 per cent or less	9	20.5
10 - 99 per cent	20	45.5
100 or more per cent	15	34.1
No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE 6: INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PEOPLE SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

- 4. A. How many people used your services in 1968? RECORD IN COLUMN A.
- B. And how many in 1964? RECORD IN COLUMN B.

COLUMN A	COLUMN B
1968	1964

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT ANSWER Q. 4, ASK Q. 5.

- 5. Would you say there has been a . . . .

  - considerable increase . . (GO TO Q. 6) . . . . . 1
  - moderate increase . . . . (GO TO Q. 6) . . . . . 2
  - no change . . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 8) . . . . . 3
  - moderate decrease . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 7) . . . . . 4
  - or a considerable decrease . (SKIP TO Q. 7) . . . . . 5

- in the number of people using your services in 1964?

The distribution on question 5 was examined and cutoff points in the data on percentage changes computed from question 4 were set so that the two distributions were equivalent. City averages were then taken with the results as follows:

Cities in which the final average score is "2" are those in which at least two agencies show a considerable increase and the third either a moderate or a considerable increase. If there were less than three agencies in a city, each of the agencies would have to show a considerable increase to qualify for the final rating of "2."

Cities in which the final average score is "1" are those in which two or more agencies show a moderate increase, or one agency shows no change, or one agency shows a moderate decline offset by two considerable increases.

Cities in which the average score is "0" include those in which one agency shows a considerable decline, or various other combinations not included above.

A final average score of "2" describes cities in which the average increase is over 30%; a score of "1" describes cities in which the average increase is between 10% and 30%; and a score of "0" describes cities where the average increase is 0-10%.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Less than 10%	7	14.3
10 to 30%	21	42.9
30 or more %	21	42.9
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>      </u>
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLES 7-12 were constructed from a detailed analysis of the responses of social service agency directors. Twenty-two variables were constructed. These variables are detailed below. The distribution of these variables is shown in Table A.1. A cluster analysis was then done. The results are shown in Table A.2. Three main clusters were found that can be defined as general service, service to the poor, and interaction with the poor. Interaction with the poor is broken into two subcategories--participation of the poor in SSA and involvement of the SSA in neighborhood. Fifteen variables were used within these clusters and to construct indices of change.

In the construction of the indices of change, each social service agency was rated on each of the fifteen variables. The agency was given a score of "0" for no change or a decrease. Increases were dichotomized, generally at the median, and agencies were given a score of "1" for a moderate increase and a score of "2" for a considerable increase. Thus the index will, for example, reflect the fact that an agency reporting an increase in both budget and the number of people it serves changed more in the general service area than an agency reporting one change. The scores on these indices are shown in Tables A.3 and A.4. These indices were then averaged to obtain city scores as reported in Chapter V. In addition, an overall change measure was constructed.

TABLE A.1  
 CHANGE VARIABLES  
 PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES  
 (Percentage Distribution)

Change Variable	Decrease	No Change	Increase		Total	NA
			Low	High		
<u>Increase &gt; no change or decrease:</u>						
V19 Change in SSA budget . . . . .	— 11 —		48	40	99	(10)
V1 Change in # of people served by SSA.	8	8	25	59	100	(0)
V5 Change in role of poor in SSA. . .	11	8	53	28	100	(0)
V20 Change in voice of neighborhood organizations . . . . .	— 21 —		— 79 —		100	(10)
V17 # meetings with other SSAs 1968 <sup>a</sup> .	--	23	62	15 <sup>a</sup>	100	(0)
V7 Change in # SSA employees. . . . .	9	22	45	24	100	(24)
V10 Change in SSA involvement with community groups . . . . .	--	43	30	26	99	(0)
V3 Change in % minority served by SSA	10	35	35	20	100	(34)
<u>Increase = no change or decrease:</u>						
V9 Change in referrals among SSAs .	12	35	22	31	100	(49)
V6 Change in availability of facil- ities . . . . .	25	23	17	35	100	(0)
V18 Movement of SSA in and out of neighborhood . . . . .	11 <sup>b</sup>	40	— 49 —		100	(8)
V13 Change in % subprofessionals on SSA staff . . . . .	18	36	— 47 —		101	(19)
V14 Change in % neighborhood residents on SSA payroll . . . . .	16	37	24	23	100	(17)
<u>Increase &lt; no change or decrease:</u>						
V16 Change in % neighborhood residents on SSA board . . . . .	— 58 —		— 41 —		99	(28)
V4 Change in publicity given services	— 62 —		18	20	100	(0)
V8 Change in # volunteers working for SSA. . . . .	13	50	19	19	101	(26)
V11 New programs . . . . .	6	55	21	17	99	(0)
V22 Change in % welfare served by SSA.	19	43	24	14	100	(43)
V12 Change in % professionals on SSA staff. . . . .	41	27	— 31 —		99	(19)
V15 Change in % poor on SSA board. . .	— 70 —		— 30 —		100	(31)
V21 Change in % unemployed served by SSA . . . . .	25	46	16	13	100	(56)
V2 Change in % poor served by SSA. . (under \$5,000 income level)	20	53	13	14	100	(42)

N = 145

<sup>a</sup>Number of meetings among private social service agencies not available for 1964, value is not a change measure.

<sup>b</sup>Includes 8 per cent movement both in and out of neighborhood.

TABLE A.4  
SSA CHANGE INDICES  
(Collapse Modes)

Collapse Mode	General Service		Service to Poor		Interaction with Poor					
					Overall		Participa- of Poor in SSA		Involvement of SSA in Neighborhood	
	Scores	Per Cent	Scores	Per Cent	Scores	Per Cent	Scores	Per Cent	Scores	Per Cent
None or little	(0,1,2)	36	(0)	36	(0,1)	21	(0)	16	(0)	13
Moderate increase	(3,4)	26	(1,2)	37	(2,3,4)	44	(1)	42	(1,2)	47
High increase	(5,6,7,8)	38	(3-10)	27	(5-12)	35	(2-6)	42	(3-6) <sup>§</sup>	40
Total		100		100		100		100		100
N		(145)		(145)		(145)		(145)		(145)

SSA Change Variables Included in Variables 7-12

VARIABLE A: CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

4. A. How many people used your services in 1968? RECORD IN COLUMN A.  
 B. And how many in 1964? RECORD IN COLUMN B.

<u>COLUMN A</u>	<u>COLUMN B</u>
1968	1964

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

IF RESPONDENT CANNOT ANSWER Q. 4, ASK Q. 5.

5. Would you say there has been a . . . .
- |                                                       |   |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|
| considerable increase . . . (GO TO Q. 6) . . . . .    | 1 |
| moderate increase . . . . (GO TO Q. 6) . . . . .      | 2 |
| no change . . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 8) . . . . .          | 3 |
| moderate decrease . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 7) . . . . .    | 4 |
| or a considerable decrease . (SKIP TO Q. 7) . . . . . | 5 |
- in the number of people using your services in 1964?

The distribution on question 5 was examined and cutoff points in the data on percentage changes computed from question 4 were set so that the two distributions were equivalent. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	11	7.6
No change	22	8.3
Moderate increase (under 38%)	37	25.5
Considerable increase (38% and over)	<u>85</u>	<u>58.6</u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE B: CHANGE IN INCOME OF CLIENTELE OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

9. A. During 1968 what percentage of the people who used your services would you say came from families in which the annual income was under \$3,000, what percentage had a family income from \$3,000 - \$5,000, what percentage from \$5,000 - \$8,000? Were there any people whose family income was over \$8,000?
- B. What was the distribution of your clients by income groups in 1964? What percentage had a family income under \$3,000, what percentage from \$3,000 - \$5,000, what percentage from \$5,000 - \$8,000? In 1964 were there any people whose family income was over \$8,000?

	<u>A. 1968</u>	<u>B. 1964</u>
\$3,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
\$3,000 - \$5,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
\$5,000 - \$8,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %
Over \$8,000 . . . . .	_____ %	_____ %

It is obtained by subtracting 9B from 9A. The distribution is as follows.

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Fewer under \$5,000	21	20.4
Same under \$5,000	55	53.4
More under \$5,000	27	26.2
No answer	<u>42</u>	_____
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE C: CHANGE IN PER CENT MINORITY AMONG SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES' CLIENTELE

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

10. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now are Black?
- B. How does this compare with four or five years ago? At that time, what percentage of your clients were Black?

	<u>A. Now (1968)</u>	<u>B. 1964</u>
Black:	_____ %	_____ %

11. A. What percentage of the people who use your services are whites from Southern Mountain areas or other rural areas?

B. How does that compare with the percentage in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964

Southern Mountain whites: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

12. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now (1968) are Puerto Rican?

B. What was the percentage of Puerto Ricans in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964

Puerto Rican: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

13. A. What percentage of the people who use your services now (1968) are Mexican-Americans?

B. What was the percentage of Mexican-Americans in 1964?

A. Now (1968)                      B. 1964

Mexican-American: \_\_\_\_\_%                      \_\_\_\_\_%

---

It is constructed by summing the 1964 totals from all four questions and the 1968 totals from all four questions, then subtracting. The resulting distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	11	9.9
No change	39	35.1
1-29 per cent increase	39	35.1
30 per cent or more	22	19.8
No answer	<u>34</u>	_____
Total	145	99.9

VARIABLE D : CHANGE IN PUBLICITY

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

14. A. What do you do now (1968) to insure that people know about your services? Do you . . . READ ITEMS (1) - (5) AND CODE YES OR NO FOR EACH.  
 B. And in 1964? Did you . . .

	A. 1968		B. 1964	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
(1) . . . give ads or press releases to neighborhood newspapers . . . . .	1	2	5	6
(2) . . . canvass door to door . . . . .	3	4	7	8
(3) . . . hold public meetings . . . . .	5	6	1	2
(4) . . . make announcements in churches and community organization meetings . . . . .	7	8	3	4
(5) . . . radio - TV announcements . . . . .	1	2	5	6
(6) Other ways? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	3	4	7	8

The variable was constructed by giving a score of +1 if Col. A is Yes and Col. B is No, a score of -1 if Col. A is No and Col. B is Yes, and a score of 0 if Cols. A & B are both Yes or both No. This was done for each of the first five items. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None or decrease	90	62.1
Increase	55	37.9
No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>    </u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE E: CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF POOR IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY DECISION MAKING

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

21. **The principle** of involving the poor in the planning and execution of programs that are designed to help them is a relatively new concept. Has your agency taken any steps in this direction?

Yes . (ASK A & B) . . . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

22. Do you have any residents of the neighborhood on your payroll?

Yes . (ASK A-C) . . . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

23. Did you have any residents of this neighborhood on the payroll in 1964?  
 Yes . . . . . 3  
 No . . . . . 4

24. A. How many Board members are there? \_\_\_\_\_  
 B. Are any poor people on your Board of Directors? INTERVIEWER: BE SURE RESPONDENT IS TALKING ABOUT HIS OWN BRANCH AGENCY IF IT IS PART OF A LARGER AGENCY.  
 Yes . . . . . 5  
 No . . . . . 6  
 C. How many poor people were on your Board in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

25. A. Are there any residents of the neighborhood who serve on the Board of Directors?  
 Yes . . . . . 7  
 No . . . . . 8  
 B. How many neighborhood residents were there on the board in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

67. The war on poverty legislation has incorporated the principle of "maximum participation of the poor." What do you think of the principle? Do you think it has considerable merit and should be extended to all agencies serving the poor, or do you think it has merit for government community action programs but is not relevant for private social service agencies, or do you think that as a general principle it is unrealistic and should be abandoned?  
 Merit and should be extended . . . . . 4  
 Merit, but not for private agencies . . . . . 5  
 Unrealistic and should be abandoned . . . . . 6

The agency was given a score of "+1" for a Yes response on Q. 21 and "-1" for a No response. On questions 22,23,24, and 25 the agency was given a score of "+1" if there are yes answers to any of these questions for 1968 and not for 1964, a "-1" if the answers are reversed, and "0" if otherwise. On question 67 the agency received a score of "+2" for Merit and should be extended, "+1" for merit, but not for private agencies, and "-2" for unrealistic and should be abandoned.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	16	11.0
No change	11	7.6
Small increase	30	20.7
Moderate increase	47	32.4
High increase	41	28.3
No answer	0	
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE F: CHANGE IN USES AND AVAILABILITY OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY FACILITIES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

30. Are you using any of your physical facilities now in ways that are quite different from the use you made of them in 1964?
- Yes . (ASK A & B) . . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

31. In general, would you say you are using your physical facilities more hours a day now than you did in 1964, or are you using your facilities fewer hours a day, or is the use about the same now as it was in 1964?
- More hours . (ASK A) . . . . . 1  
Fewer hours (ASK A) . . . . . 2  
Same . . . . (GO TO Q. 32) . . . . 3

A large increase means that agencies are using their facilities both for new activities and for more hours. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	36	24.8
No change	34	23.4
Small increase	24	16.6
Large increase	<u>51</u>	<u>35.2</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>100.0</b>

VARIABLE G: CHANGE IN NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WORKING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

39. A. How many people did you employ in 1968?
- Col. A  
1968
- Col. B  
1964
- B. How does this compare with 1964?
- Number of  
Employees: \_\_\_\_\_

It is calculated by subtracting Column B from Column A and dividing by Column B. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	11	9.1
No change	27	22.3
Increase, 1-99 per cent	54	44.6
Increase, 100 per cent or more	29	24.0
No answer	<u>24</u>	
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE H: CHANGE IN NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS WORKING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

41. A. How many volunteers do you have on your staff now (1968)? A. 1968 B. 1964
- B. How many did you have in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_# \_\_\_\_\_#
- Volunteers Volunteers
- 

Column B is subtracted from Column A and divided by Column B. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	15	12.6
No change	59	49.6
Increase, 1-99 per cent	22	18.5
Increase, 100 per cent or more	23	19.3
No answer	<u>26</u>	
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE I: CHANGE IN REFERRALS AMONG SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

53. A. IF ANY REFERRALS (52A OR B):  
How many referrals did you make in 1968? Number \_\_\_\_\_
- B. ASK EVERYONE:  
How many referrals did you make in 1964? Number \_\_\_\_\_

56. A. How many people did your agency get through referrals in 1968?  
 B. How does this compare with 1964? At that time how many people did your agency get through referrals?

A. 1968                      B. 1964

Number: \_\_\_\_\_

In both questions, Column B is subtracted from Column A and divided by Column B. These answers are summed and averaged. The results are as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	11	11.5
No change	34	35.4
Increase, 1-99 per cent	21	21.9
Increase, 100 per cent or more	30	31.3
No answer	49	
Total	145	100.1

VARIABLE J: CHANGE IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY'S INVOLVEMENT WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

This variable is calculated from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

FOR EACH GROUP RESPONDENT MEETS WITH--EITHER ON REGULAR BASIS OR AS THE NEED ARISES--ASK Q'S. 60-64.

<p><u>Name of Group</u>  <u>R meets with</u>                      (from Q. 59, Col. A)</p>	<p><u>IF GROUP EXISTED IN 1964:</u></p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">A.</p> <p>In 1964 did you meet representatives of <u>(name of group)</u> . . . . .</p> <p>on a regular basis? [ASK (1) &amp; (2)] . . . . . 3</p> <p>as need arose? . . . . . 4</p> <p>not at all? . . . . . 5</p>

The variable is calculated by first coding the kind of group the agency meets with in 1968 (e.g., welfare rights organization, civil rights, etc.), second, putting like groups together and then adding them altogether. Thus, we have sums for 1968 for eight categories of community groups as well as a total. The same procedure was followed for 1964. Then the total for 1964 was subtracted from 1968 to get the increase in the total number of groups the agency meets with. (This could also be done for each of the separate categories of community groups.)

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
No change	63	43.4
1-2 new contacts	44	30.3
3-7 new contacts	<u>38</u>	<u>26.2</u>
Total	145	99.9

VARIABLE K: NEW PROGRAMS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

16. C. Which of these services does (agency) provide now? (READ CATEGORIES.)

	<u>Now</u>		<u>1964</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Marriage and family services . . . . .	1	2	1	2
Psychological and psychiatric services . . . . .	3	4	3	4
Employment services . . . . .	5	6	5	6
Legal aid . . . . .	7	8	7	8
Consumer services . . . . .	1	2	1	2
Educational services . . . . .	3	4	3	4
Medical services . . . . .	5	6	5	6
Recreation or leisure services . . . . .	7	8	7	8

D. Which of these services were provided in 1964? (CODE ABOVE.)

The variable was constructed by scoring each of the services in the following way: a score of +1 if Yes now and No in 1964, a score of -1 if No now and Yes in 1964, and a score of 0 if both are Yes or both are No.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Dropped programs	9	6.2
No change	80	55.2
Added one new program	31	21.4
Added two or more new programs	<u>25</u>	<u>17.2</u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE L : CHANGE IN PER CENT PROFESSIONALS ON SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY STAFF

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

39. A. How many people did you employ in 1968? Col. A  
1968 Col. B  
1964
- B. How does this compare with 1964? Number of  
Employees: \_\_\_\_\_

40. ASK A & B FOR EACH CATEGORY [(1) - (5)].

	A. How many people on your staff now are . . . [CATEGORIES (1) - (5)] 1968	B. In 1964, how many people on your staff were . . . [CATEGORIES (1) - (5)] 1964
(1) Professionals . . . . .	_____	_____

The variable is calculated by dividing the number of professionals by the number of employees for both 1964 and 1968, and then subtracting the per cent professionals in 1964 from per cent professionals in 1968.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	52	41.3
No change	35	27.8
Increase	39	31.0
No answer	<u>19</u>	<u>13.9</u>
Total	145	100.1

VARIABLE M: CHANGE IN PER CENT SUBPROFESSSIONALS ON SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY STAFF

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

39. A. How many people did you employ in 1968? Col. A  
1968 Col. B  
1964
- B. How does this compare with 1964? Number of  
Employees: \_\_\_\_\_

40. ASK A & B FOR EACH CATEGORY [(1) - (5)].

A. How many people on your staff now are . . . [CATEGORIES (1) - (5)] 1968	B. In 1964, how many people on your staff were . . . [CATEGORIES (1) - (5)] 1964
(2) Sub-professionals . . . _____	_____

The variable is calculated by dividing the number of subprofessionals by the number of employees for both 1964 and for 1968, and then subtracting the per cent subprofessionals in 1964 from per cent subprofessionals in 1968.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	22	17.5
No change	45	35.7
Increase	59	46.8
No answer	<u>19</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	145	100.0



VARIABLE O : CHANGE IN PER CENT POOR ON SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY'S BOARD

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

B. Are any poor people on your Board of Directors? INTERVIEWER: BE SURE RESPONDENT IS TALKING ABOUT HIS OWN BRANCH AGENCY IF IT IS PART OF A LARGER AGENCY.

Yes . . . (ASK [1]). . . . . 5  
No . . . . . 6

[1] IF YES TO B: How many? \_\_\_\_\_

C. How many poor people were on your Board in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

The variable is calculated by dividing the member of poor on the board in 1968 and in 1964 by the total member of board members, and then subtracting the per cent poor in 1964 from the per cent poor in 1968.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None or decrease	80	70.2
Increase	34	29.8
No answer	<u>31</u>	_____
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE P : CHANGE IN PER CENT NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS ON SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY BOARD

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

24. A. How many board members are there? \_\_\_\_\_

25. A. Are there any residents of the neighborhood who serve on the Board of Directors?

Yes . . . (ASK [1]). . . . . 7  
No . . . . . 8

[1] IF YES TO A: How many? \_\_\_\_\_

B. How many neighborhood residents were there on the board in 1964? \_\_\_\_\_

The variable is calculated by dividing the number of neighborhood residents on the board in 1968 and in 1964 by the total number of board members, and then subtracting the per cent neighborhood residents in 1964 from the per cent neighborhood residents in 1968. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
More or decrease	68	58.1
Increase	49	41.9
No answer	<u>28</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE Q: NUMBER OF MEETINGS WITH OTHER SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES IN 1968 (MEETINGS FOR NON-COUNCIL AGENCIES NOT AVAILABLE FOR 1964. VARIABLE IS NOT A CHANGE MEASURE).

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

IF THERE IS CURRENTLY A COUNCIL OF NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES:

46. How often did the council of neighborhood social service agencies meet in 1968?

Number of meetings \_\_\_\_\_

IF THERE IS NO COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES NOW (1968):

48. Even though there is no organized council of social service agencies, do you meet with directors or other people from other agencies?

Yes . . . (ASK A-C) . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

B. How many times a year do you meet?

Number of times \_\_\_\_\_

The variables is calculated by simply grouping the number of meetings. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None	34	23.4
1-6 times a year	29	20.0
7-12 times a year	61	42.1
More than 12 times a year	<u>21</u>	<u>14.5</u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE R: MOVEMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY IN AND OUT OF NEIGHBORHOOD

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

43. Have any new social service agencies been established in this neighborhood since 1964?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

44. Are there any social service agencies which were in existence in 1964 that have moved out of the neighborhood since that time?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

The variable is calculated in the following way. Yes on Q. 43 and No on Q. 44 equals In only, Yes on Q. 43 and Q. 44 equals In and Out, No on Q. 43 and Yes on Q. 44 equals Out only, and No on Q. 43 and Q. 44 equals No change. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Movement in only	67	48.9
In and out	11	8.0
No change	55	40.1
Out only	4	2.9
No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	145	99.9

VARIABLE S: CHANGE IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY BUDGET

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the social service agency directors.

32. A. What is the size of your (branch agency) current (1968) budget? Col. A  
1968 Col. B  
1964

B. What was your annual budget in 1964? Total Annual Budget \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (dollars) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

The variable is calculated by subtracting Col. B from Col. A and dividing by Col. B.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
No change or decrease	13	11.4
Increase 1-49 per cent	55	48.2
Increase 50 per cent and over	46	40.4
Not in existence	21	
No answer	<u>10</u>	<u>      </u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE T: CHANGE IN VOICE OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

66. Would you say that in general the organizations in this neighborhood now are more vocal than they were in 1964, about the same, or less vocal?

More vocal . . . . .	1
About the same . . . . .	2
Less vocal . . . . .	3

The variable is calculated by giving a score of "+1" if the neighborhood organizations are more vocal, a "0" if they are about the same, and a "-1" if they are less vocal. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
No change or decrease	28	20.7
More vocal	107	79.3
No answer	<u>10</u>	<u>      </u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE U: CHANGE IN PER CENT UNEMPLOYED SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

The variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

9. C. What percentage of the people who used your services in 1968 were unemployed? What would you say the percentage unemployed was in 1964?

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
Unemployed:	_____ %	_____ %

The variable is calculated by subtracting the per cent unemployed in 1964 from the per cent unemployed in 1968. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	22	24.7
No change	41	46.1
Increase under 25 per cent	14	15.7
Increase 25 per cent and over	12	13.5
No answer	<u>56</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	145	100.0

VARIABLE V: CHANGE IN PER CENT WELFARE RECIPIENTS SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

The variable is constructed from the following question asked of the social service agency directors.

9. D. What percentage of your clients were on welfare in 1968? What was the percentage in 1964?

1968
1964  
 On welfare: \_\_\_\_\_%      \_\_\_\_\_%

The variable is calculated by subtracting the per cent welfare recipients in 1964 from the per cent welfare recipients in 1968. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	19	18.6
No change	44	43.1
Increase under 25 per cent	25	24.5
Increase 25 per cent and over	14	13.7
No answer	<u>43</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	145	99.9

PUBLIC SCHOOL VARIABLES

VARIABLE 13 : INCREASE IN MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS ON SCHOOL STAFFS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

8. Since 1964, how many principals have been at this school?

- One . . . . . 1
- Two . . . . . (ASK A & B) . . . . . 2
- Three or more . . (ASK A & B) . . . . . 3

IF TWO OR MORE PRINCIPALS:

A. Were any of the principals black?

- Yes . . . . . 4
- No . . . . . 5

B. Were any of the principals (other minority)?

- Yes . . . . . 6
- No . . . . . 7

15. A. How many black teachers are there in this school now? (RECORD IN COL. A.)

B. How many black teachers were there in this school in 1964?  
(RECORD IN COL. B.)

Col. A	Col. B
1968	1964

NUMBER OF BLACK TEACHERS: \_\_\_\_\_

IF R CANNOT ANSWER Q. 15, ASK Q. 16:

16. Since 1964, would you say the number of black teachers on the staff of this school has . . .

- Increased considerably . . . . . 1
- Increased slightly . . . . . 2
- Remained about the same . . . . . 3
- Decreased slightly . . . . . 4
- Decreased considerably . . . . . 5

Positive scores ranging from 1 through 3 were assigned to represent the presence of principals who were black or another minority; negative scores of 1 or 2 represented the absence of black or minority group principals; and changes in the racial composition of the teaching staff were registered between -2 and +2 inclusive.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	23	62.2
No or some increase	14	37.8
No answer	<u>13</u>	_____
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 14 : DECREASE IN STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO IN TARGET-AREA SCHOOLS

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of PTA presidents.

19. What is the current teacher-student ratio in your school? What was it in 1964?

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
Teacher-student ratio . .	_____	_____

---

The values of the variable were computed by comparing the ratios in 1964 and 1968.

"Moderate decreases" took an absolute value of between 10 per cent and 40 per cent, and "Increases" ranged up to 25 per cent.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Moderate decrease	13	27.7
No change	9	19.1
Increase	25	53.2
No answer	<u>3</u>	_____
Total	50	100.0

**VARIABLE 15: DECREASE IN CROWDING OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES, PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

20. A. At the present time, how would you describe the physical facilities at this school--would you say they are . . . (RECORD IN COL. A.)

	<u>Col. A</u> 1968	<u>Col. B</u> 1964
Overcrowded . . . . .	1	4
Adequate for the number of students . . .	2	5
or More than adequate for the number of students . . . . .	3	6

B. What was the situation in 1964? At that time were the physical facilities overcrowded, adequate for the number of students, or more than adequate for the number of students? (RECORD IN COL. B ABOVE.)

21. A. Are you using any rooms as classrooms now that were not designed as classrooms? (RECORD IN COL. A.)

B. In 1964, did you use any rooms as classrooms that were not designed for this use? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> 1968	<u>Col. B</u> 1964
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

22. A. Is this school on a double shift now? (RECORD IN COL. A.)

B. Was it on a double shift in 1964? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> 1968	<u>Col. B</u> 1964
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

Scores between +2 and -2 were assigned to register changes in overall crowding between 1964 and 1968. Changes in whether or not classes are held in rooms not designed for that purpose and changes in the presence or absence of double-shifts each received scores between +1 and -1.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None less crowded	17	34.7
Some less crowded	23	46.9
All less crowded	9	18.4
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 16: INCREASE IN AUXILIARY STAFF IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This variable is based on the following question asked of PTA presidents.

29. A. Do you have any of the following people on the staff of this school at the present time? (CODE IN COL. A.)

B. Did you in 1964? (CODE IN COL. B.)

	A. 1968		B. 1964	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Librarian . . . . .	1	2	3	4
Social worker . . . . .	3	4	5	6
Counselor . . . . .	5	6	7	8
Nurse . . . . .	7	8	1	2
Teacher-aides . . . . .	1	2	3	4
Lunchroom supervisors . . . . .	3	4	5	6
Playground supervisors . . . . .	5	6	7	8
Vocal or instrumental music teacher	7	8	1	2
Remedial reading teacher . . . . .	1	2	3	4

The addition of each facility was scored +1, its loss was scored -1, and no change was scored 0.

The distribution is given below.

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	2	4.1
No increase	19	38.8
Slight increase	15	30.6
Large increase	13	26.5
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 17: INCREASE IN RESIDENT PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

31. A. Do you--the parents, or members of the community--participate in the recruitment or selection of teachers?

Yes . . (ASK [1]). 1  
No . . . . . 2

[1] IF YES: In what way?

B. Did you participate in the recruitment or selection of teachers in 1964?

Yes . . (ASK [2]). 1  
No . . . . . 2

[2] IF YES: In what way?

32. A. Is there a school-community representative (coordinator/agent) in this school now (1968)? (CODE IN COL. A.)

B. Was there one in 1964? (CODE IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> <u>1968</u>	<u>Col. B</u> <u>1964</u>
Yes . . . 1 (ASK G-K)		3
No . . . . 2		4

37. A. Which of the following statements do you think best describes how parents feel about the willingness of the school to listen to the parents?

	<u>Col. A</u> <u>1968</u>	<u>Col. B</u> <u>1964</u>
(1) Parents' comments, suggestions and criticisms are . . .		
eagerly sought . . . . .	1	4
accepted when offered . . . .	2	5
or not welcomed . . . . .	3	6
(2) When parents' comments, suggestions and criticisms are offered, are they . . .		
carefully considered . . . .	1	4
accepted but given little consideration . . . . .	2	5
not considered . . . . .	3	6

B. Which statements would best describe the situation in 1964?  
[REPEAT (1) AND (2) AND CODE IN COL. B. ABOVE.]

41. Is there an organized PTA or other parent-teacher group in this school now?  
(CODE WITHOUT ASKING, IF OBVIOUS.)

Yes . . . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

42. Was there an organized PTA or other parent-teacher group in this school in 1964?

Yes . . . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

48. A. Are there any men in leadership positions in the PTA now?

Yes . (ASK [1] & [2]) . . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

IF YES:

[1] How many men are in leadership positions? NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

[2] What positions do they hold? (FIELD CODE.)

	Yes	No		Yes	No
President . . . . .	1	2	Recreation Committee . . . . .	5	6
Vice President . . . . .	3	4	Policy Committee . . . . .	7	8
Treasurer . . . . .	5	6	Human Relations Committee . . . . .	1	2
Secretary . . . . .	7	8	Community Relations . . . . .	3	4
Finance Committee. . . . .	1	2	Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .	5	6
Physical Facilities Committee . . . . .	3	4			

B. Were there any men in leadership positions in the PTA in 1964?

Yes . (ASK [1] & [2]) . . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

IF YES:

[1] How many men were in leadership positions in 1964? NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

[2] What positions did they hold? (FIELD CODE.)

	Yes	No		Yes	No
President . . . . .	1	2	Recreation Committee . . . . .	5	6
Vice President . . . . .	3	4	Policy Committee . . . . .	7	8
Treasurer . . . . .	5	6	Human Relations Committee . . . . .	1	2
Secretary . . . . .	7	8	Community Relations . . . . .	3	4
Finance Committee. . . . .	1	2	Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .	5	6
Physical Facilities Committee . . . . .	3	4			

50. A. How often does the PTA meet now? (READ CATEGORIES AND CODE IN COL. A.)  
 B. How often did the PTA meet in 1964? (READ CATEGORIES AND CODE IN COL. B.)

	A. 1968	B. 1964
Once a week . . . . .	1	6
Twice a month . . . . .	2	7
Once a month . . . . .	3	8
Once every two months . . . . .	4	1
Less often than every two months . .	5	2

55. A. How would you describe the relationship between the school principal and the PTA now? (RECORD IN COL. A.)  
 B. How would you describe the relationship in 1964? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	COL. A 1968	COL. B 1964
1) The principal would not make a major decision affecting the school without the approval of the PTA. . . . .	1	5
2) The principal might make a major decision affecting the school without the approval of the PTA, but this would not happen very often. . . . .	2	6
3) The principal would seek the approval of the PTA on some major decisions but only a few. . . . .	3	7
4) The principal would not consider the approval of the PTA a factor in the major decisions he or she has to make. . . . .	4	8

58. Would you say that parents are more active and involved now than they were in 1964, about the same or are they less active than in 1964?

More active (ASK A-D) . . . . .	5
Same . . . . .	6
Less active . . . . .	7

59. A. We've been talking about the way parents work with other people in the neighborhood to tackle common problems. To summarize, would you say that parents are more involved with other groups in the community now than they were in 1964, would you say there is little difference in the community involvement of parents now compared with 1964, or are parents less involved with other community organizations than they were in 1964?

More involved (ASK [1]) . . .	1
Same . . . . .	2
Less involved (ASK [1]) . . .	3

B. Would you say that the common issues that concern parents and other community organizations are more vital to the life of the community now than they were in 1964, are issues essentially the same, or are they less vital than they were in 1964?

More vital . (ASK [1]). . .	4
Same . . . . .	5
Less vital . (ASK [1]). . .	6

61. In your opinion, does the community participate in the decision-making which governs local school policy?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . .	1
No . . . . .	2

Initiation of abandonment of or no change in community participation in selection of teachers was scored +1, -1, and 0, respectively. The acquisition or loss of a school-community representative was scored +1 and -1, respectively. Perceived changes in the schools' willingness to listen to parents received scores ranging from -2 to +2. The formation or dissolution of a PTA between 1964 and 1968 was scored +1 and -1, respectively. Increasing and decreasing number of PTA leadership positions filled by men received scores ranging from +13 to -13. Increasing or decreasing frequency of PTA meetings was scored between +4 and -4, respectively. Changes in the principal's consultation with the PTA were scored from +3 to -3. Changing levels of activity of parents, involvement with other groups, and salience of issues uniting parents and other groups each received scores between +1 and -1. And the presence or absence of community participation in policy making was scored +1 or -1, respectively.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	18	36.7
No increase	20	40.8
Increase	11	22.4
No answer	<u>1</u>	
Total	50	99.9

VARIABLE 18: INCREASE IN PROMOTION OF PARTICIPATION BY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This variable consists of indices built from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

- 56. A. Are school facilities made available to the PTA for evening meetings now?  
(RECORD IN COL. A.)
- B. Were school facilities available to the PTA for evening meetings in 1964?  
(RECORD IN COL. B.)

	COL. A 1968	COL. B 1964
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

---

- 57. A. Does the school try to work with other groups in the community other than through the PTA? (RECORD IN COL. A.)
- B. In 1964, did the school work with other groups in the community other than through the PTA? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	COL. A 1968	COL. B 1964
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

---

- 60. A. Are school facilities made available to community groups other than parents' groups for evening meetings now? (RECORD IN COL. A.)
- B. Were school facilities made available to community groups other than parents' groups for evening meetings in 1964? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	Col. A 1968	Col. B 1964
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

---

- 62. In your opinion, has the school promoted positive human relationships and cooperative actions between it and the community?

Yes . . . . .	(ASK A)		R
No . . . . .			2

The variable was constructed as follows:

Gaining or losing the use of school facilities for evening meetings of the PTA was scored +1 or -1 respectively. Changes in whether or not the school worked through community groups other than the PTA were registered with scores between +1 and -1. Changes in the availability of school facilities to other community groups received scores ranging between +1 and -1. Increase in school's promotion of positive human relationships with the community was scored from +1 to -1.

The distribution is shown below.

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	10	20.4
No increase	32	65.3
Increase	7	14.3
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>        </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 19: CHANGE IN NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS

Extent to which schools have adopted innovations in methods, personnel, and curriculum.

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

24. Non-graded Instructional Program - At this time, does your school have a non-graded instructional program? By this I mean a continuous progress plan.

- Yes. (ASK [1], THEN A OR B).1
- No . . . . . (GO TO C) . . . .2

[1] IF YES: When was this plan put into operation?

YEAR: \_\_\_\_\_

ASK IF NON-GRADED INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM STARTED BEFORE 1964:

B. Is there more or less emphasis on non-graded instructional program now than in 1964, or is the emphasis about the same?

- More . (ASK [1]-[3]). 4
- Less . (ASK [1]-[3]). 5
- Same . . . . . 6

25. Team Teaching - Does the school use team teaching now?

- Yes.(ASK [1], THEN A OR B).1
- No . . . . (GO TO C) . . .2

[1] IF YES: When did it begin using team teaching?

YEAR: \_\_\_\_\_

ASK IF TEAM TEACHING STARTED BEFORE 1964:

B. Is there more or less emphasis on team teaching now than in 1964, or is the emphasis about the same?

- More . (ASK [1]-[3]). 4
- Less . (ASK [1]-[3]). 5
- Same . . . . . 6

26. Kindergarten - Does the school have a kindergarten now?

- Yes.(ASK [1], THEN A OR B).1
- No . . . . (GO TO C) . . .2

[1] IF YES: When did the kindergarten program begin?

YEAR: \_\_\_\_\_

ASK IF KINDERGARTEN STARTED BEFORE 1964:

B. Is there more or less emphasis on kindergarten now than in 1964, or is the emphasis about the same?

- More . (ASK [1]-[3]). 4
- Less . (ASK [1]-[3]). 5
- Same . . . . . 6

28. Textbooks - Do any of your new textbooks use pictures and stories which show children and families of different nationalities and races?

- Yes. (ASK [1], THEN A OR B). 1
- No . . . . (GO TO C) . . . 2

[1] IF YES: When were these textbooks first used?

YEAR: \_\_\_\_\_

ASK IF SUCH NEW TEXTBOOKS USED BEFORE 1964:

B. Is there more or less emphasis on the use of such new textbooks now than in 1964, or is the emphasis about the same?

- More . (ASK [1]-[3]). 4
- Less . (ASK [1]-[3]). 5
- Same . . . . . 6

On each of the innovations, the respondent was scored as follows:

- Score +3 if school has program and it started after 1964.
- Score +1.5 if school has program but respondent did not know when it started.
- Score +2 if program started before 1964 and there is more emphasis now than in 1964.
- Score +1 if program started before 1964 and there is less or the same emphasis as in 1964, except for kindergartens. In this case, if there is less emphasis now than in 1964, the respondent was given a score of 0.
- Score 0 if no program or no answer.

The individual agencies scores within each city were then averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of the city scores is as follows:

Low (average score of 4 or less)	= 22
High (average score over 4)	= <u>27</u>
N-NA	= 49
NA	= <u>1</u>
N	= 50

VARIABLE 20: CHANGE IN PARENT AND COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS

This variable was constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

I.

In your opinion, has the non-graded instructional program made a definite improvement in school program or has it not made much, if any, difference?

- Definitely yes (GO TO Q.25) . 1
- Definitely no (GO TO Q.25) . 2
- Not much, if any, difference  
(GO TO Q. 25) . . . . . 3

In your opinion, has team teaching made a definite improvement in school program or has it not made much, if any, difference?

- Definitely yes (GO TO Q.26) . 1
- Definitely no (GO TO Q.26) . 2
- Not much, if any, difference  
(GO TO Q. 26) . . . . . 3

In your opinion, has kindergarten made a definite improvement in school program or has it not made much, if any, difference?

- Definitely yes (GO TO Q.27) . 1
- Definitely no (GO TO Q.27) . 2
- Not much, if any, difference  
(GO TO Q. 27) . . . . . 3

In your opinion, has the use of such new textbooks made a definite improvement in school program or has it not made much, if any, difference?

- Definitely yes (GO TO Q.29) . 1
- Definitely no (GO TO Q.29) . 2
- Not much, if any, difference  
(GO TO Q. 29) . . . . . 3

Respondents were scored as follows:

- Score +2 for definitely yes.
- Score 0 for definitely no, no answer, or skip.
- Score 1 for not much, if any, difference.

- II. 32. A. Is there a school-community representative (coordinator/agent) in this school now (1968)? (CODE IN COL. A.)
- B. Was there one in 1964? (CODE IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> <u>1968</u>	<u>Col. B</u> <u>1964</u>
Yes . . .	1 (ASK C-K)	3
No . . .	.2	4

- J. What kind of a job do you think this person is doing in working with both the school and the community--very good, good, average, fair, or poor?

Very good . . . . .	1
Good . . . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3
Fair . . . . .	4
Poor . . . . .	5

Respondents were scored as follows:

- Score +1 if there was a school community representative both in 1968 and in 1964.
- Score -1 if No in 1968 and Yes in 1964.
- Score 0 if No in 1968 and No or Don't know in 1964.
- Score +3 if Yes in 1968 and No or Don't know in 1964 and person is doing a very good job.
- Score +2 if person is doing a good job.
- Score +1 if person is doing average, fair, or poor job.

III. 33. A. Do you think the teachers understand the children in this school?

Yes . . . . .	1
No . . . . .	2
Don't know . . . .	3

B. In 1964, do you think the teachers understood the children in this school?

Yes . . . . .	4
No . . . . .	5
Don't know . . . .	6

Scores: , +2 Yes in 1968 and No in 1964.  
 +1 Yes in 1968 and Yes or Don't know in 1964 or Don't know in 1968 and No in 1964.  
 -1 No in 1968 and No or Don't know in 1964 or Don't know in 1968 and Yes in 1964.  
 -2 No in 1968 and Yes in 1964.  
 0 Don't know in 1968 and in 1964, or no answer in 1968 or 1964.

IV: 38. A. During the last 3 or 4 years, how has the feeling of the community about the schools changed? Do most people think . . .

- . . . the school is doing a better job teaching the children of this community, or
- . . . the school is doing about the same kind of job--no better and no worse--than it did before, or
- . . . the school is not doing as good a job of teaching the children as it did.

Better . . . . .	1
Same . . . . .	2
Not as good . . . .	3

Scores: +5 better  
 -5 not as good  
 0 same, or no answer

V. 39. A. Do you feel that the counselors at the local high school give the children in the community the direction and information for college entrance now (1968), that is . . . (RECORD IN COL. A.)

	Col. A <u>1968</u>	Col. B <u>1964</u>
Totally adequate . . . . .	1	5
Inadequate but helpful to many students . .	2	6
Inadequate but helpful to only a few students	3	7
Totally inadequate . . . . .	4	8

B. How about 1964? How do you feel about the direction and information for college entrance given by counselors at the local high school to children in the community in 1964? Would you say it was . . .  
(REPEAT CODES ABOVE AND RECORD IN COL. B.)

- 
- Scores: +4 Totally adequate in 1968 and totally inadequate in 1964.  
 +3 Totally adequate in 1968 and inadequate but helpful to few in 1964.  
 +2 Totally adequate in 1968 and inadequate but helpful to many in 1964, or totally adequate in 1964.  
 +3 Inadequate but helpful to many in 1968 and totally inadequate in 1964.  
 +2 Inadequate but helpful to many in 1968 and inadequate but helpful to few in 1964.  
 +1 Inadequate but helpful to many in 1968 and same in 1964.  
 -1 Inadequate but helpful to many and totally adequate in 1964.  
 +1 Inadequate but helpful to few in 1968 and totally inadequate in 1964.  
 0 Inadequate but helpful to few in 1968 and same in 1964.  
 -2 Inadequate but helpful to few in 1968 and helpful to many in 1964.  
 -3 Totally inadequate in 1968 and totally adequate in 1964.  
 -2 Totally inadequate in 1968 and totally inadequate in 1964, or inadequate but helpful to few or many.  
 0 No answer in 1968 or 1964.

The individual agency scores within each city were then averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of the city scores is as follows:

Low (average score of 6 or less)	= 24
High (average score of over 6)	= <u>25</u>
N-NA	= 49
NA	= <u>1</u>
N	= 50

VARIABLE 21: CHANGE IN THE PROPORTION OF PARENTS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE PTA

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of PTA presidents.

49. A. About what percentage of the school parents are now members of the PTA?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

B. And about what percentage of the parents were members in 1964?

\_\_\_\_\_ %

The score is simply the difference between the proportion of parents who were members of the PTA in 1968 and in 1964. The scores within each city were averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of the city scores is as follows:

Decrease	=	20
No change	=	9
Increase	=	<u>17</u>
N-NA	=	<u>46</u>
NA	=	<u>4</u>
N	=	<u>50</u>

VARIABLE 22: CHANGE IN THE PROPORTION OF PARENTS WHO ATTEND PTA MEETINGS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

		<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
51. A.	How many parents usually attend these meetings now?	_____	_____

B.	How many parents attended PTA meetings in 1964?	_____	_____
----	-------------------------------------------------	-------	-------

4. A. How many students are there--approximately--in this school now?  
RECORD IN COL. A.

B. How many students were there in this school in 1964?  
RECORD IN COL. B.

	<u>Col. A</u>	<u>Col. B</u>
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>
	_____	_____

The score is simply the difference between the number of parents who attended PTA meetings in 1968 and in 1964 expressed as a proportion of the number of students in 1968 and 1964. The scores within each city were averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of city scores is as follows:

Increase of 1 per cent or less = 22  
 Increase of over 1 per cent = 22  
 N-NA = 44  
 NA = 6  
 N = 50

VARIABLE 23: CHANGE IN PTA INTERACTION WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

54. A. Does the PTA work with other organizations in the community now?

Yes . . . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

Which community organizations does the PTA work with now?

B. In 1964, did the PTA work with any other organizations in the community?

Yes . . . . . 1  
 No . . . . . 2

Which community organizations did the PTA work with in 1964?

---

Scores: +1 If PTA works with organizations now.  
 -1 If PTA does not work with organizations now and did in 1964.  
 0 If PTA does not work with organizations now or in 1964, or if no answer now and in 1964.  
 +1 Each time CAA/NC or any OEO group is mentioned to these scores add the difference between the number of organizations PTA worked with in 1964 and the number now.

The scores within each city were averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution is:

One or less	=	25
More than one	=	$\frac{23}{49}$
N-NA	=	$\frac{49}{49}$
NA	=	$\frac{1}{50}$
N	=	50

VARIABLE 24: CHANGE IN THE SCHOOLS' RESPONSIVENESS TO PARENT AND COMMUNITY PRESSURE

This variable is based on the following questions asked of PTA presidents.

63. A. Do you feel that there is an adequate response to community or parent grievances and concerns?

Yes . . . . .	1
No . . . . .	2

B. Has this changed since 1964?

Yes (ASK [1]-[4]) . . . . .	3
No . . . . .	4

Scores: +2 Yes and changed since 1964.  
 +1 Yes and no change or no answer in 1964.  
 -1 No and no change.  
 -2 No and change.

65. A. How would you describe the relationship between parents' groups in this neighborhood and the Board of Education? (READ CATEGORIES AND RECORD IN COL. A.)

B. How would you describe the relationship in 1964? (READ CATEGORIES AND RECORD IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> <u>1968</u>	<u>Col. B</u> <u>1964</u>
The Board of Education encourages the expression of opinions from parents' groups in this neighborhood . . . . .	1	5
The Board of Education listens but does not encourage the expression of opinions from parents' groups in this neighborhood . . . . .	2	6
The Board of Education reluctantly listens to opinions expressed by parents' groups in this neighborhood . . . . .	3	7
The Board of Education does not listen to opinions from parents' groups in this neighborhood . . . . .	4	8

- 
- Scores:
- +4 If Board encourages expression in 1968 and did not listen in 1964.
  - +3 If Board encourages expression in 1968 and listened reluctantly in 1964.
  - +2 If Board encourages expression in 1968 and listened but did not encourage in 1964.
  - +1 If Board encourages expression in 1968 and did same in 1964, or no answer.
  - +2 If Board listens but does not encourage in 1968 and did not listen in 1964.
  - +1 If Board listens but does not encourage in 1968 and listened reluctantly in 1964.
  - 0 If Board listens but does not encourage in 1968 and same in 1964.
  - +0.5 If Board listens but does not encourage in 1968 and no answer in 1964.
  - 1 If Board listens but does not encourage in 1968 and encouraged expression in 1964.
  - +1 If Board listens reluctantly in 1968 and did not listen in 1964.
  - 0 If Board listens reluctantly in 1968 and same in 1964, or no answer.
  - 1 If Board listens reluctantly in 1968 and listened but did not encourage in 1964.
  - 2 If Board listens reluctantly in 1968 and encouraged expression in 1964.
  - 1 If Board does not listen in 1968 and did not listen in 1964 or no answer.
  - 2 If Board does not listen in 1968 and listened reluctantly in 1964.
  - 3 If Board does not listen in 1968 and listened but did not encourage in 1964.
  - 4 If Board does not listen in 1968 and encouraged expression in 1964.
  - 0 If no answer in 1968 and no answer in 1964.

66. A. How would you describe the relationship between parent groups in this neighborhood and school administrators other than the local school principal now? (READ CATEGORIES AND RECORD IN COL. A.)

B. How would you describe this relationship in 1964? (RECORD IN COL. B.)

	<u>Col. A</u> <u>1968</u>	<u>Col. B</u> <u>1964</u>
a) There is no contact between neighborhood groups and higher school officials . . . .	1	5
b) There is some contact between neighborhood groups and higher school officials but not much . . . . .	2	6
c) There is a moderate amount of contact . . . .	3	7
d) There are regular meetings of higher school officials and representatives of neighborhood groups . . . . .	4	8

- Scores
- +4 If regular meetings in 1968 and no contact in 1964.
  - +3 If regular meetings in 1968 and some contact in 1964.
  - +2 If regular meetings in 1968 and moderate contact in 1964.
  - +1 If regular meetings in 1968 and in 1964, or no answer.
  - +2 If moderate contact in 1968 and no contact in 1964.
  - +1 If moderate contact in 1968 and some contact in 1964.
  - 0 If moderate contact in 1968 and in 1964.
  - 0.5 If moderate contact in 1968 and no answer in 1964.
  - 1 If moderate contact in 1968 and regular meetings in 1964.
  - +1 If some contact in 1968 and no contact in 1964.
  - 0 If some contact in 1968 and in 1964, or no answer in 1964.
  - 1 If some contact in 1968 and moderate contact in 1964.
  - 2 If some contact in 1968 and regular meetings in 1964.
  - 0 If no contact in 1968 and in 1964, or no answer in 1964.
  - 1 If no contact in 1968 and some contact in 1964.
  - 2 If no contact in 1968 and moderate contact in 1964.
  - 3 If no contact in 1968 and regular meetings in 1964.
  - 0 If no answer in 1968 and no answer in 1964.

The scores within each city were averaged to obtain a city score.  
The distribution is:

Negative = 3  
 No change = 2  
 Less 2 = 22  
 2 or more = 22  
 N-NA = 49  
 NA = 1  
 N = 50

VARIABLE 25: SCHOOL COOPERATION WITH EXTRA-EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

This variable is based on the following question asked of PTA presidents.

- C. How would you describe the cooperation of the school with each of these programs? First (program) would you say there was no cooperation, some, or considerable cooperation. REPEAT FOR EACH PROGRAM WHICH IS YES IN A.

<u>Program</u>	No Cooperation	Some Cooperation	Considerable Cooperation
Head Start	4	5	6
Neighborhood Youth Corps	1	2	3
Tutoring program	4	5	6
Pre-school classes	1	2	3
Adult education classes	4	5	6
After school remedial programs	1	2	3
Summer school	4	5	6
After school study center	1	2	3
Evening and Saturday recreation Program	4	5	6
Health and dental services	1	2	3

Scores: +2 Considerable cooperation  
 +1 Some cooperation  
 0 No cooperation, no answer, or skip

The scores within each city were averaged to obtain a city total.  
 The distribution is:

Low (less than 9) = 27  
 High (more than 9) = 22  
 N-NA = 49  
 NA = 1  
 N = 50

EMPLOYMENT VARIABLES

VARIABLE 26: INCREASE IN EFFORTS TO HIRE MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

36. Some companies have been going out of their way lately to hire Negroes whenever possible. Is this mainly true, partially true, or not true at all of your company?

Mainly true . . . (ASK A-C) . . . 1  
 Partially true. . (ASK A-C) . . . 2  
 Not true at all . (GO TO Q. 37) 3

38. When your company advertises job openings in newspapers is the phrase, "Equal Opportunity Employer," included in every ad, in only some ads, or not in any ads?

All . . . . . 6  
 Some . . . . . 7  
 None . . . . . 8

39. In 1964, did all, some, or none of your newspaper job ads include the phrase, "Equal Opportunity Employer?"

All . . . . . 1  
 Some . . . . . 2  
 None . . . . . 3

The variable is constructed by giving a "2" for "mostly true," a "1" for "partially true," and a "0" for "not true at all," in Question 36. In Questions 38 and 39, if show "all" in 1968 and "none" in 1964, there is a "2" given, and a "-2" is given for the reverse, a "1" is given for "all" in 1968 and "some" in 1964 or for "some" in 1968 and "none" in 1964, and "-1" for the reverse. These are summed and averaged. The category of "moderate increase" includes scores of "2" or higher. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None or slight	22	52.4
Moderate increase	20	47.6
No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 27: INCREASE IN HIRING OF HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

This variable is derived from the following question asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

17. Has your own company taken any special steps since 1964 to recruit the type of person you would describe as "hard-core unemployed?"

Yes . . .(ASK A-D). . . . 1

No. . .(ASK E-F). . . . 2

IF YES:

A. What steps has your company taken?

---

A score of "1" is added for a "yes" answer to the main question, and a score of "1" is added for each concrete measure mentioned under Part A. The high category includes scores of 3 and 4. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Low	9	19.6
High	37	80.4
No answer	<u>4</u>	
Total	50	<u>100.0</u>

VARIABLE 28: INCREASE IN HIRING OF TRAINING-PROGRAM GRADUATES

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

22. Has your company received any applications from graduates of government sponsored training programs--not on-the-job trainees, but graduates of vocational programs outside the company at any time since 1964?

Yes . . .(ASK A). . . 3

No. (SKIP TO Q. 24) 4

---

23. Has your company hired any graduates of government sponsored training programs since 1964--again referring only to vocational programs outside companies and to on-the-job training programs?

Yes . . .(ASK A). . . 1

No. (GO TO Q. 24) 2

A score of -2 was assigned for either No Applicants or No Hires; otherwise, an increase in either was given +1, a decrease in either a -1, and no change in either received a "0."

The category "decrease," below, means a net score of -2; "smaller decrease" means a net of -1; and "increase" means a net of +1.

The distribution is shown below.

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	16	41.0
Smaller decrease	21	53.8
Increase	2	5.1
No answer	<u>11</u>	<u>      </u>
Total	50	99.9

VARIABLE 29: HIGH EMPLOYER-GAA REFERRAL COOPERATION

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

52. Has a staff member of the (name of neighborhood center) called you in the past year to inquire about openings in your plant?

- Yes . (ASK A) . . . . . 5
- No . (GO TO Q. 53) . . . 6

A. IF YES: About how frequently would you say someone from the poverty program has called you about openings in the past year? Would you say once a month or more, once every two or three months, once every six months or so, or what would you say?

- More than once a month . . . . . 1
- Once a month or more . . . . . 2
- Once every two or three months . . 3
- Once every six months or so . . . 4
- Less than once every six months . 5

53. Has your office called the local poverty program staff in the past year to inform them of openings in your plant?

- Yes . (ASK A & B) . . . . . 1
- No . . (GO TO Q. 54) . . . . . 2

IF YES:

A. About how frequently would you say your office has called the local poverty program staff in the past year to inform them of openings in your plant? Would you say once a month or more, once every two or three months, once every six months or so, or what would you say?

- Once a month or more . . . . . 1
- Once every two or three months . 2
- Once every six months or so . . . 3
- Less than once every six months . 4

B. How often has the poverty program staff been able to refer people to these openings--every time, almost every time, occasionally, or not at all?

- Every time . . . . . 5
- Almost every time . . . . . 6
- Occasionally . . . . . 7
- Not at all . . . . . 8

---

One point was given if a staff member of the CAA had called, one point for calling once a month or more, one point if the employer called the CAA, one point if the employer called once a month, and one point if the CAA was able to refer people "almost every time." These scores were then averaged for the respondents within city. The resulting distribution follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0	8	17.3
.3-1.0	17	36.9
1.3-4.0	21	45.6
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>      </u>
Total	50	99.8

VARIABLE 30: THREE OR MORE NEW COMMUNITY SERVICES OFFERED PER EMPLOYER

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

55. Some companies have special programs designed to increase their involvement with the local community.

A. Would you tell me if your own plant has done any of the following things since 1964? Has your own plant . . . (READ STATEMENTS BELOW, AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COL. A.) (IF ANSWER IS "YES" IN COL. A, THEN ASK B, AND RECORD THE YEAR IN COL. B.)

	Col. A		Col. B
	Yes	No	Year
Set up or administered a scholarship fund available to both children of employees and of nonemployees? . . . . .	R	2	
Donated equipment or space to any nonemployee recreation program? . . . . .	R	2	
Donated equipment or space to any nonemployee community project other than recreation? . . . . .	R	2	
Conducted plant tours for elementary or high school groups? . . . . .	R	2	
Donated funds other than employee contributions to local charities? . . . . .	R	2	
Purchased tickets to some event on behalf of low-income children or adults? . . . . .	R	2	
Set up any other type of community program? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	R	2	

B. In what year did your company do this?

A point was given for each service begun since 1964. The scores for each city were then averaged. The distribution follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1.0	8	17.4
1.0-1.7	12	26.1
2.0-2.7	11	23.9
3.0-3.7	11	23.9
4.0-4.3	3	6.5
5 or more	1	2.2
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 31: INCREASE IN EMPLOYERS ADVERTISING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

38. When your company advertises job openings in newspapers is the phrase, "Equal Opportunity Employer," included in every ad, in only some ads, or not in any ads?

All. . . . .	6
Some . . . . .	7
None . . . . .	8

39. In 1964, did all, some, or none of your newspaper job ads include the phrase, "Equal Opportunity Employer?"

All. . . . .	1
Some . . . . .	2
None . . . . .	3

One point is given if the employer advertised before and after 1964. Two points were given if the employer began advertising since 1964. These scores were averaged for the city. The distribution follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0	3	6.8
.5-.7	12	27.3
1.0	13	29.5
1.3	8	18.2
1.5-2.0	8	18.2
No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 32: INCREASE IN PER CENT OF UNSKILLED WORKERS WHO ARE BLACK

This variable is derived from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

5. At the present time, about how many of your employees are semi-skilled or unskilled workers? (RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)
  - A. How many of your semi-skilled and unskilled workers are Negro? (RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)
  - B. How many of your semi- and unskilled workers are (minority group in memo)? (RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)
  - C. About how many of your semi-skilled and unskilled workers are residents of (neighborhood)? (RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)

	Q.3 - <u>Col. A</u> Professional or White-collar	Q. 4 - <u>Col. B</u> Skilled	Q. 5 - <u>Col. C</u> Semi- and Unskilled
TOTAL . . . . .	_____	_____	_____
Negro . . . . .	_____	_____	_____
Other minority.	_____	_____	_____
Neighborhood residents . .	_____	_____	_____

11. In 1964, how many of your employees were semi-skilled or unskilled workers?  
(RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)

A. In 1964, how many of your semi-skilled and unskilled workers were Negro?  
(RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)

B. And, how many of your semi-skilled and unskilled workers were (minority group in memo)?  
(RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)

C. Again, in 1964, about how many of your semi-skilled and unskilled workers were residents of (neighborhood)?  
(RECORD IN COL. C BELOW.)

	Q. 9 - Col. A Professional or White-collar	Q. 10 - Col. B Skilled	Q. 11 - Col. C Semi- and Unskilled
TOTAL . . . . .	_____	_____	_____
Negro . . . . .	_____	_____	_____
Other minority	_____	_____	_____
Neighborhood residents . .	_____	_____	_____

The per cent of employees among the semi-skilled and unskilled who were black in 1964 and 1968 was computed. Then the 1964 per cent was subtracted from the 1968 per cent. These per cents were then averaged for the city. The distribution for employers is from -61 per cent to 26 per cent. For cities the distribution follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
-1 to -61 per cent	8	20.5
0 per cent	8	20.5
1 to 3 per cent	13	33.3
4 to 26 per cent	10	25.6
No answer	<u>11</u>	_____
Total	50	99.9

VARIABLE 33: MOST EMPLOYERS RUN JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

24. Has your company had a special summer employment program for low-income youth at any time since 1964? Yes . . . (ASK A-F). . . . 1  
 No. . . . (GO TO Q. 25). . . 2

IF YES:

A. What was this program? (LIST PROGRAMS IN COLUMN A AND ASK B-F FOR EACH PROGRAM.)

COLUMN A Program	COLUMN B During what year did you participate in this program?	COLUMN C How many participants were in this program?	COLUMN D How many participants of this program received full or part time jobs in your company?	COLUMN E Of those who did not receive jobs, how many went back to school?	COLUMN F Was this program operated through(CAA)?	
					Yes	No
					1	2
					1	2
					1	2

25. As far as you know did your company have a special summer employment program for low-income youth prior to 1964? Yes . . . (ASK A-E). . . . 1  
No. . . . (GO TO Q. 26). . . 2

IF YES:

A. What was this program? (LIST PROGRAMS IN COLUMN A AND ASK B-E FOR EACH PROGRAM.)

COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E
Program	During what year did you participate in this program?	How many participants were in this program?	How many participants of this program received full or part-time jobs in your company?	Of those who did not receive jobs, how many went back to school?

21. Has your company ever been in touch with any representative of a Federal or State program about participation in a government--sponsored on-the-job training project? This could be anyone from the poverty program, Vocational Education, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, Employment Security, Manpower Development and Training and so forth.... Have any of these people ever approached your firm about sponsoring an on-the-job training program?

Yes. . . (ASK A). . . . . 5  
No . . . (GO TO Q. 22). . . 6

A. IF YES: Has your own company ever participated in a government--sponsored on-the-job training program?

Yes . . (ASK [1]-[5]) . . . . 7  
 No . . . (GO TO Q. 22) . . . . 8

IF YES TO A:

[1] What government on-the-job training program(s) did your company participate in? (LIST EACH PROGRAM IN COLUMN 1 AND ASK [2]-[5] FOR EACH PROGRAM)

COLUMN [1]	COLUMN [2]	COLUMN [3]	COLUMN [4]	COLUMN [5]	
Name	During what year did your company participate in the program	How many participants enrolled in this program?	How many participants graduated from this program, that is how many received regular jobs?	Was this program operated through (CAA)?	
				Yes	No
				1	2
				1	2
				1	2

One point was given if summer employment program had been instituted since 1964. One point was given in an employer participated in on-the-job training prior to the interview. One point was given if the respondent participated in on-the-job training at the time of the interview. These were then averaged for the city.

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0	7	14.3
.1	1	.1
.2	5	.2
.3	7	.3
.4	6	.2
.5	11	.4
.7	12	24.5
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>        </u>
	50	100.0

NEIGHBORHOOD POLITICAL ORGANIZATION VARIABLES

VARIABLE 34: INCREASE IN LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION AND DEMANDS BY RESIDENTS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of community political leaders.

5. A. Which of these types of groups are residents of this neighborhood involved in? Are they involved in . . . [READ (1) THROUGH (5), CODE IN COL. A, THEN ASK B & C FOR EACH YES.]

	Col. A		Col. B			Col. C		
	Yes	No	N.C. staff meets with group:			N.C.A.B. meets with group:		
			Regu- larly	When need arises	Not at all	Regu- larly	When need arises	Not at all
(1) welfare rights organizations? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(2) civil rights groups? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(3) nationality organizations? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(4) tenants' unions? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(5) PTA? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

23. Do representatives of this organization testify before the city council, city boards or commissions, or the state legislature? (CODE FOR EACH.)	ORGANIZATION #1		ORGANIZATION #2	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
City council . . . . .	1	2	1	2
City boards or commissions . .	3	4	3	4
State legislature . . . . .	5	6	5	6

33. In 1964, did representatives of this organization testify before the city council, city boards or commissions, or the state legislature? (CODE FOR EACH.)	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
	City council . . . . .	1	2	1
City boards or commissions . .	3	4	3	4
State legislature . . . . .	5	6	5	6

35. Has the Neighborhood Center helped to create any new community organizations (other than the Neighborhood Center Advisory Board)?

Yes . . . . . 4  
 No . (GO TO Q. 36) . . 5

48. Would you say that in general the organizations in this neighborhood now are more vocal than they were in 1964, about the same, or less vocal?

More vocal . . . . . 1  
 About the same . . . . . 2  
 Less vocal . . . . . 3

52. Have groups of people from this neighborhood ever made presentations before . . .  
 (READ CATEGORIES. FOR EACH YES, ASK  
 [1]-[3], BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT  
 CATEGORY.)

	Yes	No
	(ASK [1], [2]&[3])	(GO TO NEXT ITEM
A. City council committees	1	2
B. Urban renewal board	3	4
C. Board of Education	1	2
D. CAA city-wide board	3	4
E. Neighborhood Center Advisory Board	1	2

Each of a variety of indicators of the neighborhood's socio-political involvement was given a score of +1 if present and -1 if absent. Limitation or abandonment of different types of lobbying by major neighborhood membership organizations was scored +1 or -1, respectively. Whether or not the neighborhood center has helped to create new community organizations was represented by +1 or -1, respectively. Change in level of "vocalness" of neighborhood organization ranged between +1 and -1. The extent to which unspecified groups in the neighborhood undertake five types of lobbying was scored from 0 to +5.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease or none	13	28.3
Slight increase	27	58.7
Large increase	6	13.0
No answer	4	
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 35: INCREASE IN PARTICIPATION OF RESIDENTS IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

This variable is derived from the following questions asked of community political leaders.

41. A. Approximately what per cent of those eligible in this neighborhood were registered to vote in the election this past fall? (CODE IN COL. A BELOW.)
- B. What per cent were registered in 1964? (CODE IN COL. B BELOW.)

<u>Per Cent Registered</u>	<u>Col. A 1968</u>	<u>Col. B 1964</u>
90-100% . . . . .	1	1
75-89% . . . . .	2	2
65-74% . . . . .	3	3
55-64% . . . . .	4	4
45-54% . . . . .	5	5
30-44% . . . . .	6	6
10-29% . . . . .	7	7
Under 10% . . . . .	8	8

42. Have there been any voter-registration drives in this neighborhood?

Yes . . . . . 1  
 No . (SKIP TO Q. 43) . 2

43. A. In the election this past fall, approximately what per cent of registered voters actually turned out to vote in the precincts of this neighborhood? (CODE IN COL. A BELOW.)

- C. What per cent turned out in 1964? (CODE IN COL. C BELOW.)

<u>Per Cent Turn-out</u>	<u>A. 1968</u>	<u>C. 1964</u>
90-100% . . . . .	1	1
75-89% . . . . .	2	2
65-74% . . . . .	3	3
55-64% . . . . .	4	4
45-54% . . . . .	5	5
30-44% . . . . .	6	6
10-29% . . . . .	7	7
Under 10% . . . . .	8	8

Changes in level of registration to vote were scored between +7 and -7. The presence of a voter registration drive in the neighborhood was scored +1. And changing levels of voter turnout took scores ranging from +7 to -7.

The distribution is given below:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Decrease	13	28.3
No increase	22	47.8
Increase	11	23.9
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 36: VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE AND INCREASE IN REGISTRATION

This variable is based on the following questions asked of community political leaders.

41. A. Approximately what per cent of those eligible in this neighborhood were registered to vote in the election this past fall? (CODE IN COL. A BELOW.)
- B. What per cent were registered in 1964? (CODE IN COL. B BELOW.)

<u>Per Cent Registered</u>	<u>Col. A 1968</u>	<u>Col. B 1964</u>
90-100% . . . . .	1	1
75-89% . . . . .	2	2
65-74% . . . . .	3	3
55-64% . . . . .	4	4
45-54% . . . . .	5	5
30-44% . . . . .	6	6
10-29% . . . . .	7	7
Under 10% . . . . .	8	8

42. Have there been any voter-registration drives in this neighborhood?

Yes . (ASK A-C) . . . 1  
No . (SKIP TO Q. 43) . 2

IF YES:

A. When was the latest drive conducted?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Month) (Year)

B. By whom? (RECORD NAME[S] OF ORGANIZATION[S] AND/OR INDIVIDUAL[S] AND IDENTIFY INDIVIDUAL[S] BY POSITION IN COMMUNITY.)

C. About how many new voters were registered as a result of this drive?

NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

---

One point was given if a voter registration drive was conducted. One point was given if there was an increase in voter registration of 10 per cent or greater. The scores were then averaged for the city.

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-.33	8	17.4
.50	12	26.1
.67-.83	10	21.7
1.00	16	34.8
No answer	<u>4</u>	_____
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE 37: INCREASE OF 10 TO 18 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

This variable is based on the following questions asked of community political leaders.

6. Thinking of the 3 or 4 organizations in the neighborhood which have the largest membership, in which two are the members most active?  
 (RECORD BELOW AND ASK Q'S. 7-33 FOR EACH. ASK ENTIRE SERIES FOR ORGANIZATION #1 BEFORE ASKING ABOUT #2.)

	ORGANIZATION #1	ORGANIZATION #2
7. Is this a neighborhood organization, a city-wide organization, or the local chapter of a still larger organization?	Neighborhood . . . 1 City-wide . . . . 2 Local chapter . . 3	1 2 3
8. How many members belong to (organization)?	NUMBER: _____	NUMBER: _____

IF ORGANIZATION WAS FORMED BEFORE 1964,  
ASK Q'S. 25-33.

IF FORMED SINCE 1964, SKIP TO Q. 34.

25. How many active members did (organization) have in 1964?

No.: _____	No.: _____
------------	------------



29. In 1964, did leaders of (organization) go to see city officials about issues in this neighborhood . . .

. . . Often? . . . . .(ASK A) . . . . .	1	1
. . . Sometimes? . . . . .(ASK A) . . . . .	2	2
. . . Seldom? . . . . .(ASK A) . . . . .	3	3
or do they		
. . . Never go? . . . (GO TO Q. 30) . . .	4	4

A. IF OFTEN, SOMETIMES, OR SELDOM:  
Do you think that action was often taken as a result of their visits, sometimes taken, seldom taken, or never taken as a result of their visits?

Often . . . . .	5	5
Sometimes . . . . .	6	6
Seldom . . . . .	7	7
Never . . . . .	8	8

23. Do representatives of this organization testify before the city council, city boards or commissions, or the state legislature? (CODE FOR EACH.)

City council . . . . .  
City boards or commissions . . .  
State legislature . . . . .

ORGANIZATION #1		ORGANIZATION #2	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1	2	1	2
3	4	3	4
5	6	5	6

33. In 1964, did representatives of this organization testify before the city council, city boards or commissions, or the state legislature? (CODE FOR EACH.)

City council . . . . .  
City boards or commissions . . .  
State legislature . . . . .

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1	2	1	2
3	4	3	4
5	6	5	6

One point was given in organization representatives see city officials more often in 1968 than in 1964. One point was given if organization representatives get results from city officials more often in 1968 than 1964. One point was given if representatives testify before the city council in 1968 and didn't in 1964. One point was given if representatives testify before boards and commissions in 1968 and did not in 1964. One point was given if representatives testify before the state legislature in 1968 and did not in 1964. In each of these cases, a -1 point was added if the reverse held true. Thus, there was a possible ten points per respondent. Points given were divided by possible points, i.e., the number of possible answers given the number of respondents and the number of organizations named. These were then multiplied by 100 and a constant of 30 was added in order to eliminate negative numbers. These were then averaged for cities. The distribution follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
3-53	13	28.9
55-79	12	26.7
80-89	10	22.2
101-130	10	22.2
No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: GENERAL INDEX OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The construction of this variable is quite simple. All of the dependent variables described above, with the exception of numbers 7 through 12, are included. In addition, two variables describing social service agency change that are not incorporated in the variables above--change in the uses of physical facilities and changes in participation of the poor--are included here. Each of these 34 variables is dichotomized at the median, and one point is credited if the score is above the median and nothing if it is below the median. These scores are then divided by the possible scores, i.e., 34 minus the number of no answers. Thus, the scores appear as percentages. Characteristics of this variable are described below:

Mean = 47 per cent  
Median = 47 per cent  
Maximum value = 75 per cent  
Minimum value = 4 per cent  
Standard deviation = 11.5 per cent

For purposes of the analysis presented above, the variable is divided into approximate quartiles. The distribution is indicated below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
4-39 per cent	13	26.0
40-46 per cent	11	22.0
47-57 per cent	13	26.0
58-75 per cent	<u>13</u>	<u>26.0</u>
Total	50	100.0

Part 2

Pressure and Impact Variables

PTA VARIABLE: CAP PRESSURE

This variable is based on the PTA questionnaire. On the decisions to adopt each of the following innovations--non-graded instruction, team teaching, kindergarten, and new textbooks--the PTA presidents were asked:

Did (neighborhood center) or members of its staff influence this decision either directly or indirectly?

If the race of teachers was an issue in their school-community, PTA presidents were asked:

F. Was the (Neighborhood Center) or members of its staff involved in this issue either directly or indirectly?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

G. Was the (CAA) or members of its staff involved in this issue either directly or indirectly?

Yes . (ASK [2]) . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

On college counselling, PTA presidents were asked:

(3) Has (CAA) or members of its staff been involved directly or indirectly in efforts to improve college counseling in your high school?

Yes . (ASK a) . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

(2) Has (the neighborhood center) been involved directly or indirectly in efforts to improve college counseling for children in your local high school?

Yes . (ASK a) . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

If the PTA president feels there has been a change in school response to community or parent grievances and concerns, she was asked:

[3] Do you think the (neighborhood center) or members of its staff were in any way connected with this change?

Yes . . (ASK a) . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

[4] Do you think (CAA) or members of its staff were either directly or indirectly involved in this change?

Yes . . (ASK a) . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

If the PTA presidents reported that parents are more active and involved now than they were in 1964, they were asked:

C. Would you say that the (neighborhood center) or members of its staff were in any way involved in the increased activity and involvement of parents?

Yes . . (ASK [1]) . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

D. Would you say that the (CAA) or members of its staff were in any way involved in changes in parents' activity and involvement?

Yes . . (ASK [2]) . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

If parents are more involved now than in 1964, the PTA presidents were asked:

Did the (neighborhood center) or members of its staff have any influence on the changes that have taken place?

Yes .....1  
No .....2

Did the (CAA) or members of its staff play any part in the changes that have taken place?

Yes .....1  
No .....2

Respondents were given one point for an affirmative answer on each of the preceding questions. The aggregate score was divided by the total number of possible points. The score within each city was then averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of the city scores is as follows:

None	= 14
Low (1-11 per cent)	= 8
Medium (12-29 per cent)	= 14
High (30 per cent or more)	= <u>12</u>
N-NA	= 48
NA	= <u>2</u>
N	= 50

PTA VARIABLE: CITIZEN PRESSURE

This variable is based on the PTA questionnaire. On each of the following innovations--non-graded instruction, team teaching, kindergarten, and new textbooks--the PTA presidents were asked:

A. (1) Who took the initiative in introducing (innovation) in the school? (READ CATEGORIES.)

Board of Education . . . . .	1
Superintendent . . . . .	2
Principal . . . . .	3
PTA . . . . .	4
(Other) Parents' group . . . . .	5
Neighborhood groups (SPECIFY)	6
Teachers . . . . .	7
Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .	8

PTA, other parents' groups, and neighborhood groups were each given one point. In addition, the variable is based on responses to the following questions:

12. A. Have there been any attempts by parents or community groups to remove a principal, or to secure a particular principal for this school, since 1964?

Yes . . . (ASK A-D) . . .	1
No . . . . .	2

If there was a change in the student-teacher ratio, respondents were asked:

IF LOWER RATIO NOW THAN IN 1964:

19. B. Were any community groups involved in pressing for this change?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . 4  
No . . . . . 5  
Don't know . . . . 6

If there was an improvement in physical facilities at the school, respondents were asked:

20C. Were any community groups involved in pressing for this improvement in your physical facilities?

Yes . . (ASK [1]) . 1  
No . . . . . 2

35. Has the race of the teachers ever been an issue in this school community?

Yes .....1  
No .....2

On each of the preceding questions, respondents were given one point for an affirmative answer. The aggregate score was divided by the total number of possible points. The score within each city was averaged to obtain a city score. The distribution of the city score is as follows:

No influence = 15  
Some influence = 32  
N-NA = 47  
NA = 3  
        
N = 50

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CAP IMPACT INDEX  
(Variable A)

This index is constructed from responses to a series of questions asked of social service agency directors in connection with the change variables described in Part 1 of Appendix A.

The questions and the scores are as follows:

IF INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CLIENTS:

- \*6. A. You have indicated that there has been an increase in the number of people who have used your services since 1964. Would you please look at this list and choose three reasons you think are most important in explaining the increase in the number of people who use your services now compared with 1964? Please circle the code in Column A next to the three reasons.

	COLUMN A	COLUMN B
(1) Increase in budget and program level . . . . .	1 35/9	01
(2) Changes in neighborhood composition . . . . .	2 36/9	02
(3) More active recruitment of clients by agency itself . . . . .	3 37/9	03
(4) More active recruitment of clients by neighborhood community groups . . . . .	4 38/9	04
(5) More active recruitment of clients by _____ (Neighborhood Center) . . . . .	5 39/9	05
(6) More active recruitment of clients by _____ (CAA) . . . . .	6 40/9	06

\* Questions marked with an asterisk were used in construction of the test index in the ways described in Chapter II.

Q. 6. (Continued):

(7) Changes in personnel within your agency . . . . .	7	07
(8) Changes in policy within your agency . . . . .	8	08
(9) Increase in citizen participation in your agency . . . . .	1	09
(10) The work of the _____ (Neighborhood Center) in encouraging and supporting expansion of social service agencies . . . . .	2	10
(11) The work of the _____ (CAA) generally in encouraging and supporting expansion . . . . .	3	11
(12) The work of churches in the neighborhood in encouraging and supporting expansion . . . . .	4	12
(13) General rise in poor peoples' level of expectations . . . . .	5	13
(14) Easing of qualifying requirements . . . . .	6	14

B. Which of these three reasons would you say is most important for explaining the increase in the number of people who have used your services over the past three or four years? (REPEAT ANSWERS WHICH RESPONDENT CIRCLED FOR 6-A, IF NECESSARY. CODE ANSWER IN COLUMN B (Q. 6-A.)

IF (NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER/CAA) NOT MENTIONED IN Q. 6-A:

E. You have not included the (Neighborhood Center/CAA) among the three most important reasons for the increase in the number of people who are using your services now, but could you tell me whether these agencies or members of their staff have in any way contributed to the increase in the number of people who use your services?

- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 3
- No . . . . . 4

---

Score +3 for most important factor in increase in number of clients.  
 Score +2 for one of three most important factors.  
 Score +1 for contributing factor.  
 Score 0 for not a factor.

\*7. IF DECREASE IN NUMBER OF CLIENTS

A corresponding set of questions were asked of social service directors in agencies in which there was a decrease in the number of clients from 1964 to 1968.

---

The scores were:     -3 for most important factor in the decrease in the number of clients.  
                          -2 for one of three most important factors.  
                          -1 for contributing factor.  
                          0 for not a factor.

\*9-A&B. IF CHANGE IN INCOME OF CLIENTS

[1] IF DIFFERENT: What accounts for the difference between 1964 and 1968?

---

Score +2 for OEO code (#8).  
0 for all other responses.

\*9C. IF CHANGE IN PER CENT UNEMPLOYED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

[1] IF DIFFERENT: What accounts for the difference between 1964 and 1968?

---

Score +2 for OEO code (#4).  
0 for all other responses.

\*9D. IF CHANGE IN PER CENT ON WELFARE

[1] IF DIFFERENT: What accounts for the difference between 1964 and 1968?

---

Score +2 for OEO code (#4).  
0 for all other responses.

14A. IF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY PUBLICIZES SERVICES

C. Has (Neighborhood Center) been involved with you in efforts to publicize your service?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 3

No . . . . . 4

---

Score +1 for Yes.

0 for No.

D. Has (CAA) been involved with you in efforts to publicize your services?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

---

Score +1 for Yes.

0 for No.

17. IF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY PROVIDES NEW SERVICES

D. Did (Neighborhood Center) in any way influence your agency's decision to undertake this new program?

Yes . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

---

Score +1 for Yes.

0 for No.

E. Did (CAA) influence your agency's decision to undertake this new program?

Yes . . . . . 7

No . . . . . 8

---

Score +1 for Yes.

0 for No.

20. IF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY PROPOSED A NEW PROGRAM WHICH WAS NOT ADOPTED

E. Was the Director or staff of (Neighborhood Center) aware of this proposal?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . 3  
No . . . . . 4

[1] IF YES TO E: Did he do anything to help or hinder it or did he show no interest?

Help . . . . . 5  
Hindered . . . . . 6  
No interest . . . . 7

Score +1 for helped.  
-1 for hindered.  
0 for no interest.

F. Was the Director or staff of (CAA) aware of this proposal?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . 1  
No . . . . . 2

[1] IF YES TO F: Did he do anything to help or hinder it or did he show no interest?

Help . . . . . 3  
Hindered . . . . . 4  
No interest . . . . 5

Score +1 for helped.  
-1 for hindered.  
0 for no interest.

\*30. IF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY USES FACILITIES IN NEW WAYS

B. How do you account for this change?

Score +2 for OEO code (#0).  
0 for all other responses.

Q. 30. (Continued)

IF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER OR CAA NOT MENTIONED, ASK C & D:

- C. Was (Neighborhood Center) a factor in this change?
- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 3
- No . . . . . 4

Score +1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

- D. Was the (CAA) a factor in this change?
- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 5
- No . . . . . 6

Score +1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

31. IF CHANGE IN HOURS FACILITIES ARE USED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

In general, would you say you are using your physical facilities more hours a day now than you did in 1964, or are you using your facilities fewer hours a day, or is the use about the same now as it was in 1964?

- More hours . (ASK A) . . . . . 1
- Fewer hours (ASK A) . . . . . 2
- Same . . . . . (GO TO Q. 32) . . . 3

IF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER OR CAA NOT MENTIONED, ASK B & C:

- B. Was the (Neighborhood Center) a factor in this change?
- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 4
- No . . . . . 5

Score +1 if more hours and NC was a factor.  
-1 if fewer hours and NC was factor.  
0 for all other responses.

- C. Was the (CAA) a factor in this change?
- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 6
- No . . . . . 7

Score +1 if more hours and CAA was a factor.  
-1 if fewer hours and CAA was a factor.  
0 for all other responses.

45. IF CHANGE IN SOCIAL WELFARE COUNCIL

A. Are the social service agencies in this neighborhood organized in some kind of social welfare council now?

B. Were they organized in 1964?

	<u>A. 1968</u>	<u>B. 1964</u>
Yes . . . . .	1	3
No . . . . .	2	4

IF (NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER/CAA) NOT MENTIONED IN C:

[1] Was the (NC/CAA) a factor in the change?

Yes . (ASK A) . . . . .	4
No . . . . .	5

Score +1 if Yes in 1968 and No in 1964 and NC/CAA was a factor.  
 -1 if No in 1968 and Yes in 1964 and NC/CAA was a factor.  
 0 for all other possibilities.

\*54. IF INCREASE IN REFERRALS MADE BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

A. Would you please tell me whether each of the following has been important in explaining the increase in the number of referrals your agency made between 1964 and 1968?

Yes	No
-----	----

\*(1) New agencies exist to which clients can be referred. 1 2

IF YES: Which agencies?

Score +2 if OEO named as new agency, code (0) on Cols. 11-14.  
 0 for all other responses.

C. Did the (Neighborhood Center) or any members of its staff contribute in some way either directly or indirectly to the increase in referrals your agency made between 1964 and 1968?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . .	1
No . . . . .	2

Score +1 for Yes.  
 0 for No.

54. (Continued):

D. Did the (CAA) or members of its staff in any way contribute to the increase in referrals your agency made between 1964 and 1968?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

---

Score +1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

\*55. IF DECREASE IN REFERRALS MADE BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY

B. Is there any factor, other than the ones we mentioned, which is important in explaining the decrease in referrals made by your agency?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

\*[1] IF YES TO B: What is that?

---

Score -2 if OEO is factor in decrease in referrals (code #2).  
0 for all other responses.

C. Did the (Neighborhood Center) or any member of its staff in any way contribute to the decrease in referrals made by your agency in 1968 compared with 1964?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2

---

Score +1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

D. Did the (CAA) or any members of its staff influence the decrease in referrals?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . 3  
No . . . . . 4

---

Score -1 if Yes.  
0 if No.

**\*57. IF INCREASE IN REFERRALS SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY RECEIVES**

A. Would you please tell me whether each of the following has been important in explaining the increase in the number of people your agency gets through referrals now compared with 1964?

Yes	No
-----	----

\*(1) New agencies exist which refer people to your agency      1      2  
IF YES: Which agencies?

Score +2 for OEO code (#0).  
 0 for all other responses.

C. Did the (Neighborhood Center) or any members of its staff do anything which contributed to the increase in the number of people you get through referrals?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 5  
 No . . . . . 6

Score +1 for Yes.  
 0 for No.

D. Did the (CAA) or any members of its staff do anything which contributed to the increase in the number of people you get through referrals?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 7  
 No . . . . . 8

Score +1 for Yes.  
 0 for No.

**\*58. IF DECREASE IN REFERRALS SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY RECEIVES**

A. Would you please tell me whether each of the following has been important in explaining the decrease in the number of people your agency gets through referral now compared with 1964?

Yes	No
-----	----

\*(1) Other agencies offer new services . . . . . 1      2  
IF YES: Which agencies?

Score -2 for OEO code (#0).  
 0 for all other responses.

Q. 58. (Continued):

C. Did the (Neighborhood Center) or any members of its staff contribute in some way to the decline in the number of people you get through referrals?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 5

No . . . . . 6

Score -1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

D. Did the (CAA) or any members of its staff contribute in some way to the decline in the number of people you get through referrals now compared with 1964?

Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 7

No . . . . . 8

Score -1 for Yes.  
0 for No.

65. CHANGE IN TONE OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

<p style="text-align: center;">c.</p> <p>Do you think the existence of the Neighborhood Center has influenced the tone of your discussions with (name of client group)?</p> <p>Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 3 No . . . . . 4</p>	<p><u>IF YES:</u> [1] In what way?</p>
<p>3      4</p>	

Score +1 if Yes and NC was a positive factor (code not #7).  
-1 if Yes and NC was a negative factor (code #7).

Q. 65. (Continued):

<p style="text-align: center;">d.</p> <p>Do you think the fact that there is a CAA in this neighborhood has influenced the tone of your discussions?</p> <p>Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . 5                  No . . . . . 6</p>	<p><u>IF YES:</u>                  [1] In what way?</p>
<p>5          6</p>	

Score +1 if Yes and CAA was a positive factor (code not #7)..  
 -1 if Yes and CAA was a negative factor (code #7).

The total scores for each agency derived in the manner described in this construction were then divided by the number of times a change occurred. This was done in order to get an average that would be comparable across agencies.

The distribution of the Cap Impact Index was as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
None or negative influence	27	18.6
Moderate influence scores from .01 to .50	48	33.1
Considerable influence scores .50 or over	<u>70</u>	<u>48.3</u>
Total	145	100.0

**Note:** Questions marked with an asterisk in this appendix were used in the construction of the test index. The test index was based only on responses to the open-ended questions on change. Each respondent was given a single point if the CAA or NC was mentioned, irrespective of the number of times they were mentioned as a factor in whatever change occurred.

Part 3

Community Action Agency and Neighborhood Center Characteristics

VARIABLE: NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER PRESSURE ON EMPLOYER

This variable is constructed from the following items asked of the personnel officer of large employers.

17C. At the time you began to recruit the "hard-core unemployed," were there organizations or groups outside of your company which were actively interested in having your firm begin this program?

IF YES:

[1] Which organizations or groups were actively interested in having your firm begin this program? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODES AND LIST IN COLUMN [1].)

- Other businesses . . . . . 1
- Local government agencies. . . . . 2
- State government . . . . . 3
- Federal government . . . . . 4
- Civil rights groups. . . . . 5
- Civic association, e.g. Chamber of  
Commerce . . . . . 6
- Local poverty program. . . . . 7
- Other (SPECIFY). . . . . 8

[2] What did this organization do? (RECORD VERBATIM IN COLUMN [2].)

COLUMN [1] Organization	COLUMN [2] Action

19. Has your company taken any steps to retrain and/or hire the worker whose job has been taken over by automation in your own or in other companies?

- Yes, in own company. . . . . 1
- Yes, in other companies. . . . . 2
- Yes, in both own and other company . . . . . 3
- No . . . . . 4

A. Did the local (CAA) show any particular interest in having you begin this program?

- Yes. . . . . 5
- No . . . . . 6
- Don't know . . . . . 7

---

36B. At the time you began to go out of your way to hire Negroes were there any organizations or groups outside of your company which were actively interested in having your firm begin this program?

IF YES:

[1] Which organizations or groups were actively interested in having your firm begin this program? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODES BELOW, AND LIST IN COLUMN [1].)

- Other businesses. . . . . 1
- Local government agencies . . . . . 2
- State government. . . . . 3
- Federal government. . . . . 4
- Civil rights groups . . . . . 5
- Civic associations. . . . . 6
- Local poverty program . . . . . 7
- Other (SPECIFY) . . . . . 8

[2] What type of action did this group take? (RECORD VERBATIM IN COLUMN [2].)

COLUMN [1] Organization	COLUMN [2] Action

C. As far as you know, did the (CAA) influence your company to adopt this policy?

Yes . . . . . 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . 3

45. Have any of the people on the following list contacted your firm specifically about hiring and promoting minority group members? How about a representative of . . . (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 15. READ STATEMENTS BELOW AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COL. A.)

	Col. A		Col. B
	Yes	No	Most frequent
the local poverty program? . . . . .	1	2	01
a Civil Rights group? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	3	4	02
the State Employment Service? . . . . .	5	6	03
a predominantly Negro High School? . . . . .	7	8	04
the Mayor's Office of the City Government? . . . . .	1	2	05
a labor union? . . . . .	3	4	06
a Federal Agency? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	5	6	07
the National Alliance of Business? . . . . .	7	8	08
a local business civic group, such as Jaycees? . . . . .	1	2	09
a neighborhood group or association? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	3	4	10

IF YES TO TWO OR MORE OF ABOVE:

B. Since 1964 which of these groups has contacted you most frequently about hiring and promoting minority group members? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE IN COL. B.)

52. Has a staff member of the (name of neighborhood center) called you in the past year to inquire about openings in your plant?

- Yes . (ASK A) . . . . . 5
- No . (GO TO Q. 53) . . . 6

A. IF YES: About how frequently would you say someone from the poverty program has called you about openings in the past year? Would you say once a month or more, once every two or three months, once every six months or so, or what would you say?

- More than once a month . . . . . 1
- Once a month or more . . . . . 2
- Once every two or three months . . 3
- Once every six months or so . . . 4
- Less than once every six months . 5

One point was given for a "yes" answer to Question 17C1 for "local poverty program." One point was given for a "yes" answer to Question 19A. One point was given for a "yes" answer to Question 36B1 for "local poverty program." One point was given for a "yes" answer to Question 45 for "the local poverty program." An additional point was given if the "local poverty program" was mentioned as the most frequent contactor under Question 45B. One point was given for a "yes" answer to Question 52. One point was given if the answer to Question 52A was once every two or three months or more often. Thus, a total score of 8 was possible for each employer. The scores for the city were added and divided by the total responses for a city average. The distribution for cities follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-11 per cent	14	31.1
12-24 per cent	10	22.2
25-49 per cent	14	31.1
50-100 per cent	7	15.6
No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION GOALS AND PROGRAMS BY CAA

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked both of the CAA executive director and the CAA board members.

BOARD MEMBER QUESTIONNAIRE

3. Next, we'd like to talk about the goals of your Community Action Agency. HAND RESPONDENT CARD #2. On this card is a list of goals which people think are appropriate for a Community Action Agency. Which four of these goals does (name of this CAA) emphasize most? (CODE FOUR ITEMS IN COL. A.) And which one is least emphasized by (CAA)? (CODE ONE ITEM IN COL. B.) Of the four most emphasized goals, which one would you say is most fully developed in terms of programs aimed at its achievement? (CODE ONE ITEM IN COL. C.)

Copy of Card 2

Col. A Most emphasis	Col. B Least emphasis	Col. C Best developed
----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

(1) Organizing the poor in order to increase their political power . . . . .	1	1	1
(2) Helping the poor to participate effectively in the decision-making organizations of the community . . . . .	2	2	2
(3) Creating economic pressures to increase employment for the relatively unskilled poor . .	3	3	3
(4) Providing education, job training, and counseling services for poor adults . . . . .	4	4	4
(5) Supplementing the education, social experiences, and job training for poor adolescents . . . . .	5	5	5
(6) Improvements in the education and social experiences of young children in the poor community .	6	6	6
(7) Obtaining decent and pleasant housing and recreation areas for poor people . . . . .	7	7	7
(8) Improving public services in poor areas . . . . .	8	8	8
(9) Improving the quality of consumer goods and services in poor neighborhoods . . . . .	9	9	9

- 
5. What are the two largest program components which have (best developed goal, Q. 3, Col. C) as their major aim? LIST BELOW.

I.

II.

For executive directors and board members, a score of +1 was given for any "education" goal listed among the four "most emphasized" goals, i.e., #4, 5, 6. Up to three were possible. If an education goal was "least emphasized," a score of -2 was added; and if an education goal was "best developed," +2 was added. A constant of +2 was introduced to avoid negative numbers.

In each of these two questionnaires, each mention of an education-type program (as one of the two largest which pursue the best developed goal) was scored +2. These programs are codes 12, 60-69, or 70-75 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part of the appendix.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
4.00-5.80	No emphasis	23	46.0
6.00-6.87	Some emphasis	12	24.0
7.00-9.87	Most emphasis	15	30.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>      </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS AND PROGRAMS BY CAA

This variable is constructed from the questions used in the first CAA variable above.

For executive directors and board members, a score of +1 was given for any "community organization" goal listed among the four "most emphasized" goals, i.e., #1 or 2. Up to two were possible. If a community organization goal was "least emphasized," a score -2 was added; and if a community organization goal was "best developed," +2 was added. A constant of +2 was introduced to avoid negative numbers.

In each of these two questionnaires, each mention of a community-organization-type program (as one of the two largest which pursue the best developed goal) was scored +2. These programs are codes 10-13 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part of the appendix.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1.00-2.87	No emphasis	14	28.0
3.00-3.87	Some emphasis	16	32.0
4.00-6.00	Most emphasis	20	40.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>      </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON EMPLOYMENT GOALS AND PROGRAMS BY CAA

This variable is constructed from the questions used in the first CAA variable above.

For executive directors and board members, a score of +1 was given for any "employment" goal listed among the four "most emphasized" goals, i.e., #3 or 4. Up to two were possible. If an employment goal was "least emphasized," a score of -2 was added; and if an employment goal was "best developed," +2 was added.

In each of these two questionnaires, each mention of an employment-type program (as one of the two largest which pursue the best developed goal) was scored +2. These program codes are 30-39 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part of the appendix.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
2.00-3.00	No emphasis	18	36.0
4.00-4.87	Some emphasis	16	32.0
5.00-7.00	Most emphasis	16	32.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>      </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL SERVICE GOALS AND PROGRAMS BY CAA

This variable is constructed from the questions used in the first CAA variable above.

For executive directors and board members, a score of +1 was given for any "social service" goal listed among the four "most emphasized" goals, i.e., #5 or 6. Up to two were possible. If "social service" goal was "least emphasized," a score of -2 was added; and if a social service goal was "best developed," +2 was added.

In each of these two questionnaires, each mention of a social-service-type program (as one of the two largest which pursue the best developed goal) was scored +2. These program codes are 60-69 and 90-94 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part of the appendix.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
2.00-4.00	Little emphasis	18	36.0
5.00-6.76	Some emphasis	17	34.0
7.00-9.00	Most emphasis	15	30.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>      </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: TYPOLOGY OF CAA GOAL ORIENTATION

This variable is constructed from the four goal orientations outlined above. It is possible because of the patterns of association among them. First, social service and educational goal orientations are so closely associated that they can practically be considered as one (gamma = .90). Both social service orientation and educational orientation are strongly and negatively associated with community organization goal orientation (for education, gamma = -.77; for social service, gamma = -.72). Finally, an employment goal orientation is not strongly associated with community organization goal orientation (gamma = .03) and is negatively associated with both education and social service orientation (for education, gamma = -.34; for social service, gamma = -.60).

Thus, it is possible to divide the CAAs along two dimensions--community organization goals versus traditional goals, and employment goals versus traditional goals. Then, these two dimensions can be combined into a single typology. This process is outlined below:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Community organization goals vs. traditional goals		
[subtract community organization goal score (02/34) from mean of educational and social service goals (02/30 and 02/42)]		
1 = Strong traditional (+5 to +7)	11	22.0
2 = Leaning traditional (+2.5 to 4.5)	14	28.0
3 = Leaning organizational (0 to +2)	15	30.0
4 = Strong organizational (-.5 to -1.5)	<u>10</u>	<u>20.0</u>
	50	100.0

Employment goals vs. traditional goals		
[subtract employment (02/38) from average of educational and social service goals (02/30 and 02/42)]		
1 = Strong traditional (2.5 to 5.5)	21	42.0
2 = Leaning employment (.5 to 2)	13	26.0
3 = Strong employment (0 to -3)	<u>16</u>	<u>32.0</u>
	50	100.0

Goal Typology

		<u>04</u>	<u>05</u>		<u>Score</u>	<u>Name</u>		
service oriented	}	1	1	=	1	Strong traditional	10	20.0
		2	1	=	2	Leaning traditional	7	14.0
organization oriented	}	4	2(1)	=	3	Strong organizational	4	8.0
		3	2	=	4	Leaning organizational	8	16.0
		4	3	=	5	Strong organizational, strong employment	6	12.0
employment oriented	}	3	4	=	6	Strong employment, leaning organizational	7	14.0
		1,2	3	=	7	Strong employment, leaning traditional	<u>8</u>	<u>16.0</u>
							50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON REFERRALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

This variable is drawn from the following questionnaires:

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER PROGRAM DIRECTOR

20. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 8. I'm going to read a list of activities common to most Neighborhood Centers. Would you tell me on which of these activities the Neighborhood Centers in (CAA) spend the most time and energy? And then, which one receives the second most amount of attention, and so on. ENTER A "1" FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" FOR THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT, ETC., UNTIL YOU HAVE RANKED ALL SIX ACTIVITIES.

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Rank</u>
A. Direct provision of services . . . . .	_____
B. Providing referrals to other agencies . . . . .	_____
C. Community organization and mobilization . . . . .	_____
D. "Outreach" of services (educational and publicity efforts directed toward potential clients) . . . . .	_____
E. Planning and coordination of all services offered by all agencies in the jurisdiction of the Neighborhood Center . . . . .	_____
F. General administration of the Center . . . . .	_____

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER DIRECTOR

54. A.  
 HAND RESPONDENT CARD #8.  
 Here is a list of activities common to most Neighborhood Centers. Would you tell me on which of these activities this Neighborhood Center is now spending the most time and energy? And then, which one receives the second most amount of attention, and so on. (ENTER A "1" FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" FOR THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT, ETC., UNTIL YOU HAVE RANKED ALL SIX ACTIVITIES. ENTER 0 FOR ANY ACTIVITIES WHICH THE CENTER DOESN'T ENGAGE IN AT ALL.)

A.  
RANK NOW

(a) Direct provision of services . . . . . \_\_\_\_\_

55. Does this Neighborhood Center provide direct services to individuals or referrals to other agencies?

- Yes, either or both (ASK A) . . . . . 1
- No, neither . . . (SKIP TO Q. 60) . . . 2

A. IF YES: Is the information which is taken when people come to the Center for these services used to . . . (READ EACH ITEM AND CODE YES OR NO FOR EACH.)

	Yes	No
Inform them of their eligibility for the services they are seeking? . . .	1	2
Inform them of their eligibility for other services? . . . . .	3	4
Refer them elsewhere for services they are seeking . . . . .	5 *	6
Refer them for other services . . . . .	1 *	2
Refer other members of their family for services? . . . . .	3 *	4
Any other uses? (SPECIFY) . . . . .	5	6

\* IF ANY REFERRALS, ASK Q. 56.  
IF NO REFERRALS, SKIP TO Q. 59.

In each of the ranking questions, a rank of "1" for "referrals" earned a score of 6, and a rank of "6" earned a score of 1.

Any use to which information is put is given a score of +1, up to a maximum of 6.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
00-09	Little emphasis	14	28.6
10-13	Some emphasis	17	34.7
14-21	Most emphasis	18	36.7
	No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>        </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

This variable is derived from the following questionnaires:

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER PROGRAM DIRECTOR - Q. 20C - See referral variable above.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER DIRECTOR

<p>70. Has there been any kind of relationship between (organization) and the NC such as . . . (READ CATEGORIES AND CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY.)</p> <p>Overlap in membership between NCAB or NC staff (including volunteers) and (organization) . . . . . 1</p> <p>Similar or overlapping projects which involve some exchange of information or mutual planning . . . . . 2</p> <p>Competition for resources. . . . . 3</p> <p>Other (SPECIFY). . . . . 4</p> <p><u>IF NO RELATIONSHIP SKIP TO Q. 74.</u> <u>IF ANY KIND OF RELATIONSHIP, ASK Q'S 71-73.</u></p>		
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--

74. Have the Neighborhood Center or the Neighborhood Center Advisory Board attempted any joint or cooperative undertakings with other organizations in the neighborhood?

Yes . . . (ASK A-C) . . . . . 1  
No . . . (GO TO Q. 75) . . . . . 2

IF YES:

A. What was the most important activity in which the Neighborhood Center or Neighborhood Center Advisory Board and the organization(s) worked together?

75. Has the Neighborhood Center helped to create any new community organizations (other than the Neighborhood Center Advisory Board), or helped to re-establish or revitalize any old ones?

Yes . . . (ASK A-I) . . . . . 1  
No . . . (GO TO Q. 76) . . . . . 2

<p>H. What are the main goals of (organization)? (LIMIT TO 2 GOALS.)</p>		
------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--	--

The rank (1 through 6) assigned to community organization and mobilization activities is subtracted from 7 to assign a score.

Each type of relationship between the neighborhood center and another organization was scored +1 whenever it existed.

A score of +1 was given if the NCAB undertook any joint activities with other organizations. And if they did, a score of +2 was given if the activity aimed directly at enhancing the power of the community.

If the center helped create or re-establish any community organization a score of +2 was given.

For each of the organizations which the center helped to create or re-establish, a score of +1 was given for each time a community organization goal was ascribed to it.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0 - 4	Little emphasis	6	12.2
5 - 9	Some emphasis	22	44.9
10-18	Most emphasis	21	42.9
	No answer	<u>1</u>	
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON OUTREACH BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

This variable is constructed using Question 20D from the Neighborhood Center Program Director Questionnaire - see referral variable above.

The score was assigned by subtracting the rank (1 through 6) assigned "outreach" from 7.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1 - 3	Little emphasis	12	29.3
4	Some emphasis	12	29.3
5 - 6	Most emphasis	17	41.5
	No answer	<u>9</u>	
	Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS OF CENTERS ON PLANNING AND COORDINATION OF SERVICES

This variable derives from the following questionnaires:

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER PROGRAM DIRECTOR - Q. 20E - See referral variable above.

CAA BOARD MEMBER

---

53. Looking again at Card 11, which of these alternatives would you say most accurately describes the role of (CAA) in city-wide planning?

Copy of Card 11

- Serves as the center for planning program in (city). . . . . 5
- Acts as the coordinator of agency program. 6
- Serves as a means of dispensing information about programs without coordinating them. . . . . 7
- Is relatively inactive in city-wide planning . . . . . 8

---

First, part of the score was assigned by subtracting the rank (1 through 6) assigned to "planning and coordination" from 7. Then the role of the CAA in city-wide planning was scored from 1 to 4 (low to high).

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
.00-.99	Little emphasis	18	36.0
1.00-9.99	Moderate emphasis	15	30.0
10.00-14.00	Heavy emphasis	17	34.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>    </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY CONTROL BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

This variable originates from the following questions asked of the neighborhood center program directors.

16. Are there general advisory boards for the Neighborhood Centers, or for the target areas?

- Neighborhood Centers only . . . . . 1
- Target areas only . . . . . 2
- Both (ASK Q. 17 for N.C. Boards). . . 3
- None . (SKIP TO Q. 18) . . . . . 4

---

17. A. Is there a policy specifying the representation of various groups on the Neighborhood Center/Target Area boards which is used for all boards in the program?

- Yes . (ASK [1]) . . . . . 5
- No . . . . . 6

[1] IF YES: Who is represented?

B. Is there a policy specifying the method of selection of various groups on the Neighborhood Center/Target Area boards which is used for all boards in the program?

- Yes . (ASK [1] & [2]) . . . . . 7
- No . . . . . 8

[1] By whom?

The existence of advisory boards for either centers or target areas was scored +2, and for both was scored +3. The absence of a policy-specifying representation on advisory boards is scored +1. Composition of the boards is scored from +2 to 0 as it ranges from neighborhood or poor to non-neighborhood or non-poor.

The absence of a policy-specifying method of selection of board members is scored +1. If residents of the area participate in the selection of board members, a score of +2 is added; if membership organizations in the area participate in the selection of the board members, a score of +1 is added. The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
3-4	Little emphasis	12	29.3
5-6	Some emphasis	17	41.5
7-9	Much emphasis	12	29.3
	No answer	9	
	Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS ON PARTICIPATION OF POOR IN DECISION MAKING BY CAA

This variable is constructed from the following question asked of the CAA board members.

33. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 9. Which of these have become questions for policy decisions for (CAA): CODE ONE ISSUE IN EACH COLUMN.

	First Issue	Second Issue	Third Issue	Fourth Issue
Method of selecting representatives of the poor for the (CAA) Board . . . . .	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1
Number of poor representatives on the (CAA) Board. . . . .	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2
Role of the poor on the (CAA) Board . . . . .	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3
Hiring of the poor in (CAA) . . . . .	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4
Role of neighborhood groups in selecting neighborhood programs. . . . .	. . . .5	. . . .5	. . . .5	. . . .5
Selection of neighborhood board members . . . . .	. . . .6	. . . .6	. . . .6	. . . .6
Deciding who were or could be legitimate representatives of the poor . . . . .	. . . .7	. . . .7	. . . .7	. . . .7
Learning the opinion of the poor about their own needs. . . . .	. . . .8	. . . .8	. . . .8	. . . .8
Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .	. . . .9	. . . .9	. . . .9	. . . .9

ASK FOR EACH ISSUE:

A. When the board discussed (issue), was there. . . .  
 ....small minority opinion?  
 ....large minority opinion?  
 ....opinion evenly divided?

	First Issue	Second Issue	Third Issue	Fourth Issue
FOR ANY OF ABOVE ASK [1]-[3]	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1
	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2
	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3
or				
FOR ANY OF ABOVE ASK [1]-[3]	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4
(GO TO NEXT ISSUE OR Q.34)	(GO TO NEXT ISSUE OR Q.34)	(GO TO NEXT ISSUE OR Q.34)	(GO TO NEXT ISSUE OR Q.34)	(GO TO NEXT ISSUE OR Q.34)

IF ANY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION (i.e. IF ANY CODE EXCEPT FOURTH IS CIRCLED) ASK [1]-[3]:

[1] Would you say there was some hostility among any board members in discussions of this issue, or was the discussion generally friendly?

Hostility. . . .5	. . . .5	. . . .5	. . . .5
Generally friendly. . . .6	. . . .6	. . . .6	. . . .6

[2] Were the members who held the majority opinion representatives of government, the private sector, the poor, or some combination?

Government. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1
Private Sector. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2
Poor . . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3
Combination (SPECIFY). . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4

[3] Were the members who held the minority opinion representatives of government, the private sector, the poor, or some combination?

Government. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1	. . . .1
Private Sector. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2	. . . .2
Poor . . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3	. . . .3
Combination (SPECIFY). . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4	. . . .4

In scoring this variable, each score was given +1 if it directly concerned participation of the poor in decision making and if the majority of the board (on the issue) included the poor. A -1 was given for each issue directly concerning participation of the poor in decision making if the board minority on it included the poor.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
3.00-3.99	No emphasis	13	26.0
4.00	Little emphasis	25	50.0
4.01-4.80	Strong emphasis	12	24.0
	No answer	<u>0</u>	<u>    </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS OF CAA EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM ON PLACING PEOPLE IN JOBS

This variable is extracted from the following question asked of the employment program directors.

9. What are the three activities which are most important to the success of the employment program?  
(RECORD IN COL. I-III.)

<u>ACTIVITY</u>		
<u>I.</u>	<u>II.</u>	<u>III.</u>

Each of the three most important activities in the employment program was scored +1 if it directly concerned placing people in jobs. The program codes are 31, 34, 35, 37, and 38 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part of the appendix.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	Light emphasis	12	41.4
2, 3	Heavy emphasis	17	58.6
	No answer	<u>21</u>	<u>    </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: EMPHASIS OF CAA EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM ON TRAINING AND EDUCATION

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the employment program directors.

9. What are the three activities which are most important to the success of the employment program?  
(RECORD IN COL. I-III.)

ACTIVITY		
I.	II.	III.

21. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 13.

Every CAA employment program centers around a variety of tasks. Does your staff spend a great deal of time, a moderate amount of time, a small amount of time, or no time at all on the following activities?  
(READ LIST OF ACTIVITIES AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE FOR EACH ACTIVITY.)

	A great deal of time	A moderate amount of time	A small amount of time	No time at all
Holding general education classes	5	6	7	8
Arranging for on-the-job training with local employers	1	2	3	4
Vocational rehabilitation	1	2	3	4

Each of the three most important activities in the employment program was scored +1 if it directly concerned training and education. The amount of time spent on each of three specified tasks related to training and education is scored from +3 to 0 (much to none). The program codes for these items are 32 and 33 in the detailed program codes at the end of this part.

The distribution is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-7	Light emphasis	20	60.6
8-12	Heavy emphasis	13	39.4
	No answer	<u>17</u>	
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: DISSENSUS WITHIN THE CAA BOARD

This variable is constructed using, in part, the following questions from the CAA board member questionnaire.

- 19D. When the board discussed this question, was there . . .
- . . . small minority opinion? . . . 1
  - . . . large minority opinion? . . . 2
  - . . . opinion evenly divided? . . . 3
- or
- . . . was opinion unanimous? . . . 4 (CODE BELOW)

ASK (1) - (6) FIRST.

	Yes	No
(1) <u>General policy decisions</u> --such as board representation; endorsements of statements of policy by various groups in the city; decisions about the delegation of authority to other parts of the agency such as neighborhood boards, executive director, or other staff.	1	2
(2) <u>Budget allocations</u> --such as decisions to apply to OEO to use funds differently than specified in the original allocation.	1	2
(3) <u>Personnel matters</u> --such as the hiring of staff, staff changes, or appeals from staff in the event of termination.	1	2
(4) <u>Decisions concerning existing programs</u> --such as whether to expand them, drop them or make major changes in them; and general evaluation of current programs.	1	2
(5) <u>Decisions about new programs</u> --such as which ones are needed; whether they should be run directly by the CAA or delegated; requests for cooperative programs with other agencies.	1	2
(6) <u>Community action decisions</u> --such as endorsement of action groups; use of CAA staff and facilities for community action projects in cooperation with or as part of the effort of another group in the community.	1	2

19D(1). Would you say there was some hostility among any board members in discussions of issue, or was the discussion generally friendly?

[Asked of (1) - (6) above.]

20. A. In general, when the executive director makes a recommendation to the board, how likely is it to be passed--is it practically certain, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely that it will be passed?

B. How about the executive committee, when it makes a recommendation to the board--is it practically certain, very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely that it will be passed?

	Executive Director	Executive Committee
Practically certain . . . . .	1	5
Very likely . . . . .	2	6
Somewhat likely . . . . .	3	7
Not very likely . . . . .	4	8

For each board member, Q. 19D was scored as follows: On each decision, "small minority opinion" received 1 point, "large minority opinion" received 2 points, and "opinion evenly divided" received 3 points. In Q. 19D(1), each indication that "hostility" was present was given a score of 3. These points were summed for each respondent, and the sum was divided by the number of decisions each reported. These average scores were then added together and divided by the number of respondents. At this point each city was given an interim code as follows:

<u>City Score</u>		<u>Interim Code</u>
2 and over	=	6
1.50-1.99	=	5
1-1.49	=	3
.5-.99	=	2
.49 and under	=	1

Next, Q. 20 was scored by summing the precodes used in the questionnaire (i.e., a maximum of 12 for each respondent). The scores of all respondents were combined, and if the number of respondents was fewer than five, the score was extrapolated to what it would have been if there had been answers from five respondents. These scores were then recoded on an interim basis as follows:

<u>City Score</u>		<u>Interim Code</u>
Up to 34	=	1
35-38	=	2
39-41	=	3
42 and over	=	4

The two interim codes were added together (range = 2-10).

The other data used in the construction of this variable are drawn from the following questions in the CAA executive director questionnaire.

11. When the board has discussed various aspects of this [CAA] program, has there been . . .

- a small minority opinion? . . . . . 1
- a large minority opinion? . . . . . 2
- opinion evenly divided? . . . . . 3
- or
- was opinion unanimous? . . . . . 4

---

Q. 26D - See Q. 19D from CAA board member questionnaire above.

In Question 11, for each program "small minority opinion" received 1 point, "large minority opinion" received 2 points, and "opinion evenly divided" received 3 points. This score was added to the score for Question 26, which was scored as follows:

Q. 26D - "small minority opinion" received 1 point, "large minority opinion" received 2 points, "opinion evenly divided" received 3 points for each decision.

Q. 26D(1) - Each time "hostility" characterized the discussion of an issue, an additional 3 points were given.

When the scores for Questions 11 and 26 were added together (maximum of 42), they were given interim codes as follows:

<u>City Score</u>		<u>Interim Code</u>
20 and over	=	5
14-19	=	4
8-13	=	3
3-7	=	2
0-2	=	1

These interim codes were added to the interim city codes derived from the board member questionnaire, yielding a range of 4 to 15, distributed and collapsed as given below. Two executive director questionnaires lacked data for this variable. In these cases, the city average derived from the board member questionnaire was simply multiplied by 1.5.

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
4-5	9	18
6-7	8	16
8-9	7	14
10	6	12
11	9	18
12 and over	11	22
No answer	<u>0</u>	—
Total	50	100

VARIABLE: DISSENSUS BETWEEN THE CAA AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

This variable is constructed using the following question from the neighborhood center director questionnaire.

77. In each of the following matters, have the Neighborhood Center Advisory Board and the (CAA) Board or staff taken opposing positions in the past year?  
(READ ITEMS A-E)

	A. Appointment of the Neighborhood Center Director	B. Appointment and assign- ment of other NC professional staff	C. Appointment and assign- ment of NC non- professional staff	D. Representa- tion of (this/these) target area(s) on the CAA Board	E. CAP programs to be operated in this neigh- borhood
FOR EACH YES, ASK [1] & [2] FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT TIME:	Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes . . . . 1 No . . . . 2
[1] Were any public meetings held in the course of the debate?  <u>IF YES:</u> a. How many?  b. How many per- sons attended the (best attended) meeting?	Yes (ASK a-b) . . . 3 No . . . . 4  _____  _____	Yes (ASK a-b) . . . 3 No . . . . 4  _____  _____	Yes (ASK a-b) . . . 3 No . . . . 4  _____  _____	Yes (ASK a-b) . . . 3 No . . . . 4  _____  _____	Yes (ASK a-b) . . . 3 No . . . . 4  _____  _____

Q. 77. (Continued):

[2] Was there a final decision?	Yes(ASK a-b) . . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes(ASK a-b) . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes(ASK a-b) . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes(ASK a-b) . . 1 No . . . . 2	Yes(ASK a-b) . . 1 No . . . . 2
<b>IF YES:</b>					
a. Which side did the decision favor, if any?	NCAB . . . . 3 CAA. . . . 4	NCAB . . . 3 CAA. . . . 4	NCAB . . . 3 CAA. . . . 4	NCAB. . . 3 CAA . . . 4	NCAB . . . 3 CAA. . . . 4
b. Did the "losing" side accept the decision, or has it continued to resist or try to change it?					
Accept decision decision. . . .	1	1	1	1	1
Resist or change. . . . .	2	2	2	2	2

For each respondent, 1 point was given for each issue on which there was disagreement. Another point was given for each issue on which any meetings were held. A third point was given for each issue on which the "losing" side continued to change a "final" decision. The total score of each respondent was divided by the number of issues he mentioned. The scores of all the respondents in the city were added together, and the city score was obtained by dividing that sum by the number of respondents in the city.

The resulting distribution of scores is shown below:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-.99	18	44
1-1.99	11	27
2 and over	12	29
No answer	<u>9</u>	—
Total	50	100

VARIABLE: NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY THE COMMUNITY POLITICAL LEADERS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the community political leaders. There are three sub-parts as indicated below.

I.

DECK 01

RELATIONS WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

5. A. Which of these types of groups are residents of this neighborhood involved in? Are they involved in . . . [READ (1) THROUGH (5), CODE IN COL. A, THEN ASK B & C FOR EACH YES.]

	Col. A		Col. B			Col. C		
	Yes	No	N.C. staff meets with group:			N.C.A.B. meets with group:		
			Regu- larly	When need arises	Not at all	Regu- larly	When need arises	Not at all
(1) welfare rights organizations? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		44/9			45/9			46/9
(2) civil rights groups? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		47/9			48/9			49/9
(3) nationality organizations? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		50/9			51/9			52/9
(4) tenants' unions? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		53/9			54/9			55/9
(5) PTA? SPECIFY:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		56/9			57/9			58/9

ASK FOR EACH GROUP CODED "YES" IN COL. A:

- B. Does the (name of neighborhood center) staff meet with representatives of (group) on a regular basis, as the need arises, or not at all? (CODE IN COL. B.)
- C. Does the (name of neighborhood center advisory board) meet with representatives of (group) on a regular basis, as the need arises, or not at all? (CODE IN COL. C.)

Deck 01/44-58: (do you meet with welfare, civil rights, and tenants' unions).

Score 1 for each "regularly"  
 0 for each "when needed"  
 -1 for each "not at all"

Divide by total number of answers:

- $X \geq 1/4 = 5$
- $0 \leq X < 1/4 = 4$
- $-1/4 \leq X < 0 = 3$
- $-1/2 \leq X < -1/4 = 2$
- $-1 \leq X < -1/2 = 1$

II.

	DECK 03			DECK 07		
	ORGANIZATION #1			ORGANIZATION #2		
19. Are any of these goals listed on this card (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 2) important concerns of this organization? <u>Copy of Card 2</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
(1) Organizing the poor in order to increase their political power	1	2	10/9	1	2	10/9
(2) Helping the poor to participate effectively in the decision-making organizations of the community	3	4	11/9	3	4	11/9
(3) Creating economic pressures to increase the employment for the relatively unskilled poor	5	6	12/9	5	6	12/9
(4) Providing education, job training, and counseling services for poor adults	7	8	13/9	7	8	13/9
(5) Supplementing the education, social experiences, and job training for poor adolescents	1	2	14/9	1	2	14/9
(6) Supplementing the education and social experiences of young children in the poor community	3	4	15/9	3	4	15/9
(7) Obtaining decent and pleasant housing and recreation areas for poor people	5	6	16/9	5	6	16/9
(8) Improving public services in poor areas	7	8	17/9	7	8	17/9
(9) Improving the quality of consumer goods and services in poor neighborhoods	1	2	18/9	1	2	18/9



	DECK 03		DECK 07	
	ORGANIZATION #1		ORGANIZATION #2	
21. Which of the kinds of groups or organizations listed on this card (HAND CARD #22) does (organization) work with on any issues? (CODE AS MANY AS APPLY.)				
<u>Copy of Card #22</u>				
Good government or reform groups . . . . .	1	21/9	1	21/9
Business groups . . . . .	2	22/9	2	22/9
Labor groups . . . . .	3	23/9	3	23/9
Private welfare groups . . . . .	4	24/9	4	24/9
Local foundations devoted to community organization . . . . .	5	25/9	5	25/9
Religious groups . . . . .	6	26/9	6	26/9
The press . . . . .	7	27/9	7	27/9
The mayor or city manager . . . . .	8	28/9	8	28/9
Other government officials (SPECIFY POSITION/TITLE). . . . .	1	29/9	1	29/9
Other political leaders (SPECIFY POSITION/TITLE). . . . .	2	30/9	2	30/9
The Neighborhood Center Advisory Board . . . . .	3	31/9	3	31/9
The Neighborhood Center . . . . .	4	32/9	4	32/9
(IF ORGANIZATION WORKS WITH NO OTHER GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS, CODE "5.") . . . . .	5	33/9	5	33/9

Deck 03/10-11,31,32; 07/10-11,31-32: (if the group is interested in organizing the poor (03/10=1 or 03/11=2) then score +1 if 3/31=3, +1 if 3/32=4; repeat for Deck 7 and divide by number of possible + answers.

range: 2/3 ≤ X ≤ 1 = 3  
1/3 ≤ X < 2/3 = 2  
0 < X < 1/3 = 1  
0 = 0

III. DECK 10

ASK EVERYONE:

34. Have the (name of Neighborhood Center) or the (Neighborhood Center) Advisory Board attempted any joint or cooperative undertakings with organizations in the neighborhood?

Yes . (ASK A-G) . . . . 1 10/9  
No . . (GO TO Q. 35) . . 2

IF YES:

A. What was the most important activity in which the (Neighborhood Center) or (Neighborhood Center) Advisory Board and the organization(s) worked together?

B. Was the activity successful?

Yes . . . . . 1 13/9  
No . . . . . 2

C. (1) When did the activity begin?

(Month) (Year)  
14-15/99 16-17/99

(2) When did it end?

(Month) (Year)  
18-19/99 20-21/99

(IF NOT YET ENDED,  
CODE "8888") . . . . . Not ended . . . . . 8888

35. Has the Neighborhood Center helped to create any new community organizations (other than the Neighborhood Center Advisory Board)?

Yes . . (ASK A-G) . . . . 4 40/9  
No . (GO TO Q. 36) . . . 5

<p>A. What are the names of these organizations? <u>(IF ANY OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS WAS DESCRIBED IN Q. 6 OR Q. 34, DO NOT ASK B-G FOR THAT ORGANIZATION.)</u>                      ENTER NAMES ACROSS TOP OF COLUMN.                      IF MORE THAN TWO, RECORD TWO MOST IMPORTANT.)</p>	<p>ORGANIZATION #1</p> <p>41/ 42/</p> <p>Already discussed . 8 43/R</p>	<p>ORGANIZATION #2</p> <p>58/ 59/</p> <p>Already discussed . 8 60/R</p>
<p>B. How many members belong to <u>(organization)</u>?</p>	<p>No. _____</p> <p>44-47/</p>	<p>No. _____</p> <p>61-64/</p>
<p>C. HAND RESPONDENT CARD #18.                      What is the predominant racial or ethnic composition of <u>(organization)</u>?                      (CIRCLE ONE CODE ONLY.)</p> <p>Negro . . . . .</p> <p>Spanish speaking . . . . .</p> <p>American Indian . . . . .</p> <p>Rural Mountain White . . . . .</p> <p>Other Rural White . . . . .</p> <p>Other White . . . . .</p> <p>Oriental . . . . .</p> <p>Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .</p>	<p>1 48/9</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p>	<p>1 65/9</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p>
<p>D. What is the average annual family income of the members of <u>(organization)</u>? (READ CATEGORIES.)</p> <p>Under \$3,000 . . . . .</p> <p>Between \$3,000-\$6,000.</p> <p>Over \$6,000 . . . . .</p>	<p>1 49/9</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p>	<p>1 66/9</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p>

One point for each cooperative activity, 10/10. One point for each group organized 10/41, 42, 43; bonus one point for each group previously referred to in quex (code 8 on col. 43). Repeat for second group organized. If there are not three respondents, extrapolate.

Range: 4+ = 3  
3 = 2  
0, 1, 2 = 1

All three scores are summed. The distribution is as follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-3	None	8	17.8
4-5	Low	13	28.9
6-7	Medium	6	13.3
8	Medium High	8	17.8
9-12	High	10	22.2
	No answer	<u>5</u>	<u>          </u>
	Total	50	100.0

VARIABLE: NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER SUPPORT FOR MILITANT ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY THE COMMUNITY POLITICAL LEADERS.

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the community political leaders.

49. Have there been public expressions of demands by residents of this neighborhood for any of the following? (ASK FOR I-III.)

	I. Welfare rights?	II. Community control of schools?	III. Tenant's rights?
	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2
<u>FOR EACH YES: ASK A-F.</u>			
A. What kind of public expression was it? Describe the most important such event. (PROBE: Was it a meeting, or demonstration, or what?)			
B. Were the leaders of this action from within the neighborhood?	Yes . . . . . 3 No . . . . . 4	Yes . . . . . 3 No . . . . . 4	Yes . . . . . 3 No . . . . . 4
C. How many people participated in this action?			
D. Approximately what proportion were from this neighborhood?	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %
E. Did any members of the NCAB support it?	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2
F. Did any members of the Neighborhood Center staff support it.	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6

One point is added if Q. 49E is answered "yes" under any of the three categories. One point is added if Q. 49F is answered "yes" under any of the three categories. These are divided by the total number of possible answers, i.e., the total number of "yes" answers to Questions 49I, 49II, and 49III.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-.25	4	14.3
.26-.50	5	17.9
.51-.75	8	28.6
.76-1.00	11	39.3
No answer	<u>22</u>	_____
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE: NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER DIRECTORS

This variable is constructed from the following questions asked of the neighborhood center directors.

54.

A.

HAND RESPONDENT CARD #8.  
Here is a list of activities common to most Neighborhood Centers. Would you tell me on which of these activities this Neighborhood Center is now spending the most time and energy? And then, which one receives the second most amount of attention, and so on. (ENTER A "1" FOR THE MOST IMPORTANT, A "2" FOR THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT, ETC., UNTIL YOU HAVE RANKED ALL SIX ACTIVITIES. ENTER 0 FOR ANY ACTIVITIES WHICH THE CENTER DOESN'T ENGAGE IN AT ALL.)

B.

Would this have been true a year ago? If not, would you rank these in order of importance for a year ago?

(CODE "SAME" . . . 8

OR

RANK ITEMS IN COL. B.)

Q. 54. (Continued):

	A. RANK NOW	B. RANK A YEAR AGO
(a) Direct provision of services . . . . .	_____	_____
(b) Providing referrals to other agencies. . . . .	_____	_____
(c) Community organization and mobilization . . . . .	_____	_____
(d) "Outreach" of services (educational and publicity efforts directed toward potential clients) . . . . .	_____	_____
(e) Planning and coordination of all services offered by all agencies to the jurisdiction of the Neighborhood Center . . . . .	_____	_____
(f) General administration of the Center . . . . .	_____	_____

It is simply the actual number recorded in Q. 54A(C). The distribution is as follows:

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	18	41.9
2	6	14.0
3	7	16.3
4	6	14.0
5	1	2.3
6	5	11.6
No answer	<u>7</u>	_____
Total	50	100.1

VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR MILITANT ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER DIRECTORS

This variable is constructed from sections E, F, and G of the following question asked of neighborhood center directors.

49. Have there been public expressions of demands by residents of this neighborhood for any of the following? (ASK FOR I-III.)

	I. Welfare rights?	II. Community control of schools?	III. Tenant's rights?
	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2
FOR EACH YES: ASK A-G.			
A. What kind of public expression was it? Describe the most important such event. (PROBE: Was it a meeting, or demonstration, or what?)			
B. Were the leaders of this action from within the neighborhood?	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2
C. How many people participated in this action?			
D. Approximately what proportion were from this neighborhood?	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %
E. Did any members of the NCAB support it?	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 1 No . . . . . 2
F. Was formal support for this action on the part of the NCAB ever considered?	Yes (ASK a) R No . . . . . 1	Yes (ASK a) R No . . . . . 1	Yes (ASK a) R No . . . . . 1
a. IF YES: What did they do finally?	Support . . . 2 Oppose . . . 3 No position . . . 4	Support . . . 2 Oppose . . . 3 No position . . . 4	Support . . . 2 Oppose . . . 3 No position . . . 4
G. Did any members of the Neighborhood Center staff support it?	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6	Yes . . . . . 5 No . . . . . 6

One point was given for each "yes" answer to sections E, F, and G. One point was given for a "support" answer to section Fa.

The distribution is as follows:

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Formal and informal support	9	25.7
Full informal support and some formal support	13	37.1
Some informal support	10	28.6
No board	3	8.6
No answer	<u>15</u>	<u>          </u>
Total	50	100.0

CAA PROGRAM CODE

General and specific categories and program description

0. General CAA activity, administration and management

00. General CAA efforts to affect or change other agencies and organizations. These might include city, county, state, or federal governments (elected officials, boards, commissions, laws, policies), civic and community-wide organizations. Do not include efforts to change social service agencies (see 90, below), neighborhood organizations (see 10), or other programs and agencies specifically mentioned elsewhere in the program code.
01. CAA Administration and Management: Administering and managing the central staff, facilities, equipment and other administrative overhead or "shell" of the Community Action Agency. Generalized CAA activities (such as intake and program placement) not related to a specific program, a neighborhood center system, or as part of community organization are to be included. CAA level coordination efforts to ensure the execution of programs operated by the CAA and/or delegate agencies is included. Also included is the day-to-day coordination of CAP-funded programs with related Federal, state, local, and private agency programs. This category does not include administration or management directly linked to a specific category of service or program performed by the CAA; such administration should be included under the appropriate category of service or program. Similarly, delegate agency administration should be included as part of the programs operated by the delegate agency. Administrative overhead and generalized activities performed in neighborhood centers or community schools should be reported under those categories. It does include the provision of administrative services and support (other than training) to members of the governing body or policy advisory committees not related to a specific program.
02. General Training (Staff and Other): Providing general in-service training activities for CAA and delegate agency, professional, non-professional and clerical staff that are not related to a specific category of service. This category also includes providing general training for those activities outside the CAA staffs, such as members of governing bodies. Training that is directly related to a category of service will be included under that category of service. General training under this category represents the normal CAA training activities carried out under conduct and administration grants.
03. Program Development: Initially setting up and developing community action programs on the basis of the needs of poor people and the special conditions of the community. (Note: This category is restricted to activities funded under Section 20 of the

EOA and is not to be used for reporting on the development of new programs or modifying existing programs with an ongoing community action program. See Planning and Coordination definition.)

04. Planning: This category includes establishing and improving CAA's overall planning capability as well as planning specific new programs within an ongoing community action program or planning the improvement of existing programs. This category includes planning for the coordination of CAP-funded programs with related Federal, state, local, and private agency programs and providing general assistance to communities or agencies that cannot be directly related to a specific category of service or program. Assistance that is directly related to a category of service or program will be included under that service or program.
  05. Research and Evaluation: Research efforts include obtaining information for the development or operation of specific programs or obtaining basic information and fundamental knowledge relevant to dealing with the problems of poverty and their solutions. Research in this context is that which is performed by CAAs as part of their conduct and administration grants (Section 205). Section 207 research and demonstration grants are not to be included under this category. Evaluation includes analyzing the effectiveness of ongoing or completed community action programs. Evaluation focuses on results and implications of programs in being or completed. Therefore, studies reported under the research and evaluation category may or may not be directly related to a currently funded program.
1. Neighborhood centers and community organizations
    10. Efforts to change or affect existing neighborhood centers and community organizations.
    11. Neighborhood Center Administration and Management: This category includes the following:
      - a. Administering and managing the center staff, facilities, equipment, and other administrative overhead of neighborhood center.
      - b. Generalized neighborhood center activities not related to a specific program, such as intake, initial assessment, referral, and program placement are included.
      - c. Neighborhood center-directed community organization efforts. (Community organization not associated with neighborhood

center facilities is to be listed as a separate category.) This category does not include specific programs (e.g., Headstart, Housing Development Corporation, Adult Basic Education, Pre-Vocational Training, Day Care, etc.) which are to be identified as separate categories operated from center facilities.

12. Community School Administration and Management: This category includes the following:

- a. Administering and managing the school staff, facilities, equipment, and other administrative overhead of community school.
- b. Generalized community school activities not related to a specific program, such as intake, initial assessment, referral, and program placement are included.
- c. Community school-directed community organization efforts. (Community organization not associated with community school facilities is to be listed as a separate category.)

This category does not include specific programs (e.g., Headstart, Housing Development, Adult Basic Education, Pre-Vocational Training, Day Care, etc.) which are to be identified as separate categories operated from school facilities.

13. Community Organization (without center facility): This category includes two separate activities: general community organization and outreach conducted specifically to encourage antiproverty program participation. General community organization includes involving residents of low-income neighborhoods in the affairs of their community by encouraging those people to organize and direct their own efforts. These activities are those not directly related to a neighborhood center or community school. Activities include contacting individuals to help them organize, assisting them to determine their antiproverty needs, and setting up and conducting community meetings for them to discuss their own problems. Outreach involves actively seeking out poor people through direct personal contact for the purpose of determining their antiproverty needs and informing them of the programs and services available to them in the Community Action Program (or related non-CAP programs).

2. Legal services

20. Efforts to change legal activities and services offered by other agencies.

21. **Legal Services:** Providing legal advice and/or representation by qualified legal counsel. Legal advice means telling people what to do about their specific legal problems; legal representation means advocating the position of an individual or group. This category includes education programs for poor people concerning legal rights, responsibilities, legal resources available to the poor. (Note: Other legal services not carried out within the framework of the National Emphasis program are to be included under the Reforms and Other Legal Services category within the General Social Services account.)
  22. **Reforms and Other Legal Services:** Providing direct financial support for institutional reforms to make the legal system more responsive to the needs of the poor. These reforms include bail projects (i.e., release of defendants who cannot make bail), neighborhood courts, etc. This category also includes providing legal services other than those specified above. (Note: This category of service is not part of the legal services national emphasis program.)
3. **Manpower programs, employment, job training, transportation**
30. Efforts to change other agencies working in manpower and employment.
  31. **Intake, Assessment, Outreach, and Program Placement:** Measuring individual aptitudes, needs, and interests to determine current skill levels and the potential for acquiring additional skills needed to participate in vocational or other training programs or to obtain employment. Participants are usually placed in prevocational or vocational training, direct employment or job placement services as a result of the assessment and placement functions.
  32. **Prevocational Training:** Preparing an individual for assuming the responsibilities of employment or participation in a vocational training program. Emphasis can be placed on attitudinal training, work experience, or basic education, or any combination thereof. (Note: Programs providing adult basic literacy training are to be reported under the Adult Basic Education category.)
  33. **Vocational Training:** Helping an individual to become competitive in the labor market through specific job skill training. This training generally takes the form of institutional training, on-the-job training, or a combination of the two activities. If the vocational training is on-the-job training coupled with basic education, report the basic education participation under prevocational training.

34. Job Placement: Placing individuals in appropriate jobs. A placement is defined as placing an individual in a job that is kept for a minimum of one month.
  35. Job Follow-Up Services: Counseling individuals after they have been placed in a job. Such counseling is normally conducted for a minimum of three months.
  36. Direct Employment: Any direct employment projects which do not meet the criteria of specific work and training projects described in the Economic Opportunity Act (e.g., a neighborhood clean-up project in which poor people are paid out of anti-poverty funds).
  37. Job Development: Finding new job openings that will provide employment for poor people, including stimulating the creation of new jobs and the further improvement of existing jobs in the labor market to benefit disadvantaged people.
  38. Foster Grandparents: Recruiting, training, and employing persons over age 60, with low incomes, to serve neglected and deprived children who lack close personal relationships with adults.
  39. Transportation: Programs that seek to provide transportation to available jobs.
4. Health programs
40. Efforts to change other agencies working on health programs.
  41. Comprehensive Health Services  
Comprehensive Health Administration and Management: Administering and managing the central staff, facilities, equipment, and other administrative overhead of comprehensive health centers (meeting criteria of Section 211). Generalized activities such as intake and initial assessment are included.
  42. Health Education: Improving health by increasing knowledge among poor people of good health practices, signs of physical and mental disorders, and sources of assistance for health problems.  
Health Referral: Referring the client to health facilities for appropriate care. This category should not be used if examination or treatment are performed.
  43. Physical Examination, Referral, and Treatment: Examining, diagnosing, and treating physical disorders. This category includes taking preventive and curative measures as required

in individual cases and making further referrals to other dental or health services.

Dental Examination, Referral, and Treatment: Examining, diagnosing, and treating dental disorders. This category includes taking preventive and curative measures as required in individual cases and making further referrals to other dental or health services.

44. Mental Health Examination, Referral, and Treatment: Examining, diagnosing, and treating mental disorders. This category includes making further referrals to other health services and can include group therapy.
45. Narcotic Prevention and Rehabilitation: Providing program for the prevention of narcotics addiction and the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts, including provisions for detoxification, guidance, training, and job placement.
46. Family Planning: Providing instruction in birth control techniques and the use of birth control methods. This category can include the provision of birth control devices.
47. Special Community Health Services and Environmental Health  
Environmental Health: Improving health by altering environmental conditions through such programs as rodent control, improved sanitation, etc. (Note: This program does not include services to individual participants.)  
Special Community Health Services: Providing special community health services such as mass screening and immunization programs to prevent or combat specific community-wide health problems and includes other related services to individuals.
48. Emergency Food and Medical Services: Providing, on a temporary emergency basis, such basic foodstuffs and medical services as may be necessary to counteract conditions of starvation or malnutrition among the poor.
49. Food Programs  
Food Distribution: Distributing raw or prepared food to the poor people, including the serving of meals.

5. Consumer and financial services

50. Efforts to change other agencies working on consumer services and financial aid programs.
51. Consumer Education and Financial Counseling: Developing and supporting local groups that seek to solve consumer problems through

action, consumer education, and providing other financial counseling for groups and individuals.

52. Credit Cooperatives (Credit Unions): Creating and maintaining credit unions and other sources of low-cost credit that provide poor people the opportunity to save and to obtain inexpensive credit, financial counseling, debt handling, and reduction services, and long-term budgeting aid.
  53. Other Cooperatives: Creating and maintaining other cooperative enterprises among poor people to meet common economic problems or to provide commonly needed services. This category includes consumer cooperatives, such as buying clubs which help to reduce the cost of consumer goods purchased by poor people, and production cooperatives such as manufacturing or agricultural cooperatives which promote jobs and higher incomes.
  54. Other Financial Assistance: Providing small loans to persons in low-income families to meet immediate and urgent family needs and other financial assistance not specified above.
  55. Emergency Loans
6. Education (preschool, elementary, and secondary)
60. Efforts to change schools (both public, private, and parochial), nurseries, and other agencies concerned with child education.
  61. Head Start
    - Head Start Full-Year -- Part Day: Providing comprehensive child-development programs that operate up to 6 hours per day for at least 8 months in a calendar year. These programs are primarily for children aged 3 through 6, but may serve some younger or older children.
    - Head Start Full-Year -- Full Day: Providing comprehensive child-development programs that operate more than 6 hours per day for at least 8 months in a calendar year. These programs are primarily for children aged 3 through 6, but may serve some younger or older children.
    - Head Start Summer: Providing comprehensive child-development programs during the summer months and limited to children who will attend regular school for the first time in the fall. These programs must operate for at least an aggregate of 120 hours.
    - Head Start Training: Training performed on any or all portions of the Head Start Program.

62. Guidance, Testing, and Counseling: Identifying special problems and characteristics of poor students and helping those students make the best of their education through guidance, testing, and counseling efforts.
63. Tutorial and Remedial Education (this category excludes Head Start Follow-Through): Providing individual tutoring assistance, homework help, or supervised study classes to students after regular school hours to supplement regular classroom work at their current grade levels. This category includes providing instruction in remedial reading (including English composition, language arts, and communication skills) and remedial instruction in other curricular areas, such as mathematics and science, for students performing below their normal grade level.
64. Special Education: Using special education techniques to teach children who have physical or emotional handicaps, including education for mentally retarded children.
65. Curriculum and Faculty Development: Improving and modifying course schedules and course content, and improving faculty capability in order to help poor students improve their performance and motivation.
66. Other Precollege and College: Educational programs other than Upward Bound, providing aid to promising high school students from poor families to improve their opportunities to attend college. This category also includes assistance to college students from poor families to continue their education.
67. Other School-Age Education: Providing education programs or services to school-age participants other than those specifically included in the programs listed above.  
  
Cultural Enrichment: Increasing a student's school performance and motivation through active participation in and exposure to the creative and performing arts and other cultural activities. This category includes field trips designed to fulfill these purposes.
68. Upward Bound: Precollege preparatory program designed to further general skills and motivation for success in education beyond high school among young people of low-income background and inadequate secondary school preparation. Reporting is required for the summer and follow-up phases of the program.
69. Parent and Child Centers: Experimental centers for children and parents from disadvantaged families with at least one child under age 6. Greater emphasis than Head Start on reinforcing parental skills and involvement with their children. Centers

will operate with the entire family, generally linked to a neighborhood service center. These programs meet Head Start standards and are funded out of Head Start Funds.

Day Care: Providing day care services for children other than in nursery projects that meet Head Start standards.

7. Adult education

- 70. Efforts to change other agencies working in adult education.
- 71. English as a Second Language: Teaching English to persons whose native language is not English.
- 72. Adult Basic Education: Providing basic literacy training for adults who are unable to read and write. The literacy training in this category is designed to increase employment opportunities, enhance participant benefits from manpower training programs, and generally upgrade the ability of participants to cope with their environments.
- 73. Other Adult Education: Providing educational programs or services to adults other than those specifically included in the programs listed above. This category includes, but is not limited to, improving poor parents' orientation toward education to improve the school performance of poor students.
- 74. Home Management Instruction: Teaching groups of individuals general skills of housekeeping, cooking, shopping, and general home management in a framework of formal instruction.
- 75. Homemaker Assistance: Providing general homemaking assistance to help poor people keep house on a temporary or emergency basis. This category includes provision of non-professional homemaker aides for this purpose.

8. Housing

- 80. Efforts to affect other agencies working on housing.
- 81. Home Improvement Training and Instruction: This category includes training in making home repairs and improvements. (Note: Training in the general skills of home management should be included under Home Management Instruction.)
- 82. Other Housing Services: Providing other housing services to meet the complex needs of the poor. This category includes providing (a) help to poor families or individuals

in finding new housing arrangements, and (b) information to individuals and groups on the availability and best use of current public and private housing programs, such as public housing, urban renewal, and special financial assistance.

83. Housing Development: Providing funds to stimulate additional standard housing units for poor people. Funds are not included for building materials, mortgage financing, or operating capital.
  84. Community Facilities: Providing assistance for construction or rehabilitation of essential community facilities, such as sewer and water systems, sanitation facilities, streets and roads, rest and recreation facilities, etc. (Note: Activities that are designed primarily to provide employment opportunities for the poor should be classified under Direct Employment Programs. Activities included under the Community Facilities category should be limited to those in which employment creation is a minor or insignificant element in the program.)
9. General social services
90. General efforts to change other social service agencies.
  91. Recreation: Providing recreation activities to the poor, excluding special summer programs.
  92. Special Summer Programs and Summer Planning: Enabling CAAs to develop a plan for the utilization, coordination, and mobilization of all resources within the community to achieve the greater program impact in employment, recreation, camping, education, community services, cultural enrichment, and other activities during the summer months.
  93. Social Service Counseling: Providing general social service counseling to individuals, families, and groups to help them solve their social problems.
  94. Other Social Welfare and Social Activities: Providing social welfare and social activities other than those specified in the above programs, including library services.
  98. Uncodable
  99. Don't Know

Part 4

Control Variables



	ORGANIZATION #1	ORGANIZATION #2				
22.						
A. Since 1964, has (organization) conducted any . . .						
	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 20px;"><u>Yes</u></td> <td><u>No</u></td> </tr> </table>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 20px;"><u>Yes</u></td> <td><u>No</u></td> </tr> </table>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>					
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>					
Sit-ins? . . . . .	1 2	1 2				
Boycotts? . . . . .	3 4	3 4				
Demonstrations? . . . . .	5 6	5 6				
Mass marches? . . . . .	7 8	5 6				
<u>ASK B-E AS APPLICABLE.</u>						
B. <u>IF ANY SIT-INS:</u>						
[1] When was the most recent sit-in held?	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)				
[2] What was the issue? (RECORD VERBATIM.)						
[3] How many people participated?	No. : <u>          </u>	No. : <u>          </u>				
C. <u>IF ANY BOYCOTTS:</u>						
[1] When was the most recent boycott held?	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)				
[2] What was the issue? (RECORD VERBATIM.)						
[3] How many people participated?	No. : <u>          </u>	No. : <u>          </u>				
D. <u>IF ANY DEMONSTRATIONS:</u>	DECK 04	DECK 08				
[1] When was the most recent demonstration held?	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)				
[2] What was the issue? (RECORD VERBATIM.)						
[3] How many people participated?	No. : <u>          </u>	No. : <u>          </u>				
E. <u>IF ANY MASS MARCHES:</u>						
[1] When was the most recent mass march held?	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)	<u>          </u> <u>          </u> (Month) (Year)				
[2] What was the issue? (RECORD VERBATIM.)						
[3] How many people participated?	No. : <u>          </u>	No. : <u>          </u>				

23. Do representatives of this organization testify before the city council, city boards or commissions, or the state legislature? (CODE FOR EACH.)

City council . . . . .  
 City boards or commissions . . .  
 State legislature . . . . .

ORGANIZATION #1		ORGANIZATION #2	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1	2	1	2
3	4	3	4
5	6	5	6

1 point for existence of demand, organization, or activity on part of largest organization; presentation to city council or board of education, voter registration drive.

1 point if two organizations got over 100 to meeting.

1 point if demand got over 50 to meeting.

1 point if pressure got over 25 to meeting.

2 points if two organizations see city officials frequently.

1 point if two organizations see city officials sometimes.

<u>Value</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
0-16	14	28
18-24	11	22
25-30	10	20
32-45	11	22
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	50	100

VARIABLE: COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM EXPENDITURES

These data are derived from an Office of Economic Opportunity computer printout titled "CAP GRANTEE STAFFING AND FUNDING BY REGION, STATE, GRANTEE NAME BY PROGRAM YEAR." It is dated 02/16/69.

All funds are included from all program years. Also, grants made to previous agencies if there has been a change in agency are included. Thus, the measure covers all CAP antipoverty efforts. The score will be higher for cities where efforts got underway earlier than others.

Part 5

Diffusion Variables

DIFFUSION VARIABLES

The diffusion variables are derived from the following questions asked of neighborhood center program directors. They refer to actions that might have occurred anywhere in the city.

26. First, I would like to know how the activities of the Neighborhood Center have affected the public schools in the neighborhood.

A. Have there been changes in the ways in which schools operate that have been brought about by activities of the Neighborhood Center?

Yes . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

(continued on next page)

IF THERE HAVE BEEN CHANGES:

Q. 26. (Continued)

I.		II.	
E. Has (1-6) taken any action to extend this change to other parts of the city, to reallocate resources to the Neighborhood Center activity, or to reallocate more resources to the schools for this activity?	Yes	IF YES: What (has he/have they) done?	
	(ASK II)	No	
(1) Executive Director of (CAA)	RR	01	
(2) (CAA) Board	RR	01	
(3) Neighborhood Center Advisory Board	RR	01	
(4) School Board	RR	01	
(5) School Superintendent	RR	01	
(6) Community organizations in the neighborhood	RR	01	

27. Second, I would like to know how the activities of the Neighborhood Center have affected large private employers in or near the neighborhood.

A. Have there been changes in the employment and/or personnel practices of these employers?

Yes . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

(continued on next page)

IF THERE HAVE BEEN CHANGES:

Q. 27. (Continued)

I.		II.	
E. Has [(1)-(7)] taken any action to extend this change to other parts of the city, to reallocate resources to the Neighborhood Center activity, or to reallocate more resources to the employers for this activity?		<u>IF YES</u> : What (has he/have they) done?	
		Yes (ASK II)	No
(1)	Executive Director of (CAA)	RR	01
(2)	(CAA) Board	RR	01
(3)	Neighborhood Center Advisory Board	RR	01
(4)	Chamber of Commerce	RR	01
(5)	Other employers	RR	01
(6)	Labor unions	RR	01
(7)	Community organizations in the neighborhood	RR	01

28. Third, I would like to know how the activities of the Neighborhood Center have affected the social service agencies in or near the neighborhood.

A. Have the activities of the Neighborhood Center caused any of the social service agencies to change the nature or amount of services offered to poor people in the neighborhood?

Yes . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

(continued on next page)



29. Fourth, I would like to know how the activities of the Neighborhood Center have affected any membership organizations which operate within this neighborhood and which most people would consider to be spokesmen for large segments of the neighborhood.

A. Have the activities of the Neighborhood Center caused any of these community organizations to change their goals, priorities, strategy or tactics, membership, size, or sources of support?

Yes . . . . . 1

No . . . . . 2

(continued on next page)

IF THERE HAVE BEEN CHANGES:

Q. 29. (Continued)

I. E. Has [(1)-(6)] taken any action to extend this change to other parts of the city, to reallocate resources to the Neighborhood Center activity, or to reallocate more resources to the community organizations for this activity?	Yes (ASK II)	No	II. IF YES: What (has he/have they) done?
	(1) Executive Director of (CAA) RR 01		
(2) (CAA) Board RR 01			
(3) Neighborhood Center Advisory Board RR 01			
(4) Civil rights organizations RR 01			
(5) Other community organizations RR 01			
(6) Neighborhood churches RR 01			

Each person or group listed as a possible diffuser was classified as CAA-connected or non-CAA connected; and, according to his (or its) location, as neighborhood or non-neighborhood. Acts of diffusion were categorized according to whether they did or did not commit resources of the diffuser (or organization).

These measures were used to construct eleven different variables. City scores were created for six of them by counting the number of times each of the four types of diffusers and two types of diffusion was mentioned in each city, and then dividing by the number of sectors in which change had occurred. This procedure produced the following six variables, which are simply average frequencies:

- Diffusion by CAA diffuser
- Diffusion by non-CAA diffuser
- Diffusion by neighborhood diffuser
- Diffusion by non-neighborhood diffuser
- Diffusion by commitment of resources
- Diffusion by non-commitment of resources

Each of these variables was dichotomized as close to its median value as possible.

It would have been possible to take a frequency count of the number of diffusing actions in each institutional sector, thus producing four (or fewer) "sector scores" in each city. Instead, sector scores were calculated by weighting the different diffusers and types of diffusion using the CAA--non-CAA dichotomy and the commitment of resources--non-commitment of resources distinction:

CAA--commitment of resources:	2 points
Non-CAA--commitment of resources:	3 points
CAA--non-commitment of resources:	1 point
Non-CAA--non-commitment of resources:	2 points

Using this weighting scheme, each sector score was calculated in each city. The four following variables resulted:

- School diffusion
- Employer diffusion
- Social service agency diffusion
- Neighborhood political organization diffusion

Each of these variables was dichotomized about the median score, or as close to it as was possible.

The eleventh variable was constructed by adding up the sector scores within each city and then dividing that sum by the number of sectors (in each city) for which change had been recorded (i.e., by the number of sectors in each city in which diffusion was possible). This variable was called "mean diffusion" and was dichotomized as close to its median value as was possible.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF FIFTY CITIES USED IN STUDY

Akron	Nashville
Albany	Newark
Amarillo	Passaic, N. J.
Atlanta	Philadelphia
Baltimore	Pittsburgh
Berkeley	Phoenix
Birmingham	St. Joseph
Boston	St. Louis
Cambridge	St. Paul
Charleston, W. Va.	St. Petersburg
Charlotte, N. C.	Salt Lake City
Cleveland	San Francisco
Detroit	San Jose
Duluth	Santa Ana
Fort Worth	Schenectady
Hamilton, Ohio	Seattle
Hammond-Gary	Sioux City
Houston	South Bend
Indianapolis	Tampa
Jacksonville	Troy
Long Beach	Utica
Manchester, N. H.	Waco
Memphis	Washington, D. C.
Milwaukee	Waterbury, Conn.
Minneapolis	Waukegan

APPENDIX C

RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED

<u>Respondent Category</u>	<u>Completed Cases</u>	<u>Completion Rate</u>	<u>Not Interviewed</u>	<u>No Such Office or Not Required</u>
CAA Executive Director .	50	100%	-	-
CAA Board Member . . . . .	243	97%	7	-
Neighborhood Center Program Director . . . . .	42	100%	-	8
CAA Employment Program Director . . . . .	34	99%	1	15
Neighborhood Center Director . . . . .	129	95%	7	14
PTA President . . . . .	141	94%	9	-
Personnel Officer of Large Employer . . . . .	131	89%	17	2
Social Service Agency Director . . . . .	144	98%	3	3
Community Political Leader . . . . .	126	88%	18	6

## APPENDIX D

### ORIGINAL HYPOTHESES

We present here a set of hypotheses concerning the effects of the Community Action Program. These hypotheses can be specified on a zero-order (two-variable) level of analysis. The hypotheses specified will be general, but the reader should understand that with first- and second-order analysis, they become much more specific.

There are three levels of hypotheses. The first level concerns general Community Action Agency activities and the cumulative, small-scale, concrete effects at the neighborhood level. These can be viewed as a necessary, though not sufficient, set of effects. Thus the hypotheses, if substantiated, represent only a beginning measure of effectiveness. The first part of these hypotheses can be viewed as outputs or goals of the CAA, and the second or dependent term can be viewed as an outcome. (Barss-Reitzel's analysis is designed to uncover independent terms not covered by the hypotheses specified below and treats the measurement of outcomes somewhat differently than we do.) Three general hypotheses are specified at this level representing different aspects of the two basic goal orientations outlined in Chapter I, i.e., orientation toward improving services and orientation toward community organization.

1. If a CAA is primarily oriented toward and active in community organization, then the schools, the employers, the social service agencies, and the neighborhood political organization will be more open to the participation and influence of the poor.

2. If a CAA is primarily oriented toward and active in the coordination, stimulation, and creation of services, then the schools, the employers, and the social service agencies will create new services and establish wider coverage.

3. If a CAA is primarily oriented toward and active in community organization, then new services and wider coverage on the part of the schools, employers, and social service agencies will take place only under pressure from new organized constituencies.

It should be noted that these three hypotheses are phrased in terms of CAA activities, but that this does not in any way imply that there are not other independent variables outside of the CAA outputs that account for these outcomes. It does mean that at some point in the analysis these other variables will have to be considered. It should also be noted that the independent terms of the above three hypotheses all specify both orientation and activity. These two aspects are measured separately and can be analyzed separately.

The next level of hypotheses concerns the degree to which a CAA enhances, encourages, or diffuses the cumulative neighborhood changes into city-wide programs and policies. In traditional terms, this represents the feedback cycle in the development of CAAs. There are six hypotheses guiding the analysis at this level.

4. If the CAA organization permits initiative from the lower levels of the formal hierarchy, then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

5. If the CAA organization is marked by agreement and consensus at various levels, then initiative from the lower levels is likely, and then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

6. If the CAA executive director is influential and receptive to innovation from below, then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

7. If the CAA board is influential and receptive to innovation from below, then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

8. If the CAA executive director is influential but not receptive to innovation from below, then neighborhood changes are not likely to develop into policy and program.

9. If the CAA board is influential but not receptive to innovation from below, then neighborhood changes are not likely to develop into policy and program.

In conjunction with the above set of six hypotheses, it is important to remember that the data gathered on changes, the CAA organization, and policy and programs of the CAA and other city-wide institutions must all be time specific.

The final level of hypotheses concerns community characteristics. These are phrased in terms of the difference that community characteristics make in the ability or probability of the CAA's transforming neighborhood changes into city-wide program and policy. It should not be forgotten that these community characteristics are also important independent variables associated with the characteristics of the CAA and with the changes observed. There are four hypotheses proposed.

10. If the city is politically centralized and generally liberal and welfare oriented, then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

11. If the city is politically centralized but generally not liberal and not welfare oriented, then neighborhood changes are not likely to develop into policy and program.

12. If the city is not politically centralized but is generally liberal and welfare oriented, then neighborhood changes are likely to develop into policy and program.

13. If the city is not politically centralized, not liberal, and not welfare oriented, then neighborhood changes are not likely to develop into policy and program.

The most interesting aspect of this set of hypotheses may be in determining whether the probability of development is higher in (10) or (12) and whether it is lower in (11) or (13). However, it is probably not possible to establish such differences with statistical significance with only fifty cases.

APPENDIX E

SUPPLEMENTARY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION TABLES

TABLE E.1

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT  
 OF CLIENTS EARNING \$5,000  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Clients Earning \$5,000			Total
	Fewer Under \$5,000	Same Under \$5,000	More Under \$5,000	
Low . . . . .	22.2 (4)	61.1 (11)	16.7 (3)	46.2 (18)
Medium . . . . .	33.3 (3)	22.2 (2)	44.4 (4)	23.1 (9)
High . . . . .	16.7 (2)	33.3 (4)	50.0 (6)	30.8 (12)

Gamma = 0.21687

TABLE E.2

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT  
 OF CLIENTS WHO ARE MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Clients Who Are Minority Group Members				Total
	Decrease	No Change	1-9 Per Cent Increase	Over 9 Per Cent Increase	
Low . . . . .	15.8 (3)	26.3 (5)	26.3 (5)	31.6 (6)	47.5 (19)
Medium . . . . .	25.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	20.0 (8)
High . . . . .	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)	53.8 (7)	32.5 (13)

Gamma = 0.00813

TABLE E.3

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN  
 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Number of Employees			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
Low . . . . .	15.0 (3)	55.0 (11)	30.0 (6)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	20.0 (2)	60.0 (6)	20.0 (2)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	21.4 (3)	35.7 (5)	42.9 (6)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = -0.07732

TABLE E.4

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN NUMBER OF  
 VOLUNTEERS WORKING FOR SSA  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Number of Volunteers Working for SSA			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
Low . . . . .	50.0 (10)	30.0 (6)	20.0 (4)	47.6 (20)
Medium . . . . .	22.2 (2)	77.8 (7)	0.0 (0)	21.4 (9)
High . . . . .	30.8 (4)	53.8 (7)	15.4 (2)	31.0 (13)

Gamma = 0.14943

TABLE E.5

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN REFERRALS  
AMONG SSAs  
(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Referrals Among SSAs			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
Low . . . . .	22.2 (4)	44.4 (8)	33.3 (6)	45.0 (18)
Medium . . . .	22.2 (2)	55.6 (5)	22.2 (2)	22.5 (9)
High . . . . .	7.7 (1)	46.2 (6)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)

Gamma = -0.00935

TABLE E.6

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN  
NUMBER OF PEOPLE SERVED BY SSAs  
(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	People Served by SSAs			Total
	Less than 10 Per Cent	10-30 Per Cent	More than 30 Per Cent	
Low . . . . .	9.5 (2)	47.6 (10)	42.9 (9)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . .	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	30.0 (3)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	14.3 (2)	35.7 (5)	50.0 (7)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = -0.13636

TABLE E.7

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY GENERAL  
SERVICE DIMENSION

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	General Service Dimension			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Low . . . . .	25.0 (5)	50.0 (10)	25.0 (5)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	30.0 (3)	30.0 (3)	40.0 (4)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	28.6 (4)	21.4 (3)	50.0 (7)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.11639

TABLE E.8

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY SERVICE  
TO THE POOR

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Service to the Poor		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	55.0 (11)	45.0 (9)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	35.7 (5)	64.3 (9)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.03165

TABLE E.9

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY SSA  
 INTERACTION WITH POOR  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	SSA Interaction with Poor		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	60.0 (12)	40.0 (8)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	42.9 (6)	57.1 (8)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.18471

TABLE E.10

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY PARTICIPATION  
 OF POOR IN SSA  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Participation of Poor in SSA		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	60.0 (12)	40.0 (8)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	42.9 (6)	57.1 (8)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.18471

TABLE E.11

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY SSA INVOLVEMENT  
 WITH COMMUNITY  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	SSA Involvement with Community		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	60.0 (12)	40.0 (8)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	50.0 (7)	50.0 (7)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.04575

TABLE E.12

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY SSA  
 TOTAL CHANGE  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	SSA Total Change		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	45.0 (9)	55.0 (11)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	70.0 (7)	30.0 (3)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	28.6 (4)	71.4 (10)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = -0.19375

TABLE E.13

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN MINORITY  
GROUP MEMBERS ON SCHOOL STAFF

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Minority Group Members on School Staff		Total
	Decrease	No or Some Increase	
Low . . . . .	78.6 (11)	21.4 (3)	41.2 (14)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (4)	50.0 (4)	23.5 (8)
High . . . . .	50.0 (6)	50.0 (6)	35.3 (12)

Gamma = 0.42553

TABLE E.14

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE  
IN STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Student-Teacher Ratio			Total
	Moderate Decrease	No Change	Increase	
Low . . . . .	35.0 (7)	30.0 (6)	35.0 (7)	47.6 (20)
Medium . . . . .	30.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	70.0 (7)	23.8 (10)
High . . . . .	25.0 (3)	16.7 (2)	58.3 (7)	28.6 (12)

Gamma = 0.32000

TABLE E.15

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN CROWDING  
 OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Crowding of Physical Facilities			Total
	None Less Crowded	Some Less Crowded	All Less Crowded	
Low . . . .	30.0 (6)	55.0 (11)	15.0 (3)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . .	30.0 (3)	50.0 (5)	20.0 (2)	22.7 (10)
High . . . .	35.7 (5)	35.7 (5)	28.6 (4)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.04545

TABLE E.16

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN  
 AUXILIARY STAFF  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Auxiliary Staff				Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Slight Increase	Large Increase	
Low . . . .	5.0 (1)	50.0 (10)	30.0 (6)	15.0 (3)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . .	10.0 (1)	40.0 (4)	10.0 (1)	40.0 (4)	22.7 (10)
High . . . .	0.0 (0)	21.4 (3)	35.7 (5)	42.9 (6)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.25792

TABLE E.17

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN RESIDENT  
PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Resident Participation in Public Schools			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
Low . . . . .	50.0 (10)	30.0 (6)	20.0 (4)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	10.0 (1)	60.0 (6)	30.0 (3)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	21.4 (3)	50.0 (7)	28.6 (4)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.39089

TABLE E.18

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PROMOTION OF  
PARTICIPATION BY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Promotion of Participation by Public Schools					Total
	Large Decrease	Some Decrease	No Increase	Some Increase	Most Increase	
Low . . . . .	4.8 (1)	28.6 (6)	52.4 (11)	9.5 (2)	4.8 (1)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . . .	0.0 (0)	10.0 (1)	80.0 (8)	10.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	0.0 (0)	14.3 (2)	64.3 (9)	21.4 (3)	0.0 (0)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.24859

TABLE E.19

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Number of Innovations		Total
	Low (4 or Less)	High (Over 4)	
Low . . . . .	40.0 (8)	60.0 (12)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	40.0 (4)	60.0 (6)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	50.0 (7)	50.0 (7)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = -0.04575

TABLE E.20

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PARENT-  
COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Parent-Community Assessment of Schools		Total
	Low (6 or Less)	High (Over 6)	
Low . . . . .	55.0 (11)	45.0 (9)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	40.0 (4)	60.0 (6)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	35.7 (5)	64.3 (9)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.25000

TABLE E.21

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PTA MEMBERSHIP

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	PTA Membership			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
Low . . . . .	63.2 (12)	21.1 (4)	15.8 (3)	45.2 (19)
Medium . . . . .	30.0 (3)	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	23.8 (10)
High . . . . .	30.8 (4)	23.1 (3)	46.2 (6)	31.0 (13)

Gamma = 0.46073

TABLE E.22

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT  
OF PARENTS ATTENDING PTA MEETINGS

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Parents Attending PTA Meetings		Total
	1 Per Cent or Less	Over 1 Per Cent	
Low . . . . .	50.0 (9)	50.0 (9)	45.0 (18)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)	25.0 (10)
High . . . . .	50.0 (6)	50.0 (6)	30.0 (12)

Gamma = 0.0

TABLE E.23

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PTA MEETINGS  
 WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	PTA Meetings with Community Groups		Total
	Low (1 or Less)	High (Over 1)	
Low . . . . .	65.0 (13)	35.0 (7)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	30.0 (3)	70.0 (7)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	42.9 (6)	57.1 (8)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.46296

TABLE E.24

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN RESPONSIVENESS  
 TO PARENT-COMMUNITY PRESSURE  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Responsiveness to Parent- Community Pressure		Total
	Low (Less than 2)	High (2 or More)	
Low . . . . .	65.0 (13)	35.0 (7)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	35.7 (5)	64.3 (9)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.18125

TABLE E.25

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASED SCHOOL  
COOPERATION WITH PROGRAMS

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	School Cooperation with Programs		Total
	Low (9 or Less)	High (Over 9)	
Low . . . . .	60.0 (12)	40.0 (8)	45.5 (20)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (5)	50.0 (5)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	42.9 (6)	57.1 (8)	31.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.18471

TABLE E.26

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN EFFORTS TO  
HIRE MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Efforts To Hire Minority Group Members		Total
	None or Slight	Moderate Increase	
Low . . . . .	47.1 (8)	52.9 (9)	44.7 (17)
Medium . . . . .	62.5 (5)	37.5 (3)	21.1 (8)
High . . . . .	46.2 (6)	53.8 (7)	34.2 (13)

Gamma = -0.15517

TABLE E.27

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY HIRING OF  
HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Hiring of Hard-Core Unemployed		Total
	Low	High	
Low . . . . .	10.5 (2)	89.5 (17)	45.2 (19)
Medium . . . . .	33.3 (3)	66.7 (6)	21.4 (9)
High . . . . .	28.6 (4)	71.4 (10)	33.3 (14)

Gamma = -0.45366

TABLE E.28

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN HIRING OF  
TRAINING-PROGRAM GRADUATES

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Hiring of Training-Program Graduates			Total
	None Hired	Decrease	Increase	
Low . . . . .	40.0 (6)	60.0 (9)	0.0 (0)	41.7 (15)
Medium . . . . .	50.0 (4)	37.5 (3)	12.5 (1)	22.2 (8)
High . . . . .	30.8 (4)	61.5 (8)	7.7 (1)	36.1 (13)

Gamma = 0.03896

TABLE E.29

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY EMPLOYER-CAA  
REFERRAL COOPERATION

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Employer-CAA Referral Cooperation			Total
	No Cooperation	Some Cooperation	Most Cooperation	
Low . . . . .	9.5 (2)	52.4 (11)	28.6 (6)	45.2 (19)
Medium . . . . .	20.0 (2)	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	21.4 (9)
High . . . . .	14.3 (2)	21.4 (3)	64.3 (9)	33.3 (14)

Gamma = 0.224

TABLE E.30

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY NUMBER OF NEW COMMUNITY  
SERVICES OFFERED PER EMPLOYER

(Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	New Community Services Offered Per Employer						Total
	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	
Low . . . . .	21.1 (4)	31.6 (6)	21.1 (4)	21.1 (4)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	45.2 (19)
Medium . . . . .	11.1 (1)	11.1 (1)	22.2 (2)	33.3 (3)	22.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	21.4 (9)
High . . . . .	14.3 (2)	21.4 (3)	35.7 (5)	21.4 (3)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (1)	33.3 (14)

Gamma = 0.30512

TABLE E.31

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY EMPLOYERS  
 ADVERTISING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Employers Advertising Equal Opportunity					Total
	None	Few	Some	Most	All	
Low . . . .	10.5 (2)	31.6 (6)	21.1 (4)	15.8 (3)	21.1 (4)	47.5 (19)
Medium . . .	0.0 (0)	12.5 (1)	62.5 (5)	12.5 (1)	12.5 (1)	20.0 (8)
High . . . .	0.0 (0)	30.8 (4)	30.8 (4)	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	32.5 (13)

Gamma = 0.12794

TABLE E.32

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT OF  
 UNSKILLED BLACK WORKERS  
 (Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Unskilled Black Workers				Total
	Decrease	No Change	Increase	Large Increase	
Low . . . . .	25.0 (4)	25.0 (4)	31.3 (5)	18.8 (3)	43.2 (16)
Medium . . .	12.5 (1)	0.0 (0)	50.0 (4)	37.5 (3)	21.6 (8)
High . . . .	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	30.8 (4)	35.1 (13)

Gamma = 0.27660

TABLE E.33  
 NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY THE POLITICAL LEADER  
 BY EMPLOYERS RUNNING JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Employers Run Job-Training Programs							Total
	No Interest, No Programs	Little Interest, No Programs	Some Interest, No Programs	Much Interest, No Programs	Few Run Programs	Some Run Programs	Most Run Programs	
Low . . .	14.3 (3)	0.0 (0)	4.8 (1)	4.8 (1)	14.3 (3)	19.0 (4)	42.9 (9)	47.7 (21)
Medium . . .	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	20.0 (2)	20.0 (2)	20.0 (2)	22.7 (10)
High . . .	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	15.4 (2)	38.5 (5)	7.7 (1)	30.8 (4)	7.7 (1)	29.5 (13)

Gamma = -0.26820

TABLE E.34

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN LEVEL OF  
ORGANIZATION AND DEMANDS BY RESIDENTS

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Organization and Demands by Residents			Total
	Decrease Or None	Slight Increase	Large Increase	
Low . . . . .	47.6 (10)	47.6 (10)	4.8 (1)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . . .	0.0 (0)	80.0 (8)	20.0 (2)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	14.3 (2)	64.3 (9)	21.4 (3)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.66038

TABLE E.35

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PARTICIPATION  
OF RESIDENTS IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

(Per Cent)

Community- Organizing Activity	Participation of Residents in Electoral Politics			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
Low . . . . .	33.3 (7)	38.1 (8)	28.6 (6)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . . .	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	30.0 (3)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	28.6 (4)	64.3 (9)	7.1 (1)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.05854

TABLE E.36

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE  
 AND INCREASED REGISTRATION  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Voter Registration Drive and Registration				Total
	No Activity	Some Activity	Drive and Registration Increase	Drive and Large Registration Increase	
Low . . . . .	28.6 (6)	19.0 (4)	23.8 (5)	28.6 (6)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . . .	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	30.0 (3)	50.0 (5)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	7.1 (1)	50.0 (7)	7.1 (1)	35.7 (5)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.27273

TABLE E.37

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED BY  
 THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INCREASE IN THE PROPORTION OF THE  
 POPULATION WHO ARE MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Members of Community Organizations			Total
	No Increase	1-6 Per Cent Increase	10-18 Per Cent Increase	
Low . . . . .	38.1 (8)	33.3 (7)	28.6 (6)	47.7 (21)
Medium . . . . .	0.0 (0)	80.0 (8)	20.0 (2)	22.7 (10)
High . . . . .	38.5 (5)	46.2 (6)	15.4 (2)	29.5 (13)

Gamma = 0.17293

TABLE E.38

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY CHANGE IN PETITIONING OF  
 PUBLIC AGENCIES BY ORGANIZATIONS  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Petitioning of Public Agencies by Organizations				Total
	Small Change	Some Change	Large Change	Very Large Change	
Low . . . . .	42.9 (9)	23.8 (5)	19.0 (4)	14.3 (3)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . .	30.0 (3)	10.0 (1)	20.0 (2)	40.0 (4)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	7.1 (1)	42.9 (6)	28.6 (4)	21.4 (3)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.33066

TABLE E.39

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER COMMUNITY-ORGANIZING ACTIVITY AS REPORTED  
 BY THE POLITICAL LEADER BY INDEX OF GENERAL  
 INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE  
 (Per Cent)

Community-Organizing Activity	Index of Institutional Change				Total
	First Quartile	Second Quartile	Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile	
Low . . . . .	38.1 (8)	28.6 (6)	23.8 (5)	9.5 (2)	46.7 (21)
Medium . . . .	10.0 (1)	20.0 (2)	30.0 (3)	40.0 (4)	22.2 (10)
High . . . . .	14.3 (2)	7.1 (1)	35.7 (5)	42.9 (6)	31.1 (14)

Gamma = 0.48697

TABLE E.40

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT OF  
CLIENTS EARNING \$5,000

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Clients Earning \$5,000			Total
	Fewer Under \$5,000	Same Under \$5,000	More Under \$5,000	
No . . . . .	14.3 (2)	50.0 (7)	35.7 (5)	38.9 (14)
Little . . . .	22.2 (2)	55.6 (5)	22.2 (2)	25.0 (9)
Some . . . . .	30.8 (4)	38.5 (5)	30.8 (4)	36.1 (13)

Gamma = -0.17647

TABLE E.41

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT OF CLIENTS WHO  
ARE MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Clients Who Are Minority Group Members				Total
	Decrease	No Change	1-9 Per Cent Increase	Over 9 Per Cent Increase	
No . . . . .	7.1 (1)	14.3 (2)	42.9 (6)	35.7 (5)	37.8 (14)
Little . . . .	20.0 (2)	40.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	40.0 (4)	27.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	23.1 (3)	38.5 (5)	35.1 (13)

Gamma = -0.09851

TABLE E.42

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY INCREASE IN NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Number of Employees			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
No . . . . .	28.6 (4)	57.1 (8)	14.3 (2)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . .	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	30.0 (3)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	6.3 (1)	50.0 (8)	43.8 (7)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.45846

TABLE E.43

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY INCREASE IN NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS  
WORKING FOR SSA  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Number of Volunteers Working for SSA			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
No . . . . .	35.7 (5)	64.3 (9)	0.0 (0)	36.8 (14)
Little . . . .	50.0 (5)	40.0 (4)	10.0 (1)	26.3 (10)
Some . . . . .	21.4 (3)	42.9 (6)	35.7 (5)	36.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.38411

TABLE E.44

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY INCREASE IN REFERRALS AMONG SSAs

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Referrals Among SSAs			Total
	9 Per Cent or Less	10-99 Per Cent	100 Per Cent or More	
No . . . . .	23.1 (3)	61.5 (8)	15.4 (2)	34.2 (13)
Little . . . . .	30.0 (3)	50.0 (5)	20.0 (2)	26.3 (10)
Some . . . . .	13.3 (2)	40.0 (6)	46.7 (7)	39.5 (15)

Gamma = 0.35526

TABLE E.45

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PEOPLE SERVED BY SSAs

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	People Served by SSAs			Total
	Less than 10 Per Cent	10-30 Per Cent	More than 30 Per Cent	
No . . . . .	7.1 (1)	64.3 (9)	28.6 (4)	34.1 (14)
Little . . . . .	45.5 (5)	36.4 (4)	18.2 (2)	26.8 (11)
Some . . . . .	0.0 (0)	31.3 (5)	68.8 (11)	39.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.40642

TABLE E.46

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY GENERAL SERVICE DIMENSION

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	General Service Dimension			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
No . . . . .	35.7 (5)	35.7 (5)	28.6 (4)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	30.0 (3)	40.0 (4)	30.0 (3)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	18.8 (3)	25.0 (4)	56.3 (9)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.32768

TABLE E.47

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY SERVICE TO THE POOR

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Service to the Poor		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	50.0 (7)	50.0 (7)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	43.8 (7)	56.3 (9)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.09848

TABLE E.48

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY SSA INTERACTION  
 WITH POOR  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	SSA Interaction with Poor		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	57.1 (8)	42.9 (6)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	70.0 (7)	30.0 (3)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	43.8 (7)	56.3 (9)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.20455

TABLE E.49

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY PARTICIPATION OF POOR IN SSA  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Participation of Poor in SSA		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	64.3 (9)	35.7 (5)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	43.8 (7)	56.3 (9)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.29545

TABLE E.50

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY SSA INVOLVEMENT WITH  
COMMUNITY  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	SSA Involvement with Community		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	71.4 (10)	28.6 (4)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	56.3 (9)	43.8 (7)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.22581

TABLE E.51

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY SSA TOTAL CHANGE  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	SSA Total Change		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	57.1 (8)	42.9 (6)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	60.0 (6)	40.0 (4)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	37.5 (6)	62.5 (10)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.28358

TABLE E.52

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN MINORITY GROUP  
 MEMBERS ON SCHOOL STAFF  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Minority Group Members on School Staff		Total
	Decrease	No or Some Increase	
No . . . . .	58.3 (7)	41.7 (5)	40.0 (12)
Little . . . . .	42.9 (3)	57.1 (4)	23.3 (7)
Some . . . . .	72.7 (8)	27.3 (3)	36.7 (11)

Gamma = -0.20000

TABLE E.53

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN STUDENT-  
 TEACHER RATIO  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Student-Teacher Ratio			Total
	Moderate Decrease	No Change	Increase	
No . . . . .	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)	61.5 (8)	34.2 (13)
Little . . . . .	40.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	60.0 (6)	26.3 (10)
Some . . . . .	20.0 (3)	26.7 (4)	53.3 (8)	39.5 (15)

Gamma = -0.05109

TABLE E.54

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN CROWDING OF  
 PHYSICAL FACILITIES  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Crowding of Physical Facilities			Total
	None Less Crowded	Some Less Crowded	All Less Crowded	
No . . . . .	38.5 (5)	30.8 (4)	30.8 (4)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . .	36.4 (4)	63.6 (7)	0.0 (0)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	31.3 (5)	56.3 (9)	12.5 (2)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.04587

TABLE E.55

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN AUXILIARY STAFF  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Auxiliary Staff				Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Slight Increase	Large Increase	
No . . . . .	7.7 (1)	38.5 (5)	38.5 (5)	15.4 (2)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . .	0.0 (0)	27.3 (3)	36.4 (4)	36.4 (4)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	6.3 (1)	43.8 (7)	25.0 (4)	25.0 (4)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.01362

TABLE E.56

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN RESIDENT PARTICIPATION  
 IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Resident Participation in Public Schools			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
No . . . . .	30.8 (4)	38.5 (5)	30.8 (4)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	36.4 (4)	36.4 (4)	27.3 (3)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	25.0 (4)	56.3 (9)	18.8 (3)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.03768

TABLE E.57

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN PROMOTION OF PARTICIPATION  
 BY PUBLIC SCHOOLS  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Promotion of Participation by Public Schools					Total
	Large Decrease	Some Decrease	No Increase	Some Increase	Most Increase	
No . . . . .	7.1 (1)	21.4 (3)	57.1 (8)	14.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	34.1 (14)
Little . . . . .	0.0 (0)	9.1 (1)	54.5 (6)	36.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	26.8 (11)
Some . . . . .	0.0 (0)	25.0 (4)	68.8 (11)	0.0 (0)	6.3 (1)	39.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.03385

TABLE E.58

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Number of Innovations		Total
	Low (4 or Less)	High (Over 4)	
No . . . . .	53.8 (7)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	27.3 (3)	72.7 (8)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	50.0 (8)	50.0 (8)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.02256

TABLE E.59

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY CHANGE IN PARENT-COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOLS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Parent-Community Assessment of Schools		Total
	Low (6 or Less)	High (Over 6)	
No . . . . .	53.8 (7)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	27.3 (3)	72.7 (8)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	56.3 (9)	43.8 (7)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.06667

TABLE E.60

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN PTA MEMBERSHIP  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	PTA Membership			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
No . . . . .	7.7 (1)	38.5 (5)	53.8 (7)	35.1 (13)
Little . . . . .	70.0 (7)	20.0 (2)	10.0 (1)	27.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	50.0 (7)	14.3 (2)	35.7 (5)	37.8 (14)

Gamma = -0.37736

TABLE E.61

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT OF PARENTS  
 ATTENDING PTA MEETINGS  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Parents Attending PTA Meetings		Total
	1 Per Cent or Less	Over 1 Per Cent	
No . . . . .	58.3 (7)	41.7 (5)	34.3 (12)
Little . . . . .	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	25.7 (9)
Some . . . . .	64.3 (9)	35.7 (5)	40.0 (14)

Gamma = -0.10000

TABLE E.62

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN PTA MEETINGS  
WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	PTA Meetings with Community Groups		Total
	Low (1 or Less)	High (Over 1)	
No . . . . .	53.8 (7)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	54.5 (6)	45.5 (5)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	50.0 (8)	50.0 (8)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.05703

TABLE E.63

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY INCREASE IN RESPONSIVENESS TO  
PARENT-COMMUNITY PRESSURE

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Responsiveness to Parent- Community Pressure		Total
	Low (Less than 2)	High (2 or More)	
No . . . . .	53.8 (7)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	54.5 (6)	45.5 (5)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	50.0 (8)	50.0 (8)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.05703

TABLE E.64

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY INCREASED SCHOOL COOPERATION WITH PROGRAMS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	School Cooperation with Programs		Total
	Low (9 or Less)	High (Over 9)	
No . . . . .	53.8 (7)	46.2 (6)	32.5 (13)
Little . . . . .	63.6 (7)	36.4 (4)	27.5 (11)
Some . . . . .	43.8 (7)	56.3 (9)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = 0.15789

TABLE E.65

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY INCREASE IN EFFORTS TO HIRE MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Efforts To Hire Minority Group Members		Total
	None or Slight	Moderate Increase	
No . . . . .	50.0 (6)	50.0 (6)	36.4 (12)
Little . . . . .	57.1 (4)	42.9 (3)	21.2 (7)
Some . . . . .	57.1 (8)	42.9 (6)	42.4 (14)

Gamma = -0.10345

TABLE E.66

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY HIRING OF HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Hiring of Hard-Core Unemployed		Total
	Low	High	
No . . . . .	23.1 (3)	76.9 (10)	35.1 (13)
Little . . . . .	11.1 (1)	88.9 (8)	24.3 (9)
Some . . . . .	33.3 (5)	66.7 (10)	40.5 (15)

Gamma = -0.21951

TABLE E.67

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN HIRING OF TRAINING -  
 PROGRAM GRADUATES  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Hiring of Training-Program Graduates			Total
	None Hired	Decrease	Increase	
No . . . . .	27.3 (3)	63.6 (7)	9.1 (1)	33.3 (11)
Little . . . . .	44.4 (4)	55.6 (5)	0.0 (0)	27.3 (9)
Some . . . . .	46.2 (6)	53.8 (7)	0.0 (0)	39.4 (13)

Gamma = -0.31183

TABLE E.68

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY EMPLOYER-CAA REFERRAL COOPERATION

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Employer-CAA Referral Cooperation			Total
	No Cooperation	Some Cooperation	Most Cooperation	
No . . . .	14.3 (2)	14.3 (2)	64.3 (9)	34.1 (13)
Little . .	9.1 (1)	36.4 (4)	36.4 (4)	26.8 (9)
Some . . .	12.5 (2)	50.0 (8)	31.3 (5)	39.0 (15)

Gamma = -0.34043

TABLE E.69

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY NUMBER OF NEW COMMUNITY SERVICES  
OFFERED PER EMPLOYER

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	New Community Services Offered Per Employer						Total
	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	
No . . . .	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	38.5 (5)	23.1 (3)	7.7 (1)	7.7 (1)	35.1 (13)
Little . .	33.3 (3)	22.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	22.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	24.3 (9)
Some . . .	13.3 (2)	33.3 (5)	20.0 (3)	33.3 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	40.5 (15)

Gamma = -0.18207

TABLE E.70

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY EMPLOYERS ADVERTISING  
 EQUAL OPPORTUNITY  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Employers Advertising Equal Opportunity					Total
	None	Few	Some	Most	All	
No . . . . .	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	53.8 (7)	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	37.1 (13)
Little . . . .	12.5 (1)	25.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	12.5 (1)	22.9 (8)
Some . . . . .	7.1 (1)	35.7 (5)	7.1 (1)	21.4 (3)	28.6 (4)	40.0 (14)

Gamma = 0.06502

TABLE E.71

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY CHANGE IN PER CENT OF UNSKILLED  
 BLACK WORKERS  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Unskilled Black Workers				Total
	Decrease	No Change	Increase	Large Increase	
No . . . . .	18.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	27.3 (3)	45.5 (5)	33.3 (11)
Little . . . .	22.2 (2)	11.1 (1)	44.4 (4)	22.2 (2)	27.3 (9)
Some . . . . .	15.4 (2)	46.2 (6)	23.1 (3)	15.4 (2)	39.4 (13)

Gamma = -0.32130

TABLE E.72  
 EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
 CENTER BY EMPLOYERS RUNNING JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS  
 (Per Cent)

Emphasis	Employers Run Job-Training Programs							Total
	No Interest, No Programs	Little Interest, No Programs	Some Interest, No Programs	Much Interest, No Programs	Few Run Programs	Some Run Programs	Most Run Programs	
No . . . . .	14.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	14.3 (2)	21.4 (3)	21.4 (3)	28.6 (4)	35.0 (14)
Little . . . . .	20.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	10.0 (1)	30.0 (3)	20.0 (2)	25.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	6.3 (1)	6.3 (1)	12.5 (2)	25.0 (4)	6.3 (1)	18.8 (3)	25.0 (4)	40.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.09217

TABLE E.73

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION AND  
DEMANDS BY RESIDENTS

(Per Cent)

	Organization and Demands by Residents			Total
	Decrease Or None	Slight Increase	Large Increase	
No . . . . .	30.8 <sub>(4)</sub>	69.2 <sub>(9)</sub>	0.0 <sub>(0)</sub>	33.3 <sub>(13)</sub>
Little . . . . .	30.0 <sub>(3)</sub>	60.0 <sub>(6)</sub>	10.0 <sub>(1)</sub>	25.6 <sub>(10)</sub>
Some . . . . .	31.3 <sub>(5)</sub>	50.0 <sub>(8)</sub>	18.8 <sub>(3)</sub>	41.0 <sub>(16)</sub>

Gamma = 0.16058

TABLE E.74

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN PARTICIPATION OF RESIDENTS  
IN ELECTORAL POLITICS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Participation of Residents in Electoral Politics			Total
	Decrease	No Increase	Increase	
No . . . . .	15.4 <sub>(2)</sub>	38.5 <sub>(5)</sub>	46.2 <sub>(6)</sub>	33.3 <sub>(13)</sub>
Little . . . . .	30.0 <sub>(3)</sub>	50.0 <sub>(5)</sub>	20.0 <sub>(2)</sub>	25.6 <sub>(10)</sub>
Some . . . . .	31.3 <sub>(5)</sub>	50.0 <sub>(8)</sub>	18.8 <sub>(3)</sub>	41.0 <sub>(16)</sub>

Gamma = -0.33129

TABLE E.75

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE AND INCREASED REGISTRATION

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Voter Registration Drive and Registration				Total
	No Activity	Some Activity	Drive and Registration Increase	Drive and Large Registration Increase	
No . . . . .	7.7 (1)	15.4 (2)	23.1 (3)	53.8 (7)	33.3 (13)
Little . . . . .	20.0 (2)	50.0 (5)	20.0 (2)	10.0 (1)	25.6 (10)
Some . . . . .	12.5 (2)	18.8 (3)	25.0 (4)	43.8 (7)	41.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.07568

TABLE E.76

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER BY INCREASE IN THE PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Members of Community Organizations			Total
	No Increase	1-6 Per Cent Increase	10-18 Per Cent Increase	
No . . . . .	38.5 (5)	53.8 (7)	7.7 (1)	35.1 (13)
Little . . . . .	40.0 (4)	40.0 (4)	20.0 (2)	27.0 (10)
Some . . . . .	28.6 (4)	35.7 (5)	35.7 (5)	37.8 (14)

Gamma = 0.27703

TABLE E.77

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY CHANGE IN PETITIONING OF PUBLIC  
AGENCIES BY ORGANIZATIONS  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Petitioning of Public Agencies by Organizations				Total
	Small Change	Some Change	Large Change	Very Large Change	
No . . . .	30.8 (4)	38.5 (5)	7.7 (1)	23.1 (3)	34.2 (13)
Little . .	30.0 (3)	20.0 (2)	40.0 (4)	10.0 (1)	26.3 (10)
Some . . .	26.7 (4)	26.7 (4)	26.7 (4)	20.0 (3)	39.5 (15)

Gamma = 0.08939

TABLE E.78

EMPHASIS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION GOALS BY NEIGHBORHOOD  
CENTER BY INDEX OF GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE  
(Per Cent)

Emphasis	Index of Institutional Change				Total
	First Quartile	Second Quartile	Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile	
No . . . .	21.4 (3)	21.4 (3)	28.6 (4)	28.6 (4)	34.1 (14)
Little . .	27.3 (3)	27.3 (3)	27.3 (3)	18.2 (2)	26.8 (11)
Some . . .	25.0 (4)	18.8 (3)	31.3 (5)	25.0 (4)	39.0 (16)

Gamma = -0.03133

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, Theodore R., and Zelditch, Morris, Jr. A basic course in statistics with sociological applications. (2nd ed.) New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
- Barss, Reitzel & Associates, Inc. Community action and institutional change. Cambridge, Mass.: Barss, Reitzel & Associates, July, 1969. (Clearinghouse no. PB185780.)
- Cloward, Richard A., and Ohlin, Lloyd E. Delinquency and opportunity: A theory of delinquent gangs. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.
- Davis, James A. "A partial coefficient for Goodman and Kruskal's gamma." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1967, 62 (March), 189-193.
- Donovan, John C. The politics of poverty. New York: Pegasus, 1967.
- Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare.  
Board members of community action agencies: An analysis of interview data. Community Representation in Community Action Programs, Report no. 2. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, August, 1968a.  
\_\_\_\_\_. Community representation in community action programs. Report no. 1. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, February, 1968b.  
\_\_\_\_\_. Neighborhood organizational units of the Community Action Agency. Community Representation in Community Action Programs, Report no. 4. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, November, 1968c.  
\_\_\_\_\_. Final report. Community Representation in Community Action Programs, Report no. 5. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, March, 1969a.

- Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare.  
Resident participation in community action agencies: Board of directors and neighborhood associations. Community Representation in Community Action Agencies, Report no. 3. Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, January, 1969b.
- Gans, Herbert J. The urban villagers: Group and class in the life of Italian-Americans. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Goodman, Leo A. "Modifications of the Dorn-Stouffer-Tibbits method for 'Testing the significance of comparisons in sociological data.'" American Journal of Sociology, 1961, 46 (January), 355-363.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Simultaneous confidence limits for cross-product ratios in contingency tables." Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series B (Methodological), 1964, 26, 86-103.
- Goodman, Leo A., and Kruskal, William H. "Measures of association for cross classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1954, 49 (December), 732-764.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_. "Measures of association for cross classifications. II: Further discussion and references." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1959, 54 (March), 123-163.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_. "Measures of association for cross classifications. III: Approximate sampling theory." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1963, 58 (June), 310-364.
- Kirschner Associates. "A description and evaluation of neighborhood centers." A report for the Office of Economic Opportunity. 1966. (Processed.)
- Kish, Leslie. "Some statistical problems in research design." American Sociological Review, 1959, 24 (June), 328-338.
- Kramer, Ralph M. Participation of the poor: Comparative community case studies in the war on poverty. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

- Kravitz, Sanford. "The Community Action Program: Past, present, and its future?" In James L. Sundquist (ed.), On fighting poverty: Perspectives from experience. New York: Basic Books, 1969. Pp. 52-69.
- Kruskal, William H. "Ordinal measures of association." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1958, 53 (December), 814-861.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Rosenberg, Morris. The language of social research: A reader in the methodology of social research. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955.
- Levine, Robert A. "Concerning some 'fuzzy' talk about the OEO [Review of Maximum feasible misunderstanding by Daniel P. Moynihan]." The Washington Post, January 19, 1969, p. B5.
- Levitan, Sar A. The Great Society's poor law: A new approach to poverty. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969.
- Levy, Sheldon G. Inferential statistics in the behavioral sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
- McGinnis, Robert. "Randomization and inference in sociological research." American Sociological Review, 1958, 23 (August), 408-414.
- Marris, Peter, and Rein, Martin. Dilemmas of social reform: Poverty and community action in the United States. New York: Atherton Press, 1967.
- Merton, Robert K. Social theory and social structure. (Rev. and enlarged ed.) New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. "What is 'community action?'" The Public Interest, 1966, 5 (Fall), 3-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Maximum feasible misunderstanding: Community action in the war on poverty. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Mueller, John H., and Schuessler, Karl F. Statistical reasoning in sociology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961.

- Orden, Susan R., with James J. Vanecko and Sidney Hollander. Community action programs as agents of change in the private welfare sector. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, August, 1969. (Clearinghouse no. PB 185782.)
- Resource Management Corporation. Evaluations of the war on poverty: Status and prospects at the Office of Economic Opportunity. Santa Monica, Calif.: Resource Management Corporation, March, 1969. (Clearinghouse no. PB 183302.)
- Rosenberg, Morris. The logic of survey analysis. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Rossi, Peter H., and Crain Robert L. "The NORC Permanent Community Sample." Public Opinion Quarterly, 1968, 32 (Summer), 261-272.
- Rossi, Peter H., and Dentler, Robert. The politics of urban renewal: The Chicago findings. New York: Free Press, 1961.
- Selvin, Hanan C. "A critique of tests of significance in survey research." American Sociological Review, 1957, 22 (October), 519-527.
- Vanecko, James J. Community mobilization and institutional change: The influence of the Community Action Program in large cities. National Evaluation of Urban Community Action Programs, Report #2. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, August, 1969a. (Clearinghouse no. PB 185803.)
- . National evaluation of urban community action programs. Report #1. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, June, 1969b. (Clearinghouse no. PB 185783.)
- Walinsky, Adam. Review of Maximum feasible misunderstanding by Daniel P. Moynihan. The New York Times Book Review, February 2, 1969, pp. 1-2, 28.
- Walker, Helen M., and Lev, Joseph. Statistical inference. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1953.
- Wilson, Thomas P. "Measures of association for ordinal hypotheses." Unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology, University of California at Santa Barbara, May, 1968. (Processed.)

Wolf, Eleanor P., and Lebeaux, Charles N. Change and renewal in an urban community: Five case studies of Detroit. New York: F. A. Praeger, 1969.

Yankelovich, Daniel. "The Community Action Program." Summary of a research report prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity. April, 1967. (Processed.)

Ylvisaker, Paul. "Private philanthropy in America." An address to the National Council on Community Foundations, May, 1964.