

INTRODUCTION AND SYNTHESIS

~~QUALITY OF LIFE IN RURAL POVERTY AREAS~~

Community Action in
UNIT 1
Appalachia

PAUL STREET

August, 1968

COMMUNITY ACTION IN APPALACHIA

An Appraisal of the "War on Poverty"
in a Rural Setting of Southeastern Kentucky

August 1968

(Report of a study by an interdisciplinary team of the
University of Kentucky, performed under Contract # 693
between the University of Kentucky Research Foundation
and the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965-1968)

Unit I

Introduction and Synthesis
(First of 13 units)

by
Paul Street

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Contents of Entire Report:

COMMUNITY ACTION IN APPALACHIA

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This is one unit of a report which includes the following units, each separately bound as is this one:

Unit 1--Paul Street, Introduction and Synthesis

Quality of Life in Rural Poverty Areas

Unit 2--Lowndes F. Stephens, Economic Progress in an Appalachian County: The Relationship Between Economic and Social Change

Unit 3--Stephen R. Cain, A Selective Description of a Knox County Mountain Neighborhood

Unit 4--James W. Gladden, Family Life Styles, Social Participation and Socio-Cultural Change

Change and Impacts of Community Action

Unit 5--Herbert Hirsch, Poverty, Participation, and Political Socialization: A Study of the Relationship Between Participation in the Community Action Program and the Political Socialization of the Appalachian Child.

Unit 6--Morris K. Caudill, The Youth Development Program

Unit 7--Lewis Donohew and B. Krishna Singh, Modernization of Life Styles

Unit 8--Willis A. Sutton, Jr., Leadership and Community Relations

Unit 9--Ottis Murphy and Paul Street, The "Image" of the Knox County Community Action Program

Specific Community Action Programs

Unit 10--Ottis Murphy, The Knox County Economic Opportunity Anti-Poverty Arts and Crafts Store Project

Unit 11--Paul Street and Linda Tomes, The Early Childhood Program

Unit 12--Paul Street, The Health Education Program

Unit 13--Thomas P. Field, Wilford Bladen, and Burtis Webb, Recent Home Construction in Two Appalachian Counties

*Special Collections gift Paul Street 7/91

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We wish to thank the people of Knox County for the help without which this study would never have been possible. Their friendliness, kindness, generosity, and patience have been almost boundless. The human-hours they have given in answering our questions and in listening to our explanations of what obviously, from their viewpoints, have at times been foolish questions, and their supportive and hospitable encouragement when we have been confused or lost, geographically or otherwise, leave us much in their debt. Their faith in us--shown in willingness to share confidential information in the interest of our research--makes us feel humble.

We can only hope to match our debt to them with an honesty, earnestness, and thoroughness in this report that will justify the contributions they have made.

ABSTRACT

An interdisciplinary team from the University of Kentucky did a three-year study (1965-1968) of the OEO-sponsored community action programs in a rural Appalachian area of southeastern Kentucky, Knox County. They delimited the population of the study, sampling primarily in more isolated areas of rural poverty. Using "waves" of interviewing of householders in Time 1 and Time 2 (20 to 22 months apart) they measured changes which seemed likely to be related to the question: Did the community action program tend to move people of poverty toward greater participation in the larger society and a more "modern" life style?

Variables investigated included those related to attitudes--i.e., empathy, dogmatism, alienation, political efficacy, openness to change--to use of modern communication media, and to socialization and civic participation. Also, they measured responses to the community action program in terms of adoption of innovations promoted by it and to specific projects of it, such as the Early Childhood, Youth Activities, Health Education, Family Development, and Model Homes programs. Also, income and living-standard changes were noted. Further, the study examined into the image people held of the program and its goals and their evaluation of the effectiveness of specific stratagems employed in it. Also observed was the impact of the community action program on leadership and the participation of the poor.

Measurements taken in the study demonstrated a general change in the direction of greater modernity in life styles, with changes a bit greater in areas served by the community centers set up under the community action program and among those who had participated in it.

People of areas served by centers enlarged their social activities and broadened their perspectives of leadership, naming more leaders but fewer different ones in the final wave of interviewing. The top leadership of the county appeared essentially unchanged, though perhaps more concentrated, but impressions dominating were that the poor were being considered more in decisions affecting them.

The impact upon youth appeared parallel to that upon the householders, though the relationship between participation in the program and changes in youth attitudes was not so clear. The Youth Activities Program failed to involve youth greatly; the tutoring program, which was a fundamental part of it, produced no measurements of positive results, though youth in general moved toward "modernity" along with the rest of the county. Disturbingly, measurements of alienation, dogmatism, and political cynicism showed slight increases--consistent with the model of modernity which anticipates some disillusionment as expectations are raised before potential for fulfillment is realized.

Resident observers reported that the cultural breach between "imported" change agents and the Appalachian communities was a considerable obstacle and that alignments rooted in indigenous factionalism and kinship patterns appeared to affect greatly the direction a program must take to be effective.

Almost one-third of those living in rural areas served by the community centers reported that they were not acquainted with it. This group was measured as different at a statistically significant level from the rest of the population in being of lower income and employment level, of less schooling, farther from the centers, and older--suggesting that the program has not yet reached the more isolated poverty group.

The Early Childhood Program, involving pre-school youngsters in remote areas in a four-day-week, year-round, six-hour-day "kindergarten," demonstrated a significant impact in that its product "caught up" in first grade with other youngsters generally who tended to be a bit older and who came from homes of higher income, of higher employment level of the father, of more schooling of parents, and of higher parental aspiration educationally for the child. (An exception seems to be that, in some comparisons, the Early Childhood Program child tended to be from a home in which news participation was higher.)

The Health Education Program appeared to deliver more service, through a mobile unit, to the isolated poor of the county but had not increased total "volume" of services to the extent reasonably expected, apparently because it had been staffed at the expense of the local health department.

Home improvement, promoted by the community action program, increased more in areas served by the centers than in non-center areas. Also, (since 1966) Knox County built 60 new homes of FHA classifications C and D--the type promoted by the community action program--whereas a neighboring county without such a program built none in these classifications.

Income in the population of the study had increased since 1966, but a greater proportion of it was from transfer payments (in comparison to income from currently productive labor or enterprise); the level of employment was a bit lower; the amount of unemployment, up slightly. Nevertheless, signs of movement toward the modernity basic to economic improvement--adoption of innovations such as home improvement, utility accessories, etc.--provide some basis for optimism.

Recommendations of the study team were:

- 1) That the community center be regarded as a useful stratagem for reaching the isolated poor, with modifications depending upon the degree of provincialism in the setting. (It appears to be needed in Knox County particularly to house the Early Childhood Program in outlying areas.)
- 2) That the use of modern mass media of communication, and efforts to stimulate their use among the isolated poor, be emphasized in the program.
- 3) That respect for local norms be a commitment required in the behavior of personnel who came as change agents from outside the area and that preparation programs for personnel emphasize as a starting point the social realities of kinship and tradition indigenous to the setting of their work.
- 4) That the proportion of administrative time given to training, guidance, and working with the poor, both in in-service training for sub-professionals and guidance and help to volunteer leaders, be increased.
- 5) That those directing the program start with the assumption in good faith that local community leaders are sincerely interested in overcoming poverty (instead of assuming the opposite) and make the role of the professional staff explicitly one of mediation among diverse community forces toward coordinating community-wide attacks upon problems of poverty by involving all who are willing to help.
- 6) That jobs and training for jobs get heavy emphasis as part of the community action program.
- 7) That more effort be made to clarify the goals of the program.
- 8) That the Early Childhood Program be continued, but possibilities of a different kind of program for youth be explored.

MECHANICS OF THIS REPORT

This report turned out to be of such bulk that it is being offered as a series of separate documents, each separately authored and having its own integrity. This initial unit represents an attempt by the principal investigator first to explain the study and then to integrate the subsequent documents in their relevancy to the study problem and to synthesize findings of all the reports.

This report, therefore, consists of:

Unit 1--Paul Street, Introduction and Synthesis

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Home Construction in Two Appalachian Counties

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This study was done under the aegis of the Center for Developmental Change at the University of Kentucky. The resources of its staff, represented particularly in the counsel provided by Drs. Frank Santopolo and Art Gallaher, have given continual support to the study team throughout, as has Dr. Howard Beers, since he became acting director of the center.

FOREWORD

This is a report of a study a research team of the University of Kentucky did of the community action program carried on under sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Knox County, Kentucky, since spring 1965. While some weeks of planning preceded the contract for the study, the contractual period technically was from October 1, 1965 to September 20, 1968, with the first six months given to development of a research design.

Actual gathering of base-line data began, however, in April 1966 before the design was completed, when interview teams from the University campus descended upon the householders of the Middle Fork of Stinking Creek in Knox County to get information in advance of the immediately projected establishment of a community center as part of the community action program in the area. Subsequently, waves of interviewing took place for various phases of the study, the final wave being completed in the spring of 1968--so that the basic Time 1 and Time 2 measures taken in the study were approximately two years apart.

The study team was drawn from the graduate faculty and graduate students of various divisions of the University of Kentucky. There were volunteer, part-time, and full-time arrangements, informal as well as formal, so that teaching and study assignments could be

cleared. (Part-time assignments during the academic year and full-time for summers was the common arrangement for faculty.) Research assistants were generally candidates for graduate degrees, working roughly half-time for the project.

The principle investigator, himself working about half-time on the project for its duration, did make the study his top priority assignment. In developing the design for the study, he mustered those willing and interested members of the University faculty in a series of voluntary seminars in which, with a culminating conference off campus, the design was "hammered out." While he, with full agreement of the consultant group, assumed full authority for the design--presuming that the role of the group was to counsel but not take ultimate responsibility--he acknowledges his considerable dependence upon them and his gratitude for the generous help they provided. Several of those who participated in drafting the design continued as co-investigators in the study.

The Study--An Experiment

As perceived by the principal investigator, therefore, this study has been an experiment in the "problem approach" for a mixed-discipline team, an attempt to mobilize the resources of a university, as represented in its various disciplines, toward bringing their competencies to bear upon the issues implicit in the study.

To say that the principal investigator has attempted to operate by a policy of clearly respecting the specialized competencies of those in the various disciplines is not, of course, to say

that he has always done so. He did, however, assert his intention to do so and has, he can declare, left considerable autonomy (as well as responsibility) to each for his respective report as presented here. This is to suggest that if some of these reports contradict or overlap each other--which may, of course, occur because each is feeling of his own particular "piece of the elephant"--such differences are tolerated in consequence of the principal investigator's view that each should "tell it like it is" from the viewpoint and special perspective his discipline provides.

Nevertheless, he does perceive his role to require him to recognize contradictions, to attempt to make sense out of the whole. Indeed, he feels his role is to interrelate the various parts of the study as relevancies, expected or unexpected, emerge.

This is to say, the effort represented in this report has been one meant to capitalize upon the diversities of competence, interest, and preparation of the University people who have been willing to join in the undertaking, to bring about some focus of their competencies upon a complex problem, and to develop some community of concern among them for the problem without sacrifice or dilution of the concern each has for his own special area.

This report may be viewed, therefore, as in part a collection of reports by separate people with separate interests. There has, however, been very considerable counsel among the group throughout the study--albeit, with continual assurance to each that he is expected to take basic responsibility for his own aspect of the

study--and considerable exchange of information as well as advice. Indeed, there are obvious examples of cooperative undertakings that represent real mixings of disciplines--and the principal investigator can testify that no serious controversies have arisen over boundary lines between disciplines or definitions of what constitutes each other's fields. On the other hand, he would claim that the study team have brought to the task a great deal of mutual respect for each other and a breadth of view that have made his task, as it might otherwise have been cluttered with subordinate matters, an easy one. Feuds over "basic" versus "applied," or "pure" versus "utilitarian" research, for instance, have not arisen.

Specialization within the total operation of the project represents many compromises, some fortunate, some perhaps not. Two members who joined the team early and saw it through became general consultants to all the staff on problems of statistical design, while carrying on their particular sub-projects too. Coding of data was made a central operation under one person's general supervision, but individuals arranged for their own coding on occasion and there was a great deal of intramural communication. For the most part, the team supplied its own programmers for data processing and, despite the fact that the one who had planned a uniform coding pattern for the study had to respond to greetings from the President about a year before the project was completed, the team made good use of it despite some serious limitations consequent to his departure.

Some Arrangements Which "Evolved"

Some arrangements which, in the judgment of the principal investigator, turned out to be almost indispensable to the execution of the study were:

- 1) Establishment of a field office in the area of the study with a full-time director who was by both experience and interest identified with the Appalachian culture--a man with the doctorate in educational administration who had just completed a field study of vocational rehabilitation needs in eastern Kentucky.
- 2) Arrangement for a corps of "native" interviewers to administer, under direction of this field office, the several schedules required in the study design.*
- 3) Early mapping and census of the families of the area of the study, essential in establishment of the sampling pattern and in deployment of interview teams.
- 4) Establishment of centralized facilities (a suite of eight rooms leased by the University near the campus) for the study team and secretarial, coding, and programming staffs.

In all, the arrangements represent what might be regarded

*The University is more than 100 miles from the area of study. It became obvious early that if "outside" interviewers were used there would be numerous refusals to accept interviews. Furthermore, native interviewers were able to advise on needed changes in wordings of questions, on questions which might offend, and what people were helpful in cases where it was necessary to gain special entree in order to get an interview.

as compromises on vital points:

- 1) There was a unifying procedure to initiate the undertaking-- the seminars and some fairly clear commitments from individual team members to execute fundamental parts of the design--but there was a great deal of looseness, each co-investigator largely free to seek his own direction and come to the principal investigator only if he needed help.
- 2) There was some unification of service operations that cut across disciplines (central coding, programming, typing and interviewing)--but also considerable freedom for do-it-yourself arrangements in such matters.
- 3) There was specialization, in the directing of interview teams through the field office--but some investigators did interviewing too and supplemented native teams with help of their graduate students and associates on special tasks.* Some seldom visited the area of study, specializing as traditional scholars at their desks or in the library and depending upon the field office to specialize in gathering and delivering the data; others travelled the road between the University and Knox County many times, seeking the concrete images their data were meant to interpret.

*"Native" interviewers were always briefed by the person directing the particular part of the study. Then "trial" interviewing was done and experiences of interviewers were reviewed to check any difficulties. The field office served to see that problems were "communicated" back to the one respectively responsible, and opinions of the interviewers were considered in final drafts of schedules.

- 4) There were staff conferences (more meetings at first and fewer as the project progressed)--but a laissez faire attitude prevailed that left each on his own until he called for help.

Changes in Midstream

Things did not work out exactly as planned. There were personnel problems--but adjustments were made--and each to his own judgment for how effective they have been! A major segment of the original design--a plan for a "poverty panel" of respondents who would supply diary reports of their income and expenditure behavior--had to be abandoned when the staff member who was to direct it left the project. Then another major operation was substituted: A graduate student in anthropology was placed in residence in a selected community of the area of the study where for six months he observed the people and the program in intimate detail.

The original design has not been kept sacred, though it has been respected for the most part. In defense of the fact that the study team has varied from it in part, it can be pointed out that the program under study has varied too. That is, the Knox County CAP has--and certainly justifiably--changed since the plan to study it was developed; to follow the original design blindly without regard to shifts in the program under study would hardly be rational. Indeed, it may be noted that some of the assignments--notably, the study of the Family Development Program--turned out to have missed their target

in part because what they were to evaluate turned out not to be continued in its original form. Regardless of changes in CAP, however, there were modifications in emphasis and direction of study. Some hypotheses have been added to the design, others almost ignored or tested only by indirection as the availability of evidence and limitations of the study have required. Nevertheless, the general character of the design is intact.

Relationships with Knox County CAP and People

The assumption was made in the beginning of the study that the Knox County CAP was an "experiment," an example of how a community action program might work in a rural area, and that the fact that it was being studied should not be permitted, insofar as possible, to become a "contaminating" variable. In general, therefore, it was the policy of the study staff to avoid advice-giving, suggestion, or actual participation in the Knox County CAP. (See Appendix A for policy statements.) There were some arrangements made, however, for mutual assistance between the field office of the project and Knox County CAP. The mapping and census undertaking, for example, was one in which the CAP center directors collaborated with the field office and the geography study team, the directors counseling regarding details of home location, roads, etc., and supplying family data (names, sex, ages) of residents. Also, they provided periodic reports of participation in their respective center activities. In exchange, the maps were duplicated and shared freely with them, as they found

the materials useful in their programs. In general, however, the study team eschewed any participation in or interference with the Knox County CAP which might make it a peculiar example of community action.

Another posture of the study team was that it presumed no right to extract information from either the Knox County CAP personnel or the people generally of Knox County--that the help they gave by accepting interviews or otherwise supplying information was by their own grace, not their obligation. (Undoubtedly, CAP staff felt some pressure to cooperate since OEO was supplying funds for their work as well as for the work of the study team.) Interviewers were urged to suggest that they were seeking information that might help research generally or help in the solution of poverty problems particularly. but that any question which they might ask the interviewee could be rejected any time the interviewee felt any offense. Furthermore, anonymity regarding the information was assured and explanation made that treatment of answers would be depersonalized, with no people or communities particularized.

It is perhaps worth noting that the director of the field office participated actively in community life in Knox County while he was assigned there, but in activities unrelated to CAP and of a "non-controversial variety." He was careful, for example, to avoid the possibility of being viewed as partisan on any community or political issue. He developed a camaraderie, however, with hobbyists, traders, and horsemen, for instance, and became involved in community festivals, but attended meetings of community action groups only as an

observer. It cannot, of course, be assumed that the Hawthorne effect was entirely avoided.

A troublesome problem appeared in the need for clear identification of interviewers and other field representatives to distinguish them from personnel of the CAP itself. It was at times difficult to make people understand that the University (with which interviewers and all the study team tried consistently to identify themselves) was something separate from CAP. This issue became crucial when some of the people selected for interview refused interviews because they objected to CAP, since too many such refusals obviously would skew the sampling. It is likely that in a few instances interviewers were rejected because the distinction was never quite made clear. The distinction lost a bit of its significance toward the end of the study, however, when it seems to have clarified itself in the minds of the people of Knox County--when, instead, the problem of "survey fatigue" produced some reluctance on the part of some to accept interviewers.

The opinion that the cooperation of the people of Knox County, both CAP staff and citizens generally, was of a more-than-generous level on the whole gets substantiation in various parts of the report which follows.

--Paul Street
Principal Investigator

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CHAPTER I

RATIONALE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

This is an evaluation study. Notwithstanding, it is meant to be a research undertaking and therefore cannot deal with values themselves. It is particularly directed, however, to deal with whatever is relevant to the value decisions that are at issue in the "war on poverty." That is, it is to consider whatever information might conceivably have a bearing upon choices regarding the goal of overcoming poverty.¹

The problem question of this study might be stated:

What happens when a federally sponsored community action program operates in a rural mountain setting?

Some sub-questions to this problem might be:

What works and what does not work in the "war on poverty"?

What kinds of people, groups of people, or institutions respond to what kinds of programs, and how do they respond?

What stratagems hold most promise and what ones least--for use in the "war on poverty"--and with what kinds of populations?

How effective is the "community action"

¹Obviously, this study is not aimed at evaluating the community action program of Knox County, except as Knox County provides a sample of how such programs work in such settings.

principle in a general sense, on the basis of its specific applications in the sample area of the study?

What is the effect of the community action program on the decision process and upon relationships among various community groups and institutions?

What models emerge as actually operative, or ideally would be operative, to accomplish the goals of the program?

It is toward answers to such questions that the study team was groping. The task of this study was not, however, to evaluate all aspects of the "war on poverty," even in the restricted rural-mountain population. Rather, it was to focus upon community action, and to extend itself to examine operations which emanate from exercise of the community action principle--on the assumption that although specific operations emerging out of community action in the particular sample selected for the study may not appear in other community action programs in other (even similar) samples, they are, nonetheless, valid demonstrations of the community action principle in application.

For instance: Obviously, spending federal funds in considerable amounts is a phenomenon of many programs other than community action programs. The fact that the economy of the area is given a "shot in the arm" by such funds is irrelevant to whether or not the community action program is effective, unless, somehow, it can be determined whether or not expenditure through the community action program is in a special way more or less effective than through other agencies, especially in its impact upon the target of the "war on poverty." Similarly, if there is no evidence that the Head Start Program, actually delegated by contract to the county school authorities

through the community action group of this study, is given some magic touch by the fact that it is "blessed" by community action, one can scarcely assume that the success or failure of Head Start reflects success or failure of community action.

On the other hand, programs actually operated by the paid and volunteer staffs under authority of the community action group would appear to be relevant examples of how community action works out in practice. Even more central, of course, are the operations of the community action groups themselves and the quality of their behavior in terms of the goals of solving the problem of poverty. In a broad sense this study was designed to answer these questions:

- 1) Has the Knox County CAP had an impact upon people as individuals, especially those of poverty, that might be assumed to move them toward more involvement in the larger society? Do people communicate or use modern media of communications more? Do they, especially those of poverty, participate more in cooperative activities? Do they project themselves more into broader concerns with community problems?
- 2) What is the impact of CAP on the quality and character of the decision process as it involves both formal and informal group behavior regarding community issues? Are power alignments affected, and, if so, how? To what degree is "maximum feasible participation" accomplished and what are the results?
- 3) What image do people--especially those who are "targets of the program"--have of the CAP, and from what sources is this image derived?
- 4) What are the direct impacts of the CAP through its own various projects and upon the local economy and community institutions?

Team Assignments

Assignments which bear, perhaps, most directly on the first

question are those reported in this study by Donohew-Singh, Hirsch and, to an extent, Sutton and Caudill. Murphy's role as field director and resident observer, and Cain's as resident anthropologist, obviously, touch all questions of the study, though it should be noted that Cain concentrated and worked much more intimately with an isolated community whereas Murphy was not only responsible for maintaining a practical working relationship between the field and the project's representatives in it but also for observation of the program from a county-wide perspective.²

Hirsch examined youth responses to impacts of the program generally upon the political socialization of youth, while Caudill observed for effects upon educational growth and adjustment of youth, especially relative to the Youth Activities Program in the Knox County CAP. Street reports both on the Early Childhood Education and Health Education Programs, rather clearly defined undertakings of Knox County CAP. Stevens attempted to appraise relationship of CAP to the economy of the area and to the economic status of the individual. Gladden examined into relationships between CAP and the family, initially assuming that the Family Development Program in Knox County CAP would be directly concerned with problems of intra-family adjustment--with which, in a general and indirect sense, it was, through the work

²The community Cain studied was deliberately selected on the basis of proximity to a CAP community center in a poverty area and comparatively isolated. It turned out to be a better example, perhaps, of why some people reject the CAP than of why or how they participated, for the community was one which, though of low income, tended to resist most forms of government assistance--unlike some other similar areas close by.

of its home improvement and home economist aids and its work with parents in the Early Childhood Program. Since, however, the Family Development Program as such took a turn to emphasize on home improvement through construction and remodeling, a supplement to Gladden's study has been done by Field in his analysis of new home construction and house abandonment.

The Relevant Variables

Community Action requires involvement of people. Its heart idea would seem to be that if people who have a common stake in solution of a problem can be brought to counsel together the possibility of solution of the problem will be increased. There are, of course, periphery ideas: that people involved in decisions are more ready to help implement those decisions, that "democratic" values are inherent in the let-us-counsel-together arrangement, and that more just decisions are likely to prevail if people are involved. Especially, some assumption is made that involvement will prompt those who have been "left behind" or even alienated from the larger society to seek its values and move toward becoming self-sustaining members of it.³ (Actually, this is not just an assumption but an hypothesis to be tested in this study.)

The basic goal of community action is, therefore, to move people from dependency to self-sufficiency, to "break the poverty

³The People Left Behind, A Report by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, September 1967, p. xii.

cycle" by pushing them to self reliance, for themselves or for their children. Its goals are essentially long-range, immediate goals being, in a sense, instrumental to the ultimate goal of moving people out of poverty.

The Community Action Program Guide provided by OEO to help local groups prepare applications for grants reads:

The long-range objective of every community action program is to effect a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities afflicted by poverty to deal effectively with their own problems so that they need no further assistance.⁴

It is to examine the variables related to whether or not such a goal has been to any degree accomplished that this study is primarily directed. Even in evaluation of the specific programs generated by the community action group, the study team has emphasized attention to the variables related to increased socialization, adjustment to standards and values of the larger society and its institutions, and identification with issues of self and community improvement.

Over-All Plan of the Study

Now this study was concerned not with the total of Knox County but with those parts of it which would appear to be relevant to issues regarding rural poverty. The problem of selecting a population from which to sample, therefore, appeared one of limiting areas from which samples would be drawn to those which were more rural (and consequently more isolated) as well as of a low income level.

⁴Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program Guide, (Vol. 1. Instructions for Applicants, Washington, D. C.), February, 1965.

Stated another way: The "experiment" upon which this study is expected to report is one in which certain stratagems for dealing with poverty are being tried out in areas of rural poverty--on people of poverty in rural environments.

While samples (for "control" purposes) might properly be drawn from more urban areas and among more affluent people, the central concern of the program this study is to evaluate is poor people in non-urban settings. Accordingly, since Knox County is not homogeneously either rural or poor, it appeared necessary to select a relevant population out of the total. In consequence, both the pattern of the study and the program being studied were considerations in the delineation of a "synthetic" population which is the basis of this study. That is, groups were "assigned" to the population because:

- 1) They were in areas served by the CAP, or
- 2) They were in areas which CAP would have served had doing so been feasible⁵ (if there had been funds, for example), and
- 3) They were rural (comparatively isolated) in character.⁶

The definition of these areas grew out of conference with those operating the CAP, after which, with their cooperation, a complete census of the households of the areas was developed. The result was

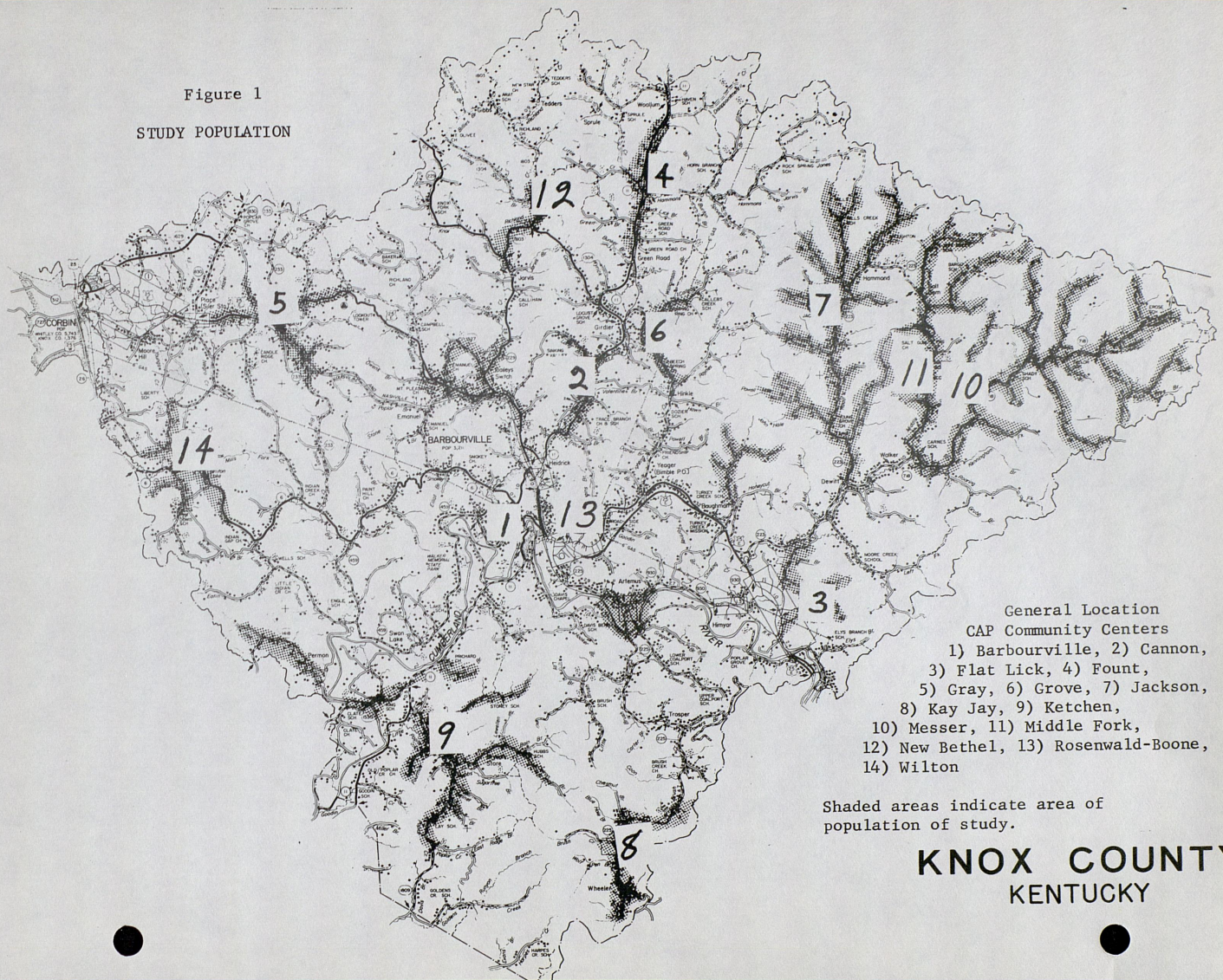
⁵These provide "controls," on the assumption that, comparatively, they are isolated from impacts of the CAP yet are in general similar in character to areas where there are CAP centers. To a degree, also, those individuals who could but do not participate in the CAP become "controls," to which individual participants may be compared.

⁶Three of the communities are clearly less remote than the others--Artemus, Grays, Kay Jay. Economically, they represent "ghost" towns where industry, at least for the present, is on the wane.

a mapping in detail of all areas in which community centers (which were essential "arms" of the program by which it was expected to carry impacts into remote areas) were located and of areas where centers might, ideally, have been located (that is, rural poverty areas where no center location was feasible). Center directors, employees of the CAP, took active part in preparation of these maps and, therefore, set the limits of the areas they expected their respective centers to serve. The central CAP staff responsible for the community center operation in general helped in selection of comparable areas where no centers were located, suggesting where centers might go if funds were available or if population concentrations were great enough to support centers. Arbitrarily, enough of these latter kinds of areas were included in the population of this study to provide a sampling adequate for comparisons to areas where centers operated. The distribution of the population thus "constructed" for the purposes of this study is interpreted through the map, Figure 1, which follows and Table 1 which indicates the interviewing pattern.

The census of the population area was organized so that numbers were assigned each household for convenient machine coding, these being in a pattern related to the geography of the area. Included were detailed maps with respective numbers of households indicated. Also included were names of all members of households, age, sex, relation to head of household, distance of dwelling from center, and (for select periods in areas where there were centers) degree of participation by individual members of the household in

Figure 1
STUDY POPULATION



- General Location
CAP Community Centers
- 1) Barbourville, 2) Cannon,
 - 3) Flat Lick, 4) Fount,
 - 5) Gray, 6) Grove, 7) Jackson,
 - 8) Kay Jay, 9) Ketchen,
 - 10) Messer, 11) Middle Fork,
 - 12) New Bethel, 13) Rosenwald-Boone,
 - 14) Wilton

Shaded areas indicate area of population of study.

KNOX COUNTY
KENTUCKY

TABLE 1
FAMILY UNITS IN SAMPLING AREAS
AND NUMBER OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULES ADMINISTERED

Area	Number Family Units in Area	Time 1 (Spring 1966)			Time 2 (Spring 1968)			"Image" Schedules (to heads of households only)
		Head-of- Household Schedule*	Home- Makers Schedule	Adoption-of- Innovation Schedule**	Head-of- Household Schedule*	Home- Makers Schedule	Adoption-of- Innovation Schedule**	
Artemus (non-center area)	324	54	53	97	48	47	82	
Bailey Switch (non-center area)	163	57	57	90	53	50	83	
Fount Center	114							40
Grove Center	164							56
Kay Jay Center	134	53	57	90	44	48	77	48
Ketchen Center	187							63
Messer Center	157	57	56	103	53	52	95	59
Middle Fork Center	157	64	66	113	53	54	105	55
New Bethel Center	102	64	66	114	54	57	106	21
Wilton Center	125							42
Miscellaneous non- center areas: Clate, Flat Creek, Goldens Creek, Harps Fork, Prichards Branch, Turkey Creek	63	62	61	105	56	57	92	
TOTALS		411	416	712	361	365	640	384

*Heads-of-household and homemaker schedules were identical in most items, but when the head and homemaker was one person, not only the questions common to both schedules but those different in both schedules were asked.

**Identical schedules were administered to both husband and wife. Since widows and widowers were interviewed with both head-of-household and homemaker schedules, the totals do not match.

the community center program as judged by the center director. The census report, therefore, provided a basis for selective sampling for various purposes. For some purposes (i.e., generalizing regarding extent of participation in the centers program) the census represented a sample itself. In a practical sense, however, the study team regarded it as a delineation of the population out of which samples were drawn. Illustrations of how the census study is organized appear in maps, the Appendix B of this report.

Details of how samples were drawn respectively for the various phases of the study will be outlined in the reports which follow here. The "backbone" instruments were the "head-of-household" and "homemaker" schedules administered in spring 1966 (Time 1) and in spring 1968 (Time 2), and the "Image" schedule which was administered as nearly at the end of the study as possible. The sampling for these schedules was randomized by households. These are termed "backbone" because broadly they incorporated questions representing the concerns of various members of the study team who worked together in preparing them, whereas other instruments used in the study were more specially prepared for the studies of political socialization of youth and of the Youth Development, Early Childhood Education, and Family Development Programs--for the most part by the investigators who were assigned such phases of the study.

While descriptions of refined aspects of sampling will accompany reports of respective phases of the study, Table 2 indicates the general scope and sequence of data gathering. Two points should be noted:

MIS-PAGINATION

- 1) Deaths, out-migration, incapacitating illnesses, and refusals to accept interviews reduced the numbers finally "netted" in the samples. Checks have been made, comparing the character of the samples lost in Time 2, and no differences appeared which would significantly skew the Time 2 sample.
- 2) Since the policy was to assure interviewees that they were free to reject any question asked during an interview, there were some who accepted interviews but refused to answer certain questions. The N for responses on one question is not necessarily, therefore, the same as for another one.

The attrition--loss of interviewees between Time 1 and Time 2-- is explained in Table 2 for householders interviews and Table 3 for the "image" interviews.

Note that codes "6" and "7" are for movements out of the county and deaths respectively which took place between Time 1 and Time 2 (about 2 years). The deaths numbered 15 out of a total initial sampling of 712. The number is undoubtedly higher than it would have been for a younger population. Refusals, coded "5," were in many instances because people had become incompetent (in several instances, senility) or were bed-ridden or hospitalized--again, reflecting the age of the population.

During the two-year period, 49 moved outside the county, so far as the field office was able to determine. This number appears exceptionally small inasmuch as it represents roughly only

TABLE 2
 ATRITION IN SAMPLE

Reasons for Loss of Interviews in Time 2 Wave
 Heads-of-Household, Homemakers, and Adoption
 of Innovation Schedules

Areas	Head of House Schedule								Total	Homemakers Schedule								Total	Adoption of Innovation								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5	6	7			1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
N. Bethel	0	1	0	1	2	3	3	10	0	1	0	1	1	5	1	9	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	8			
Kay Jay	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	9	0	0	0	0	1	7	1	9	0	1	0	0	2	8	2	13			
Messer	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4	2	0	0	0	2	2	2	8			
M. Fork	5	0	0	0	1	3	2	11	5	0	0	0	2	3	2	12	3	0	0	0	1	1	3	8			
Turkey Cr.	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	6			
Artemus	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	6	1	1	1	0	0	3	0	6	0	2	2	0	6	4	1	15			
Bailey Sw.	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	0	2	4	0	7	0	1	0	0	1	3	2	7			
Clate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2			
Flat Cr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1			
Goldens Cr.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2			
Harpes Fork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
Prichard's Branch	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2			
Totals	8	2	1	1	7	22	9	50	6	3	1	1	7	27	6	51	8	6	2	2	14	27	13	72			

- *1 = "Survey fatigue," including antipathy toward University.
- 2 = Antipathy toward Knox County CAP.
- 3 = Combination of 1 and 2.
- 4 = General antipathy toward "war on poverty" and "government spending."
- 5 = Other causes (including incompetence, illness).
- 6 = Moved from county.
- 7 = Deceased.

TABLE 3

REASONS GIVEN FOR REFUSALS
TO ACCEPT "IMAGE" STUDY INTERVIEW

Reason*	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Center Areas						
Fount	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grove	0	1	0	0	0	1
Kay Jay	2	1	0	0	1	4
Ketchen	0	1	0	0	1	2
Messer	1	0	0	0	1	2
Middle Fork	1	1	0	0	0	2
New Bethel	1	0	0	0	0	1
Wilton	0	1	0	0	1	2
Total	5	5	0	0	4	14

*1 = "Survey fatigue," including antipathy toward University.

2 = Antipathy toward Knox County CAP.

3 = Combination of 1 and 2.

4 = General antipathy toward "war on poverty" and "government spending."

5 = Other causes (including incompetence, illness).

7 per cent of 712 interviewed in spring 1966 (though some may have moved out and moved back--and moves within the county are not included). National figures indicate much greater mobility. Pavelich reports that 41 million move annually in the United States--roughly 20 per cent.⁷ Rossi reports one study in which 41 per cent of households of the low income group moved in 23 months.⁸

Limitations of the Study

Time, obviously, as has been repeatedly pointed out to as well as by the study team, is too short for such an evaluation as is attempted here. Problems to each individual researcher have been: What can I measure that will reflect the immediate impacts of the CAP which may be expected to be correlated with the longer-range impacts which the goals of the program require? Will my instruments be sensitive enough to give me "readings" I can rely upon? How do I screen my samples to filter out contaminating impacts of other forces than those of the CAP?

Obviously, these questions have no definitive answers, and it is within the limitations this reality imposed that the study team has necessarily delivered this report, each investigator explaining in his part what measures he took in his efforts to deal with these questions.

⁷Thomas H. Pavelich, "Education and Population," Minnesota Journal of Education, Vol. XLII (February 1962), p. 9.

⁸Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 23.

Then, two characteristics of the Knox County population place limitations upon the validity of the human responses gathered as data for most of this study:

- 1) The character of the people of Knox County, particularly the rural, mountain folk, which prompts them to be particularly reluctant to offend others.
- 2) The political loyalties of the general population of the county, which happen to be aligned with the party not presently in power in Washington.

The first of these is the characteristic in person--as opposed to issue--orientation, which Weller describes and to which Cain, in Unit 3 of this study, and Murphy, in Unit 9, refer.

Those of the study team who worked in the field, either with the native interviewers or in actual interviewing, encountered repeatedly the tendency for respondents to seek to find out what the interviewer wished them to say, and a reluctance to be critical, particularly of some person. Weller reports the example of the folk who signed petitions both for and against moving a post office--because their concern was not so much with the objective issue but with the people who wanted them to sign.⁹

This means that the "I don't know," which on some critical points was all-to-commonly the response, may well have been a polite avoidance of a confrontation which might entrap the respondent into impeaching some person or group. Such responses obviously reduce the

⁹Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), p. 81.

samples; the assumption must be made for purposes of this study, of course, that the bias they represent is, at least to a degree, self-correcting--that it operated as strongly in Time 2 measures, for instance, as it did in Time 1. Nevertheless, the study team regards the problem as imposing a limitation which can only partly be obviated.

The second characteristic, likewise, must be assumed to be a partly self-correcting bias. The presumption seems unavoidable, however, that many loyal Republicans of Knox County have surely identified the Knox County CAP with the Democratic party. One can only ponder the difference in the impact CAP might have had, had it been a creature of the federal government at a time when "their" party was dominant nationally. (The effect of this reality upon Hirsch's measures of political cynicism and efficacy, for instance, can only be conjectured, though the assumption again that the same bias operates in all the samples he compares is a reasonable one.)

CHAPTER II

THE KNOX COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM AND ITS SETTING

The description of Knox County and its OEO community action program offered in this study at this point is purposely limited to those aspects which appear germane to the study problem. Furthermore, much of the description of program and setting included in this study is scattered, distributed at those points where it is most germane, to avoid needless repetition. Indeed, geographic, socio-economic, and cultural descriptions of the county are set forth so clearly in the papers by Gladden, Stephens, Cain, and Field, which follow, that only a general sketching seems necessary here.

Beyond what the title of this study implies, the reader perhaps should know that Knox County is on the western edge of the Appalachian area in southeastern Kentucky; that it is generally of a low level of economic development--but not altogether so--that it has some areas of comparatively extreme isolation, but also some comparatively modern; that it has, for instance, a small, church-related college in its county seat; and that it is of a comparatively homogenous population (some two per cent nonwhite by the 1960 census).

Since the population of the study is not that of the county as a whole, county-wide demographic characteristics of the population are only partly applicable. Six communities in which the head-of-household and

TABLE 4

AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION IN SIX COMMUNITIES OF
STUDY POPULATION: ARTEMUS, BAILEY SWITCH,
KAY JAY, MESSER, MIDDLE FORK, NEW BETHEL*

Sex	Age	Numbers	Numbers both Sexes
M	0- 5	161	318
F		157	
M	6-10	205	384
F		179	
M	11-15	209	439
F		230	
M	16-20	187	351
F		164	
M	21-25	98	196
F		98	
M	26-30	76	139
F		63	
M	31-35	55	127
F		72	
M	36-40	55	126
F		71	
M	41-45	83	171
F		88	
M	46-50	95	219
F		124	
M	51-55	100	190
F		90	
M	56-60	86	164
F		78	

(Continued)

*Although this table is based on the total study-population census of these communities, it should be regarded as a sample, illustrating proportions, rather than actual totals. Ages were not available for various reasons in some families, so totals in this table do not match those in Figure 3.

TABLE 4 Continued*

Sex	Age	Numbers	Numbers both Sexes
M	61-65	80	156
F		76	
M	66-70	59	130
F		71	
M	71-75	47	82
F		35	
M	76-80	35	55
F		20	
M	80 and older	24	41
F		17	
Total Male		1,665	3,288
Total Female		1,633	

*Although this table is based on the total study-population census of these communities, it should be regarded as a sample, illustrating proportions, rather than actual totals. Ages were not available for various reasons in some families, so that totals in this table do not match those in Figure 3.

Figure 2
 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE & SEX
 FOR SIX COMMUNITIES OF STUDY POPULATION:
 ARTEMUS, BAILEY SWITCH, KAY JAY, MESSER,
 MIDDLE FORK, NEW BETHEL

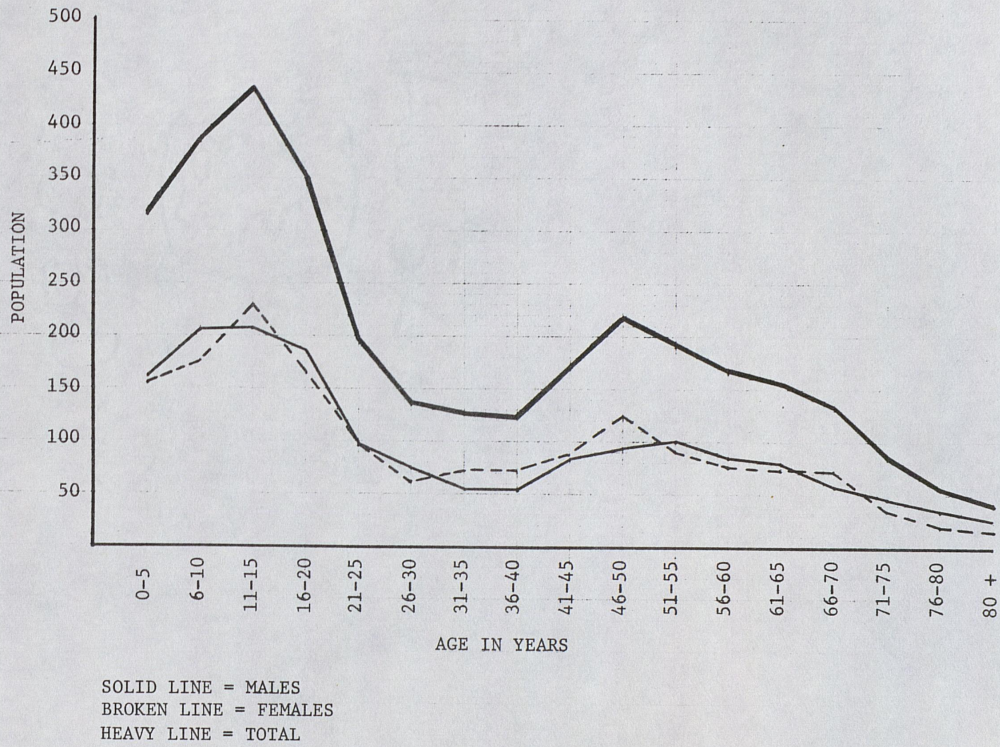
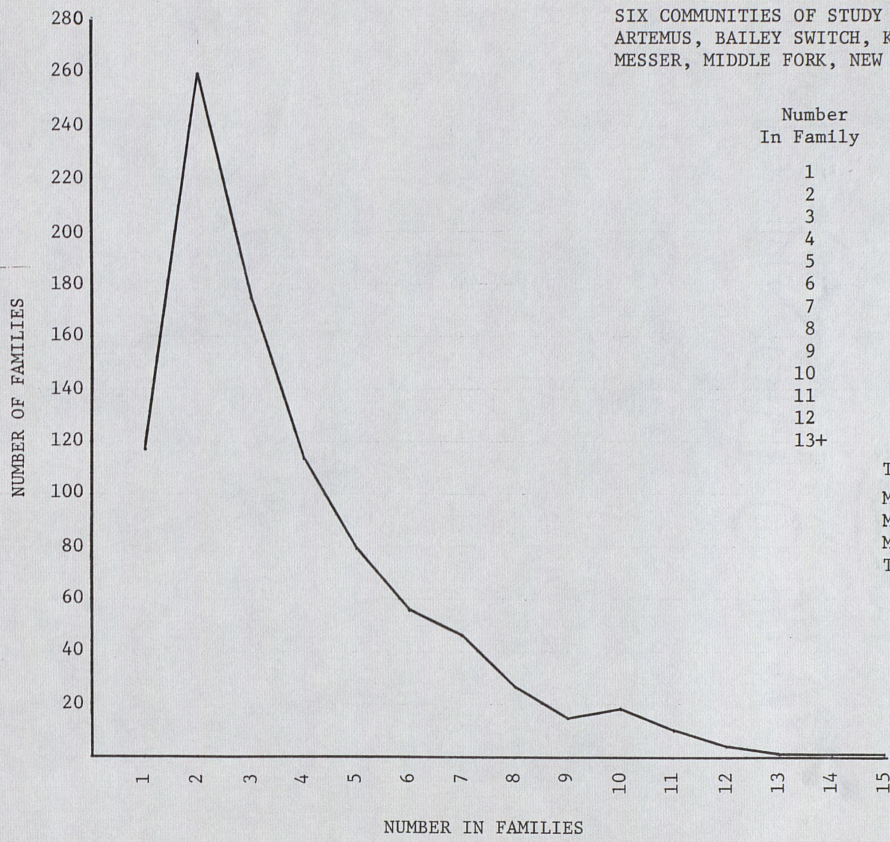


Figure 3
 NUMBER-SIZE OF FAMILY UNITS IN
 SIX COMMUNITIES OF STUDY POPULATION:
 ARTEMUS, BAILEY SWITCH, KAY JAY,
 MESSER, MIDDLE FORK, NEW BETHEL



Number In Family	Number Of Families
1	117
2	260
3	175
4	114
5	80
6	56
7	47
8	27
9	15
10	19
11	10
12	4
13+	1

Total 925
 Mean = 3.67
 Mode = 2
 Median = 2.48
 Total Population = 3,397

homemaker schedules were administered provide the information based on the mapping and census project, presented in Table 4 to provide a picture of the age-sex distribution of the study population. The same information is graphed in Figure 2, and Figure 3 interprets size of family, suggesting that there are many elderly widows, widowers, and couples, but by contrast a number of large families.

The Knox County Program

The OEO community action program in Knox County, comparatively speaking, has been well funded. With a county population of about 25,000, it has had grants totaling approximately \$2.84 million since its beginning in spring of 1965.¹⁰

The distinguishing character of the Knox County CAP is perhaps best represented by its network of 14 community centers, all except two of them located "up the hollows" in rural areas. An office located in the county seat in the Barbourville municipal building is the central base of operation, providing a clearing house for administrative services to the centers and focus of responsibility of a professional staff responsible to the directing body, the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council (KCEOC), the nonprofit corporation which was formerly the Knox County Development Association which

¹⁰This figure is intended to be "net"--that is, exclusive of appropriations for delegate agencies, specifically Head Start as an example. It is impossible, however, to do a clean sorting so that exactly what is spent on community action can be determined. For instance, the current appropriation of \$1,042,468 for a year includes \$299,905 for a work-training program under the Department of Labor--but with the Knox County OEO-CAP administration expected to have a strong hand in directing the expenditures and relating the program to its own. Conversely, OEO-CAP gets help from other agencies. WE & T personnel have helped in construction of community centers, for example, and in the model homes program.

revised its charter (particularly to provide representation of the "poor") and took responsibility for procuring the first CAP director and making funding applications. Including part-time aids and professional staff, some native and some non-native to the county, it employed upward of 125 people. Staff have use of leased motor vehicles provided in the project, and a mobile "health" unit transports nurses with some equipment about the county.

The centers, each headed by a full-time director, are usually in remodeled school buildings, lent by the county schools for the purpose. (In some instances, old residences were used.) These have been modernized to the extent of having plumbing and central heating installed, with a kitchen and food-serving facilities and, usually, a room equipped for the Early Childhood Education Program. Here, in most cases, a director in charge of the Early Childhood Program works with volunteer and/or part-time aids, including a part-time cook to provide lunches for the children. Aids in home improvement, health, youth activities, etc., may also work out of the center, under directions which have sometimes emanated from the central office (from directors of such programs county-wide) or, more recently, from the center director himself.

Each center has its own "local action group" (LAG) made up of those in the neighborhood who care to participate, and this group elects officers and delegates to the county-wide Association of Local Action Groups, who in turn elect nine of the 27 members of the KCEOC Board of Directors. Those elected by the county-wide association are presumed to represent the poor, since the LAGs are in poverty areas. Nine more are elected by KCEOC itself. Together, these 18 elect the other nine who must be

leaders of representative groups in the county. The arrangement is meant, of course, to assure representation of the poor in the program. (See Sutton, Unit 3 of this study, for more details.) Since the centers are essentially and purposely located in areas of poverty, the LAGs, with their representation to the county-wide Association of Local Action Groups, are the machinery for obtaining "maximum feasible participation" of the poor.

The centers were located, so the first Community Center Program Director stated, so that they would be far enough up the hollows to reach and have the potential to attract the isolated people, but far enough down toward main roads to draw them out of their mini-communities. The centers, and their studied location, therefore, represent a deliberate stratagem for drawing isolated people (primarily those of poverty) into a wider community.

The "Pull" of the Centers

An interim report of this study (May 1967) placed emphasis upon the extent of involvement the Knox County CAP was accomplishing--since no Time-Two data had yet been gathered and since, obviously, unless the program involved people it could have no impact. While this report can be expected to be more concerned with impacts upon those who were involved, some examination of how far and whom the centers did "reach" are essential to an appraisal of at least their potentials as stratagems for effecting change.

Table 5 interprets involvement, as expressed by participation in center activities as reported by community center directors, and its relationship to distance of residence from centers.

TABLE 5

RELATION BETWEEN DISTANCE OF RESIDENCE FROM CENTER AND PARTICIPATION, FOR THREE CENTERS IN AREA OF STUDY*
(For Respondents to Householder Schedules,
with Per Cents by Rows)

Distance	Nonparticipants	Lower Participation	Higher Participation
Less than 1 mile	17 (20.0%)	26 (30.6%)	42 (49.4%)
Between 1-2 miles	20 (29.9%)	17 (25.4%)	30 (44.8%)
Between 2-4 miles	48 (36.6%)	45 (34.4%)	38 (29.0%)
Between 4-6 miles	36 (32.1%)	51 (45.5%)	25 (22.3%)
Between 6-9 miles	8 (36.4%)	9 (40.9%)	5 (22.7%)
N=417	Chi square=25.538	df=8	p=.01

*The New Bethel center did not go into operation until after reporting on participation was begun, so is omitted here. Eight reports of participation were gathered at intervals between June, 1966, and February, 1968. In each, the community center director was asked to rate each person living in the area served by his program on this scale:

- 1 = no participation in center activities
- 2 = participation in some, but no more than 25 per cent of activities
- 3 = participation in more than 25 per cent but less than 75 per cent of activities
- 4 = participation in more than 75 per cent of center activities

For the eight periods, a person might, therefore, score as high as 32 (meaning that he was involved in more than 75 per cent of activities at every report period), or as low as 8 (no participation whatever). The "lower" group were those scoring 9 through 12; the "higher," 13 through 32.

It is important to observe that "lower participation" includes many who may have had only one contact with the center and that its upper limit (12) represents very little participation. Indeed, the lower end of the "higher participation" interval is really low--the purpose here being to get somewhat equally balanced groups for comparison.

Obviously, distance from the centers affects participation, though in comparatively compact communities, such as Kay Jay, the tendency is not so pronounced. (See the interim report in May 1967, in which Kay Jay, a community of would-be coal miners, did not establish a distance-participation relationship at a significant level.)

Heads of households participated a bit more frequently as indicated in Table 6. Hirsch (Unit 5 of this study) points out that youth participation is dependent upon parent participation in large part. However, in proportion to their numbers, the younger folk had higher participation. (It is to be noted that Hirsch's sample was from the whole county, not just rural center areas as was this one.)

TABLE 6

RELATION OF "RANK" IN HOUSEHOLD TO PARTICIPATION
IN COMMUNITY CENTER ACTIVITIES IN THREE AREAS*

Rank	Nonparticipants	Lower Participants	Higher Participants
Heads of Households (Father or Widow)	44 (31.4%)	61 (43.6%)	35 (25.0%)
Wives	41 (35.0%)	40 (41.0%)	28 (23.9%)
Children in order of birth:			
First	21 (30.4%)	16 (23.3%)	32 (46.5%)
Second	20 (30.3%)	14 (21.2%)	32 (48.5%)
Third	17 (37.0%)	13 (28.3%)	16 (34.8%)
Fourth	8 (23.5%)	13 (38.2%)	13 (38.2%)
Fifth	6 (21.4%)	12 (42.9%)	10 (35.7%)
Sixth	3 (16.7%)	9 (50.0%)	6 (33.3%)
Seventh	5 (27.8%)	6 (33.3%)	7 (38.9%)

Chi square=30.884

df=16

p=.025

*Kay Jay, Messer, Middle Fork.

Table 7 may be interpreted to suggest that since rank in household is, of course, related to age, the former may be the more significant variable.

In all, the Knox County CAP represents an effort to reach the more remote "pockets of poverty" in the rural areas, to entice the poor to participate in activities that might enlarge their community horizons and move them into a more modern orientation. It did not extend itself into all the remote areas of the county--which from the researcher's viewpoint is fortunate, since non-center areas have provided "control" samples. Nevertheless, the program certainly was widely diffused; activities (the mobile health unit's visits, for example) were not explicitly restricted to center areas, and there were some county-wide programs, in recreation for example.

TABLE 7
RELATIONSHIP OF AGE TO PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY
CENTER ACTIVITIES (PERCENTAGE BY ROWS)

Age in Years	Nonparticipation	Lower Participation	Higher Participation
Younger than 10	27 (36.5%)	29 (39.2%)	18 (24.3%)
10-19	53 (27.7%)	48 (25.1%)	90 (47.1%)
20-29	15 (34.9%)	17 (39.5%)	11 (25.6%)
30-39	8 (25.0%)	12 (37.5%)	12 (37.5%)
40-49	24 (33.8%)	31 (43.7%)	16 (22.5%)
50-99	37 (29.8%)	55 (44.4%)	32 (25.8%)
N=535	$\chi^2=30.583$	df=10	p=.005

What Went On?

The range of activities of Knox County OEO-CAP is broad, varied, unstable. Essentially, considerable latitude for creativity was built into the program. Activities ranged from quilting at the centers to distribution of leaflets critical of community leaders in a meeting at the county courthouse. It would be impossible to quantify activities in any meaningful sense, and what went on when the program started may not be going on now. Some comparatively stable activities, however, appear to be:

1. The Early Childhood Program--a year-round kindergarten, 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. daily at most of the centers--with a hot meal for the children at noon. (See Street and Tomes, Unit 11 of this study, for details.)
2. The Mobile Health Unit activities--with regularly scheduled days to park in communities, usually at community centers. (See Street, Unit 12 of this study, for details.)
3. The meetings of the various "local action groups," the Association of Local Action Groups, the county-wide council (KCEOC) and the KCEOC Board of Directors. (There have been some changes in structure as well as names of these groups--i.e., "Local Action Group" was earlier "Neighborhood Council"--but the general plan of operation is roughly the same.) (See Sutton, Unit 8 of this study.)

These activities, with regular professional staff routines, one might expect to find going on with comparative regularity.

What the staff or nonstaff participants in the center program might otherwise be doing on a given day, or at a given center, is not, however, a matter of uniform routine, though some center directors do have and post carefully arranged schedules of activities. The point is that the whole program is--and is expected to be--fluid and, therefore, subject to whimsical description. There appears to be broad latitude for exercise of decision and exploration of ideas. Indeed, an observer is likely to get the impression that there is much groping for ideas that will draw people into the program,

involve them, arouse their interest and concern, and prompt their support and cooperation. (Unfortunately, a program that is different is not, in the particular culture of this one, always the one that gets ready adoption, as Cain, Unit 3 of this study, points out.)

A listing of what has gone on could be exhaustive in detail. Perhaps a list of some of the activities will provide the reader an image of the program. Here are a few that have been reported to, or observed by, the study team:

1. Carpentry--rehabilitation of buildings for community centers, with installation of central heating, indoor plumbing, cooking facilities, and room for Early Childhood Program. (Work, Experience and Training Program men were "borrowed" for much of this work.)
2. Games--checkers, darts, skittles--in some instances cards--ping pong, and the like.
3. Reading--though "libraries" run to material for youngsters.
4. Hobbies and home crafts--quilting, weaving, cooking, home economics demonstrations.
5. Entertainment--music, dancing, amateur dramatics, small entertainment groups from other centers or from "outside," or movies (serious or recreational or mixed).
6. Discussion, lectures, panels, educational movies--on serious matters such as health, credit, legal counsel, education, community problems, etc.)
7. Tutoring, study for General Educational Development Tests for high school equivalency diploma, or basic reading work..
8. Pot-luck dinners, visiting, sometimes with exchange of visits with other centers--with the coffee pot often available for the occasional visitor.
9. Auctions--pie or box, or "white elephant" sales, or small lottery games of "punch-board" type.
10. Work "bee" to clean up or build community center facilities, or serving dinners to various groups to get funds for the center.
11. Campaigns--including meetings as well as house calls--to get funds, materials, or labor for a center or county-wide project.

12. Gathering names for petitions and delivering them to persuade people of authority--for a bridge, road, school or park improvement, for instance.
13. Producing a mimeographed newsletter or a handbill interpreting events or goals of the program, or urging action.
14. Hosting--or arranging for neighbors to host VISTA or other volunteer workers.
15. Visiting (especially by aids) of homes, for counseling on health, home improvement, and use of community center services.
16. Rescue missions to help in critical cases of want, sickness, accident.

Such activities are, of course, arranged to allow for the regular operations--the Early Childhood Program, for instance, which usually has personnel for kitchen and child supervision, and a driver to transport the youngsters.

Even so, the centers do not represent continually such a booming, buzzing whirl of activities as even the limited list above might suggest. To the casual visitor, the center provides a friendly stopping point, but the chance visit is not likely to be very exciting, partly because the staff may be busy in the field and partly also because exciting ideas are in scarce supply in such settings and many of the best have been tried and are no longer novel. On the other hand, the center is likely to get considerable use, for evening meetings, for example, at certain times.

Chronology of the Program

Sutton (Unit 8 of this study) provides a detailed chronology of the entire Knox County CAP in the appendix of his report. This provides a basic reference for the interested readers and has been a reference document for various members of the study team. Also, however, Sutton

attempted to interpret the chronology, grouping events into a series of stages. These are as follows:

- STAGE 1: THE IDEA STAGE. Roughly January, 1965, through July, 1965. During this time James Kendrick and one or two others constituted the staff. The chief characteristic was the development of ideas and the formulation of proposals.
- STAGE 2: STAFFING AND INITIAL OPERATIONS. Roughly August, 1965, through June, 1966. The staff expanded from just a few to around 125. The number of community centers grew to 13. Major programs were organized and extended throughout the county.
- STAGE 3: FIRST INTERIM STAGE. Roughly July, 1966, through January, 1967. Kendrick became director of an Eight-County Area program. Increasing attention given to the organization of the poor. Tension developed between the Knox County Board of Directors and Washington OEO office over the appointment of a new director.
- STAGE 4: SECOND INTERIM STAGE. Roughly February, 1967, through July, 1967. H.B. Harris was appointed acting director. Various programs ran along much the same. A new director, Hollis West, was hired in April, assuming office in early June. Personnel changes in July.
- STAGE 5: THE REORIENTATION STAGE. Roughly August, 1967, to date (March, 1968). New proposals emphasizing economic and employment training were submitted to and accepted by OEO Washington. Adaptations in program emphasis and staff organization were initiated and executed.

As a check on the validity of these categorizations, this interpretation was presented to leaders of the community and the CAP in interviews, the results indicating that they were in general agreement with this interpretation. Of 43 leaders and professional staff of CAP who responded when asked to judge whether or not the episodes were a reasonable interpretation of the program historically until spring 1968, only four made amending suggestions that might affect the basic pattern. Since the effort in these interviews was to present a "nonleading" question in order to verify or amend this stage-pattern for the history of Knox County CAP, it is easy for one reviewing it to overlook the reality that the stages in it were not always exactly quiet "evolutions." Even the detailed chronology, unless viewed

both in perspective and detail, implies little of the struggle that actually took place. (See Cain, Unit 3, and Murphy-Street, Unit 9, for some interpretations of the strife that underlies the history of the program.)

Two major issues related to re-directions of the program during its course from 1965 to 1968, however, need brief review here:

1. The issue involving differences (and coalitions) among local OEO-professional staff, and Washington OEO administrators over the directorship, when, in Stage 3, Mr. Kendrick was moved up to head the Cumberland Valley Economic Opportunity Council (CVEOC), leaving a vacancy in the directorship of the Knox County CAP.
2. The subsequent controversy over whether a "social" approach should be continued or a "jobs-and-job-training" approach be taken in the program. These issues have significant application to the shape the program took in terms of both approaches and goals.

The "Shape" of the Program

Out of the literature on community development emerge three models of development which were incorporated in the leadership questionnaire used primarily by Sutton (Unit 8) in his study of leaders.¹¹ The respondent was invited to indicate which model best fit the Knox County CAP. Also, the respondent was asked to judge whether or not the "fit" had changed through the five previously mentioned stages in the history of the Knox County CAP. The question was stated:

We would like you now to think some about what seem to be the main assumptions about poverty and what to do about it which seem to underlie the community action program here in Knox County. Most programs have certain assumptions either implicit or explicit. We

¹¹Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Florence W. Rosenstock, "Who Can Activate the Poor: One Assessment of 'Maximum Feasible Participation'" (Paper prepared for SSSP-ASA Session on Poverty and Progress, San Francisco), August 29, 1967. Also, William H. Koch, Jr., "The 'Dual Approach'--An Alternative in Community Development" (Paper prepared for Symposium on Community Development, Asilomar, California, July 8-12, 1963.)

have developed three statements which express somewhat different positions about why people are poor and what the most important things to be done to help them are. Read these (giving respondent "Three Assumptions" card) and then give me your judgment of which one FITS MOST CLOSELY, and the, NEXT MOST CLOSELY the way the Knox County Community Action Program has actually run. (Record the number he selects for each.)

_____ fits most closely; _____ fits next most closely

1. Poor people are poor mainly because they do not have the basic habits and education which will permit them to do good work and, therefore, hold reasonably good jobs. What is needed then is to provide them with basic education and training.
2. Poor people are poor mainly because they do not feel themselves worthy and they have almost no experience with using their influence to get what they need from people in authority. What is needed is to get them to organize themselves and win some dramatic victories as a group so they will learn they are worthy and can exert influence.
3. Poor people are poor mainly because the way they and others have usually thought about their problems prevents all of them from seeing any steps that can be taken to improve things. What is needed, then, is to get all the population, including all socio-economic levels, to develop a new cooperative way of working so that what each can do about needs people themselves feel are important is not only recognized, but mutually supported.

The responses are indicated in Table 8.

The question failed to get a response from many, especially leaders of the poor, but showed a plurality of those who did offer a judgment perceiving the program as primarily an educational one, which "held up" when interviewers were asked to consider whether or not the model-of-best-fit had changed from one stage to the other, since only 12 of 85 respondents thought it had. (Actually, these questions obviously represented considerations which had not been entertained by most of the respondents.)

The analysis of responses, however, did make it reasonable to say that models 2 and 3 cannot be said to represent the Knox County program, as local CAP leadership perceives it--despite the fact that the 10 of the CAP professional staff who were interviewed regarded it by 7:3 as fitting Model 3.

TABLE 8

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF RESPONDENT
WHO GAVE MODEL 1, 2, 3, OR NO ANSWER TO
THE FITS-MOST-CLOSELY QUESTION (11)

Answer	Professional Staff		General Staff		Board		Leaders of Poor		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fits most closely 1	3	30	1	6.67	11	50.0	7	19.44	22	22.51
Fits most closely 2			2	13.33	4	18.18	1	2.78	7	8.43
Fits most closely 3	7	70			4	18.18	4	11.11	15	18.07
No answer or blank			12	80.00	3	13.64	24	66.67	39	46.99
TOTAL	10		15		22		36		83	100.00

Actually, there is evidence that the character of the program, in terms of the three model types, was at one time at issue--though, obviously, Model 3 is a blend of the other two with other elements added. The controversy centered about whether or not the direction of the program would be toward Model 2, which may be recognized as the "Alinsky" model, which emphasizes comparatively separate and militant organization of a "Poor Power" bloc--as opposed to their being a part of a community-wide council involving traditional leadership.¹²

The issue reached a critical point, at least in the thinking of the local press and leaders, when two matters were at issue simultaneously:

1. The choice of Kendrick's successor--who would, in a sense, be subordinate to Kendrick, because Knox County was funded then through the new CVEOC.
2. The effort to establish an area organization called "United Appalachian Communities" (UAC), on the assumption that it would short-circuit the influence of existing community leadership of the Cumberland Valley area and strengthen such leadership among the poor.

Both Kendrick and the administration in Washington OEO became identified with "sides" on these two matters, in both instances appearing in conflict with locally popular views. When KCEOC selected a new director who, while employed outside Knox County, was regarded as a "native," the following weekend Kendrick, with some of his staff, went personally to Washington and obtained and delivered directly to the desk of the KCEOC chairman the following Monday a rejection of the new director for the position. That is to say, Washington OEO, at what appeared to be

¹²Saul D. Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 219. A later commentary: "Status Report, Alinsky Revisited," Harper's Magazine (November, 1967), p. 70.

the prompting of Kendrick and several members of his staff, found reason to over-ride the choice which had had the unanimous approval of the KCEOC Board of Directors. (The matter of the qualifications--actually not raised until after the election and after the one so elected had resigned a high school principalship in order to accept the job--is not the issue for consideration here.) The point is simply that, so far as local leadership was concerned, the action was a rejection of their wishes.

Kendrick's identification with forces opposing local leadership was further sharpened when he split in one respect with the director of the Knox County community center programs. She discovered that some staff employees under her direction busied themselves elsewhere from their work at times, spending their work hours in efforts to organize the UAC. She arranged so that when payday came they found their salaries reduced in proportion to the time she estimated they had been absent from their jobs. As director of the CVEOC which actually administered the Knox County funds, however, Kendrick restored the cuts until his termination as director--whereupon the cuts were again made effective.

The point to the detailing of these incidents is to suggest that Mr. Kendrick, with some of his associates and/or some of the Washington OEO staff, did give support to Model 2 by:

1. Rejecting the choice of a director for Knox County CAP who had unanimous approval of local leadership and who was a "favorite son"¹³ viewed as being qualified--who might be generally expected to sustain the existing leadership. (Incidentally the representatives of the poor of KCEOC had also approved him.)

¹³He was a school principal with a master's degree and several years of administrative experience, in addition to technical experience in the armed forces in World War II.

This effort--if it did actually exist as it seems--appears now to have collapsed.

Kendrick is cited by some as having later rejected some of the more ardent leadership for the organization of UAC. Indeed, United Appalachian Communities or UAC, under either title, appears to be all but forgotten. The inquiry during questioning of leaders about a year after the publicity regarding it netted response from only eight of the leaders of the poor, four saying UAC had "helped" while four said it had made no difference. In fact, of 116 respondents to the community relations interview schedule, only 44 responded as though they recalled UAC. While the issue was alive, however, it was a burning one, at least in the press and conversations.

Even though it represented, seemingly, more of an attempt to resist or attack local top leadership than to generate militancy among the poor--though this too was part of the design--the issue appears never to have penetrated seriously into the consciousness of the poor, who were regarded by UAC advocates as naive in their approval of their local top leadership.¹⁴

There were, however, two incidents which represent overt militant-type action presumably emanating from the poor: a visit of a community

¹⁴It appears that the poor and the powerful in Knox County are often closer together in their values than are the poor and those from "outside" who come expecting to help them. When there was an issue over whether or not a consultant to the CAP might earn an income of more than \$6,000 while a full-time college student, both the representatives of the poor and the local leaders of the KCEOC Board of Directors regarded the arrangement as dishonest, or at least as an unjustified expenditure. In fact, while the powerful may tend to accept leave-with-pay, travel allowances, and annual salaries above \$3,000 as "reasonable," and things such as consultants, administrators, and directors do as "work," those of rural poverty are inclined to view such expenditures as exorbitant waste, and the things such people do as really pastime.

center group to the county courthouse with distribution of a leaflet attacking merchants, county government, and teachers; and the "boycott" of a school, when some parents kept their children from attending for a few days, presumably at the behest of a community center local action group in protest against health and safety conditions of the school building. The question of whether or not these actions were actually "grass-root" in impetus is involved in many considerations. It seems undoubtedly true that without outside leaders (VISTA or other professional staff) they would never have occurred. This is not to deny that there was agreement with the idea among many of the indigenous poor, with some active, genuine participation on their part. The issues in both incidents, however, were in a rather short time resolved, and little of such militant character of assertiveness on the part of a "poor bloc" now appears in Knox County.

From "Social" to "Jobs-and-Work-Training"

There are many compromises, as might be expected: The same Knox County community center program director who was unwilling to have the project pay employees to do something not part of their assignment but was overridden by Kendrick's authority was nevertheless identified with him as a supporter of the so-called "social" approach.

Though this approach is not readily definable it appeared to sort itself apart from the jobs-and-work-training approach associated with Mr. West (who became director in Stage 5) in being:

1. Less explicit and concrete.
2. More concerned with entertainment, organizational participation, discussion and debate over how to improve things in more general terms.
3. More attention to citizen participation.

Obviously, the difference is in direction and emphasis--not that the "social" approach was not concerned with jobs, nor the "jobs" approach with community betterment.

In a sense, it should be noted, the "social" approach had a relationship to Model 2, for groups were urged to look for local injustices, to "meddle" with the way politicians, merchants, and educators did things--and the two militant episodes just cited presumably emerged from such emphasis. The "social-versus-jobs" issue reached a critical climax with the dismissal of the community centers program director, who asked for and received a hearing--though she did not seek to be restored to her position--in which the issue was openly debated, with the consequence that the "jobs" approach was sustained.

It would appear, therefore, that Model 1, with a "practical" approach through the direct imagery of employment, is essentially the one which guides the work of the professional staff of the Knox County CAP, one which has generally the support of both the top leadership and of the representation from the poverty group.

CHAPTER III

AN ATTEMPTED SYNTHESIS

What Did Various Members of the Study Team See?

Said Stephens, regarding economic impact of Knox County CAP:

The aggregate statistics of Knox County point to the ominous fact that though there has been positive economic and social change among rural families, who are now more sensitive to local and world events, are spending more time with mass media, and have more money for the necessities and "luxuries" of life than in 1966, the number of unemployed has increased, the level of employment of those employed has dropped, and dependency upon transfer payments (as opposed to income from productive activity) has increased. The variables demonstrated to be related to economic growth in the long run, however, have moved in a direction generally supportive of an improved economy.

Said Cain, from the perspective of close observation of a Knox County neighborhood where a CAP center operated:

However beneficial an innovation, its acceptance depends upon the extent to which the change agent adapts to the culture of those he would change. Respect for the self-image of the mountain people, their norms of etiquette, and the political realities represented in kinship ties are necessities if the CAP is to be effective in the isolated hollows of Appalachia. The notion that the poor are politically helpless does not hold in such a culture. The family is important in wielding political influence. A program may be accepted or rejected in its entirety, therefore, by a neighborhood kinship group, depending upon their attitude as a unit toward it.

Said Gladden, after examining life styles of 131 intact Knox County families:

The poor who participated in the CAP activities are more likely to join in other activities, including religious, than their equally poor neighbors, though both they and their neighbors belong to few formal organizations. Non-participating poor are inclined to be critical of the CAP or other government

aid and to resist dependency. The participating poor turn to the CAP with hope, for they have aspirations of upward mobility and future goals in some aspects more like those of the above-poor group.

Said Hirsch, after study of political socialization and CAP participation of Knox County youth:

Youth whose parents participated in the CAP were more likely themselves to do so, but there was actually little participation. The consequence of what there was, however, was to broaden the range of activities and expectations of participants, creating need for a program to supply the youth a model and to help him find ways to implement his desired life goals--with the hazard that the CAP may produce frustration in the end if it does not match expectation with possibility of fulfillment.

Said Caudill, after study of the CAP Youth Activities Program:

Youth of Knox County participate more in various areas than before the CAP, but their doing so is not shown to be related to the CAP. Few actually participated in it. Both empathy and alienation levels rose, according to responses from youth, between Time 1 and Time 2 interviews. Also vocational aspiration levels declined and more negative attitudes developed toward schools and education--a hint, perhaps, that rising expectations have already encountered frustrating realism and disappointment in the CAP and other programs. The effects of the CAP tutoring program were negligible.

Said Donohew-Singh, regarding CAP impacts upon life styles of people:

More changes toward modernity occurred among individuals in neighborhoods served by CAP centers than in non-center areas, the greatest taking place in the adoption of innovations, however, and least in the "base" of modernity. Also, the more "isolate" of the three types defined, who might be regarded as the prime target of the CAP, tended to be more receptive than the others to the innovations promoted by the CAP. In fact, individuals of the "isolate" type living in CAP center areas changed significantly on more measures than did those same types living in non-center areas--suggesting that the center program is comparatively more effective with that type than with others.

Said Sutton, treating with leadership and CAP community relations:

Respondents in 1968 in the CAP center areas, in comparison to those in non-center areas, reported more neighborhood activities and projects than in 1966. Also, they named more leaders per respondent, but fewer of them in total--suggesting that they had more consensus on who were leaders and had, in contrast to their neighbors in non-center areas, enlarged perspectives of the realities of the decision process. The difference can logically be inferred to be an impact of the CAP.

Basic county leadership was unchanged, or perhaps limited to fewer at the top--but more people from stable but relatively low income groups as well as more poor people themselves became more active, presumably in consequence of the "maximum feasible participation" principle effected through the CAP.

Said Murphy-Street, reporting on the image people had of the CAP:

Almost a third of respondents in eight areas served by the CAP centers reported they were not acquainted with the program--and these were, by statistically significant measures, different from those who were acquainted in being more specifically the target group for the CAP: people of lower income, lower level of employment, and less schooling who live farther from the centers. (Also they tended to be older.)

Resentment toward the CAP, expressed by substantial minorities, was directed especially toward entertainment programs at the centers and "outsiders" brought in with the program.

Said Murphy, after observing a county-wide project aimed at broad involvement of the poor, the powerful, and the in-between:

Factionalism usually becomes evident whenever one faction promotes or endorses a project in a political-cultural setting such as the one of this study. Usually, one faction does most of the initiating, promoting, or endorsing and the other faction is forced to play the role of attempting to block the project. Such was the situation in the campaign to establish the Knox County Economic Opportunity Council Anti-Poverty Arts and Crafts Store. In this case, the group that initiated and promoted the project were--with considerable difficulty--able to hold together and work together until it became a reality, though its future, and particularly its impact upon poverty in Knox County, cannot be foreseen. The greater impact, however, may well be the experience and success the people had in working together and reaching a goal.

Street-Tomes said, regarding their study of the CAP Early Childhood Program:

The children who had the pre-school experience of the Early Childhood Program were demonstrated (at statistically significant levels of measurement) to have "caught up" in first grade (in the sixth month by teacher rankings and by grades at the end of the school year) with other youngsters who were a bit older and who came generally from homes presumed to be more supportive of educational development (higher income, higher level of employment of parent, higher education of parent and aspiration for education for the child)--implying substantial impacts of the CAP toward its intended goals for this part of its program. The Early Childhood Program had wide popular approval in the county.

Said Street, regarding the CAP Health Education Program:

The "bulk" of public health services--since the CAP health program is merged in its reporting, and in other ways also, with the county health office--have not, by available measures, increased substantially since the CAP came, except perhaps in two areas where trends are not clearly established: family planning counseling, and examinations for chronic diseases. The CAP mobile health unit, however, has changed the quality and character of the health services in the county, delivering much of it in remote areas to the poor who are the prime target of the CAP.

Unfortunately, health services personnel are in short supply in Knox County, and CAP has "pirated" nurses from the county health office, nurses who have so far not been replaced--so that the total public nursing staff of the county has not been expanded in proportion to the added investment to the county's health program the addition of CAP represents.

Said Field et al., comparing home construction in the last two years in Knox County to that of a neighboring county where there was no county-wide CAP:

Knox County since 1966 has built 60 homes of FHA classifications C and D, the class the CAP initially sponsored in its Family Development Program--whereas a bordering county built only 50 homes (exclusive of trailers) and none in these two categories. CAP center locations are not clearly related to such construction, but other home improvements since 1966 are, and the "model homes" idea initiated by CAP and now separately incorporated, appears to be a diffused impact of considerable clarity.

What did the Study Team Find?

There would be no more inspiring message the study team could deliver than that it had found the key to the tragic puzzle of poverty. The results of this study cannot in all honesty be so dramatically interpreted--even if the researchers should abandon their ritual posture of restraint about generalizing. The report can, however, have at least some hints of optimism. It has found some encouraging, even if not dramatic, clues.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the clues to the mystery of poverty uncovered in this study are mostly in small bits. Even compounded, they have no critical mass. They provide little sensational copy for the press. The persistent must examine the detailed reports of this study.

The report here (Unit 1), therefore, is meant primarily to guide those who may have special interest in various phases of the problems engaged in the study. Accordingly, a copy of the abstract which each of the investigators wrote for his part of the study is provided as Appendix C of this report.

¹⁴Among things not found--which might be locally dramatic--was not that the Knox County CAP was either good or bad. Grateful for all the kindness shown them by both the citizens and the CAP staff and leadership, the study team have assumed that Knox County CAP is a typical example (if it has been especially good or bad it has frustrated the validity of this report!). Actually, the team has sought to understand, not find heroes or villains, nor even notice opportunities to toss bouquets or bricks--though the opportunities to do both have been thrust upon them. Any such that may be done by the team, however, will be done as individuals, to individuals. This study is no evaluation of Knox County CAP or any person's role in it.

Did the CAP Move People toward Participation in the larger Society?

Some of the measurements made in this study resulted in conclusive evidence that the CAP moved people, in some examples more definitely those of the poverty group, toward involvement in a more modern way of life. Donohew-Singh (Unit 7) engaged this question directly. They took a multi-facet approach, inductive to the extent that there was trial-and-error before they arrived at a model which might explain the behavior of the group they were studying, then directly deductive in testing the hypothesis that it would fit.

The Donohew-Singh study is of clustered variables representing patterns of life of people and of the changes which did or did not take place in people in an eighteen-month interval of exposure to CAP impacts. The changes are not, they confess, dramatic. Several are, however, measured as statistically significant and, generally, in directions their predictive model required for movement toward a more modern life style. The rationale they employed, calling for changes in responses to questions constituting scales measuring such intangibles as empathy, dogmatism, and openness to innovation, especially when combined with much more simple and direct measures used both in these and other parts of the study, are convincing.

Though the changes were not dramatic, it should be remembered that the time, considering the stability as well as the elusive quality of such human characteristics as they measured, was short. Indeed there was considerable suspense in the final data processing that their instruments might have been too crude to accomplish discernible measurements that would reveal significant differences in so short a period.

Their report does show: The general study population moved toward the main stream of modern living. Those exposed more directly to the CAP, by living in areas where the CAP centers operated and/or by direct participation, were moved more so. Moreover, especially on measures of adoption of innovation--more than on measures of the "base" variables of modernity--the more "isolate" type of individuals were more responsive, those in CAP center areas changing more than the same type in non-center areas.

Their observations are supported in various ways by Caudill (Unit 6), Stephens (Unit 2), Gladden (Unit 4), Hirsch (Unit 5), and Sutton (Unit 8), and, indirectly, by Field (Unit 13).

Though the reports on responses of youth to CAP from studies by both Hirsch and Caudill are disappointing in that they provide evidence of very little impact of CAP, they do provide "straws" blowing in directions suggesting that youth are being nudged toward identification with the more modern realities. Even the hints of disillusionment toward the world in general (including CAP) may be interpreted as indicative of an impact that has set youth's goals higher--without, perhaps, providing ways to climb to them. Hirsch gets evidence in results of scale measurements similar to those used by Donohew and Singh; Caudill gets his mostly by factor analysis of a conglomerate of variables.

Field's comparison of recent home construction in Knox County and its neighbor, Clay County, implies an almost dramatic difference between the two counties, not only in the building of new homes of the class the CAP was promoting but in the evidence of a stronger trend

of movement "out of the hollows" in Knox County than in Clay (where no county-wide CAP operates). This movement suggests a CAP impact, diffused in Knox County, that prompts the more "isolate" type to join the main streams.

Particularly clear and suggestive of movement toward the larger society, it would seem, is Sutton's finding that people in the CAP center areas have enlarged their community horizons, both in activities in which they engage and in their consciousness of leadership. People in the comparatively remote areas served by the centers--by comparison to those in non-center areas--reported participation in more social activities and were able individually to name more leaders. The circle of leaders named, however, was smaller. He observed that although the circle of county-wide leadership appeared to have shrunk--with fewer named leaders, but the fewer named more frequently--there was wide consensus that these leaders were more cognizant of the poor and their problems, that they took the poor more into consideration since the CAP began, and that the character of leadership, though unchanged basically except for this concentration, had been modified by some involvement of the poor and the powerful together in the CAP. The "maximum feasible participation" principle, therefore, appears, to a measurable though small extent, to have inched rural people of poverty toward the main stream of society in terms of:

- 1) More openness to innovation.
- 2) More readiness to identify with roles other than their own.
- 3) Broader consciousness of leadership and openness to participation in affairs and with issues which are controversial--and perhaps even disruptive.

- 4) Greater use of mass media.
- 5) More "realistic" involvement with issues, some of which were controversial--with alienation levels higher among youth, for example, and, as some of the reports suggest, disappointment and disillusionment that higher expectations, perhaps inspired by the CAP, are not fulfilled.

What is the Quality of Such Changes?

Not all of modernism, or identification with the larger society, is good. A melodramatic--but perhaps clear--statement of the issue lies in the suggestion that if a youth enlarges his ability to empathize--to imagine himself as someone else, to "get out of his own skin" as it were--it may make a difference what role he elects to project himself into, especially if he moves to implement that projection through actual behavior. Whether his projection leads him toward a role of crime or of responsible citizenship does make a difference. To the point is the question Hirsch raises, and Donohew-Singh and Caudill reiterate indirectly: What happens if a program generates aspirations for what is beyond reach? What if it persuades people of poverty to project themselves vicariously into roles of a better life--in jobs or better jobs, with higher incomes and living standards--but does not provide the means? How might subsequent frustrations be expressed? While Hirsch raises such a question, admitting that he himself scarcely touches the answer, Caudill actually encounters some evidence that fits the aspiration-frustration-disillusionment model. His factor analysis treatment suggests that

a type of youth is evolving in the county--though the connection with CAP is tenuous--who assumes a sophisticated cynicism and disregard for responsibility. The tutoring program, for example, appears to have "kicked back": lower grades and more irregular attendance at school.

Admittedly, the evidence that the aspiration-frustration-disillusionment cycle is being generated by the CAP is fragmentary. The N for the tutoring group, for example, is small, and participation in general in CAP center activities disappointingly small in proportion to the target population of youth.

Cain points to the disillusionment from the CAP's failure to provide jobs. People in the community where he observed regarded it as primarily a way of giving jobs to those who needed them, regardless of their qualifications. Perhaps the failure of CAP to get its goals clear to the people it was created to help--and, consequently, its failure in some degree to generate concern for improving the way of life in which they are set--may actually mean that there will be little frustration; if participants envision no Eldorado, they may not be disappointed--and CAP will be passed by, as Cain suggests, as only another minor disappointment because it provided few jobs directly for those who needed them. Murphy-Street (Unit 9) get supporting evidence of this possibility in the responses to questions about goals of the CAP, when it is revealed that so many, particularly of the poor and isolated, did not even know of the CAP's existence, while many who did, saw it primarily as a job agency.

Did Controversy and Disruption Generate Participation?

The world involvement is "tricky" in its connotations. Offhand, the drive to involve the poor in issues regarding their own destiny is generally thought "good"--while getting involved with one's neighbor--well, there are several connotations, mostly "bad."

Independent of any of the reports given here, this writer submits the hypothesis that CAP has generated controversy and even disruptive behavior that has been, perhaps, an important way of obtaining participation. Certainly it has sharpened alignments (as it has been a bone of contention among divisions of the county) and has consequently involved people, not just those in areas served by the CAP centers either. The poor and the powerful, either together or separately, have not always sat down together for quiet and earnest deliberations about how they might present a united front against poverty. It is worth reflecting that controversy is diffusive;--i.e., onlookers tend to take sides in a game. Many who have never attended a meeting have been involved, for instance in the talk after the meeting is over--and talk is a socializing experience. The pattern of alignments of the county, to the extent they are relevant to the CAP (as mostly they seem to have been), are adequately described by Sutton, and both Cain and Murphy give supporting evidence in case studies--Cain of a community, Murphy of a county-wide project that is yet continuing. Sutton considers that the basic pattern of alignments already indigenous to the county when CAP came in has been little disturbed; Cain makes no implication that kinship divisions, for instance, which operated before and since the community center in the neighborhood where he

observed was built, were changed in any fundamental sense--and Murphy views the stable pattern of factionalism as a perennial obstacle to real community action. Though the divisive alignments are comparatively unchanged, the CAP is regarded by all three as a disturber--as a bone of contention, a divider that involves people--and perhaps the people of poverty a bit more than ever before, as Sutton's responses to a question showing increased influence of the poor would suggest.

The point is: To the extent the CAP has drawn people--even its critics and outright enemies--into controversy, even among those not involved in the program or living in areas it served--it may have enticed people who were comparatively isolated to project themselves into roles that identify them in some way with those alignments and therefore with the larger society. This identification may not always be what some would regard as constructive; it may have been a reinforcement of previous identifications, with pre-existing community factions, as Sutton suggests--but it is nonetheless real, as measurements demonstrate.

In emphasis, Donohew-Singh attended to demonstrating the reality of changes; Sutton, Murphy, and Cain gave some explanation of the why of those changes. Many--not all but many--participated in the organizational "politics" of CAP (its meetings, elections, committee assignments, and even special project assignments) because they represented a continuation of the perennial power struggle that goes on--with its basic pattern unchanged. The point, to repeat, is that while even participation in CAP may not, for many, represent more than a formal deference to the goals of CAP, as the Murphy-Street

report strongly implies, it may have had impacts which, whether the participants so willed or not, changed people in the directions Donohew-Singh have indicated. An unresolved question may be: Who is exploiting whom? Do local people use the CAP; or does the CAP achieve its goals through their use of it?¹⁵

How Extensive Was Participation?

Murphy and Street (Unit 9) found that 127 (32%) of the 398 heads of households interviewed in six community center areas (as defined by directors of the center programs) said they were not acquainted with the program and did not identify activities or people the interviewer named as part of it. Compared to the group who did respond as "acquainted" with the CAP, these 127 were revealed not only as being more remote from the center in residence but also as older, of lower income, of lower level of employment, and of fewer years of schooling. Except for the fact that they tended to be older, they represent the very target CAP is meant to reach. However much the impact of CAP may have reached the "hard core"--and Donohew-Singh provide some evidence that the more "isolated" type of person was affected more by the program--there appears to be a substantial prime target population yet unreached, even in areas the program was planned to serve. Both Hirsch and Caudill report, similarly, that proportionally few youths are involved--though their studies had a county-wide base, rather than one focused on areas to which the program was specifically directed.

¹⁵A disclaimer is proper here: Many, probably most, people of Knox County who participated, assuredly did so because they had genuine concern for their community and the poor--but not all.

What was the General Impact of the CAP?

The CAP has made a difference--demonstrated in objectified measurements at statistically significant levels--in the direction of moving people of Knox County (in some instances particularly the target group, but also others) into closer identification with the larger society from which it is somewhat apart.

What is the quality of the change--its relevancy to value issues?

Certainly CAP has brought controversy (or has been a bone of contention in it) and some appear to have become involved vicariously or otherwise, either because they have had concern for improving life and overcoming poverty or because they have had allegiance with local factions well established before the CAP came. Whatever their motivations--and, of course, some would be mixed--they did receive and spread the impacts of their experiences with the CAP.

Is there a movement--a direction toward a more ideal pattern of "mature" community action (model 3 which Murphy explains)? The matter is obviously still at issue. Murphy's suggestion that the county-wide Arts and Crafts Store project may survive and Sutton's findings that top leadership of the county is more concerned with what the poor have to say are bits of encouragement. One can only wonder, however, whether amid the excitement of conflict the cooperative requirements of a concerted attack upon the problems of poverty is likely to succeed.

Impacts of Special CAP Undertakings

The Early Childhood Program

If Knox County has a success story it is in its Early Childhood Program--the ultimate impacts of which, obviously, are years ahead.

But immediate results are measurably real. In general, the child who has had the Early Childhood Program experience has, in first grade, overtaken (or "caught up with") a youngster who is his senior by one to three months, comes from a home where the breadwinner has a more "respectable" job and is better paid, and has parents who have more ambitious projections for his education and have themselves had more schooling. (There is the "troublesome" exception that the Early Childhood Program product comes from a home, in some comparisons, in which the level of news participation is higher--usually regarded as an advantage in a child's educational background.)

The Early Childhood Program is popular--and it is perhaps worth adding as an aside that, throughout the controversies which at times absorbed much of the energies of leadership of both staff and elected officials of the Knox County CAP, the Early Childhood Program appeared to the study team's observers to move quietly along, with considerable stability and focus upon its task. Perhaps the child is the means of engaging the sincere concern of all factions.

Youth Activities and Family Development

The converse report appears for the Youth Activities Program, which Caudill studied directly and Hirsch incidentally. Hirsch found a tendency for the youth's participation to be contingent upon the parents', and as already noted, both he and Caudill found the level of participation of youth low. Both did, as already mentioned, note that higher aspiration levels, broadened empathies--and heightened dogmatism and alienation--all consistent with the "modernism" model

in direction--had appeared, in some instances at statistically significant measurement levels. Both Hirsch and Gladden saw the home as being oriented in such a direction--though Gladden identified those who are likely to be "upwardly mobile" as tending to be participants, rather than attempting to deal with whether or not the CAP generated that upward mobility aspiration. Hirsch did attempt to determine whether or not this was a cause and found some evidence to so indicate.

Home construction and improvement--both outgrowths of the original Family Development Program--appeared to have had a clear relationship to the CAP. New housing in classes promoted by the model homes program the CAP originally initiated has appeared in Knox County since 1966 in substantial bulk, compared to the complete absence of it in a neighboring county, and "home improvement" is statistically evidenced as related to areas where CAP impacts should logically be greatest.

Health Education

The threads of impact of the Health Education Program are hopelessly entangled with those of others, both CAP and non-CAP. Whether or not the "bulk" of public health services in Knox County has been enlarged since the CAP is not conclusive, though two categories of service--family planning counseling and examinations for chronic diseases--appear tentatively to have increased. The quality of service, with "delivery" through the mobile unit to people of poverty, appeared to be changed.

Unfortunately, trained health personnel are in scarce supply in Knox County. CAP health services have been staffed largely at the

expense of the county health office--which may explain why health services generally in the county have not increased as greatly as one might reasonably expect. People of the county, however, feel health services have improved since CAP came, and certainly the mobile health unit is reaching more of those in isolated poverty.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

The "elephant" did feel a bit different to different members of the study team, at least as expressed in the emphasis of various recommendations. The differences were, however, primarily differences in emphasis. Some reports did not include recommendations. Mostly, however, recommendations were implied and are synthesized here by the principal investigator as he perceived them.

The Community Centers

The Donohew-Singh view--and Gladden and Hirsch appear to join them--is that the community centers have been somewhat effective and should be kept. The question of whether fewer or more of them--some perhaps farther up the hollows to reach the untouched third who live farther from the centers who are more often the unemployed or those employed at a lower level, poorer, less educated and older--or farther down to draw those who have already enlarged their horizons, to extend them more--is a question. The current direction of the program in Knox County is to close those which are least active--which could mean that forces are being removed from the fronts where the need is greatest--for it must not be overlooked that rural poverty appears most deep-rooted in the remote areas in a population that is most stubborn in its resistance to change. The question seems not only whether or not the community center is an effective stratagem but whether or not it

is effective with all kinds of people. (Unfortunately, throughout all the data appears some tendency for the CAP to capture the interest of those who, though it fills a need for them, might have "made it" without the program, while many who need it the most are the last to respond.) It would seem that some populations may be "ready" for the centers to close, or be moved in order to draw them toward a still wider circle of socialization, whereas others need it closer, or need some new stratagems that will have the reach to bring them in.

Use of Modern Communication Media

The use of modern communication media to reach and to involve people of poverty should be emphasized.

The Knox County CAP has made use of newspapers and radio from time to time, as well as educational films. (There is no local television outlet readily available.) The study team have no basis for criticizing either the publicity efforts of the CAP staff or those who have made outlets available to them as freely, it is assumed, as to any other community group. (For some time the Knox County CAP had a full-time director of publicity.)

The point to this recommendation is that CAP should especially emphasize the use of modern mass media because the poverty groups in rural areas are usually the more isolated with less schooling, who are likely to be more responsive to audio-visual and audio messages than to printed matter. At the risk of appearing to endorse "gadgetry" this recommendation would suggest that modern advertising techniques, perhaps including radio and/or television games and spectaculars

should be aimed toward the poor, toward involving them both actively and vicariously--this, in addition to a heavy routine use of all media for promotion of the program. Also, no opportunity should be overlooked to promote placing in the hands of the poor the equipment and facilities for use of modern communication media. Even the telephone, for instance, is a rarity in much of the county.

Respect for Local Norms and Indigenous Leadership Patterns

Caudill, Cain, Sutton, and Murphy-Street may well be interpreted as saying that, whatever the pattern of the program, changes are needed in the approaches to people--that the mores and norms of etiquette of the culture must be given more respect, particularly by the imported personnel. (It is an opinion documented by records of observers of the study team that, particularly as the program began, some of the "imported" personnel, bringing in patterns of dress and decorum that disregarded the local patterns, generated considerable antagonism, and in some instances even fear, among the Knox County people.) The choice of those who would be effective in the setting of this study would appear to require a willingness to forego what some from outside cultures regard as personal freedoms--in ways of dress, morality, or right to express an opinion--in order to be effective change agents. Indeed, the brisk and direct go-getter who puts efficiency in the job done ahead of people as persons--who is "modern" in thinking of issues rather than personalities--is not likely to be accepted readily among the people Cain describes with

whom the conventional etiquette calls for indirectness and perfunctory and circuitous behavior before any direct confrontation.¹⁶

Understanding the norms of indigenous leadership (the social and political realities of kinship and tradition indigenous to the area) appears to represent a starting point for effective work in the rural Appalachian culture and should not be overlooked in training programs for service in such settings. It is suggested, too, that those directing the program start with the assumption in good faith that local community leaders are sincerely interested in overcoming poverty (instead of assuming the opposite) and make the role of the professional staff explicitly one of mediation among diverse community forces, toward coordinating community-wide attacks upon problems of poverty by involving all who are willing to help.

Jobs, and Training for Jobs

Vocational development and jobs get emphasis in the studies by Gladden, Caudill, Hirsch, and Donohew-Singh. Murphy cites the popularity of "jobs" as a purpose for CAP also. While the enthusiasm for jobs is a bit like that of the mice for the bell on the cat, it appears nevertheless crucial. It is worth mentioning that "jobs and manpower training" are an emphasis of the present director of the Knox County CAP, an emphasis which appears to be getting support--in

¹⁶At a critical point in the interviewing near the close of the study the number of refusals mounted, after interviewers who had records of getting more interviews in a given time were engaged. The solution turned out to be the rehiring of "slower" interviewers and those who had personal relationships with reluctant respondents.

the Arts and Crafts Store project, for example.¹⁷ It would seem to coincide with recommendations here.

The Need to Clarify Goals

Somehow the purposes of the CAP in Knox County have not emerged clearly. Even among the more sophisticated, the CAP is still regarded by many as "just another handout," classed with "welfare," and identified with parasitism.¹⁸ A substantial minority feel it has contributed to dependency--rather than the reverse as is its purpose.¹⁹ Its role as a job agency--which might indeed be incidental, or even essential in order to involve people in community action--seems, as Cain and Murphy-Street observe, to be the limit of what many see as its purpose. The consequence of such limited perceptions of the CAP goals is, of course, that some fail to participate because, as Gladden observes of the non-participating poor, they reject dependency. Others, because jobs do not come quickly, turn away in disillusionment.

¹⁷In a meeting with the present director shortly after he accepted the assignment, the study team asked him whether or not he expected to abandon the so-called "social" (politically activist) approach in favor of a get-jobs-now approach. He responded that he expected a concrete program to generate involvement that would provide the socio-political participation which was the goal of the "social" approach--that he perceived the latter was a better means to the same end.

¹⁸Work, perceived by some of the poverty group, tends to be something manual; an administrator, organizer--a CAP aid, for example--does not "really" work.

¹⁹Stephens' (Unit 2) report of increases in transfer payments is difficult to explain away. A purpose given early attention in the CAP--especially as the staff organized to promote registration of the aged for medicare--was to help people get their rights to government aid under the law. One social worker employee has indeed been active in aiding those who, at least by comparison to others, deserved help. The operation to educate people as to their rights is, of course, incidental to the whole program. Perhaps its effectiveness, however, explains what Stephens observed.

There is no ready plan for how clarification of goals should be done--unless Donohew-Singh's recommendation on more use of mass media might help. Certainly, however, the matter needs attention.

The Early Childhood and Youth Programs

Keep, and strengthen, the Early Childhood Program. How much it may have been an instrument through which the CAP has reached parents is not clear, but the possibility would appear to be considerable; the program justifies itself, however, as an investment in the child.

The Youth Activities Program, already much changed in character, needs overhaul. The need for some program for youth is obvious, but the form it should take is beyond the scope of this study.

A Last Word

In conclusion--a personalized observation of the principal investigator:

Obviously the Knox County CAP has not so far been a glowing success. It has succeeded partly; it has failed partly. It should not be overlooked that its task is a most difficult one, that the people it is meant to reach are the very ones existing institutions and forces--the school, the church, the agencies of reform, the enticements of technology, and the still enduring tradition of self-sufficiency evidenced by observation in this study--have been unable to rescue from poverty.

There is some inclination for the study team to feel that a large proportion of the middle-aged and older are not likely to find places in modern society outside Knox County where either they or society will

profit, whatever success the CAP may have. A program that will make life for them, where they are, more tolerable, or even richer by attention to good things at hand in the area, is certainly a "luxury" the greater society can afford. But the greatest concern must be for the children and youth, and for those in the middle years who are still adaptable and potentially self-sufficient. (The Early Childhood Program offers real hope. The Youth Program needs a new attack.)

Perhaps the easiest course would be for society to be reconciled to simply perpetuating dependency by almost indiscriminately--as some feel is already done--distributing the "dole" to the "needy." In consequence, this society can commit itself to maintaining an unbridged chasm between classes so long as it shall endure, with millions living their lives out as "parasites," while others who scorn them pay for their "keep."

Such programs as the CAP are expensive, and so far they do not show very gratifying results. But at least they are an attempt.²⁰ They are something--as opposed to nothing! At least they are a denial that the future of this society shall be the kept on one side and the keepers on the other. They are an assertion of the basic idea that every person is a unique value, a recognition that each could have been the other.

²⁰The Knox County CAP is costing approximately one third of the cost of welfare in the county. Welfare in 1966 in Knox County totalled some \$2,837,000. Source: "Statistical Profile: Counties of the Fourth Federal Reserve District" (Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, P. O. Box 6387, Cleveland, Ohio 44101), May, 1968, p. 41.

Therefore: Let the critics of the CAP or of other attempts to unravel the tragic snarl of poverty reflect upon the choice: Whether we shall surrender to a self-righteous system of voting "corn for the mob"--or keep on trying to help people make themselves self-sufficient, difficult as doing so may be.

APPENDIX A1
POLICY REGARDING RELEASE OF INFORMATION
OF KNOX COUNTY OEO-CAP
EVALUATION STUDY BY UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

September 15, 1966

Principles underlying policy:

(1) Information gathering requires work--and in justice the one who does the work, or pays to have it done, has a proprietary stake in the results of the work. To an extent the members of our study team are paid under the contract for the study. In addition, however, they are contributing, some without pay, and all on the assumption that their professional commitments to the project are beyond what they are paid.

(2) The contract for the study implies that this proprietary stake is held jointly among our study team and the Office of Economic Opportunity which has contracted with us for the study. We are required to give notice to that office in advance of release of information obtained in the study. (Note that we do not have to ask permission to make the release. We are trusted, as professional researchers, to make such releases with full respect to our responsibilities to each other and to our contract.)

(3) Since we expect to share information among the study team, each of us has an obligation to respect the proprietary stake the rest of the team has in the enterprise. It would be unfair for any member of the team to give away or sell what in a sense belongs to all of us, without prior agreement among us.

(4) Much of the information we gather is obtainable only by the grace of people who are willing to be interviewed, to give time to report information, or to direct us to sources of information. In many instances this willingness is predicated on the assumption that privacies will be respected, that good faith will be maintained--that the information given will be directed toward honest research ends.

We must not obligate ourselves to informants by "trading" confidential information with them, or "buying" it, or coercing anyone in any way. Our entire information-gathering procedure presumes the good will, generosity, and willingness of other people to help us. We are in no position to "bargain." It is a prime obligation, however, for us to respect their privacy and right to personal anonymity by never betraying confidences short of those involving criminal matters.

(5) Since our study is financed by public funds, every citizen has a stake in it. That stake, however, is no greater for one (as a citizen) than another--and all citizens have a stake in the research ends of our study. No individual citizen, as a citizen, has any individual proprietary right to the findings of the study--to have it released to him for his own use, for instance. (Ultimately, of course, the public has a right to know what we find out--as a patient has a right to know what the doctors find when they examine him. Public interest will not be served, however, if information is released without being placed in a complete enough context to leave no excuse for distortion.)

(6) Mutually acceptable arrangements among those concerned are presumed to be feasible on occasion so that release of some information of the study may be possible before a final report is made, but only by special arrangements within limits prescribed under the above principles.

(7) Our study occasionally must deal with vague matters which for both legal and ethical reasons should be confidential. The impacts of the program we are evaluating are sometimes attitudes, which express themselves as rumors, vaguely defined general impressions, or expressions of "loaded terms." Some of these are factually verifiable, some not. Their "truthfulness" is often irrelevant to the study; their effect upon the program being evaluated may be quite relevant.

We must be careful never to be party to the spreading of such rumors, impressions, or usages of "loaded terms," though we must necessarily have reports of them when they are relevant to the study and must be able to probe into them. Consequently, any considerations of such matters which might injure anyone whatever if spread should be kept in utmost confidence among the study team, and every person who accepts a role in the study is presumed to have committed himself to preserve such confidence without exception.

POLICY REGARDING RELEASE OF INFORMATION OF STUDY

In light of the above principles, it is the policy under which this study team operates:

- (1) To keep confidences respecting privacy and personal identity of those who provide information for the study.
- (2) To preserve the proprietary right of the study team and those who have contracted for its services by denying others access to information obtained in the research effort during the course of the study, except as there is mutual agreement otherwise, or until the final report of the study is delivered.

- (3) To respect the public right to know.
 - (a) That we are doing a study.
 - (b) What the purposes and general scope of the study are.
 - (c) Who are members of the study team and their general roles.
 - (d) That releases of the study (or perhaps parts of it) will be made as findings become conclusive by standards of sound research, but only so.
- (4) To keep in strict confidence among the study team all information that might have any possibility of injuring anyone, whether factually based or in a report of rumor, general impression, or "loaded" expression.
- (5) To refer all problems of interpretation and application of the policies outlined above to the project director.
- (6) To negotiate regarding conditions under which information will be released before final report, but only in accord with the principles outlined above.

APPENDIX A2
POLICY REGARDING RELEASE OF INFORMATION
OF KNOX COUNTY OEO-CAP
EVALUATION PROJECT BY UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY STUDY TEAM
November 1, 1966

It is the policy under which this study team operates:

- (1) To keep confidences respecting privacy and personal identity of those who provide information for the study.
- (2) To preserve the proprietary right of the study team and those who have contracted for its services by denying others access to information obtained in the research effort during the course of the study, except as there is mutual agreement otherwise, or until the final report of the study is delivered.
- (3) To respect the public right to know.
 - (a) That we are doing a study.
 - (b) What the purposes and general scope of the study are.
 - (c) Who are members of the study team and their general roles.
 - (d) That releases of the study (or perhaps parts of it) will be made as findings become conclusive by standards of sound research, but only so.
- (4) To keep in strict confidence among the study team all information that might have any possibility of injuring anyone, whether factually based or in a report of rumor, general impression, or "loaded" expression.
- (5) Before sharing information with the Knox County OEO-CAP staff, to require agreement by that staff to abide by the same policy principles as those governing release of information by the study team itself.
- (6) To share all general information (demographic, geographic, community character, etc.) which would be available to anyone who might make the effort required to obtain it. Also to share explanations regarding kinds of information being sought, purposes for gathering it, relationships of it to the OEO-CAP as perceived by the study team, and areas and populations to be sampled. However, such information shall not be shared when it might identify persons, either by name, position, or role, in such a way as to embarrass any person or to "personalize" (as opposed to "objectify") the data of the study, or as other policy statements here would be violated.
- (7) To withhold conclusive observations and summaries of findings until they have been delivered to OEO as per contract at the conclusion of the study,* except as special negotiations may be made, for example, between the study team and the OEO-CAP staff (as when projects are planned for the gathering of information jointly).

- (8) To obtain approval of the project director before release of any information of the study when doing so might raise a question regarding application of the above regulations. (The director is expected to decide such issues, counseling with the study team, the staff of the Center for Developmental Change, or the University of Kentucky Research Foundation as he sees fit.)

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- * The clauses in the contract with OEO which might conceivably be related to the policies stated above are:

XI

NOTICE PRIOR TO PUBLICATIONS

The contractor shall give advance notice to the contracting officer prior to publishing, permitting to be published or distributing for public consumption, any information oral or written, concerning the objectives, results, or conclusions made pursuant to the performance of this contract. The formal written reports required as parts of the contract performance are not to be published sooner than 60 days after submission to OEO. Any publications resulting from or related to performance of this contract shall contain the following acknowledgement: "The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with OEO."

COPYRIGHT

- (1) The Contractor (i) agrees that the Office of Economic Opportunity shall determine the disposition of the title to and the rights under any copyright secured by the Contractor or its employees on copyrightable material developed under the contract and (ii) hereby grants to the Government a royalty-free, non-exclusive, irrevocable license to reproduce, translate, publish, use and dispose of, and to authorize others so to do, all copyrighted or copyrightable work not first produced or composed by the Contractor in the performance of this contract but which is incorporated in the material developed under the contract, provided that such license shall be only to the extent the Contractor now has, or prior to the completion or final settlement of the contract may acquire, the right to grant such license without becoming liable to pay compensation to others solely because of such grant.
- (2) The Contractor agrees that it will not include any copyrighted material in any written or copyrightable material furnished or delivered under this contract without a license as provided for in paragraph (1) (ii) thereof, or without the consent of the copyright owner, unless specific written approval to the inclusion of such copyrighted material is secured.

PATENTS

The language set out in paragraph 9-107.5 of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation under the heading Patent Rights (Title) (May 1964) is incorporated herein by reference.

Fount Community Center Area

KNOX COUNTY

KEY

- Road
- Other Tracts
- Rivers
- County Boundary

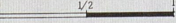
- School
- Church
- Community Center
- Occupied House

Miles from Center
 House number is guide to occupier found on accompanying sheets

APPENDIX B1
 SAMPLE CENSUS MAPS



SCALE IN MILES



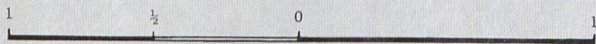
Cartography by J. T. Addicott

APPENDIX B2
SAMPLE CENSUS MAPS

Wilton Center Area

KNOX COUNTY

SCALE IN MILES



Cartography by P. D. Girling

KEY

- Tarred Roads..... ————
- Dirt Tracts..... - - - - -
- Rivers..... ~~~~~
- County Boundaries... - - - - -

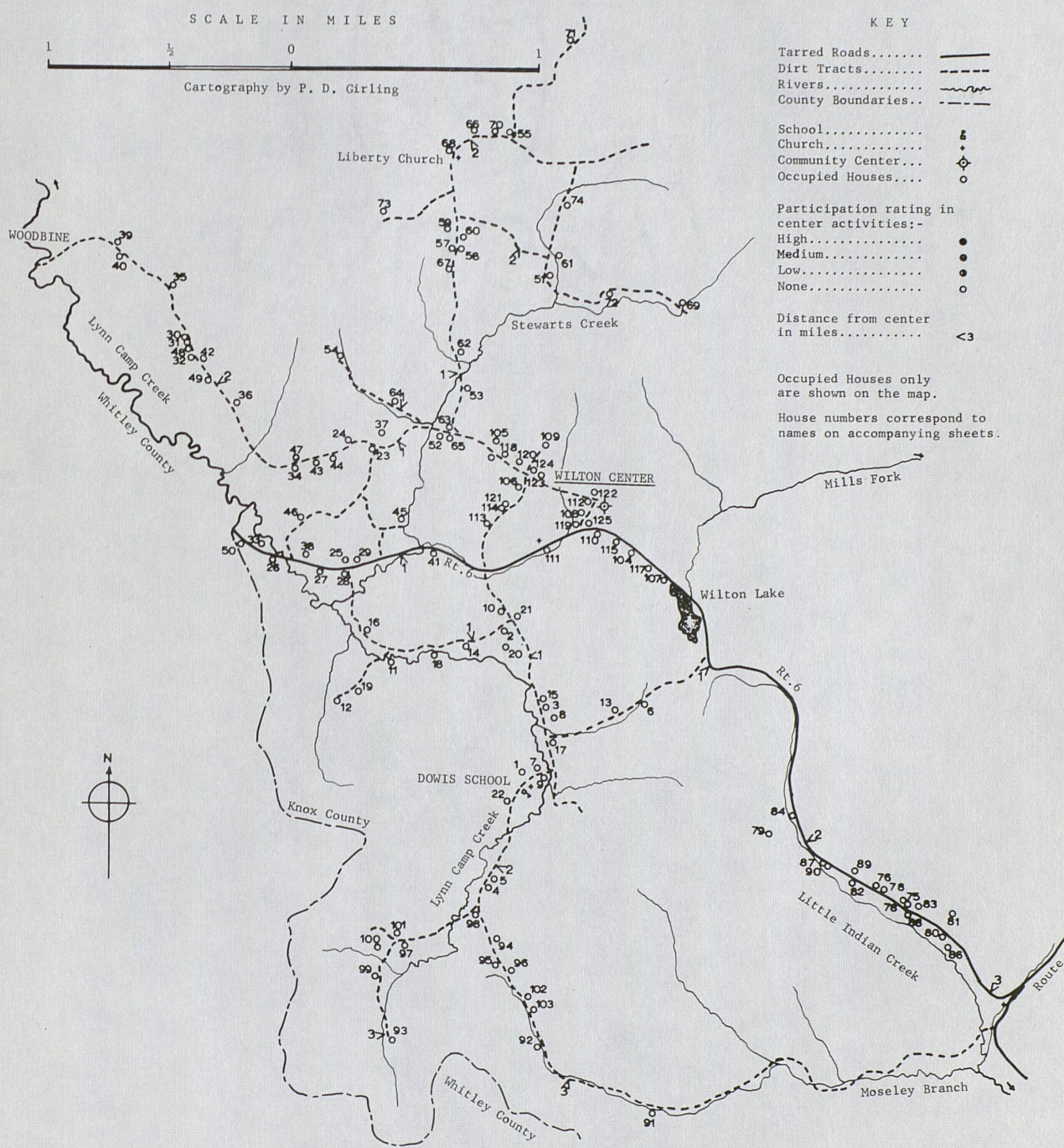
- School..... □
- Church..... ✕
- Community Center... ◇
- Occupied Houses.... ○

- Participation rating in center activities:-
- High..... ●
 - Medium..... ●
 - Low..... ●
 - None..... ○

Distance from center in miles..... <3

Occupied Houses only are shown on the map.

House numbers correspond to names on accompanying sheets.



APPENDIX C

ABSTRACTS OF 13 UNITS

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION AND SYNTHESIS

by Paul Street

An interdisciplinary team from the University of Kentucky did a three-year study (1965-1968) of the OEO-sponsored community action programs in a rural Appalachian area of southeastern Kentucky, Knox County. They delimited the population of the study, sampling primarily in more isolated areas of rural poverty. Using "waves" of interviewing of householders in Time 1 and Time 2 (20 to 22 months apart) they measured changes which seemed likely to be related to the question: Did the community action program tend to move people of poverty toward greater participation in the larger society and a more "modern" life style?

Variables investigated included those related to attitudes--i.e., empathy, dogmatism, alienation, political efficacy, openness to change--to use of modern communication media, and to socialization and civic participation. Also, they measured responses to the community action program in terms of adoption of innovations promoted by it and to specific projects of it, such as the Early Childhood, Youth Activities, Health Education, Family Development, and Model Homes programs. Also, income and living-standard changes were noted. Further, the study examined into the image people held of the program and its goals and their evaluation of the effectiveness of specific stratagems employed in it. Also observed was the impact of the community action program on leadership and the participation of the poor.

Measurements taken in the study demonstrated a general change in the direction of greater modernity in life styles, with changes a bit greater in areas served by the community centers set up under the community action program and among those who had participated in it. People of areas served by centers enlarged their social activities and broadened their perspectives of leadership, naming more leaders but fewer different ones in the final wave of interviewing. The top leadership of the county appeared essentially unchanged, though perhaps more concentrated, but impressions dominating were that the poor were being considered more in decisions affecting them.

The impact upon youth appeared parallel to that upon the householders, though the relationship between participation in the program and changes in youth attitudes was not so clear. The Youth Activities Program failed to involve youth greatly; the tutoring program, which was a fundamental part of it, produced no measurements of positive results, though youth in general moved toward "modernity" along with the rest of the county. Disturbingly, measurements of alienation, dogmatism, and political cynicism showed slight increases--consistent

with the model of modernity which anticipates some disillusionment as expectations are raised before potential for fulfillment is realized.

Resident observers reported that the cultural breach between "imported" change agents and the Appalachian communities was a considerable obstacle and that alignments rooted in indigenous factionalism and kinship patterns appeared to affect greatly the direction a program must take to be effective.

Almost one-third of those living in rural areas served by the community centers reported that they were not acquainted with it. This group was measured as different at a statistically significant level from the rest of the population in being of lower income and employment level, of less schooling, farther from the centers, and older--suggesting that the program has not yet reached the more isolated poverty group.

The Early Childhood Program, involving pre-school youngsters in remote areas in a four-day-week, year-round, six-hour-day "kindergarten," demonstrated a significant impact in that its product "caught up" in first grade with other youngsters generally who tended to be a bit older and who came from homes of higher income, of higher employment level of the father, of more schooling of parents, and of higher parental aspiration educationally for the child. (An exception seems to be that, in some comparisons, the Early Childhood Program child tended to be from a home in which news participation was higher.)

The Health Education Program appeared to deliver more service, through a mobile unit, to the isolated poor of the county but had not increased total "volume" of services to the extent reasonably expected, apparently because it had been staffed at the expense of the local health department.

Home improvement, promoted by the community action program, increased more in areas served by the centers than in non-center areas. Also, (since 1966) Knox County built 60 new homes of FHA classifications C and D--the type promoted by the community action program--whereas a neighboring county without such a program built none in these classifications.

Income in the population of the study had increased since 1966, but a greater proportion of it was from transfer payments (in comparison to income from currently productive labor or enterprise); the level of employment was a bit lower; the amount of unemployment, up slightly. Nevertheless, signs of movement toward the modernity basic to economic improvement--adoption of innovations such as home improvements, utility accessories, etc.--provide some basis for optimism.

Recommendations of the study team were:

- 1) That the community center be regarded as a useful stratagem for reaching the isolated poor, with modifications depending upon the degree of provincialism in the setting. (It appears to be needed in Knox County particularly to house the Early Childhood Program in outlying areas.)
- 2) That the use of modern mass media of communication, and efforts to stimulate their use among the isolated poor, be emphasized in the program.
- 3) That respect for local norms be a commitment required in the behavior of personnel who come as change agents from outside the area and that preparation programs for personnel emphasize as a starting point the social realities of kinship and tradition indigenous to the setting of their work.
- 4) That the proportion of administrative time given to training, guidance, and working with the poor, both in in-service training for sub-professionals and guidance and help to volunteer leaders, be increased.
- 5) That those directing the program start with the assumption in good faith that local community leaders are sincerely interested in overcoming poverty (instead of assuming the opposite) and make the role of the professional staff explicitly one of mediation among diverse community forces toward coordinating community-wide attacks upon problems of poverty by involving all who are willing to help.
- 6) That jobs and training for jobs get heavy emphasis as part of the community action program.
- 7) That more effort be made to clarify the goals of the program.
- 8) That the Early Childhood Program be continued, but possibilities of a different kind of program for youth be explored.

ABSTRACT

Unit 2

ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AN APPALACHIAN COUNTY:
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by Lowndes F. Stephens

The statistical tests conducted with Time-One and Time-Two survey data indicate that there has been positive economic and social change among the rural people of Messer, Kay Jay, and Middle Fork communities of Knox County, Kentucky. Since random sampling procedures were followed and the samples were large enough, inferences about the rural population of these three communities can be made.

The data indicate that there has been economic and social change among these rural families, a change in those characteristics which are related to economic development, which would appear to be antecedent to greater economic growth, though one might be expected to lag behind or precede the other for a time. They are more sensitive to the local, state, national, and international events that shape their lives and the statistics indicate that these people are spending more hours attending to the mass media in 1968 than they did in 1966. They have more money to spend on the necessities and "luxuries" of life than they did in 1966, although the number of those who are unemployed has increased, and the employment level of those who are employed has dropped. The implication of this statistic is that the increased amount of average family income is not due to an increased exploitation of productive sources of income but to an increased dependency on transfer payments. The aggregate statistics on the county point to this ominous fact.

Furthermore, the center activities are presumably occupying the time of the most impoverished. The negative beta coefficient in the forty-six variable problem indicates that as family income increases the extent, or amount, of participation in center programs decreases; the most impoverished are likely to be the ones to take advantage of the programs. In the spring of 1968 more persons were participating in center programs regularly and more persons were undergoing economic and social change as indicated by the eleven-variable problem run for time-two data. If indeed the community centers in these areas have been the "hang-outs" where fruitful discussions about common goals and problems took place, where persons came to converse with young people from VISTA and other organizations, where persons sought advice on everything from birth control measures to filling out tax reforms, then the centers have rendered a great service. The survey data indicate that the community center concept is not an anathema but consistent with the process of social change. That is, those persons who showed advancement with respect to certain key receptiveness-to-change variables in Time Two also were participating more in center activities. The regression problem results for the eleven

variables in Time Two indicate that social and economic change is underway in these Knox County communities, and this is the kind of trend that must be encouraged.

It should be noted that the population for the statistical problems in this project was defined as the rural families living in Messer, Kay Jay, and Middle Fork. No inferences beyond this population to Knox County as a whole should be made. Finally, it should be stressed that the lack of adequate survey data on the economic standards of these families made the development of a sound and reliable economic scale impossible. More extensive data on buying habits, investment and savings habits, sources of income, etc., would have rendered a better picture of the economic conditions of these communities and the county.

ABSTRACT

Unit 3
A SELECTIVE DESCRIPTION OF A KNOX
COUNTY MOUNTAIN BEIGHBORHOOD

by Stephen R. Cain

Introduction

Evaluation of the success of an innovation such as the Community Action Program requires an awareness of the cultural milieu into which the innovation is introduced. Such an understanding enables both the evaluator and the program initiator to define those acceptance inhibitors that are a product of the cultural differences between the recipient society and the outside world. These inhibitors can cause failure if they are unrecognized or ignored.

A Selective Description of a Knox County Mountain Neighborhood discusses those aspects of mountain culture that are relevant to the success of the Community Action Program. The data are a result of an anthropological study of a representative mountain neighborhood in Knox County, Kentucky. The purpose of the study was to develop a basic understanding of the mountain culture. The neighborhood, because of its relative isolation from the greater society, exhibits maximum cultural differences between its inhabitants and those of the outside world. Such differences increase chances for rejection of any innovation introduced from the outside. Further, the inhabitants of remote areas such as this are generally those in most need of innovative programs.

Emphasis in the description of the mountain culture is on social interaction. This interaction is discussed largely in terms of the self-image that the mountain dweller brings to bear on all social relationships; the all-pervading suspicion that affects all aspects of social interaction; general rules of etiquette; specific relations between male and male, female and female, male and female, adult and child; attitudes toward the outsider; intra-family and inter-family relations; political influence; the center area as a unit of cooperation; and the communications network. Out of the data emerge certain themes relevant to the success of the Community Action Program. The following brief discussion of these themes demonstrates the necessity of understanding the culture of the potential acceptor.

Self-Image and Etiquette

Knowledge of and respect for the self-image of the potential acceptor is crucial to the success of the program. The mountain dweller is aware of the stereotype of the "hillbilly" which is maintained by the outside world. His relationship with outsiders is affected by his self-image and by the outsider's image of the mountain dweller, as reflected in the former's behavior toward the latter. The change agent must discard all erroneous preconceptions and demonstrate an appreciation of mountain life if he is to be accepted.

Just as the change agent must be careful not to damage the self-image of the potential acceptor, so must he be careful not to violate the norms of the culture. Adherence to the rules of etiquette is vital to the maintenance of smooth social relationships. A faux pas committed by the change agent arouses the suspicion that falls not only upon the outsider, but upon all inhabitants of the area who deviate from normal behavior. Knowledge of etiquette and the patterns of nonverbal communication, then, is vital to the success of the change agent and, ultimately, of his program.

Family and Political Influence

Family is the point of orientation and source of security for the mountain inhabitant. As such, it has a tremendous influence on behavior. The Community Action Program requires a reorientation away from the family to a larger social unit; such a reorientation is difficult to accomplish. Further, an individual always has the support of his kin group; if he rejects the innovation, it is quite likely that members of his family will also reject it. This means that sometimes an entire neighborhood will not participate. Consequently, the change agent must understand the nature of family relations in the mountain neighborhood.

The family is also quite important in the wielding of political influence. The notion that the poor are politically helpless does not prove true in the mountain culture. People have influence, and they handle it with methods that are normative to that culture. Such

methods must be recognized and understood when introducing an innovation into the society.

Cooperation

The centers in the Community Action Program serve designated geographical areas that are expected to cooperate in order to bring about change. It is necessary, then, to determine the effectiveness of such areas as cooperative units. While the research has not shed considerable light on this matter, still it has produced some evidence that the probability of cooperation within the center area cannot be assumed a priori. Differences between the mountain inhabitant's notions of community boundaries and those which produced the center areas have a tremendous effect on cooperation. If a group does not conceive of itself as a single unit, it will not participate as such in a cooperative program.

The potential acceptor's understanding of the purposes of the Community Action Program is essential to successful cooperation and participation. However, certain misconceptions about the program have developed in the mountain neighborhood, largely because of problems of communication between its inhabitants and those of the outside world. Such problems must be resolved, if misconceptions are to be corrected.

Conclusion

No matter how beneficial an innovation is for the recipient society, chances for acceptance will increase only in proportion to the amount of energy the change agent expends in adapting his methods to the culture of the potential acceptor. Such adjustment requires an understanding of that culture; the data presented in the description of a Knox County mountain neighborhood provides the basic information necessary to such an understanding.

ABSTRACT

Unit 4

FAMILY LIFE STYLES, SOCIAL PARTICIPATION, AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE

by James W. Gladden

What are families like that actively participate in an OEO Community Action Program in a predominantly rural county in Appalachian Kentucky? Why do some families refuse or fail to take part in a government-sponsored local community effort for rehabilitation? Are those that support the enterprise and use new social services significantly different from the non-participating families?

These were some of the questions that this portion of the evaluation of Knox County's Community Action Program (KCCAP), by the University of Kentucky research team, tried to answer. A purposive sample of 131 intact families was studied to discover features of the family life styles of three categorical types. Nearly three-fourths (95) of the selected families reported a sub-standard income of less than \$3,500 for the year 1966-67. The remaining 36 had self-earned incomes for the same period of more than \$3,000 but less than \$6,000. Those with sub-standard incomes were divided into two sets: Participating Poor (PP) families numbering 39 and Non-participating Poor (NP) units totaling 56.

The research design was to contrast the two Poor groups and compare them, together and separately, with the 36 relatively autonomous families to see which of the Poor types, PP or NP, were more similar to the Above Poor (AP). The hypothesis was that PP would be more like the control group (AP) and would show promise of real improvement in the early future because of their disposition to co-operate. The hypothesis was generally supported in that, more frequently than not, PP proved to be more similar to AP in family ideology, upward mobility, and future goals.

Two sets of questionnaires each were administered, a year apart, to the mothers in their homes and to sixth-grade sons in their schools. Data analysis showed both PP and NP were quite fatalistic because of their espousal of fundamentalistic and sectarian religious views. Majorities in both types were affiliated with, and regular attenders of, small churches. Both were also highly familistic in their loyalties and associational activity. The two types were headed by parents (only whole families were studied) with very low educational levels and, on the average, in the 40-44 age group.

PP families had longer histories of financial difficulty. The participating families differed substantially from NP in their voluntary association, having much higher records of social interaction with kin-folks and neighbors and in religious activities. Neither group belonged to formal organizations to any measurable extent. PP families were older, larger, and had more unemployed or underemployed members. Their major objective in supporting KCCAP was economic. Considerably less geographically mobile than NP, they desired, for both fathers and sons, job opportunities in Knox County or nearby. They felt that the OEO assistance had been providential and were generally enthusiastic about changes that had been made in the county in the wake of CAP.

NP were critical of the endeavor and chose to abstain because of cultural scruples and a narrow version of the American doctrine of self-help. They were opposed to government intervention, accepting welfare and only for reasons of physical survival. NP mothers had higher aspirations and expectations for their sons than did PP; their boys also aspired highly and seem to be headed toward more frustration than the PP lads. NP, more stable, believe in status quo; PP, more vertically mobile, support change.

The study concludes that the Poor in Knox County need jobs, vocational training (for the boys perhaps as early as the elementary grades) and a much improved plan for community organization. KCCAP has helped a minority of families who are very grateful. The great majority are still resisting chronic dependency. The region needs most a creative, imaginative provision for economic development which the national OEO decided, in 1965 and again in 1968, not to implement.

ABSTRACT

Unit 5

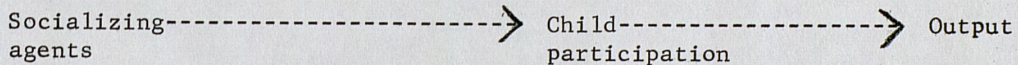
POVERTY, PARTICIPATION, AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

by Herbert Hirsch

In recent years the study of political socialization has received increasing attention from political scientists. This study contributes to the continued growth and expansion by striking off in a different direction. It differs from its predecessors in that it is primarily focused upon the relationship between childhood participation in the "War on Poverty" and the political socialization of the Appalachian child.

The study is based upon a random sample of fifth through twelfth grade school children in rural Knox County, Kentucky. Three techniques of data analysis were used. First, chi square was used as a data reduction device to ascertain whether or not there were significant differences between participating and non-participating children. Where differences were noted we further analyzed them using a technique developed by Campbell and Stanley, called "cross-lagged panel correlation," which enables one to infer that A causes B more than B causes A based on the time differential. Third, we further isolated causal paths through the use of the Simon-Blalock causal model.

At the outset we posited a two-pronged model.



Thus, we are asking two broad questions. First, what causes the child to participate in the program, and second, what are the results of this participation?

It was found that three variables were directly related to childhood participation in the program: parents' participation, father's education, and distance the child lives from the center. Children whose parents participated were more likely to participate; children whose fathers had a relatively low level of education were more likely to participate than children whose fathers had a higher level of education, and children who lived close to the center were more likely to participate than those who lived farther away. Regarding output it was found that the par-

ticipation of the child manifested itself in three outputs. First, participation caused the child to join a 4-H Club; second, it also caused him to join an athletic team. Consequently, participation seems to be resulting in the inculcation of a general participatory ethic which, as the program continues in existence for several more years, may be generalized into wider spheres of participatory activity. The third output resulting from participation is an improved opinion of the program. While the evidence is not overly encouraging, neither is it discouraging, for we have the indication, in a year's time of operation, that the center has begun to stimulate participatory activity on the part of the child and has influenced at least one attitudinal dimension, i.e., opinion of the program.

The findings lead to several recommendations. First, in order to stimulate greater child participation it is necessary that the program concentrate upon inducing greater parental participation. The parent is a crucial link to the child. The child is probably relying upon the presence of a participating parental model that causes him to participate. Since the modeling dynamic is so successful in inducing participation it should be extended and used as a means to achieve the desired goals of the program. Second, the child must be provided with transportation so he can reach the center. Third, if the center is to become a truly efficacious agent it must provide the Appalachian child with some means of implementing his desired life goals. Remembering that, when asked what they would most like the center to do for them, the great majority responded in terms of helping to find good jobs and getting a good education, leads us to recommend that the program place increasing emphasis upon these dimensions. In so doing, it is likely that participation will increase as well as the increasing likelihood that concrete output of jobs and education will result in attitudinal change manifesting itself in social change.

In closing it is important to re-emphasize that the program live up to its promises and to the child's "rising expectations."

ABSTRACT

Unit 6 THE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

by Morris K. Caudill

The basic purpose of the study was to test the impact of the Knox County Community Action Program on the youth of Knox County through the Youth Activities Program conducted in the community centers.

To measure this impact, in relation to center participation, answers to the following questions were sought:

- 1) Do the youth of Knox County now participate more in various areas?
- 2) To what extent, and in what direction, has there been change in levels of empathy, alienation, and vocational aspirations of the respondents?
- 3) Has there been a positive change in the youths' attitudes toward school and education?
- 4) Has a greater awareness of economic practices resulted?
- 5) What has happened to the attitudes of youth concerning leaving home for employment?
- 6) Has a greater understanding of health and sanitary practices resulted?
- 7) How do the youth involved in the tutoring program compare with a similar group of youth, who were not tutored, on the following variables:
 - a) End-of-year grades?
 - b) School attendance?
 - c) Out-migration?
- 8) How does Knox County compare with the four counties which surround it on the following variables:
 - a) School dropout rate?
 - b) Juvenile delinquency rate?
 - c) In/out migration?

The subjects were the members of the sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade classes of the Knox County schools. The only individuals studied who were not a part of this group were those juvenile offenders who may have been in other grades or had dropped out of school and those "statistics" from the control counties used for comparative purposes.

Instruments were prepared and data were collected. Three statistical treatments were used to analyze the data obtained. (1) The t-test was used to show differences in means of group responses by grades and mean individual responses from "Time 1" to "Time 2." (2) The chi square test of independence was used to determine whether the change which occurred was really significant (had occurred according to a definite pattern) or whether it had occurred only by chance. (3) The factor analysis program was used to determine which factors (clusters of variables) caused changes to occur in response patterns.

The findings of this study were:

- 1) The youths of Knox County participate more in various areas now but not as a result of participation in the Youth Activities Program.
- 2) The empathy and alienation levels of Knox County youths rose, but there was a regressive movement by the vocational aspirations of the same youths.
- 3) There has been a negative change in the youths' attitudes toward school and education.
- 4) A greater awareness of economic practices was evidenced by results of data from each group.
- 5) The attitudes of youth concerning leaving home for employment changed from a no response by the sixth-grade students to a yes response by many eighth-grade students.
- 6) There has been some increase in the knowledge of health and sanitary practices by all groups tested.
- 7) The effects of the tutoring program were negligible.
- 8) The Knox County Community Action Program had a significant impact on those variables tested when Knox County data were compared with the control counties data.

ABSTRACT

Unit 7
MODERNIZATION OF LIFE STYLES

by Lewis Donohew and B. Krishna Singh

Studies of communication and change in underdeveloped countries were drawn upon to design a study of modernization of individuals--including adoption of new ideas and practices--in six neighborhoods in Knox County. Two of the neighborhoods are served by old, established community centers operated by the OEO-CAP, two are served by newer or smaller centers, and two have no centers, although they have some contact with this agency for change through programs brought to them by mobile units and by other means.

The study approaches the individual as an interactive behavioral system whose components are variables defining his "style of life." Data were gathered at two points in time on 57 aspects of life style of heads of households and homemakers in these six neighborhoods. These

included nine practices whose adoption was sought by the OEO-CAP or other change agents. They also included indicators of the base for modernity-- such as family income, cosmopolitaness, and others--psycho-social attitudes and behaviors, and media exposure.

We found that more changes toward modernity took place among individuals in neighborhoods served by the centers than in non-center areas, with the greatest changes occurring in the adoption of innovations and the least in the base for modernity. Differences were tested for significance by t-test.

Correlation, factor analysis, and weighted rotation of our data matrices, produced three individual "types" of persons in each of the neighborhoods, as indicated by the items describing their life styles at the beginning of the study. These types were ordered along a continuum from least modern to most modern. Similar analysis of data gathered near the end of the study also produced three "types" of persons, with more persons loading on modern types in neighborhoods served by centers.

Differences between neighborhoods on the extent of modernization remained after we sorted each neighborhood into groups according to their factor types at Time One. That is, no single type, such as least modern, accounted for the major portion of the differences between communities.

It was concluded that there are striking differences in the rate of modernization of persons in areas served by community center areas and those not served by centers and that many of these changes could logically be attributed to presence of the centers.

ABSTRACT

Unit 8 LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

by Willis A. Sutton, Jr.

While the effects the KCEOC program had on community relations and leadership cannot be measured with precision, certain dimensions of them may be inferred with reasonable confidence. Whereas the number of neighborhood projects or activities people in areas served by community centers could list in 1968 increased some 15 percent over comparable figures in 1966 when the community action program was just beginning, the list given people in non-center areas in 1968 compared to 1966 showed a decline. Further, the number of persons listed as participants in such projects decreased between 1966 and 1968 in non-center areas but increased 27 percent in areas having community centers. Related to these trends was the development of considerable consensus on who the neighborhood leaders were among center area residents. This was

revealed in a smaller number of persons named as locality leaders in 1968 compared to 1966 but with a larger proportion of all nominations given to the group receiving most of the nominations. In the non-center areas no comparable development of agreement on neighborhood leaders was observed. It is likely that the greater amount of collective activity in center areas was translated in a better understanding of who the main neighborhood leaders were.

Regarding county-level leadership, evidence is presented to support four main contentions: County leadership is dominated by a relatively small number of very influential people. By and large they are the same people in 1968 as they were in 1964. While no appreciable change has occurred in the constituency of this dominant group as a result of the KCEOC program there is some evidence that change has taken place in their attitude and in the matters they take into consideration when developing policy decisions. Furthermore, at the lower levels of the county leadership structure personnel change has been exhibited. While fewer branch office or agency executive professionals are now in active roles, more people from stable but relatively low income groups as well as more poor people themselves are now active.

A survey of the perceptions different parts of the population held about the helpfulness of the KCEOC program to different aspects of life revealed that while a majority of the people felt the program had been generally helpful and had helped the poor more than the non-poor, the things on which the greatest number felt the program had been helpful were items having to do with services--jobs, education, health. But the items the fewest of the people felt had been helped by the program were those related to the social structure and processes of the community such as the way important things got decided and the nature of the county's leadership.

ABSTRACT

Unit 9
THE "IMAGE" OF KNOX COUNTY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

by Ottis Murphy and Paul Street

The purpose of this study was to determine what "image" the heads of households residing in the community center areas being served by CAP in Knox County held of the program.

Eight community center areas were selected for this study. Four of these areas were the same as those from which much of the data were obtained for other units of this study: New Bethel, Kay Jay, Messer, and Middle Fork areas. The other four areas were deemed most like the first four in demographic and social characteristics. They were: Fount, Grove, Ketchen, and Wilton areas. The remaining six center

areas, viewed as more urban in characteristics, were not included in this study. The six not included represent, with one exception, a more urban or village-type of housing pattern. Three of them were once small "coal towns." The one rural-mountain center area was excluded because a special study was underway there.

A random sampling of 398 heads-of-households was selected from eight community center areas out of a total of 1,136. Three hundred eighty-four of this group were interviewed. Two hundred fifty-seven of those interviewed claimed to be acquainted with the CAP, and 127 claimed not to be, while fourteen refused to be interviewed.

Findings indicate that the "image" held by heads of households regarding the purposes of CAP were not very clear. Some one-fourth of those interviewed and identified as being acquainted with CAP had no opinion regarding purposes (16.34% to 35.02%).

Similarly, the "image" held of the progress being made by the program was also revealed as rather hazy, no response coming from about four out of ten of the interviewees. It is logical to assume that those who did not understand the purposes may have been using the wrong "yardstick" in evaluating any progress that is being made.

The findings also reveal that feelings were rather mixed regarding the stratagems which have been employed in the Knox County CAP. It appears there is resentment toward some things which have been done; i.e., the sponsoring of some kinds of entertainment programs at the community centers particularly. Also, there appeared some resentment toward "outsiders." Both of these might be reasonably regarded as symptoms of a failure on the part of Knox County CAP to respect the culture of the group it is seeking to change.

Though those acquainted with the program and those not acquainted were found not to differ significantly in their over-all general impression of the program, they were found to differ at a significant level in age, education, occupation, income, and the distance they live from a community center. This difference was in the direction of those who were acquainted with the program being younger, better educated, of a higher employment level, and of higher income.

It follows that to an extent, therefore, the Knox County CAP has not as yet been able to reach its most central target: the most isolated, poorest, and least educated--these tending, also, to be the more aged--who would appear to represent those most deeply sunk in the miseries of rural poverty.

ABSTRACT

Unit 10
THE KNOX COUNTY ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
COUNCIL ANTI-POVERTY ARTS AND CRAFTS
STORE PROJECT

by Ottis Murphy

This report resulted from direct observations by the writer of a vigorous attempt by the people of Knox County to work together to reach an objective--in this case, an arts and crafts store for displaying and selling articles made by the citizens of the area.

The observer views this project as an actual effort, with some degree of success, at genuine community action initiated by OEO-CAP--with all levels of the population represented in some way in the effort. Since the observer is not aware of another project such as this being promoted by Knox County CAP, this report is being presented as a case study.

The Arts and Crafts Store project is viewed as one of the most successful examples of involvement of all socio-economic levels working together in Knox County to attain a goal.

It must be pointed out, however, that there are forces within the political, kinship, economic, and social structures of the Knox County population which serve to obstruct this type of approach--ones which produce factionalism. It is perceived that factionalism is so deeply rooted that it may be expected to endure and remain a variable in solving poverty problems of this area in the foreseeable future.

In brief, factionalism usually becomes evident whenever one faction promotes or endorses a project. It appears the opposing faction immediately begins searching for ways to either obstruct the project or to gain whatever credit may be derived from it. As this system usually works, one faction usually does most of the initiating, promoting, or endorsing and the other faction is forced to play the role of attempting to impede progress. This appeared to be the situation during the development and promotion of the Arts and Crafts Store project; i.e., other subjects were often introduced for consideration which may have been worthy but were not directly related to the project itself.

In this case, the group that initiated and promoted the project were able to hold together and work together until the store became a reality. The first objective--the building--has been reached but it remains to be seen whether this project will have an economic impact on the poverty situation in Knox County. The greater impact may very well be the experience and success the people had in working together and reaching a goal.

ABSTRACT

Unit 11
THE EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAM

by Paul Street and Linda Tomes

In summary, it appears that there are rather clear tendencies for the child in first grade who has had the Early Childhood experience to be matched (on the basis of the three criteria used in this study, and especially by grades at end of grade 1) to a child who is slightly older and who comes from a home in which:

- 1) The parent has measurably more interest in having the child go further in school.
- 2) The parents have themselves had more schooling.
- 3) The level of employment of the head of the household is higher.
- 4) The family income, measured either in gross or adjusted in terms of size of family and location, is higher.

Despite some vagaries which may be variously attributed to sampling or measurement errors with crude instruments, the Early Childhood product may be viewed as having overcome such handicaps of background as these differences represent, as well as a slight age handicap, in "catching up" with those with whom he is matched in this study.

There was a recurrent tendency (not clearly demonstrated, however, in the match on grades of the combined sexes) for the product (especially the boys) to come from homes where newspaper reading is more commonly practiced. This phenomenon, apparent in four of the comparisons, merits more explanation than this investigator is able to provide, though two suggestions are offered--namely, that those who read newspapers are more likely to be "participators" and place their youngsters in the program; or, that participation of parents in community center activities as it is generated through the child's participation in the Early Childhood Program has exposed them to mass media and generated more interest in newspaper reading. Such an explanation has reasonable possibility, of course, of being a circular "begging of the question."

ABSTRACT

Unit 12
THE HEALTH EDUCATION PROGRAM

by Paul Street

The Health Education Program, a part of the Knox County OEO community action program, has, since it began in 1965, changed from an almost purely educational operation into one additionally involved with service. Whereas it was at first, in effect, restricted to such activities as distributing posters and leaflets, showing health movies, promoting and presenting discussions, conferences, or lectures on health, and urging people generally to seek professional medical services, it now provides a mobile unit staffed with one or more nurses who can administer services within the scope represented by the role of the public nurse.

The mobile unit, a clinic and laboratory in several respects--with examination facilities, sterilizing and refrigerating equipment, air conditioning and its own power plant--delivers services to remote areas of a rural mountain county by scheduling regular appearances at the various 14 community centers scattered about the county. It is operated in close cooperation with the county health office, reporting its activities, for instance, with those of that office in monthly records for the State Department of Health.

After some three years of operation--two with the mobile unit--the program has gained considerable acceptance among the Knox County population. Samplings among leaders of the county as well as householders generally provided evidence of approval, in terms of feelings that health services in the county had improved since 1965--ranging from 82 percent among householders to 95.7 percent among leaders.

The specific impacts of the Health Education Program are il-lusively intertwined with other forces representing both the OEO community action operations (adult education, home economics and home improvement counseling, the Early Childhood Program with shots and physical checkups for youngsters, etc.; and there are others not connected with OEO). The task of sorting its influences from among the "conglomerate" was not accomplished in this study.

Nevertheless, some impact--in some instances rather clearly related to the OEO community action program if not directly to the health phase--emerged as measurably significant. For instance, more of the youth from areas served by the community action program (where centers operated) responded correctly to questions of health information than did those from other areas. County-wide, too, youth reported more dental and medical checkups and more recent treatment from a nurse, when questioned at Time 2, than they had at Time 1 some 18 months earlier (all at significance $< .05$ level).

Also, a question in the householder interview schedules, dealing indirectly with the family planning emphasis in the program--asking people's opinions of the ideal number of children for a family--had a response at Time 2 significantly reducing the number named at Time 1.

In general, however, the public health operations in "bulk" in Knox County appear not to have increased substantially, either since the program began in 1965, or perhaps even since the mobile unit went into operation in August 1966. The combined outputs of both the OEO and the county health office, routinely reported by the county health office monthly, were analyzed for trends in four basic activities: immunizations, family planning conferences, child health checkups, and chronic disease checks. Only in the second and fourth of these was there any discernible increase that might show a relationship to the coming of the mobile unit, and the variations were such that no conclusions could be made with assurance.

The cooperative relationship between the OEO and the county health programs appears to effect an efficient arrangement. It does not, however, produce more trained personnel. Actually, the OEO Health Education Program, since it apparently could pay more, "pirated" two nurses from the county when the mobile unit was obtained. These have not been replaced--for such personnel is in short supply in Knox County. The effect is somewhat, therefore, a partial displacement of, rather than addition to the original health service program in the county--which may explain why the measurable "bulk" of fundamental health services has not significantly increased since the "addition" of the OEO health program.

ABSTRACT

Unit 13 RECENT HOME CONSTRUCTION IN TWO APPALACHIAN COUNTIES

by Thomas P. Field,
Wilford Bladen, and Burtis Webb

The rationale which brought the data together regarding new housing in Clay and Knox Counties was based on the assumption that similarities between the two counties were great enough that the one which had no OEO-CAP, Clay County, could be used to "filter out" the impacts of OEO-CAP in Knox County, so that the difference made by OEO-CAP could be observed.

If one accepts such an assumption, the differences may well be regarded as generally clear and decisive. Clay County built no type C or Type D houses--low-income homes of the type promoted by Knox County CAP--whereas Knox County built 60.

Although no differences appeared at a significant level in new housing generated by Knox County CAP in rural areas (assuming community center areas would generate more new building in their own areas), when center areas were compared to rural non-center areas, the explanation appears reasonable that when people are prompted to build they tend to move out of the more remote hollows which the centers were set up to serve--if not to "town," at least to the "hard road." (It has been noted that Knox County OEO-CAP early severed itself legally from the model homes program, so that it became county-wide, rather than local in focus. Frequency of home improvement during the last two years was statistically demonstrated to be higher in areas served by the centers, compared to those where there were no centers.

By comparison to Clay County, the movement of housing in Knox County seems clearly more toward urban, and presumably toward more modern living. The implication is that the Knox County CAP has had some impact toward modernization of the population, as measured by housing comparisons in this unit of the study.

It is perhaps worth considering that if OEO-CAP is successful in promoting home improvements by rehabilitation of existing homes it may be working against the "modernization" trend--by making people content where they are. The matter has a philosophic point of choice: Should the program be aimed at improvement of life where it is? Or should it draw, drive, or "bait" people into migration to more modern settings?

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