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THE FAMILY AGENT, A TRAINING MANUAL AND PROGRAM EVALUATION OF A NEW CAREER IN SOCIAL SERVICE.

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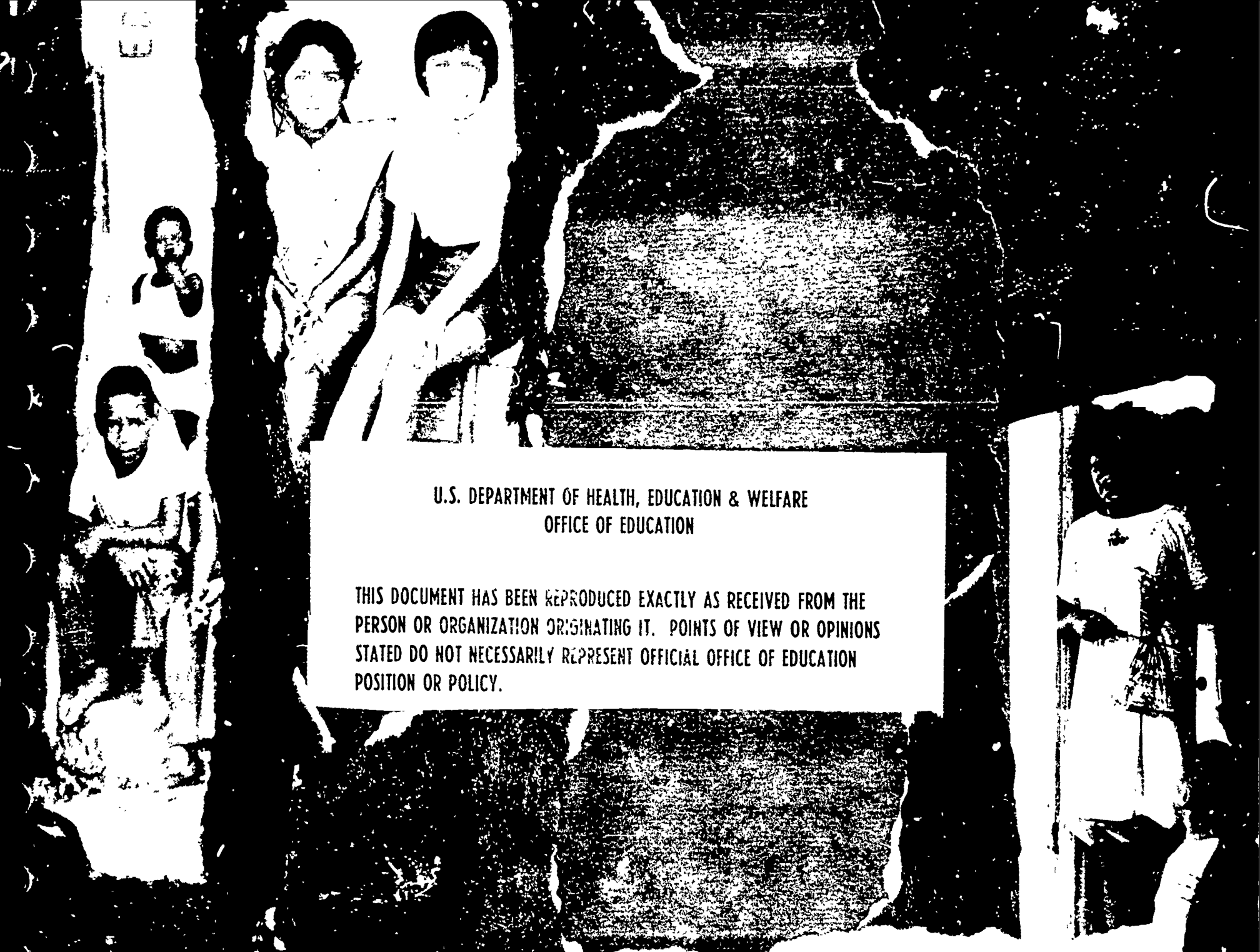
THE PERSONNEL OF THE FAMILY AGENT PROGRAMS WERE WOMEN OF COMFORTABLE MEANS WHO HAD TEN TO TWENTY HOURS A WEEK AVAILABLE FOR SERVICE TO THE POOR. THE TRAINING PROGRAM DESCRIBED IS DIVIDED INTO TWO PHASES--INITIAL TRAINING AND INSERVICE TRAINING. SUBJECTS COVERED INCLUDE--(1) CONCEPTS OF THE WAR ON POVERTY, (2) THE NATURE OF POVERTY, (3) THE CULTURE OF POVERTY, (4) ORIENTATION TO NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES, (5) FAMILY AGENT PROCEDURES, (6) ORIENTATION TO THE PROBATION DEPARTMENT, (7) TECHNIQUES FOR AND WORK OF FAMILY AGENTS, AND (8) THE ROLE OF THE SUPERVISOR. THE FAMILY AGENT PROGRAM EVALUATION SECTION DESCRIBES THE SERVICES OFFERED TO 235 FAMILIES, AND PRESENTS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES AS WELL AS RESEARCH INTO THE LIFE STYLES OF THE POOR. THE STUDY EXAMINES FAMILIAL GOALS, RESOURCES, AND PROCESSES, AND IT FORMS COMPARISONS AMONG ANGLO, MEXICAN-AMERICAN, AND NEGRO FAMILIES BASED ON THESE THREE VARIABLES. THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY AGENT AS AN EFFECTIVE AID TO THE POOR IS EXPLORED. DEMOGRAPHIC AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILY AGENTS AND CRITERIA FOR THE PREDICTION OF SUCCESS ARE EXPLORED. OVERALL CONCLUSIONS INDICATE THAT POTENTIALLY SUCCESSFUL FAMILY AGENTS CAN BE RECRUITED, IDENTIFIED, AND TRAINED TO RENDER A VALUABLE SERVICE, AND LOW-INCOME MULTI-PROBLEM FAMILIES DISPLAYING A VARIETY OF FAMILY STYLES AND PROBLEMS WILL ACCEPT AND BENEFIT FROM THESE SERVICES. (SF)



The Family Agent

a new career in human service

NEUMEYER FOUNDATION

The Family Agent

A TRAINING MANUAL AND PROGRAM EVALUATION OF A NEW CAREER IN SOCIAL SERVICE

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The Neumeyer Foundation

Monograph No. 2
The Professional Service Corps

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

None of this program could have happened without the dedicated women who were *the Family Agents*. It was a staff with many rare distinctions - perhaps the most rare was the absence of power struggles or status seeking, of competition or interpersonal conflict. Rarely have so many women worked so well together.

And this productive organization could not have developed without the people who led this program.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert G. Neumeyer, who were willing to invest an initially unpredictable amount of wisdom and money in a new idea, well before poverty was a visible national concern. They were at all times a source of objective reaction and support.

We are grateful too, to *Lenore Schwartz*, a supervisor in the Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance, whose pioneer work in the development of Case Aide Programs showed us the way. Mrs. Schwartz's help in developing our training and evaluation program is immeasurable.

The complexities of organization, the administrative and budgetary tasks, the planning of broad concepts and small details could not have been accomplished without our real partner, *Cecille Robman*. Perhaps even more important though, was her capacity to stay calm in every crisis - a capacity so contagious that she was a major reason for the high morale and productivity of the whole program.

The entire staff depended on *Rosalyn Kane* for essential information brought back from the endless community meetings she attended. Her patience and persistence in interpreting the activities of the Family Agents and the needs of the community were vital to the development of the program.

It was part of our good fortune that *Gladys Cook* retired as Director of the West Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council after forty years of social work. After six months at home, Gladys was willing to work again, and as a part-time volunteer, served first as Family Agent supervisor, and then Director of the Family Agent Program. Her experience and skill were matched by her flexibility, her humor and her energy. All the staff benefited from her wisdom and prescience.

Working with Gladys Cook as Family Agent Supervisors were *Betty Matthews*, *Mary Heiman*, after first serving as a Family Agent, *Esther Alexander*. It was their skill as teachers that really demonstrated how a professional could be used - as a diffuser of skills, as a source

of resources, and of alternatives in coping with the problems of the families. Part-time people themselves, mother and wives, paid "salaries" which were really only reimbursed expenses, their identification with the Family Agents as people made this a company of peers rather than a vertical bureaucracy.

Professor Ted Hadwen brought his wide knowledge of race relations and American subcultures to our training sessions in ways that gave direct human meaning to the complex data of his field, and gave our trainees a frame of reference which enabled them to make coherent sense out of the behaviors and attitudes they encountered as Family Agents.

Dr. Julia Sherman served as clinical psychological consultant to the Family Agent Program, and conducted the psychometric assessments of Family Agents which are a major base of the evaluative studies reported in this volume.

Dr. Harry Grace, as research consultant to the project, brought his great ingenuity to bear on the problem of evaluating what is essentially a service program, and the rich findings and new hypotheses which are reported in the last chapter came into being because of his direction and the work of his staff of Professional Service Corps research assistants - *Gary Faltico* (who conducted the study of Family Agent Styles), *Anne Fischer* and *Laurie Fargo*.

All of the work of Family Agents was dependent upon the referrals, the active cooperation and the help of people in other agencies, and it was their willingness to accept this new breed of sub-professionals as colleagues that played a crucial role in the success of this program. While all of their staffs participated - spent the extra time and trouble it took, and participated in the training program - we want to especially acknowledge the help of *Louis de Bus*, Director, *Audrey Kaslow*, Supervisor of Juvenile Probation, *Mary Lou Glass* and *Louise Gretschel* of the Santa Monica Office of the Los Angeles County Probation Department; *Helen Fuller*, Director, West Area Office, Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance; and *Harold Altman*, Principal, Broadway Elementary School, Venice.

Of particular importance was the help and support of *Ruth Clifford*, Executive Director of Family Service of Santa Monica. Ruth's invaluable help, advice, participation and criticism were culminated by her willingness to adopt the program into her own agency, where it now continues as a permanent source of service to the community. In these days of attack on the traditional agencies, her flexibility, her willingness to experiment, her genuine concern for the people we served, reminded us that it is the traditional agencies on whom we must ultimately depend for the continued delivery of services to people.

The expansion and spread of this program became possible because of two demonstration grants from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Because this program does not fall in the "glamour" categories - such as "jobs for the poor" or "community action" - it could have been literally "lost in the shuffle" in the early hectic days of the OEO. That it was not lost was due mainly to the interest and help we received from

Dr. Sanford Kravitz, *Dr. Edgar Cahn* and *Mrs. Kathy James* of OEO, Washington, and from *Dr. Paul O'Rourke*, of the Office of the Governor in Sacramento.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the pervasive contribution of *Dr. Irving Lazar*, Executive Director of the Neumeyer Foundation and Project Director of the program of which this was a part. He coined the title "Family Agent:, wrote the initial project descriptions and proposals, lay the groundwork in the community, negotiated with the agencies, with the local CAP and with OEO, coordinated the relations between the parts, withstood the pressures, and finally, edited this manuscript.

Joyce B. Lazar, M.A.
Director, Selection and Training

March, 1967

FORWARD

This manual is both a text and a project report. It describes a new career which was developed over a three year period and tested in a multi-ethnic urban ghetto. Initiated by the Neumeyer Foundation and later supported in part by a demonstration grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Family Agent task described herein is one of a series of explorations of practical ways of extending services to the poor. This program, which is replicable in any city, should not be confused with programs designed to provide jobs for the poor. Rather, it uses as its basic personnel people whose life experiences and talents are not ordinarily drawn upon in American communities - women of comfortable means whose children are off to school and who have ten to twenty hours a week available for service to others. Carefully selected, trained and supervised, these people can not only provide useful service as semi-professional adjuncts to understaffed social agencies, but perhaps more importantly, provide a human link between the larger society and the isolated poor. The Family Agent and the families she serves thus jointly become a juncture point for the diffusion of the larger culture into the ghetto and the problems of the ghetto into the larger culture.

The Family Agent is one of a number of semi-professional roles developed to explore the extent to which a multi-service neighborhood center could be staffed by part-time reimbursed volunteers working under the supervision of retired professionals. Altogether, fourteen different services were constructed and operated with this staffing pattern, and are described in the final report of the Professional Service Corps.

Because of the wide interest in the Family Agent role, this manual has been produced separately and includes some of the descriptive material from the final report, so that the reader can get some picture of the context in which this demonstration was conducted.

Because the Family Agent is, herself, a significant member of the larger culture, she cannot be dismissed by the agencies to which she introduces the families with whom she works. As an advocate of the poor, she is a potent agent for institutional change in a way that the poor themselves cannot be. Perhaps the most important outcome of this program was the incorporation of these semi-professionals into a larger private agency and a state agency at the completion of the demonstration. The program described herein has now been institutionalized and is continuing. When the possibility of closing existed, over 500 residents of the target area signed a petition for its continuance.

This manual includes, in some detail, the training content, selection procedures, the administrative structure and the evaluation materials and findings of the Family Agent portion of the project.

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CHAPTER I

WHY THE PROGRAM WAS DEVELOPED

Overspecialization. Traditionally, services to people have been organized around problem-centered agencies. Specialization by problem area has followed as a natural consequence of the organization of university curricula around specific categories of knowledge and the ensuing drive toward increasing specialization within professional and industrial fields.

As applied to persons in need of massive reorientation to the larger culture, this specialization has added additional burdens of adjustment to their already difficult lot. A person in need must know his own situation well enough to select from the welter of agencies those which deal with his problems. If he has two or more problems - which may be intimately interrelated - he may need to go to two or more agencies, only to find himself eligible for one, ineligible for another, and on a waiting list for a third. While his problems are interrelated, he is likely to find that the agencies are not.

Aside from the peculiar situation we pose when we try to segment whole people and families into academically defined problem areas, we have long recognized that multifaceted simultaneous approaches to whole people and their habitat are our only hope in bringing about the social-psychological changes necessary to permit people to escape from the non-culture of poverty.

The multifaceted program, of which this is a central part, is an attempt to help revitalize a community and its people by linking together (a) an integrated and interlocking group of services and (b) the needs perceived by the victims of impoverishment themselves, and assisted in this through a two-way interaction with successful members of the dominant culture. It provides programs aimed at every age group, and is structured to deal with whole people, whole families, and a whole community.

The program is non-traditional in a number of ways:

A. It is person-centered, not problem centered.

B. Its services are primarily in the field and are not physically centralized.

C. Its programs have developed in response to the needs of the indigenous populations, not professional prescription.

D. It is staffed by persons whose talents have been largely unused - educated married women, retired men and women, low-income college students and the indigenous poor themselves - all of whom are available for part-time service only.

This demonstration program in the use of part-time personnel to eventuate cross-cultural understanding and familial self-sufficiency was initiated by the Neumeyer Foundation, a non-profit, non-sectarian private philanthropy, whose personnel began studying the area in 1962. After its initial year of operation, supplementary funds were received through the Office of Economic Opportunity to expand the program.

Shortages in Professional Manpower - A New Concept in Personnel: The Professional Service Corps. This program, like others with similar goals, requires a wide variety of trained and talented people. It is obvious that the present shortage of such personnel for full-time employment makes it unlikely that they could be found in sufficient numbers or employed at reasonable cost to meet the needs of the new programs to combat poverty.

This reality of the professional job market pertains throughout the United States. It is one of the major purposes of this project to develop and demonstrate a method of developing and utilizing new sources of educated personnel. There are two major pools of talented manpower that have been relatively untapped in the United States - educated women with school-age children, and retired and semi-retired men and women. These groups have in common the fact that they are only available for part-time employment, and that, with significant exceptions, their skills and trainable talents in the helping professions represent separate fragments of the more complexly professionalized roles represented by full-time workers in social welfare and education.

Because, we believe, of cultural lag in the helping professions, we have found first of all, a reluctance on the part of social and educational agencies to use people on a part-time basis, and secondly, an unwillingness to concede that newly won professional status includes many tasks which can be fragmented and taught to more generally educated people in a relatively brief period of time.

There is ample evidence from both medicine and the field of youth development that such fragmentation can be done successfully, and that further, such development of technicians can allow more effective utilization of scarce professional personnel.

The largest group of presently virtually unused professional and rapidly trainable personnel are college educated women who have school-age children. There are, in every city and town, women who can be characterized as follows:

A. They received university training and worked at a profession before beginning their families.

B. Their children are now at school. While these women do not need a job for economic reasons, they wish to

put their free hours to work in socially useful and intellectually satisfying ways.

C. They are unwilling to take full-time jobs because family responsibilities are still too great for such time investment.

D. They are disinterested in the traditional fund raising and clerical tasks which most agencies assign to volunteers, regardless of their backgrounds.

E. They are interested in the satisfactions of direct service to others and the rewards of professional work.

F. They possess a wide variety of "life skills" lacking in many persons in culturally deprived areas.

Similarly, many retired people find themselves with time and skills they wish to put into constructive community use. Fund raising and committee membership often do not use their primary talents.

It is in recognition of these observations that the Neumeyer Foundation organized the Professional Service Corps - for the recruitment and utilization of both professionally trained and rapidly trainable persons for part-time assignments in community service. Members of this group are provided training and supervision in their assignments by professionals, and are paid two dollars per hour for their time. They are thus employees, not strictly volunteers; while their remuneration is nominal, it is sufficient in size and meaning to avoid the problems which beset many volunteer programs.

To demonstrate to public and private agencies that part-time professional staffs can be an administrably practical approach to manpower needs, Professional Service Corps staff members are used extensively in their programs.

The central position in this program is the Family Agent, who, among other things, acts as a role model and diffuser of the larger culture among the poor. We see this as necessary for reasons which are due in part to urban geography.

Current Trends in Urbanization. The city of the last century could be described as a series of concentric circles describing a graduation of socio-economic regions. The central circle is where most people worked; around this were the poorest neighborhoods. Gradually the neighborhoods improved as one went further from the center. This construction of a city meant that on every working day wealthier people were made aware of how poorer people lived. And on every working day, poorer children saw what wealthier people looked like and how they behaved.

We believe that this interaction served important purposes in many people's lives. We think that the concrete interaction gave children concrete guides and motives for self improvement. We believe further, it helped concretize and produce direct applications of the Christian ethic of helping one's fellow.

The city of the last century is certainly not Los Angeles in the 1960's, nor most other American cities. With the wide-spread use of automobiles and the resultant development of suburbs, we now cross the city on freeways and thruways which screen from our view every neighborhood between our destinations. We have virtually destroyed opportunities for communication and perception between the poor and others.

By recruiting professional personnel from the larger society for part-time employment, we not only provide needed services at low cost without "raiding" other agencies, we also provide an intimate contact between cultures - a contact that affects both - and a contact that should reverberate throughout the power and opinion leaders of both groups. We think that this contact, and its consequences may by itself produce more opportunities, but perhaps as important, provide an intimate understanding of the problems and culture of poverty in the larger society. With this understanding developing in a group who are already cognizant of, and skilled in the area of community action, social change can be significantly effected. Important as it is for the poor to develop the skills and attitudes necessary for assimilation, it is equally important that the larger society become aware of, and deal with those factors and institutions which now restrict the ability of the poor to partake of the larger culture. Roles are reciprocal and the Family Agent as a link between the poor and the middle class acts as an agent to effect change in both the behavior of the poor and of the middle class.

CHAPTER II

APPLICATION, SCREENING AND SELECTION OF FAMILY AGENTS

No Family Agents were directly recruited; some heard of the program from professional contacts within the field; from program reports in the mass media, and from presentations made to local professional and civil groups. Over 3,000 telephone inquiries about employment in the program were received. At the time of inquiry the potential applicant was informed of the rate of pay, $2.00 an hour, of the fact that travel time and expenses were not reimbursable, and that a time commitment of ten hours a week was required. This information served to discourage most of the potential applicants; those who were interested were sent a description of the Professional Service Corps Program and an application form. (See Training Kit: 1 and 2)

A total of over 800 applications were mailed out; of these, 322 were returned and evaluated; 133 were judged acceptable for training after interview; 88 actually received training, of which 68 were assigned as Family Agents. A more detailed discussion of this is found later in this manual. About one out of five actual applicants for employment were ultimately assigned as Family Agents.

The selection of persons to serve as Family Agents is a most critical task, since the success of the program depends in large part on the sensitivity and skill of those staff members who are in direct and intimate contact with the families. After paper evaluation of the applicants, a one-hour interview was scheduled. All interviewing and selection was done by a sociologist with experience in community organization, social welfare, and in the training and supervision of volunteers in public and private agencies. The interviewer had developed the concept of the Family Agent, developed the program in conjunction with the agencies in the community, and organized and administered the training program. The interview was open-ended; criteria in three general areas were used:

A. Life skills, education and technical competence

B. General attitudes and traits

C. Personal adjustment, communication and interpersonal skills.

Skills and competence of Family Agent applicants were judged from the education and experience as indicated by both the application

and from the initial interview. In the general context of acting as an advocate for the family, providing services and finding sources of referrals, experience has shown that Family Agents need competence in the following areas:

Home Management

A. *Housing.* Able to help family find resources to improve general housing conditions; provide information or seek services for insect or rodent control; help locate more adequate housing if necessary; understand terms of lease or mortgage; negotiate with landlord or seek legal aid when needed. Help family develop understanding of need for arrangement of space for privacy and attractiveness of home.

B. *Home Furnishings.* Able to give advice on upkeep of furnishings, both maintenance and sanitary procedures. Help family develop or maintain interest in improving existing household furnishings, understand basic care and cleaning of home, furnishings and appliances.

C. *Nutrition and Food Preparation.* Understand cultural differences in basic eating patterns, and within this framework help family develop adequate nutrition standards. Have basic knowledge of protein, vitamin and sanitary standards for good health, as well as proper storage and cooking methods to maintain food values.

D. *Clothing.* Understand appropriate dress for various occasions and help family maintain clothing within limits of budgets: Sewing, upkeep, laundry and dry cleaning. Able to guide family in shopping for low cost, durable clothing.

E. *Budgeting and Money Management.* Understand basic principles of budget planning; help family develop immediate and long-range budgeting plans and goals. Understand time-payment advantages, disadvantages and costs; able to interpret to family interest rates and terms of time-payment contracts. Where to borrow money: Banks, credit unions, finance companies; retail outlets which sell on credit. Able to understand and avoid consumer traps and usurious interest rates. Where to seek help for consumer fraud.

Family Life Management

A. *Health.* Understand and be able to interpret general health needs and procedures as outlined by physicians, dentists, nurses and other medical personnel to clients and families of clients. Recognize failures in communication, and be able to report and interpret to both professionals and family members.

Understand and be able to communicate the importance of regular, routine health check-ups, immunization programs, well-baby, pre-natal clinics and family planning.

Knowledge of community resources for medical, dental and other health related services. Availability of free and low cost medical services, eligibility requirements and methods of payment.

B. *Mental Health.* Understand principles of good mental hygiene, how to spot extreme mental disturbance and where to refer.

C. *Family Planning.* Understand, accept and be able to inform eligible members of families of existing services; able to recognize when failures in communication occur, and able to interpret to professionals and families.

D. *Child Care and Rearing.*

1. Physical Care: Know good personal hygiene, adequate diet, sleeping arrangements and supervision; help family work towards achieving these.

2. Early Emotional Growth: Understand importance of early maternal affection and care, early intellectual stimulation, importance of developing language as a tool of learning. Recognize need for role models of behavior; proper discipline and control without physical or mental cruelty. Emphasize developmental play, cooperative learning with peer group, constructive recreation. Understand importance to young child of: Development of self-worth, competence and sense of identity.

3. School-Age and Older Children. Supervising teenagers for both freedom and responsibilities; relationship to authority, school and community responsibilities. Dealing with sex education and behavior. Able to interpret importance of achievement in developing mature personality, and to help older children find resources and outlets for expanding interests.

Education

Accept and be able to interpret importance of education, good study habits and regular attendance at school. Understand organization of school, services offered, school personnel standards. Structure of public schools: the school board, superintendent of schools, principal, teachers, attendance officers, nurse and social workers. Able to understand, interpret and if necessary appeal school procedures to right authority. Locate

any special resources within or outside of the school - tutoring programs, Operation Head Start, special training programs, special education programs for special needs. Able to find and direct family members to adult education, high school completion, junior colleges, colleges; find sources of scholarship help, self-help programs, government subsidies.

Employment - Job Status

Know community resources for job training and employment. Help identify, motivate and transport job eligibles to existing sources of employment and training. Able to interpret to family members methods for seeking employment directly, how to make a favorable impression on employer, etc.

Community and Citizen Responsibilities

To the Families Served: Understand and be able to interpret to family - income tax procedures, social security, unemployment compensation and draft registration as well as to know how and where to register and vote. Know, inform and if needed, transport family members to community activities and meetings for recreation, advancement as well as social action.

To the Larger Communities: Able to interpret problems of low income groups, and needed changes in opportunity and structure of larger community to better meet needs of all citizens. Willing to instigate and take part in civic and social action through clubs, organizations and groups to effect social change.

Transportation

Must drive car and have valid driver's license to provide transportation for family members when essential. Know and help family members use public transportation whenever possible. Know and inform family members (particularly teenagers) of how and where to get a driver s license, vehicle registration and insurance responsibilities.

Communication

Be able to communicate with families in language they understand; help them to understand and verbalize their problems in order to seek help when needed. Help family develop methods of communication for dealing with authority, or other members of the wider society. Be able to understand and interpret to outside agencies the needs and conditions of family members, and act as a link in the communication between the family and society.

Relations with Other Agencies

Understand structure, organization, services and limitations of own and other agencies, and be able to communicate with family members. Able to recognize when any specific agency is not providing service it is designed to provide and how to insure delivery of that service on behalf of client. Know how to make a referral to appropriate agencies when needed. Know how to use community resources - Welfare Information Service, BPA, Probation, Police, Health and Welfare Agencies, Governmental Agencies of city, county, state and federal governments.

Understand basic Economic Opportunity Act and how the act has been interpreted, funded and is functioning in local area. Able to interpret programs to families and to larger community.

General Attitudes and Traits

A. General concern for alleviating the conditions of poverty.

B. An understanding of special problems of minorities and desire to improve intergroup relations.

C. A non-judgmental attitude toward widely differing standards of behavior and attitudes.

D. A concern with individual human rights.

E. An ability to deal with agencies, institutions and authority with tact, firmness and good judgment.

F. An ability to relate to clients with warmth and understanding, but not to over-identify.

G. A willingness to be available to clients on a regular and emergency basis.

H. A personal acceptance of attitudes and values necessary to successful social adjustment without either undue rigidity or hostility.

I. General high standards of honesty and responsibility and an ability to function reliably in a relatively unstructured situation.

J. A neat and attractive appearance, clear and pleasant manner of speaking.

Personal Adjustment Communication and Interpersonal Skills

Applicants were selected in part because of their participation in a variety of organizational activities in the larger community. This was felt important as an indication that the applicants were able to participate and function adequately in groups, but also because an important aspect of the job of the Family Agent is that of feeding back into the larger community an awareness, sensitivity and understanding of the problems of poverty. The groups affiliations of the Family Agents provided an important link in the communication chain.

On the basis of these selection procedures and criteria, 88 women were accepted and received training as Family Agents. After each of the training sessions there were a few trainees who decided not to take an assignment as a Family Agent. These women decided that on the basis of what they had learned during training they either would not like or not be successful on the job. Most of the trainees showed some anxiety about assuming the tasks of the Family Agent, and these anxieties were discussed by the group in the 9th training session. Those who were not able to resolve their anxieties during this discussion and did not want to take assignments were not urged to do so.

Some few women were deemed inappropriate for the job of Family Agent by the supervisory staff on the basis of their participation in the training discussions. These few women were not given assignments. Thus, the training program was actually the final stage in the selection process.

CHAPTER III

TRAINING OF FAMILY AGENTS

Training of Family Agents was divided into two phases - the initial training program, and the inservice training program - both through the supervisory relationship and through monthly meetings of all Family Agents, a monthly newsletter, and specialized training during the course of the program.

There were seven separate groups who took part in the initial training program; these varied in size from six to thirty trainees. Training varied from 15 to 40 hours. On the basis of performance on the job, ratings of their training by the Family Agents themselves, and supervisors' recommendations, it was decided to limit training groups to ten sessions. Because most of the trainees were women with children in school, all training sessions were held during school hours.

Presented here is an overall outline of the training program including the method of presentation: Lecture, discussion, field trip, case evaluation; the basic content of the lectures; typical questions and comments made by the trainees on the lecture or field trip material, and the training kit distributed to all of the trainees.

INITIAL TRAINING PROGRAM

Session	Topic	
I	CONCEPTS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY	Lecture
	Economic Opportunity Act The Local CAP	
II	WHAT IS POVERTY?	Lecture
	Who Are the Poor? The Demonstration Community	Tour-Discussion
III	THE CULTURE OF POVERTY	Lecture-Discussion
	Values and Life Styles of the Poor The Extra Class	
IV	ORIENTATION TO NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES	Lecture-Discussion
V	FAMILY AGENT PROCEDURES	Lecture
	Orientation to Bureau of Public Assistance	Tour-Discussion
VI	ORIENTATION TO PROBATION DEPARTMENT	Lecture-Tour
	Schools and Other Agencies	
VII	FAMILY AGENT PROCEDURES	Lecture
	Case Presentation	Group Discussion
VIII	TECHNIQUES FOR FAMILY AGENTS	Lecture
	Case Presentation	Group Discussion
IX	WORK OF THE FAMILY AGENT AND ROLE OF THE SUPERVISOR	
	Case Presentation The Role of the Supervisor	Group Discussion Lecture
X	CASE ASSIGNMENTS	Individual Conferences With Supervisors

CHAPTER IV

SESSION I

9:30 - 11:30

LECTURE: CONCEPTS IN THE WAR ON POVERTY

Origins of the War On Poverty
The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
Major Concepts
The Three Wars On Poverty

11:30 - 12:30

The Local Community Action Program
The Coordinating Agency

Origins of The War On Poverty

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had its origins in a number of basic concepts:

- That the Civil Rights Revolution, and even more broadly, the Human Rights Revolution, had produced the growing realization that an increasing number of people born to poverty were doomed to live their lives in poverty.

- That with increasing automation, jobs would become fewer in the area of producing goods, and more in the area of services to other people, and simultaneously, with the tightening of credentialism, there was a growing overprofessionalization which created essentially closed unions, foreclosing employment for large numbers of people in the service areas where employment possibilities were increasing.

- That within the fields of social services, many practitioners used the Freudian focus on individual pathology rather than the pathology of the community, and thus efforts were primarily directed to shaping up the poor to fit into a community which itself produced the conditions of poverty.

- That with the increase in bureaucratic structure, professionalization and credentialism, the poor were becoming increasingly impotent to participate in decisions effecting their own lives.

- That central cities throughout the country were becoming increasingly deteriorated and ghetto-ized, and that given the archaic tax structures of cities, these problems could not be dealt with on a local level. That given the unequal status most cities hold because of apportionment problems on a state level, it was necessary to establish a direct route for funds from the federal to the local level.

- That while many programs in the areas of health, welfare, education and employment existed, there was a need to coordinate these programs to ensure continuity, distribution and efficiency in the delivery of these programs.

While it is impossible to cite any single catalyst which move programs from the theoretical stage to implementation, Richard Boone, a member of the original task force on poverty, pointed out in a speech at the Lake Arrowhead Community Action Residential Conference in May 6 - 8 of 1966:

" . . . that President Kennedy read an article in the New York Times under the byline of Homer Bigart dealing with

problems in Appalachia and the hardships of enduring winter in Eastern Kentucky. At just about this time Mr. Heller and the head of the Bureau of the Budget and Ted Sorenson began talking to the President about a poverty program. It was out of these pressures that the Economic Opportunity Act was created."

Summary of Program Sections of

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, As Amended, 1965*

TITLE I - YOUTH PROGRAMS

Part A - Job Corps

These residential training centers are operated by private and public organizations on contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity. Rural and urban, serving young men and women selected by state departments of employment, this program provides total care and education to persons aged 16 through 21 for voluntary enrollment periods of up to two years.

Part B - Work Training Program

Known popularly as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and administered by the United States Department of Labor, this program provides part- and full-time employment in public and private non-profit agencies for young people aged 16 through 21 who are paid minimum wages on these assignments. Usually the supervision provided by the agency employing the youngsters is seen as satisfying the requirement that ten percent of the cost of a local program be borne locally.

Part C - Work-Study Programs

Administered by the United States Office of Education through grants to colleges and universities, this program provides part-time employment to college students who are in need of such earnings in order to pursue their studies. Normally the agency to which the students are assigned pay, in cash, ten percent of the student's salaries.

TITLE II - URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Part A - General Community Action Programs

Sections 202, 205

An agency which "mobilizes resources" of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or causes

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*This summary does not include 1966 amendments.

of poverty "which is developed, conducted, and administered with maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas served; which is conducted, administered or coordinated by a public or private non-profit agency," may apply for recognition as a Community Action Agency, screen proposals for grants and may receive grants for the conduct of local programs within guidelines spelled out in the Act and by the Office of Economic Opportunity under Section 205 of the Act.

Section 204

Program Development grants may be made to assist in the development of Community Action Agencies.

Section 206

The Office of Economic Opportunity can provide technical assistance and training to communities to assist them in developing and conducting community action programs.

Section 207

The Office of Economic Opportunity can make grants or enter into contracts for research, training and demonstration projects. Administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, these grants may be made directly to applicants without approval of the local Community Action Agency.

Part B - Adult Basic Education Programs

Administered by the Office of Education through state departments of education, these grants are designed to provide instruction in reading and writing for people over the age of 18. Some of these funds may be used for the training of teachers to conduct such adult literacy programs. These programs are operated through local public school systems.

Part C - Voluntary Assistance Program for Needy Children

This section, administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, allows for the establishment of information and coordination centers to provide a mechanism whereby citizens may directly assist in the support of specific needy children in a program coordinated with local social welfare agencies.

TITLE III - SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Part A - Authority to Make Loans

Administered by the Department of Agriculture, loans of under $2,500 may be made to individuals for the improvement of their farms or farming practices. Loans to cooperative associations are also authorized.

Part B - Assistance for Migrant, and Other Seasonally Employed, Agricultural Employees and Their Families

Authorizes the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide loans and grants to assist in establishing programs directed toward the special needs of migratory workers.

TITLE IV - EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

This Title, which is delegated to the Small Business Administration, provides loans and technical assistance for individuals who wish to go into business for themselves or who wish to expand their businesses in ways which would enhance employment opportunities. Loans authorized under this provision cannot exceed $25,000.

TITLE V - WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

This Title is administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare through state welfare departments. It provides for training programs for underemployed heads of households and is usually administered through local welfare departments.

TITLE VI - ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

This Title provides for the administration of the Act, for the establishment of an advisory council, and for coordination of anti-poverty programs.

In addition, it authorizes the establishment of VISTA - Volunteers in Service to America. This domestic version of the Peace Corps recruits individuals who volunteer for a year's service for a monthly salary of $50 plus living expenses. Volunteers are assigned to sponsors who are engaged in direct service to people.

TITLE VII - TREATMENT OF INCOME FOR CERTAIN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PURPOSES

This Title provides that if any payments are made to any individual under either Title I or V of the Act - who is also receiving public assistance - that the first $85 of the amount of such payment shall not be considered as income for purposes as determining eligibility or entitlements for welfare benefits.[1] In other words, if a young man whose family is receiving welfare joins the Neighborhood Youth Corps and receives a salary of $160 a month, only $37.59 of this amount can be considered as an increase in family income by the welfare authorities. In most communities, family welfare benefits would be cut by this amount. Therefore, in practice, the youngster would have produced a net increase of $30 a week. Without this provision, most welfare departments would reduce the family's

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[1] Only 50 percent of the amount over $85 is to be considered as income for eligibility purposes.

benefits by the full $160 a month. The youngster himself would not then receive any additional money for his labors, and would have little incentive to join the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

In the case of Title III, none of a grant made to a family is permitted to be considered as income for welfare purposes.

The Major Concepts

Mobilization of Resources. We have traditionally built agencies around specific functions rather than the whole needs of people. In the course of time such agencies, following the self interest that seems almost inherent in institutions, have sought to increasingly preserve their local "monopolies" on the one hand, while extending their scope on the other. While the need for integration of services has long been recognized, most individual efforts have failed.

Organizations traditionally do not wish to share their authority or decision-making power. The programs of agencies, as a result, have developed along lines that are determined jointly by the whims of donors and the desires of their staffs.

In the world of business, the laws of supply and demand have acted to insure a reasonably efficient distribution of resources and responsibility, but these economic forces do not operate in relationship to services for the poor, for obvious reasons. The consumers in these programs are not customers, nor are they a constituency. In general, the constituency of a social service is not its clients, but its donors.

The requirement in the Act that the public and private agencies work together in focusing their resources upon the needs of the poor is attainable only because the community action agency not only includes both the providers of service and the customers of service, but is, itself, in the position of "donor". In the context of a community action agency independent agencies can learn ways of working together and planning together without losing their integrity or identity. Such working together cannot help but increase the effectiveness of service to people.

A community action agency which does not use the Economic Opportunity Act for sensible planning and sensible problem solving loses an opportunity to improve the whole pattern of its community activities. Further, it loses an opportunity to eliminate overlap and duplication, and loses an opportunity to reduce its own costs. Achieving such mobilization is extremely difficult. Old traditions, past competition for scarce resources and pride in one's agency - all these interfere with cooperation. The habits and perceptions of generations mitigate against change. But without such mobilization, progress in the elimination of poverty is likely to continue at a snail's pace.

Maintenance of Effort. Communities, counties and states all vary in the kinds of programs they have established in the past, and were

supporting prior to the passage of the Act. If federal funds for similar activities became available without restriction, some communities or agencies would simply withdraw local support and substitute Community Action Program (CAP) funds, with the result that there would be no increased anti-poverty effort. To guard against this possibility, applicants must show that their proposed program would produce a net increase in local programs, and that their previous levels of services would be maintained. Because of the matching requirements of the Act, this provision insures that an increased local investment in anti-poverty efforts will occur.

The Umbrella Organization. It is the underlying hope that the CAP agency, by virtue of its organization and composition would provide both a structure and an incentive for community-wide planning, for the mobilization and coordination of resources, and for cooperative endeavor between public and private agencies responsive to consumer demands.

As ideally conceived, such an umbrella of services would include every source of service - and cover every group to be served. Achieving this ideal is extraordinarily difficult, for if such an organization excludes any agency or neighborhood or group, its monopoly of major resources can, in fact, become a source of danger to those who are excluded - and a source of strife within the community. Since the formation of such an ideal unit takes time and enormous effort, and even greater amounts of good will, patience and clear communication, the period of development and the early years of a Community Action Agency (CAA) are likely to be difficult. Groups excluded from the board of a CAA will feel hostile; the rejection of programs or the cutting of budgets will produce protest and pressure; clashes of parochial interest will delay action, and the scarcity of funds in relation to requests will cause difficult resentments.

It is reasonable to assume, furthermore, that the larger and more complex a community is, the longer will be the gestation period and infancy of a Community Action Agency. Since the political ramifications of these programs are still being discovered, it is also reasonable to expect considerable local political pressures operating in various attempts to influence the decisions of the Community Action Agency.

While applicants can appeal the decision of the local CAP agency, and while novel demonstration programs can be funded directly by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the CAP agency remains the critical local center of action and target of criticism. It can be, at the one extreme, a tightly controlled monopoly serving only the most powerful and vocal, or it can be a generous forum for the development of a broad-guaged attack on the community's total complex of problems. In its early years, every positive decision it makes will create new critics and new attacks.

The Community Action Agency Board and Maximum Feasible Participation of the Poor. The principle of citizen participation in the process of planning and executing community programs is older than our democracy. Public and private agencies have traditionally been governed by lay boards which set down the broad policies under which the professional staff they hire execute programs.

This participation in boards and committees is a central part of the democratic process. It follows childhood learnings in youth groups and student government, and is a basic training process for the development of citizen responsibility and of democratic leadership. It had long been obvious that this process of citizen involvement was not characteristic of most poor neighborhoods. Such services as were available were governed by non-resident boards of well-to-do people who had little knowledge of or contact with the poor. Their decisions were being made from the perspective of and with values of a very different way of life, with very different assumptions than those of the people being served.

The common observation that poor people often saw agency staffs as "the enemy" was seen as related to the fact that the poor had no way to effectively partake in decisions which not only directly affected them, but in the case of public agencies, often had the force of law in their lives.

These and other considerations led to the provision of the Act which states that community action agencies, whether coordinated by public or private agencies, should involve the "maximum feasible participation of the residents of the area or the groups to be served."

This simple statement of a traditional democratic goal has, in practice, become one of the most complex issues in the War Against Poverty.

In order to allow each community maximum freedom to determine its own needs and develop programs, and to encourage local participation and creativity, the CAP Guide leaves the interpretation of the word "feasible" very flexible. Local interpretations have varied widely.

For some communities, this provision has meant that all of the jobs created by economic opportunity agencies should go to poor people. For others, this provision has meant that the boards of directors of local community action agencies should be controlled by the poor. For still others, this provision has meant that the poor should participate only to the extent that they are able to "qualify". For still others, it has had nothing to do with the poor - it simply requires that there be some participation of neighborhood people or people of minority ethnic membership. The most common interpretation of this provision has been, in practice, a combination of interpretations as to whether or not this provision deals with the giving "power" to the poor or giving jobs to the poor. Typically, one will find approximately a third of the members of a community action agency board to be members of the target neighborhoods or selected, elected, or appointed from among the poor of the community.

In addition, one commonly finds a considerable emphasis on the employment of people from the target neighborhood to the greatest extent possible. New careers as aides are found widely, and training programs specifically aimed at poor people in the structure of the community action agency itself are a common feature of most community action agencies.

"Participation of the poor" will vary with the type of project. Service programs which utilize professional staff, such as legal services,

case work programs, delinquency prevention, or medical services will necessarily have less participation than indigenous worker programs.

Needless to say, any provision as novel as this one will be subject to a considerable amount of continuing reinterpretation in local communities. At any given time, in virtually any large city, one can expect to find many groups and individuals who are hostile toward whatever the local interpretation has been. This in itself demonstrates the importance of this provision of the Act, and demonstrates the fact that men, both poor and non-poor, are vitally concerned about the whole issue of participation. To the extent that this desire to be included can be channeled into constructive movements toward cooperation between the neighborhood people and the public and private agencies to whom they relate, the hostilities and discomforts presently shown may have long term positive results.

What is a Community? Like the definition of poverty, the definition of community is open to a variety of interpretations depending on the kinds of assumptions made in the definition of categories. In the case of small cities or cities which are not contiguous with other populated areas, the definition of community is fairly simple and corresponds with clearly defined geographic boundaries. In the case of large cities or densely populated counties consisting of many contiguous cities, and in the case of large cities that have large numbers of neighborhoods, the definition of community becomes a difficult one. Since it is patently impossible for OEO to deal with all neighborhoods declaring themselves a community as an independent CAP, certain arbitrary decisions have had to be made in the case of large population centers.

Los Angeles County, for example, which contains 63 incorporated cities, includes five community action agencies. The boundaries of each of these agencies have been set to conform to health district boundaries, which are sociologically somewhat arbitrary.

In general, the requirements for a community action agency are that they include an area which is coterminate, which is within a major political jurisdiction or with a group of political jurisdictions exercising responsibility for related public programs. One should read page 13 of Volume I of the OEO Community Action Program Guide for a definition of community. While this definition provides a sensible and flexible basis for the assignment of meaningful boundaries for community action agencies, these are primarily geographically determined boundaries.

For many people working in local programs, the word "community" does not refer to a geographic base, but rather to some other base such as ethnic membership or religious membership groups. Much communication difficulty results from these separate definitions.

One of the educational tasks of the community action agencies is to help the residents of poor neighborhoods begin to feel that they are part of the larger community in which they live and that their neighborhood is not a separate community, permanently isolated from the larger community in which it exists. Many people in poor neighborhoods find it hard to understand

that the community action program must represent the entire community and not simply, for example, a given minority neighborhood. One source of conflict in local community action agencies stems from such a misunderstanding of the definition of communities. For example, in some cities, members of an ethnic minority consider themselves a community separate from the majority group, and because of this ethnic definition of community, feel that the inclusion of members of the majority group on the community action board or on its payroll is somehow a violation of their understanding of the Act. In smaller towns and cities and in rural areas, these problems are not as likely to arise as in a metropolitan area.

Further, for many people in poor neighborhoods, the community action program has been their first experience with participation; indeed, their previous contacts with elements in the public and private agency world and with the larger structure of the city in which they live have given them little understanding that the city is, in fact, a local unit.

Distinctions between federal, regional, state, county and city units are often not understood. One of the reasons the regional offices of OEO have been given considerable autonomy to award small and medium community action grants is in the recognition of the fact that the definition of community in a given area must be based upon the spot knowledge of the sociological, demographic and emotional variables which affect people's identification with the community and with other groups.

The Three Wars On Poverty

As one examines the diverse programs which communities around the country have planned for themselves, it is clear that there are three major themes around which these projects and project components can be grouped.

Many of the projects see their function as the provision of *services to the poor*. These are projects which seek to overcome the gap in opportunity and education which the target population may have suffered in the past and may try to provide social services or recreational services or specific kinds of training and to provide either additional or more intensive or new kinds of services to needy people. In a sense, we might call these projects ones which have as their goals helping people to bridge the gap between their impoverished situation and the affluence of the larger society by providing them with a variety of services which might help them move more rapidly toward self-sufficiency and economic success.

The second major group of projects have as their goal, the creation of new *jobs for the poor*. Unlike the projects which seek to provide training and placement in traditional occupations, these projects are concerned with the development of new definitions of human service activities and new sub-professional careers, usually within the helping service professions utilizing people with low levels of education. Basically, the arguments which are offered in support of this kind of activity are of the following kind:

First of all, these new career positions, which sometimes take the form of neighborhood aides or agency aides, provide status jobs for the people who have been previously relegated to welfare roles or relatively menial and low status activities. In addition, such positions serve a variety of other functions. First of all, they presumably help to relieve the increasingly acute shortage of people available for employment in the helping professions. By separating out those parts of the professional workers' functions which can be rapidly taught to a non-professional, more effective use could presumably be made of scarce professional time.

The use of the indigenous non-professional further claims to have the advantage of providing greater rapport between peer group clients and the agency, and also provides an important communication link between the needs of poor people and the policy-making and service activities of professional agencies. Through this role therefore, the indigenous non-professional can serve as another mechanism to ensure maximum feasible participation of the poor in the operation of community action programs.

Critics of this use of OEO funds assert a variety of other arguments. First of all, they point to the fact that the amount of OEO money available is too small to make any significant impact on the unemployment problem which is characteristic of many poor neighborhoods and communities. Because of the small number of positions involved in relationship to the total needs, the argument runs that such use of scarce funds is not justifiable on the basis of job creation. Further, it is argued, that because these positions are not assigned by the usual means of civil service examinations or qualification experience requirements, they pose a potential danger as a source of local political patronage.

Still a further agrument is that the uneducated person who has had little employment experience or success requires supervision and training to an extent that vitiates whatever assets he might have as a neighborhood communicator. Another argument suggests that the use of indigenous non-professionals may result in poor people receiving less useful service than otherwise; that the substitution of untrained people endangers the delivery of meaningful services.

One of the arguments in favor of having a required coordination of agencies with neighborhood representatives is that it provides a basis for diffusion of the values and attitudes of the larger culture among the poor. The use of poor people as the major communicators may, in fact, simply serve to inbreed attitudes and values which have deterred people from entering into the larger society. This set of arguments and this difference in the perception of the role of the indigenous non-professional is one which has caused a certain amount of conflict within community action boards. To a considerable extent, many of the projects which are employing indigenous non-professionals can profitably be looked upon as experiments or demonstrations - as attempts to find new ways of providing employment in a time when automation is eliminating many of the unskilled and semi-

skilled jobs to which people who have had poor educational opportunities could formerly aspire. Out of the many experiments now going on in community action agencies, it is reasonable to assume that some models will emerge which will enable us to know the limits and requirements of the use of the indigenous non-professionals; the actual amount of training and supervision required for such new careers to be effective; and whether or not models exist which could then be used as a basis for larger scale creation of new employment opportunities than is possible with the limited funds available to community action programs.

Still a third focus around which many projects have been constructed sees the War On Poverty as having as a major goal, the *organization of the poor* into blocks able to participate more effectively in the democratic process and able to exert more influence on the decisions of local political bodies. There is a fine line between encouraging greater concern in the democratic process and using OEO funds to bring about a direct political movement. The line, though fine, is nonetheless discernable. Needless to say, there are many people who are opposed to increased self-consciousness and participation on the part of the poor because it is obvious that such increased participation may well alter the political power balance of the local community.

The Local Community Action Program

The coordinating agency for OEO programs in Los Angeles County is the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA).[1]

The Economic Opportunity Act calls for maximum participation of residents of the area to be served.

This means that the federal government is not involved in establishing local programs and activities. A local agency with the broadest possible local representation must fulfill this function; in Los Angeles County, this group is the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency. However, EYOA's activities are expected to be supplemented by four new CAP agencies - Pasadena, Compton-Willowbrook, Eastland, and Long Beach.

The EYOA is a coordinating agency and prime contractor for a major portion of the anti-poverty efforts. It is a joint powers agency of four public governmental bodies: The City of Los Angeles, the County of Los Angeles, Los Angeles City Schools, and Los Angeles County Schools. It also includes representatives of community agencies and citizen representatives, elected by popular vote, of disadvantaged areas.

While it must work within the guidelines established by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the EYOA is not a federal body; it is the link between the community and OEO. The structure of its Board of Directors reflects the total community. The Board totals 24 in number, 23 of whom are voting members.

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[1]Material exerpted from *The War On Poverty in Los Angeles County*, a publication of the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency, Nov. 15, 1966.

The four "parent" governmental agencies each have three representatives on the Board, totaling twelve members speaking for the joint powers. Four Board members represent community agencies - The United Way; Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO; Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region; and Los Angeles County Federation of Coordinating Councils. Citizen representatives of disadvantaged areas total seven. A representative of the League of California Cities serves in an ex-officio capacity.

EYOA grew out of the Youth Opportunities Board, an agency created in September 1962 out of the concern over the large number of unemployed and out-of-school youth and the rapidly increasing rates of juvenile delinquency. It was an innovative structure embodying a cooperative joint powers approach to the solution of youth problems.

The Youth Opportunities Board (YOB) functioned in a provisional capacity to get poverty programs underway in Los Angeles County and in its lifetime brought over $15.5 million into Los Angeles County, $12.5 million of which the YOB directly administered.

On September 13, 1965, the newly formed EYOA announced its first funding from the Office of Economic Opportunity, a grant of $7.4 million to finance anti-poverty community action programs. To date, grants totaling $75,180,272 have been made to EYOA and YOB. More than 350,000 people have been served, and 37,000 temporary and permanent jobs for poverty area residents have been created.

EYOA'S ACTIVITIES

Programs in Los Angeles County are developed as proposals by public and private non-profit agencies or incorporated non-profit citizens groups.

Proposals approved by the EYOA Board of Directors, which include detailed budgets as well as expected activities and anticipated results, are then forwarded to the Western Regional Office of OEO and, with its approval, to OEO Washington. (Neighborhood Youth Corps proposals are forwarded to the Department of Labor.) Upon approval for federal funding, these proposals become active programs operating in the community. EYOA acts as prime contractor. It contracts with the agency or group making the original proposal to conduct the program and then maintains fiscal and program evaluation responsibilities to assure that the delegate agency is fulfilling its contract.

EYOA no longer manages or staffs programs. All are now operated through delegate agencies - a total of 55 for 61 programs now under way.

Because of the size of Los Angeles County and in order to get as much community participation as possible, OEO ordered in mid-1966 establishment of four new local community action agencies in the County. These four cover Long Beach, Pasadena, East Los Angeles, and the Compton-Willowbrook area and are responsible for programs in their districts.

Major programs funded through EYOA include:

Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). The NYC program offers part-time "trainee-type" work experience for youths 16 through 21, enabling them to finish high school or, if they are out of school and unemployed, giving them basic job skills and work experience. The Los Angeles NYC is the largest in the nation. It provides part-time (up to 15 hours per week - $1.27 per hour) jobs to students *in school* who, due to financial reasons, are potential dropouts. These students work in schools as office workers, cafeteria aides, custodial trainees, gardener aides, garage attendants, or at nearby child-care centers.

The out-of-school program provides part-time work (up to 32 hours per week - $1.27 per hour) for unemployed youth in the offices, hospitals, museums, park playgrounds, shops, garages, and plants of city, county, state and private non-profit agencies.

Community Action Program. A community action program is probably the most innovative and dynamic aspect of the Economic Opportunity Act. In Los Angeles County, EYOA is the major contractor for community action programs, but individual components are operated - under sub-contract to EYOA - by neighborhood groups, schools, colleges, community organizations and governmental bodies. In addition to EYOA, there are four other CAP agencies in the county: Eastland (East Los Angeles, Whittier), Pasadena, Long Beach and Compton-Willowbrook.

Programs already approved and in operation in the County are concentrated in the fields of early childhood development, remedial education, literacy, job development and training, day care, homemaker services, legal aid, and community development.

Major community action programs include the following:

Neighborhood Adult Participation Project. (NAPP). NAPP is an innovative community action program, having as its primary purpose, the employment and placement of adult men and women of poverty areas into new, "sub-professional" positions with public and private non-profit agencies in their communities. A NAPP aide works for one year, at $4,000 annually, gaining work experience and job skills and, in turn, initiating new job positions within existing agencies.

The NAPP aide helps bring the agency into closer communication with the needs of the people being served. Other NAPP aides assigned to fifteen decentralized outposts throughout the County recruit and give information about other anti-poverty programs. They help organize the communities to develop "self-help" programs by working on a door-to-door basis assisting persons and neighborhoods, developing leadership, and helping solve local problems. Los Angeles Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Inc. is the delegate agency.

Youth Training and Employment Projects (YTEP). Youth Training and Employment Projects are located in East and South Central Los Angeles. Any young man or woman, 16 through 21, may enter a YTEP program.

YTEP facilities approach the problem of rehabilitating youth through multifaceted programs that include group counseling, vocational testing, basic educational skills and job skills classes, and job development and placement services. Counselors assess a student's interest before channeling him into an area of work where training is both available and practical. There are more than 30 categories, including automotive services, clerical skills, food services, PBX operation, mechanical drafting, electronics and metal work.

In areas where the facilities are not technically equipped to offer specialized training, such as TV repair, arrangements are made with public and private trade schools to supply the training. On-the-job training in private industry is also available. Length of study, depending upon the course of instruction and student's needs, ranges from 10 to 52 weeks.

In existence approximately two years, the YTEP's have serviced 6,597 youngsters; 3,094 trainees have been placed in jobs and 333 were assisted in returning to school.

Operation Head Start. Provides pre-school programs for four-year olds in disadvantaged areas. Major goals are to develop childrens' self-image, provide success experiences, increase verbal and conceptual skills, and involve parents and children in a positive learning experience.

Approximately 6,800 children are enrolled in the 1966 Head Start program at 240 sites in Los Angeles County, bringing the total served to 24,180.

Neighborhood Legal Services. The Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services Society (LANLSS) is conducting a legal aid program conceived and proposed by the Youth Opportunities Board, EYOA's predecessor. LANLSS centers are operating in Watts-Willowbrook-Compton, East Los Angeles-Montebello, and Venice-Ocean Park.

In addition, the San Fernando Valley Neighborhood Legal Services, Inc. is operating centers in Pacoima and Reseda, and Legal Aid Foundation of Long Beach is operating centers in Long Beach and Wilmington.

Additional centers are planned for Southeast Los Angeles County (Southeast Neighborhood Legal Services Society), and the San Gabriel Valley (San Gabriel Valley Legal Aid Offices).

Each center has a staff of attorneys providing services to the poor in civil law and criminal law not covered by the public defender's office. Examples of cases taken include family law, wage attachments, consumer matters (time purchases and dealings with lending sources), landlord-tenant relations, juvenile proceedings and relationships with governmental agencies. An education program providing citizens with information about their legal rights is a major feature of each center. The program has the full cooperation of bar associations and the law schools of USC, UCLA and Loyola University.

Los Angeles City Schools.

Extended Day School - This program at 70 elementary schools provides intensive remedial reading and language work for 20,000 children.

Saturday School - Emphasis on remedial reading, arithmetic improvement, language arts, use of library, homework help and tutoring. School playgrounds and libraries open. Some 3,000 children in 48 elementary schools participate.

Parent-Child Pre-School Classes - An adult education program to help mothers develop attitudes and skills to guide their children. Approximately 800 mothers and 1,250 children take part in the program at 40 locations.

Adult Counseling - Helps the chronically displaced worker, the low producer, dropouts and adults with a variety of problems that hinder gaining employment. Counselors work at 10 adult education schools.

School Opportunity Centers - Twenty-two schools, with 13,200 students enrolled, provide accelerated instruction before and after school and on Saturdays.

English for Foreign-Speaking Professionals - Instruction for non-English speaking professionals at four schools.

County Superintendent of Schools, Los Angeles County.

A Community Program for Education - The Compton Union High School District is located in the major poverty area served by the County Schools Office. The following three related projects are in the second year of operation in five junior highs and two senior highs: READ, a developmental reading program and reading clinics serving 4,000 students; STAY, a social adjustment program for 165 potential dropouts and pre-delinquents; and HELP, study centers and tutorial assistance. Estimated total number to be served: 5,765.

School Enrichment and Extended Day - The elementary education of 650 children in the isolated and impoverished Rancho Santa Gertrudes area of the Los Nietos School District is enriched by an extended day kindergarten, teacher aides, and resource teachers. Extensive community involvement makes the school a neighborhood center.

Developing Community Relations Through Outdoor Science.

Communication Skills Project - Remedial reading for 4,224 children, grades one through three.

Teen Post Program - 130 facilities offering classes, trips, tours, camping weekends and recreational activities to 20,000 disadvantaged youth.

Among other programs coordinated by EYOA are:

- Small Business Development
- Aid to Needy Mobile Migrants
- Westminster Neighborhood Employment and Training
- East Los Angeles Consumer Education and Community Development Projects
- A variety of information referral and counseling services and delinquency prevention programs in a variety of settings.

As of September 1, 1966, the funds allocated to EYOA for anti-poverty programs total 78.8 million dollars, with 22 million in completed programs and 53 million in current programs, and 3.7 million in direct grants.

Following the Presentation on the Act and the structure of the programs, the following questions were discussed:

Question	Discussion Topics
Wouldn't it be better to distribute the money among the poor, instead of spending so much on administrative costs?	Poverty is more than a lack of money. If all poverty funds were equally distributed among the poor in Los Angeles County, each poor person would get about $30.00 a year.
Wouldn't it have avoided all the conflict if Washington had set up all the programs in advance?	Importance of community planning to meet needs and develop organization; maximum feasible participation and a stake in the society.
Why is the program so political?	The distribution of money and power is basically political. Political conflict and social change.
Why didn't Washington just turn over the money for educational programs to the schools, employment programs to the Labor Department, and so forth?	Concept of coordination; concept of alternate systems; changes in the social structure.

CHAPTER V

SESSION II

9:30 - 10:30

LECTURE: WHAT IS POVERTY?

Who are the Poor?
The Demonstration Community

Materials:

Demographic Data
Map of Community
Resource Directory

10:30 - 12:00

Tour of Community by Individual Family Agents

1:00 - 2:00

Group Discussion of Observations
of Community, Agencies

2:00 - 2:30

Scope and Organization of Professional Service Corps

What is Poverty?

The poor inhabit a world scarcely recognizable, and rarely recognized, by the majority of their fellow Americans. It is a world apart, whose inhabitants are isolated from the mainstream of American life and alienated from its values. It is a world where Americans are literally concerned with day-to-day survival - a roof over their heads - where the next meal is coming from. It is a world where a minor illness is a major tragedy, where pride and privacy must be sacrificed to get help, where honesty can become a luxury, and ambition a myth. Worst of all, the poverty of the fathers is visited upon the children.

. . . Poverty breeds poverty. A poor individual or family has a high probability of staying poor. Low incomes carry with them high risks of illness; limitations on mobility; limited access to education, information and training. Poor parents cannot give their children the opportunities for better health and education needed to improve their lot. Lack of motivation, hope and incentive is a more subtle but no less powerful barrier than lack of financial means. Thus, the cruel legacy of poverty is passed from parents to children.[1]

Poverty is not merely the absence of money and the material things of a society, but is an absence also of those things which provide human dignity, enough emotional security to allow the individual to develop his maximum potential and develop the motivation and skills to achieve his goals.

Poverty is relative to the society and the times in which the judgment is being made. Having enough food to eat every day might disqualify a family from the ranks of poverty in India or China. In the United States, poverty consists not only of an inadequate income, but also of deficient community resources, inability to enter into and stay in the labor force, and those behavioral and attitudinal characteristics which comprise a subculture of poverty.

One definition of poverty is having an income of less than $4,000 a year for a family of four and $2,000 for a single individual.

How many are poor? Obviously, the number of families who are considered poor at any given time depends upon the annual income set for

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[1]Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, January 1964, pp. 55, 69-70.

dividing the poor from the non-poor. Using the $4,000 cut-off for a family of four, there are about 34 million citizens - one-fifth of the population - who exist in conditions of want or near want.

Who are the poor?

35% are over the age of 65
28% have no wage earner
21% are non-white
15% are rural or farm
24% headed by women

Those who are poor do not, of course, fall into mutually exclusive categories. It is possible to be a Negro, over age 65 and live in a rural or farm area.

The Demonstration Community - West Venice-Ocean Park:

A Microcosm of Misery

The area chosen as the site of the demonstration, when sub-divided in the early 1900's, was designed as a beach resort. The planners envisioned a community of vacation homes for middle and upper class residents of greater Los Angeles. An effort was made to recreate the ancient city of Venice along this section of California beach front. The old canals remain as reminder of the early vision; they now constitute a hazard for the health and well being of those who live there. They have become filled with sludge, debris, and stagnant water, surrounded by equally depressing sub-standard housing. Since building codes were virtually non-existent, the area became a sea of clap-board shacks placed on 25-foot building lots. In part, the inferior quality of construction related to the fact that often absentee owners of land would lease the property upon which the renter constructed the most temporary of facilities to accommodate his vacation resort needs. At one point in its development, the Venice-Ocean Park area enjoyed prosperity as a vacation resort. However, the depression of the 30's brought with it profound changes. Gradually, these temporary homes became the permanent residence of people who were in a condition of poverty seeking low cost housing. Conditions which prevailed at that time continue to plague the residents. Because the lots were small and owned by so many individuals, developers have apparently been unable to secure enough land to merit either a major housing or industrial enterprise in this otherwise prime beach area, although scattered redevelopment is now under way.

The West Venice-Ocean Park community has become a port of entry for Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and poor whites from the South. What has gradually developed, in fact, is a multi-racial miscrocosm locked in by middle class Santa Monica on the north, middle class Mar Vista on the east, the Los Angeles Marina on the south, and the blue Pacific on the west. Within the area, the majority are <u>not</u> poor. Among the third who are poor, a variety of ethnic and cultural differences exist.

The pattern of settlement has created four distinct ethnic sub-groups within the nine census tracts which constitute this microcosm. Ocean Park and the beach front tract immediately south is essentially populated by socio-economically deprived whites, many coming into the area from the South, and a family large contingent of elderly Jewish people who have been long-time residents of the area. Adjacent to Ocean Park is the Oakwood area, a Negro ghetto. The Mexican-American neighborhood is located in an area south of Oakwood, commonly known as Westminster. The fourth neighborhood, called Nightingale, constitutes a narrow strip of land along the beach, locked in on the east and south by the Los Angeles Marina. The area has a mixed population, but is mainly settled by Anglo and Mexican-American families. In a real sense, this is a microcosm of all of the poorer populations of Los Angeles County.

The residents of the area face daily the complex social problems associated with the culture of poverty. Crowded into housing inadequate by any American standards, they have limited access to economic opportunity and middle class amenities of life. They live disadvantaged in a condition of social disorganization, limited by education and absence of the values which are the hallmark of dominant American culture. They are blocked off from the opportunity ladder which might extricate them from their disadvantaged status. Dejected and discouraged, they have neither the internal resources nor the political power to mobilize the economic and social changes necessary to alleviate their plight.

The culture of poverty here, as everywhere, has had its consequences which are manifested in high rates of unemployment, a high number of families and children on welfare, a high incidence of school drop-outs, and high rates of crime and delinquency. In addition, organized youth groups, discouraged and disillusioned by the social mileau in which they exist, frustrated by the absence of access to legitimate opportunities, vent their spleen by engaging in battles, using tire-irons, chains, firearms and knives, marijuana parties, drug and glue sniffing parties.

In addition to having a disproportionate share of social problems, the residents of Venice have apparently been cut off from many of the services to which they are entitled, and for which they are in such great need. Martin Rein has captured the essence of this community's problem in his incisive analysis pertaining to the allocation of resources from the social service network.

> *The service network is so organized that many in extreme need cannot find their way to it. If they do manage the tortuous, badly lighted path, they often find themselves ineligible for help; or, if eligible, their own ideas of what their problems are, can differ strongly from what the professionals tell them. Services originally designed to act as a doorway and a mirror for community needs often act instead as a barrier.*
>
> *While there are a wide variety of services and organizations adjacent to the Venice community, there appears to be a core of population who are not being reached by these existing services.*

Current studies of Southern California, in terms of present definitions of poverty, clearly identify this community as typical of many impoverished areas.

In October 1963 the Venice-Mar Vista Youth Study Committee of the West Area Welfare Planning Council made a report to the Coordinating Council describing the problems of the community and indicating the need for:

- tutoring groups for school dropouts
- more counseling services
- local services to reduce expensive and inconvenient transportation
- new services with specialized approaches
- building-centered efforts within the community
- home visits to counsel children of "hard to reach" families
- more vocational training for youths
- more recreational facilities

It was on the basis of the recognized and expressed needs of the community that the program of the Professional Service Corps was developed.

The Demonstration Population

Because the program was designed to serve those families who evidenced both financial and familial instability, there is a higher incidence of disorganization among these families than is prevalent either in the County or the immediate poverty area.

A total of 235 families have been served by Family Agents, 48% of these families received Public Assistance. Mean family size in the population served (6.4) is extremely large; 22% of the families had nine or more members.

As seen by the table below, a larger percentage of minority families were served than were represented in the area population:

	Anglo	Negro	Mexican-American	Unknown
Ethnic Background				
Venice-Ocean Park Community	75%	11%	14%	
Population Served	29%	28%	26%	17%
Families Headed by Women				
Population Served	52%	64%	53%	

	Total
Percent of Males Unemployed	
Venice-Ocean Park Community	11.6%
Population Served	48%

Following the lecture on the local demonstration community, the Family Agents were given a map and a resource directory and asked to tour the community and visit as many of the agencies, poverty programs and facilities possible within the time allowed. On their return, they were asked to make comments and raise questions on their observations; these served to open a discussion for the afternoon, and to lead into the discussion of the culture of poverty, the topic of the following session. Among the comments made were:

Comments	Discussion Topics
The streets were dirty, full of broken glass, and trash did not seem to be picked up as in other areas.	How services are allocated in the society; ways of demanding and finding services.
Some streets and houses within the area were well kept and neat; others were run-down and deteriorating.	Individual ownership; landlord-tenant rights and responsibilities.
Many young children roamed the streets dirty and unsupervised.	Family size; child-rearing and supervision practices.
Many school-age children seemed to be out playng during school hours.	Absences, truancy, and motivation. Attitudes of school personnel towards the low income area child.
Some of the supermarkets in the area were dirty and unattractive. There were many small neighborhood stores, some of which were crowded and dirty.	Consumer problems; money management; why the poor pay more and receive less.
There were many old people and people with physical handicaps standing around on the streets.	How one becomes poor in this society; mobility is downward as well as upward.
Many broken windows; drunks standing around on the streets even in the morning.	Crime rates; other indices of social disorganization in low income areas.

Many men were standing around, sitting on porches.	Unemployment rates; minority employment.
The playground had all its gates locked at 11 o'clock in the morning; no children were playing there.	How communities respond to demands for services. Why the poor often do not receive the services from the agencies which are structured to serve them.
At one Head Start visited, it was found that the adults (presumably teachers) were talking to one another while children went unsupervised.	Differences in childrearing practices; using the poor to serve the poor.
Many very young girls either pregnant or with young children seen on the streets.	Class differences in sexual behavior, family styles.
Library was totally empty.	Cultural differences in values; need for different approaches to reach different socio-economic groups.
Within the area, there are separate Negro, Mexican-American, and Anglo sub-communities.	Discussion of urban geographic patterns; ghetto process; prejudice; demography of area.
There were few churches in area; most were store-fronts.	Relationship of religion in lives of poor; limited group affiliation of low income people.

CHAPTER VI

SESSION III

9:30 - 11:30

LECTURE: THE CULTURE OF POVERTY

Values and Life Styles of the Poor:
The Extra Class:
- Orientation to Time and Money
- Education
- Crime, Delinquency and Unemployment
- Childrearing and Family Interaction
- Alienation

Materials:

Catalogue of Class Differences (Included on pgs. 42 - 48, this text)

11:30 - 12:30

Group Discussion

Attitudes Towards the Poor
Attitudes of the Poor to the Middle Class

Is There a Culture of Poverty?

If culture is defined as a design for living which is passed from one generation to another, then there is a culture - or more accurately, a sub-culture of poverty. Michael Harrington's statement that "poverty, like wealth, is inherited" indicates that poverty represents a way of life which is learned and transmitted; it is not, of course, transmitted intact, but like all cultures is changed and altered by each generation. Poverty in the narrow sense, is a lack of money; in the broad sense, it is a way of life, with a structure, adjustments, accommodations, and defenses. It can, and in this country seems, to have become a persistent mode of adjustment to many pretty harsh realities which produce a way of life with patterns of social and psychological behavior quite different from that of the middle class.

Oscar Lewis pointed out that "the culture of poverty has universal characteristics which transcend regional, rural-urban, and even national differences."[1] Most communities feel that they are unique, and only someone who lives in that particular community can understand its problems. Spokesmen for Watts will say, "Watts is different; if you don't live on the streets with us, you can't understand." Likewise, it is said, "Venice is different," - "Hunters Point is different," - "Harlem is different." To be sure, there are differences among and between communities, but there are also real similarities. Probably poor communities are more alike than they are different, and while it is important to understand the differences, it is important to begin with the similarities.

Then too, there are differences and variations between ethnic and racial subgroups; notwithstanding these differences, there appears to be a "poverty syndrome" which cuts across racial-ethnic lines.

While there are some who argue that a "culture of poverty" does not exist, this seems to be a moot point. Unless adequately prepared, many workers from middle class background do, in fact, suffer a kind of "culture shock" when they encounter the values and life styles prevalent in a poor community.

The poor, like any other group, are not a homogeneous lot. Within a low income community live a sizable group of middle and low income families whose heads of households are steadily employed as productive and participating members of the society. These steadily employed low income families are apt to have a life style more similar to the middle class than their economic peers. It is primarily this middle income group who participate in organizations within the area and in the larger community and are seen as representatives of the poor. Many of this group find a good deal of their organizational and social activities outside of the area. In fact, there seems to be very limited communication between the members of this poor but

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[1] LEWIS, Oscar. *The Children of Sanchez*, Random House, New York, 1961. p xxv.

middle class oriented group and the members of the "extra class". This program has found, as stated by Hylan Lewis:

> *There are some assumptions about the contiguousness, the communication, the potentials for community organization among the hard-core poor that need to be further examined in a number of different settings. Is there a community, a network of the hard-core poor? Or do they exist in the cracks and crevices of larger communities of the poor and the more affluent? The practical point here is that the chronically dependent and not-yet-dependent poor often live side by side in the same neighborhood or area; but often that is all they do or want to do together. Much community organization and block work assumes that, because they live in the same neighborhood or area, this in itself provides or connotes a sound basis for developing a more viable and organized community. .....Too frequently, the conventional community organization approach is geared to getting the respectable and non-respectable poor together. This represents built-in frustration.*[1]

Poverty and the Extra Class

This program is focused on one segment of "the poor", most of whom are both financially and familially unstable, and in fact represent a kind of "extra class" rather than a lower class. It is an extra class which seldom, if ever, is in demand by the labor market; a class which is rarely involved in organizational life within either the poor or the larger community. It is a group alienated, isolated and cut off from the mainstream of American urban culture; one which is seldom able to contribute to the functioning of our highly technical, rapidly automating economy; and likewise one which does not share in the developments or the expansions of the economy; it is a group neither active nor readily motivated to become active in community participation.

Herbert Gans has drawn the distinction between the "routine-seekers" and the "action-seekers" in the lower class. Miller and Riessman have apralleled this dichotomy between "the unskilled, irregular worker. . . (who) lacks the disciplined, structured and traditional approach of the stable worker and stresses the excitement theme". The client population of this program fall primarily into the group Gans calls the "action-seekers". Unemployment alternates with intermittent, unskilled employment at low wages. The dull and routine jobs, as car wash or bus boy, which replace the periods of unemployment, are abandoned when any opportunity to do something more interesting turns up, when a chance to "get in on the action" arises.

S.M. Miller has offered a typological approach to lower income groups which seems useful in delineating the population served.

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[1] LEWIS, Hylan, *Child Rearing Among Low-income Families*, Child Rearing Project, Health and Welfare Council of National Capital Area, Washington, 1961.

Cell I - THE STABLE POOR:

Characterized by both economic and familial security. Regular employment at low wages, low skill. Farm, rural and rural non-farm make up the majority of the stable poor. The majority of all the poor and the stable poor are white, rural Southern populations, but it includes a number of Negro families. Children are apt to be educationally and occupationally upwardly mobile.

Cell II - THE STRAINED:

Secure economic pattern, but unstable family pattern. Regular employment at low wages. Poor family functioning include fighting and drinking among parents, illicit sexual relations of parents, neglect or brutality towards children. TRANSITION CELL: Family may persist with a low but steady income and great deal of internal strain, but many of the children may fail to match parent's economic security, may experience "intergenerational skidding."

Cell III - THE COPERS:

Economic insecurity and family stability. Number in this group undoubtedly increase when unemployment is high. Disproportionate number of families who have been downwardly mobile. May include illness of wage earner, general economic conditions of area, discriminatory employment practices, recent migration from rural to urban areas. Children more likely to be mobile than those in Cell II.

Cell IV - THE UNST .BLE:

Neither economic nor familial stability. Often referred to as "multi-problem", multi-agency or "hard-core" families. Includes physically handicapped, mentally disturbed, aged, recent arrivals from rural areas, long term (intergenerational), poor white urban families. Unskilled, irregular workers, broken and large families. (Whites in this group most likely to be intractable to change.)

Some of these families chronic, some sub-chronic. High proportion of matrifocal families, high illegitimacy, chronic crises, frequent health problems and somaticizing of emotional difficulties.

> *Children in these families are not inevitably, but very apt, to show serious difficulties in school, emotional life, employment and eventually their own families.*[1]

Most of the families with whom Family Agents work belong to either Cell II or Cell IV, and it is on these "Strained" and/or "Unstable" families that attention will be focused.

That there are vast areas of differences in the life situations and styles of the poor from the middle class is obvious. The resultant differences in attitude and behavior have been studied by an increasing number of Sociologists, Psychologists, Educators, and other professionals. Among areas studied have been:

> Oscar Lewis studying the culture of poverty in Mexico and Puerto Rico; Kinsey, data on class differences in sexual behavior; and work by Frank Riessman, Martin Deutsch, S.M. Miller, and others on class differences in education; Riessman, Cohen and Pearl, as well as Hollingshead and Redlich have written on mental health and social class differences.

An attempt has been made to catalogue many of the differences found by these and other researchers. Many of the differences presented represent merely the difference in living conditions produced by a lack of a sufficient supply of money. Others represent reasonable and realistic solutions to the conditions thus produced. The chart is presented as a guide to what MAY be found among either the poor or the middle class; that these attributes are sometimes or frequently found does not mean that they are always found. Certainly neither the poor nor the more affluent can be stereotyped, nor are they carbon copies of one another. What is here offered is merely a guideline to some of the differences between the subcultures, in the interest of alerting workers to what may be unfamiliar behavioral norms.

CATALOGUE OF CLASS DIFFERENCES

Sex and Marriage

The Unstable Poor	The Middle Class
Early premarital heterosexual experience	Later heterosexual experience, greater frequency of masturbation, premarital petting.
Free unions or consensual marriage	Contractual marriage
Premarital conceptions result in high illegitimacy rate	Premarital conceptions result in abortion or adoptive placement

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[1] MILLER, S.M., *The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach.* Journal of Social Research, 1964.

Wife has higher educational level than husband	Husband has higher educational level than wife
Belief in male superiority	Belief in near equality of sexes
Martyr complex in women	Women feel they should be protected
Lack of effort to communicate between spouses	Effort to communicate important
High incidence of violence to resolve quarrels; wife-beating	Arguments verbal; withdrawal of communication as mechanism to resolve differences
Spouses pursue social life with same sex social groups	Spouses pursue social life with other couples
Male participates minimally in exchange of affection or emotional support to family	Male is expected to give emotional support and guidance to family
Male seldom participates in rearing of children. Child rearing is considered "woman's work"	Male participates in guidance of children, sometimes in physical care.
Women often use husband as example of what a man should <u>not</u> be	Husband serves as role model to male children

Life Style, Employment & Money Management

Crowded quarters, several children sleeping in one bed	More spacious quarters, separate beds, rooms
Gregariousness	Emphasis on privacy for family as unit, for individual within family
Homes in poor repair, frequently untidy; insect infestation prevalent	Home well ordered, usually neat and clean
Constant struggle for survival	Money for "amenities"
Unemployment and under-employment at low wages	Find new jobs before leaving old one; periods of unemployment infrequent
Perceive work as work	Perceive work as source of ego-satisfaction
Unskilled occupations	Emphasis on "career" planning rather than job taking

Absence of savings, chronic shortage of cash	Money is budgeted; spending planned
Absence of food reserves in house; frequent buying in small quanities	Menus planned, food reserves kept, weekly shopping
Pawning of personal goods for quick cash	Saving for a "rainy day" stressed
Borrowing at usurious rates, informal credit devices, locally organizes; frequent borrowing from friends	Borrowing from credit unions, lending institutions. Believe borrowing from friends destroys relationships
Purchase of second-hand clothing, furniture, appliances without guarantees	Purchase of new clothing; attention to contracts, guarantees
Money spent as it is earned or arrives; impulse spending	Spending planned, saving emphasized; some impulse spending
Family lives in geographic isolation	Spatial mobility

Family and Child Rearing

Matrifocal families, extended family ties important	Nuclear families
Great emphasis on family solidarity (rarely achieved)	Emphasis on individual development of potential
Unplanned births, high birthrates	Planned births, lower birthrates
Babies and children sleep with parents	Babies and children sleep alone or with other children
Severe discipline, physical punishment of children	Discipline by reasoning, appeal to guilt, withdrawal of love
Family adult centered	Family adult directed
Casual acceptance of children	Efforts made to teach, train, change behavior of children
Little communication between parents and children; except for directives	Children included in general conversation, more emphasis on verbal skills
Acceptance of children's aggressive behavior	Punishment of aggressive behavior

Little emphasis on individual possessions	Emphasis on individual property of family members (mine, yours, ours)
Unstructured household routine	Well strctured, sometimes compulsive routine
Little direction or supervision of children after age 6	Continued supervision through teens
Early independence from family	Continued dependence through teens
Early understanding of sex; permissive attitude, but little direct sex education	Suppression of childhood sexual activities; intellectualized presentation of sex information
Little direct effort to teach skills	Emphasis on child's development of skills, interests. Training within & outside of home
Frequent lack of male role model in home and community	Male work rcle model in family and community
Parents tend to feel children are more trouble than they are worth	Parents are anxious about their own adequacy as parents
Parents see children as responsible for any problems the children develop	Parents see selves as responsible for any problems the children develop.
Parents unquestioning about child-rearing methods used	Parents uncertain and anxious about their adequacy as parents, and about the child-rearing methods used

Education and Cultural Experiences

Little attempt made to teach pre-school skills	Early emphasis on skills; nursery rhymes, counting, size, color, shapes, etc. taught early
Sibling or neighborhood play	Arranged peer-group play, or nursery school
Limited play materials	Purchase and encourage use of toys, creative play things, various art media
Little or no attention paid to mechanics of education	Emphasis on homework, grades

Home and school considered separate worlds	Frequent consultation with school in child's progress, adjustment
Token verbal encouragement of education	Continued education stressed
Adults and children seldom read magazines, newspapers	Daily paper read; magazines for both adults and children
Few or no books in home	Books for each member of the family
Seldom show interest in events in wider community - rarely listen to news programs	Interest in local and national events; listen to news broadcasts
Do not own or use library cards	Use of library for recreational reading
Occasionally attend movies	Attend and take children to movies, museums, wide range of entertainments
Children seek information from other children	Children seek information from adults
Use of "public language" at home; deficient in "formal language"	Formal language only
Children spontaneous, express selves best in unstructured situations	Children tend to become anxious in unstructured situations

Health and Mental Health

High incidence of infant and maternal mortality	Low incidence of infant and maternal mortality
Seldom visit doctor or dentist except for emergency care	Visit medical specialists regularly for checkups
Use of home remedies when ill	Use of professional care when ill
Generally poor health habits; no toothbrushes in home, share hair brushes, towels; infrequent baths	High degree of concern about cleanliness; care of hair, skin, general health upkeep
Irregular meals, unplanned and eaten individually. High starch, low protein diet	Regular schedule of well-balanced meals; evening meal eaten as a family group at attractive table setting

Incidence of psychoses high; usual method of treatment institutionalization	Neurotic disturbances more frequent; treated on outpatient basis
High tolerance for psychological pathology within family and community	Intolerance for pathology, asocial or deviant behavior
High rate of alcoholism tolerated	Social drinking accepted; alcoholism considered a disease
Frequent loss of time from work for illness	Illnesses less frequent, and of shorter duration
Early aging; shorter life span	Maintenance of health and appearance; longer life span

Psycho-Social Aspects

Sees responsibility as towards persons	Feels responsibility towards task, objects sometimes more than people
Depend on group sanctions for enforcement of behavior	Self-directed behavior
Expects direct supervision of tasks, work	Self-enforcement, expects to work unsupervised
Tends to seek prompt impulse gratification	Impulse control and delay of gratification
Time unplanned, day to day existence	Time "planned, budgeted and saved:
Inability to anticipate the future	Future anticipated, sometimes to exclusion of present
Lack of life goals	Life goals, direction
Frequently late or miss appointments	Attention to promptness, keep or cancel appointments in advance
Seeks action	Seeks security
Tends to be passive=dependent	Tends to be anxious and obsessive compulsive
Unable to take initiative to seek solutions for problems; frequently dependent on outside help	Takes active part in seeking solutions of problems
Accepts dependency	Seeks independence; views dependency with anxiety

Resigned acceptance of economic situation	Optimism about possibility of upward mobility
Fatalistic attitude towards controlling life events	Feels control over destiny
Feels victim of, alienated from society	Feels a participant in society
Feels critical attitude towards society, middle class	Feels critical attitude towards lower class
Mistrusts government	Critical, but accepting of government
Resentful of authority	Critical, but conforming to authority
Feels persecuted by police	Feels protected by police
High frequency of crime against persons; generally higher crime rates. Greater incidence of sentences served	Lower incidence of crimes; higher frequency of fines paid
Low frequency of pre-trial releases	Release on bail more frequent
High incidence of juvenile dependency and delinquent petitions. Disposition of delinquency petitions frequently corrective placement	Lower incidence of juvenile petitions. Disposition frequently for private therapy, boarding schools, etc.
Cynicism towards church; infrequent active membership	Social involvement with church
Belong to few, if any, voluntary organizations	Belong to variety of community and social organizations
Views bureaucracy as insurmountable; does not understand procedures to gain access to services, institutions or facilities	Annoyed at bureaucracy, but able to maneuver with competence
Sense of powerlessness, both actual and perceived	Sense of participation in society
Hostility prone	Anxiety prone

Some Characteristics of the Extra Class

Lower income people often share in the values and aspirations of the larger society, but appear to have a greater degree of attitude-behavior discrepancy. That is, they express verbal agreement with many of the educational and occupational values of the middle class, but seldom actually succeed in implementing those values in their lives.

To the question, "How important do you think education for your children is?" - many low income mothers will respond most affirmatively, although they frequently allow their children to stay home from school and express many hostile attitudes towards the school and its personnel. Many report great interest in job training as a means of improving employability, but either do not find out where job training is available, or if they do, never quite mobilize the energy to enroll in these programs.

While the poor frequently verbalize the same values as those of the middle class, they sometimes seem not to understand the operational procedures by which these values are achieved. Education requires not only the recognition that it is important, but regular attendance at school, sustained study and effort, continued open communication between the home and the school, and a high degree of conformity to the demands of the classroom and school structure. Because the connection is frequently not made between the goal aspired to and the procedure by which it is attained, the aspirations of the poor are frequently unrealized. When goals are set without concrete plans for implementation, the goals become fantasies and are readily and frequently shifted.

Many of the poor have had extensive dealings with social workers, probation officers, teachers, and others whose jobs are to mold the lives of the poor. At times, their espousal of middle class values is merely an attempt to say what they feel the powerful or higher status person expects them to say.

Because it is very difficult for members of the extra class to mobilize and sustain their energies to achieve even a semblance of the middle class values they verbalize, they engage in a great deal of rationalization which serves to avoid some of the frustration of their frequent failures. One often hears statements such as "education is important, but some of the smartest people never went to school," or "we know more about our problems than you M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s." (This may very well be true, but the underlying assumption is that they also know more about how to overcome their problems which is yet to be demonstrated.) In the rationalization of their failure to achieve, there is usually also considerable hostility displayed towards those who have achieved: "Most teachers don't really know how to teach - all they care about is the money." or, "I wouldn't want to be a social worker (policeman, judge or politician) because they are all crooked."

Then too, even though many of the values of the larger society are accepted, there is often a lowered commitment to these values which is reflected in a generally lowered aspiration and motivation level. While

education for their children may still be the value most often reported by lower class as well as middle class parents, the lower class parents do not expect as high a level of education, nor do they expect it with as great an intensity. This general scaling down of expectations is often a realistic response to the many barriers they encounter in the pursuit of goals. In short, the poor are prepared to settle for less.

Non-Deferred Gratification

One of the frequent explanations of why the poor are poor is that they seek immediate gratification; that because of the constant deprivation or threat of deprivation, lower class people learn to "get while the getting is good."

Inability to defer gratification is considered an "impulse disorder" which appears in all classes; the incidence, however, does appear to be greater in the lower class. When the inability to defer impulse gratification appears in the middle class, it is more likely to have personal origins; in the lower class, the origins are frequently social.

Ability to defer gratification is related to many aspects of behavior of both the poor and the middle class. It affects the "life style" in such areas as orientation towards both time and money, education, employment, child rearing, delinquent and criminal behavior and physical expression of aggression.

Orientation to Time and Money

To the very poor, whose daily lives are constant crises of not enough money for food, unpaid bills, sick children, and neither the money to pay the doctor or even for transportation to get to the doctor, the future, if anticipated, would loom so dim that it is better to forget the future and live for the moment. The poor have learned to take pleasure and trouble as they arise; often the most amazing thing to those unacquainted with the lives of the poor is that they have so large a capacity to endure trouble.

The fact that many of the poor do not anticipate the future frequently presents problems to most workers from the middle class who themselves are very well organized, plan their time and "run" their lives. Frequently among the group served, children are late for school or do not attend at all; when medical, legal or other appointments are made for the family members, often with great difficulty, the appointments are not kept. At times, this may be an act of hostility towards the worker who has made the appointment, but more often, it is because "something else came up," or "I slept late," or merely, "I was not up to going to the doctor today." To many of these families, every day is like every other day; Sunday is like Monday, like Friday; their time is neither scheduled nor important and they do not comprehend the entire middle class concept that time is a valuable something to be "spent", "planned", "budgeted", or "saved".

Frequently also, these families feel so unimportant that they feel no one will notice if they do not keep an appointment.

Because time is largely in the present, it is very difficult to sustain efforts towards long range goals. Education is important, but if it isn't pleasant today, the extra class child and mother often do not exert the discipline to endure an unpleasant present to achieve a future intangible reward.

Money, like time is seen as as aspect of the present. Generally, the poor do not have money - when they have it, they spend it. Budgeting and planning future expense only makes sense when there is reason to believe that the future holds the possibility of continued steady income. Their life experiences frequently deny this possibility. Because of this, the poor too often find themselves in the position of the King, who for the want of a nail, the shoe, and ultimately the war was lost. The poor, because they have neither babysitters nor transportation, are constant victims of local higher-priced stores. They shop frequently, buy in small quantities which are more expensive, frequently buy the least expensive, which also turns out to be the least durable. Comparison shopping for either price or quality is rare if not unknown. Discount houses are institutions frequented by the middle class. Too often the poor do not buy for cash, or even at stores where credit charges are standard. The poor pay more and get less for their money.

The one major investment made by most families in this program is a television set, and this causes many middle class people to make negative comments on how the poor spend their money. A television set does represent, however, the only link with the outside world that many of these families, particularly the mothers have, misleading and tenuous though that link may be. When beset with the problems of poverty, few of the poor are interested in the problems of the world as presented in news programs. For the most part, the poor watch the daytime serials and family comedies on second-hand television sets they buy for $35 or $50 - sets which much of the time are either broken and in for repairs, or hocked for money with which to buy food until the end of the month.

Asked if she wished help with planning her budget, one mother replied: "Plan how to spend money with thirteen children!? I can't plan 'til the children are grown up and married - by that time I'll be too old to plan."

Failure to budget seems to be a pragmatic solution to the perpetual cycle of too many expenses and not enough money to meet needs or pay for essentials.

Education

When a socially disadvantaged child enters school for the first time, he enters into an alien culture, perhaps even onto enemy turf. Schools are primarily oriented to the middle class culture and child; they are taught

and administered by middle class personnel who may not have much empathy for the child of the slum.

The school is prepared to teach children who have already been disciplined to learn and to value learning.

It is prepared for children who have already learned to control many of their impulses and to delay gratification.

It is prepared for children who have been taught to treat property with great care, who have been taught to respect privacy, to act with restraint, and to inhibit physical aggression.

Teachers in many slum schools remain in a perpetual state of fear of the children they somehow hope to teach.

The slum child likewise remains in a state of fear about the school: He fears failure, for he has seen most of his brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors fail at school; he fears rejection; he fears that he will not know what is expected of him, that he will not know how to act, that he will be at the mercy of a teacher whose very words he can barely understand. As is the case of self-fulfilling prophecies, most of these fears come true. Just as the school is not prepared for the child it receives, the child is not prepared for the situation he faces; and both interact in a feverish downward spiral. In 1960 one child out of every three in America's fourteen largest cities was classified as "culturally deprived", as estimated for the Ford Foundation by the Great Cities School Improvement Studies. By 1970 one of every two big-city children is expected to be "culturally deprived". The numbers involved in this downward spiral are growing inexorably.

What are some of the factors which make these children so unprepared for the situation that is unprepared for them?

While certain aspects of slum life provide a general kind of "toughening", and slum children achieve earlier independence from their families, many other aspects are not conducive to normal growth and development of the child. To survive in the noisy conditions of overcrowded homes, many poor children learn to "tune out" the environment, and by so doing decrease the amount of perceptual imput. The child tends to be restricted to his immediate environment where there is a scarcity of objects of all types, but especially of the tools for learning - books, toys, puzzles, etc.; Not only are these objects lacking, but the child is seldom if ever guided in their use, as middle class children are. Martin Deutsch has emphasized the importance of this "stimulus deprivation" as a deterrent to learning in pre-school children.

Many lower class homes do not engage in extensive verbal behavior, and young children from such homes do not develop the kind of auditory discrimination needed to learn to read. Speech sequences are frequently very limited and poorly structured, and many low income children need special training in both listening, and in the organization of expressive language.

Most middle class kindergarten children already have some number concepts, understand differences between big-small, far-near, up-down, and perhaps even color differentiation. There are often new concepts to the culturally deprived pre-schooler.

When this ill-prepared child enters the class, what does he proceed to read? Too frequently it is Dick and Jane, and little blond Sally who go in their new station wagon with their dog Spot and cat Fluff (or perhaps they left Fluff at home) to visit their grandmother in the country. While at the farm, Dick and Jane gather eggs from a nest. In these days when automated hens lay eggs on conveyor belts, and grandmothers live on Social Security payments in retirement villages, it is doubtful that Dick and Jane stories are relevant to <u>any</u> children, let alone the poor, often urban child. As Otto Klineberg says of the content of many primers, "Life is fun in a smiling, fair-skinned world." People in these stories "(all white, mostly blond, and 'North European' in origin) are almost invariably kind and generous." The net effect of these readers is to make clear to the low income child that the world of books and reading has nothing to do with his life as lived, and school rapidly becomes an unreal fantasy with no significant bearing on real life experiences.

Added to the ineffectiveness of the school situation in reaching and adapting programs to the needs of the low income child, is the inherent assumption that children will "endure" and learn in the present classroom in order to achieve the future goal of employability. Many teachers become incensed at the slum child's seeming inability to come to school on time, meet deadlines, bring in homework, or show behavior which evidences a concern for the future.

That low income children drop out of school at earlier ages is widely recognized. What is frequently not understood, is that very early the slum child psychologically withdraws from school and is there only in body; while continuing to attend school, he only goes through the motions of learning. Many of these children tend to fall further and further behind until in utter frustration they drop out.

School discipline problems are extensive among the families served in this program. Some are suspended, some excluded and a considerable number are kept on a one-hour a day schedule.

Many of these problems, encountered by all slum children, are intensified for the Mexican-American child, who frequently enters school with little understanding of English. Not enough teachers of these children understand Spanish. One teacher reported that she knew only one word of Spanish. When asked what that one word was, she replied, "Silencio!"

Unfortunately, education, which has been the traditional route for upward mobility is failing to reach a large number of the children both nationwide and city-wide, and of those served in this particular program. As the McCone Commission found:

> *The average student in disadvantaged areas ranks in the lower 18th to 24th percentile of the national fifth grade test population in reading vocabulary and reading comprehension; that is, roughly 80% of the national fifth grade population achieves better in reading than he does . . .*
>
> *On the basis of these scores, it appears that the average student in the fifth grade in schools in the disadvantaged areas is unable to read and understand his textbook materials, to read and understand a daily newspaper, or to make use of reading and writing for ordinary purposes in his daily life. This degree of illiteracy seriously impairs his ability to profit from further schooling.*[1]

This report indicates that there are large numbers of ten-year old children who are already so severely educationally damaged, that their future employability is dim.

Crime, Delinquency and Employment

Pickering: *Have you no morals, man?*

Doolittle: *Can't afford them, Governor. Neither could you if you was as poor as me.*

G. B. Shaw, *Pygmalion*

That crime and delinquency rates go up as family income decreases has been well established. Currently delinquency rates are most often linked with unemployment rates, and certainly crime is highest for the group most frequently unemployed: Urban Negro youth. In this group crimes against persons - rape, murder and aggravated assault - are highest.

The fact that delinquency rates and unemployment rates correlate highly does not necessarily mean that one is the outgrowth of the other. Both delinquency and unemployment have their roots deep within the economic and social structure of the society as well as in the psychology of the individual.

Methods of dealing with crime and delinquency have gone through various cycles: In the 1930's slum clearance was the preferred method of treatment of criminals; then psychotherapy became popular, currently jobs are seen as the cure. It is almost akin to the puritanical concept of "Satan finding work for idle hands to do."

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[1] *Violence in the City - An End or a Beginning?* A Report by the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, December 2, 1965.

The original assumptions made about those who took part in the Watts riots of 1965 was that they were primarily juveniles, who were unemployed school dropouts. However, according to figures released by Attorney General Thomas C. Lunch, this does not appear to be the case:

76% of those arrested were over age 18.
32% of these adults were high school graduates, and another 12% had post-high school training.

Nearly 80% were employed at jobs which paid less than $400 per month, (29% at jobs paying less than $200 per month).

41% were married; almost 27% were separated, divorced or widowed.

Of all those cases referred to the probation department for a social investigation, 75% had lived in Los Angeles County more than five years; only 6% had lived in the county for less than one year.

What do these figures mean? Certainly, those arrested for participation in the rioting were neither unemployed juveniles or adults, but primarily adults employed at or near the poverty level. The problem seems not to be so much one of unemployment and idleness, but of employment at a high enough achievement level. It is not merely a question of providing any job for the unemployed, but of providing jobs with opportunity beyond a mere subsistance level.

Cloward and Ohlin hypothesize that lack of opportunity to improve material conditions of life through legitimate means will cause some youngsters to seek illegitimate means.[1] One observer has noted that "stealing" is one of the few jobs readily available to youth in the slums. Increased employment is essential, but it is not merely the provision of <u>any</u> job which will reduce crime and delinquency. The jobs provided must be for whole groups and provide enough opportunity for upward mobility in keeping with rising expectations.

"The poor really don't want to work" is a comment frequently heard from some segments of the society. Certainly efforts to replace braceros with the urban unemployed as agricultural workers in the central valley of California has not been successful. Here, as in other areas, the dull routine, backbreaking jobs at low wages are hardly an incentive to accept or retain employment. Many such jobs are not entry level jobs, but dead-end ones in which little or no advancement is possible.

Experience in this and other programs has shown that it is true that "the poor really don't want to work at just <u>any</u> job." Rather than accept a job at a level which does not offer any possibility of upward mobility or chance to share in the comforts enjoyed by the middle class,

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[1]CLOWARD, Richard A. and OHLIN, Lloyd E., *Delinquency and Opportunity*, Glencoe Free Press, 1960.

they will remain unemployed. Too often the opportunities for employment which are presented to the unemployed do not offer any clear path to upward mobility and do not act as an incentive to work.

Training programs within the Labor Department, the poverty program, and in private industry which do offer some possibility for upgrading of skills have met with varying degrees of success. For many of the trainees, stipends are so low that self-support is not possible. Too often these training programs are geared to deal with already motivated workers rather than the broad areas of changing and developing attitudes toward self and work. Many of the young adults seen in this program have so many problems in their entire life situation that employment training cannot proceed without attention to the other problem areas of their lives. Then too, many trainees drop out of programs because of the immediate time orientation among the poor; they take any job which offers higher pay at the moment, even though future advancement is limited. Neither training programs nor other attempts to find employment for residents of poverty areas can be expected to meet with great success unless they can both demonstrate the possibility of increasing upward mobility through training, and until they are geared to deal with the total life situation and values of those whom they are designed to train.

Some success has been reported in various of the "New Careers" programs, where the uneducated poor are apprenticed to professionals as teacher-aides, social work aides, or employment counselor aides, for example. These programs are predicated on the possibility of advancement into the professional level jobs through on-the-job training, continued education and experience. These programs are still too new to determine whether the upgrading of opportunity can actually be delivered or merely promised.

Certainly neither employment programs nor training programs are apt to meet with widespread success until they are geared to deal with the total life situation of the workers, are cognizant of, and structured to deal with, the values of those whom they are designed to serve, and can demonstrate the real possibility of increased opportunity.

Should all these conditions be met and the programs prove to be successful at decreasing unemployment and increasing ceiling levels on employment, there would then be the possibility of demonstrating that the crime rate might be decreased with increased employment. Full employment is the panacea seen by every politician whether he favors or is against welfare benefits. Jobs for the poor, jobs for the Negro, jobs for youth, jobs for residents of depressed areas; jobs for restless housewives - The Protestant work ethic has become the cureall for all social and psychological problems including crime and delinquency. If there is a cause/effect relationship between unemployment and delinquency, the data is not yet available to support the hypothesis.

Childrearing and Family Interaction

Family life among many served in this program bears little resemblance to the ideals of middle class family life. Perhaps more important than the differences found, is the fact that lower class families are aware of and value the greater stability shown in middle class families. They hold similar family ideals and find their own family life lacking.

While nationally about a third of low income families are single parent families, nearly 58% of the families served by this program are headed by a woman. Sometimes there is an employed or intermittently employed father or "man in role of spouse" as head of the household. These families live in overcrowded houses, often classified as "dilapidated or deteriorating." Moments of privacy seldom exist; brothers and sisters, half-brothers and step-sisters are all categorized as the "kids". Seldom is attention paid to the needs of the individual child, nor are his needs viewed as different from those of the other children in the family. Children are seen as needing food, clothing, and a place to sleep. Seldom are psychological or developmental needs considered.

Children operate within their immediate environment, which has a scarcity of all kinds of materials and objects which might prove stimulating. There is little order to those objects which are present, and it is an unusual parent who has time or skill to focus and guide the child's attention to the manipulation of those objects.

Most of the mothers are not basically either rejecting of or hostile towards their babies and young children; frequently they are very warm and loving. Care of babies is not perceived as either a problem, very time consuming, nor are methods of child care open for discussion. In fact, most mothers in this study have difficulty understanding why care of children is so time consuming and debatable an issue among middle class women.

Young children are often not taught, guided, urged, trained or pushed the way middle class children are. Mothers here do not gain ego gratification from the early learnings and accomplishments of their children; lower class children grow, middle class children are trained. Finding age mates for young children to play with is seldom a need or a concern among the large families who live in the very crowded homes and neighborhoods.

As children grow older, however, many lower socio-economic group mothers begin to show confusion, bafflement and even feel impotent about controlling and directing the behvaior of their children. Again, we find much conflict between the values which parents hope to achieve for their children and the actual child rearing behavior. While they hope their children will "get a good education" or "get a good job", they will begin to say of a child almost by the time he enters school, "I did the best I could", or "I hope he won't get into trouble", or "The Lord will have to take care of him now". It is almost as though they feel that the job of child rearing is over when a child enters school.

Many of the children seen here seem to spend their days and nights in an almost entirely unsupervised way by the time they are six or seven. It is seldom that the mother grants them this freedom, but rather that she doesn't know how to limit or structure it. The slum and the peer group, have greater pull and influence on the young child than the mother's demands, hopes, or abilities to control.

Many mothers in these families themselves are dependent and lacking in self-reliance; they cannot long tolerate the dependence of their children, and are frequently relieved when their children demand their independence.

While most parents of very young children express hope and optimism for their children, they appear to lose hope quite rapidly. This loss of parental optimism is an insidious and eroding process of child rearing in the slums. When a seven year old hears his mother say, "He ain't going to amount to nothin' anyway", the chances are fairly good that he won't.

Even in homes where fathers are present, childrearing is viewed as the "woman's job", and fathers seldom participate in decisions regarding the children's care or supervision. Discipline is often severe and physical punishment is the method most often used to control and direct children's behavior. Sometimes the role of the father is limited to dispensing physical punishment.

There is a much more open acceptance of physical aggression on the part of children and efforts are not made to the same degree as in the middle class to control or direct it into other channels. Children - boys in particular - are expected to fight and to learn to defend themselves on the street, in the neighborhood and in the community. Where middle class parents are apt to scold or punish a boy for getting into a fight, lower class parents are much more apt to ask, "Did you win?" It is not surprising that these children who are disciplined physically and are allowed to express their aggressions physically have much more difficulty adjusting to the classroom situation, where most teachers are of middle class backgrounds, and do not use or tolerate physical punishment as a control device.

Middle class parents often feel inadequate about their own child-rearing methods, take courses to learn about child guidance, and are apt to seek consultation from professionals to guide them in their methods of handling problems of child care, discipline and rearing. Lower class parents are much less questioning about their adequacy, knowledge and ability. It is assumed that women know how to care for babies and children without referring to "Dr. Spock" or any other authority. They frequently feel less responsible for the behavior of their children. The children themselves are seen as the source of their own problems and are held accountable. Middle class parents say, "Where did I go wrong?" - lower class parents say, "What's wrong with that kid?" - "He's more trouble than he's worth."

There is inadequate data on sexual behavior at any socio-economic level of the society, and particularly recent data taking into account the so-called "sexual revolution". It is generally assumed that there is more open acceptance of illegitimacy among the lower class. While not infrequently mothers were heard to say of a 14-year-old: "In a year or so when Susie has

a baby," it was found that when she actually did become pregnant, the mother and other adults reacted punitively. While the girls themselves might be outwardly blase about their out-of-wedlock pregnancy, their behavior did not show such casual acceptance of their situation. A condiserable number of the unwed pregnant teenagers in this program attempted to abort themselves by oral remedies. When these methods proved ineffective, as they almost always did, the girls tried to hide their pregnancies from their peer group and adults by wearing coats even in the summer time.

Having an illegitimate baby is referred to as "making a mistake." Obviously if it were entirely accepted or condoned, it would not be viewed as a mistake. However, it is most unusual for women or even very young girls to place their babies for adoption. They speak with great disdain of middle class women who "give their babies away even when they don't know who is getting them."

Adoption agencies rarely place these extra class babies. Most often the babies are kept and incorporated into the larger families where generational cutoffs are not very clear; often the aunt will be younger than the niece when both mother and teenage daughter are alternating having babies.

Many in the middle class ascribe great sexual freedom to those in the lower class; often they do so with the implication that this greater freedom should compensate for the lack of material comforts and status differential. It is not so much a matter of greater or lesser freedom in sexual behavior, but rather of different consequences. Illegitimacy, stemming from the structure of Negro family life during slave days and carrying over into the rural South and ultimately to Northern urban ghettoes has become "accepted", not so much by low income people as by social workers and the larger society. The female-centered families found in low income areas are not so much a matter of choice but of force of circumstances. The problem of many low income girls and women is not whether or not they should become unwed mothers, but whether or not there is even the opportunity to become a wed mother, and if they should marry, whether the man would be able to support them.

The female-centered family, with its concomitant sexual patterns of behavior is more a matter of economics than of morality. Until the economic and social system makes more adequate provisions for men to support the children they beget, the monogamous nuclear family will probably not develop.

Sexual behavior in all classes is used to satisfy motives other than the basic sex drive. Among the poor, it may be used to prove "machismo" (masculinity), to establish an identity, for revenge against parents, peer groups or society in general, as an outlet for hostility, or in the endless quest for love, belonging, and a feeling of "being somebody" which motivates so much of the behavior of young men and women in deprived circumstances.

In spite of an excellent very low fee Family Planning Service in the area, the utilization of the facility has been only moderate. This has been true for a variety of reasons. Among the Mexican-American families,

the religious and cultural values often negate the use of family planning, and must of course be respected. Many Negro families view Family Planning as one more "white man's device for controlling the Negro population", and hence are very resistive to using any contraceptive method.

In general, those birth control methods which require the least in the way of consistent effort are the most effective. Many of those women who verbalize that they want to use birth control methods cannot seem to remember to take the pill on schedule. As one social worker phrased it, "getting these women to take a contraceptive pill every day is like asking them to swallow worms". Either monthly shots or inter-uterine devices seem to be the most effective methods for this population, since these methods reduce the number of times a "decision" must be made.

The use of contraceptive methods cannot, of course, be separated from the psychological needs of the women, which in turn cannot be separated from the economic and social structure of lower class family life.

As long as a baby provides these women with the only safe love relationship of their lives, the only important accomplishment to which they can aspire, and the only stable source of support (through the welfare system), it seems unrealistic to expect these young women to be actively interested in reducing their rates of pregnancy.

In a system which provides little opportunity for girls and women to become wed mothers, or to be supported by their husbands, regardless of availability or access to birth control methods, these women will probably continue to become unwed mothers.

Alienation

The poor are alienated from the mainstream of American life, and they know it. They know that little in their lives is even similar to the lives of those they see on television; they assume, of course, that most other Americans live the kinds of lives shown on the family television serials. The poor speak often of "they". "They" include teachers, policemen, judges, politicians, storekeepers, file clerks, social workers, and the President of the United States - all lumped into one undifferentiated group with few, if any, graduations of power or status. "They" are the "power structure", the group seen in control of "how things are run", the group which makes decisions which effect "us".

Many of the adults are not able to perceive differences in the larger social system: how it functions, who makes decisions, chains of command or complex sequences of cause and effect. For example, if a Bureau of Assistance regulation changes, it is the social worker who is seen as increasing or decreasing the allotment. If the cost of living goes up and the price of hamburger is raised, it is the butcher who is "gouging all he can out of us". If a traffic policeman gives a ticket for an illegal left turn, it is "one of them" picking on "one of us", rather than society's enforcement of the law by an agent of the law. Without an understanding of the larger society or the ability to handle the abstract and symbolic, all events become personalized and concrete. It is almost a kind of paranoid thinking, which stems in part from a lack of comprehension of the system, but also from the inability to find ways of affecting the many forces in that system which batter upon the poor.

Although to the extra class, the structure of society may be incomprehensible, they frequently come into contact with more of the agencies and institutions of that society. There are many families served by this project who are involved with the Bureau of Public Assistance, the Probation Department, a Youth Authority Camp, several in-patient and out-patient medical services, a child guidance center, and an anti-poverty agency. It is difficult for the sophisticated to understand the complex regulations, referrals, restrictions and funding of city, county, state and federal agencies. To the alienated poor mother in search of help for her children, it is incomprehensible. The only message that reaches her after she has wandered from agency to agency without getting help, is that "they" don't care about "us". Many in the poor community assume that they can go to any Office of Economic Opportunity funded agency and get money. If they do not, as they seldom, if ever, can - the statement is often made, "they're pocketing the money".

Ours is a complex society which is not apt to grow simpler as the population increases; to those outside the society, it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a way in through the bureaucratic maze.

Middle class people can tolerate the bureaucratic system; they may be annoyed by it, but basically they know how to get through or around it. In a bureaucracy, efficiency is a goal of the organization - though it is not the goal of the client, and the client often goes without service in the interest of keeping the system fair and efficient. Middle class people accept the hierarchy, lines of authority and differentiation of roles and division of labor in a bureaucracy. To the poor client waiting service, much that goes on looks like "buck passing".

Among the goals of the Family Agent is that of teaching the families served how to get through the system; where to go for specific services; how to be persistent enough to get through; and what can reasonably be expected from whom.

Question	Discussion Topics
If the poor are disillusioned and hostile to society, won't they be hostile to us as Family Agents.	Yes. Reactions of others depends on our own feelings. Expectations from this work. Ability to deal with hostility from others. Ways of reducing hostility.
If the crime rate in the area is so high, is it safe to be on the streets and go into the houses?	Fears and feelings; reasonble precautions.
If children in poor areas have so much trouble getting along in school, shouldn't the schools change their programs. Maybe just have vocational education classes?	Changing methods vs. changing goals. Homogeneous vs. heterogenous groupings in educational systems. Basic educational needs in the society.

If parents in poor neighborhoods often use physical punishment, should the schools also use physical punishment in order to discipline these children?	Effective vs. expedient discipline. Teaching basic values is a responsibility of the schools.
If the homes we visit are very dirty, won't we be exposing ourselves to ... disease when we go into them?	Dirt vs. mess. Attitudes of the middle class towards cleanliness. Reasonable precautions. Methods of helping a family rid a home of vermin and insects, and developing an interest in home maintenance.
Suppose we find children in the families we visit are neglected or abused?	Class differences in childcare; what is actually neglect or abuse. Agencies which deal with this: police, probation, protective services, child welfare and attendance.

CHAPTER VII

SESSION IV

9:30 - 11:00

LECTURE: ORIENTATION TO NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

The Negro in America

The Meaning of Color in the U.S.
The Self Image of the Negro
The Myth of Negro Sexuality
Results of Slavery: The Negro Family
Unemployment and the Negro Man
New Trends in Civil Rights
Black Power

11:00 - 11:30

Questions and Discussion

11:30 - 12:30

LECTURE: THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE AMERICAN CULTURE

Marginality; Immigration
Humanism vs. Materialistic Cultures
Orientation to Time
Family Traditions
A Conflict in Identity
Education and Achievement
Recent Trends in Political Organization

12:30 - 1:30

Group Discussion

The Negro in America

In order to understand some of the differences encountered in Negro families, it is first necessary to clarify what lies behind the whole Civil Rights Movement, behind the Watts riots. Basic to the whole area of race relations in this country, and stated very bluntly: it is better at this time, in this country, to be white than to be black. Some of the implications of this fact are often lost, even by those people who work quite closely with the situation. The poor Negro, the unemployed man in the street, the Mother who is a welfare recipient, is well aware of this. Most Negroes carry a great psychological burden due to the fact that blackness is not as much to be desired as whiteness. Some Negroes are able to cope fairly well, but they are usually middle class people who have substantial areas in which they can compensate. Most have a damaged self-image, and live with anger and hostility towards this system.

Experiments show that even very young Negro children understand this at an early age. Little Negro girls would rather play with white dolls than with black dolls, and in fact, they identify more frequently with white dolls. Experiments show that when asked "Which doll are you most like?", very small Negro children will pick the white doll rather than the black one. There is a joke that expresses this very well; a Negro girl looks in the mirror and says, "Mirror, mirror, on the wall, who is the fairest one of all?" and the mirror answers "Snow White". Negroes, even Negro children know about this. The various hair straightening processes and skin bleaching creams indicate that Negroes are trying to conform to the standard of beauty in this country, and that standard is the white standard. That is why the wig business is rapidly expanding: anyone with the price of a wig can buy one with straight hair. The advertisements for hair straightening, wigs, bleaching creams are saying, "We can make you whiter." Clearly, all this expresses a great deal of self-rejection. Recent developments in the Black Nationalist and other Negro groups have attempted to counteract this negative self-image by emphasizing standards of Negro beauty. Within these groups, there are growing numbers of girls and women who allow their hair to go unstraightened. This positive emphasis is shown too by the growing tendency within the Negro community to refer to "black", rather than "Negro".

Probably the most debilitating aspect of this rejection of blackness arises because the children in any given family will frequently vary in color. In many families the lighter colored children are favored over the darker ones. Families recognize that there is increased opportunity for the light skinned Negro child, and those with the lighter skin are given greater encouragement. Parents frequently have higher aspirations for both the light-skinned boy and girl in the family; they make these aspirations known, so that even within the family, children come to know that some are more equal than others.

It has been found that light-skinned Negroes actually do achieve greater status in the community:[1]

Education:

53% of light women compared to 29% of dark women have some college.
64% of light men compared to 37% of dark men men have some college.

Employment:

54% of light men compared to 39% of dark men have white-collar jobs.

Just as Negroes have feelings about color among themselves, whites have feelings, both about being white, and feelings and attitudes towards Negroes. One of the most persistent myths in this country about Negroes is the "Myth of Negro Sexuality". It is the one that is least understood but which dies hardest in most white people. When shown evidence, most whites will give up the myth that "Negroes are basically stupid" much more readily that they can be dissuaded from the myth that "Negroes are over-sexed". Many people really believe this on both a conscious and unconscious level. Some people who work with Negroes also believe it. Biologically, of course, differences between the races have never been demonstrated. Many people think that perhaps there is a greater lack of inhibition amongst Negroes because of their environment and cultural patterns. While there may be an over-reaction in some cases, it usually represents an unsuccessful effort to compensate for real doubts, amongst men especially, about their sexuality. There is no real support for this myth, but in order to understand it, we need to know its origins.

This myth is related to what happens in every horror movie. It does not matter if the monster is a human monster like Frankenstein, or an animal monster like a huge reptile. In every such movie, three things happen. First of all, the monster has designs on women; these designs are violent and they are sexual. If it seems unlikely that a dinosaur has designs on women, it is not. These designs usually get expressed at some part in the film when the dinosaur's head crashes through the window and inside the window is a woman; never a woman who is dressed and ready to go to work, but always a woman who is in a nightgown or just taking off her clothes. The second thing that always happens is that there is some destructive and violent relationship with authority; occasionally the monster only hurts people, but usually he

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[1]FREEMAN, Howard, ROSS, Michael, ARMOR, David and PETTIGREW, Thomas, *American Sociological Review*, June 1966.

kills them. Frequently the people killed are representatives of middle class society, quite often policemen or authority figures of some kind. The third thing that happens is that the monster smashes things up. If he is a big monster, he crushes cars and topples buildings; a little monster may smash up a laboratory or start a fire. The best understanding we have of this is that the monster is a sort of Id figure. He expresses those unchanneled forces toward sex, aggression and hostility that reside in the Id. Whether or not they are conscious of it, people go to horror movies because they project themselves into this Id figure. The monster is the hero of 95% of the movie, and in the last reel, the last thing happens: a super-ego figure appears in the form of the hero and kills off the monster. It is, of course, the monster that people identify with, for he acts out those drives in themselves of which they disapprove but cannot express. People leave the horror movie reassured of their own self control because the super-ego figure has regained control of the situation in the film.

To many people in this country the Negro represents a kind of Id figure: he is the focal object on whom large numbers of people project the things they won't accept in themselves - things of which they may or may not be conscious - but which they can't face in themselves, so they say in effect: "I am not like that, but Negroes are".

This subject is discussed by Griffin in Black Like Me.[1] The author, a Caucasian, took chemicals and sat under a sun lamp until his skin darkened; he describes the conversations he had with the white people who picked him up while he was hitch-hiking. Most had elaborate fantasies about Negro sex life about which they asked him. Not being a Negro to start with, this struck him as very strange, but it is a phenomena many Negroes are well aware of.

When a white person appears in the ghetto, chances are he will be either "the Man" - a bill collector, someone in authority, a policeman or probation officer - or he will be someone who is there to let the Id run loose. Whole areas of Negro ghettoes are devoted to prostitution, for there are many whites who feel that a Negro area is the place where Id urges can best be gratified.[2] To compare this myth with reality it is necessary to discuss briefly the history of the Negro in America and its effect on both Negro men and women.

In the beginning, when Africans were imported as slaves, plantation owners lived in terror of slave revolts. There were quite a number of slave revolts; many of them were very violent. When there was such a revolt, everyone was killed - men, women, children, and everything within reach was destroyed.

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[1] GRIFFITH, John Howard, *Black Like Me*, Signet Press, New York, 1960.

[2] In a recent speech James Farmer explained, *We're really only asking for integration in the daytime; we've had integration at night for the last 300 years.*

The slaves then were themselves wiped out. To try to avoid this, the Southern slave owners made every effort to separate slaves from others from their own tribal areas. The theory, which proved to be reasonably effective, was that if the slaves could not talk with each other, they could not easily organize, for an Ashanti speaks to a Yorba about as easily as Americans speak to the Russians. These different tribes had entirely different languages, different cultural traditions, different political and religious institutions, different family traditions. Because of this deliberate destruction of the Negro tribal cultures, there are many who argue that the Negro is the only true American. With the destruction of his cultural heritage, he became an entirely American product.

Nor only were slaves separated so that they could not communicate, but slave owners also deliberately set out to destroy the family. There were people who ran slave breeding farms; they didn't work slaves, but simply bred slaves to sell them to people who did use slaves. Even those who ran a regular plantation viewed the breeding of slaves exactly as people who raise cattle today do. Every breeder wants the best stock he can get - and therefore, encourages the best male specimen to procreate as much as possible. If there are other males around, they should be eliminated. When a bull gets too old, he is culled. This was done on the slave breeding plantations - thus, whatever family stability there was among plantation Negroes had to do with women. The family that was allowed to exist was comprised only of women and their children.

In the period of reconstruction, this pattern was largely continued. Southerners were still afraid of the Negro male. There was a great demand for women to work in domestic service, but little for the men who had been freed. Some were given jobs, in some cases really terrible jobs - and as soon as it was at all convenient, they would be fired. The men drifted around the countryside looking for work - trying to support themselves, and in a great many cases, were supported by the women who were working in the white man's homes. These were the men who had been encouraged to be promiscuous as slaves. Many people say and feel, "given emancipation, why didn't the Negro start to lead a normal family life?". It is obvious that there was no tradition or background on which to build a family life, and little developed in the social structure after the Civil War to encourage a monogamous, nuclear family life.

The pattern today still has much in common with the past. An unskilled and uneducated black in Los Angeles will be more appreciated, won't scare whites as much, if that black person is a woman. There is still more demand for women in many kinds of domestic services. Further, if welfare money is coming in to a family, in many cases, it will come via the woman. Unemployment compensation is an exception - but many of the other welfare benefits are channeled through the woman, a system which serves to continue the pattern of the female-centered family.

A Negro woman is frequently emotionally strong - she supports and looks after the children; she is the source of family stability. But the man, with the whole tradition to follow, is often a floater. He has trouble finding work and very often can't support the family. He is also the one the white society fears, mistrusts, and rejects.

The consequences of three centuries of discrimination and exploitation of the Negro, together with current economic opportunity and welfare patterns, have grave consequences to the present-day Negro family. Some of these consequences are pointed out in *The Negro Family in America:*[1]

> The unemployment rate for Negro males is double that for whites.
>
> During 1964, 29% of Negro males were unemployed at one time or another.
>
> Nearly one fourth of urban Negro women, who have ever married, are living apart from their husbands.
>
> Nearly one fourth of Negro births are illegitimate.
>
> Nearly one fourth of non-white families are headed by a woman.
>
> 14% of Negro children are receiving A.F.D.C. assistance (compared to 2% for whites).
>
> 56% of Negro children at some time in their lives receive A.F.D.C. aid (compared to 8% for whites).
>
> One third of non-white children live in broken homes.

As Moynihan states, through this tangle of pathology,

> *The Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of the American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole, and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male, and in consequence, on a great many Negro women as well.*[2]

What do these statistics mean in the lives and the feelings of the people involved? What has this pattern done to the self-image of the

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[1] *The Negro Family, The Case for National Action:* Office of Policy Planning and Research, U. S. Department of Labor, March 1965.

[2] *Ibid.*, p.29

Negro man, the Negro woman and to Negro children? The Negro male in this country is the man of all men who knows that masculinity is not defined sexually. White men generally aren't aware of this - but lower class Negro men really know! They know that there is a power dimension to masculinity that is as important or even more important than the sexual dimension. If a woman is running the home and family and the man is out of work, his ego is going to suffer. He can try to compensate for it sexually, but probably will not be successful. Negro men are very angry about this. When people are put in a situation which belittles them, even though they may be able to explain it in terms of outside causes, there is a frequent tendency for them to blame themselves. The lower class Negro man has a real feeling of weakness and inadequacy. When he feels weak, unnecessary, and unrespected - it becomes intolerable and he is likely to run. For one thing, he has no tradition to suggest he should remain. Negro songs describe this pattern very well. One very old song, "Won't You Come Home, Bill Bailey", says, "she threw him out with nothing but a fine tooth comb". Where in a white middle class neighborhood would a woman throw out a man with no possessions? He may leave, but if he does, he leaves with the income and title to half or all of the community property.

A Negro man is going to react to this situation where he feels weak and he perceives women as strong in a number of ways. One way is by feeling anger and hatred towards the woman, as shown in another old song, "I worked so hard for my woman and she treated me like a slave. She must be tired of living, so I'll put her 6 feet in her grave". And when the man talks about working hard for a woman, very often what is meant is that he has tried; he's tried to get a job; he's tried to work; - but he also recalls all the disappointments - all the jobs lost - the times he was not hired - and of the constant instability of his whole way of life. Some Negro men become cynical, as shown in one of the recent songs on the Rhythm and Blues Hit Parade. It's called:

> *First I Look At the Purse; Some fellows look at the eyes and some fellows look at the nose, and some fellows look at the size, and some fellows look at the clothes, but I don't care if the eyes are red, and I don't care if the nose is long, and I don't care if she's underfed, and I don't care if the clothes are wrong - cause first I look at the purse. If the purse is fat - that is that!*

There are many indications in these songs of the rage, the anger, as well as the cynicism and acceptance of defeat that many Negro men feel and sometimes express.

How do Negro women feel about this weak kind of match? The first area in which they express their feelings is in the way they treat their children. Frequently, they treat little girls as people who are going to grow up and be responsible and earn a living - and they treat little boys as cute and charming and essentially unreliable and very likely to turn out to be worthless like their fathers, or some other "sorry man."

It is, in many ways, a reversal of the typical American pattern. The expectation is that it is the girl who is going to achieve, to get somewhere. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy as reflected in the fact that more Negro women than Negro men graduate from both high school and college - while the reverse is true for the white population. The Negro woman, who frequently has more education, is going to be angry with her man for his low status, his lack of achievement. At some point in their relationship, she will probably say some very hostile things to him - perhaps paraphrase the words of the song, "Get Out Of Here and Make Me Some Money." Given the social structure, his lack of skills and the demands of the job market, this is the one thing that is most difficult, if not impossible, for him to do. While the Negro woman is frequently angry and hostile toward her men and boys, she will probably also worry about them and wish there were some way to make them strong.

The outcome of this depends upon what the woman's experiences have been - but they are frequently negative where men and boys are concerned. At some point in her teen years, probably by the time she was twelve or thirteen, the lower economic Negro girl (and boy) will become active with the same sex peer group. Sometimes these are gangs, but more frequently they are loosely defined peer groups whose functions for both boys and girls are to set the mode of behavior, provide activity and excitement, and to bolster the self image. The young men, in their groups, spend much time trying to enhance their image among their peers and establish that they are significant as individuals. They play a game, frequently called "Signifying". The object of the game is to involve as many women sexually as possible, while at the same time making as little investment or commitment as possible. The game is not only intrinsically rewarding, but adds status when conquests (real or imagined) are reported to other males in the peer group. The girls accept this definition of the heterosexual relationship, and presume that any male with whom they have contact will try to seduce them. The girls do not usually have moral considerations regarding these relationships, but are frequently concerned about expediency, or "getting into trouble - or making a mistake". On the other hand, the girl establishes her status and attractiveness by "going with" the more desired boys in the group. The object for the young man is to "signify" with as many different girls as possible; the object for the young woman is to limit the sexual involvement to those young men to whom she is attracted, to those occasions when she can no longer resist the boy's "rapping" or to yield only under the duress of threats of physical violence, which are not infrequent.

Many of the women will be very ambivalent toward the men with whom they have had sexual experience. Sometimes there will only be one man, but more typically, the lower economic Negro woman will have had a considerable number of such relationships, and the pattern of these relationships are consistent with the history of the Negro family in America. Her experiences may be something like this: Her mother told

her that men were sorry and worthless, were certainly not to be trusted, would probably leave her, as her father had done. She had early sexual experience with one or a number of young men, and then became pregnant. She did not want to marry the father for one or more reasons: because she was too young and had not yet had enough fun - because her mother would care for the baby - because the father could not support her - and further, because she did not love him. She may have had a second pre-marital pregnancy. If then, the peer group relationship was no longer as supporting or as rewarding, she may have decided to marry the father of her baby. After marriage, the father may have stayed for a few years, but when he could not find a job for an extended period, she decided not to cook or wait on a man who was not bringing home money, and given sufficient encouragement, the husband left. Then she had a second husband. He was fine when he had a job, but as soon as he lost the job, he started drinking heavily and tried to bolster his ego by beating her up - so she threw out the second husband. Then there is her son, who was cute as a little boy, but now he's turning out just like the others - hanging around the corner with the boys and so on. The whole pattern begins again and probably won't change in this generation. If we can create a situation, somehow, where men are trained and employed and can feel differently about themselves and can gain in status in their own and their family's eyes, it may begin to change. Young children today are learning, but what they're learning in many Negro families, is that men are weak and women are strong.

There are also the complex dynamics of how many Negro women feel about their daughters. Many Negro women do not like the role they find themselves in, and are ambivalent in their feelings towards themselves and their daughters. They may project their feelings onto their daughters who in turn become emasculating wives with many very negative attitudes towards both men and themselves. In this process, many mothers create some very unhappy experiences for their daughters. The mother may actually deliberately put the daughter in a situation where a man is going to betray her. There are numerous case histories where mothers have created a situation in which their daughters were almost certain to get into trouble. For example, they leave the daughter in an inviting situation with a young man over and over again, and then when the daughter finally gets pregnant, the mother gets very angry and punitive. There is a connection between this and what we know about the lower class Negro families. The destructiveness of this dynamic gets worked out, not only on the sons, but on the daughters as well, and there develops another generation who have a set of ambivalent feelings which make a stable marriage extremely difficult to achieve.

From this complex history, from these economic, social and psychological problems has grown the "Myth of Negro Sexuality". It is a myth which motivates the behavior of all Americans - Negro man, Negro woman; white man and white woman. The Negro man knows that to become a man among men, more is involved than the sex act; that as a man he is frequently inadequate, lacks the status, achievement and power that is the mark of full manhood in this society. The Negro woman too, is aware of these inadequacies in her man and feels towards him a mixture

of love and contempt - protectiveness and rejection. Towards the white society she feels both anger and envy.

But in any social system, all roles are reciprocal, and what has been wrought upon the Negro man and woman in this country, both affects and is affected by the white man and white woman. The white woman is frequently caught in the fantasies as well as the fears of the "Myth of Negro Sexuality". She both fears and is titilated by what she perceives as the Negro man's heightened sexuality. The white man, who himself has frequent fears about his own sexual adequacy, is also threatened by this myth, and mobilizes all the forces he can to defend his own self-concept and to protect his image with the white woman from the threat of the "super-sexual Negro man". All in our society are caught in the tangled web of the fears and fantasies of this complicated myth. Until some of these irrationalities are brought into consciousness, identified, verbalized, understood, examined, and dealt with, it is unlikely that the majority of society will feel secure enough to allow the Negro enough "life space" to begin to develop his potential.

The whole society is, of course, paying an increasing cost for the inequities which have been the history of the Negro in America. This generation is bearing the toll of several hundred years of segregation and subjugation. The toll is born not only in the fact that the central city of every major urban area is unsafe and in constant danger of exploding - but also, in an undetermined amount, of human potential lost when the creative input of ten percent of the population is strangled.

The Negro family and Negroes as a group cannot be viewed any longer without reference to recent trends in the Negro Revolution, which is probably the most important domestic issue of the day. This revolution has gone through at least three stages, and has now entered a fourth, which is probably the most crucial:

A. Mass organization into well disciplined groups, such as The Urban League, NAACP, CORE, SNCC, to pressure for legal and social changes.

B. The committment of the Federal Government to a national policy of creation and enforcement of laws designed to insure equality.

C. A national election (1964) which supported this commitment.

The gains made through these three phases include Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, Manpower Development and Training Act, The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, two Civil Rights and voting rights acts as well as legal decisions in the area of school desegregation. The effects of these legislative and legal decisions have been to insure liberty to the Negro American.

The fourth phase of the Civil Rights Movement which has now been entered involves the issue of how to convert legislative liberty into actual liberty and how to convert equality of opportunity into an actual equality.

It is on the methods involved in enforcing and effecting these changes that there has been a split within the Civil Rights Movement. Basically there are only two methods by which these changes can be effected:

> Individual Mobility, where individual Negroes are absorbed on equal terms through education and training, and by
>
> Changes in the Economic and Social Structure which would redistribute income and power, which would enable masses of Negroes to achieve greater equality.

The expectation in many segments of the Negro community is no longer for equal opportunity, but rather for equal achievement. The Black Nationalists, CORE and SNCC see the greatest hope in achieving this end in the organization of black people into political and economic power blocks which would press for changes in the social structure of the society. Along with this, they stress racial dignity, pride in blackness, self-directed programs and an increase in self-identity through both consciousness-of-kind and the development of feelings of status and power within the black community. The demand is clearly that the white man leave the leadership of the Negro community to the black man. It is not an integrational movement.

Others within the Civil Rights Movement see this "black power" movement as a losing strategy. "White back-lash" has become the phrase, and even the political reality, which describes objections to the black power movements.

These changes are important to recognize for those working within Negro communities, particularly those who are white. With the development of strong feelings of "black consciousness", there is increased expression of anger, resentment and rejection of whites in these communities. Undoubtedly the feelings have long been there, and are only now finding expression. The fact that they are being expressed indicates great emotional growth within the Negro community. One launches an overt attack only from a position of some power; and indeed there has been a very real increase in the sense of power which will eventually be reflected in many aspects of Negro economic and family life.

Questions	Discussion Topics
Many Negroes have gotten education and economic security, why have so many failed?	Slavery, House vs. Field Negroes; rural-urban differences; family patterns; color discrimination.
How will Negro families react to us as white women?	Our own feelings: prejudice, guilt. Role of the Family Agent; ways of developing trust. The White woman in the South.
If Negro women are already so strong, wouldn't these families be better off with men as Family Agents?	Yes, but . . . labor market; Families served are most damaged; importance of new role models in cultural diffusion.
Will Negro families be able to identify with white Family Agents?	Ways of opening up communication; this is an experiment in two-way diffusion; a white problem as well as a Negro problem.
Who do Negroes riot and Mexican-Americans don't?	Importance of male in developing respect for authority; sub-cultural differences in response to frustration - inter-punitive vs. extra-punitive responses.

The Mexican-American in American Culture

There are nearly 4 1/2 million people of Mexican origin living in the Southwest. They were indeed the first "immigrant" group in the area and have been living here for three hundred and seventy years, having settled first north of Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1598. Many Mexican-Americans still speak Spanish in the home, and have remained unculturated to varying degrees. Many factors must be probed in order to understand why the Mexican-American, of all ethnic groups, has shown such an unusual cultural tenacity, and has remained largely isolated from and immune to the "melting pot" tradition which has engulfed most other groups coming to this country at much later dates.

Why after hundreds of years this has remained a group of hyphenated Americans has many complex causes; but marginaltiy, both physical and cultural is of great importance. Mexican-Americans live primarily in the Southwestern states where access to Mexico is both easy and frequent. Trips back to Mexico and the continuation of relationships with people who have never left the old country are possible, whereas the many Poles, Germans, Italians,etc. who migrated to the United States were forced to sever connections with the homeland because of the expense and distance of trips to the homeland.

Then too, whatever acculturation begins to develop is aborted by the continued immigration of Mexicans which provides the reservoir of cheap labor for the Southwest agricultural industry. Tens of thousands of "wetbacks" or "alambros" crossed into this country during the 1940's and 50's, without benefit of the law, and without its protection or responsibility. This group has been willing to do debilitating "stoop" labor at very low wages, making it most difficult for farm workers in border areas and those in the Central Valley of California to hold out on demands for upgrading of wages or working conditions.

The "wetback" migration stopped around 1960, but was replaced by an increase in the "bracero" program. The frequent trips back to Mexico and the immigration of both "wetbacks" and "braceros" has delayed the Americanization of the American of Mexican descent, because he has never quite severed the ties with the home country and also because he is constantly being joined by more recently arrived Spanish-speaking people who serve to reinforce and revive traditional cultural patterns. Between 1950 and 1960 there was an 88% increase of Spanish-Surname population in California (1960 Census Data). Generally speaking, the majority of these new immigrants are either from rural areas, with little or no formal education or from other lower socio-economic groups. When they arrive, they face the problems of discrimination, segregation, and a difficult labor market at less than minimum wages.

In addition to marginality because of proximity to Mexico there is the cultural marginality most immigrants face when they must resolve two different styles of life. Most Mexican-Americans migrating to the Southwest have come from the folk culture of an agricultural society -- a culture in which time is measured by the seasons of the year, not by the hands of a clock. Even when measured by a clock, time moves at a slower pace - in Spanish, clocks walk, they do not run. Theirs is a tradition-oriented society, where behavior which is effective for the parents tends to be effective for the children, where parents, not peer-groups, set the behavioral standards. Effective functioning in an agricultural society does not necessarily depend on education of a formal nature.

In the urban American culture, responsibility is to the system of organizations, civic groups, and institutions. The Mexican folk culture is far more humanistic; loyalties are to individuals, families and friends. Interpersonal relationships are of prime importance and supercede the duties of a job, the pressures of time. The Mexican, even when he becomes a Mexican-American, will be late or absent from work in order to fulfill a family responsibility or do a personal favor for a friend. It is very difficult for Americans, whose focus is on "getting the job done", and on "running a tight ship", to understand that the Mexican-American's prime responsibility is to people, not to a job.

The American culture is based on the future: children go to school and learn, not primarily because they enjoy learning, but in order to get a good job in the future. Americans get physical checkups, not because they are sick, but to prevent illness in the future. They refrain from spending money now, so that they may enjoy the gains of accumulated money in the future. They take jobs, which may be dull or difficult now, but which "have a future." The culture of the Mexican is based on the present: staying away from work to tend to a family problem is a present responsibility; worrying over losing the job as a consequence of this behavior is only for someone with a future-time-orientation. The concepts of planning and budgeting are meaningful only to those who project into the future; enjoying the moment and the money of the moment, is for the man with the present-time-orientation.

Because the Mexican culture focuses on the individual, it frequently comes in sharp conflict with the American culture, which focuses on organizations and groups, not individuals. For an organization to function it is frequently necessary for individual needs and wishes to be submerged to the needs of the group. This concession to group needs is seen by the Mexican-American as stifling of the individual. Americans feel a group or organization should be "fair", which means it must be objective and impersonal to individuals; the rules apply to everyone. Objectivity and impersonality are not humanistic values; to the Mexican-American uniform rules are seen as evidence of how cold and calculating Anglos are. The American culture

is based on organization: of groups, of time and of lives. "Teamwork" and "cooperation" are virtues when the focus is on the group; to the Mexican, "teamwork" frequently means surrendering his individuality.

Americans, with their future-oriented culture, place great emphasis on children "who are the future of America." Husbands and wives join on fairly equal basis to create a home geared to provide the proper environment in which to raise children. In Mexico, the man is head of the household, and is the dominant figure who makes the decisions for the family. Children are raised to look after their parents and take increasing responsibility for them. The family takes first priority, and responsibility is to the family as a unit. Independence and competition are not stressed within the Mexican family or community. American parents "sacrifice" for their children; in Mexico, children are raised to make sacrifices for their parents.

The traditional role for the Mexican father is a strong and dominant one. In the family and in the community this role is expressed in its ultimate state by "machismo", the cult of masculinity. This belief in male superiority is sometimes expressed through sexual exploits, sometimes by displaying a lack of fear or by acts of great heroism. When the Mexican man finds himself in the United States, where work for the unskilled and uneducated is very hard to find, and where the status of a man in his family and the community is judged by his status vis a vis his peers, which is largely determined by his economic achievement, his own self concept may begin to change.

The Mexican-American family is frequently a family in transition. As the father begins to have doubts about his own status within the family, and the children begin to accept many "Anglo" values and begin to be peer-group oriented, traditional family patterns become conflicted. In some families the patriarchal tradition is so strong that it seems to sustain father, mother and children. In others, as the father sees himself declining in status and power in his own and his family's eyes, he may begin to over-react and make desperate attempts to assert his masculinity and authority over his wife and children. Other men may begin to defend their "masculinity" by drinking, or chasing around with other women. Still others, like many Negro males, and indeed males of any ethnic background who find themselves confronted by the economic realities of unemployment, may abandon their families rather than live up to the new role imposed by their loss of status. Whatever course this loss of status causes the individual Mexican-American male to take, it is apt to cause many conflicts within the family group. There is a frequent restructuring of the roles of husband, wife and children; many may find themselves in a situation demanding role behavior which they are neither competent nor desirous of assuming.

There is a wide range of family adjustment patterns within the Mexican-American community; in many the strong family traditions brought from Mexico seem to sustain the family, but those are not the ones seen in this program. Because of the nature of this program, the Mexican-American families seen here show various kinds of distress, disorganization

and conflict. Many are families without a father. Others, still headed by fathers, show great conflict when girls, particularly the teen-age girls, begin to press for the more equal status accorded to Anglo women. Within most Mexican-American families far more freedom will be allowed teen-age boys than girls; in some of these families conflict between children and parents and conflict between the siblings themselves can be intense.

Since many Mexican-Americans, even those who have been in the United States for several generations, still speak some Spanish at home, there is also what is frequently referred to as the "bilingual problem" or the "language handicap." For some reason, Americans accord high status to those who have English as the first and basic language and then learn another language, but they treat with considerable disdain those who have learned another language first and speak English with an accent.

That many Mexican-Americans feel a stigma associated with being initially Spanish-speaking is illustrated by an incident related in an unpublished paper[1] by George I. Sanchez:

> *. . . in one of the Austin schools. They were of Mexican descent as is my wife. They asked, 'Mrs. Sanchez, are you white or are you Mexican?' She drew them out a bit and finally asked, 'How can you tell when one is white and when one is Mexican?' 'Well, you see,' they chirped, 'if you speak one language you are white; if you speak two languages you are Mexican.' This was said by these little girls not with pride for their bi-lingualism, nor with pride for their status in this society. . . . Their queries and their implied connotations as regards the bi-lingualism . . . are sad commentaries on our treatment of a highly valuable natural resource.*

While there may be many kinds of situations which make it more difficult for some than others to learn a new language, there is often little motivation among Mexican-Americans to learn English. Inspite of the occupational limits thus imposed and the consequent lack of access to services within the larger community, many do not learn English because they view their presence in this country as a temporary expediency. They are here for reasons of economic survival only, and they hope and intend to return to Mexico. In some families, it is the husband who wants to remain in this country, and the wife who is eager to return to a culture she understands and which accepts her;

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[1]SANCHEZ, George I., *Spanish in the Southwest.*

her unwillingness to learn English is one way of expressing her resistance to remaining in the country.

As a result, many children born in the United States speak Spanish at home, but they cannot read or write Spanish; they learn English at school but have difficulties with it. What should be an educational advantage, bi-lingualism, is viewed by society as a handicap and stigmatized. In school, children are not encouraged to use the language, and Spanish is treated as a "problem" to be overcome as rapidly as possible.

Mexican-Americans, as a group, showed the lowest educational achievement of any ethnic group. In 1960 adult Mexican-Americans had an average of 7.1 years of schooling, against 12.1 for other Caucasians and 9.0 for non-whites. These differences are, however, disappearing with younger Mexican-Americans ages 14-24 showing a higher educational achievement -- 9.2 years.[1]

Despite this improvement, there is still a much higher dropout rate for Mexican-American youth than for other high school students. To some extent the "language handicap" has been used to explain the fact that the public schools have not reached the Mexican-American child. While language is a part of the problem, it seems that the schools have failed to find creative ways to organize, administer and teach a curriculum to a bi-lingual and bi-cultural child.

The Mexican-American is identifiable not only by a Spanish-surname and a possible accent, but sometimes by his skin tone and facial characteristics. There is a great range in the appearance of Mexican-Americans: some are blond with fair skin, some have dark hair and fair skin, some have both dark hair and dark skin; some have the facial characteristics of the Spanish, some of Indians. While color does not seem to be as much an issue among Mexican-Americans as it is in some parts of Latin America or among American Negroes, there are some parallels. While it is better to be light than to be dark, it is not an overwhelming preoccupation within this group. That it is of some importance, however, is indicated by the fact that Mexican-Americans become irate when anyone uses the trichotomy of Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Whites. The Mexican-American is a Caucasian, and wants this fact recognized. It is both more acceptable and more accurate to speak of Negroes, Mexican-Americans and Anglos.

An ambivalence and lack of clarity about identity is shown in "in-group" discussions as to whether they should refer to themselves as "Mexicans", "Mexican-Americans", "Spanish Surname", "Americans of Mexican Descent", or why not just "Americans?" While feelings of self rejection are not usually as strong as among Negroes, some of these

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[1]Progress Report No.7, Mexican-American Study Project, University of California.

feelings do exist in response to the discrimination and rejection felt. For a long time, those Mexican-Americans who became educated and successful business or professional people would begin to speak of themselves as being of "Spanish" descent rather than as Mexican-Americans. In recent years this has been changing, and educated Mexican-Americans are returning to the "barrios" to become political and community leaders and are attempting to develop community feelings of pride in the vast cultural heritage of the group.

While it is true that there are many factors in the Mexican-American culture that serve to dampen enthusiasm for an education, for the youth to stay in schools and that the schools have not succeeded in challenging this group of students, the lack of educational achievement is in part related to the general aspiration level prevalent in many barrios. The Mexican-American youth, like most Negro youth, looks around and sees the majority of the members of his group living in the poorest section of town, uneducated and often unemployed. What he sees when he looks at his people makes him ashamed; what he sees when he looks towards his own future makes him feel futile. With few successful role models with which to identify, many students come to accept a limited educational and occupational future. One such student in this study had an I.Q. of 168 and was achieving at an A and B level in academic honors courses at high school. When she reached her sixteenth birthday, she dropped out of school to take a course for beauticians. It was a decision she reached and one which was supported by her mother because they had never known anyone from their group who had attended college. The internalized attitudes of inferiority, futility and frustration felt by this girl and her family did not allow them to aspire towards any higher goal.

In recent years the thrust of the Civil Rights Movement has done much to relieve, for many Negroes, feeling of impotence, and to allow their deeply felt anger and hostility to be expressed. The Mexican-American, who has not taken part in this type of organization, is still largely intra-punitive, and in unable to express the anger he feels. This internalized anger further serves to immobilize him and makes it more difficult for him to partake of such opportunities which do exist. He is caught in a downward spiral: offered less than enough to develop an adequate sense of worth as a person, he feels so unworthy that he cannot mobilize enough strength, dignity or hope to "pull himself up by his own bootstraps."

Many Mexican-Americans feel considerable resentment that they have not been as successful at organizing politically as the Negro has been. Consistent with their intra-punitive attitude, they are more angry with themselves for not succeeding than at the Negro for being more successful. The reasons for this lack of organization are multiple and include such factors as the integration and draining off of leadership into the larger society, the emphasis on the individual, and a distrust of politics and organization. The Mexican tradition is perhaps the one least apt to produce the "organization

man." The demands of and subservience to organization are antithetical to the pride, the individuality, the masculinity, the "machismo" of the Mexican-American male. Similarly, the role of the Mexican woman is not conducive to participation in the many community activities which Anglo women organize. Then too, while most Americans are suspicious of the "deals" which they assume go on in the whole political arena, the Mexican in Mexico, knows with certainty and considerable veracity that politics is dirty business. He is more than distrustful; he is cynical. Because he does not place value on objectivity and impersonality, the Mexican-American expects personal favors to be granted politically, and given the order of things in this country and his life experiences, he does not expect to be in line for the favors. So why organize?

In spite of this there has been an increasing effort to organize Mexican-American groups in recent years, though nothing of the size and scope of Negro Civil Rights Groups. Such organizations as the G.I. Forum, the Council of Mexican-American Affairs, the Mexican-American Political Association, and many others have begun to develop some impetus, in part from the anti-poverty program. The unskilled, uneducated Negro and Mexican-American are frequently competing for the same jobs and the same funds, and without organization it is becoming increasingly evident that many Mexican-Americans will not be able to hold even the insecure ground which they now hold.

In part, the Mexican-American man is handicapped by the fact that the larger society fears the Negro man, but does not fear him, and is more apt to respond to organized pressure from Negro organizations. In recognition of the increasing response to Negro organization and in an effort to maintain an already precarious economic situation, there is an increasingly activist group of young leaders developing in the Mexican-American community. Led by these activists, a walkout of 50 Mexican-American delegates from a federal Equal Opportunity Commission conference in Albuquerque in March 1966 has been hailed as "the opening day for a political revolt in the Mexican-American community." The walkout, the first coordinated protest of Mexican-Americans, prompted President Johnson to promise his attention to the problems of discrimination, in jobs, housing and education. This, combined with the attention, support and considerable success of Cesar Chavez's National Farm Workers strike of grape workers in Delano, California, has helped focus attention in Washington on the problems of this sizable minority of the whole Southwest.

This beginning of organization is spurred also by the report of the U. S. Department of Commerce indicating that the economic status of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles barrios, like that of the Negro, has deteriorated in relation to that of the Anglo. In a 1965 report on "Hard-Core Unemployment and Poverty in Los Angeles" by U. C. L. A.'s Institute of Industrial Relations, it was stated,

. . . in 1781 a tired and demoralized band of 22 adults and their families settled near a river in the southern part of California and founded El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora La Reina de Los Angeles de Porcicunala.

This tired band of 22 adults and their children have grown to over 800,000 in the area, but the demoralization is still present.

Questions	Discussion Topics
How will Mexican-American men react to us as women?	Number of mother-headed families in target population; changing roles in Mexican-American families.
With traditional Mexican-American attitudes toward the family, if we try to help the children become independent, won't we be unbalancing the family structure and creating more problems?	Conflict as a process of change; Family vs individual orientation; Developing skills while maintaining values.
If humanistic values are so important to Mexican-Americans are they concerned about materialistic values? Should we try to make them more concerned?	The myth of the "happy poor". Education as a major value of the larger society.
Does a society have a right to impose its values (even educational ones) on a sub-culture?	Value conflict; vs value-stretch.
Why have so many other nationalities become assimilated and Mexican-Americans haven't?	Marginality. Immigration. Family Unity and Cultural Identity.

CHAPTER VIII

SESSION V

9:30 - 10:30:

LECTURE: FAMILY AGENT PROCEDURES

How a Case is Referred; Sources of Referrals
The Bureau of Public Assistance

10:30 - 11:30

Tour of the Bureau of Public Assistance

11:30 - 12:30

Discussion of Welfare Policy
Questions - Interagency Relations

Materials:

Agency Referral Form
BPA Assistance Schedule
Recommended BPA Budget
"Managing Your Money"
"Facts You Should Know About Your Legal Problems" [1]

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[1] Publications of the Better Business Bureau

Procedures for Family Agents

How a Case is Referred. Cases are referred from a variety of sources: The Bureau of Public Assistance, Juvenile Probation Department, the Public Schools, or any public or private agency. Any member of a family wanting service may also request a Family Agent.

The referral form is received by the Director of the Family Agent Program, who assigns the case to the supervisor handling the cases from the particular referring agency. Assignments are made to Family Agents by the supervisor after an assessment of family needs and the particular skills of those Family Agents who are available for assignment at the time. Some Family Agents prefer to work with teenagers, while others prefer to work with pre-school children. Some speak Spanish; some are particularly skilled at dealing with budget problems.

After the case has been assigned to a Family Agent, an appointment is made with the worker from the referring agency to acquire further information about the family. This appointment is frequently set at the time that the worker would or can make a home visit, so that the Family Agent is introduced to the family by a familiar worker. On those cases which are self-referred, intake is usually done by the supervisor, with the client told to expect a visit from the Family Agent.

The referral form asks for the "immediate needs" of the family. It has generally been that very specific help with immediate problems is requested: Shoes for the children, transportation to a medical clinic, help with home management, tutoring for a child, or similar specific items of service to one or more members of the family. While the needs expressed may or may not be the most pressing at the moment, they are rarely the only need of the family. Responding as soon as possible to the expressed need gives the Family Agent the opportunity to establish herself as a helping person both in the eyes of the family and of the referring agency. Since most of the cases are viewed as "hard-core", "multi-problem", or sometimes "hopeless" by the referring worker, the assistance of the Family Agent serves to infuse the agency worker with new hope on their most difficult cases.

Orientation to Referring Agencies

The bulk of referrals have been made from three agencies: The Bureau of Public Assistance, the Juvenile Probation and the Public Schools. When a referral is made from any of the three agencies, the continuing responsibility for the case remains with the referring agency, and the services of the Family Agent are an adjunctive service. Though the Family Agent may very rapidly come to know the family served in much greater depth than the worker from the referring agency, each of the referring agencies has a legal responsibility for case direction which cannot be relinquished. Both Family Agents and their supervisors are expected to maintain close relationships with the referring worker, and all changes in status or circumstances of a case should be reported back to the referring agency. In addition to verbal communication, a monthly written report on each case is made by the Family Agent supervisor to the supervisor of the referring agency.

The Bureau of Public Assistance

The Bureau of Public Assistance (BPA) of Los Angeles County Department of Charities provides assistance through five basic programs: Old Age and Survivors (OAS), Aid to the Totally Dependent (ATD), Aid to the Needy Blind (ANB), Aid fo Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and General Relief (GR). The first four of these programs are supported by state, federal and county funds; General Relief is a program supported by the county only.

Assistance to the families served by Family Agents is primarily through the AFDC program, which has as its primary goals:

A. To keep children in the home and maintain adequate physical care, supervision, discipline and moral training.

B. To encourage self maintenance by:

1. Assisting incapacitated fathers toward health and employment by referral to the Vocational Rehabilitation Service, programs of work experience and other appropriate referrals.

2. Planning towards employment of mothers, taking into account the physical, mental and emotional health of both mothers and children; physical care and supervision of children; mothers' employment preparation and experience and capacity.

3. Planning with absent fathers for maximum possible support of their families.

4. Encouraging stepfathers to assume responsibility for their families' support.

5. Helping older children to obtain work.

Basic Eligibility Requirements of the AFDC program are determined in seven areas:

Age: To be eligible, families must have children under the age of 18; children 16 and 17 years old must attend school or be incapacitated.

Deprivation: Determined by failure of a parent to provide, because of death, separation, divorce, as a result of a casual relationship, or because of incapacity of a parent. There is a 90-day period after separation before a family is eligible for assistance.

Residence Requirements: The birth of a child in the state, or one year in the state (if child is less than one year old or is unborn; the parents must have resided in the state for one year.

Real Property: Must have an assessed valuation of less than $5,000.

Personal Property: Family must have $600 or less in personal property, including cash bank accounts, stocks and bonds, cash surrender value of insurance and automobile.

Relatives: Parents are considered responsible relatives and are contacted for possible support of family. Absent fathers are contacted to contribute to family support.

Need: Need of the family is determined by a cost schedule computed by the State Department of Social Welfare according to age and number of children in the family. (See Appendix) From the State Maximum Participation Base for a family, unearned income is totally deducted and net earnings are deducted, with an allowance for on-the-job costs.

A family applying for public assistance reports to the BPA area office and is seen by an intake worker. After investigation, the amount of the grant to the family is determined on the basis of the intake worker's report. A case worker is assigned to the family, and makes a home visit at least every three months to determine the continuing eligibility of the family as well as their general living conditions and any other needs which may have arisen.

Referrals are made by Bureau of Public Assistance workers through their supervisors to the Family Agent supervisor, who then assigns the case to the Family Agent who is both available and seems best able to serve the particular needs of this case. These referrals are made by the BPA worker when the family has one or a variety of needs which cannot be met because of the caseload, time or other BPA limitations.

Determination of eligibility is the responsibility of the Department of Welfare and not the Family Agent, but at times Family Agents become aware of discrepancies between the size of the grant and the eligibility conditions of the family. Family Agents should encourage clients to seek all the benefits for which they are eligible, and are often helpful to families in securing these benefits. On the other hand, sometimes clients are receiving assistance to which they are no longer entitled, either because a member of the family is no longer in the hone, or because of employment of an adult member. Family Agents are not expected to be investigators for the Welfare Department, but they should urge clients to report any change in eligibility. Failure to do so may result in suspension of benefits or charges of fraud. In the event that there has been an overpayment to a client, welfare law states that the overpayment must be deducted in the month that it is discovered. This has frequently led to severe hardships to families when a large error is subtracted from an already minimal allotment, and the overpayment received has long since been spent.

Workers referring cases from the Bureau of Public Assistance are generally very cooperative; their time, like that of all other professionals is carefully planned, and appointments should be made well in advance by telephone.

Questions	Discussion Topics
Why do these families on public assistance have so many children?	Individual freedom vs. social responsibility; family planning information; religious, cultural and legal limitations.
One often hears that some mothers on public assistance have more children in order to get more money. Is this true?	Average increase for each child is about $40.00 a month. Psychological reasons. Attitudes of both society and workers towards financial dependency.
If we find an employed man in the house, do we have to report this to BPA?	Helping a family to assume citizen responsibility. Role of Family Agent as an advocate for the family - how this conflicts with citizen responsibilities. What is best for the family?
What can we do if a family is not getting any or all the assistance to which it is entitled?	How to apply; eligibility requirements; intake procedure.
What can we do if a family complains about the BPA worker?	Helping the family understand agency procedure as well as own feelings; the role of the Family Agent supervisor in maintaining inter-agency relations.
What can we do if a family always runs out of money before the next check? Are there emergency funds?	Helping a family learn to budget and plan; other sources of temporary help; MANAGING YOUR MONEY as a tool with which to help a family learn to plan ahead.

CHAPTER IX

SESSION VI

9:30 - 10:30

LECTURE: ORIENTATION TO PROBATION DEPARTMENT

10:30 - 11:00

Tour Probation Department

11:00 - 12:00

Discussion - Relation to Probation, Schools
Other Agencies

The Probation Department

The Los Angeles County Probation Department conducts social investigations and provides supervision of cases of adult law violators referred by the courts, and of cases of delinquent minors as well as certain neglected or dependent children in need of protection of the courts.

Of the cases referred for the services of a Family Agent by the Probation Department, virtually all have been from the Juvenile Division. In contrast to adult law, the intent of juvenile law is therapeutic. For children under 18 years of age (those 18 years old may be viewed as minors or adults) the courts and the Probation Department have as their goal the protection and rehabilitation of the child, and any action taken is on behalf of the minor. [1]

Referrals: Cases are referred for social investigation primarily from law enforcement agencies, but may come from other social agencies; from parents requesting supervision of their children by the Probation Department, and on occasion from minors themselves.

Types of Cases: Cases of dependent or neglected children may be referred from any source when it is felt that the supervision of the courts are necessary to protect the child. In this category are those children who have been orphaned and have become wards of the court, and those who are physically or emotionally neglected or abused in their home situations.

Children may be referred from any source if their behavior is of a pre-delinquent nature. These children may be associating with other youth whose behavior is delinquent; they may be uncontrollable in either the home or school situation; may refuse to attend school, obey curfews, or conform to the reasonable expectations of their parents.

Minors may be referred to the Probation Department for delinquent acts, usually by a law enforcement agency; these are generally acts, which if committed by an adult, would be of a felonous nature.

All three types of cases are referred for a social investigation by an intake worker of the Probation Department, where the home, the adjustment of the child, and the nature of his situation are evaluated. On the basis of the investigation made by the Deputy Probation Officer, a disposition recommendation is made.

A. The DPO may recommend dismissal of the case if there is no evidence found to support classifying the child as "dependent" or "delinquent."

B. The DPO may recommend supervision of the case without filing a petition, if there is evidence that the minor would benefit by such supervision.

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[1] Late 1966 revisions of these procedures are not included here.

C. The PO may file one of three possible petitions to the courts: A Sec. 600 Petition, indicating a neglected or dependent child; a Sec. 601 Petition, indicating behavior of a pre-delinquent nature; or a Sec. 602 Petition, indicating delinquent behavior.

When a petition is filed, a hearing is scheduled before a Juvenile Hearing Officer. Evidence is presented along with recommendations of the Probation Officer. On the basis of these, the Hearing Officer disposes of the case.

There are three possible dispositions of a juvenile petition:

Dismissal. In the event that the Hearing Officer does not feel that the evidence presented warrants sustaining the petition.

Supervision. By the Provation Department while the child is maintained in the home situation.

Placement. Of the minor is made where the home situation either cannot provide for the protection of the child, or where some other living arrangement would be more beneficial to the physical, social or emotional well-being of the minor. Placement may be made to a foster home or to a short or long-term institutional facility. The Probation Department continues to maintain supervision of the minor while he is there and for a probationary period afterwards.

It is important that Family Agents remember that the intent of the juvenile law is different from that of the adult law. The whole procedure of Juvenile Law Enforcement, the Probation Department and the Courts has as its intent the rehabilitation of the minor. For this reason, the juvenile courts do not require that evidence presented be "beyond any reasonable doubt," but rather that there be a "preponderance of evidence" which would sustain the action taken. The law makes provision for juvenile records to be confidential and for such records to expunged under certain circumstances. If a juvenile has either been arrested or had a petition filed or sustained, and if for a period of five years, no further involvement with the law has occurred, a petition may be filed with the court to have the record expunged. This entitles the individual if asked "Have you ever been arrested?" to answer negatively, which is often important when seeking employment.

Referrals are made by the Probation Officer, through his supervisor to the supervisor of the Family Agents handling probation cases, and to the Family Agent who seems most appropriate to work with the particular case. Many of the cases referred are ones in which the child involved with the Probation Department is already in a placement situation. These cases are referred in the hope that changes can be made in the family situation so that the home will be more receptive to the child when he is released from placement, or because there are several other children in a family, whose situation is such that it seems likely that they too will become involved with the law.

Experience has shown that many of these families are in need of the whole range of health, welfare, educational, employment and psychological services.

Questions	Discussion Topics
If a Family Agent finds out that a child or adult is breaking the law, does she report it to the police - to the Probation Department?	Role of the supervisor in making a decision; what is best for the individual vs. citizen responsibility.
If the Probation Department wants to remove a child from the home, can a Family Agent get a lawyer to represent the child or the family?	How the decision is made; inter-agency conferences; Neighborhood Legal Services and representation of the poor.
If it seems that a child would be better off out of the home, what can be done?	Protective Services; foster home and institutional placement; theory of placement and keeping child in home and community; maximizing community resources. Differences in class in what is a "fit" home.
What can a Family Agent do if she finds out that a child is using narcotics, or has delinquent companions?	Community resources; voluntary supervision of the Probation Department.

The Schools

While Family Agents may have had little previous experience with either the Bureau of Public Assistance or the Probation Department, it is assumed that they have had experience with the public schools, and are aware of their organization, services and general responsibilities.

Most referrals made to Family Agents from the schools are made by the school nurse: These are made primarily when the physical or emotional needs of the child seem to present problems. Some referrals come from teachers, principals or child welfare and attendance workers, when either attendance, achievement or behavior of the child present problsme needing outside attention. In general those referrals coming from the schools will reflect less knowledge of the total home situation than those referrals made by either of the other two major referring agencies, and will require more investigation by the Family Agents before any real assessment of needs can be made.

In the cases referred by the schools, the Family Agent serves a most important role of acting as a communication link between the home and the school. Too frequently the child is seen by the school as separate from the home and the community; too often too, parents send children to school and assume that the school will assume total responsibility for the child for those hours that school is in session. School adjustment and achievement

is a part of the total life situation of the child, and it is in opening up this two-way communication that Family Agents attempt to effect a change in both situations for the child.

Through the monthly reports made by the Family Agent supervisor, school personnel are kept informed of the services provided to the child and to the family, and of any changes in the family situation which may be effecting the child in school.

Questions	Discussion Topics
If a child get into trouble in school and it seems that it is the school's fault, what can be done?	Verifying the story; checking with school personnel; intervening on behalf of the child and family.
Suppose we find out that a child is truant and neither the mother nor the school knows this, what can we do?	Maintaining confidence; arriving at mutual goals; helping the child deal with responsibility; opening up communication between child, home and school.
What can a Family Agent do if a child is failing in everything in school?	Understanding the total picture; rescheduling to meet individual needs of individual children; tutorial programs; recreational and cultural enrichment programs; helping the family set realistic educational goals. How to get maximum help from the school to meet the special needs of the child.
What can a Family Agent do if a child is a behavior problem for the school?	Special programs within the school; child guidance clinic; other psychological services.
Suppose the children in a family don't have clothes to wear to school?	Meeting emergency needs through Pacific Community Center resources, Other available resources: PTA, Family Service, service clubs, etc. Helping family plan on wise purchases of clothing - thrift shops, etc. Care and upkeep of clothing.
What if a child just can't get along with a particular teacher?	Communication with teacher-child-parent. The Family Agent as an advocate; appeal to the administration if justified.

Many school age children seem to be roaming the streets during school hours How is this possible? Don't they have to go to school until they are 16?	Truancy, absence. Dropouts and pushouts. Children on one-hour-a-day schedules. Ways of closing gaps. Ways of exerting pressure for community solutions to these problems.

CHAPTER X

SESSION VII

9:30 - 10:30

LECTURE: FAMILY AGENT PROCEDURES

Securing Information From the Family
Evaluating Validity of Information
Securing Information from Agencies
Confidentiality
Utilizing Outside Information
Recording and Reporting Information

10:30 - 12:30

Discussion of Case Material

Materials:

Individual Data Sheet
Monthly Reports
Family Movement Scale
Intra-Center Referral Form
Termination Form

Securing Information From the Family

Because the role of the Family Agent is more that of a friend than of an authority figure, the Family Agent tries to secure information in a less direct way than those used by employment counselors, public assistance workers, or probation officers. While the Family Agent, on the one hand, will be perceived as belonging to a different social class and educational level, and in part, a representative of the establishment, she is generally more available and less threatening to the family than most other kinds of agency workers. From this sometimes ambiguous, sometimes conflicting position, much sensitivity will be needed on the part of the Family Agent to gain needed information without damaging the relationship. For this reason, intra-agency forms are kept to a minimum.

Information to complete the Individual Data Sheet (See Appendix) is required by the local CAP agency. Much of the information needed on this form is observable - race, housing, family members and ages. Employment status is generally readily discussed unless the head of the household or some other family member is employed and the family is still receiving public assistance, in which case the information will probably be very carefully guarded. Family Agents should avoid asking questions when the information is observable, and should limit such direct queries to those areas which are most important, especially in the first few visits with families.

Evaluating Validity of Information

Family Agents can anticipate that they will get a variety of conflicting information from various family members and will have to sort and sift through the information to form an accurate picture. It is understandable that each family member presents information from his own point of view and sees things uniquely. He may be trying to justify his behavior, to save face, or to improve his own image in the eyes of the Family Agent. As members of the family begin to identify with the Family Agent and seek to gain her favor, they may play one against the other and distort information, so that the Family Agent will have to continue to evaluate the information she receives.

Then too, information given by one or more members of the family concerning an event involving the wider community or any other agency will have to be verified. It is wise to keep in mind always that there are at least two sides to every question, and to withhold judgment until all the information is gathered. It is not unusual for a Family Agent to hear from a child and his mother that the child was suspended from school "for no reason whatsoever." On a visit to the school, the Family Agent will be told that the child was involved in repeated fights on the playground or classroom. More important than establishing "who is telling the truth" it is important to establish a climate of acceptance with family members so that they will not feel that they are being "judged" by the Family Agent if they admit to having any responsibility for their behavior. Gradually as trust develops, the Family Agent will begin to get a more accurate

picture of the roles and behaviors of various family members with each other and between the family and community, and the information secured will increase in accuracy. If the Family Agent appears to "take sides" on the other hand, the family will continue to need to defend themselves against intrusion.

Frequently people distort information to gain specific goals; they add a year or two to their ages to be eligible for social security; they may suppress information which would make them ineligible for service. Again, the Family Agent will often need to verify through other sources, but should do this in a matter of fact way. When she finds discrepancies, she should not feel "deceived," as few people under any circumstances tell the "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Securing Information from Agencies

Merely because a family has a low income or is having adjustment problems does not mean that they have lost their right to privacy. It is important always for the Family Agent to secure permission of the parents and children before contacting agencies or institutions for information on family members. Family Agents should clear with their supervisor before seeking information from or releasing information to outside agencies. Relations between the host agency and other agencies will differ - methods of gaining access to information will also differ. Some agencies want all information to clear through the supervisory staff, others do not mind being contacted by individual Family Agents. In the interest both of gaining information and of maintaining good inter-agency relations, it is necessary for the Family Agent to ascertain from the supervisor the method of contact with each individual agency.

The supervisor can usually supply the name of the person in the agency to be contacted for information, or suggest the method of approach. All agencies are busy and work on tight schedules, so that a telephone contact is essential before a site visit. Public assistance workers, school principals, health services, and all other agency personnel will make themselves more available if previously contacted by telephone. The Family Agent should identify herself, the agency with whom she works, the family on whom the information is needed, the type of information requested and the reason for the request.

Some information is confidential in any agency and will not be shared. For example, Juvenile Probation records are confidential, intelligence test scores are generally not made known either to the children or their families. Psychiatric and psychological evaluations and progress in therapy are generally confidential, and the specific material revealed in a psychiatric interview certainly will be confidential, and the Family Agent should not expect or try to gain access to this information.

Recording and Reporting Information

Monthly Reports. Each Family Agent submits a monthly report to the supervisor on the first of each month. Reports (see the form [#18] in the training kit) should be detailed enough to include a summary of each contact and what (if anything specific) was accomplished by the contact. The report should also reflect any changes in the family situation, whether physical or emotional. If the family moves, the new address should be included on the report. If any member of the family leaves the home temporarily or permanently, this should be recorded.

Family Movement Scale. Devised to measure changes in family life styles, the Family Movement Scale is completed by each Family Agent at three month intervals. An attempt is made to get independent ratings by the worker from the agency which referred the case. The first rating is made by the Family Agent after the second visit to the family. Most of the information needed for this scale is readily observable; that which is not will probably emerge in the course of discussions on child rearing, home and money management, relations with the schools, agencies and other authorities.

Intra-Agency Referrals. When a Family Agent refers any member of a family to another service offered by the Center, the intra-agency referral form (included in the training kit) is used. These referrals may be for employment, remedial reading, consumer education, family skills, or any other program. Routing structions are included on the form.

Termination Forms. When a case is terminated, the termination form (training kit [#21]) is completed by the Family Agent so that the case may be closed, and the agency which initially referred the case notified. Reasons for termination are discussed later, but a case is never closed without approval from the supervisor.

Confidentiality

It is essential to developing trust between a Family Agent and the family that the client be assured of the confidential nature of any information revealed. The Family Agent should not reveal information given her by one member of a family to another member, unless specific permission has been granted to do so. Information about a family is never of a social nature and no circumstances should cause it to be revealed to other clients, friends or neighbors.

Under some circumstances certain information may have to be revealed to other agencies or school personnel; these situations should be discussed first with the supervisor, but the general guidelines are that information is only revealed when such a revelation is in the best interests of the client. At times there will develop a conflict between the best interests of the client and the best interests of society, and the social responsibilities of the Family Agent. For example, a Family Agent may be told by a teenager that he has been involved in several thefts - is the prime responsibility of the Family Agent to the teenager or to society? Or consider the situation where

the Family Agent is working with a family receiving public assistance on the basis of an unemployed father, and she discovers that the father is actually employed. Is the Family Agent's prime responsibility to the client or is she obliged to report this fraudulent act? While there are no absolutes, and each situation must be considered separately, the role of the Family Agent is as an advocate for the family. The Family Agent is not an agent of law enforcement, nor is she there to investigate fraud, and the situation must be viewed from the point of view of the best interests of the family. Though the Family Agent may not immediately reveal this information, it is her responsibility to make the client aware of the nature of his acts, and to point out the ultimate consequences of this behavior. The best interest of the family and the best interest of society are, in the long run, generally not in conflict, and the goal of the Family Agent is to help the client want to conform to the rules of society. This goal is generally accomplished, not by breaking the trust with the client, but frequently by the longer process of helping the client feel a part of society.

Utilizing Outside Agencies

Making an Appropriate Referral. No one agency is equipped to deal with the wide variety of health, education, welfare and legal problems which can be presented. As an advocate of the family, one task of the Family Agent is to act as a knowledgeable source of referrals.

The list of resources included in this training manual is not intended to be complete. Welfare Information Service provides a more comprehensive listing. Resources vary from one area to another, and from time to time, therefore, it is more important to learn how to make effective referrals than to develop comprehensive lists of sources which soon will be outmoded.

Before making a referral, the Family Agent should:

A. Gather all the pertinent information and understand the client's situation.

B. Discuss with supervisor the need and desirability of making a referral, and whether or not the client is likely to follow through on the referral.

C. Gain thorough acquaintance with the resources and regulations of the agency where the referral will be made so that the client will not be referred to agencies which cannot deal with the situation.

D. Discuss the referral with the client before contacting the agency for an appointment.

When the second agency is contacted, usually by preliminary telephone contact, the Family Agent should be prepared to give the intake worker the following information:

A. The problem as the Family Agent understands it.

B. The services requested of the second agency.

C. How the client feels about this referral.

D. To what extent can the client meet the agency's fee schedule.

The Family Agent should ask the intake worker:

A. Any special eligibility requirements.

B. Any essential information about intake procedure: Where to go for initial interview, etc.

C. Any documents or verification needed to secure services: Social Security numbers, medical eligibility cards, insurance policies, etc., so that the client has these with him when the appointment is made.

All of these preparations are needed to avoid having the client shunted from agency to agency without an understanding of why he is being referred, or why one or another agency cannot serve him. The poor spend much of their lives waiting in lines only ultimately to be rejected; every effort should be made to avoid or reduce these rejecting situations and the feelings of inadequacy which result from them.

Some families are very skilled at finding and securing services themselves; to these families the role of the Family Agent may be to suggest additional referrals if needed; it is essential that the Family Agent NOT take over any function that the family is already managing well, as this will only serve to demoralize and increase the dependency of the family. Some families will only need suggestions and some urging to set up appointments; other families, either because of family situations (too many young children to manage, lack of transportation, lack of understanding of intake procedures, or feelings of apathy or lack of confidence), may need the Family Agent to set up appointments, accompany the family member, and help the family through intake. It is most important that the Family Agent do only that which is essential for the family, and allow the family to do for its self everything it is capable of doing. Even when the Family Agent sets up the appointment and accompanies the family members to the appointment, it is important to make this a learning experience. If possible, the mother or other adult should be on hand to learn the procedure. If this is not possible, and then only in the extremely urgent situations, the Family Agent may take over, in the interest of securing much needed service which would not otherwise be possible.

The Work of the Family Agent: Illustrative Cases

Three cases have been selected to illustrate the range of work of the Family Agent - one Negro, one Mexica--American, and one Anglo. They are representative, though not claimed to be typical of the major ethnic groups of the area. One was referred by a public school, and two by the Probation Department. Both of these were families also receiving aid from the Bureau of Public Assistance. All names are, of course, ficticious.

When initially referred, all three families showed financial instability, generally poor living conditions, and had difficulty in coping with problems and finding resources to meet family needs. During the period seen, all improved their general living conditions, one improved its financial status through employment, two stabilized their financial situation through public assistance, and two were better able to find resources to meet family needs. As might be expected, the family with the greatest initial strength and stability showed changes in all three areas.

Recommendations were made to terminate one of the families, to continue with one for a brief period, and to continue with the third on an ongoing basis.

The cases are here presented starting with the initial referral, followed by the conference with referring worker (if any), the initial meeting with the family, the family background, family living conditions, ways of meeting the initial request, ongoing efforts with the family, and the interim or terminal recommendations on the case. These cases were chosen to give an indication both of the kinds and varieties of problems encountered, and the actual services and methods employed by Family Agents in their work.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: Probation DATE: 9/1/65

FAMILY: Names and ages of family members:

GONZALES - Jose (30), Betsy (30), Sally (8), Jose, Jr. (7), Carolyn (6), Rosie (15), Sandra (13), Richard (12), Maria (11), Earl (5)

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY: 8/25/65

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

Bureau of Public Assistance

SUMMARY OF CASE:

8/18: Suicide-murder attempt. Call to police made by mother's brother after she told him on phone she was going to kill herself and children by turning on gas. All eight children (and a visiting neighbor child) were present when police arrived. This is Betsy's second marriage. First was with a man who drank excessively, beat her and the children and eventually abandoned family. New marriage was pushed by BPA after a lengthy common-law arrangement. Although Mrs. G. wanted to stay home with the children, she could not afford to do so, as after the marriage BPA cut off aid to the four children by the previous husband. Mrs. G. worked graveyard shift as a machine operator for 2-1/2 years; in this way she was at home during day to care for children. Mrs. G. has numerous health problems: Had a hysterectomy in 1963; has been on rigid diet and reduced from 2 pounds to 165. She has been active in various community groups and is well liked, and seems of average intelligence. Mrs. G. has been extremely jealous of husband, and it was this jealousy that percipitated the murder-suicide attempt. Mr. G. says he is fed up with his wife's suspicions and is considering leaving family. Mrs. G. was released on probation and the children are at home with her, but Juvenile Court hearing is still pending. BPA aid may be reinstated.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Must learn to talk about her troubles; follow through on needed psychiatric treatment.

Family Agent Assigned

Referred By

Conference with Referring Worker

Met with Probation Officer to get additional information on family. It appears that the suicide attempt followed a threat from one of Mr. G.'s girl friends that Mr. G. was in love with her and was going to leave his wife to marry her; also the girl friend made statements that Mrs. G. had been an inadequate mother, and that she would probably lose custody of the children when Mr. G. left her.

Following suicide attempt, Mrs. G. was sent to psychiatric treatment center for observation and then released. A 600 petition was filed on behalf of the children (later sustained, and the children became wards of the court).

PO stated that diagnostic report had recommended on-going treatment for Mrs. G., and PO wanted assistance of Family Agent in finding appropriate referral for Mrs. G., as well as support from Family Agent in helping Mrs. G. keep these appointments.

Initial Meeting

Following conference with the PO, Family Agent was introduced to Mrs. G. in court the day Mrs. G. was released on probation. PO told Mrs. G. that the Family Agent would help her find continuing psychiatric treatment, and would be available to help her reorganize her home situation and supervise her children. The Family Agent found Mrs. G. to be a pleasant, pretty woman, quite short and still seriously overweight despite recent weight loss. She was frightened and unsure of herself, but eager to show cooperation. Family Agent made appointment to visit Mrs. G. in her home the next day.

Mrs. G. had been born in the United States of Mexican born parents; she had completed the 8th grade at school when she married her first husband and the first child, Rosie, was born. Husband, the father of the four oldest children, had worked intermittently and drank to excess. Mrs. G. had worked at various factory jobs to support her family. Her mother had lived with family and cared for the children until her death ten years ago. After the mother's death, conditions became intolerable. Mrs. G. got a divorce from her first husband and began receiving Public Assistance so that she could stay home with her children.

After two years of living alone with her children, Mrs. G. met and set up housekeeping with Mr. G., who worked as a day laborer. She continued to receive support from the Bureau of Public Assistance for the four children from her first marriage. After the birth of the third child by Mr. G., the Bureau urged her to marry Mr. G., which she did; at this time, assistance for the first four children was cut off.

The marriage to Mr. G. was marked by conflict because of his continued attention to numerous other women in the neighborhood, the most recent of which was his rather open attention to a young woman who lived two houses away, whom he saw primarily when Mrs. G. was at work on the swing shift.

Mr. G. had been born in Mexico, had moved with his family to Texas as a young child where he went to school through the 6th grade. Since coming to the Los Angeles area as a teenager he had been employed fairly regularly as a laborer in the construction industry. Mr. G. felt that he had been unfairly trapped into supporting four children who were not his, first by Mrs. G., and then by the social worker from the welfare department. He felt and displayed considerable hostility both to his wife, and to the four older children, whom he perceived as an economic drain.

Family Living Conditions

On the first visit to home, Family Agent found the small and crowded house to be in good order, especially considering the absence of the mother for a month. Subsequent visits showed Mrs. G. to be a compulsive housekeeper, who maintained her home and her children's clothing in good condition. Meals were well planned and served. Mrs. G. took less care of herself than of the children and home.

Within a week after Mrs. G. returned home, Mr. G. left the family and returned to Texas, stating that he was fed up with his wife and her suspicions. The neighbor with whom Mr. G. was involved told Mrs. G. she would soon leave to join Mr. G., although this did not happen.

Mrs. G. became increasingly depressed and lethargic, sleeping much of the time. She was embarrassed to go out into the neighborhood because she felt everyone knew and was talking about her husband's affair with the neighbor as well as her own suicide attempt. In spite of her depression, she continued to maintain the house in excellent condition.

Meeting Initial Request

Although the prime need as seen by the Probation Department was for continued psychiatric treatment, the departure of Mr. G. left the family with absolutely no income, and this became the most urgent issue. Contact was made again with the Bureau of Public Assistance, and after three months, regular payments were initiated for the entire family. During the interim, emergency aid was found from a variety of sources - County General Relief, Catholic Welfare, and various relatives in the area.

Because both of the financial problems involved in remaining in the house where she was living (rent $135 a month) and because of her sensitivity to the neighbors' reaction, contact was made by the Family Agent to move Mrs. G. to a public housing project, where the rent was $62 a month. After filing the application and following up with weekly visits and phone calls to the housing authority, Mrs. G. got and moved into a four bedroom apartment. Mrs. G. was much relieved to move from the neighborhood and to establish herself and family in more spacious quarters for less rent.

While these arrangements as well as continued assistance from BPA were being made, the Family Agent began to seek a referral for continuing psychiatric treatment. This proved difficult to arrange, and had to be put together in a series of rather piece-meal steps.

First, a diagnostic interview and testing was arranged with a psychologist.[1] The psychologist found Mrs. G. to be of average intelligence, anxious, suspicious, given to inhibiting her angry feelings in order to insure dependency gratifications from others. This interview served primarily to reassure the Family Agent that the psychologist did not feel that Mrs. G. was in immediate danger of making another suicide attempt. Continued search for on-going treatment was urged.

After about two weeks, it was possible to arrange for six visits at a Crisis Intervention Center. It was recognized that this would be an inadequate number of visits, but it was hoped this would provide enough temporary emotional support to help Mrs. G. cope with her feelings surrounding the abandonment by her husband.

During the time that the crisis sessions were going on, Mrs. G.'s name was put on a waiting list for on-going treatment at a psychiatric institute. With the aid of the Probation Officer and a social worker from Catholic Welfare, arrangements were made for the psychiatric institute to begin seeing Mrs. G. as soon as the six crisis sessions terminated.

Mrs. G. was extremely passive during this time, and even seemed relieved to allow anyone to make any decisions for her. However, after the intake interview with the psychiatric social worker, she became very anxious and resistant and said that she "didn't want to talk about all those things," and that she would not go back. The Family Agent turned to the Probation Officer for support in insisting that Mrs. G. continue in treatment. The Family Agent took and waited for Mrs. G. at the first two appointments, then dropped her off at the next two. After this, Mrs. G. kept all subsequent appointment by herself, although, for many months, she complained that these visits were doing more harm than good.

Efforts with Other Family Members

The Probation Officer was most concerned about the four older children who had had a hectic life situation with their own father and had been intensely rejected by their step-father, and consequently had many problems. All four children had serious academic problems: Sandra (14) and Maria (12) read at the second grade level. Rosie (15) was failing in most of her classes, and Richard (13) was a non-reader. Tutoring and remedial reading was arranged for the three girls and Richard.[1] Both the Family Agent and the Probation Officer agreed that Richard was so angry, sullen and hostile that therapy was indicated in addition to tutoring. This opinion was sustained almost immediately when he was suspended from school for threatening a teacher. The Family Agent and the mother visited the boy's vice-principal and arranged for a "social adjustment" transfer to another junior high school. Both also visited the new school, and assure school personnel of their willingness to coordinate efforts of the home and school to help Richard with this

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[1]Other functions of this total project.

this adjustment. However, Richard's hostility to school and authority continued to show in his very irregular attendance at the new school. After making initial efforts to send Richard to school, Mrs. G. began to accept any flimsy excuse from Richard for staying home. This was at the time when she was beginning visits to the Psychiatric Institute, and Mrs. G. did not seem to have the strength to fight both her own resistance and her son's.

It was again difficult to find a referral for Richard, and during Christmas vacation, the PO made arrangements for the Family Agent and Mrs. G. to take Richard to Juvenile Hall for a diagnostic evaluation. Again, on-going counseling was recommended. The Family Agent contacted eleven different agencies before eventually getting an appointment at Child Guidance Clinic; the intake appointment was set for April.

After the Christmas vacation, Richard's school attendance improved and he reported regularly for tutoring. He began to plan to make up the semester he had lost by the suspension. As his mother progressed in therapy, she and Richard began to communicate with one another, and he seemed to become more open and somewhat less hostile. However, all of these positive things came to an abrupt end when he got his mid-semester report card, showing F's in all subjects. Following this, his behavior at school deteriorated until he was again suspended. At this time the PO began to consider placement out of the home for Richard, however, after several weeks he was readmitted to school for half-day sessions due to the repeated visits to the school by the Family Agent, and the PO agreed not to seek placement until after Richard began in therapy.

All during this time Mrs. G. continued to show considerable strength at managing the physical and financial aspects of her home and family. She enjoyed living in the housing project and joined several organizations, becoming secretary-treasurer of a woman's club. She continued to lose weight, went to gym classes, had her hair cut, and began to show more concern about her own general appearance. She managed the physical care of her younger children well, made and kept all needed medical appointments for them, and saw that they attended school regularly.

The three older girls showed improvement in school; Rosie's improvement was most dramatic. The reduction in rent allowed Mrs. G. to free enough money to take advantage of the Food Stamp Plan which required an investment of $55.00. The ultimate savings from this resulted in improved food and clothing for the family, and Mrs. G. continued to manage her limited budget to the best advantage of her family.

In March Mrs. G.'s visits were terminated at the Psychiatric Institute at the decision of the agency. She seemed much less tense and anxious as well as more cheerful and interested in the family and community. In April, the Family Agent began to decrease the frequency of visits, until by the middle of May, only telephone contacts were made.

Unfortunately, several things went wrong in the middle of May: Richard, who had been in treatment at the Child Guidance Clinic for about a month, was again suspended from school for fighting with a teacher;

three of the younger children contracted nits at school and were sent home until they could be cured. Staying in the home with Richard and the young children did not provide the rewards for Mrs. G. that club participation did, and she began leaving the children for most of the day to go off to club activities. She was not able to maintain the interest in her family that she had gained through counseling and the support of the Family Agent. She "forgot" about an appointment at the Child Guidance Center for Richard because she was busy with her club work.

At this point, the Family Agent resumed her visits to the family, and assumed an active part in helping the mother make activity plans for the children for the summer. It seemed that Mrs. G. was not yet able either to assume the responsibility connected with the children's large amount of unstructured time during the summer, nor was she able to carry through on plans for all eight children by herself. Arrangements were made for Richard to receive a scholarship to a camp for teenagers with emotional problems where he went three times a week for the summer. The older girls continued in tutoring and took part in a three-day-a-week trip program.[1] The younger children were enrolled in a day camp program at a city park, and were scheduled for various arts and crafts activities as well as a variety of physical activities which involved them every morning. Mrs. G. was able to follow through on the complex scheduling that was involved in getting eight children to a variety of activities, but having the free time was valuable enough to her that she was usually able to "juggle" with great skill.

Interim or Terminal Evaluation

It is considered important for this mother to remain at home and receive public assistance rather than to seek employment at this time and leave the children unattended, although it is anticipated that Mrs. G. will be able to resume employment as soon as the children are a little older. She is eager to return to work.

The family crisis seems to have passed, and all members of the family are better able to cope with problems as they occur. Richard, who continues to present the most difficulty, is continuing in counseling; the other children have all improved in school attendance and achievement.

It is recommended that the Family Agent continue to see the family until everyone has assumed the fall schedule, and at that time a recommendation will be made on termination of the case, based on the recommendation of the Family Agent, her supervisor and the Probation Officer.

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[1]Provided through this project

Family Agent trainees raised and discussed the following questions:

Was it better for this family to live without the father? Who made the decision for the family to separate - mother - father? Did the Family Agent play any role in this decision? Should she have?

While the father was at home the family was financially self-sufficient; now it is living on public assistance. Is this an improvement? Is it likely to be a permanent arrangement?

How well does this family utilize the resources available to it?

How well does family function as a unit?

Have family members learned to deal with their problems better? Is this through the intervention of the Family Agent?

Does the fact that this was a Mexican-American family have any effect on the dynamics of this family?

What changes in the social structure would have made a difference to this family?

Family Agent trainees were asked to respond to the question:

What was accomplished by the work of the Family Agent?

Among the responses were:

Family Agent found therapy for mother and son, and gave support to both for continuing therapy.

Found emergency funds for family after desertion by father, and helped mother to get regular income through the Bureau of Public Assistance.

By persistance, Family Agent found better and less expensive housing for family.

Helped mother develop outside interests, and pride in herself.

Met with mother and school personnel to do needed planning for children.

Arranged for tutoring for older children, pre-school for youngest, recreational activities for all, including campership.

CHAPTER XI

SESSION VIII

9:30 - 11:00

LECTURE: TECHNIQUES FOR FAMILY AGENTS

How to Make the Initial Contact with the Family
Starting Where the Family Is
Setting Realistic Goals

Techniques for Helping
Dealing with Dependency
Dealing with Hostility

11:00 - 12:30

Discussion - Case Material — Supervisory Staff

Techniques for Working with Families

It is almost self evident that before a Family Agent can understand and work with clients' problems, the Family Agent must answer honestly, "Why are you interested in this job?"

Do you expect:

-Gratitude and appreciation?

-To act as Junior Psychiatrist?

-To have the clients love you?

-To change the families' life style?

-To see "life in the raw" and live vicariously?

If these are the expectations, then the job of Family Agent will prove unrewarding. Rather than gratitude, the Family Agent must expect to be almost self-effacing, and must be able to tolerate a considerable amount of direct and displaced hostility. Virtually all clients will be suspicious and distrusting initially; many will continue to be until the end, and the Family Agent must be able to accept this and work around it.

Important, too, are the Family Agent's attitudes towards: money, the poor, cleanliness, authority, the police, sex, illegitimacy, dependency, minority groups.

While no Family Agent is expected to love dirt and cockroaches, she should not be totally revolted by it, nor should she associate cleanliness with virtue. Given the current tumultuous state of interracial relations in this country, no one is expected to be free of prejudice. What is expected is that every Family Agent be aware of her own feelings and sensitive to the feelings of others.

How to Make the Initial Contact

Initial meetings between Family Agents and families who are self-referred are easier than meetings with those who have been referred by the school or other agencies. In the latter case, it may be quite difficult for the Family Agent not to feel that her visit to the family is an intrusion into their privacy. Indeed it is an intrusion, but it is one made on the grounds that the Family Agent can offer needed help, and it is up to the Family Agent to convey such expressions of warmth and concern that her presence will be accepted.

The feelings of members of the family at the initial visit will be many and varied; does the mother recognize the need for help? Does she want help? Does she already feel pushed around by other agency

workers? Is she hostile, apathetic, worn-out, evasive? Specific guides for the initial interview are almost impossible, because the nature of the problems presented, the attitude of the mother and the personal approach of the Family Agent present an almost infinite number of variables.

Part of the difficulty of the initial meeting is the fact that feelings which people have toward one another when they first meet are aroused not only by the present situation , but are linked with former associations. The client may associate the Family Agent with unpleasant experiences with agency workers previously encountered. Almost certainly the Family Agent will be seen as yet another kind of authority figure, and will evoke all the feelings towards authority figures felt by many of the poor. The burden of establishing a different kind of relationship is upon the Family Agent; however, this is achieved by most Family Agents. Sixty-four percent of Family Agents reported that the families perceived them either as an informal friend or knowledgeable helper. Only 23% reported they were perceived as an authority figure. Ten percent felt that the families simply did not understand their role at all.

If the Family Agent conveys an attitude of warmth and understanding, of being willing to listen to difficulties with care and concern without being judgmental, and if the Family Agent shows that she is willing to begin where the family is and work in those areas where help is requested, then there is a good chance that the family will at least be open to the possibility of developing a trusting relationship. This kind of non-directive approach and personal acceptance on the part of the worker may be a new experience to a low-income mother who too often is beset by welfare workers directing her financial spending, attendance officers demanding that children attend school, probation officers and other agency personnel, all of whom have been hired to enforce specific behavior. The Family Agent is in a unique role: she is not there to verify or demand; she is there to find out the felt and expressed needs of the family and to seek ways of meeting these needs. Experience in the program has shown that most, but not all, families are very accepting of the services of the Family Agent Program and eager to make use of them.

Family Agents have reported that the techniques most valuable in establishing rapport with the family were:

Performing some requested service	24%
Being a good listener	22%
Giving support and encouragement	15%
Identifying with client, i.e. as a mother	12%
Being consistent about promises	12%
Being candid	5%
Giving client things	5%

What to Wear - What to wear when visiting families is a question which always arises. To be well-dressed means to wear clothing appropriate to the situation. It is assumed that the Family Agent will be neatly, simply, and attractively dressed, but will not overdress; to do so may cause family members to feel awed and will make it more difficult for them to relate to the Family Agent.

What to Say - What to say on a first visit depends on whether the visit is at the request of the family, whether a worker from the agency making the referral introduces the Family Agent, or the visit is made without an introduction. If the visit is made at the request of the family, the Family Agent need only identify herself, give her identification card, and expect that the family will be eager to state the reasons for seeking the service.

If the Family Agent is being introduced by the worker from the referring agency, then the direction of the visit is guided by the other worker and the Family Agent has an opportunity to observe their relationship while gaining information about the family.

What to say on initial contact is most difficult and most crucial when the Family Agent goes unaccompanied to visit a family who has not requested the service. Under such circumstances, it can only be emphasized again that the Family Agent show warmth and friendliness through words, gestures and facial expression; that there be no hint of a judgmental attitude; that the Family Agent not appear to be examining housekeeping standards or any personal or household condition. The Family Agent should introduce herself by name, and present her card, and then state who has prompted the call and why, such as "I am Mary Smith. The nurse at Third Street School asked me to come to see if I could arrange for Johnny to get to the health center for his polio shot". The opening statement then establishes the Family Agent as someone who is going to offer service, in contrast to a statement such as, "The nurse at Third Street School asked me to find out why Johnny hasn't had his polio shot" - the latter being designed to put anyone immediately on the defensive.

Starting Where the Family Is

Almost invariably the situation found by the Family Agent on the initial and subsequent visit will differ to some extent from the picture as presented by the referring worker. After making the initial contact, and offering concrete service, the next important step is to assess with the family the kinds of services they see themselves as needing. The Family Agent may begin to assess, though

not necessarily discuss:

-What are the realities of the total life situation?

-How is the family managing financially?

-What are the general housing and living conditions?

-What are the inner strengths of the family?

-What are this family's goals?

-Who in the family has the most pressing problems?

-What community resources which are available are not being utilized?

-Do children or parents need medical care?

-Would preschool children benefit from nursery school?

These and many more questions can be examined, but the important answers are in the areas where the family sees its needs. The Family Agent cannot do everything at once, and the best strategy is to begin where the family is and focus on the family's goals.

Setting Realistic Goals

Social case work has traditionally operated from the point of view of helping the client achieve HIS goals. While understanding and accepting the client's needs and goals are also of prime importance to the Family Agent, a second basic assumption of the Family Agent Program is that goals can be refocused, enhanced, developed, and expanded.

Twenty-five percent of Family Agents reported that they themselves set Improving Physical Conditions of the family as the most important goal they set. Other goals were:

Improving self-esteem and independence	18%
Showing client how to deal with agencies	13%
Establishing good relationship	13%
Exposing family to middle class values	13%
Improve family relationships	7%

With everyone, new goals develop when old goals have been satisfied. If the Family Agent can help the family stabilize its life situation, find solutions to some immediate problems of housing, food, earning a living, finding medical services, then both the family and

the Family Agent can begin to focus on setting new goals and increasing aspiration levels.

Again, caution must be exercised that the goals developed with family members are congruent with their needs and desires and not merely those of the worker. Each family and each family member will be unique, and any goals set must be within the framework of the possibility of their achievement. While it is true that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp", setting clearly unattainable goals only serves to increase feelings of inadequacy. For each family goals should be initially easily attainable if a feeling of success is to be achieved; moving from a run-down house may be impossible, but repairing missing floorboards or a dripping kitchen faucet may quickly be achieved and a new goal set. Rags to riches is an American dream, but one which is seldom achieved; rags to clean, mended and neat clothes is more achievable. If the aspiration level set is impossible, then it is too easy to use the excuse of doing nothing; doing nothing serves to further demoralize the individual, while achieving something serves as an incentive.

Sometimes Family Agents begin to feel that all of their time is spent "putting out fires" and there is not time or energy left to go beyond meeting the immediate practical problems of survival of the family. Certainly, no family can begin to set long-range goals until such immediate crises have been met, but a way must be found by both the Family Agent and the family to overcome the incessant demands of day to day living and find an opening for movement. It is well at times like this for the Family Agent to review with the supervisor where the family was when the case was referred; what the problems were, what changes have taken place, what can be done now to reduce the pressures immobilizing the family, and in what direction change is possible. It is not uncommon for Family Agents, after a period of initial enthusiasm, to begin to feel as hopeless about changing the situation as many of the families feel. This does not mean that the situation is actually hopeless, but rather that more realistic goals need to be set, that change is slow with long standing problems, and that sometimes the change cannot be effected within the family unit, but must occur within the social structure. Discussion of the feelings of the Family Agent with the supervisor at times like this will often keep the Family Agent from "bogging down".

After extensive contact with their families, Family Agents were asked if they had changed their goals. Thirty-two percent felt that they had lowered their expectations, 23% that they had increased their expectations, and 36% reported that their expectations were unchanged, but that they were not satisfied with the extent that their expectations were being fulfilled. Nine percent reported that their expectations had not changed and that they were satisfied with the achievement of their expectations.

Techniques for Helping

There are many techniques for helping, but none provide magical results. Most new Family Agents hope that they will be given a list of techniques which, when applied, will somehow result in radical changes in the families to whom they are assigned. Unfortunately, the most skilled professional has no such bag of tricks, but only a repertoire of techniques which hopefully may help clients learn new ways of dealing with their own problems.

When Family Agents were asked what techniques they found useful in working with clients, they made a wide variety of responses, indicating that the techniques must be geared to the situation, the client, the problem and the style of the particular Family Agent. Among the techniques found useful are:

-Giving advice and suggestions

-Making arrangements and referrals

-Acting as an advocate and defending client

-Giving information

-Giving support and reinforcement

-Providing tangible things and transportation

-Listening and non-directive guidance

-Avoiding the issue

In various ways the Family Agents attempt to manipulate the environment. This does not mean they jumped in to make major or radical changes in the life situation of the family. Rather, it means providing the family with a variety of small services which result in the reduction of stress for one or more family members. Providing transportation for a mother to visit a sick child in a hospital may on the surface seem like a job for a taxi driver, but it is difficult to measure the mother's relief from anxiety and guilt about the child she has not been able to visit. Finding a preschool program for children of an overworked mother; locating an extra bed to enable someone to get a night's rest; finding medical care for an ill father; changing a school program for a child with particular needs; finding a part-time job for a teen-ager - these are all manipulations of the environment which serve to make individuals more comfortable and in the long run more productive.

There is a tendency for new Family Agents to want to do everything at once; to move a family into new housing, find a better job for the father, rearrange school schedules for children, even remove children from homes they deem unfit. Manipulating the environment is a

useful technique provided the client is ready to accept the changes. People in all walks of life can move only at their own pace, can adjust to a limited number of changes at a time, and only to those changes they deem desirable. None want to be pushed around, and the Family Agent must view any changes in the environment from the point of view of the family's and not his own feelings.

Helping the client to help himself can also come about by offering understanding and sympathetic support. A teen-ager whose mother is too busy to listen can gain from accepting attention of the Family Agent; a busy mother with little opportunity for adult companionship can be helped over many difficult situations with the support of the Family Agent; a demoralized, unemployed father can be reassured enough by a supportive relationship to again begin to seek employment. Sympathy, too, can be overdone or offered at the wrong time or in the wrong situation. It should not be used to meet the worker's need to be liked, nor to deceive a client, nor to discourage a client from seeking to change a situation when change is possible. A "supportive relationship" means listening to a client without judgment or blame; it does not mean acceptance of the client's views as the only interpretation of the situation.

A useful technique for Family Agents is that of clarifying the problem. The poor can be helped to understand and deal with bureaucracy; they can learn to view illness as treatable and often curable if they can find and make use of the sources of help. Often the poor are angry at society in general. Their anger may be so overpowering that they become impotent; with help they can gain perspective. Once the problem can be separated from feelings about the problem, constructive action becomes more likely. Explaining the problem to a family member is generally ineffective; helping him arrive independently at an understanding of the larger situation can result in a conviction that there are various alternative behaviors. Sometimes the most effective way a Family Agent can help to clarify a problem is by saying nothing; "lending an interested ear" may result in the family member's weighing various possibilities and developing a more accurate picture on his own.

These basic techniques are useful in helping an individual change himself or his particular environment. Of equal importance is the development of skills which will help the client join with others to collectively change the environment or the social structure. The feelings of impotence so often felt by the poor can be alleviated by means of individual achievement; they can also be overcome by means of group pursuit of mutual goals.

All members of the family should be encouraged to join with community groups whose goals are similar to those of the family. Much organization is going on in most low-income communities since the advent of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. A sense of personal

growth and achievement, as well as group effectiveness can be gained through participation in such groups.

Family Agents should not only encourage family members to attend community meetings, but should find out when these meetings are taking place and offer to take them to these meetings. Attending meetings and joining organizations is not a usual event for many of the poor. They are sometimes reluctant to go to meetings because of feelings of inadequacy or apathy, because they feel that they do not have the right clothes or social graces, or because they fear the rebuff they have often experienced. Supporting and encouraging a family member to attend such groups can go a long way to provide a sense of participation in the society.

Dealing with Dependency

A major assumption of any social service or poverty program is that it has as a goal decreasing social and financial dependency. Under most circumstances, this is a realizable goal, but there are exceptions. There are a variety of kinds of dependency and these must be viewed separately. Among these are:

1. Dependency which develops in the course of establishing rapport and identification.

2. Dependency which serves the needs of the worker.

3. Dependency when the situation precludes independence, either financial or social.

4. Dependency as encouraged by social agencies.

Dependency at particular stages of any helping relationship may be inherent in the process of establishing rapport with one or more members of a family. This type of dependency was seen in the case of Linda, a 16 year old referred by the Probation Department after numerous episodes of delinquent behavior. As Linda began to identify with the Family Agent and wanted to break away from the delinquent peer group and find other outlets for her time and energies, she turned increasingly to the Family Agent for guidance and acceptance. While she had previously chosen and cared for her own clothes (though she had dressed like a "hussy" and worn elaborate "ratted" hairdos), she began to refuse to go shopping unless the Family Agent accompanied her; she even demanded that the Family Agent "do my hair for me". While seemingly a regression into a dependent status, Linda was seeking to establish a new mode of dress and grooming which would help her gain acceptance with a different kind of associates, and was looking to the Family Agent to provide her with the skills to do so. The Family Agent saw Linda's seeming dependency as an effort to refocus her goals and behavior into

more socially accepted ways, and by helping her learn the skills, and both rewarding the behavior change herself, and seeking new rewarding outlets for the image of the "new Linda", this kind of dependent behavior was of very limited duration.

On the other hand, had the Family Agent been, for example, a worker who had always wanted but never had a daughter, she might have encouraged and rewarded the dependent behavior to SERVE THE NEEDS OF THE WORKER HERSELF. It is not uncommon for such situations to arise under a variety of circumstances; dependency relationships may serve the needs of the worker who feels inadequate, who is seeking in the client relationship fulfillment of her own emotional gaps, or who gains a feeling of power from the opportunity to manipulate those who are dependent upon her. It is the role of the supervisor to spot such situations, discuss them with the Family Agent and find ways of helping the Family Agent overcome the situation. If the need to encourage dependency is pervasive in the Family Agent, she may have to be transferred from the case or terminated.

The third kind of dependency occurs when the SITUATION PRECLUDES INDEPENDENCE. This must be divided into Financial Dependency and Social-emotional Dependency. For some of the adults served by this or other agencies, the expectation of eliminating financial dependency may be unrealistic. Given our increasingly automated economy, the increased need for skilled and trained personnel, the reluctance of employers to hire older workers, particularly uneducated and unskilled ones of minority status, there may be little realistic hope of ever setting the goal of financial independence. Mrs. R., a 43 year old, Mexican-American mother of eight children, three of them still pre-schoolers, is typical of this group. With only a fair understanding of English and a fourth grade education, Mrs. R. has never been employed in the labor market. By the time her youngest children are off to school, she will probably be too old to be accepted into a training program, or if accepted and trained, job placement will be impossible or nearly so. For individuals like this, the society will probably always have to provide income maintenance, although the degree of social independence may be increased for this mother, with the expectation that by doing so, the children in the family will utlimately achieve both social and financial independence.

For other types of situations, financial independence may not be an issue, but emotional independence is a goal which is precluded for an extended if not indefinite period of time. Such is the case of 38 year old Mrs. G., a chronic schizophrenic who has been intermittently hospitalized since she was seventeen. Mr. G. is regularly employed as a short-order cook and is able to provide a barely adequate income for his six children. Were Mrs. G. able to handle household expenditures for food and clothing adequately, the family could have its essential needs met. Before the Family Agent was introduced to the family, Mrs. G. frequently took the entire week's budget to buy toys for the children, or something else desirable, but not essential. At times Mrs. G. was able to manage the tasks of

providing meals and clean clothes for the family, but at other times, all of the children simply found what food was available, and went to school only if and when they had clean clothes. The case was referred by a psychiatrist who felt that Mrs. G. was not amenable to therapy, but that if a Family Agent could provide supportive services to the family, it would be desirable to keep Mrs. G. in the home for her own and the children's best interests. The goal in this case was for the Family Agent to take over many of the roles of the mother, in an effort to meet the medical, educational, welfare and day-to-day needs of the children. The Family Agent made and took the children to medical appointments, helped them with homework and other school related matters, helped organize household chores and expenditures with as much participation of the older children as possible. She also helped members of the family to assume responsibility when the mother was not able to, but to relinquish that responsibility during those periods when the mother was functioning more adequately. In this case, then, the dependency of the mother was not considered to be as important a concern as meeting the very real needs of the children.

A fourth kind of dependency is that which is ENCOURAGED BY SOCIAL AGENCIES. Martin Rein has discussed this kind of dependency at length; in some cases dependency is encouraged because the agency must justify its usefulness. Case loads must be kept high to maintain the agency budget, or to justify the need for the size of the staff. Clients are the customers of social agencies; without these clients, the agency would go out of business. Some cases have been referred for the services of the Family Agent where the major if not the only problem was low income, but where the family functioned as well as could be expected under the strain of an extremely limited income. Once it was determined that nothing could be done to increase the income of the family, as in the case of a welfare mother who was already receiving a maximum allotment, these cases were not accepted. Low income was not viewed as a situation requiring intervention when the family was managing well; such an intervention would only have served to increase the dependency of the family.

In the majority of cases, dependency can be reduced when the Family Agent does only what is essential and encourages the family to do as much as they are able in the pursuit of their goals. The role of the Family Agent is to increase the repertoire of behavior of family members so that they can develop their abilities to "cope". All families have strengths and weaknesses, and individual family members vary in the kind, the amount, and the areas of strengths they have. As the Family Agent comes to know individual members of the family and how they interact as a unit, she can encourage the family to function as an interdependent but independent unit. If the Family Agent keeps in mind the rule of thumb that she should not do anything that the family is capable of doing for itself, dependency will not loom large as a problem.

In summary, then, there are some kinds of dependency relationships which are transitory, and can be channeled into positive growth;

others which serve the needs of the worker are to be avoided; there are situations where either emotional or financial dependency cannot be avoided, and still others where proper perspective and intervention will lead to a decrease in dependency.

Dealing with Hostility

The poor are often angry; they are angry about the indignities associated with their lack of power, status and material comforts, about the frequent crises in their lives, about the feeling that they are buffeted around by an unseeing, uncaring bureaucracy, about discrimination due to their color or ethnic origin, and all the complicated things these mean. The poor may at times be angry at the Family Agent, if perceived as an agent of the larger society. They will feel anger and may not hesitate showing the anger.

Sometimes this anger is verbalized directly, sometimes it is shown by resistance to the worker - not being home when the worker is expected, failing to keep appointments which have been scheduled. Sometimes it is shown by a kind of passive resistance: by saying "yes" when they fully intend the opposite.

It is important for the Family Agent to recognize the anger, channel its expression and not to take it personally. The Family Agent should try to help the individual determine where the actual source of his anger lies, and to direct attention to ways of relieving the frustrations and dealing with the source of the anger. People everywhere frequently displace their anger, so that, for example, anger which is felt towards an employer is shown towards a spouse. If there is a source of the anger which is recognizable to the Family Agent, it will be helpful to the family to help them identify and focus on the source rather than the displaced victim.

Not infrequently the mother in a family who is faced by a wide variety of frustrations and failures will displace her anger to the Family Agent and order her out of the house, only to call a few hours or days later and ask the Family Agent to return. These outbursts should be accepted matter-of-factly, and with as little feeling of personal rejection as possible.

Because of the overwhelming perception of the Family Agent as either an "informed friend" or "knowledgeable helper" rather than an authority figure, hostility toward the Family Agent is less frequent than with workers whose roles have been differently defined. The Family Agent who presents herself on a "people to people basis" rather than an "agency to people basis" is less apt to incur hostility, or be perceived as an agent of society.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: Elementary School DATE: 5-27-65

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

GRAVES FAMILY:	Father:	Albert Graves	37
	Mother:	Sally Graves	32
		James	16
		Joyce	13
		Annie	11
		Billy	8
		Laurie	4
		Butch	2

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE: none

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY:

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

SUMMARY OF CASE:

Well intentioned parents in crowded impoverished home. Six children, father unemployed for months due to illness or injury. Mother began work at hospital two months ago. Joyce, here last year, was a "weepy" quiet child. Annie does well with studies, but has a hard time holding on to friends. Billy is far behind in studies, especially reading. Mother getting help at St. John's Hospital Clinic for him. Reported to have very bad tonsils, to be out soon.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

The home needs counsel and support to keep ahead of problems, financial, home management, emotional support of children. Billy especially needs attention and support, health care, tutoring in school work, membership in Boys' Club, etc.

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

Initial Meeting

Referral made by principal of elementary school attended by three younger children had limited information. Family Agent introduced herself to the family by saying that she had been asked by the school to help the children with their school work, and to see if she could be of help in getting special medical care for Billy.

Both mother and father were at home at time of initial visit, and seemed concerned about their children's progress in school and eager to take part in any constructive plan. At that time Mr. Graves was unemployed, but Mrs. Graves was working. A week later she fell at work and broke her wrist and was hence unable to work. This crisis facilitated the acceptance of the Family Agent as a general family friend and counselor in addition to a tutor.

The Family Agent immediately started tutoring Billy after the first visit. After mother broke her wrist, the Family Agent began taking mother to the hospital for treatment and made application for Disability Insurance; neither Mr. or Mrs. Graves had been aware that she was eligible for such compensation.

Family Background

The Graves family are of Danish, French and Cherokee Indian ethnic origins. The family has been in California for three years, coming from Oklahoma and Missouri.

Mr. G. (37) comes from an unbroken home. He was particularly close to his mother. He left school in his mid-teens (1945) and at first (i.e. during the wartime boom in employment) had no job difficulties. As a child, he was hit by a baseball bat, and his nose and forehead broken. As a result, he has suffered from severe sinus pain. This became incapacitating about sixteen years ago, when the whole of the lower forehead bones were removed. He was supposed subsequently to have a plate inserted to replace this bone, but this has never been done. He still has frequent sinus trouble, and indications of remaining pressure are that periodically, in addition to severe pain, his eyes swell. He also had rheumatic fever as a young man.

Mr. G. has worked intermittently at various semi-skilled jobs - truck driver, machine operator, general maintenance, etc. His nearest approach to a steady trade was three years work as a carpet layer. An injury to his index finger, which has left it permanently stiff, has, he claims, ended his ability to keep up with this work. For the last fifteen to sixteen years, he appears to have been out of work as much as in, either because of sickness or because of inability to find a job. For about three years, he was a very heavy drinker. During this period he treated his wife and children cruelly, both physically and mentally. He is not drinking much now. He finds it

difficult to make friends, is lonely here and would like to return to Oklahoma. He has one brother here, but relations between the two families are practically non-existent.

Mr. G. appears to be likeable, a pleasant spoken man with a quiet, rather subtle sense of humor. His intelligence is probably average to low average, but he has considerable manual skills. At this time his sense of personal worth is too low, and both his initiative and incentive seriously impaired.

Mrs. G. (33) was orphaned as an infant. She and her brothers and sisters were put in separate foster homes, and hardly know each other. She was brought up by a very strict Baptist couple, both now dead. She loved her foster father, but never felt close to her foster mother. At thirteen, having finished the sixth grade, she was married with her foster parents' approval and blessing.

Mrs. G. had a hysterectomy after Butch's birth. She had goiter trouble and a hormone imbalance. She has very deep feelings of inferiority, particularly as regards her lack of education, and would like to go back to school.

Mrs. G. has worked when she could between pregnancies, often as the sole support of the family. At other times, when she has been unable to work, and Mr. G. has been sick or unemployed, the family has been literally destitute and she has begged for food. She is more perceptive and capable than she credits herself to be.

Both parents are concerned that their children finish school, and, if possible, receive further training. Both are concerned with manners and upbringing. Discipline is harsh; spankings, whippings, and beatings being the accepted method. Verbal abuse, often violent, is also used, both towards the children and from husband to wife. Mr. G. resents the size of his family, and wanted no more children after Billy's birth. He suffers from guilt feelings about this resentment, especially since Laurie was a sickly and delicate baby, and he feels this was a judgment upon him.

Both parents are Baptists. Mrs. G. and the girls attend church occassionally. The older girls and James participate in youth group activities, though James only does so when a special outing is offered. The family has received a good deal of material help from the local church in time of acute need.

Mrs. G. is a sociable woman, and makes friends easily. But neighborhood relations are, with few exceptions, very poor. The children follow the parental pattern of poorly controlled, violently expressed emotions; James and Billy particularly, and Annie to a somewhat lesser extent, quickly resort to and invite physical violence. In addition, the whole family has the reputation of being thieves; this has been acquired from Mr. G.'s habit of regularly and systematically checking the trash

cans and piles of the neighborhood, and taking anything useful. Actually, apart from a few minor incidents of the kind common to most children, the family seems honest.

In view of all the obvious causes of marital tension, the strength of this marriage is more impressive than its weaknesses.

Family Living Conditions

The home was described in referral as being crowded and impoverished, and this was indeed the case. All eight members of the family live in a four room house badly in need of repair. Housekeeping standards are poor, but not deplorable; there is more mess than dirt, although roaches and fleas are a problem. The children's clothing, likewise, is reasonably clean, but often in poor repair. An effort is made to provide well balanced meals at regular intervals, but this is seldom achieved.

Mr. Graves has had such frequent unemployment that the family has lived for years on the brink of total disaster.

Meeting Initial Request

Billy, age 8, was far behind his class especially in reading, and the Family Agent promptly began tutoring him four to six hours a week. Annie, who was the only child achieving in school, had difficulty keeping friends, and Joyce was described as a "weepy" quiet child. The Family Agent began taking the children in various combinations on outings and activities, and attempted to get all the children involved in summer activities.[1] YMCA camping scholarships were found for the two older girls; a part-time job was found for James (16) during the summer, and day camp activities were arranged for Billy (8).[1] Laurie, age 4, was enrolled in Operation Headstart by the Family Agent, and Mrs. Graves saw to it that Laurie attended regularly.

The older children were enrolled in a summer tutorial project when it began in the community;[1] they participated irregularly, but seemed to enjoy it when they did. The Family Agent encouraged regular attendance, and took the children to tutoring sessions frequently.

Continuing Efforts

The family had many unmet medical problems, and many of the initial efforts of the Family Agent were in this area. Mrs. G. was taken for treatment of her broken wrist at a local hospital with an outpatient clinic. A physician was found who was willing to treat the family at a low fee and to defer payment until it was possible for the family to pay. Annie was taken for a health check-up; Laurie was taken for penicillin shots for impetigo; Joyce and Billy for an eye examination and to get glasses, Butch for a pediatric check-up.

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[1]Other Functions of this Total Project.

The insurance doctor began to pressure Mrs. Graves to return to work although he stated that she had a 50% disability resulting from the broken wrist. The Family Agent found a volunteer attorney who initiated legal proceedings. The Family Agent made careful and conscientious documentation of all medical appointments, and eventually the lawyer effected an out-of-court settlement when a hearing before the Industrial Accident Commission was scheduled. Mrs. Graves received $1,750 plus medical costs. A civil suit was still pending.

Mrs. Graves had been working for $1.35 an hour and paying a baby-sitter to stay with the younger children, so that she netted less than $25.00 a week. The Family Agent urged Mrs. G. to care for two neighb . : children during the day, which she has done, so that she earns nearly as much money and stays at home with her own children.

Tutoring for all the older children continued after school started in the fall, and the children began showing the results of the added attention in their school work.[1] However, in mid-October, Mr. G. got drunk and beat up Mrs. G., Billy, Annie and James. This behavior had apparently been a chronic problem, but this was the first that any member of the family reported it. The Family Agent took Mr. G. to Medical Aid for an appointment with a physician, who prescribed tranquilizers and a no-alcohol routine. Mr. G. improved for a time until December when he again began drinking, followed by four evenings of physical violence and verbal abuse. Billy called the police, but Mr. G. left the home before they arrived.

Following this incident, Mr. G. was persuaded by the Family Agent to visit a Psychiatric Crisis Center and entered into treatment. The therapist recommended a neurological workup, which the Family Agent arranged. Mr. Graves kept the initial appointment, but refused to return for the series of neurological tests recommended. He also refused to return to the crisis clinic; Mrs. G. did, however, make several visits to the therapist, with the result that she is less cowed by her husband's outbreaks, and is more apt to seek immediate help for herself and the children, rather than blame herself for the husband's outbreaks.

The Family Agent was eventually able to get appointments at a Dental Clinic for much needed work for all the children; Mrs. Graves took the children to many of these appointments; when she was not able to keep them the Family Agent took the children.

In December, Mr. G. again lost his job, and the Family Agent took Mrs. G. to the Salvation Army which supplied her with food and presents for the children. Arrangements were made for the children to attend a number of institutional parties, and Christmas was not quite as drab as it would otherwise have been.

Mr. G. shortly found another job, this one paying $1.85 an hour; he also found a duplex for rent, which he cleaned up, repainted and repaired, using some of the money from the industrial accident settlement. The family bought some much needed second-hand furniture

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[1] *Ibid.*

and moved into the duplex in January. No sooner had they moved in when the landlord tried to raise the rent $50.00 a month (because of the now improved condition of the duplex). They were threatened with eviction if they did not meet the increased rent. The Family Agent took Mr. Graves to the Neighborhood Legal Services office (funded through OEO), where the attorney took charge of the case and both the threatened rent increase and eviction were dropped.

Mr. G. again lost his job in February, but found another one a few days later. James was enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and continued in High School although with many academic problems. He tended to show violent outbursts at home towards the younger children and his mother, and an attempt was made also to get an appointment for him at a counseling center. He refused to consider such an appointment until February, when he got into a violent fight with his father and threatened to kill him. Somewhat frightened by his own feelings, he did then accept an appointment for counseling.

Billy continued to show academic improvement, but got into considerable difficulty in the classromm because of unruly behavior. After a conference with the Family Agent and Mrs. Graves, Billy was transferred into a class with a male teacher, and he settled down considerably. Most of the grades on his report card were C's and a few B's (in contrast to D's and F's) and he was promoted to the fourth grade.

The family continued to have numerous health problems: head lice brought home from school, measles, various colds, and in April Laurie had pneumonia and had to be admitted to the hospital. In May, the Family Agent took Mrs. Graves to the hospital for a series of tests related to her thyroid condition. It was discovered at this time that she had a floating tumor in her neck and surgery was recommended. This was arranged through considerable efforts by the Family Agent and was done during July. While Mrs. G. was in the hospital, the Family Agent took a more active role in keeping the family in functioning condition.

The Family Agent was diligent and successful in arranging camperships for four of the children. She was able to get a free campership for Annie for six weeks of camp in Arizona, a four week camp session for Joyce, and a two week session for Billy. While Billy was at residential camp, the counselors noted that he was extremely hyper-active, physically aggressive and unusually retaliatory. On the basis of the counsellors observations, the Family Agent sought and found a scholarship at a three-day-a-week camp program for disturbed children, where he seemed to respond very positively to the specialized attention.

In May Mr. G. again lost his job and began drinking heavily. Tension and friction in the home increased, both between the parents

and between the children and parents. The Family Agent was able to find another job, this time at $2.50 an hour, for Mr. G. He was reluctant to take the job, saying that it was time for him to live on unemployment benefits. Mrs. Graves exerted considerable pressure on him, backed by the Family Agent, to take the job, which he did. He continued to drink for about a week after starting work, but this decreased, in part because Mrs. G. was now better able to cope with the problem and did not tolerate any abuse to herself or the children.

As of September, Mr. G is still employed at the job paying $2.50 an hour, and is working nearly 60 hours a week.

Interim or Final Evaluation

Income for this family in 1965 was less than $2000. Provided that Mr. G. continues to work for the remainder of the year, 1966 income will be in excess of $5000. The family is in more comfortable economic circumstances than at any time during their lives.

While there continues to be a variety of health and emotional problems, there has been a considerable reduction in the number and severity of these problems, and an increase in the ability of the family to deal with problems as they arise. Mrs. G. is better able to deal with the emotional outbursts of her husband, and there has been a general reduction of the tension level in the home. Though Mr. G. may never achieve really stable employment, he seems better able to find and keep a job than before. The children are achieving at school, and are taking better advantage of the many community resources available to them

It is recommended that the Family Agent decrease the intervals between visits, with the goal of terminating contact with the family in the near future.

Family Agent trainees raised and discussed the following questions:

> Since the father seems to be such a problem, would the family be better off without him? Who should make this decision?
>
> How well does this family utilize the resources available to it? Has the Family Agent helped the family make better use of its resources? Has she developed new resources for the family?
>
> How well does this family function as a unit? What are its strengths and weaknesses?

Have family members learned to handle their problems better? Did the Family Agent play any role in this?

Does the fact that this is an anglo family have any effect on its dynamics? On the relationship of the Family Agent to the family?

What changes in the social structure would have made a difference to this family?

Family Agents were asked to respond to the question: What was accomplished by the Family Agent? Among the responses were:

1. Dramatic improvement in income of the family.

2. Met many health needs of family. Helped mother find new ways of meeting health needs.

3. Helped teen-age son find employment.

4. Tutored children in school; general improvement in academic success.

5. Helped mother deal with behavior problems of the father.

6. Housing and financial condition of family improved through persistent attention to legal problems by Family Agent.

Family Agents were then asked to suggest other things which could have been done by the worker on the case.

The most important area needing attention as seen by most of the trainees was that of helping the father seek and accept medical and psychiatric attention.

CHAPTER XII

SESSION IX

9:30 - 10:30

WORK OF THE FAMILY AGENT AND ROLE OF THE SUPERVISOR

Case Presentation

10:30 - 12:00

Discussion

The Role of the Supervisor
Terminating Cases
The Family Agent as an Agent of Change

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: Probation DATE:

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

Mother:	Carla Sawyer (36)	Lee Sawyer (11)
	Edward Sawyer (30)	Larry Sawyer (9)
Minors:	Rosie Jones (20, out of home)	Flossie Sawyer (5)
	Ricky Brown (17, probation camp)	Cathy Sawyer (4)
	Patty Brown (16)	Eddie Sawyer (3)
	Susie Johnson (13)	Arnold Sawyer (2)

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY:

Known to Probation Department since April, 1962

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

Bureau of Public Assistance

SUMMARY OF CASE:

Family first came to attention of department when Ricky, now in camp placement, was arrested for drinking, burglary, runaway. Patty first came to the attention of the Department for runaway, sex delinquency and drug ingestion. She is currently pregnant by an 18 year-old who is in County Jail for fighting. Step-father (Edward Sawyer) is periodically in and out of the home; is frequently unemployed (is now) and has an intermittent drinking problem. Mother drinks on occasion when pressures become too great. Mother has a serious gall bladder condition - she is now in need of surgery for this. Family lives in rundown, substandard four-room house; wants to move but cannot find anywhere which will rent to a family this size. All children have school attendance problems, frequently because of clothing problems.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Adequate housing, clothing for the children, work and/or vocational training for father, medical assistance for mother and Patty; arrangement for care of the family while mother has surgery.

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

Conference with Referring Worker

Family Agent met with both PO who had referred the case and the BPA worker to discuss the problems of this large family. BPA has had contact with the family off and on for 12 years; the two oldest children are currently receiving financial assistance.

Both workers felt that the health problems of mother and Patty were most urgent. Patty, 6 months pregnant, had not yet had a prenatal examination by a physician. Mother's gall bladder condition aggravated by occasional drinking bouts kept her functioning poorly.

Both workers saw Mrs. S. as having so many personality difficulties that they felt the best that could be expected for the family was that the Family Agent could provide support and resources for the children, thus helping them to escape from the trap in which they presently lived. Though all the members of the family seemed of normal intelligence, none were achieving in school. It was felt that efforts of the Family Agent should be directed towards changing some of the situations preventing the children from achieving their potential.

Initial Meeting

Family Agent was introduced to family by PO; mother seemed very friendly to PO, but became hostile when it was suggested that Family Agent might be able to provide other kinds of assistance. Mother said, "I have so many problems no one can help me". (Family Agent was inclined to agree). Finally Mrs. Sawyer agreed that Family Agent might visit if she did not bug her about cleaning up the house, and if she could find shoes for the children so that they could go to school.

Family Background

Some history of the family was received from both the PO and the BPA worker, but most enfolded during the two years in which the Family Agent worked with the family.

Mrs. Sawyer had come to Los Angeles from Louisiana at the age of 11; she was the oldest girl in a family of nine children. Her father had done farm work until coming to Los Angeles, where it seems he was mainly unemployed. When she was 13, her father abandoned the family and they were supported by their mother who did day work. Mrs. S. attended Junior High School until age 15 when she became pregnant with Rosie. At this time she dropped out of school, continued living with her mother and younger brothers and sisters and kept home for the family of eleven.

When Rosie was one year old, Mrs. Sawyer married a Mr. Brown who was a day laborer, intermittently employed. He was in and out of the home, as was Mr. Johnson, the father of Susie. When Mr. Johnson left the family, Carla took her four children back to her mother's and found work in a factory. This time her mother tended all the children while Carla worked. This period of time Carla describes as the happiest time of her life; it was the only time when she was not responsible for the care of a very large family.

When Susie was six years old, Carla began living with Mr. Sawyer who had two children (Lee and Larry) from a previous marriage. She began keeping house for the six children, and soon Flossie and Cathy were born. BPA was at this time providing financial assistance for Rosie, Ricky, Patty and Susie, and they pressured Carla into marrying Mr. Sawyer.

Mr. Sawyer worked as a gardener's assistant, and was frequently unemployed; at these times the entire family received financial aid. Shortly before the case was referred for the attention of a Family Agent, Mr. Sawyer fathered a child for a 19 year old girl living down the street. Mr. and Mrs. S. fought about this a great deal, with the result that Mr. S. would leave the family for several weeks at a time and move in with the girl. At these times, Mrs. S. would drink a great deal.

Mrs. S. is chronically angry at her total life situation, and takes out her angry feelings on those around her. She is angry at her husband, her children, and the various "authorities" who she sees as interfering in her life. Sometimes this anger is expressed in rampages, while drunk or sober. At other times she sullenly resists what she sees as the intervention of authorities: she refuses to send her children to school, saying "they have no right to demand this of me", will not keep medical or dental appointments for the children. She refuses to consider the use of any contraceptives, saying "they have no right to tell me how many children to have". Seldom does she see herself as having any control or responsibility for her life situation, but lashes out at "them", "the schools", "the Probation Officer", "the kids", "men", or anyone of the many people she sees as manipulating or attempting to manipulate her life.

Since Mr. Sawyer never lived in the home after the case was referred, it is somewhat unclear what role he filled. Certainly he was weighted down by the responsibilities of this large family, and felt inadequate to meet their needs. The children speak positively of him, but usually in terms of the material things he was able to provide at times. They remember with fondness "the night he brought me home a new bike", or "the time he bought me a birthday cake".

Mrs. S. has been, since early childhood, a strong and dominant individual. She managed a large home when she herself was a teenager, and manages and manipulates this home. She exerts extreme control over her children, and seems unable to deal with their increasing demands and need for independence as they grow older. As each teenager begins to break away, she tends to exert increasing control on those who are younger.

Unable to cope with the outside world, and frightened of the forces of society, she attempts to keep her children off the streets, out of school, and out of work.

Though angry and controlling at home, she has great feelings of inadequacy about dealing with people and institutions outside of the home. On one occasion, when the water was turned off accidentally in the house, she ranted and raged at the children for four days and the family went without water, but she made no attempt to find out why the water was turned off, or if anything could be done about it. She sees herself as victimized by the society around her, and is, in short, an alienated person. There is little in her life to relieve the constant pressures or boredom and monotony of her daily life. Infrequent wine drinking sprees seem to offer the only relief in the total situation.

Though she has a large family living in the area, she seldom sees any of her nine brothers and sisters or their families, except when she has a more urgent financial need than usual. On these occasions, her brothers and sisters have lent money or supplied food for the family. The younger children seem unaware of many of their aunts and uncles who live relatively mearby.

The children in this large Negro family are unusually attractive, and all are reported to be of normal intelligence, although none are achieving at grade level.

Rosie, the eldest, completed the ninth grade before becoming pregnant. She now lives in the Long Beach area with the father of her two children. He, like the many men in her mother's life, is intermittently employed. Ricky completed the eighth grade in Junior High School, but had some additional education while at Probation camp. He is an amiable, attractive young man who is drifting without either direction or hope.

Patty dropped out of the ninth grade when she became pregnant. She seems unusually bright, though she is barely able to read, and was failing in most of her subjects when she dropped out of school. She participated for a number of years with a girl's gang in the area, in which there was considerable promiscuity, use of narcotics and runaway behavior, though they seem never to have indulged in thefts or other acts of delinquency. Patty is outgoing and vivacious; she seems to understand and have sympathy for her mother's many problems, but wants to find a way out for herself.

Susie, the darkest of the children, has been the most rebellious and unable to be controlled. Since the second grade, she has repeatedly been truant both with and without the mother's knowledge. There is some evidence of sex delinquency beginning at age 11.

Lee, age 11, is a warm and compassionate child who spends much of his time caring for the younger children in the family. He seems willing and eager both to look after the other children and to please his stepmother. He too is absent from school a great deal, but usually to stay home as a baby sitter. It is he who remembers the appointments for the family and reminds the others. The school reports that he never presents a behavior problem in the classroom, but that his attendance is so poor that he reads only at the second grade level.

The four youngest children are very passive and fearful, never initiating any conversation, and answering only with nods. When Cathy was enrolled in Operation Headstart, the teacher found that she either could or would speak less than a dozen words. Unless Lee stayed with her, she spent the entire class time crying. Unfortunately she attended for only a few weeks, and then Mrs. S. refused to send her back, saying it was more trouble than it was worth, and that "they" were trying to take even her babies away from her.

The total picture of this family was, to say the least, a challenge!

Family Living Conditions

The family lived in a four room and enclosed sunporch home which was in very bad repair. Every room, including the kitchen, contained beds, most of which had no sheets and only rags for blankets. There were holes in the floorboards so that both cold air and rats came up from under the house. The children were chronically without adequate clothing, although Mrs. Sawyer did laundry regularly at the laundromat, and attempted to keep such clothing as they had clean. None of the children had, or expected to have, shoes until they started school.

Mrs. S. made soup every day, which was the main and usually the only meal. The pot was always kept on the stove, and as members of the family arrived, they helped themselves to a bowl and sat down on a bed to eat. The home had no kitchen table, and the family could not eat together if they had so desired. As the older children found employment, they tended to use the money earned to buy cokes and potato chips which they ate on the way home.

In spite of poor living conditions, generally poor diet and inadequate medical attention, the children have maintained remarkably good health except that they are all badly in need of dental care.

When employed, Mr. Sawyer earned about three hundred dollars a month. This was supplemented by public assistance to the older children belonging to Mrs. Sawyer. Much of the time, however, Mr. Sawyer is unemployed, at which times the family becomes destitute.

The only piece of furniture in the entire house which is intact is a television set; from time to time this is pawned for money for food.

Meeting Initial Request

There were a variety of requests made by the Probation worker but the first request met was the one made by the mother - to find shoes for the children. This was done by contacting the PTA which provides shoes for needy school children, a service Mrs. S. was unaware of. Initial services provided to the mother were aimed at overcoming her hostility: taking her to the laundromat with her enormous wash; driving her to the supermarket and bringing back the groceries; taking the younger children on outings to provide her with a little free time.

Throughout the two years of contact, Mrs. Sawyer continued to be hostile; at times whe would be more responsive, sometimes even warm, but she was generally so angry about her total life situation, that she was in a rage much of the time, lashing out at the Family Agent, the children, the Probation Officer, or anyone available.

Several appointments were made at UCLA Medical Center for Patty for prenatal care and delivery; however, she refused to keep any appointments. Each time she cancelled an appointment she would agree to keep the next one, but as the day arrived she would remain in bed and cover her head and refuse to get up. She was unhappy about her condition, and embarrassed about having to be examined, and felt that if she didn't face the situation somehow it would all disappear. This continued until her seventh month when the Family Agent noticed that Patty's ankles were swollen as were her eyelids. Recognizing the potential dangers involved in this physical condition, the Family Agent turned to the Probation Officer for help. The Probation Officer made a home visit to Patty, and insisted that she keep the next appointment, threatening placement for Patty if the appointment was not kept. Patty then did keep the next appointment, and it was found that she had a severe kidney problem; treatment was instituted immediately. Arrangements were made for delivery to be at UCLA, and the Family Agent was able to interest Patty in making other arrangements for the baby - including preparing a layette with things found by the Family Agent. Patty had previously refused to consider placing the baby for adoption.

It was decided at this time to delay efforts to find a referral for surgical treatment of Mrs. S's gall bladder until after delivery of Patty's baby, since Mrs. S. was having less frequent gall bladder attacks.

Continuing Efforts

The week the Family Agent began visiting the family, Mr. Sawyer left the home and moved in with the girl down the street whose baby he had fathered. Mrs. S. was quite ambivalent; she was in part relieved to have him out of the home, because he caused terrible battles in the home when drunk, but she was very jealous of the young girl with whom he was living. She was faced also with a more serious financial crisis: barely able to provide a subsistence level for one family, he certainly could not provide for two. The entire family at this point was trying to survive on the assistance checks for the three older children. Family Agent took Mrs. S. to see the worker at BPA who stated that no further assistance could be provided the family until Mr. S. had been out of the home for 90 days; the BPA worker urged Mrs. S. to get a divorce.

Mrs. Sawyer was quite uncertain about whether she wanted Mr. Sawyer to return to the home or not until December when he came to the house, stole the welfare check and cashed it. This left the family with unpaid rent, utilities turned off, and no food in the house. At this point Mrs. S. decided that the entire family would be better off without Mr. S. Interestingly, there was never any discussion of what would happen to the two children (Lee and Larry) who were Mr. Sawyer's by his first wife. Mr. Sawyer assumed that Mrs. Sawyer would keep the children; the children assumed that they would stay with Mrs. Sawyer, and Mrs. Sawyer never questioned if she could, should, or wanted to keep these children. Mrs. S. was attached to these children as to all of the children she herself had borne.

During this period the family lived from one meal to the next. They survived through a variety of sources: by getting a temporary food order from the BPA; the Family Agent took the family down to the PTA food bank and brought back a station wagon load of food; friends and relatives brought a dollar or two with which to buy milk. Every day there was a crisis to be dealt with. In the middle of this desparate period, while the utilities were turned off, Patty went to the hospital to deliver her baby. She had a healthy boy, and returned home (driven by the Family Agent) three days later to a house with no heat, no electricity, and no food. The Family Agent bought milk for the baby's formula and some food for the family.

Fortunately, Ricky, the eldest son, returned home from Probation Camp at this time and immediately found a job at a car wash, and was able to provide a few dollars to the family. The BPA worker provided two market orders for the family and promised to re-evaluate the case when divorce proceedings began. The Family Agent discussed this

with her supervisor, and it was decided to consult an attorney. Since BPA had urged Mrs. Sawyer to marry Mr. S. it hardly seemed that continued assistance could be made contingent upon her now divorcing her husband. The lawyer found, first of all, that since Mrs. S. had married three men without divorcing any of the previous husbands, it would be most difficult to determine her marital status at this time. Then too, the lawyer confirmed that financial eligibility could not hinge on whether or not Mrs. S. was legally married to Mr. S. but rather on whether or not he was supporting her, or could be made to support her. After a phone call from the attorney, BPA agreed that, if Mrs. S. would file a complaint with the District Attorney for non-support, financial eligibility would be certified. Within a few weeks, Mrs. S. began receiving aid for herself and the seven children - Ricky was not eligible since he was seventeen and not in school, and Patty and her baby received a separate grant. Mr. S. began making some payments to the court for their support.

Once this financial crisis was passed, attention could be directed in some other areas. Arrangements were made to have the children begin to get both medical and dental care, and numerous appointments with doctors, dental clinics, and for eye examinations and glasses were made and kept.

In February, Ricky was arrested for driving without a license. Family Agent discovered that he could not read well enough to take the drivers' test and was embarrassed to admit this. The Family Agent got a drivers' manual, reviewed the law with Ricky, and accompanied him for the test, requesting that the questions be read to him. This was done and he received the license before he had to appear in court. The Family Agent insisted that he appear in court, which he had not intended to do. He received a minimum fine at the court hearing.

There was a temporary lull in family problems, and Family Agent spent her efforts trying to improve the school attendance of all the younger children, and enrolled Susie, Lee and Larry in tutorial programs.[1] All were severely retarded in reading ability, but attended tutoring sessions only when brought by the Family Agent. Mrs. S. did not seem able to insist that her children attend either school or tutoring regularly.

Patty, who had been rather passive during her pregnancy, became very hostile and restless. Her boyfriend resumed visiting her after his release from jail, which led to many fights with her mother. Following one of these, Patty ran away from home for four days. She then called Family Agent and told her that she was afraid to return home. Family Agent urged Patty to return, warning that her child might be made a ward of the court if she continued this irresponsible behavior.

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[1] Indicates services provided by other parts of this project.

Patty agreed to return, if the Family Agent would prepare the way for her by talking to her mother. This was done.

A conference was held between the Probation Officer, the Family Agent, and her supervisor, to make plans for Patty who was showing an increase in her irresponsible behavior. It was agreed that the tension between Patty and her mother might be relieved if Patty were to get a job, both to contribute to the finances of the family and to be away from the mother much of the time. Family Agent found several jobs for Patty. After being hired for two of them, she failed to appear the first morning at either. A third job was found and Patty worked two days and then never went back. Family Agent discussed employment possibilities at length with Patty, who felt she would like to work in a hospital. When Family Agent found such a job for Patty she decided, after a week, that she did not like the messy work involved. At this point Patty was enrolled in a job readiness program at the Center.[1] Her behavior during this time continued to be hostile and defiant. At the end of the program, she was placed as an aid in a Nursery program through the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This permitted her to work 20 hours a week, so that, theoretically, she could spend some time with her baby and helping her mother with the many household chores of this large family.

Tension between Patty and her mother continued, with Mrs. Sawyer feeling considerable resentment that she had to care for Patty's baby. The Family Agent attempted to get Patty to assume more responsibility at home, which she was forced to do when Mrs. S. had another serious gall bladder attack and went for surgery. The Family Agent visited the family daily while mother was in the hospital to help Patty shop, wash and care for the family. Mrs. S. recovered nicely and was put on a strict diet by the doctor as she was seriously overweight. Following the surgery and a moderate weight loss, Mrs. S. began to feel less weighted by the many demands of her family. Unfortunately at this time Mr. S. visited his family, remained for the night and very shortly Mrs. S. discovered that she was again pregnant. She became very sullen, depressed, and hostile, and flew into rages at all the children. As a result of the pressure, Patty again ran away from home, Ricky, now 18, was arrested for car theft and drunk driving and was sentenced to jail. Mother at this point was so overcome by her many problems that she told the Family Agent that the best thing that could happen to all her children was to have them sent to jail. Family Agent got mother to sign a "Missing Complaint" for Patty. During her absence Patty's baby became ill; Family Agent realized that the baby was severly ill when she saw him, and rushed him to UCLA Medical Center where it was found that he had pneumonia.

He remained in the hospital for over a week; meanwhile Patty returned home feeling considerable guilt that she had been away while her baby became so ill.

No sooner had Patty returned home than Susie, now 14, ran away. She was gone for three weeks, apparently spending most of the time in abandoned houses. When she was picked up by the police and returned home she refused to return to school. A conference was again called with the Probation Department, and the PO decided to seek placement of Susie, in part because Mrs. S. made no attempt to get Susie to go to school but was happy to have her at home as a baby sitter. Susie was sent to Juvenile Hall pending a suitable placement. In about two weeks she was admitted to a residential school where she went reluctantly.

Patty then repeated her entire procedure of running away, calling the Family Agent to intervene with her mother, and then returning home. This time Mrs. Sawyer was given temporary custody of Patty's baby by court order. This upset Patty a great deal, who then made many promises of how she planned to reform her life. While she was in a reforming mood, the Family Agent quickly enrolled her in a course in Food Handling in which she was paid a small training allowance.[1] Patty was pleased to have some reason to wake up every day, and attended the course with enthusiasm. She began to spend more time helping her mother and caring for the baby, and Mrs. Sawyer's resentment diminished somewhat.

Efforts had continued all year to find more suitable housing for the family but to little avail. During June three of the children were bitten by rats, and Eddie, now age 4, went into shock as a result of the bites. It became imperative to find other housing. With one child in jail and one in placement, the family was down to eight members, and a three bedroom house in excellent condition was found nearby and the owner agreed to rent to the family. Patty showed great enthusiasm about the new house and assumed most of the responsibility for the move. Family Agent was able to find several nice pieces of furniture, including a couch and several chairs for the living room. Mrs. Sawyer made curtains and the entire family seemed to get a real lift from their new and attractive quarters. Someone gave the family a table and chairs for the kitchen, and for the first time the family was able to eat together in two shifts.

In July Eddie got sick one evening and Mrs. Sawyer took him to UCLA Hospital which admitted him immediately. Family Agent was much

encouraged that Mrs. S. who had never previously dealt with a crisis herself, had learned the procedure for admissions. Mrs. S. called the Family Agent the next day to report on her accomplishment!

Ricky was released from jail on parole, and the Family Agent attempted to get him into the Job Corps, but was unsuccessful. She then discovered that he had never registered for the draft, and got him to do so. After making several attempts to help him find a job, the Family Agent finally got Ricky enrolled in an on-the-job training program.[1]

Family Agent got Cathy, nearly five years old, enrolled in Operation Headstart, and arranged for Lee(12) to take her to the Headstart site every day. She also made arrangements for Lee, Larry and Flossie to attend day camp sessions, but two children went only when the Family Agent took them.[2] Lee received a camperships for two weeks at a resident camp. Mrs. Sawyer was reluctant to let him go to the camp since, with Patty at work and Susie away at school, Lee was the oldest child at home and the one she depended upon as a baby sitter. The Family Agent was adamant however, and Lee got away for two weeks. The difficult position of Mrs. S., now six months pregnant, was recognized, but her pattern has been to lean very heavily upon whatever child was available to help with housework and baby tending. When she put too much pressure on any of the children, they ran away from home. This had happened with Rosie, Ricky, Patty and Susie; attempts were being made by the Family Agent to find some outlets for Lee before he had to flee from the pressure. For this reason it seemed most important that he get away to camp for a few weeks.

As the pregnancy progressed, Mrs. S. remained in a continual emotional rampage. She said that the BPA worker, the Probation Officer, and the Family Agent had conspired to take her children away from her (i.e. Ricky and Patty left every day to attend work-training programs, and Susie was in a residential school). Despite attempts on the part of the PO and the Family Agent to discuss the real sources of Mrs. Sawyer's anger, she continued to express the anger at her children and at AUTHORITIES who conspire against her. She saw her children's maturing needs for education, recreation and training as being in conflict with her needs for companionship and help around the house. If she couldn't manipulate the older children, she focused on the younger ones. One month she refused to allow Cathy to go to Headstart classes or any of the other children to go to day camp activities. To get back at "authorities" she sullenly refused to keep much needed medical and dental appointments which, in her more sanguine moments, she asked the Family Agent to help set up. Every morning as Ricky and Patty left for their job

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training programs she flew into a rage at them. In their absence she raged at the younger children, who cowered in fear of their mother.

Another conference was called between the various agency workers. The Probation Officer, who had long experience with the family, reported that this is how Mrs. S. always acted during her pregnancies. All saw little hope of dealing with any of these problems as long as Mrs. S. remained in that frame of mind. Temporary placement of the children was considered and rejected. The only possibility seemed to be to have the Family Agent and other workers offer what support they could to the children during this difficult period, and to offer any concrete services to the mother which might alleviate her heavy load. As in the initial stages of work, the Family Agent focused on taking the mother shopping and to the laundromat, etc., and held all other goals such as medical appointments, etc., in abeyance.

The Family Agent attempted to procee on this course, but on the next visit to the home Mrs. S. told the Family Agent that she didn't need her anymore and didn't want her to come back. She said that she had a new house and enough money and the Family Agent didn't do anything to help anyway. Family Agent left, saying that Mrs. S. should feel free to call her for any reason.

Two weeks later Mrs. S. called the Family Agent after an accident in which Flossie put her hand through a pane of glass and required hospitalization. Family Agent made medical arrangements. Family Agent asked if the mother needed any other services and, when told no, Family Agent again told mother to feel free to call if she did.

Mrs. S. did not call again for two months. During this time Family Agent called to talk to her, but was met with hostility. On several occasions Patty called the Family Agent for advice and help on small matters, mostly to talk to the Family Agent about the difficult time all the children were having with their mother. Mrs. S. called again three days after her daughter was born, saying she needed the Family Agent to take Cathy and Eddie to the doctor because they were sick. Family Agent went to the home, found Mrs. S. in very good spirits and quite delighted with her new baby.

Mrs. S., at this interview, indicated that she would like to have the Family Agent resume her visits. Family Agent returned to her supervisor to discuss this. The Family Agent was uncertain as to whether or not she wanted to expose herself to the constant barrage of hostility from Mrs. S. and also expressed some feelings that nothing could or had been accomplished. With the supervisor, the Family Agent reviewed what had happened in the case, and it was agreed that several positive changes had occurred. The family was living in better quarters than before; though now mainly dependent upon public assistance for their financial needs, the situation had been improved and the family had for the first time a low, but stable income. Ricky and Patty continued in work training and had the possibility of finding jobs at an adequate wage after training.

Both of these teen-agers seemed to have shown a decrease in delinquent behavior, and were enthusiastic about the future. Susie was in a good educational situation and, though she was presenting serious behavior problems there, attempts were being made to deal with these problems, which certainly would be intensified in the home situation. The younger children were having more of their immediate physical needs met, and were receiving more adequate medical and dental attention than previously.

In the light of these gains, it was agreed that the Family Agent would return to work with the family, continuing to offer support to Ricky and Patty until they were able to firmly establish the new directions they had set, and to continue to increase services and resources for the younger children. The Family Agent would intensify efforts to find some sources of reward for Mrs. S. outside of the home.

Interim or Final Evaluation

This family continues to need intervention from a variety of agencies. Despite the two years and over 370 hours of work of the Family Agent, it is not anticipated that Mrs. S. will be able to achieve any degree of financial or even social independence; but it is hoped that with continued support at least some of the children will be able to do so.

It is recommended that the Family Agent continue visits with this family on the same on-going basis.

The presentation of this case aroused many questions and feelings among the Family Agent trainees: Were they adequate to the job? Could anything really be done for this family? Did many of the families have this many problems? Were the gains worth the investment?

Because of these questions, the discussion was opened with the question, "What positive changes occurred with this family? Among the responses were:

> The general living conditions have improved by removal from substandard housing to a more comfortable and spacious house.
>
> Many of the medical needs have been met, and mother has learned techniques for finding resources which she can use when she is in a frame of mind to make use of these new skills.
>
> The financial situation has been stabilized through assistance from BPA.
>
> The financial situation has improved through part-time work and training programs for two of the teen-age children.

There has been a reduction of delinquent activities by two of the three teen-agers, and these two are continuing in training programs despite many problems in the home.

Other issues raised by the Family Agents were:

Was this family in better or worse circumstances after the desertion of the father?

Why did Mrs. 3 keep the children of her husband's former wife? Is this usual? How did the children feel about this? Who was responsible for their support?

Would these children be better off out of the home? What kind of placement possibilities are available?

What were the strengths in this home situation.

Would psychiatric treatment be of any help to this mother?

How well does this family utilize the resources available to them?

Have the family members learned to deal with their problems any better? Have they improved in family interaction?

Does the fact that this was a Negro family have any effect on the family dynamics? On their adjustment?

What changes in the social structure would have made a difference to this family?

What other kinds of things could the Family Agent have done which might have made a difference?

The Role of the Family Agent Supervisor

Qualifications:

Family Agent supervisors have been selected because:

They have extensive experience in working with multi-problem families in low income areas, and are committed to trying new methods and approaches to problems.

They have knowledge of the community, of the available resources and services in the immediate and wider community.

They are skilled at maintaining interagency relations, and obtaining needed services for clients from these agencies.

They are knowledgeable about the poverty program, sympathetic towards its goals, and are committed to the concept that both individual and institutional change are needed and possible to overcome the conditions of poverty.

Functions of the Family Agent Supervisor:

The Family Agents can expect, and do receive direction and guidance in understanding problems of the families they serve and in finding solutions. Supervisors can teach and guide workers to develop new skills and techniques both for dealing with family problems and community problems.

Supervisors maintain an important monitoring function. It is up to the supervisor to see that the problems on which the Agents focus are those which hamper the family; that the methods used are appropriate to the problems presented. Supervisors also serve to keep the activities of the Agents within the scope of the agency and the capabilities of the Agent.

An important function of the Supervisor is to offer support and reassurance to the Family Agents. It is not unusual for new Family Agents to be overwhelmed by the multitude and magnitude of problems of a family. The supervisor functions to help the Family Agent find a way through the maze of problems, to focus on areas of possible change, so that they can continue to work without undue expectations or discouragement.

Supervisory Procedures

At the close of the ninth training session, each Family Agent is assigned to the supervisor with whom she will work, and an appointment is scheduled for an individual conference.

In this conference, the Family Agent and the supervisor discuss the initial case assignment, the reasons why the case was referred, and any pertinent information concerning relations with the referring agency or worker. It the Agent is to be introduced to the family by the referring worker, an appointment is scheduled at this time. If the Agent is to visit the family alone, these procedures are discussed.

After this initial visit to the family, the Family Agent returns to the supervisor to discuss her reactions and findings of the visit, and to report on further information and insight gained. At this conference, the supervisor and the Agent attempt to develop plans as to what activities the Agent and the family may attempt in the light of the family's most pressing needs.

Following this, further conferences are scheduled as often as the Agent or the supervisor feel necessary, but at least once a month. Inexperienced Family Agents will make frequent use of the supervisor both through scheduled conferences and informal telephone contacts. Agents should feel free to contact their supervisors whenever questions or uncertainties arise. As they gain in understanding, skills and confidence, the frequency of these contacts will usually decrease. After six months experience, conferences may be limited to the regular monthly scheduled ones, except for an occasional crisis.

From time to time, additional conferences between the supervisor, the Family Agent, the referring worker, and possibly that worker's supervisor may be necessary. Such conferences are to be arranged only <u>after</u> consultation with the supervisor. These on-going inter-agency conferences may be scheduled whenever there is a major change in the situation or direction of the case, or when any problems arise with the family or its relationship to either agency.

Responsibilities of the Supervisor:

Family Agent supervisors maintain a case file on each case referred. These are kept in a central agency file, and contain the orig- referral, notes on each supervisory conference and phone call, the Family Agent's monthly report and the termination report.

Supervisors are responsible for maintaining inter-agency relations and communications. Each supervisor submits to the referring agency a monthly report summarizing the Family Agent's activities for each case. Copies of the supervisors reports are also filed in the central agency case file.

When the Family Agent Cannot Help

There are some kinds of cases on which a Family Agent cannot be of any help.

Sometimes a case is referred when the family is already managing as well as could be expected, and the primary problem seems to be one of limited income. If after careful investigation of the Family Agent and evaluation by the supervisor and the referring worker, this is seen as the only problem, and one which cannot be remedied, then the case should not be accepted.

Families have the right to refuse the services of a Family Agent, though they have only rarely done so. It is up to the supervisor to attempt to find out whether the family does not want any Family Agent, or merely the particular one who visited the family. After such investigation, if the family is adamant that they do not want any intervention, then the case should not be accepted.

Terminating Cases

Cases are terminated when the decision is made by one of three sources: the family itself, the referring agency or the Family Agent agency.

When families move from the area, or feel that their problems have been resolved, the case is closed.

The referring agency may request that a case be closed, though this has rearely occurred. Cases are not automatically closed by the Family Agent agency merely because they have been closed by the referring agency.

The most usual reason for terminating a case is that it appears that the primary problems of the family have been resolved or mitigated, and that further services of the Family Agent will result in diminishing gains.

Once the decision to work towards termination is reached, Family Agents have found it helpful to increase the interval of time between visits, and in this way cases are tapered off. Some Agents have found it helpful to stop home visits, but maintain telephone contact for brief periods before actually closing the case.

At the time of termination, families are assured that they may call the agency should some crisis arise.

The termination form used when a case is closed is shown in the appendix.

The Family Agent as an Agent of Social Change

The training of Family Agents has thus far focused on efforts to change the behavior of family members to fit the society. An equally important area is the role of the Family Agent in changing the structure of the society which creates and fosters the development of family problems. These problems are embedded deep within the social system and encompass broad areas within the economic and political system effecting the entire area of human rights.

While it is not within the range of possibilities for individual Family Agents to make massive changes in the social order, there are at least three areas where Family Agents can act as a catalyst:

1. The Family Agents may demand and get better service from the agencies contacted on an individual basis with their families. Agencies can, and have been found to change their intake policies and other procedures to meet the needs of low income clients when pressured.

2. The Family Agents can utilize their membership groups in the larger society to interpret the needs and problems of the poor. They can suggest ways in which these groups can restructure and redirect their activities to better serve the poor. Family Agents have proved to be most effective in this role.

3. They can participate in organizations focused on needed programs of social action, and help the families with whom they work to join in these activities.

As an advocate for the families served, each Family Agent is expected to see that any agency contacted delivers the kind and the quality of service it is structured to deliver. Family Agents represent families with the Bureau of Public Assistance, the public schools, health agencies, and other service agencies to see that the family receives not merely adequate service, but are treated with consideration and respect. That this is frequently not the case in the life experiences of the poor is illustrated by the rather frequent comment made by many family members after a visit to an agency with a Family Agent: "They sure do treat me different when you're with me."

The Family Agents chosen for this program are women who have been active in a variety of kinds of political, social and service organizations in their own communities. They have been encouraged to continue their activities in these groups, and to accept and seek opportunities to communicate back what they have learned about the problems their deprived families encounter, and to suggest specific methods, programs or new ways these groups may structure their organizations to deal with these problems. Among the programs Family Agents were effective in bringing into the area are:

-Four tutorial programs; for in and out of school youth, sponsored and operated by a university, two churches and one businessmen's group.

-Two Youth Clubs operated by church groups.

-Support for Operation Headstart, Teen Posts and other community groups by the Human Relations Council, the American Association of University Women, various civic, social and religious groups..

-Scholarships for low-income children to attend four nursery schools outside of area.

-A Mental Health Outpatient Psychiatric Treatment Service supported by the Community Chest.

-Consumer Education Classes.

-Adult Education and English for Foreign Speaking Classes.

-Remedial and Adult Literacy Classes, sponsored by church groups.

-Job Orientation for Teen-agers sponsored by two major corporations.

-Transportation for boys to an out-of-area boys club facility.

In addition to working with individual groups to interpret the problems of poverty and to develop services, Family Agents are encouraged to participate in and take the lead in organizing social action groups aimed both at modifying the structure of agencies and developing participation of the residents of the area in expanding their own programs. Family Agents have been effective in helping to organize:

-Credit Union for Low Income Residents of the area

-Community Forum for discussion of community problems, including representatives of the poverty area, as well as business, social agencies, and citizens of the larger community.

-Voter Registration Drive

-Community organization for the election of a poverty area representative to the board of the county CAP agency.

-Organization of a parents group to go before the school board for a hearing on school-community problems.

-The Development of a Special Committee on Poverty within the Area Welfare Planning Council.

Feedback

The final part of the ninth training session was devoted to a discussion of the training program and the feelings of the group members about assuming the tasks of a Family Agent. Many expressed surprize both at the size of operations of both the Bureau of Public Assistance and the Probation Department, as well as the existance of such a poverty area so close to home.

About assuming the tasks of the Family Agent, many expressed anxiety and concern about their adequacy, about their reception by the families, about their "right to intrude", and about the extent of the problems of the families.

Most of the Family Agents were reassured by finding out that other trainees shared their fears and doubts. At this point a Family Agent who had been on the job for several months talked with the group of trainees, told them about her original fears and what her experiences and accomplishments had been.

At the close of this session appointments for the individual conferences with the supervisor were scheduled. The content of these conferences has already been described.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAMILY AGENT PROGRAM

FINDINGS AND EVALUATION

This chapter is reprinted from our overall project report, *The Professional Service Corps*. As a result, there is some redundancy in the contents of this chapter and the material discussed earlier in this volume.

CHAPTER XIII

FAMILY AGENT PROGRAM - OVERVIEW

As the largest of the programs operated, the Family Agents gave service to 235 families in the area. While the day-to-day work of the Agents and their supervisors was focused on efforts to improve the economic and general status of the families, the efforts of the research staff were directed to finding ways of evaluating change among the families, evaluating the techniques employed, finding out more about those families too often called simply "the poor", and in evaluating and setting criteria for selection of such a staff.

The first section of this report deals with the demographic characteristics of the families - who the families were, their family and ethnic composition, their sources of income, and the kinds of problems for which they were referred.

The second section deals with our research into the life styles of the poor. We are concerned with family and ethnic differences in the goals these families set for themselves, the resources they have available to them, and the processes they utilize to make use of their resources to achieve their goals.

The role of the Family Agent is then examined: how she went about establishing rapport with the family, how she was perceived by the family, what kinds of services were rendered, how the agent related to other agencies, and her assessment of her own areas of effectiveness. In this section too, the kinds of intervention techniques employed by the Agents are examined.

An attempt was made to construct a scale by which an Agent could evaluate change in a family. The results of the findings of the Family Movement Scale are described in section four.

Section five describes the demographic and personality characteristics of the Family Agents. Factors such as age, marital status, education, number and ages of children, are examined in relation to length of service in the program. From these, criteria for the prediction of success are developed.

And, finally, there are the overall conclusions of the five areas of evaluation of the Family Agent program.

Section 1 - The Families Served

The 68 Family Agents gave service to a total of 235 families during the course of the program. At any one time, most Family Agents worked with two to three families, and spent about four hours a week with each family.

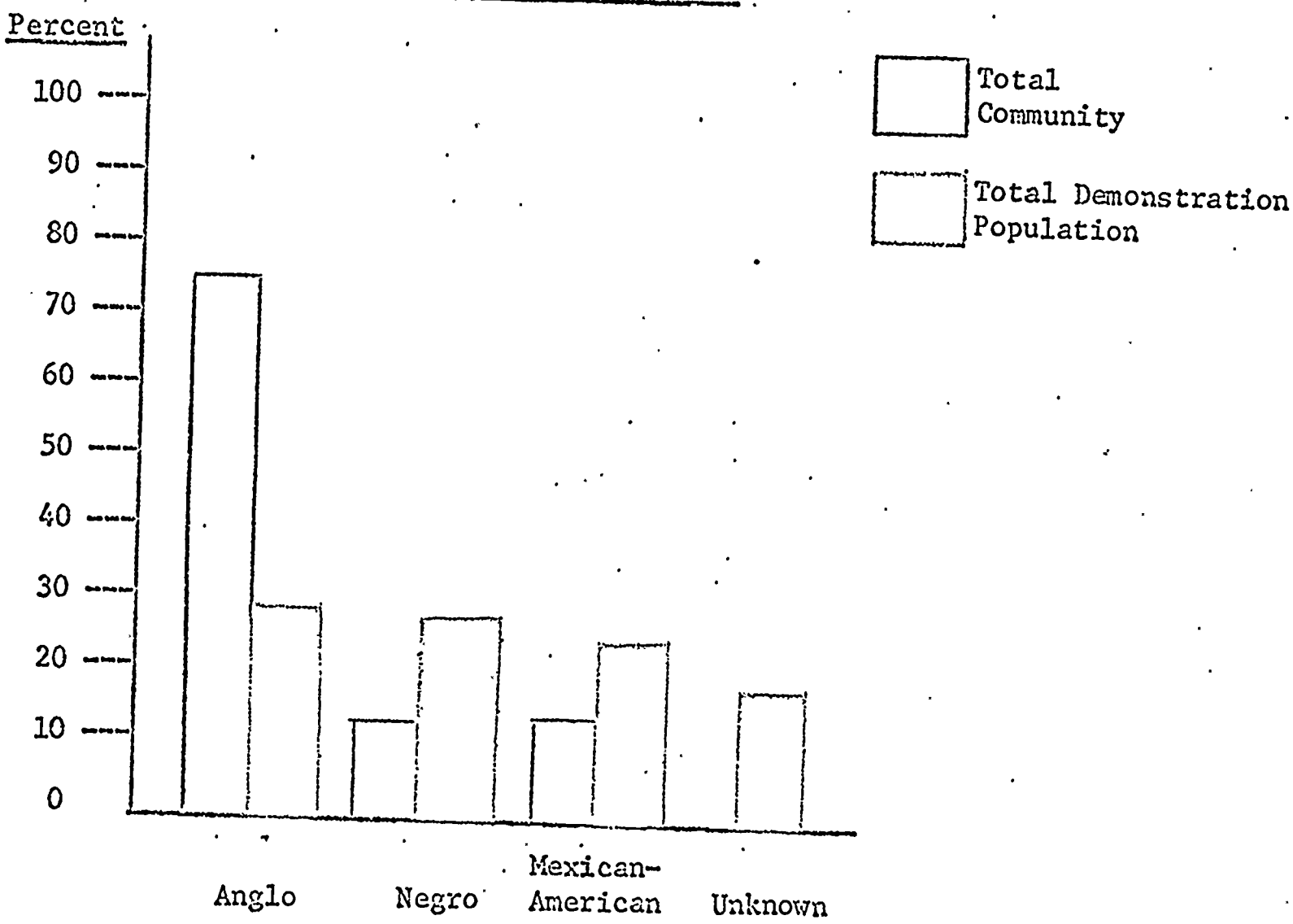
Most of these families were apt to be referred by the Bureau of Public Assistance, the school system, or the Probation Department. Three out of four referrals came from these agencies for the duraction of the project. While there was a slight increase in self referrals, referrals from within the project, and of other referrals as a function of time, these other sources remained minor as compared to the three major referring agencies.

Referral Source (in Percentages) for 235 Families

Unknown	2
Bureau of Public Assistance	26
Schools	21
Probation	29
Self	4
Within Project	8
Other	10

As previously mentioned, one of the reasons for selecting the community as the site of the demonstration was because the ethnic distribution was similar to that of Los Angeles County as a whole. Within the Venice-Ocean Park community, 75% of the population were Anglos, 11% were Negro, and 14% were Mexican-American. However, of the families served, 29% were Anglo, 28% Negro, and 25% Mexican-American. (Ethnicity of 17% of the sample was unknown, because at the onset of the program, ethnicity was not recorded. Recording of ethnicity was initiated at the request of the Office of Economic Opportunity.)

Ethnic Distribution



Thus, within the population served, minority groups were represented in far greater percentage than they existed in the community. Though neither the referrals, nor the ethnicity of those referred was in any way deliberately controlled by the center, there was remarkable consistency during the project period of the distribution of both the sources of referral and the ethnicity of those referred.

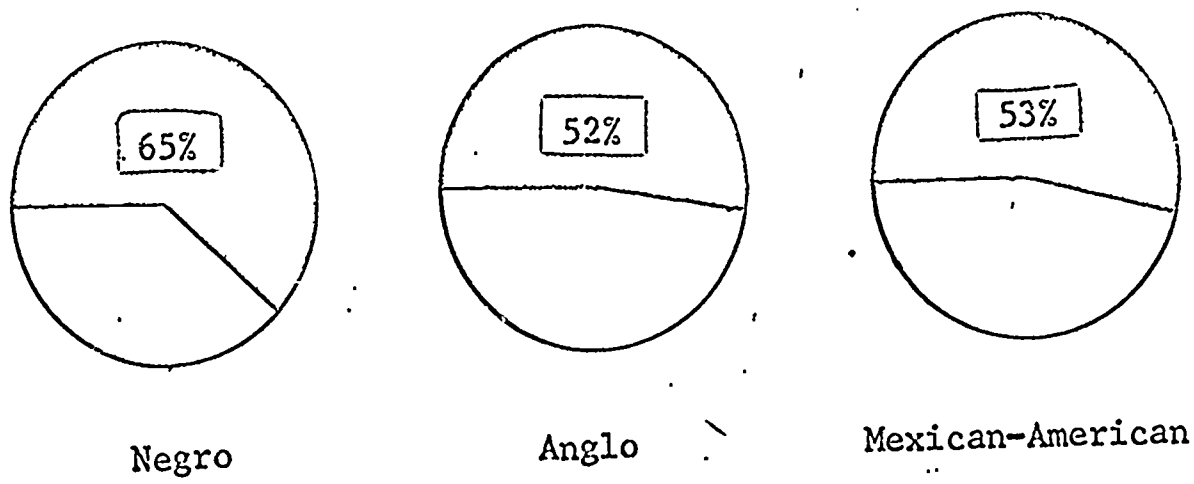
The families referred were generally very large, with the mean family size being 6.2 members. As seen below, the Mexican-American families had the largest number of children per family.

	Negro	Anglo	Mexican-American
Mean Number of Children	4.5	4.6	5.4

The largest number of children any Negro family had was twelve. Thirteen children was the largest any Anglo family had, while one Mexican-American family had seventeen children. Twenty-two percent of the families had more than nine members.

As seen below, more than half of all the families served, regardless of ethnicity, were headed by women. This was most frequently true of the Negro families. It had not been anticipated that there would be so many Mexican-American families living without a father in the home. However, apparently under conditions of great stress, even the Mexican-Americans, with their great tradition of family adhesion, show an unusually high degree of family disorganization.

Families Headed by Women - Demonstration Sample

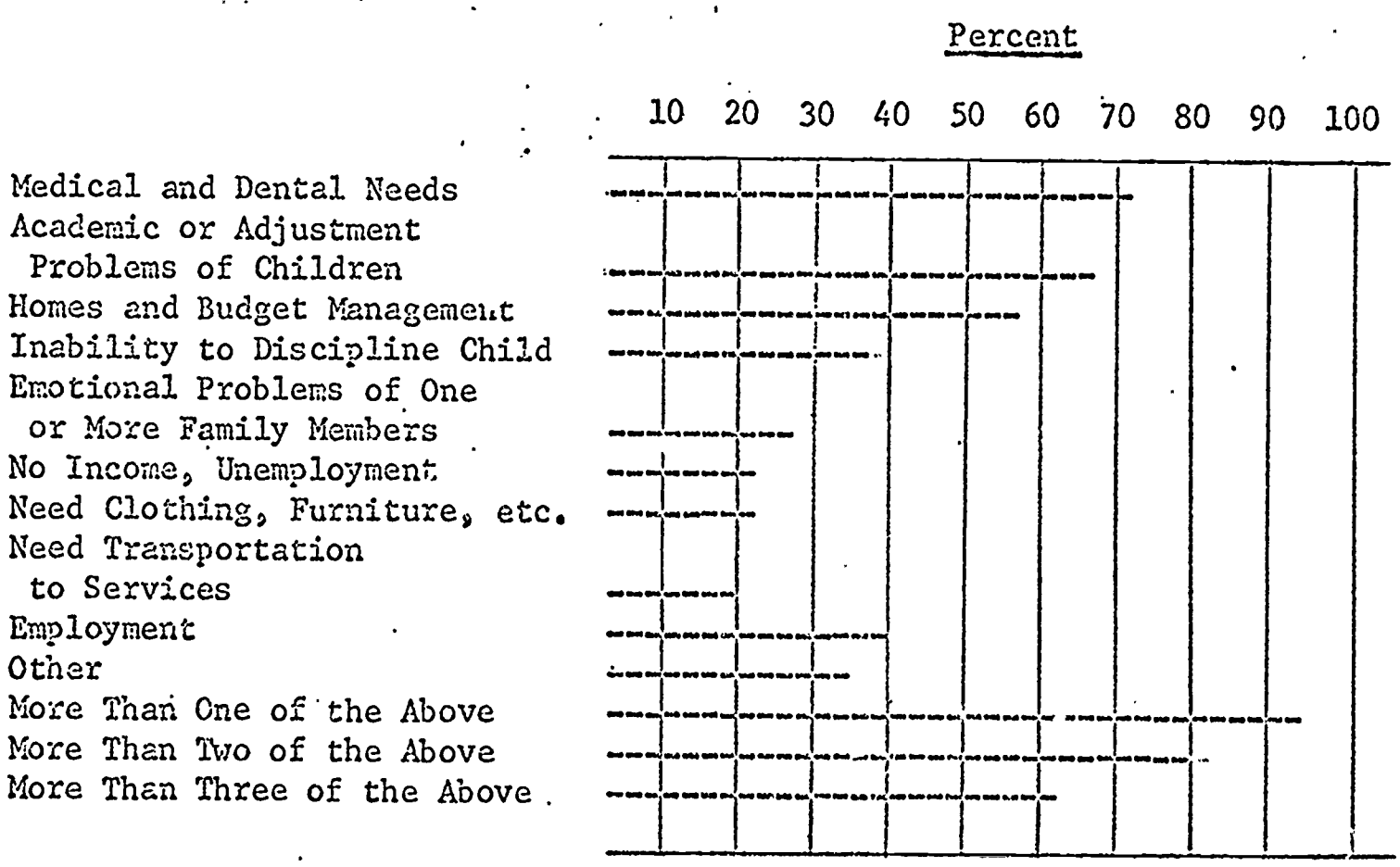


The Bureau of Public Assistance provided the total support for 43% of the families, and another 6% received financial aid from other sources including private ones. While only 16% of the families are reported to have employment as their total source of income, it may be presumed that many of the 35% for whom source of income was not reported were also employed. If a family were receiving welfare aid, it was almost always known and reported by the Family Agent. However, if a woman was being supported by an employed man to whom she was not married, she was less apt to report this source of support. However, it may be safely said that a minimum of 49% of these families were economically dependent.

Family's Source of Income by Percent

Unknown	35
Bureau of Public Assistance	43
Other Assistance	3
B.P.A. and Other	3
Employment	16

Most families were referred to the Family Agent Program for more than one reason, and generally for reasons with which the referring agency was not able to deal either because of time or agency function limitations. Reasons for referral included:



Thus, the typical family seen by the Family Agents may be characterized as belonging to a minority group, with four or more children, headed by a woman who is apt to be at home with the children. The family is likely to be financially dependent, and very likely to have a variety of problems including medical, economic and social adjustment. More than half were referred by agencies structured to deal with family problems, so that these families can be presumed to be the most problem-ridden seen by those agencies.

The three following referrals are included here for illustrative purposes. All names, of course, are fictitious.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: Bureau of Public Assistance DATE: 12/4/65

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

Jones, Ann (Mrs.)	(27)
Johnson, Tom	(12)
Johnson, Helen	(11)
Fisher, Susan	(9)
Jones, Dan	(5)
Jones, Linda	(3)
Baby	(3 mos.)

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY:

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

SUMMARY OF CASE:

Tom and Helen have problems in school and are absent much of the time. Tom stays out of school to be with older boys. Dan, Linda and baby need medical care - all children need to go to the dentist. Mrs. J. needs help with money management and household care. House is very dirty and messy and in bad repair.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Help with budgeting and home management. Get children to the doctor and dentist. Help children with homework. Help mother get children to school.

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: Probation Department DATE: 1/4/65

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

Garcia, Manuel (35)	Garcia, Anna (10)
Garcia, Maria (32)	Garcia, Paul (9)
Garcia, John (16)	Garcia, Louie (6)
Garcia, Helen (15)	Garcia, Robert (4)
Garcia, Jean (12)	(Helen's baby - 2 mos.)

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY: 1963

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

SUMMARY OF CASE:

John is away at Probation camp for auto theft and drug ingestion. Helen has been known to Department for three years for truancy, glue-sniffing and runaway. Had a baby two months ago and is still out of school. Mr. G. works irregularly and drinks, so that family is often in dire straits. Mrs. G. has asthma and needs medical care. All children need dental care. House is in poor repair and infested with cockroaches. Need furniture, clothing, regular employment for father. Helen, Jean and younger children need recreational outlets.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Helen needs to go back to school. Medical and dental care. Insect control. Shoes and clothing for all children.

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: School DATE: 10/8/64

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

Brown, Minnie
Brown, Margie (9)
Brown, Helen (8)
Brown, George (7)
3 pre-school children

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY:

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

B.P.A.

SUMMARY OF CASE:

Children have nits and cannot attend school until this is cleared up. Mother is tired and needs help maintaining home and caring for children. Margie and Helen are non-readers, need tutoring. All children need dental care.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Medical - Dental
Pre-school for young children
Help with home management

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

CLIENTS AND STAFF - FAMILY AGENT PROGRAM

	New Clients	Total Clients	New Staff*	Total Staff *
October 1964	69	69	13	13
November 1964	56	125	0	13
December 1964	110	235	11	24
January 1965	47	282	2	23
February 1965	12	294	1	24
March 1965	40	334	1	23
April 1965	35	369	0	23
May 1965	12	381	1	24
June 1965	156	537	14	35
July 1965	96	633	1	36
August 1965	19	652	0	29
September 1965	89	741	0	32
October 1965	48	789	0	29
November 1965	300	1,089	8	36
December 1965	63	1,152	6	42
January 1966	64	1,216	2	42
February 1966	111	1,327	5	46
March 1966	91	1,418	5	50
April 1966	12	1,430	0	46
May 1966	0	1,430	0	46
June 1966	7	1,437	0	43
July 1966	13	1,450	0	40
August 1966	14	1,464	0	38
September 1966	Reduced and Absorbed by Family Service of Santa Monica			

*All Part Time

Section 2 - Family Life Styles

While we had available to use individual case history material and demographic data on all the families with whom Family Agents had had up to two years of contact, we were interested in determining what characteristic styles of life these families displayed. Several things motivated the study.

There is a tendency for professionals to talk about "the poor" as though they were an undifferentiated, homogeneous mass who share similar goals, values and life styles. Programs are initiated with the mass in mind, and the intervention techniques used by professionals are geared to the whole. Individual families are expected to fit themselves to the techniques employed.

Further, while there is an increasing concern and awareness of ethnic differences among families, there is little concrete knowledge about these presumed differences.

Thus, two hypotheses governed the study: First that there would be no one life style among "the poor", but rather there would be a variety of styles. Second, that there would be no significant differences in family style as a function of ethnicity; that family style would not be a distinguishing factor among the Negro, Mexican-American and Anglo-American families.

An institution, such as a family, may be viewed as relating to its physical and social environment in a direct and characterist way.

Relations with the physical environment allow the family to express itself in shaping or reshaping that environment to fulfill family needs.

Relations with the physical environment also implies that the family is somewhat at the disposal of that environment, and must shape itself within that framework.

A family also has a relationship within itself, and others outside of the immediate family. In these relationships, the family can exert influence on people outside of the family to achieve the ends of the family. The family may also be expected to be of service to people outside of the family.

In addition to its relationships with other people and its physical environment, the family has two kinds of relationships with ideas or information.

The first, which is the more distant and formal of these relationships is that of obedience to the rules, customs, laws and dogmas of society.

The second, a more intimate one, involves being informed and concerned with the language, literature, ideas and ideals of the society in which the family is one institution.

An institution, like an individual, has potential in three areas:

A. The goals which it sets for itself

B. The resources which are available to it, and

C. The processes by which it utilizes its resources to achieve its goals.

The family as an institution sets goals for itself in its relations with things, with other people and with ideas. Studies have largely overlooked the aspirations or goals of individuals who are poor and of families who live in poverty.

Institutions, families and individuals differ in the resources which they have at their disposal. These resources include physical or material things, other people and society, and ideas, information and skills.

Finally, institutions have processes which are similar to the habits of individuals, and which demonstrate the means by which the institution, in this case, the family, puts its resources to work to achieve its goals.

Method - Family Styles. The primary method by which the family styles of the poor were investigated was by interviews of the Family Agents. Each Family Agent had been responsible for serving one or more families. At a meeting of the Family Agents, it was explained that the investigation would be concerned with their understanding of the various styles of the families they served., Each Family Agent then made an appointment with the research director and was interviewed about the styles of each family she served.

The interview was structured in such a way as to focus upon the goals of the family, the resources of the family, and the processes by which the family used its resources to reach its goals. Within each of these dimensions of style, the interview was further structured to focus upon the emphasis which the Family Agent saw the family giving . . . t- relationships, to things, and to the physical environment, with people inside and outside the family, and with ideas and information.

After the initial description of the investigation to the Family Agent and general familiarization of the Family Agent with the style of inquiry, the investigator proceeded to ask the Family Agent questions and record her answers. When the interview was complete, the investigator then summarized the answers which the Family Agent had given as a means of confirming the evidence. Some of the interviews went very swiftly - the Family Agent finding it possible to consider each family according to the questions asked, and to respond readily with evidence to support her answers. Other interviews were very difficult; the Family Agent finding it awkward to use the categories and difficult to find examples to confirm refute an hypothesis, or focus on the results. Many of the Family Agents volunteered that they saw their families in a much more systematic way

and gained programmatic hunches for their families as a result of the interview. The intention of the interview was to gather as much information as possible from Family Agents who had a wealth of experience with their families in a manner which would provide strategies for programs based upon the results of the investigation. There was no attempt in this study to take a hostile research posture but rather one of support for the Family Agent Program itself.

Instruments. First, we were interested in finding out what goals the family set for itself. In the structured interview, the Family Agents were asked the following questions concerning the goals of the families with whom they worked:

A. (1) Is this family interested in new things? (2) Are they interested in the novel? (3) Does the family show a concern for creativity, inventiveness or artistry?

B. (1) How much concern does the family show for goods and materials? (2) Is it a family goal to treat material things carefully and cautiously?

C. (1) In its relations with other people, does the family set independence as a goal? (2) Does the family wish to achieve status within the community? (3) Does the family want to "stand on its own two feet"? (4) To what extent is the family interested in showing leadership in its social setting?

D. (1) Is this family interested in being of service to the community? (2) Does the family see itself as being helpful to others? (3) Is the family likely to set dependence upon others as a goal?

E. (1) How highly motivated is this family toward personal security? (2) Toward financial security? (3) How much is the family concerned with achieving security through obedience to social and political rules and regulations? (4) Is the family obedient to religious laws? (5) How important is conformity to the culture?

F. (1) How interested is the family in original ideas? (2) Does the family show a concern for literature? (3) Is the family interested in having its children better educated? (5) Does the family strive to gain information, education and knoeldge about the contemporary world?

Second, to determine what resources a family had, the Family Agents were asked:

A. (1) How much time and energy does this family have to exert on its own behalf? (2) Are members of the family healthy? (3) Are there many sick or old persons, or many young children? (4) Are there enough adults or other family members to get needed tasks done?

B. (1) What material resources does this family have available? (2) Does it have resources such as clothing, furniture, food? (as separate from money)

C. (1) To what extent do family members depend upon one another as a resource? (2) Are they willing to help one another? (3) Is the family disrupted by internal conflict? (4) Do family members act independently or tend to depend on one another?

D. (1) How much is society a resource of this family? (2) To what extent does the family regard the agencies of the community as a resource? (3) To what extent are the church, the police, the neighborhood, a resource?

E. (1) To what extent is information a resource to this family? (2) Are radio and television or newspapers a source of information rather than just entertainment? (3) Do they have the facts and information available? (4) Is literature utilized as a resource?

The third area of questioning concerned the processes used by the families to utilize their resources in the pursuit of their goals.

A. (1) How much creativity does this family show in its approach to its environment? (2) Is it able to show inventiveness and ingenuity in problem solving? (3) Does it know how to take shortcuts? (4) Could the family design and re-design its physical environment, arrange and re-arrange the environment to meet its needs?

B. (1) How much effort does the family show in maintaining their possessions? (2) Are things in good repair and clean? (3) Is the family cautious and careful about its material possessions? (4) Does the family show productivity and craftmanship in the way it processes its material environement?

C. (1) In its relations with other people, how much independence does the family show? (2) Is the family able to speak up and make its demands known? (3) Is the family willing to assume positions of leadership or persuasion with others?

D. (1) Is the family able to listen and make use of information? (2) Can the family take advice from others in the solution of its problems? (3) How receptive is the family to the influence of the agents of society, including the Family Agent herself? (4) Is the family willing to depend on information and help from others?

E. (1) To what extent can the family use formal rules of logic as a process in the solution of its problems? (2) Can the family budget the money it has? (3) Can the family utilize planning as a process to achieve goals? (4) Is the family interested in organizing and ordering its environment?

(6) Does it have a programmatic approach to its situation and problems? (7) How likely is the family to account for its resources?

F. (1) How much does this family use written materials as a means to an end? (2) Does it read for information? (3) Are want ads, sales, and food advertisements in newspapers used to determine allocation of resources? (4) Does the family use writing as a means of communicating with agencies or organizations?

Each of the instruments used to structure the interviews required the Family Agent to evaluate her responses on a five point scale; high value was awarded five points and low value one point. The Agents had little difficulty making such estimates. After the agent had made the six estimates necessary within any dimension, she was then asked to rank the six from that which was most often observed to that which seemed least often true. The item most often true was awarded a score of six and the item least often true awarded a score of one. The score of a family for any item was its rating, from five through one, multiplied by its rank, from six through one. This meant that any item might have a score in the range from one to thirty. The total score within any dimension was an estimate of the amount of energy which the family invested in its goals or processes.

When this structured interview with the Family Agent was completed and the scores compiled, the summary was then read back to the Family Agent for her confirmation. Upon receiving this confirmation, the interview on the next family was begun.

Although the center served 235 families, the interviews provided data on 88 of these families. No information was gathered from those families who had been terminated, or where the agents were unavailable.

Results:

An examination of the following three charts indicates that the first hypothesis was confirmed. There were indeed a wide variety of family life styles among the poor. For illustrative purposes, we are attaching summaries of three family styles. All three families are poor, that is, they are lacking in money as a resource, and all three set financial security as their chief goal; there are wide differences in the total amount of energy, and the way in which this energy is distributed among the resources and processes available to them in pursuit of their goals.

While there are wide variations in family style, these differences were not related to ethnicity, with three possible exceptions:

- The range of scores on service to people as a goal was much narrower for Anglos than for Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

- Mexican-American families had a narrower range of scores for creativity with things as a process than the other ethnic groups.

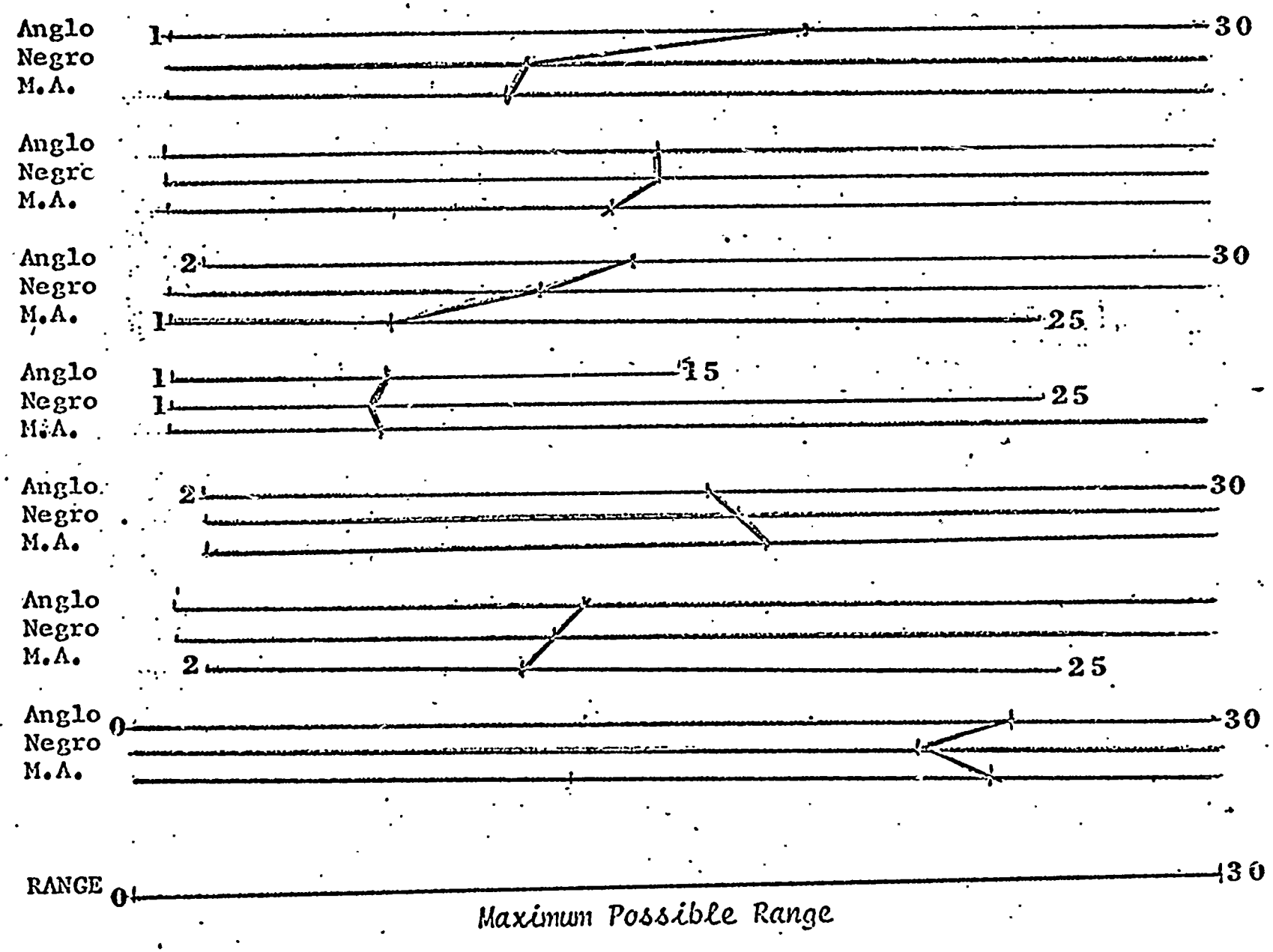
- Mexican-American families also had a narrower range of scores related to utilizing reading and writing as a process than the other two ethnic groups.

Differences between means are discussed later in this report.

MEANS AND SCORE RANGES

FAMILY STYLES, BY ETHNIC GROUPS

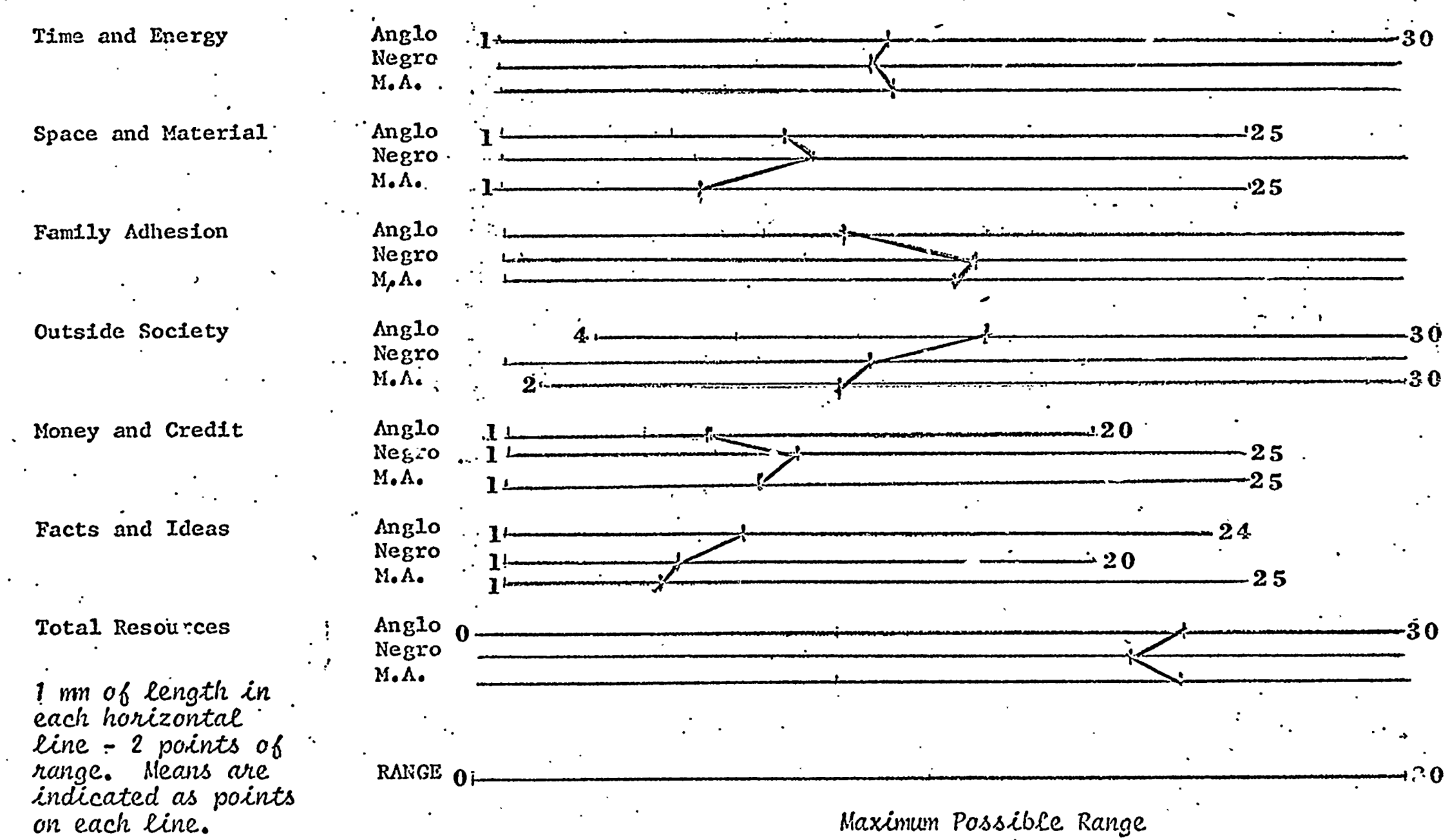
GOALS



1 mm of length in each horizontal line = 2 points of range. Means are indicated as points on each line.

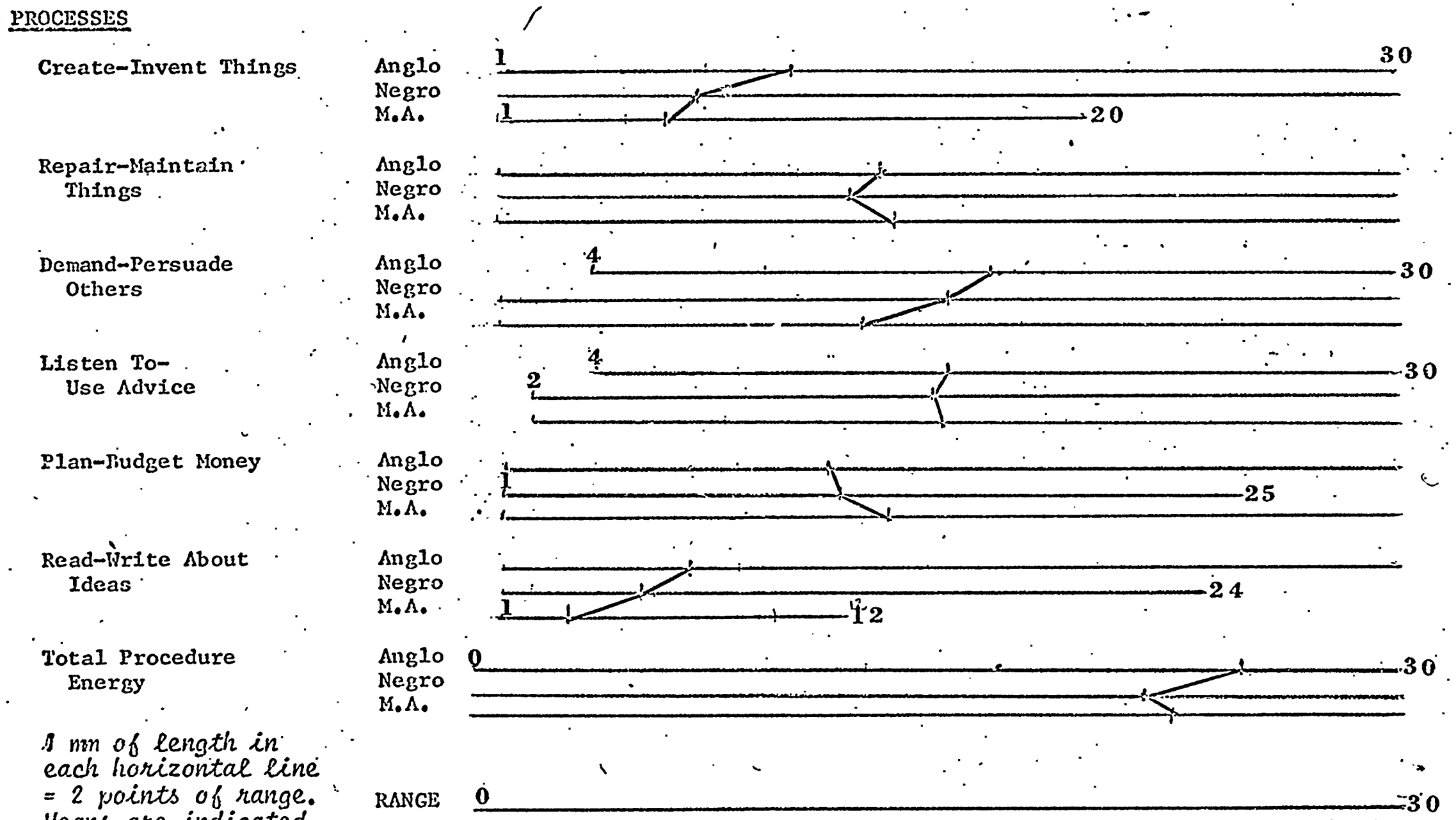
MEANS AND SCORE RANGES

FAMILY STYLES, BY ETHNIC GROUPS



MEANS AND SCORE RANGES

FAMILY STYLES, BY ETHNIC GROUPS



THREE FAMILY STYLES

	Family #48	Family #119	Family #96
GOALS	Primary goal is to become financially secure. Family also looks forward to improving its environment. Least important are having new things and being of service to others. Family seems to have a moderate amount of energy invested in goals.	Outstanding characteristic of this family is its lack of goals. Even financial security and education - its prime goals - are very weak. Family not interested in maintaining its environment, in becoming independent of society or of service to others.	Primary goal in financial security, followed by education and material possessions. Shows stronger than average goal energy but invests little of it in improving its environment, becoming independent or serving others.
RESOURCES	Primary resource is society itself. Depends on society for financial support, and other agencies for services. Modest amount of material goods in its environment. With little education and six young children, neither information nor time and energy are much of a resource to this family. Fighting between parents means that family adhesion is not a resource either.	Primary resource is society itself, though family has small income from employment and is not financially dependent. Family adhesion is moderate; neither information nor ideas are a resource. Family is large with much illness, so that time and energy are a very limited resource.	Primary resource is the family itself, with a high degree of adhesion and of time and energy. Moderate amount of materials, but money and information are totally inadequate as resources.

Three Family Styles, Cont'd.

PROCESSES	Primary process in which family hopes to achieve its goals is by careful planning and budgeting. Takes society's lawful and organized approach to life almost without deviation. Is able to take advice and make demands on society. Is not creative, nor does it maintain its environment; information is not a process by which this family hopes to achieve its goals.	Primary process is inventive with things and situations, however they have little capacity to maintain things in good repair. Neither budgets its less than adequate income, nor uses reading or writing to achieve its goals. It is moderate in its ability to seek advice from others and weak in its ability to make demands on others.	This family invests far less energy in its processes than it sets in goals or has in resources. Primary resource, only slightly above average is its creativity, followed by its careful budgeting, and moderate efforts at maintaining its environment. It is isolated from the advice of others and society, and does not demand from society. Does not use information or reading as a process.
SUMMARY	Family hopes to "keep its head above water" primarily by the resources society offers, and by careful budgeting of its resources and conformity to the society, although not by service to others.	This family is bogged down by its dirth of goals, and its lack of energy as a resource. Its moderate family adhesion, small but regular income and creativity are its greatest strengths.	Family has several conflicts: It has time and energy and family adhesion as a resource and moderate creativity, but does not set improvement of its environment as a goal. Has concern for education, but is uninformed and does not have means to become informed.

The following table reports the means for goals, resources and processes according to family ethnicity. Among the 88 families studied, 25 were Anglo-Americans, 32 Mexican-American and 31 Negro-Americans.

The data were treated by using the Student's t test. We were interested in finding: (1) the significant differences between the Goals, Resources and Processes between the three ethnic groups; (2) the significant differences between the Goals, Resources and Processes within each ethnic group; and (3) significant differences within each Family Style component by ethnic group.

MEANS FOR FAMILIES' GOALS, RESOURCES, AND PROCESSES BY ETHNICITY

TABLE 1

	Anglo	Mexican	Negro
GOALS			
Novel Things	9.2	10.4	11.1
Practical Things	14.8	13.5	14.8
Independence, Status with People	14.1	7.2	11.4
Service to People	7.1	6.8	6.6
Financial Security	16.2	17.7	16.9
Information-Education	12.5	10.8	11.6
Total Goal Energy	74.0	66.0	72.0
RESOURCES			
Time and Energy	13.6	13.7	13.0
Space and Material	10.2	7.6	11.0
Family Adhesion	12.0	15.6	16.2
Outside Society	16.7	11.6	12.8
Money and Credit	7.5	9.3	10.4
Facts and Ideas	8.6	6.1	6.6
Total Resources	69.0	64.0	69.0
PROCESSES			
Create-Invent Things	10.5	6.3	7.4
Repair-Maintain Things	13.4	13.9	12.6
Demand-Persuade Others	17.0	12.8	15.4
Listen to-Use Advice	15.5	15.4	15.0
Plan-Budget Money	11.5	13.6	12.0
Read-Write About Ideas	7.0	3.1	5.5
Total Procedural Energy	75.0	65.0	68.0

Differences between goals, resources, and processes between ethnic groups.

Goals: Anglo families are more likely than Mexican-American families ($\rho>.01$) to have independence or status in society as a goal.

Resources: Negro families are more likely to have material goods, their physical environment, food, clothing and space in general as a resource than are Mexican-American families. ($\rho>.05$)

Processes: Anglo families are more likely to be inventive or creative in approaching their environment than are Mexican-American families. ($\rho>.05$) Anglo families demonstrate significantly ($\rho>.05$) more energy in processing their resources toward their goals than do Mexican-American families.

Differences between goals, resources and processes for each ethnic group.

Anglo: Three differences are significant at the .05 level of confidence between goals, resources and processes for this group.

A. Anglo-Americans are less likely to set service to others as a family goal than they are to consider other people as a resource for the family.

B. Anglo-Americans are less likely to set service to others as a family goal than they are to listen to other people as a process for coping with life as a family. In other words, although Anglo families appear to utilize society as a resource and appear to take the advice offered by agents of society, they are not likely to set, as a goal for the family, that of being of service to society.

C. Anglo families are far more likely to set financial security as a goal than they are to have financial resources in the form of either money or credit.

Mexican-American: The data indicate a number of differences at the .05 and .01 levels of confidence. For convenience and clarity, these are considered in six different comparisons.

A. The Mexican-American family is less likely to proceed in an inventive or ingenious manner than to set novelty and possession of new things as a goal ($\rho>.05$) or to have time and energy as a resource of the family ($\rho>.01$).

B. The Mexican-American family is more likely to set the upkeep of things as a goal and then proceed to keep things in good repair as a process, than it is likely to have goods, materials, space or equipment as physical resources ($\rho>.01$). In other words, the Mexican-American family

appears to be interested in, and takes action toward, keeping things in good repair but suffers from a poverty of physical resources.

C. The Mexican-American family is significantly less likely to set family independence, family leadership in society, or family status as a goal than it is to have family adhesion as a resource for itself ($\rho > .01$), or than it is to speak up and make its demands known to society ($\rho > .05$).

D. The Mexican-American family is also less likely to set as a family goal that of being of service to others than is the family to use society as a resource to itself ($\rho > .05$). or to listen and depend upon society as a means for reaching the family's goals ($\rho > .01$).

E. The Mexican-American family is less likely to have money as a resource than it is to have financial security as a goal ($\rho > .05$), or to have budgetary skills with which to process its meager funds ($\rho > .01$).

F. Finally, the data in Table 1 indicate the Mexican-American family is far more likely to set education, information or knowledge as a goal than it is to have information, facts or ideas as a resource ($\rho > .05$), or than it is to read and otherwise process information ($\rho > .01$).

Negro: The data for the Negro family indicates differences with regard to four of the values studied.

A. The Negro family appears to have more time and energy as a resource at its disposal, than it shows inventiveness, creativity or ingenuity in modifying its physical environment ($\rho > .01$).

B. At the .01 level of confidence, the Negro family appears to [illegible] society and others in the community as a resource to its ends as well as to listen to others and take their advice, than it sets being of service to other people as a goal for itself.

C. The Negro family places a wish for financial security as a goal but appears to have limited financial resources in the way of cash or credit ($\rho > .01$).

D. Finally, the Negro family sets the goal of education or knowledge high without information being a resource to the family ($\rho > .05$), and also without utilization of relevant processes such as reading and writing ($\rho > .01$).

Differences within each family style component by ethnic group.

ANGLO-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Goals: These families appear to be significantly less concerned with being of service to other people than with the practicalities of every day life ($\rho>.01$), independence as a family ($\rho>.01$), gaining education ($\rho>.05$), and financial security ($\rho>.01$). The families are significantly more concerned with the goal of financial security than they are with having new or novel things ($\rho>.01$).

Resources: At the .01 level of confidence the Anglo-American family appears to have other people, including the agents of society, as a resource, more than physical goods, materials and space; money or credit; or information. The Anglo-American family also appears to have time and energy as a resource more than it has money ($\rho>.05$).

Processes: The Anglo-American family tends to use face-to-face processes of speaking and listening to other people more than it does the process of reading or writing ($\rho>.01$), or the process of creativity or inventiveness ($\rho>.05$). These families appear to be more likely to use procedures to maintain goods, space and equipment it currently has than it is to process information by reading or writing in the pursuit of its goals ($\rho>.05$).

MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Goals: The overwhelming goal of the Mexican-American family appears to be achieving financial security, significantly greater at the .01 level of confidence than the goals of having new things, having status with people, gaining education, or being of service to others. A second goal of these families appears to be maintaining the goods, materials, space and equipment which it currently has ($\rho>.01$) far more than either achieving social status or being of service to others. These goals may be summarized as aiming to "keep the family's head above water".

Resources: The primary resource of the Mexican-American family is its family adhesion, which is more significant at the .01 level of confidence than the physical space and environment of the family, its financial resources, or its informational resources. Time and energy of the family appear to be a greater resource than its financial resources ($\rho>.05$) and either its physical or informational resources ($\rho>.01$). Others in the society provide more resources for the Mexican-American family than does its space, equipment and the natural environment ($\rho>.05$) or its knowledge and informational resources ($\rho>.01$).

Processes: The Mexican-American family is unlikely to use processes of inventiveness with the environment or those which require reading and writing about ideas ($\rho > .01$). These families are more likely to both speak to others and to take the advice of others, than to be inventive with things or read about ideas. Equally important, however, is that the Mexican-American family is more likely to budget what few financial resources it has than it is to be inventive with things or read about ideas. Finally, the Mexican-American family is more likely to strive to maintain those things it has than to be creative or inventive about things.

THE NEGRO FAMILY

Goals: Financial security appears to be the most important goal of Negro families, exceeding the goal of acquiring social status, or the acquisition of new things ($\rho > .05$) and exceeding the goal of service to other people ($\rho > .01$). Least important among the goals of the Negro family appears that of being of service to other people; the practical goal of keeping things in good repair exceeds it at the .01 level of confidence and the goals of having new things, gaining status in the community, and receiving education also exceeds being of service to others at the .05 level of confidence.

Resources: The primary resource of the Negro family as seen by the Family Agents appears to be its adhesion. It is greater at the .05 level of confidence than is space, equipment, goods, materials, or money and credit. Family adhesion also exceeds information as a resource to the Negro family ($\rho > .01$) but so do family time and energy, the resources provided by society and even financial resources in money or credit.

Processes: When we consider the processes available to the Negro family, two processes appear to be unused: creativity and ingenuity in approaching the physical environment, and reading and writing as a means of utilizing information. Keeping things in good repair and budgeting money are processes more likely used than invention at the .05 level of confidence. Otherwise, all of the other processes exceed those of invention or reading at the .01 level of confidence.

Discussion

Methodology. This study of family styles suffers from two methodological problems. First, we should like to have greater confirmation of the Family Agents' perceptions of the family styles which they reported. Such confirmations might have been possible if there had been closer supervision by the Family Agent supervisors such that each supervisor could have been interviewed to confirm the perceptions of the Family Agent with regard to the family's style. We might also look forward to having an individual with as much access to the family as the Agent, rate its style and compare that with the Agent's rating. Another possibility is that the individual families might concern

themselves with their styles, an exercise which might provide some evidence for the family to enable it to do something about its condition. In any event, these data elude us.

Secondly, we should like to compare these family styles with a similar set within each ethnic group of families not living in poverty. We cannot now differentiate, for instance, between patterns which represent Anglo-American family styles in general, and those family styles which are peculiar to the poor. With these methodological reminders, we turn to a discussion of the findings of our study.

Differences between ethnic groups. As shown in Table 1, most differences appear between Anglo and Mexican-American families, the most important of which appears to be that the Mexican-American family has significantly less energy to invest in procedures by which to apply its resources toward its goals than does the Anglo family.

The Mexican-American family is seen as having fewer resources in the way of space, material, goods and equipment than does the Negro family also living in poverty.

The Mexican-American family does not set family independence as a goal, nor does it use creativity and inventiveness as a process to utilize the time and energy of its family to the same extent as do the Anglo and Negro families.

The greatest gap between the level of goals set, and the amount of energy available in processes is seen in the Negro family. These families might be described as "process poor", in that their procedural level seems to lag behind their aspiration level.

While all three groups have in common that they set financial security high and have limited resources available, they show considerable differences in how they process their resources to achieve their goals. Mexican-American families appear to budget their financial resources well, but Anglo and Negro families do not. In other words, just because a family sets security high as a goal does not mean that he will utilize with equal strength the processes by which he might achieve that security. For the Anglo and Negro families there appears to be an aspiration-procedure gap.

Similarities among ethnic groups. All three groups set the goal of financial security first, and as might be expected the goal of security is much higher than the financial resources they have available to them.

All three groups set as lowest the goal of service to others, although they, nonetheless, do well in using society as a resource to their ends, and in using social processes to reach their goals. This suggests that the condition of poverty, regardless of ethnic differences, does not encourage altruistic motivation, but does encourage utilization

of outsiders as a means to the family's ends.

Likewise, all three groups set the goal of education, being informed and gaining knowledge high, yet they do not appear to have information as a resource, nor utilize reading and writing as a process by which they might gain information. This suggests that the goal is held by the family for its children rather than by the adults for themselves. It further suggests that the poor might profit from some clear understanding of how to reach the goals which they set so high, because, already resource poor, the usual informational channels do not seem to reach them, nor do they view these channels as a process by which they might develop their resources.

The poor are often viewed as ingenious, creative and artistic, a viewpoint which is supported by those occasions on which there is the discovery of an American "primitive" artist. Our data seems to contradict the notion that an ingenuity of approach to the physical environment exists among the poor, particularly among the Negro and Mexican-American poor.

Summary

Anglo. These families rank financial security as chief of their goals; the family seems to say that it has too many problems of its own to be concerned with service it might provide to other people. However, its primary resources come from other people in society, and only secondarily from its own time and energy. Finally, it appears to proceed towards its goals in a face-to-face manner, using other people, and is neither inventive with the environment nor inquisitive in reading and information gathering.

Mexican-American. These families appear to be primarily concerned with financial security, secondarily with keeping the physical environment intact, and least with independence from or service to other people. The Mexican-American family seems to look to its own family interdependence and the energy of the family members as its primary resources, with secondary help from the outside society. The physical and informational environments are not seen as resources to these families. These families appear to process their resources in face-to-face relations with others, and practice careful budgeting. They use neither ingenious ideas nor inventiveness with things as procedures. These families appear to strive toward financial security by maintaining their meager resources through their own time and energy, using face-to-face communication and financial management skills.

Negro. These families, too, are most concerned with financial security and least concerned with being of service to others. Somewhat surprisingly, their primary resource, even in single parent homes, seems to be family adhesiveness. More than the other poor families, they seem to have money and credit as a resource as well as space and material. These families do not appear to use inventiveness and creativity with things, nor reading about ideas as a means to its ends. They show the

greatest gap between the procedural energy available and the aspirations they set for themselves.

Conclusions

The first hypothesis, that we would find a variety of family styles, was indeed confirmed. Individual families showed great variations in the way in which they distributed their energies.

There were no significant differences between the life styles of Negro and Anglo families as groups. There were, however, three areas of difference between Anglo and Mexican-American families, and two between Negro and Mexican-American families: The Mexican-American family is seen as placing less emphasis on independence from society than either the Negro or Anglo family; Mexican-American families are less apt to have material goods in their physical environment than the Negro families; and, Mexican-American families are apt to have significantly less total process energy available to them, and are also less apt to be inventive or creative in their approach to the environment than Anglo families.

It appears that the technique of assessment used in this section, with further development, might be an approach by which a family could be assessed, or assess itself. On the basis of this information, a strategy could be planned by which the family might develop its resources and processes to achieve its goals.

Section 3 - Family Agent Intervention Techniques

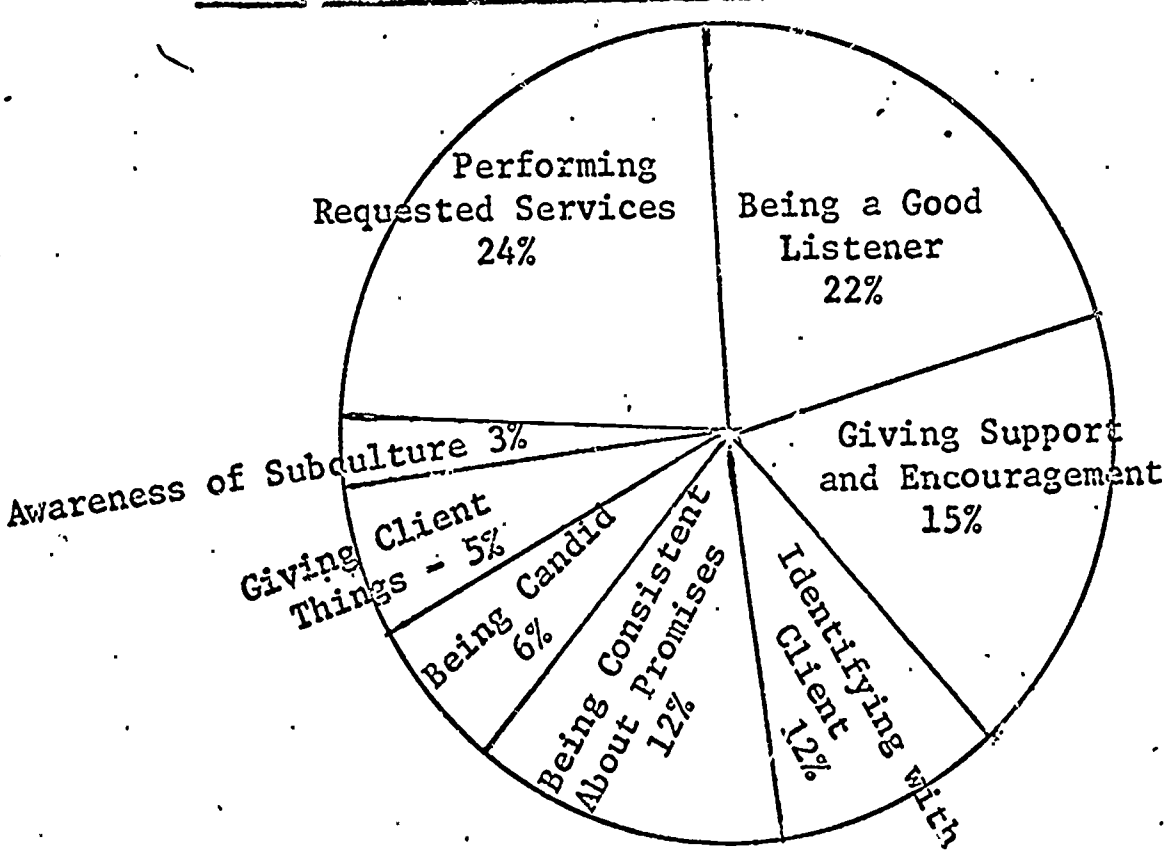
An attempt was made to find out what the Family Agents had actually done with the families they served, how they went about establishing rapport with the families, how the clients perceived the Family Agent, how the Family Agent related both to the client and to other agencies, and how the Family Agent felt she had been effective in achieving family goals, and what additional help she felt she needed. The method by which this research was conducted and the interview schedule is described in detail in the appendix, but the essential technique used was that of a "debriefing" interview.

After the initial training, each Family Agent met with the supervisor to discuss the families to whom she had been assigned. As mentioned, most of the referrals were from the Bureau of Public Assistance, the Juvenile Probation Department or the schools. Sometimes the Family Agent was introduced to the family by the referring case worker; often the Family Agent went alone on the first visit to the family. We were therefore interested in finding out how the Family Agent went about establishing rapport with the family when she first met them.

As shown in Chart I, the techniques the Family Agents found most helpful in establishing rapport involved responding to the family's needs by performing requested services, followed by being a good listener and giving support.

CHART I

Family Agent Techniques to Establish Client Rapport

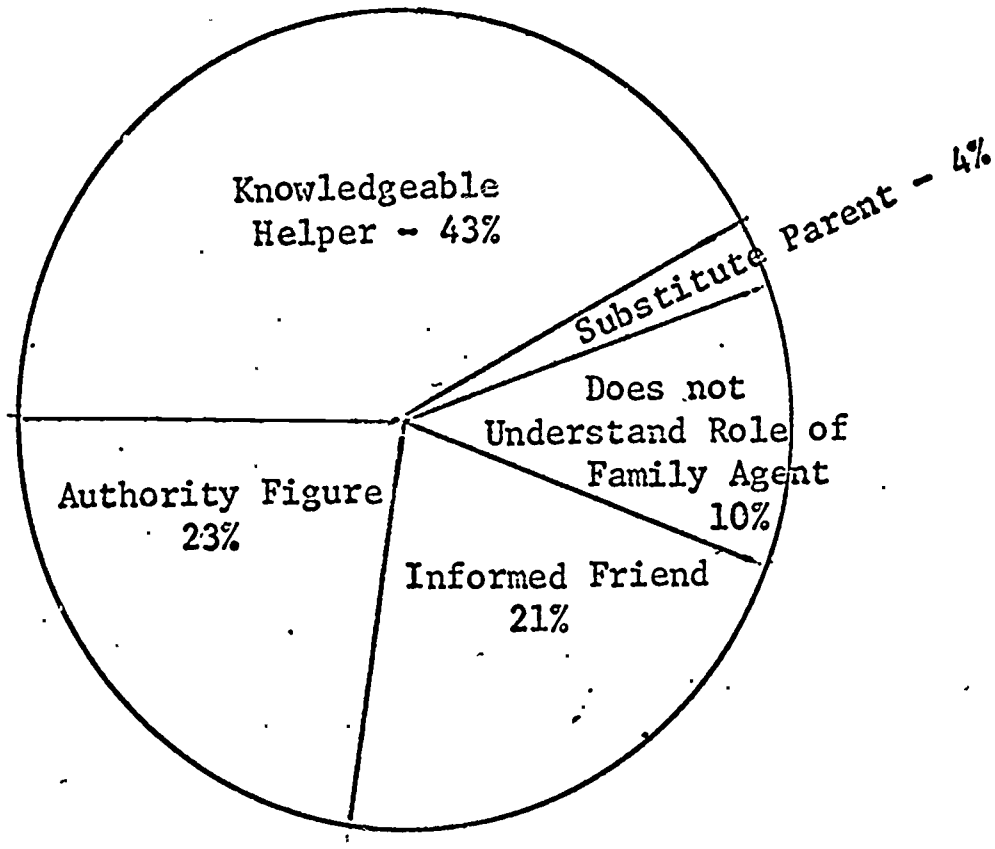


Since the role of the Family Agent is unlike that of most agency personnel, it was important to know how the families perceived the Family Agents. From the viewpoint of the Family Agent, 43% of the clients saw them as a "knowledgeable helper". The Family Agent was seen as an authority figure in 23% of the cases and as an informal friend in 21%; as a substitute parent in 4%, and finally, 10% of the families did not seem to understand the role of the Family Agent at all.

In this unusual role, most (71%) of the Family Agents gave their home telephone numbers to the families so that they could be available at all times to their clients. Only 14% found that the families ever abused the use of the home telephone numbers. Most found that they were called at home only for emergencies or when some member of the family was seeking advice or help on an important decision.

CHART II

Client's Perception of Role of the Family Agent



Goals for Clients as Set by Family Agents

It seemed important to know what kinds of goals Family Agents set for the families with whom they worked, since these goals would be reflected in how they spent their time and energy with the families. Further, it was expected that as the Family Agents came to know and understand the families better, they might change their expectations. Both the goals initially set, and the changes are shown on Chart III and IV.

One out of four Family Agents indicated that their goals were primarily to tangibly improve the conditions in which the families lived. Eighteen percent of the Family Agents set as their goal, improvement of the client's self-esteem and degree of independence. Less frequently reported goals (13% each) included those of showing the client how to deal

with agencies, establishing a good relationship with the client, and exposing the client to middle class values. At least 10% of the Family Agents indicated that they really had set no goals in approaching their families. Seven percent of the Family Agents indicated that their concern was to improve the family relationship within itself. In Chart IV, we see that 32% of the Family Agents found it necessary to lower their expectations after experience with the families. On the other hand, 23% of the Family Agents increased their expectations of what should be done by the family and for the family. Another 36% of the Family Agents did not change their expectations but were not satisfied with the goals they had set. Finally, 9% did not change their expectations but did feel satisfied with the goals they had set.

CHART III

General Aims of Family Agents

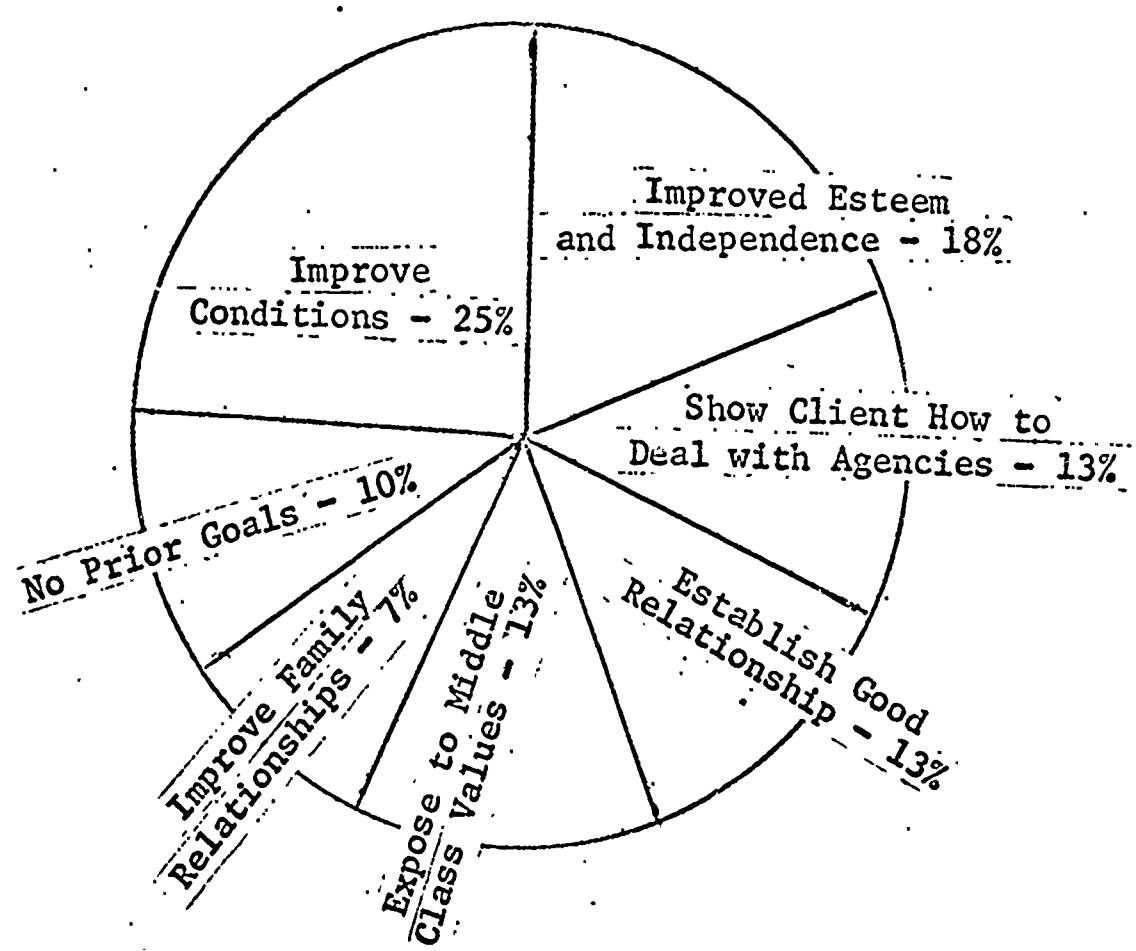
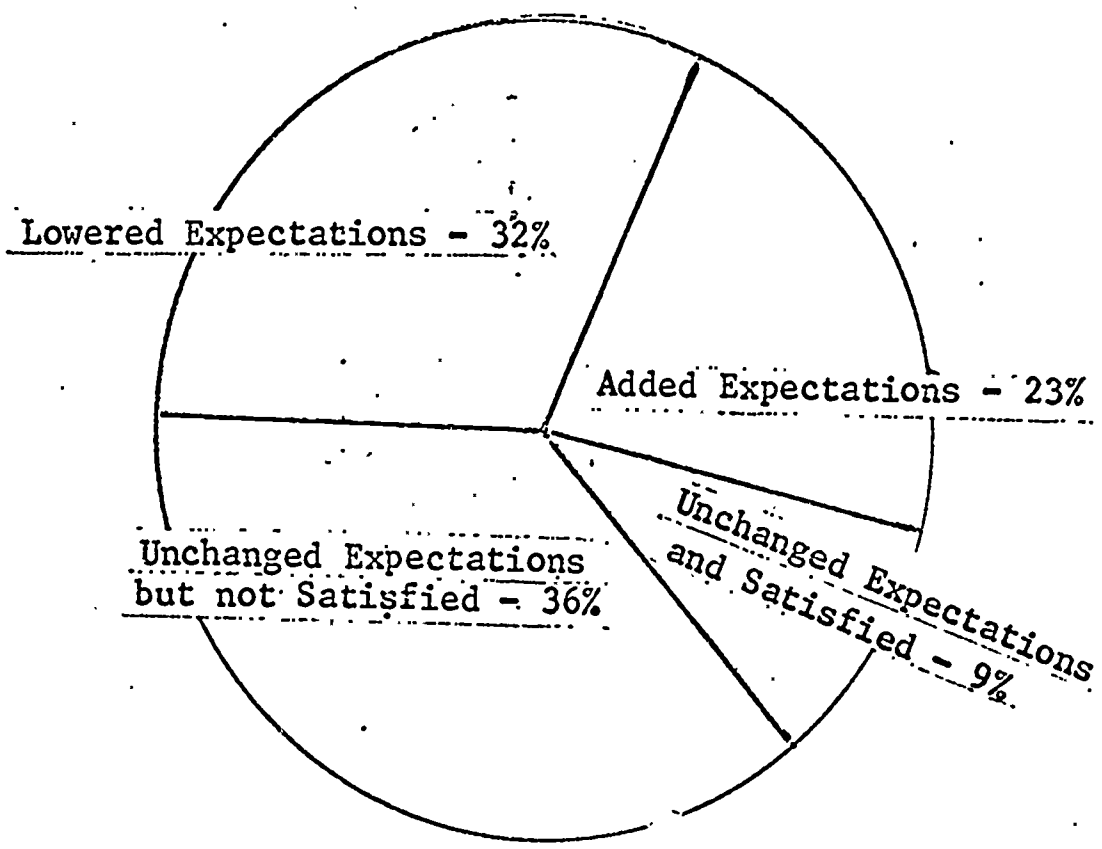


CHART IV

Changes in Family Agent Goals



Problem Areas

When referred by other agencies, most families were seen to have several major problems, and a comparison was made between the problems for which the families were referred and the areas in which the Agents worked. Listed below are the major reasons for referrals and the major areas of focus of the Family Agent in order of frequency.

Reason for Referral (In Rank Order)	Area of Focus (In Rank Order)
Medical and Dental Needs	Communication and Emotional Problems
Academic or Adjustment Problems of Children	School Problems
Home and Budget Management	Medical and Dental Problems
Poor Housing Conditions	Employment Problems
Inability to Discipline Child	Housing
Emotional Problems	Budgeting
No Income, Unemployment	Political and Community Interests
Need Clothing, Furniture	Clothing, Housekeeping, Furnishing
Need Transportation	

Thus, it may be seen that while the Family Agent's attempted to establish rapport with the family by responding to the client's request for service, they nonetheless did focus on the problems for which the case was referred. The emphasis on the problems in some cases shifted, as may be seen by the fact that while home and budget management were high on the list of problems as seen by the agencies, the Family Agents spent relatively little time working in these areas.

They spent the greatest amount of their time in an attempt to deal with the communication and emotional problems of their families. It may be understood, that before being able to deal with academic problems, for example, the Agent first had to understand and deal with the emotional problems involved. In medical disabilities, similarly before a family would accept a referral for a medical or dental appointment, the fears or concerns of the family member would first need to be explored.

Family Agent Techniques

The techniques most apt to be used by Family Agents in their work with the families were, in order of frequency:

Giving Advice and Suggestions
Providing Transportation
Making Arrangements on Behalf of the Families

At the other extreme, the techniques lease apt to be used were those of:

Family Therapy
Identification of the Family Agent with the Family
Setting herself up as a Role Model for Ways to Deal with Problems
Assessing the Family's Problems in Some Diagnostic Way

Interestingly enough, although the Family Agents had reported that "listening" was the second most frequently used technique in establishing rapport with the client, it was an infrequently used technique in dealing with problems.

Comparison of Techniques and Problems

The following table shows the problem areas in which the Family Agents focused as related to the techniques they used to intervene in these problems.

For the most part, the Family Agents attacked the problems for which the families had been referred. Since they took their initial cues from requests made by the families, it may be presumed that the problems for which they were referred are largely the problems which the families themselves perceived.

The problems most frequently dealt with were in the areas of communication and emotional problems, educational and medical needs, and employment.

The techniques most frequently used were of suggesting and advising followed by transporting and arranging.

FAMILY AGENT INTERVENTION TECHNIQUES

	ADVISE (Suggest)	ARRANGE	ASSESS (Diagnose)	AVOID	DEFEND (Act as Advocate)	DIRECT (Order-Do for)	FAMILY "THERAPY"	GIVE (Provide)	IDENTIFY (e.g., as mother)	INFORM	LISTEN (Non-directive)	MODEL (Show how)	REFER	SUPPORT (Reinforce)	TRANSPORT (Drive Deliver)	TOTALS OF TECHNIQUES
1. Housing	28	13		10	4	6		2		7				14	15	99
2. Furnishing	10	2		7	2	1		20		2				7	7	58
3. Housekeeping	19			18	1	4		7	1	2		3		10		65
4. Budgeting	29	4		11		3		6		6	1	3	2	1	6	72
5. Medical/Dental Care	32	29	5	2	7	10		3	1	5		2	7	4	31	138
6. Family Planning	26	7		6	2	2				12			3	1	14	73
7. Occupational Status	28	14	6	3	1	3		4		8	1		18	14	15	115
8. Clothing	12	6		3	2	1		30				1	3	2	17	77
9. Schools	32	18	4	2	30	7	1	5		2		2	19	10	14	146
10. Use of Other Agencies	19	13		1	18	1				7		2	9	6	6	82
11. Political & Community Interests	24			16	1			1	2	15	1			5	11	76
12. Communication and Emotional Problems	34	15	1	9		4	9		3	4	19	2	25	15	12	152
TOTALS	293	121	16	88	68	42	10	78	7	70	22	15	86	89	148	1153
Total N / Goal Areas	12 / 24.41	10 / 12.10	4 / 4.00	12 / 7.33	10 / 6.80	11 / 3.81	2 / 5.00	9 / 8.66	4 / 1.75	11 / 6.36	4 / 5.50	7 / 2.14	8 / 10.75	12 / 7.41	12 / 12.33	
Total / 39	7.51	3.10	.41	2.26	1.74	1.08	.26	2.00	.18	1.79	.56	.38	2.21	2.28	3.79	

The greatest disappointment the Family Agents felt was in their ability to effect a change in the emotional problems of the families, and their major request for further training is likewise in counseling and therapeutic techniques. (See page 185 and 188.)

There is a relationship between the frequency with which a problem arises, disappointment in her efforts to deal with it, and the Family Agent's perception of her own skills. Often the Agents felt or hoped that other kinds of techniques might be more effective in dealing with these frequently encountered problems.

In their attempts to alleviate the educational and medical problems of the families, the Family Agents met with some disappointment, focusing its source on the agencies, particularly the public schools, rather than on the techniques which they used in attacking these problems.

On the other end of the scale, we find that the problems least likely to be attacked were those having to do with furnishings, housekeeping and budgeting.[1] We have learned from our study of Family Styles that families of all three ethnic groups set financial security and material things as major goals, but are limited in both resources and in the processes by which they might attain these goals. Since these were apt to be areas of concern to the families, we must ask why these areas received such low priority by the Family Agents.

Furnishing either money or material goods was limited by both project policy and by the resources of the Family Agents. The primary resource which the Agents had available to them was their own knowledge and information of household management and budgeting. Why did the agents not use these as intervention techniques?

First, the overwhelming techniques the Agents did use were the non-directive ones of suggesting and advising; intervention into housekeeping habits or money management would have required directive or physical techniques, and these were not techniques with which they felt comfortable.

Second, from the problems which the Family Agents attacked with vigor, emotional, educational, employment and health, we see that they tended to attack what they perceived to be the CAUSES rather than the CONDITIONS of poverty. Further, they dealt with these in a social rather tha a physical way.

Since improving the physical conditions of the families was the largest single goal of the Agents, as well the largest area of their satisfaction, one might infer that they were successful in improving the physical conditions of poverty by indirectly attacking what they felt to be its social or emotional causes.

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[1] which led to the setting up of a separate consumer education program and a Family Skills Center to teach these topics.

Referral to Other Programs and Agencies

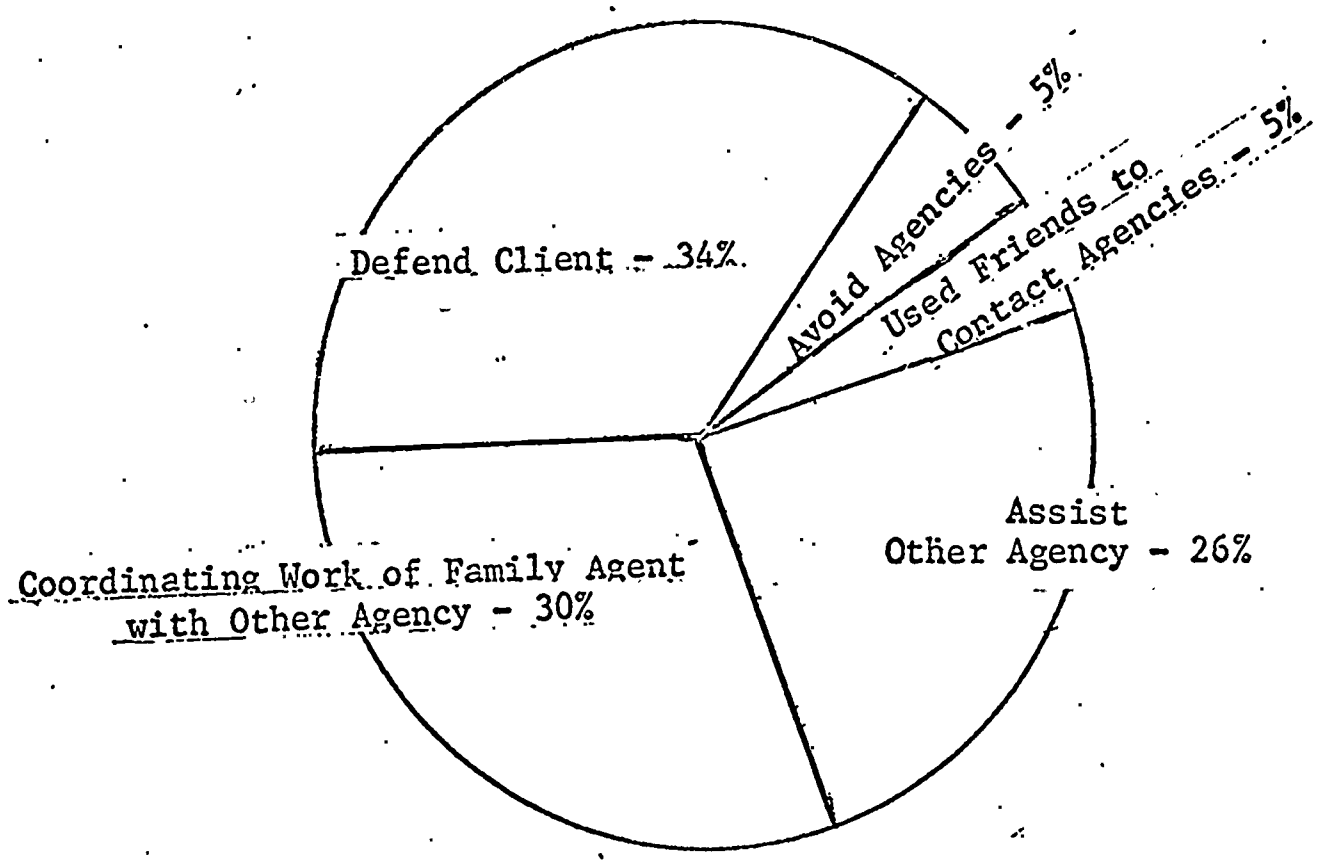
Virtually every family seen was referred to some other agency; arrangements for appointments and the transportation to these facilities were often provided by the Family Agents. Relationships with other agencies accounted for less than one quarter of their total working time for half of the Family Agents. One third spent from one quarter to three quarters of their working time in relationships with these other agencies; the remainder could make no accurant estimate of such time.

As shown below, 34% of the time invested by the Family Agent in the other agency was spent in defense of the family; 30% was spent in coordinating the efforts of the Family Agent with that of the other agency, and 26% in attempting to assist the other agency with its work with the family.

Most of the referrals made to other agencies were for medical and dental needs, emotional problems, educational problems and employment.

CHART V

Family Agent's General Approach to Agencies



Family Agents were asked how they were received and perceived by other agencies. Sixty-six percent of the Family Agents reported that the other agencies showed both cooperation and respect, although 28% reported that they experienced resistance or hostility. The Family Agents were then asked to document what complaints, if any, they might have. The largest single complaint was that the schools were uncooperative (48%), followed by medical facilities and personnel (19%), the Probation Department (15%), the Bureau of Public Assistance (11%).

It is interesting to note that although the Family Agents report their largest single agency efforts consisted of defending the family from the agency, only 28% reported that they encountered hostility or resistance on the part of agencies. Further, for the duration of the project, three out of four referrals continued to come from the agencies. This may be taken both as an indication that the Family Agents were generally skillful and discrete in the techniques they used in defending their clients, and that they continued to provide a service seen as valuable by the referring agencies.

Intra-Agency Referrals

Family Agents also referred their clients to programs and resources within the Pacific Community Center. As shown below, the tutorial and club programs were those most frequently used, and the consumer education program was the least often used.

Program	Percent
Club	23
Tutorial	23
Crisis	19
Skills Center	17
Employment	13

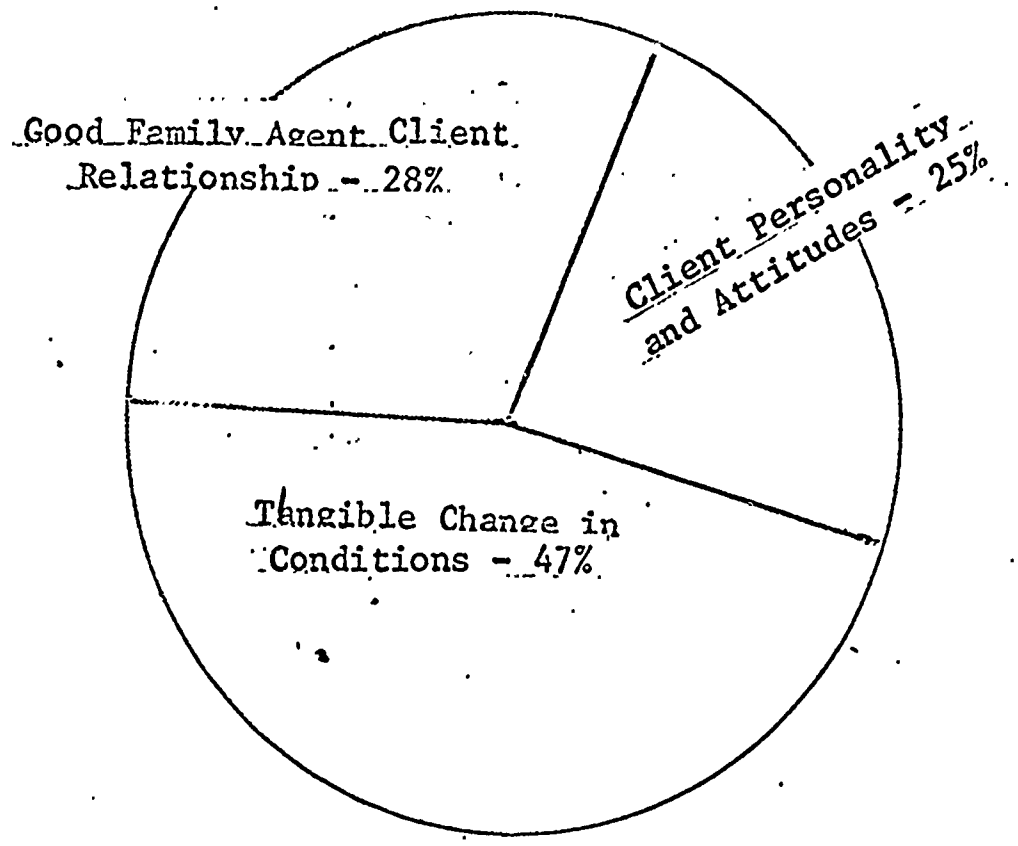
Family Agents were then asked how useful the families had found these services. Responses are listed below. The most helpful program was seen to be the tutorial, followed by the club and the skills center. Those seen as not useful were consumer education and the skills center. In other words, those which were most often used were also seen as the most useful.

Program	Useful	Not-Useful
Tutorial	24	5
Clubs	11	4
Skills Center	9	11
Employment	8	8
Crisis Intervention	3	5
Consumer Education	5	11

Family Agents were asked to evaluate how successful their methods had been. As seen in Chart VI, nearly half felt that they had made some tangible changes in the physical conditions of the families; 28% felt that they had been effective in establishing good Family Agent-client relationships, and 25% felt that there had been some improvement in the personalities and attitudes of the families.

CHART VI

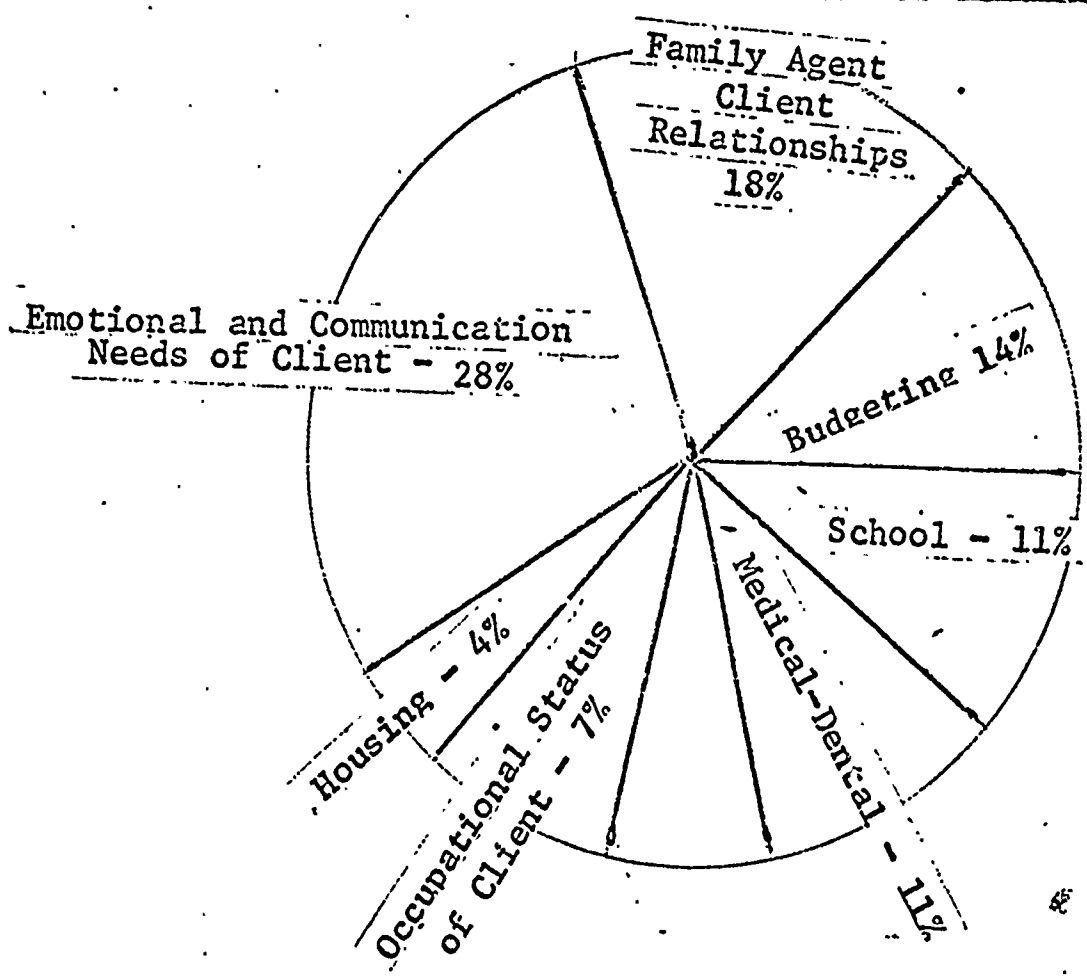
Family Agent's Self Evaluation of Effectiveness of Methods



There were however, feelings of disappointment by the Family Agents; leading the list of the areas in which they had been disappointed were the emotional and communication needs of the clients, followed by unsatisfactory Family Agent-client relationships, and improvement in the family's budgeting ability.

CHART VII

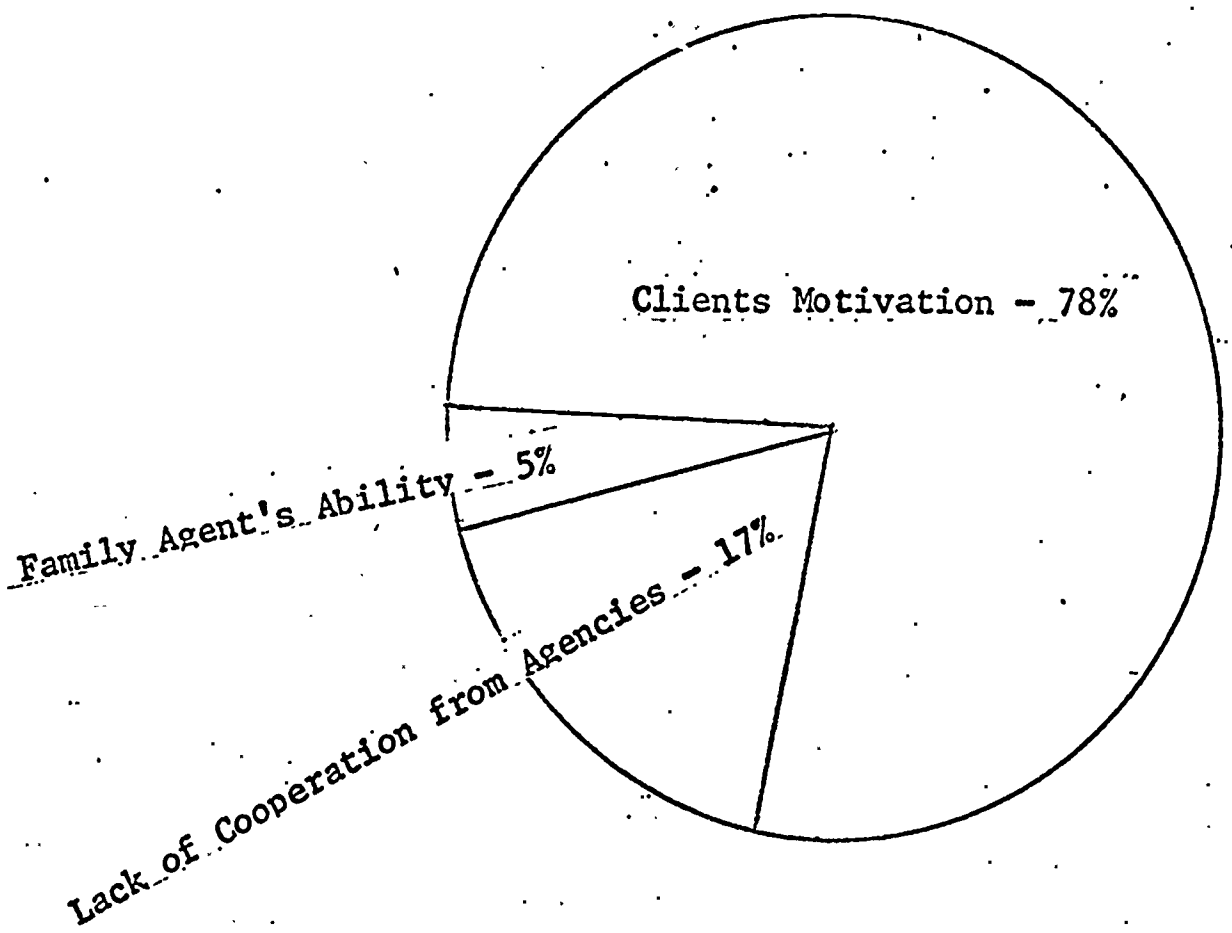
Goal Area of Disappointed Attempts with Clients



As for the reasons for these disappointments, the Family Agents attribute these to the client's motivation in 78% of the cases. They see lack of cooperation of other agencies, and only in 5% of the cases do they attribute their disappointment to their own abilities rather than the problems of agencies or the motivations of clients.

CHART VIII

Reasons for Disappointed Attempts



Termination of Cases

Three out of four cases were terminated at the end of a six month period. However, one out of ten referred at the inception of the program was still current when the program was transferred. Cases were seen by the Family Agents twice a week for an average of four hours a week. Thus, within a six month period, a family was apt to have been seen by the Family Agent for a total of 100 hours.

Forty-eight percent of the cases ever referred were current at the time the program was transferred.

Of those cases which were terminated, the reasons were as follows:

Reason for Termination	Percent
Project Decision, Problem Resolved	34
Project Decision, Problem Unresolved	4
Family Decision, Problem Resolved	8
Family Hostility	2
Referring Agency Decision	8
Foster Home Placement	2
Family Moved from Area	28
Unknown	14

From the point of view of the project, about a third of the cases were terminated because it was felt that the problems were resolved. Only a very small number of cases were terminated because of family hostility; 8% were terminated because the family felt that the problems were resolved, even though we might not have agreed. The high percentage of unterminated cases is an indication of tenacity on the part of the Family Agents - rather than terminate a case as unresolved, they continued to work with it, and to explore various alternative approaches to the families' problems.

The question might well be raised as to what constituted "project decision, problem resolved". Did this mean that the family was no longer poor? Or did it merely mean that a family referred for dental problems had been referred to a dentist? For the most part, a termination deemed to be successful did not mean that the family was no longer poor. In fact, those cases which were terminated because the family moved out of the area meant that the family had also moved out of the poverty level, since, as a family increased its income it was quick to find housing in another area. However, neither did a termination mean that a family had merely been referred to another agency for its problems.

Cases were terminated and classified as "problems resolved" when the problems for which the family had been referred had been dealt with as well as possible given the limitations of the family and the availability of resources. In addition, the Family Agents superimposed their own goals; of improving the physical conditions, improving the self-esteem and family interaction, teaching them how to deal with agencies and institutions. When it was felt that the Agent had accomplished as much as she could towards these goals, a cases was closed to allow the family to consolidate its gains through its own efforts and increased strengths. An informal follow-up was done by the Family Agents who telephoned terminated families from time to time to ask how they were getting along.

An attempt to measure the overall changes in the families is described in the section on the Family Movement Scale.

Family Agents Intra-Agency Relations

Family Agents were asked about how they utilized the personnel of the Pacific Community Center and what influence these had on their work as Family Agents.

One-third of the Family Agents indicated that they spent fewer than four hours a month in direct contact with other persons within the center itself. An additional one-third of the agents indicated that they spent between four and six hours a month in such relationships. The question as to the kind of influence which the Family Agents felt their co-workers had on them shows that, primarily, they received ideas and suggestions, reassurance, friendship from other Family Agents, but it was also indicated that there tended to be minimal contact between the Family Agents themselves. When the role of the Family Agent supervisor was questioned, the Family Agents indicated that primarily they received ideas and suggestions with some reassurance from their own supervisors, and, again, a few Family Agents indicated that they had minimal contact with their supervisors. When asked about the monthly Family Agent meetings, the Family Agents said that while the meeting offered ideas and suggestions of general interest, a few said they were of little practical use to them. Comments about their training program elicited statements that the training offered an opportunity to define the role of the Family Agent, to gain a perspective on the client population, to become familiar with community resources, and so, to be of general interest. A few of the Family Agents indicated that the training was not valuable to them as Family Agents.

Family Agents were asked what suggestions they had for changes in the selection, training, supervision or the program which might help them with their work.

Suggestions related to the selection of Family Agents were very few; four suggested that there might be a role for male Family Agents, three suggested younger people, two that there be more Negro and ghetto residents as Family Agents, and one suggested that Family Agents should be able to speak Spanish.

Only a total of five suggestions were made regarding supervision; three of which indicated that more supervisory conferences (than one a month) would be helpful.

Most suggestions came in regard to their own training. Twenty-three percent of the suggestions regarding training were for increased training in counseling and therapeutic techniques; 20% for small group discussions, and 14% for a printed guide of who to contact in agencies, and 9% wanted more counseling and reassurance for the Family Agents.

Actual suggestions for program development were limited to increasing the available transportation for clients and four requests for increased availability of therapy and psychological testing for the clients. Other comments related to the structure of the center itself and were highly individual with none of these comments occurring more than once.

Discussion and Conclusions

Relationship of the Family Agent and Client. The overall ROLE of the Family Agent is that of a woman who works between ten and twenty hours a week with from one to three families. The Family Agent feels that she herself is seen primarily as a helpmate, although there are some overtones that she may be perceived as representing the established community. The way the Family Agent established rapport is primarily by responding to requests from the family rather than by initiating such requests. More than half the working time is spent in direct contact with the families, and the rest in contacting other agencies, and in the supervision and work of their own agency.

The SATISFACTION the Family Agent gets in this relationship comes primarily when she can see some changes in the physical condition of the family. Agents also find satisfaction when the family shows some improvement in their family relations, in the relationship between the family and the Agent, and with outside society. They do, however, experience some shift in goals, probably because, in spite of training, they begin rather naively and have to lower their expectations in order to maintain a sufficient level of satisfaction from their work.

The two major areas of DISAPPOINTMENTS that the Family Agents feel are interestingly enough, in the areas of communication and emotional needs and in the Family Agent-client relationship. Though nearly half of the areas of disappointment have to do with attempts to gain help from other agencies, most see the family's motivation rather than other agencies as the reason why they were disappointed. Few seem to blame themselves.

Family Agent Relationships with Other Agencies. The primary thrust of the Family Agents was directly with the poor and only secondarily with other agencies and with the center itself. The Family Agents acted to open a path to these other agencies through using the techniques of arranging and transporting family members to needed services. They also spent considerable time defending their families in their relationships with these agencies. In this role of an Ombudsman then, they were largely successful in gaining the services requested for their families, while at the same time maintaining good relations with the agencies. An exception to this success was in the area of education, where the Agents reported that the schools were the agency most apt to be uncooperative.

In their relations with the sponsoring agency, the Agents tended to spend a minimum amount of time, and that was spent primarily to get ideas, suggestions, direction. They functioned with considerable autonomy, and appeared to be quite comfortable with the degree of freedom, since only three felt that they needed closer supervision.

Section 4 - The Family Movement Scale

As one means for measuring changes which might be expected to occur among the families served by the Family Agents, the director of the project, in cooperation with the research director and with Family Agents, designed a series of scales to judge the movement in the family. The family movement scale was established in this preliminary form, submitted to Family Agents for their utilization and recommendation, modified according to the results of this feedback, and established in its final form in 1966.

Construction of the Scale. Forty Family Agents were asked to make descriptive statements about their own families and each of the families they worked with along twelve dimensions of family life.

These statements were typed on cards, and ten independent judges were asked to first sort the cards into separate categories, and then to rank the cards within each of these categories.

After the categorization step, those statements which were sorted into more than two categories were eliminated as ambiguous.

After placing the remaining cards in rank order, mean ranks and standard deviations for each item were computed. Two sets of items for each of the twelve categories were then selected in such a way that each item in each set was at least one standard deviation away from the next item in the category.

This then gave us two equivalent forms of the scales. Both forms were then distributed to thirty Family Agents who were instructed to rate one family on both forms.

The correlations between the equivalent scales of each form were used as a measure of reliability (these are essentially split-half reliability coefficients). Correlations ranged from .60 to .86, indicating to us sufficiently high reliability for its purpose, and Form A was adopted for general use.

Method

Each Family Agent was expected to complete a Family Movement Scale on each of the families served within a month of initiating service to that family. Each Family Agent was then expected to complete a Family Movement Scale of each of her families three months and six months after completing the first scale.

Each of the twelve sub-scales of the Family Movement Scale was presented as a column running from zero to 100 along which the Family Agent was expected to make a mark indicating her rating of that family on that particular sub-scale. Using a modified Guttman scaling technique, illustrative statements were placed at various points alongside the

the column. For the purposes of scoring the scale, the length in milimeters was measured from the bottom line (0) to the point at which the Family Agent made her rating mark. In the following paragraphs we shall briefly describe each of the twelve sub-scales which constituted the Family Movement Scale. The twelve sub-scales covered each of the following topics: nutrition and meals; clothing; exposure to information; housekeeping standards; health maintenance; community involvement and affiliation; orientation to time and to planning; impulse control; achievement motivation; relation to authority; relation to institutions; and dependency.

The sub-scale on nutrition and meals was calibrated at 4, 16, 28, 49, 61, 76, 88 and 100. At 4, the following statement was indicative of the behavior which might be rated low on the scale:

> *As there is no kitchen table, all meals are eaten helter skelter and food remnants are left on the living room floor. The children often go to the refrigerator and fix something for themselves to eat at odd hours. A lot of sweets are consumed.*

Midway on the scale at 49, was the following statement:

> *Adequate. Breakfast, lunch and dinner are served. Meals tend to be similar. Chopped meat, hot dogs, cheap food.*

Finally, at 88 on the scale, for nutrition and meals, the following statement was included:

> *Regular scheduled and well balanced meals served and eaten as a family group.*

The clothing scale varied from the low statement, *There were torn, ill-fitting, hand-me-down clothes*, to the statement at 94 on the scale, *The family wore clean clothes every day*, etc.

The sub-scale on exposure to information ran from a low which indicated almost total lack of knowledge or concern with what goes on in the community, to a high which included the presence of newspapers, magazines, books and trips taken by the family to the library.

With regard to housekeeping standards, at 1 on the sub-scale the indication was that there was no interest in keeping the house in good repair or clean. At 86 on the scale was the statement, *Much effort placed on maintaining a clean home, usually neat.*

Health maintenance ran between the extremes of poor health habits without medical or dental checkups and good health habits with both medical and dental checkups on a regular basis.

Community involvement and its affiliations were measured from the extreme of total uninvolvement with anyone except family and friends through school and political organization to good attendance by the family in political and social affairs on a local as well as a national and international basis.

To measure the family's orientation to time and planning, the Family Agent was provided with a scale which ran from the family's tendency to be unable to plan and to break appointments through the keeping of appointments with occasional lateness to good utilization of time and the keeping of appointments.

The sub-scale for impulse control recorded at 14 on the scale was the following:

> *Poor impulse control. When a little extra money happened to be available, it was immediately used to purchase new fashions for wife instead of putting it aside to cover food shortages. Husband is alcoholic. The children are refused soda and candy only when mother is absolutely broke.*

At the other end of the scale was the comment, *Excellent control, shows much restraint in terms of credit buying, emphasis on cash purchases.*

The sub-scale on achievement motivation considered that prime motivation would be measured by the children's wanting good grades in school, studying for the grades at home, and realizing that this was the only way to succeed. At the other extreme on the achievement motivation scale is the absence of motivation and the absence of striving toward achievement, trying only to keep out of trouble with the law.

In the sub-scale which measured relation to authority, the statement on line 13 indicated that the family expected to be defeated or to be the loser in the relationship with authority. At 92 on the scale the indication was that the family showed good attitudes toward the schools, attended religious services regularly and showed respect for law and the social order.

With regard to the family's relationship to institutions, low on the scale was the family's suspiciousness, wariness and hostility toward institutions. High on the scale of relations with institutions was the family's general respect for role and position.

Family dependency was the final sub-scale of the Family Movement Scale and considered one extreme of the family's doing nothing of their own accord, even sitting by when all the services were used waiting for public agencies to help them. At the end of the scale which represented greater independence, the family was then expected to show effort towards independence and to take initiative on its own behalf.

Although the scale had been developed in consultation with persons who served as Family Agents, and the descriptive statements were derived from them, there was considerable resistance by the agents applying this scale.

A methodological complication enters into our picture of the analysis of the Family Movement Scale insofar as we have no comparable perceptions of family movement made by raters other than the Family Agents themselves, nor did any Family Agent rate the family movement of another Family Agent's family. Thus we must rely on the Family Agent's own perception of the status and the change in status of the family for which she had respon bility.

Furthermore, while each of the sub-scales provided written directions and descriptions for the Family Agent's judgment, the scales were presented in such a manner that the Family Agent's own style of judgment may have entered into her rating. The data do not permit adjustment of the Family Agent's rating on any particular sub-scale in keeping with the peculiarities of her normal style in making linear judgments.

Results

Family ovement Scales were administered to 16 Anglo-American families, 21 Negro families, and 19 Mexican-American families by their individual Family Agents. The second administration of the scale was conducted three months after the first administration. Some of the families were also rated a third time by their Family Agents. Because none of the scales indicated significant shifts between the first and third administrations, these data are not reported in the accompanying table. The data were analysed according to the family's ethnicity, scale by scale, and finally with regard to all twelve scales. The chi-square statistic was used to determine the significance of difference with regard to those families which showed a gain in family movement and those families which showed either no gain or loss.

On only one sub-scale was there a significant difference among ethnic groups. With regard to their orientation to time and to planning, Mexican-American families demonstrated a loss in this dimension (.05 level).

When the total gains for all twelve scales were recorded and the ethnic groups compared, the following results were significant at the .05 level: Mexican-Americans tended to gain most, Negro-Americans gained somewhat, and Anglo-Americans lost as far as movement was concerned between the two administrations of the family movement scale.

FAMILY MOVEMENT SCALE - MEAN SCORES

	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo	
	[A]	[B]	[A]	[B]	[A]	[B]
Nutrition	9.87	11.52	10.28	10.74	10.73	10.38
Clothing	8.48	10.66	10.25	11.00	9.42	10.46
Information	6.61	9.17	8.69	9.29	8.12	9.13
Housekeeping	8.97	10.34	9.50	10.47	9.73	9.42
Health	9.97	12.24	11.74	12.27	12.69	12.17
Involvement	4.87	7.00	5.39	6.65	5.58	6.38
Time & Planning	10.45	11.21	11.19	11.24	11.04	11.08
Impulse Control	10.03	10.72	10.74	11.12	10.80	10.09
Motivation	8.23	8.66	7.66	8.68	9.32	8.86
Authority	11.16	11.10	11.11	11.26	13.35	13.05
Institutions	10.35	11.28	11.14	11.62	12.65	12.95
Dependency	9.03	10.52	10.31	10.97	10.08	10.41

Key:

[A] - 1st Administration

[B] - 2nd Administration

The next analysis we made considered differences within each ethnic group according to their scores on the Family Movement Scales. Neither the Anglo or Negro families demonstrated any significant differences between sub-scales. As far as the Mexican-American families are concerned, however, a difference did occur at the point .10 level of confidence; Mexican-American families appeared to gain in their exposure to information, their health maintenance, their housekeeping standards, and their orientation to time and to planning, but they also appeared to lose in their achievement motivation between test administrations.

Finally, we considered the comparative percentages of gains for all three ethnic groups on all twelve scales of the Family Movement Scale. The chi-square exceeded the .01 level of significance. Differences among the ethnic groups were primarily attributed to the gain which Anglo-Americans demonstrated in achievement motivation while Mexican-Americans were perceived as having lost in achievement motivation between the two test administrations. Secondarily, Mexican-Americans appeared to gain in their orientation to time and planning while Anglo-Americans appeared to lose in this same dimension between the two test administrations. There were also some apparent differences in the area of housing, in which Mexican-Americans appeared to improve in their housekeeping maintenance. Mexican-Americans gained in exposure to Information, while Negroes appeared to lose between test administrations. These differences in housing and information, however, did not contribute nearly as much to the value of the chi-square as did the previously reported differences in motivation and orientation to time.

Discussion

Methodologically, it is important to continue work in the development of scales to measure changes in families who receive aid. Form "A" of the Family Movement Scale should be considered a first approximation toward this goal. The Family Movement Scale considers twelve different dimensions of family life. Some refinement is necessary, however, in the definitions which are used within each scale and according to which the rater makes a judgment about the family. It might also be important to develop the Family Movement Scale in such a way that it might be used by a family to evaluate itself and to measure its own movement, perhaps to contrast to the ratings and perceived movements as seen by the Family Agent.

The data with regard to gains or no gains as perceived by the Family Agents who used the Family Movement Scale reflect in general a perception of slight gains within the Mexican-American families and some losses within the Anglo-American families. The Mexican-American families appeared to have gained in their orientation to time and planning, while the Anglo-Americans lost in the same dimension, but we do not know whether to attribute this to a real change on the parts of the families themselves or to a problem in setting the "baseline" on the part of the Family Agents who recorded their perceptions. Likewise, the gain in achievement motivation on the part of Anglo-American families as perceived by Family Agents and the attendant loss in such motivation on the part of Mexican-American

families may represent a real difference as a matter of time and may on the other hand be attributed to the agent's initial perceptions of achievement motivation in these two poverty populations. We are inclined to attribute these differences in orientation to time and achievement motivation to the families themselves rather than to the perceptions of the Family Agents because there is no significant difference between the means of the agents' initial ratings in regard to these ethnic groups and these scales. This absence of a significant difference in initial ratings leads us to assume that the Family Agents did not use different scales of judgment in making their initial ratings of Mexican-American and Anglo-American families.

Section 5 - The Family Agent as a Staff Member

What kinds of people become Family Agents? Does payment for their services affect the service or kind of person recruited? We undertook a variety of inquiries about the Family Agent as a person because we were very much concerned with estimating the availability of such employees in the general population and, in learning whether we could identify variables which would enable an agency to predict which people would be likely to stay with the program once trained. Since our research budget was limited, the studies reported here, which are drawn from our more general report *The Professional Service Corps*, are more limited than we would have preferred.

The application and intake procedure is described earlier in this volume. Briefly, recruitment was accomplished by word of mouth. Over 3,000 inquiries were received, and very concrete job descriptions and applications were sent to all who inquired. As we gained experience, we became more adept at discouraging applications by de-glamorizing the task and stressing its difficulties on the telephone and in our descriptive material.

Three hundred twenty-two (322) people returned written applications and were interviewed by the Director of Selection and Training (herself a part-time volunteer). Of these, 137 were accepted for training. In examining her interview criteria, it appeared that the major selection criteria were as follows:

- General concern for alleviating the conditions of poverty.
- An understanding of special problems of minorities and desire to improve intergroup relations.
- A non-judgmental attitude toward widely differing standards of behavior and attitudes.
- A concern with individual human rights.
- An ability to deal with agencies, institutions and authority with tact, firmness and good judgment.
- An ability to relate to clients with warmth and understanding, but not to over-identify.
- A willingness to be available to clients on a regular and emergency basis.
- The ability to relate to clients and give of oneself beyond the call of duty without expecting gratitude.
- A personal acceptance of attitudes and values necessary to successful social adjustment without either undue rigidity or hostility.

- General high standards of honesty and responsibility and an ability to function reliably in a relatively unstructured situation.

- A neat and attractive appearance, clear and pleasant manner of speaking.

- A driver's license, and, for most assignments, an automobile.

After being notified of acceptance, the applicant was invited to join the next training group.

Because of the utter unpredictability of the arrival dates of the federal share of our budget, it was often impossible to give the accepted applicant any estimate as to when she would be called for training.[1] In some cases, several months elapsed between acceptance and training, with a resultant loss of some applicants.

Altogether, 59% of those who applied and were interviewed were not accepted for training.

Of the 137 who were accepted:

- 17 dropped out before training

- 33 were never called for training because of inadequate funds to assure their placement

- 87 were trained

Of the 87 people who went through the training program:

- 16 withdrew at the end of placement, feeling they did not want an assignment

- 3 were terminated by the training staff as inappropriate

Thus, 68 or 21% of the total number of persons applying were assigned as a Family Agent. Continuing in the program during the last half year of the two year demonstration project were 40 of the 68 persons trained as Family Agents. Therefore, the percentage of Family Agents currently in the program as of May 1966 was approximately 11% of the total of all applicants, or 30% of all applicants who were considered as acceptable for Family Agent training, or 59% of all applicants who had been placed as Family Agents.

The data indicates that those persons who continued as Family Agents at the termination of the demonstration program were women.

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[1] The first grant, promised for February 1965, arrived in May, and at the insistance of the Los Angeles CAA, was for ninety days - until August 3rd. The continuation grant was effective October 18, although it did not physically arrive until mid November.

Throughout the program, however, some of the applicants and trainees were men. It must be understood that the grapevine recruitment technique which produced applicants was "manned" by women.

Age. Women who were likely to become Family Agents fell between the ages of 26 and 40. While some women over 56 applied for the program, were accepted and trained, and remained as Family Agents, women under 25 were less likely to become Family Agents and, if accepted, to remain as Family Agents.

	No Answer	Under 25	26-40	41-55	56 Over
Not Accepted	8	20	33	28	11
Accepted - Not Placed	14	20	40	18	8
Placed - Discontinued	0	14	61	21	4
Continuing	5	5	45	35	10

Marital Status. Women were accepted as Family Agents who were married, divorced, widowed, and single. Those who remained in the program until its end were more likely to be currently married.

	No Answer	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Married
Not Accepted	3	27	8	6	56
Accepted - Not Placed	3	25	9	5	57
Placed - Discontinued	0	29	0	7	64
Continuing	0	5	5	2	78

Age and Number of Children. When we examine the outcome of applicants in terms of the ages of their own children, it appears that those most likely to become and remain Family Agents have children of their own who are between 6 and 12 years old.

	No Answer	None	One	Two	Three +
Children Under 5 Years Old					
Not Accepted	14	74	8	4	
Accepted - Not Placed	3	68	20	9	
Placed - Discontinued	0	68	21	11	
Continuing	5	62	25	8	

	No Answer	None	One	Two	Three +
Children 6 to 12 Years Old					
Not Accepted	13	59	14	11	3
Accepted - Not Placed	3	63	20	8	6
Placed - Discontinued	0	64	21	14	
Continuing	8	45	30	18	
Children 13 to 18 Years Old					
Not Accepted	14	60	13	6	3
Accepted - Not Placed	3	68	18	9	2
Placed - Discontinued	0	64	19	11	
Continuing	10	52	8	22	8
Children 19 Years Old and Over					
Not Accepted	15	64	10	8	3
Accepted - Not Placed	3	78	11	6	2
Placed - Discontinued	0	86	7	4	4
Continuing	8	67	20	2	2

Residence. While all but one of the Family Agents lived within seven miles in radius to the north and east of the project office, which was in the southwest corner of the four square mile service area, almost all of them were seen as "outsiders" by the cramped dwellers in the ghettos. For this reason, intensive efforts were made to find applicants from the ghettos - and particularly from the ten square blocks of the Negro ghetto. Twenty-five percent of the ghetto applicants who were accepted did not come in for training. Many of these accepted employment in other anti-poverty programs which paid better salaries and which offered full time employment. Since talented minority group members are in short supply in this area - where 10% of the adult population have high school diplomas - we were instrumental in finding well paying full time jobs in other programs for the likely candidates we found. On the whole, it did not appear that place of residence or distance was a relevant factor in continuation in the Family Agent role. In the table below, the geographic areas listed are progressively farther from Venice as one goes from left to right in the table.

	Venice	Santa Monica	West L.A.	Valley
Not Accepted	7	11	68	24
Accepted - Not Placed	25	9	46	20
Placed - Discontinued	11	11	64	14
Continuing	8	8	62	22

Education. The women who became and remained Family Agents were likely to have a college degree, but not likely to have a graduate degree.

While we received applications from people who had graduate degrees, they tended to be seeking administrative posts, and even when accepted, tended to drop out.

While their academic majors varied considerably, the largest group of applicants, acceptees, and Family Agents had majored in the social studies and humanities as undergraduates.

Not surprisingly, these undergraduate fields have also been the largest sources of both Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers.

	No Answer	High School	H.S. Grad.	College	College Grad.	Grad. School	Grad. Degree
Not Accepted	5	1	5	28	42	3	16
Accepted - Not Placed	9	3	3	38	28	3	15
Placed - Discontinued	4	4	11	25	46	7	4
Continuing	5	0	0	18	57	18	2

Previous Volunteer Experience. The applicant's prior work as a volunteer was apparently related both to acceptance in the program, and, if accepted, to their longevity as a Family Agent. Twenty-eight percent of the persons rejected and thirty-five percent of those who, though accepted, went no further had no prior volunteer experience.

	Number of Organizations			
	None	One	Two	Three or More
Not Accepted	28	23	23	26
Accepted - Not Placed	35	22	29	14
Placed - Discontinued	14	32	36	18
Continuing	10	30	12	48

On the other hand, 48% of the women who stayed with the program to the end had worked as volunteers in three or more organizations prior to becoming Family Agents.

Some of the women expressed their belief that this was a logical progression - that their prior volunteer work prepared them to do the job of Family Agents - and that the role of Family Agent, in turn, was helping them discover whether they wanted to go on to graduate work or to a full time job.

Socio-Economic Status. A great deal of rhetoric has filled recent literature on the importance of the difference in socio-economic status between client and worker in effecting communication between the two.

On the one extreme is the position that "only a poor person can communicate with a poor person" - a position which is taken to justify the employment of the poor as neighborhood aides and social work aides.

Our position has been that the "blind are not the most effective leaders of the blind" - that the effectiveness of the Family Agent lay in large part in the fact that, as a successful practitioner of the larger culture she could be effective as a teacher and diffuser of the culture among the poor.

Because the recompense of the Family Agent barely covered her out-of-pocket expenses, and because the job offered no social status or public recognition rewards, it seems reasonable to assume that the primary reinforcement for staying on the job was a belief that they were being effective.

We examined Family Agent applicants for acceptance and longevity in terms of socio-economic status, as classified by Bogue.[1] There appear to be no relationships between socio-economic status and outcome that would either aid in selection or support the notion that middle income people would be rejected by the poor to an extent that would make higher income people leave the program.

	NA	Lowest	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Highest
Not Accepted	2	1	0	1	4	18	43	22	1	8
Accepted - Not Placed	5	0	2	8	6	20	31	20	0	9
Placed - Discontinued	0	4	0	7	0	14	36	21	4	14
Continuing	0	0	0	0	0	15	45	25	0	15

[1] BOGUE, D. J., *Skid Row in American Cities*, Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1963.

Reasons for Termination. Twenty-eight Family Agents resigned or were terminated before the program ended.

- 3 were terminated for unsatisfactory work
- 3 resigned because they disliked the work
- 3 moved to another city
- 5 resigned because of pregnancy or a change in their own home situation
- 11 resigned to take a full time job
- 2 enrolled in a graduate school of social work.

Thus, even for those who do not remain as Family Agents, the program seems to offer a way back into the manpower pool for a considerable number of women.

Termination as a Function of Experience in the Program. Family Agents were hired and assigned throughout the duration. As shown below, those who discontinued were most likely to do so during their first six months. Those who continued and were active until the end of the program were as likely to have been there for six months as for a year or a year and a half.

Months as Family Agents
(in Percentages)

	1 - 6	7 - 12	13 - 18	19 or More
Discontinued	79	11	10	0
Continuing	12	28	32	28

Public Awareness and Applications. Before January of 1965, the Federal War On Poverty received little attention in the Los Angeles press. The big conflict about control of the program in Los Angeles County became a matter of widespread attention at the turn of the year. Another shift in public information occurred in June of 1965.

While the Watts Rebellion did not explode until August, symptoms of unrest coupled with very open conflict between civic and political leaders in the County were receiving daily attention in the newpapers. Coupled to these County-wide events were two significant events relating to this project.

In December of 1964 the Los Angeles Times published a full page story about this project.

In May of 1965, local papers covered the award of our first demonstration grant; the opposition to it from the local CAP and a landowners organization, and the widespread support it received from people in the ghettos who walked to the newspaper offices and wrote letters in support of the project, created considerable public attention.

We wondered whether these changes in the public climate and information would bring different kinds of applicants to us.

Comparisons of applicants for each of these three periods are presented on page 205 (Table I).

The data indicate that fewer people were rejected for training after June 1965 than in either of the other two periods, due primarily to increased funding and program growth.

Information on the percentage of females on the samples is self explanatory in Table I. The data on age likewise suggests the greatest percentage of women between 26 and 40 applied in the first stage of the program in 1964. The information on marital status show relatively no differences as a function of time, nor do the data on the number of children of different ages indicate anything of systematic importance toward an understanding of the Family Agent Program.

With reference to the locality from which Family Agents were likely to come, it is interesting to note that the greatest percentage came from the West Los Angeles locality early in the development of the program, before January 1, 1965, and that this tapered off in the next two phases. This may be explained as a quite natural development in so far as many of the people who initially entered the program heard of it by word of mouth from the key Pacfic Community Center staff who themselves resided in West Los Angeles. A similar explanation may be offered for the increase in persons coming from the San Fernando Valley in the latter phases of the program.

The people applying for the program before January 1965 were likely to be college graduates. As the program progressed, people were likely to apply who had attended graduate school or who had received graduate degrees. Thus, we have a slight escalation in amount of education from the initial toward the later stages of the program. No systematic differences were found in their field of college majors, however.

It is interesting to see that the greatest percentage of persons showing interest in the Family Agent Program with volunteer experience in three or more organizations appear at the initial phase of the program. There does not seem to be a systematic difference with regard to the information we have about the socio-economic status of persons applying to the program at different times in its history.

The information we were able to gather about the reasons for leaving the program do not appear to differ as a function of time. Finally, the number of months in the project is a direct function of the time at which persons entered so that the rate of continuation was similar for the duration of the program.

CHARACTERISTICS OF APPLICANTS TO FAMILY AGENT PROGRAM DURING THREE PERIODS OF TIME

(Expressed in Percentages)

Category Key:

1. Before January 1, 1965
2. Between January & June, 1965
3. After July 1, 1965

	Total Number	Percent
1.	29	26
2.	47	42
3.	34	32
	110	

Prospective and Actual Family Agents

	Applied	Accepted	Trained	Continuing
1.	45	3	14	38
2.	49	4	17	30
3.	35	0	20	44

Sex

	Female	Male
1.	100	0
2.	82	0
3.	85	0

Amount of Education

	No Answer	High School	H.S.Grad.	College	Coll.Grad.	Grad.School	Grad. Degree
1.	10	0	0	24	52	14	0
2.	2	2	6	32	38	4	15
3.	6	3	6	26	35	9	6

Major Field of Education

	No Answer	Soc.Stud.	Human.	Educ.	Science	Law	Other
1.	10	34	17	17	3	0	17
2.	8	38	11	23	0	2	17
3.	15	32	29	15	0	0	9

Social-Economic Status

	No Answer	Lowest	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Highest
1.	0	3				17	34	31	14	
2.	2	0	0	4	6	23	38	15	11	
3.	3	0	0	9	0	15	32	20	3	18

Age

	No Answer	25 Under	26-40	41-55	56 Over
1.	3	0	62	24	10
2.	8	23	40	23	4
3.	9	9	41	35	6

Marital Status

	No Answer	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Married
1.	0	17	7	0	76
2.	0	19	4	4	72
3.	3	15	12	6	65

Children

Under 5 Years Old

	No Answer	None	One	Two	Three +
1.	3	55	31	10	
2.	2	74	13	11	
3.	3	65	26	6	

Children

6-12 Years Old

	No Answer	None	One	Two	Three +
1.	3	48	28	17	3
2.	2	66	28	2	2
3.	6	56	20	18	

13-18 Years Old

1.	7	66	14	10	3
2.	2	60	13	21	4
3.	6	65	15	12	3

19 Years Older

1.	3	79	7	7	3
2.	2	79	13	2	4
3.	6	70	18	6	

Residence

	No Answer	Venice	Santa Monica	West L.A.	Valley
1.	0	3	3	76	17
2.	0	17	6	60	17
3.	3	18	12	41	26

Volunteer Experience

	No Answer	One Yr.	Two Yrs.	Three Yrs./More
1.	10	38	14	38
2.	28	26	28	23
3.	26	26	24	24

Months in Pacific Community Center

	None	1-6	7-12	13-18	19-More
1.	0	21	24	14	81
2.	4	53	8	34	0
3.	3	62	35	0	0

Discussion: Demographic Findings

With manpower as our first concern, what was learned? First, one of every eight persons who applied for a position as a Family Agent was actually serving in that position during the last six months of the two year program. Roughly one out of five persons who had ever applied for such a position had also been trained and served during the two year period. We consider that a 20% yield for a new program such as this is indicative of the possible manpower resources which continue to reside in the community. In other words, we might expect that a program such as the one that has been described could continue to find replacements for Family Agents who left the program for whatever reason; or to take another perspective, that a program similar to this could be initiated in another locality by drawing upon the same existing manpower resources. In very simple language, there seems to be a lot of women similar to those who were successful as Family Agents who live in the community at any time and who might be encouraged to apply for training and serve in the capacity of Family Agents.

With regard to the flow of such a program over time, there seems to be very little systematic change which cannot be explained by common sense. For instance, age, locality of residence of applicants, education, and socio-economic status of persons entering the program at its onset approximate very closely the characteristics of those persons who initiated the project.

With reference to criteria for selection, we think we have evidence which indicates some difference between persons who become Family Agents and continue to serve as Family Agents and applicants who do not achieve this status. The Family Agent appears to be a woman between the ages of 26 and 40 or somewhat older, but not 50 years of age, currently married with school age children, whose interest in the program is more important than the locality of her residence. She has graduated from college, has served as a volunteer in three or more organizations and tends to persist in what she sets out to do. These characteristics suggest we are working with or looking for a person with energy, goal direction, demonstrated responsibility, who has completed her education and wants to make use of her talents. These criteria are suggestive on the one hand, but relate to manpower on the other, because we may expect to find many such women among the population of any great metropolitan complex.

Summary

Of 322 applicants for Family Agents positions, 87 received training, and 68 were placed as Family Agents. Forty were still Family Agents at the end of the project. Considering both manpower for a Family Agent Program and criteria for success in the program, we conclude that there is a sufficient number of educated, energetic and mature women within the city and its suburbs to replicate the manpower for a Family Agent Program many times over. One of every five applicants may be expected to become a Family Agent and one of every eight applicants may be expected to maintain that role after training for twelve months or more.

Personality Characteristics of Family Agents

What are the personality and related characteristics of Family Agents?

Did the screening procedures used with Family Agents result in any general personality types, and was it effective in eliminating grossly abnormal candidates?

To make these determinations, a number of scales were administered to both the working Agents and to a control group of unselected volunteers doing similar work in another poverty area. The scales administered included the MMPI, the IPAT, an aptitude questionnaire, a specially developed questionnaire, and the Tompkins Polarity Scale.

In spite of the fact that confidentiality of test information was guaranteed, there was some resistance on the part of some of the women toward taking these tests for two reasons. First some of the scales were introduced after the workers were on the job, and they did not feel that the research was related to their work. Second, the scales were administered at the height of the public discussion about the use of personality tests for purposes of screening personnel. Questions were raised as to whether these tests were an invasion of privacy and civil liberties. There was the general feeling among many of the minority group workers that tests tended to discriminate against their members. Despite interpretations of the psychologist, some women refused to take the tests. However, a sufficient number of women in both groups acceptably completed the MMPI for us to report on the data.

Method. The MMPI was administered to 37 Family Agents and 20 unselected, unreimbursed volunteer case aides of similar socio-economic backgrounds in another poverty area program. The clinical psychologist then reported brief interpretations on an individual basis to each woman if requested. All of the scales were utilized in this interpretation.

Three types of analysis were done:

A. An analysis was made from the profiles derived from the total MMPI Scales.

B. An analysis was made of the two Grace Scales on Dominance and Social Responsibility.[1]

C. A further attempt was made to develop six sub-scales from the MMPI which might be used to determine the customary style or approach which Family Agents used in their work with the poor. The analysis of these scales was made under the direction of the research director, and the method used was to score the MMPI's in six major directions of inter[illegible]:

---

[1]GRACE, Harry, *Dominance and Social Responsibility Scales for the MMPI*, Unpublished, 1966.

1. Interest in inventing things
2. Interest in producing things
3. Interest in influencing other people
4. Interest in being of service to other people
5. Interest in taking a logical view toward the world, and
6. Interest in originating ideas.

These six scales were then analyzed and only those items used which discriminated high scorers from low scorers. Each individual MMPI was then rescored against the item analysis and the Family Agents were compared with the control group. These results are reported in the next section.

Findings:

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). After scoring, the MMPI profiles, identified only by code, were given to the clinical psychologist for "blind" interpretation and sorting. When dichotomized into "probably abnormal" and "probably normal" groups, only 60% of the control group fell into the "probably normal" category, while 95% of the Family Agents were classified as "probably normal".

	N	Control	N	Family Agents
Clearly Abnormal and Probably Abnormal	8	40%	2	5%
Clearly Normal and Probably Normal	12	60%	35	95%

When trichotomized, this same relationship between the groups still held:

	N	Control	N	Family Agents
Clearly Abnormal and Probably Abnormal	8	40%	2	5%
Broadly Normal	8	40%	21	55%
Clearly Normal and Probably Normal	4	20%	15	39%

After examining the profiles, the clinical psychologist reported that:

> *Clearly, there is a higher percentage of abnormal types in the volunteer control group and a lower percentage of normal types in this group. As a group comparison, the types of abnormalities are also different. The volunteer group . . . tends to be hysterical and shy - the Family Agents have more tense, angry and rebellious people, as well as people who show more discretion.*

The only statistically significant group differences from the norm were in the Hy (Hypochondriasis) Score, in which the control group scored higher, and the Si (Social Relations) Score, in which the Family Agents scored lower than the norm.

The Dominance and Social Responsibility Scales. These scales indicated no significant difference within either scale, though the Family Agents tended to score higher on dominance and lower on social responsibility than the control group of volunteers, but neither of these approached significance. On the other hand, when the dominance and social responsibility scales were combined into a four-fold table, significant differences appear between the Family Agents and the control group in each section of the table.

The control group scored low in dominance but high in social responsibility, and the Family Agents scored more frequently high in dominance regardless of their social responsibility score.

		Social Responsibility					
		Agents		Control	Agents		Control
Dominance	High	30	>	17	35	>	17
	Low	24	>	22	11	<	44

Discussion:

The findings that the Family Agents are less involved with hypochrondriacal problems than the control, may be related to the fact that they also pay less attention to their relationships with things than do the control group.

The finding that the Agents tend to avoid social relations (Si Scale) more than do the volunteers requires some explanation. The items in this scale are loaded in the direction of general services to people on a continuing basis. Though the Agents scored low in their interests in social relationships, more than 2/3 of them scored high in social responsibility on the Grace Scale of Dominance and Social Responsi-

bility. This coupled with the information that the Family Agents as a group tended to be more rebellious, might lead to the assumption that these women were motivated toward changing society, and saw the role of being of service to people as a means towards this goal.

Perhaps the most interesting data in personality characteristics comes from the Dominance and Social Responsibility Scales on the MMPI.

The responsibility dimension as indicated in Table shows that 2/3 of the Family Agents who were low in dominance were also low in social responsibility. However, nearly half of the highly dominant Family Agents are also high in social responsibility as are the control group where the split is exactly 50/50.

The Family Agents appear to be more independent in their relationships with people, while the control groups seems more influenced by their feelings of social responsibility than their feelings of dominance. This is in keeping with the finding that the Family Agents are less likely to be interested in taking a logical or dogmatic viewpoint toward the world.

Conclusions:

If the Family Agents do, in fact, come from the same general population as the control group, then some of the differences found must be attributed to the recruitment, selection or training procedures.

It would appear that the screening procedure, essentially an interview technique, was effective in selecting an almost entirely "normal" personality type of Family Agent. Further, these procedures tended to eliminate more of the hysterical types of personalities, and to select more of those women who were rebellious, though generally discreet people.

Both the control group and the Family Agents were showing their concern with the welfare of others in their work. However, there was a significantly greater likelihood that the Family Agents would show an independent attitude expressed as social dominance without being less socially responsible. It appears that the Family Agents could be distinguished from the control group in that they were usually more concerned with making in input of their energies and attitudes, while the volunteers were more concerned with having a social outlet.

When the assessment of the personalities of the Family Agents was compared with the techniques of intervention employed by them, there were several interesting findings.

The data describing the personality characteristics of the Family Agents indicated that they were interested in making an investment of their energies and attitudes in their work. However, the overwhelming technique used by the Family Agents was the non-assertive one of advising and suggesting. Almost regardless of the problem area, the Agent responded to the requests of the family by making suggestions

rather than by ordering or directing. Not only did they see themselves in the role of "knowledgeable helper" or "friend", but they primarily used the techniques appropriate to this role.

The techniques least frequently used were diagnosing, conducting therapy, setting herself as a role model, and ordering or directing the family. All of these techniques would require that the Family Agent assert herself or her values on the family, and were opposite to the style which the agents used in working with these families.

However, the "rebelliousness" described by the psychometric data tended to appear in the Family Agent's relations with the agencies and institutions in which they intervened on behalf of their families. Here the "discretion" was also apparant, in that their intervention was largely effective and the agency personnel responded cooperatively.

Thus the Family Agents were able to show great flexibility in their style: they confined the attitudinal input to their agency relations and were almost entirely non-assertive with their families. Perhaps, the role of the Family Agent, as defined in training and as maintained in supervision, tended to make these women restrain what might naturally have been more directive and assertive techniques. It is also possible that these more assertive techniques might be effective in dealing with some problem areas such as home making and budgeting, and in working with client motivation.

From the personality data, these women were judged to be highly independent. When we compare this with how they functioned, we find that they worked with a great deal of autonomy, required little supervision, and spent little time in social contacts with other staff. Further, they clearly enjoyed the autonomy, since nearly all indicated that they intended to continue with this kind of work.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

From the total study we conclude that the use of part-time staff can provide both an untapped source of manpower in a field where there are professional shortages, and offer a type of service needed and accepted by low-income families.

The MANPOWER findings indicate that there is a wide and continuing availability of college-trained women willing to work for $2.00 an hour.

Screening through interviews can be effective in eliminating grossly abnormal personality types, and in selecting those who have desired personality traits.

The women most likely to remain in the program are those who:

have graduated from college
are over 26 but under 50
are currently married
have school age children
have had three or more previous volunteer experiences
are paid rather than volunteer,*
are not dependent upon the pay as a prime source of support. *

In the PROGRAM evaluation, it was found that such women can be trained to provide fragments of social service jobs, and to work effectively under minimum supervision.

They are able to work with low-income, multi-problem families in an interracial neighborhood, and are accepted by these families.

These families display a wide variety of family styles and problems, which are not primarily related to their ethnic group membership.

The staff recruited, selected, and trained in the way done in this program see themselves primarily as "helpmates" to provide the services requested by the families.

Although they use essentially non-assertive techniques with the families, they do defend and intervene with the agencies and institutions on behalf of the families, while still maintaining a good working relationship with these agencies.

Finally, in addition to providing direct services to the families, this kind of personnel can be instrumental in attracting and helping to develop additional services in the community.

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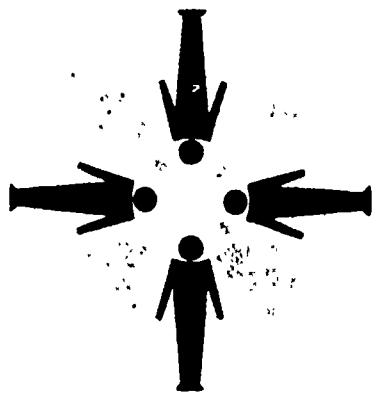
* These findings are the results of the overall manpower study in volume I

Training Kit - 1

Professional Service Corps



A Community Services Project

the neumeyer foundation

405 north bedford drive
beverly hills, california
crestview 4-8738

1324 pacific avenue
venice, california
exbrook 2-2729

The Neumeyer Foundation, a privately-endowed philanthropic organization concerned with human problems, has developed a Professional Service Corps to bring community services and self-help programs to the people who live in the West Venice-Ocean Park area, one of Los Angeles county's prime poverty areas, as defined by the Welfare Planning Council.

Broadly defined, the Professional Service Corps of the Neumeyer Foundation proposes a multi-faceted program for all age groups in the West Venice-Ocean Park area, from activities for pre-schoolers to adult literacy classes. Its staff works with families, with youth groups, in employment and job training activities, in community development and in remedial and preschool educational activities.

The project was planned in cooperation with various agencies, professionals, and representatives of the population and works closely with them. It deals with the total person, his family, and his neighborhood instead of adopting the traditional problem-centered approach that often confuses the individual who doesn't know which agency can help him with which of his problems.

Members of the Professional Service Corps are not volunteers. They are university-educated women with school-age children (who held professional positions before beginning their families), semi-retired men and women and college students. They are only available for part-time community services and receive two dollars an hour, to help defray transportation and baby-sitting expenses. They include former teachers, social workers, psychologists, nurses, lawyers, community leaders, and representatives of other professions. Since programs to combat poverty will increase the need for trained personnel in the helping professions, and there is already a shortage of such people available for full-time service, one of the goals of the Neumeyer Foundation is to demonstrate the feasibility of using these retrainable, highly skilled people for part-time services. They represent a virtually untapped resource in the labor market and can ease the burden on overtaxed case workers in social welfare agencies so these scarce professionals can utilize their time more effectively.

Perhaps the most crucial member of the Professional Service Corps team is the Family Agent, who is usually a woman with school-age children of her own. Her job represents a new approach to providing direct services for a family in need of human contact. The Family Agents work under the direct supervision of the Bureau of Public Assistance or the Juvenile Probation Department, with families referred to them by these two agencies when case workers recommend more intensive help than they themselves can allocate. Training sessions for Family Agents are offered jointly by these agencies, faculty members from the University of Southern California, U.C.L.A. and members of the Neumeyer Foundation staff.

The Family Agent, familiar with the resources of the community, may work 10 to 15 hours a week, with two to five families. She is a member of a team of four, each of whom are working with different families. Atleast one member of each team is a former case worker; and at least one is a former teacher.

The teams meet regularly with a case work supervisor who is in continuous contact with the referring agency. She also works closely with other members of the Professional Service Corps to provide a variety of services for the families. One child may be referred to a youth group supervised by the Neumeyer Foundation; another may be directed to the Youth Employment and Job Training Program. If there is a pregnant teen-age girl in the family, she may be counseled by another member of the Neumeyer team. The Family Agent may recommend tutorial services for a student needing remedial help; she may attend school conferences with a mother fearful of anyone in a position of authority; she may help organize a family's budget, read to a pre-schooler, or direct the family to medical and dental services. She is, in effect, a friend who knows her way around our culture. She aims to teach the members of the family to "stand on their own feet" and to prepare them to accept the responsibilities of first-class citizenship.

In conjunction with the California State Department of Employment, the Professional Service Corps is now developing job orientation, training and placement services. One of the objectives of the job orientation project is to prepare 16-21-year-olds for good work experiences and more positive self-images. The more worthwhile a person feels in a job situation, the more likely he is to become a productive, self-supporting citizen and a member of a group to help others in the community. Job orientation sessions will cover such topics as how to dress and behave during a job interview and how to fill out job application and withholding tax forms using methods of group guidance and programmed instruction.

Development of new sources of employment is a significant phase of the Neumeyer Foundation's program. Service-connected retail businesses, such as small appliance and toy repair shops, and on-the-job-training workshops in various operational phases of retail business are being planned. Training for work with the handicapped and elderly, as well as other job resources, will be developed as the program expands.

The Neumeyer Foundation's planned remedial education and literacy programs are designed to supplement public school services for adult illiterates, school dropouts, children with special remedial needs, and pregnant teen-age girls. Members of the Professional Service Corps are developing a pre-school program to prepare the young children from this culturally-impoverished area to function successfully in the public schools. Young women from the community will be included on the staff of these pre-schools, thus learning positive child-rearing concepts and giving a higher ratio of teachers to children than is usually possible in a nursery school situation. Activities for teen-age youths are already in progress, and more clubs and programs will be started as needs arise and personnel become available. There is an immediate need for men to work with boys' clubs. Four groups for teen-age girls are meeting regularly, and two more for sixth graders are ready to begin. One Venice high school group was specifically organized to encourage potential drop-outs to remain in school. The success of this club, and school statistics, indicate a need for 15-20 of such groups.

A neighborhood law firm, functioning in cooperation with the Legal Aid Society and the local Bar Association, is being organized to bring very low cost legal services to the families of the community. Legal counsel has already been made available to families in the Family Agent program.

The training and orientation programs developed by the Neumeyer Foundation for its Professional Service Corps are applicable to the personnel needs of other anti-poverty programs throughout the nation, as indicated by the number of requests for detailed program data the Foundation receives. These programs are being made available to other communities as rapidly as possible. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already requested permission to distribute copies of our plan to other communities.

Local agencies directly active in various aspects of the project include the Ocean Park Community Center, the local offices of the County Probation Department, the County Bureau of Public Assistance, the State Employment Department, Family Service of Santa Monica, the Neighborhood Youth Association and the School for Nursery Years.

The Neumeyer Foundation was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Albert G. Neumeyer. Mr. Neumeyer's business interests are in the savings and loan, banking, and title insurance industries, and the Foundation is based in Nevada, where the Neumeyers reside.

Inquiries about the Professional Service Corps may be directed to its offices at 1324 Pacific Avenue, Venice (EXbrook 2-2729) or at 405 North Bedford Drive, Beverly Hills (CRestview 4-8738).

A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT OF THE NEUMEYER FOUNDATION

ENROLLMENT APPLICATION

NAME _____ TELEPHONE _____ SEX _____

ADDRESS _____

MARRIED ____ SINGLE ____ AGE _____ CHILDREN _____ NUMBER _____
YES NO

AGES, MALE CHILDREN _____ AGES, FEMALE CHILDREN _____

SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION _____

EMERGENCY ADDRESS & TELEPHONE _____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

DEGREE _____

UNIVERSITY _____ YEAR _____ MAJOR _____

OTHER TECHNICAL TRAINING: _____

_____

_____

_____

WORK EXPERIENCE: _____

_____

_____

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE: _____

_____

PRIMARY VOCATIONAL INTERESTS: _____

_____

DAYS & HOURS AVAILABLE:

	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THURS.	FRI.	SAT.
8 - 10						
10 - 3						
3 - 5						
EVENINGS						

SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

POLICY MEMORANDA

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS
1324 PACIFIC AVENUE
VENICE, CALIFORNIA

JANUARY 3, 1966

POLICIES RELATING TO PART-TIME EMPLOYEES

1. THE $2.ØØ AN HOUR COMPENSATION IS ESSENTIALLY A REIMBURSEMENT FOR OUT-OF-POCKET EXPENSES AND IS MEANT TO COVER SUCH EXPENSES AS GAS MILEAGE, PARKING FEES AND TELEPHONE CALLS.

2. REIMBURSEMENT BEGINS AFTER THE INITIAL TRAINING PERIOD.

3. COMPENSATION COVERS TIME SPENT WITH THE CLIENT; TIME SPENT TELEPHONING AND CONTACTING OR CONSULTING WITH AGENCIES OR REFERRAL SOURCES; TIME AT MONTHLY MEETINGS OR IN CONFERENCE WITH SUPERVISOR. IT DOES NOT COVER TIME SPENT IN TRAVEL TO AND FROM THE CLIENT OR MEETING.

4. AS A NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION, THE NEUMEYER FOUNDATION IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

5. EMPLOYEES ARE COVERED BY WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

6. NO PROVISION IS MADE FOR PAID VACATION, HOLIDAY OR SICK LEAVE TIME.

Code

Employees Name

Position

Address

Program

Telephone

Supervisor

Social Security Number - Number of Dependents

Rate of Pay per (hour, month)

Budget Allocation

Date of Employment

Hours, Days of Week

JOB DESCRIPTION:

ACCEPTANCE REQUIREMENTS:

Verified By:

Employee's Signature

MANPOWER UTILIZATION PROJECT

Pacific Community Center
1324 Pacific Avenue
Venice, California

EX 2-2729
GR 3-0071

MONTH:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

NAME:

TOTAL HOURS:

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

TRACT CENSUS	TOTAL POPULATION	NON-WHITE	% NON-WHITE	SPANISH SURNAME	% SPANISH SURNAME	TOTAL NO. UNDER $4000	% UNDER $4000	MEDIAN INCOME
2,732	4,010	1,888	47.1	675	16.8	345	33.9	4,637
2,733	4,218	1,303	30.9	1,046	24.8	306	31.2	4,122
2,734	4,314	22	.5	278	6.0	508	54.1	1,871
2,735	3,793	42	1.1	443	11.9	402	45.3	2,766
2,736	3,090	98	3.2	504	16.3	177	22.1	5,267
2,739	5,059	6	.2	729	14.4	317	24.9	5,281
2,742	1,129	2	.2	58	5.1	69	22.8	5,375
7,020	5,083	273	6.6	538	10.5	389	30.2	5,814
7,021	5,874	54	1.6	837	13.7	543	37.8	4,644
Total 9 Tracts	36,570	3,688	11.3	5,078	14.0	3,056	33.3	4,352
Total Santa Monica	83,249		6.1		7.1	4,859	21.3	5,163
Total County			9.9			329,288	19.1	5,823

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

VENICE/OCEAN PARK - 1960

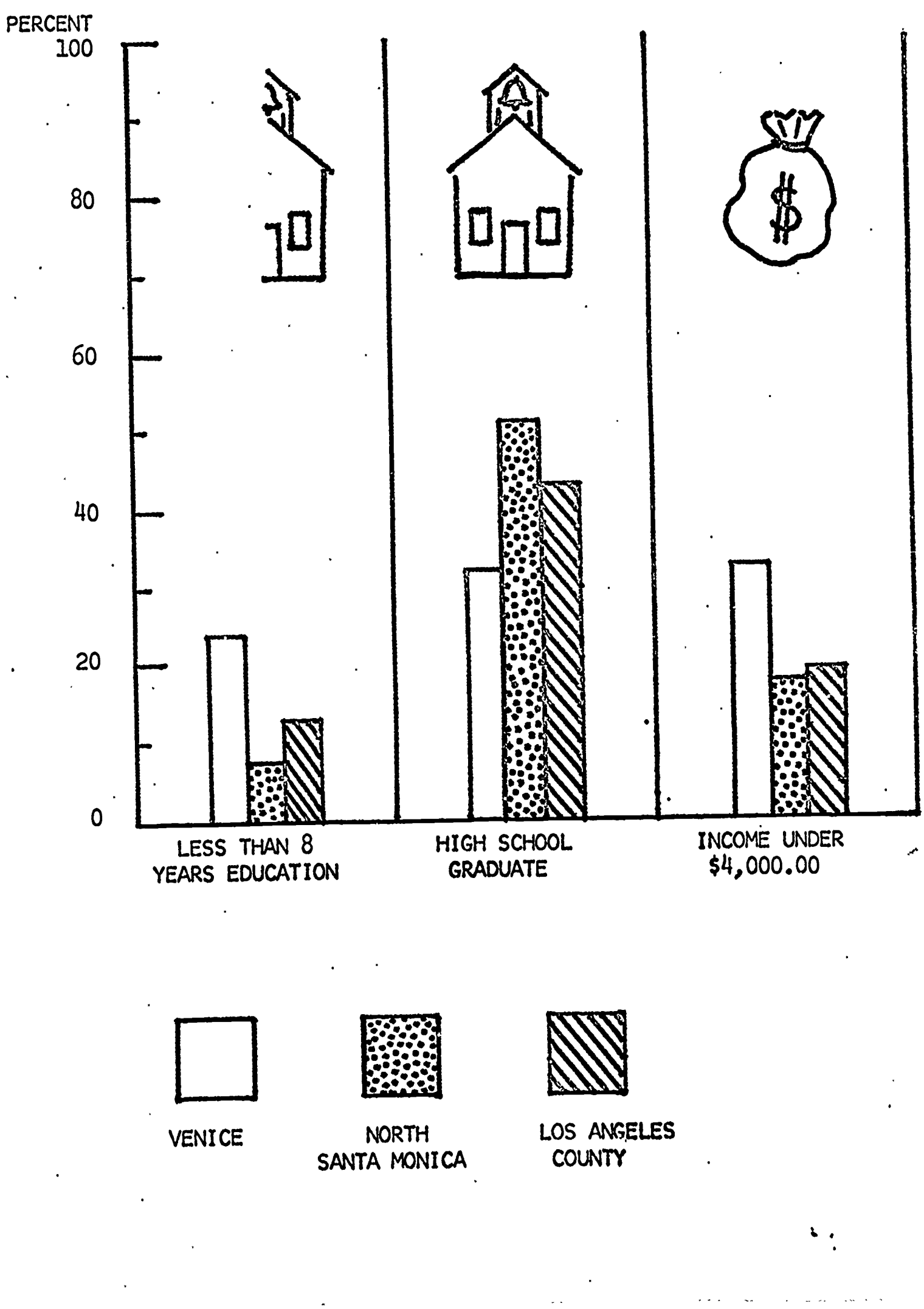
TRACT	% 7 YRS. LESS	% H.S. GRADUATES	MEDIAN AGE	% SEP. & DIVORCED	0-17 YRS. TOTAL	0-17 YRS. %	% 0-17 YRS. LIVING WITH ONE PARENT	% SEMI-SKILLED	% UNSKILLED
2,732	25.4	26.4	26	8.7	1,578	39.3	31.4	35.6	37.6
2,733	38.5	23.2	25	9.5	1,694	40.1	25.9	43.7	33.7
2,734	42.5	18.2	47	13.5	921	21.4	18.7	45.0	17.4
2,735	22.6	28.5	36	15.9	978	25.8	24.9	49.9	14.4
2,736	18.1	29.6	33	8.9	1,001	32.4	18.7	52.1	17.7
2,739	12.1	40.0	27	9.8	1,788	35.4	15.3	53.2	14.0
2,742	8.5	50.9	30	11.7	325	28.8	22.2	53.3	13.5
7,020	16.9	46.2	32	10.5	1,322	26.0	26.1	44.9	28.5
7,021	21.5	34.5	38	15.7	1,418	24.1	18.1	41.2	21.3
Total 9 Tracts	24.3	32.0	32.1	12.2	11,025	30.2	22.4	46.5	29.0
Total Santa Monica	11.1	57.7	38.7	9.6	18,583	22.5	18.1	33.8	15.1
Total County	13.2	43.3	31.5	7.1		33.2	13.9	45.1	14.4

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

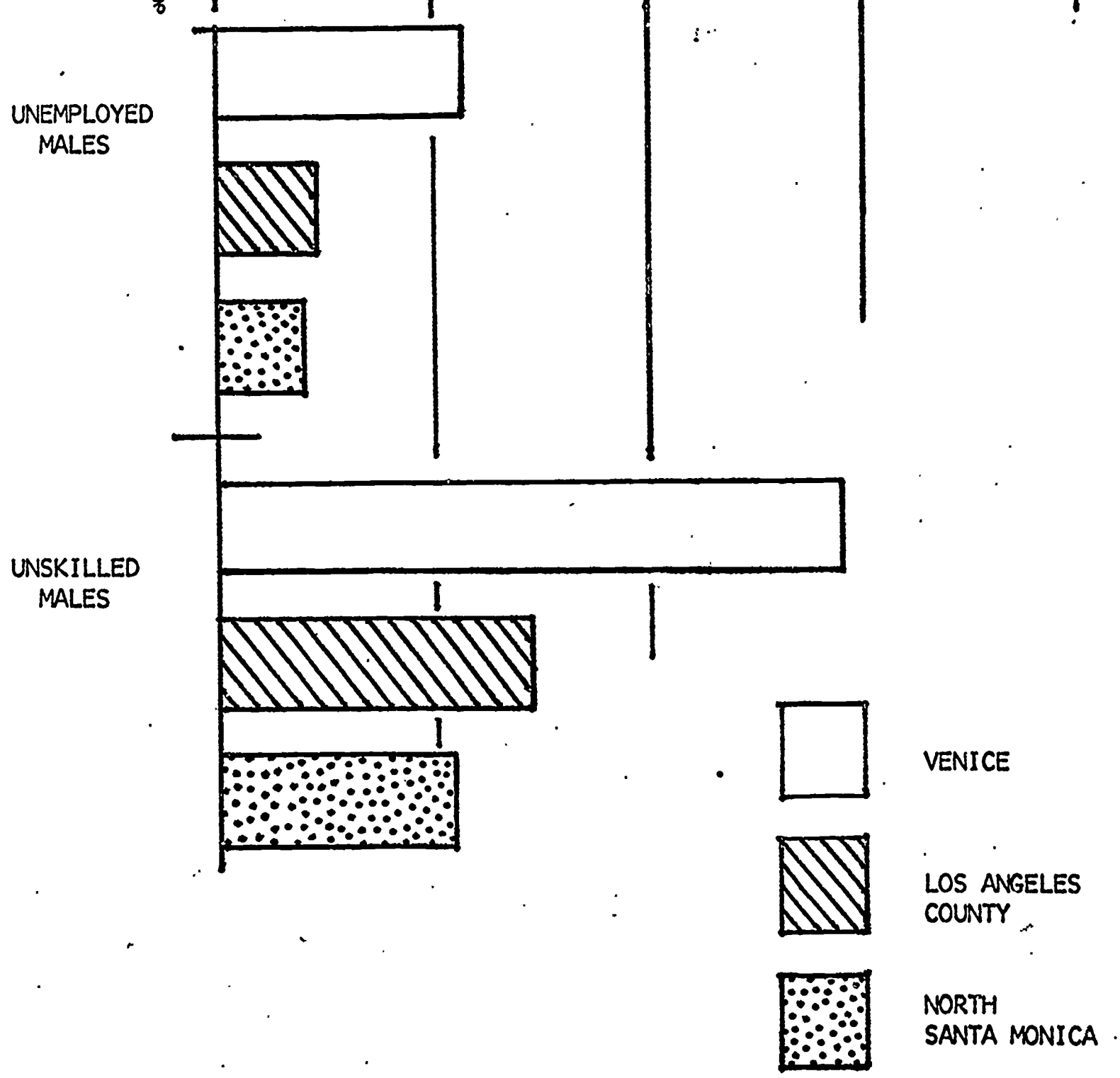
VENICE/OCEAN PARK - 1960

% MALES UNEMPLOYED	% RENTER OCCUPIED HOUSING	% 1.01 PERSONS PER ROOM	DETERIORATING OR DELAPIDATED	MEDIAN RENT
7.9	61.2	21.0	32.6	78
11.5	65.6	23.4	27.1	72
15.9	80.2	8.5	31.8	61
12.9	72.3	11.2	51.7	57
9.4	46.1	10.2	4.1	83
11.8	55.6	16.2	27.1	78
14.3	53.3	13.8	46.5	76
9.0	76.4	7.6	38.6	81
11.2	74.7	9.0	59.6	66
11.6	66.0	13.4	35.5	72
4.5	64.8	5.0	11.2	88
4.5	42.7	8.8	7.8	76

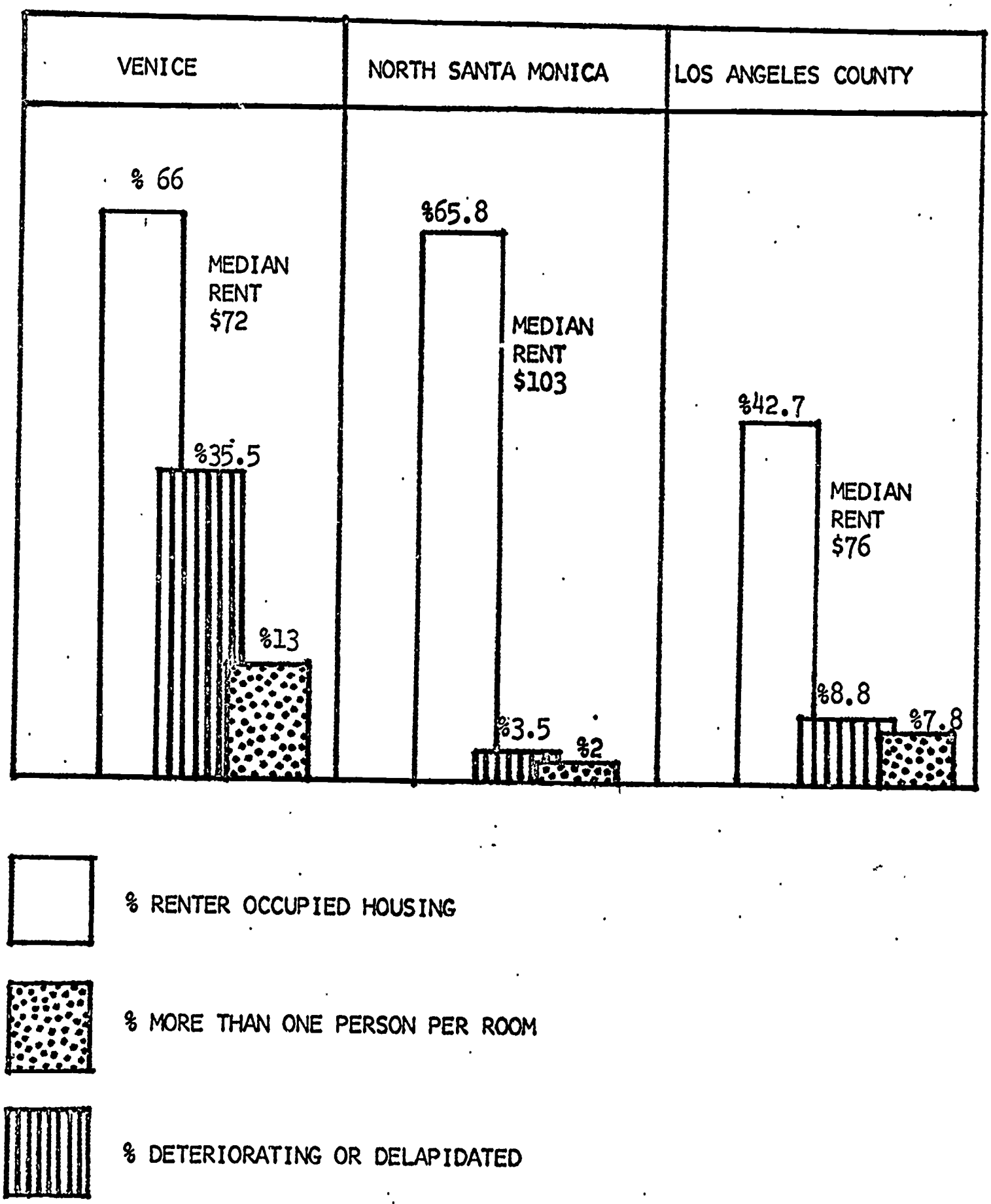
INCOME AND EDUCATION IN VENICE-SANTA MONICA AND LOS ANGELES COUNTY



UNEMPLOYMENT AND LEVEL OF SKILL



SOME ASPECTS OF HOUSING IN VENICE AS COMPARED TO NORTH SANTA MONICA AND LOS ANGELES COUNTY.



RESOURCE DIRECTORY

Each Family Agent was given a Resource Director containing a listing of agencies and resoumces, with addresses, telephone numbers and the name of the person to contact for assistance and referrals. This is not reproduced here, because it is pertinent only to the area. However, the directory included a listing of:

All Cooperating Agencies, including

The Bureau of Public Assistance
The Probation Department

All Legal and Governmental Agencies, including

The City Councilman
Congressman
Public Defender
Housing Authority
Police Department
Municipal Courts
Social Security Offices

Employment Services

Schools, including

All elementary, junior high and high schools, both public and private

Libraries

Day Care Centers

Parks and Recreation Facilities

Group Recreation Agencies and Youth Serving Organizations

Medical Services, including

Inpatient and outpatient, and visiting nurse programs

Mental Health, counseling and guidance services

Sources of Financial Assistance

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE CORPS

AGENCY REFERRAL FORM

REFERRING AGENCY: DATE:

FAMILY: Names and Ages of Family Members:

ADDRESS: TELEPHONE:

DATE FIRST CONTACTED BY YOUR AGENCY:

OTHER AGENCIES WORKING WITH FAMILY:

SUMMARY OF CASE:

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

Family Agent Assigned: Referred By:

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

COST SCHEDULE FOR FAMILY BUDGET UNITS

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	AMOUNT
1	$145
2	168
3	215
4	256
5	291
6	32Ø
7	343
8	36Ø
9	372

PLUS $5 PER CHILD FOR
EACH ADDITIONAL CHILD

CHILDREN LIVING IN FAMILY GROUPS
ITEMIZED COST SCHEDULE - MONTHLY ALLOWANCE

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN

AGE GROUPS	INDIVIDUAL ALLOWANCES PER MONTH					
	FOOD	CLOTHING	PERSONAL NEEDS	RECREATION	TRANSPORTATION	TOTAL
ADULT FEMALE; ADULT MALE (incapacitated); & GIRL 13-17 yrs.	$26.50	$ 9.50	$ 2.00	$ 1.70	$ 1.00	$40.70
ADULT MALE (not incapacitated); & BOY 13-17 yrs.	32.45	10.80	1.85	.90	1.00	47.00
CHILD 7-12 yrs.	23.80	8.00	1.25	.50	1.00	34.55
INFANT and CHILD 1-6 yrs.	16.95	6.15	.75	--	1.00	24.85

MONTHLY ALLOWANCES FOR FAMILY BUDGET UNIT

F. B. U. SIZE	2	4	6	8	10
HOUSEHOLD OPERATIONS	$ 7.60	$10.40	$13.60	$16.30	$18.95
EDUCATION and INCIDENTALS	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50	4.00
UTILITIES *	9.60	10.10	10.65	11.00	11.00
HOUSING	46.00	51.00	56.00	59.00	62.00
INTERMITTENT NEEDS	2.50	4.00	5.50	7.00	8.50
TOTALS	$67.70	$78.00	$88.75	$96.80	$104.45

*Lighting, appliances, refrigeration; cooking, water heating; Space heating; Water; Garbage removal; Sewer charge.

Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency of Greater Los Angeles

[ ] Agency Case No. (If cases numbered)

3. [ ] (For EYOA use)

INDIVIDUAL DATA SHEET
(General Version)

This form is to be filled out by an Interviewer. Write the number of the correct answer in the square provided. Write "DK" if applicant does not know answer, or "DNA" if question does not apply. Complete all questions with either an answer number, a "DK" or a "DNA".

1. PROGRAM NAME _____

AGENCY NAME _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW _____ (Month) (Day) (Year)

NAME OF APPLICANT

_____ (Last) (First) (Initial)

ADDRESS OF APPLICANT

_____ (Number) (Street) (Apt.)

_____ (City) (Phone No.)

4. [ ] AGE (In years) TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY

5. [ ] SEX 1-Male 2-Female

6. [ ] RACE/ETHNIC GROUP
1-White 4-Oriental
2-Negro 5-Other
3-Mexican-American

7. [ ] MARITAL STATUS
1-Single 4-Divorced
2-Married 5-Widowed
3-Separated

8. [ ] HIGHEST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

9. [ ] WORK STATUS OF APPLICANT
1-Working 5-Disabled
2-Looking for work 6-Housewife
3-Not looking for work 7-Student
4-Temporarily laid off 8-Other

10. USUAL OCCUPATION OF APPLICANT

_____

11. [ ] NUMBER OF PERSONS IN APPLICANT'S FAMILY. (Include Parents, Brothers, Sisters, Applicant's Wife or Husband, and Applicant's Children)

12. [ ] HEAD OF FAMILY
1-Applicant 4-Male Guardian
2-Father 5-Female Guardian
3-Mother 6-Other

13. [ ] WORK STATUS OF HEAD OF FAMILY (If other than Applicant)
1-Working 5-Sick
2-Looking for work 6-Disabled
3-Not looking for work 7-Housewife
4-Temporarily laid off 8-Other

14. USUAL OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF FAMILY (If other than Applicant)

_____

15. [ ] FAMILY OWNS OR IS BUYING HOME
1-Yes 2-No

16. [ ] FAMILY RECEIVES WELFARE ASSISTANCE
1-Yes 2-No

17. [ ] FAMILY LIVES IN PUBLIC HOUSING
1-Yes 2-No

18. [ ] MONTHLY RENT OR HOME PAYMENTS
1-$30 to 49 4- 90 to 109
2- 50 to 69 5-110 to 129
3- 70 to 89 6-Above 130

19. [ ] ESTIMATED MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME
1-Below $100 5-325 to 399
2-100 to 174 6-400 to 499
3-175 to 249 7-500 to 599
4-250 to 324 8-Above 600

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS

_____

NAME _____

MONTH, YEAR _____

MONTHLY REPORT

REFERRING AGENCY:

NAME OF FAMILY:

CONTACTS MADE (Dates, Hours):

TOTAL HOURS _____

SUMMARY OF CONTACTS WITH FAMILY:

REFERRALS MADE TO COMMUNITY RESOURCES:

INTRA-CENTER REFERRAL

PACIFIC COMMUNITY CENTER
Neumeyer Foundation Demonstration Project

Program Referred From: _____ Date: _____

Program Referred To: _____ Ref. By: _____

Name of Referral: _____

Address: _____ Phone: _____

Immediate Needs: _____

_____

_____

Family Background (List Names & Ages of Family Members):

_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____
_____, ____ _____, ____

Other Center Programs Involved: _____

Other Agencies Working with Family: _____

_____

_____

Summary of Case: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Date of Family's First Contact with Center: _____

Disposition: _____

_____

Orig. - Supervisor of Program Referred To
1 cc. - Referring Worker's Supervisor
1 cc. - Project Administrator

_____

Referring Supervisor

TERMINATION REPORTS

(For All Supervisors, To Be Filled Out on Clients and Staff)

Name _____ Program _____

Address _____ Termination Date _____

Other Surname in Family: _____

Reason for Termination: _____

_____

_____

_____

Supervisor: _____ Worker: _____

1 copy to file

1 copy to original referring supervisor (if any), or

bookkeeper if staff.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FAMILY AGENTS

1. Role of the Family Agent is as a knowledgeable friend, who is eager to be of service to the family and give such help as is needed, wanted, and available.

2. Efforts of the Family Agent will be directed to broadening family's contact with the community and its available services.

3. Friendship offered by the Family Agent will probably be viewed with doubt initially. Expect to be subjected to various tests of sincerity. Try to maintain an attitude of continuing friendship indicated by facial expression, voice and behavior.

4. The first job of a friend is to listen; find out what the family's problems and interests are.

5. Meet all members of the family as soon as possible.

6. In order to establish self as a helping friend, offer tangible services such as: Take woman grocery shopping or on errands; take children to the doctor, library, playground or youth group; help children with school work.

7. If budgeting is a problem, help plan expenditures of money, marketing, food preparation and nutrition.

8. Try to increase interest and participation of mother and children in personal and household appearance.

9. Introduce family to wider public resources, within the immediate community and within the larger community; libraries, playgrounds, legal aid, medical services. However, do not refer client to other casework agencies or psychiatric resources without checking with supervisor.

10. Have realistic goals; change is slow. Family problems take years to develop, they are not solved quickly.

11. The decision to give home phone numbers to the families in case of emergency is left up to the individual Family Agent. Most Family Agents do give their home numbers and only a very few have found that they were called for other than real emergencies.

As a Family Agent you are participating in a project sponsored by the Neumeyer Foundation and the Office of Economic Opportunity, designed to expand and better utilize professional workers on a part time basis. You are not an isolated worker, but part of a team offering a variety of services within the community. If questions arise dealing with agencies, clients, or your own satisfaction, do not hesitate to check back with your supervisor.

DO NOT: Give money or pay bills for the family.
Sign or co-sign on any documents.

THIS PROJECT WAS SUPPORTED IN PART

BY DEMONSTRATION GRANTS FROM

THE OFFICE OF ECONO . OPPORTUNITY

The Neumeyer Foundation
405 North Bedford Drive
Beverly Hills, California 90210

March 1967