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WORKING WITH LOW-INCOME FAMILIES, PROCEEDINGS OF THE AHEA WORKSHOP (UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, MARCH 15-19, 1965).

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Working With Low-Income Families

Proceedings of the AHEA Workshop

University of Chicago
Center for Continuing Education

March 15-19, 1965

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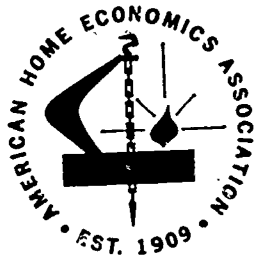

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Resources for Low-Income Families

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FOREWORD

The subject of this workshop has been a part of the basic philosophy of the American Home Economics Association since the Association's inception in 1909. As a result of the request to the Association two and one-half years ago for this particular workshop, the president appointed a Committee on Resources for Low-Income Families. The Committee recommended a national workshop to be held and, in June 1964, the Executive Board of the Association approved sponsorship of this workshop in March 1965.

In the intervening months President Johnson's anti-poverty program focused the nation's attention on the economically disadvantaged of our population and uncovered the urgent need to know how to work with low-income families.

Home economists laid the groundwork at this March conference for follow-up regional workshops directed toward understanding and implementing their professional contributions in meeting the needs of low-income families. Many such workshops have been held, and many more are scheduled.

Thus, the import of this workshop for the particular social changes of today is obvious; but may I predict that the impact of this AHEA workshop will continue, even beyond your lifetime and mine.

Ruth C. Hall, President
American Home Economics Association

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OUR CHARGE: THIS WEEK AND TOMORROW

Francena L. Nolan
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Resources for Low-Income Families
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Our awareness of poverty has rarely been so acute. The wheels of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are gradually grinding out an organization to assist the disadvantaged. The problems of poverty, like those of education, are formidable, long term, and never entirely solved. Difficult as the task is, the necessary first step is a commitment on the part of people that something must be done. American society has reached such a stage. Its abundance and affluence have made it possible to see poverty, to accept responsibility for it, and to experiment with methods to alleviate its destructive effects on its victims.

Every professional group involved with people has a responsibility for lending its particular talents and approaches to assist in the War on Poverty. Home economics, because of its self-imposed responsibility to create more effective family living, has a unique obligation.

Where the roots of poverty are deep within the family structure, the self-perpetuating seeds of inadequate intellectual development, low or no aspirations, and attitudes of apathy, despair, and hopelessness are sown. Each new generation acquires the same cultural patterns which make the poor poorer, and the gap between them and the mainstream of American society greater. The cycle must be broken. Home economics, because of its concern for family living and its special knowledge, has a unique responsibility to reach those families whose need for help is the greatest.

We are here this week to learn, to be inspired to greater effort, to broaden our concept of the possible, and to become personally involved. We are here not because we have been oblivious and unconcerned, but because we must do more: plan more programs, reach more people, develop more effective approaches, and assume a greater leadership role in meeting the problems of poverty than we have in the past.

You who are here are an elite group, the chosen 200 (and I might add that the selection committee who prefer to remain anonymous are still hearing the repercussions). You are here by invitation, an invitation which, once accepted, ties each to a responsibility for sharing this experience with others. You were chosen because your professional role carries with it policy-making responsibilities. You are, therefore, in a strategic position which enables you to influence, motivate, guide, and direct action. That is why you were invited: because you can do something about the home economics manpower allocation.

It is a privilege to be here. Many others covet our opportunity. But with privilege goes responsibility. We are here as representatives of the profession of home economics. These next few days will be crowded with experiences, some familiar and others foreign. We will have to integrate, coordinate, order, and give meaning to the outpouring of ideas which may at times threaten to engulf us.

But there is more. Learning for our personal edification, commendable as it may be, is not sufficient to justify our participation in this workshop. This learning must be shared with others. It must serve as the basis for action. It must have an impact beyond these five days, beyond this spring, beyond this year!

The lid is off the Pandora's box of poverty. The outpouring of problems cannot be ignored. Our social conscience is extended to a new boundary, and so we must develop long-term approaches as well as short-term crash programs. We must think of the next 25 years as well as of 1966. Our immediate goal is to set up an organization by the end of this week which can plan and conduct additional workshops throughout the country. As part of the format, provision is made for discussion groups which are designed to provide the structure through which individual's insights can be melded and developed into practical group action.

Yes, the most immediate goal expected is the organization of regional workshops. These represent, primarily, an attempt to "catch up" home economists with the realities of low-income families. These provide the opportunity to share available knowledge and the limited experience of those in contact with poverty with other interested but less informed professionals. These approaches are desperately needed and can add an excellent impetus to help people find a handhold.

At best, these are but necessary makeshift arrangements. We need to be building into the training of professionals the knowledge, experiences, and attitudes which will prepare them for work with a variety of people with different cultural backgrounds and living patterns. These are the long-term goals which must be achieved if we are to generate innovating approaches to the problems of poverty.

This week we partake of the knowledge of others; tomorrow must be for giving what we ourselves create.

POVERTY AMIDST AFFLUENCE: AN OVERALL VIEW OF POVERTY IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN SOCIETY

Paul A. Miller
President
West Virginia University

In a time of ever-narrowing specialization, it is important to consider whether the generalist or the specialist should make decisions on broad policy matters that cut across the dividing lines of specialties. The specialist, respectful of specialized knowledge, is often reticent to claim such global wisdom for himself. The generalist, if he is reticent at all, is by definition not in full possession of the facts; that, or he is respectfully deferential to the specialists. Fortunately, social progress does not necessarily become stymied in the untangling of this paradox. People are just too complex in their responses for that.

Fortunately, too, the politics of these matters is responsive to the constant sifting and winnowing of fact and opinion, of countervailing powers, and wide perspective in decision-making. Then, somebody somewhere must take a great gulp of air and set out across the uncharted seas of specialized knowledge, making observations built on facts and a grasp of wholeness. He knows that the eventual political decision will be a compromise. He hopes that it will be broad enough to accommodate contingencies, narrow enough to be practicable, the result of a pooling of facts from many specialties with public ramifications that are unspecialized. The point, then, is to form a coherent picture from a mass of detail. And so it is with one who speaks upon the very broad subject of poverty in contemporary American society.

Data to Attack Cause of Poverty

The romantic rediscovery of poverty in the United States, a portion of the domestic inquiry that is a timely and necessary diversion from the more frustrating complications of promoting international development, has brought with its sentiment and oratory a searchlight on accumulating mountains of research data. The work of hundreds of social scientists on the causes and spread of poverty has suddenly become valuable as the

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grist for local and federal programs collectively and sensationally described as a War. The call to arms, sounded by John Kenneth Galbraith, Michael Harrington, and others, moved John F. Kennedy to initiate a broadly based federal program aimed at the annihilation of poverty in the United States. The program continues with a new vigor in the Johnson Administration.

Through the causation, one fact is clear: None of this would be possible were it not that the American public is in a mood of receptivity to government programs attacking the causes of poverty. The iron is hot. The danger is that we may be tempted to strike too quickly, that we create false expectations, that insufficient years and resources will be allocated to the task, and that we shall seek a cure by treating symptoms. By pointing to the evident pitfalls of a crash program against poverty, I am attempting to define it as a phenomenon occuring amidst affluence.

"The poor are always with us," the Victorian said with a shrug, and that was that. The outlook was characteristically Victorian until the 1930's. The coming of the Depression with its one-third of a nation without sufficient soil to till or machines to tend brought to a stop the entire economy; and our smugness about massive unemployment crashed with it. A prewar, war, and postwar economy absorbed the slack, and the nation yet was free to debate seriously the classical economic theory of "free" enterprise.

But the technological and organizational revolution beginning in the late 1940's brought an end to that. Then we developed a new vocabulary for poverty: instead of temporary unemployment, we had structural unemployment, under-employment, the obsolescence of men and resources, an under class, insular poverty, and, finally, The Other America.[1]

As Christopher Jencks has pointed out, up to 1963 Americans spoke of the underprivileged, the deprived, the disadvantaged, the discriminated against, and about all those with low incomes in depressed areas. Poverty was euphemized, its misery softened.[2] But early in this decade, poverty became recognized as a culture. Today, its continued widespread existence in the midst of affluence threatens anew the growth of the nation's economy.

At the same time, the limits of technology are nowhere in sight, and cybernation is both a promise and a threat. There is a frightening specter of larger pools of permanently unemployable people, a stagnating economy, urban blight and rural decay, increasing juvenile delinquency, and the gradual shift from a military-oriented economy to a consumer-oriented economy, with all its discontinuities in the world of employment. The American body politic is rightfully alarmed and prepared for decision and action. This conference and similar ones across the nation testify to this fact.

Who Are the Poor?

The statistics are well enough publicized. One-fifth of this nation, the richest in history, lives in poverty. An arbitrary figure yet, but a conservative one. Twenty-two per cent of the poor are nonwhite, and nearly one-half of all nonwhites live in poverty. The heads of over 60 per cent of all poor families have only a grade school education. One-third of all poor families are headed by a person over 65, and almost one-half of families headed by such a person are poor. Of the poor, 54 per cent live in cities and 16 per cent on farms, while 30 per cent are rural non-farm residents. Over 40 per cent of all farm families are poor, and more than 80 per cent of nonwhite farmers are poor. Less than half of the poor are in the South; yet a southerner's chance of being poor is roughly twice that of a person living in the rest of the country. One-quarter of poor families are headed by a woman; but nearly one-half of all families headed by a woman are poor. There are more than nine million families in the United States whose family incomes are below $3,000 per year. Over 11 million of these family members are children, one-sixth of our youth. Moreover, 5.4 million families, containing more than 17 million persons, have total incomes below $2,000.[3]

Paradoxically, a majority of the poor are employed: infrequently, to be sure, and in the most menial of tasks, but nonetheless they do not appear in the statistics on unemployment, nor are they widely eligible for welfare benefits. On the other hand, about half of the four million workers who are unemployed at any given moment are members of families with total incomes of $4,000 or more. The unemployed, as one writer describes them, are the "elite" of the poor. They are persons who have skills, but may have been displaced by new technology. They have known better times, and they are eligible for the retraining programs that occur most frequently in the cities, where most of them live.[4] However, among both unemployed and underemployed are those who either have given up looking for work or have given up looking for something better. There is no accurate way of determining the extent of resignation to poverty by these persons, but its significance is quite obvious.

What is poverty? Michael Harrington remarks that "A definition of poverty is . . . a historically conditioned matter. It would be possible to prove that there are no poor people in the United States, or at least only a few whose plight is as desperate as that of masses in Hong Kong." But his point is simply stated: "In a nation with a technology that would provide every citizen with a decent life, it is an outrage and a scandal that there should be such social misery."[5]

Poverty Recognized as National Problem

Poverty is now recognized as a national problem, and national means are being used to attack it. The most auspicious anti-poverty plan

is the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the basic purpose of which is to create new jobs and to train people to fill them. The Job Corps, work-training and work-study programs, urban and rural community action programs, employment and investment incentives, all are part of the Administration's War on Poverty.

The economic theory underlying these programs seems to be based on the assumption that a national economy expanding fast enough, faster than our present annual growth rate, will absorb unemployed workers and upgrade the jobs of those who are underemployed.

However, there is a lively debate about whether this assumption is correct. Some economists build a quite persuasive case for increased welfare programs on the counterassumption that any economic expansion will absorb no more workers than new technology will displace. Chief among them is Robert Theobald, the prophet of the Age of Cybernation. He proposes nothing less than a radical change in the national outlook toward work. Looking into the future, he sees the time when man will no longer be required to live by the sweat of his own brow. He estimates that roughly 10 per cent of the work force may become capable of producing all the goods and services needed by the entire population. His proposal is for a guaranteed annual income to every citizen, based on need rather than on one's marketable skills.[6]

Needless to say, such proposals are controversial, and will be for a long time to come. They ask nothing less than a radical redefinition of the ethic of work. It is questionable, therefore, whether such proposals can be more than visionary at this time. The close relationship between individual dignity and an honest job is deeply embedded in the American way. Whether it is so deeply embedded that it cannot be changed remains to be seen, and the inquiries of people like Theobald deserve widespread discussion and debate.

Until such time as there is a radical change in the national outlook in these matters, the only road open to political relevance is one of basic conservatism: the gradual and persistent grinding away at poverty through accepted means. This means that ways must be found to stimulate the general economy, and that people must be taught to meet the world of work with skills. These hopes are reflected in the annual report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1964. As strategy, the Council advocates moving into the broad front of fighting discrimination, improving regional economies, rehabilitating urban and rural communities, improving labor markets, expanding educational opportunities, enlarging job opportunities for youth, improving the nation's health, and promoting adult education and training.[7]

Some of these notions are incorporated into the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. While the greatest promise of the Act is that it

emphasizes education as a weapon against poverty, its major observable accomplishment has been the awakening of an affluent nation to the seriousness of its poverty problem.

Curiously, John Kenneth Galbraith has been criticized for isolating poverty into two camps: insular and case poverty. Although these terms are not comprehensive, as Gunnar Myrdal[8] and Harrington have shown, they throw light on discussions about Appalachia, the deep South, the northern border regions, and rural and urban pockets everywhere. But regardless of any shortcoming, Galbraith's Affluent Society,[9] by being a best seller, helped to create a climate that has made possible the Area Redevelopment Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Appalachian Development Act.

However, it remains to be seen whether the Administration's poverty package will effectively engage the misery of the poor. The present commitment is clearly too shallow in outlay, but it would be senseless to discard it for what it lacks. As President Johnson frequently says, "Half a loaf is better than none. In fact, a slice is better than none."

A crash program cannot accomplish everything, but it is a good beginning. The roots of poverty run deep; but unlike a tree, poverty cannot be killed by sawing it off at the ground.

Poverty Breeds Poverty

Long ago, Gunnar Myrdal spoke of the vicious circle of poverty, a theory of circular causation. Stated simply, poverty breeds poverty. Its symptoms are a lack of aspirations, illiteracy, indifference to self-betterment, cynicism about economic alternatives, and occasional hostility to change. The poor, like the rich, band together for support. Unlike the rich, once in the ghetto the poor are immobile. They find no ways in their own lives to break out of the vicious circle, and society offers little help to them apart from frequent appeals to conscience, morality, and ambition, which are assumed to be a sort of involuntary reflex.

Again, what is poverty? Neither statistics nor definitions can tell the story. You have to see it. You have to look into the eyes of a raggedy child to see the harshness already growing deeply inside. You have to see the fear under the resolute setting of the lips. You have to feel something inside yourself. You have to see yourself as having sprung from the same soil as this child. You have to smell the stink of poverty, know its brutality and the brutes it makes of those who live in it. But even though you hate the stink and you fear the brutality, it still is difficult to understand what poverty and its handmaidens really are.

Some have done so and have expressed it well. Foremost among them is James Agee, who produced with Walker Evans, the photographer,

a book called Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. To read it is a terrifying experience because it is an utterly new and unimaginable world that exists within its pages. Although the book was written in 1936, and its subject is three tenant families in Alabama, it is neither ancient nor regional history. The masks may be different today and the poor harder to idealize now than they were in 1936, but the poverty of the mind and spirit is unchanged.

> These children, still in the tenderness of their lives, who will draw their future remembrance, and their future sorrow, from this place; and the strangers, animals: for work, for death, for food: and the scant crops: doing their duty the best they can, like temperless and feeble-minded children: rest now, between the wrenchings of the sun:
>
> O, we become old; it has been a long, long climb; there will not be much more of this; then we will rest; sorrow nor sweating nor aching back, sickness, nor pity, hope gone, heaven's deafness; nothing shall take or touch us more: not thunder nor the rustling worms nor scalding kettle nor weeping child shall rouse us where we rest: these things shall be the business of others: these things shall be the business of our children, and their children; we will rest.[10]

That is the vicious circle.

Liberals may be high-minded about poverty, or conservatives highhanded about it. It is possible for one to love or to hate the poor, but it is utterly impossible for one not to love their children. To use a word of political currency, this is where we find "consensus" about attacking poverty. It means that present efforts may relieve the misery of the poor, but their greater effect is to eliminate the chance that the children of today's poor will grow up to be poor themselves. The vicious circle of poverty must be broken at the point where the most victimization occurs: in children.

Poverty Is a Public Problem

Poverty is not a matter which most individuals are capable of solving by themselves. It is a public problem requiring public solutions. But to be effective, the public policy must stir the minds and feelings of the electorate to the extent that programs will be given adequate support from the public treasury, at federal, state, and local levels. There are fundamental issues of communication involved, because there would surely be more evidence of action, particularly at state and local levels, if the public were better informed of the facts.

Historically, it is true that when this nation is alarmed it is capable of accomplishing virtually anything. As a people, we support to the limit any and all demands upon national security. We finance the landing of rockets on the moon, and hang the expense. When hundreds of laboratories carry on fantastically costly research into subjects about which the taxpayer understands nothing, there is no complaint. In fact, the public clamors for more. In the name of Science and National Image, nothing is too expensive.

We are notably lavish with pets, automobiles, and organized sports, but we seem incapable of transferring this largesse to unfortunate people. A case in point is our historical indifference to the plight of the American Indian -- this, despite several decades of public study and discussion. Even more deplorable, and despite more than a half-century of public guilt, it takes the threat of revolution by the American Negro to make the nation act.

It leads one to wonder whether the current national commitment to the poor will amount to more than a romance. As Allan Nevins remarked, "The United States throughout its history has carried a grinning ape on its shoulders -- the ape of complacency." Let us hope that this time it shall be different.

What, then, does the critic offer as a program?

First, if our commitment to the elimination of poverty is to mean anything, it must be accompanied by massive support in dollars, ideas, and energy, with an objective of actual solution. What we have seen thus far is almost negligible in proportion to the problem. Public policy, when it is timidly financed, always is piecemeal. No one knows how much the entire war will cost in money, brains, or activity, but we can ill afford not to invest to our limit -- which is nowhere in sight.

However, once substantial and continuing support is assured, there is a very real danger of waste. For instance, the recent poverty legislation will allocate funds to the states and through them to the local communities. This may please the hearts of those who fear federal control, but the point is that the communities most in need of outside support are least capable of using it wisely. They lack the organizing skills and technical knowledge necessary for comprehensive planning and action programs. The absence of such leadership and competence at the local level makes it questionable that imaginative plans will be forthcoming from those requesting support.

There is a wide gulf between the public planning expertise of the federal government and the states. Accordingly, new ways must be explored whereby poor communities and poor states may obtain the services of experts in many fields as a prelude to public spending. Part of the answer

may lie in the establishment of regional systems of cooperative activity whereby experts may be shared among several states to formulate statewide development strategy.

Second, ways must be found to put this support behind the building of institutions: schools, universities, libraries, and adequate health, welfare, and counseling services in every community where they do not now exist. It is necessary that support be generous for community physical improvements -- sewage disposal systems, road building, urban and rural community building renewal -- but a greater emphasis should be placed on the development of institutions. If we have learned anything about economic and social development, it is that investment in human institutions is more important than investments in hardware. This is yet another call for a massive assault -- a comprehensive and organized program that will improve existing institutions while creating new ones. The keystone is the educational system.

The classic studies of Theodore Schultz[11] and others, as well as years of experience at home and abroad, leave little doubt about the preeminence of education within the entire development enterprise. We know that poor schools tend to follow poor people. And although they cannot do the task in a vacuum, schools are the very heart of the model community. I speak of new kinds of schools, to be sure: schools offering limitless variety without meaningless activity, schools recognizing that each child is entitled to be educated to the limit of his abilities whether they be in carpentry, homemaking, or neurosurgery. I speak of school-related institutes whose chief obligation is that of preparing young people in technical skills, in the crafts, and in the practice of effective community citizenship.

One of the curious aspects of underdeveloped communities, in this country and abroad, is that they tend to de-emphasize educational attainment at the intermediate levels. One reason is that western culture tends to be success-oriented. Students who are highly capable of learning according to prescribed patterns glide along a smooth track with rewards at each stop along the way. But what of those who are not so intellectually gifted? Large gaps exist in the structure of education in which there are few turning-off points for students of varying motivations, aptitudes, and financial means. At its core, the American educational system harbors some peculiarly undemocratic notions of class and caste. Indeed, the best minds must be nurtured and guided to the heights of the educational process, but my point is that our responsibility is just as great for accommodating all the rest. Once we remove from our schools the notion that the unsuccessful, unskilled, and unprepared may be dumped into the community, we will have found the basis for a truly American school system.

As with adequately financed development activity of all kinds, the temptations are strong to pump money into existing organizations in hopes

of a miracle. But it just won't happen. Instead, what we need is some intensive national planning on how to send a barrage of fresh ideas and teaching competence into every underdeveloped community and region in the nation.

The triumphal success of the program in Prince Edward County, Virginia, is sufficient basis for optimism. You will recall that in 1959 Prince Edward County closed its public schools. A private academy for whites was opened and financed by the state. The Negro children were offered no schooling until 1963, when several private foundations granted enough money to operate semiprivate schools for one year.

A daring, imaginative administrator was hired, and he put together a staff of teachers firmly committed to the task. The children were offered free clothing, meals, and medical attention. Then, into the schools was brought a variety of old and new devices: ungraded classrooms, team teaching, books by the hundreds, emphasis on reading skills, unfixed goals, skepticism of standardized testing, variable class sizes, avoidance of rote assignments and yes-and-no questions, and extensive use of audio-visual techniques and educational television. The school day and week were lengthened, and the children were exposed to the arts in music, plays, films, and brief trips to urban centers. In short, they received a year's glimpse of the outside world.

In just one year, the results were far beyond expectations. Many students achieved four years' learning in one. In fact, some were able to enter college.[12]

If such a program were instituted on a permanent basis, with supporting community services for work-training and health and welfare, there is no limit to what might be accomplished. Although a number of pilot programs would be necessary, at a later stage the program would be extended and enlarged to include regions. New devices of consolidation would be established, and school administration would be assisted from the shackles of underfinancing and established rigidity.

I envision no new bureaucracies, either at federal or local levels. The public support should follow new ideas and the newer concepts of educational experimentation, with the government role being much like that of a private foundation.

Third, emerging facts of family life need to be incorporated into community and state services. Solon T. Kimball speaks of the nuclear family vis-à-vis the corporate community, and analyzes the lack of institutional flexibility between them.[13] While the schools and many community service agencies continue to idealize the family unit, as though the family were the focus of all American life, quite the opposite approach would come closer to the realities of contemporary society. If Kimball is correct, the

community is becoming the dominant arbiter of values and ambitions. It is in the community that the family acquires its aspirations, not the other way around. These notions suggest to me a need for fewer fixed assumptions about the autonomous pervasiveness of family life.

Anachronistic, too, is our division of vocations by sex, according to a fixed assumption of appropriateness. Hospitals go begging for nurses, yet few men respond to this calling for which they are admirably well suited. There is a national shortage of professional domestic help -- another vocation which men are certainly as well qualified to enter as women. Another paradox is that while the public schools cry out for competent teachers, untold thousands of college-educated American housewives spend their days scrubbing floors and diapering children. In recent years we have seen a breaking up of the ancient proposition that a mother must devote all her time to her household, but the news has not permeated the public school systems, most of which dislike to employ part-time teachers. Meanwhile, the mothers and the schools suffer, not very silently.

Other ancient assumptions deserve re-examination. To facilitate the inevitable transition of youth from the home into the community, new devices should be attempted, including community nursery schools for the children of working mothers and public boarding schools for children from slum areas. It is reasonable to expect that the community of the future will assume many of the roles traditionally assigned to the family. In fact, to advocate otherwise is to speak for an agrarian ideal that is utterly untenable in a corporate, interdependent society.

Fourth, we should saturate poor localities with an endless variety of cultural impressions. We need more libraries circulating more books, state-wide educational television networks, and greatly magnified participation of local people in the creative and performing arts. Books, magazines, and newspapers must be gotten into every home. In short, youth and adults should be barraged with facts about the world apart from the home and the ghetto. Show them the richness of occupational alternatives -- these become the avenues of escape.

A new intelligence about mobility is indicated. It seems almost heretical to say it, but one of the most predictable characteristics of an underdeveloped community is a strong kinship system. Frequently, however, social mobility is regarded, even by professional people, with the disdain for a social evil, making all the more difficult the uprooting of rural people from uneconomical family-size farms, and minority groups from urban ghettos. People are taught to endure poverty for love of one's own soil -- provincialism, to be sure, with a certain Faulknerian hopelessness. Tenacity is an admirable quality, indeed, but pathetic when there is so little about a place worth loving. The most wretched poverty seems to associate with the strongest ties to place.

Accordingly, a strategy against poverty will include the encouragement of mobility, with social agencies bearing more of the responsibility for counseling before moves and paying the relocation costs. The advantages and disadvantages need to be pointed out, and the people prepared for the consequences of either moving or remaining. It should be made clear that, for most, remaining will be axiomatic with a minimum standard of living, few opportunities, and the danger of the unbroken cycle for one's children.

Fifth, I propose that the nation set out to actually eliminate poverty in a definable geographic area or within a single culture group. The best example of the former is Appalachia; of the latter, the American Indian. What a testing ground both would be for ideas and men! But apart from the dramatic aspects of such programs, this approach would challenge to the core that inscrutable maze of halfway objectives and less than halfway solutions of the corporate society.

No one inside or outside this creature of American organizing genius is quite certain who has reponsibility for results. Evaluation is impossible, pragmatism reduced. Put in a billion dollars and a few million trickle down, here, there, and everywhere, so diluted and dispersed as to be almost imperceptible. But confine the goals within certain limits of activity, expect results within a given time -- which is to say, fix responsibility -- and the possibilities for success are far greater than they would be in the typically far-flung administrative program.

Something of this nature will be attempted under the Appalachian Development Act, with its major program for building roads. Limited though the program is, ten years from now there will be something to show for the investment, and it is a necessary requirement for development in a region relatively isolated from surrounding territory. We in Appalachia are hopeful that this strategy will eventually be applied to the building of institutions, thereby making development likely in fact as well as in name.

In the second example, the American Indian provides what is perhaps the most wretched case of American forgetfulness and complacency. Culturally deprived, isolated, politically expendable, the Indian is an uncomplicated and dramatic example of poverty amidst affluence. We have studied him and his culture exhaustively, publicly suffered guilt over his ravishment, pitied his tragic loneliness, and then done almost nothing to help him. Nearly invisible within his vast forsaken reservation, the Indian is now viewed with clinical detachment. Indeed, Americans can be brutal in their neglect of speechless minorities. If we are truly serious beneath all our talk, there could be no better place to begin, no better place to focus all we know about eliminating poverty, and then to carry it through to completion. It is not necessary to say that the methodology gained here would be of inestimable value to poverty programs everywhere.

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Finally, all the discussions and planning about effective ways for eliminating poverty will not matter much if the people most deeply involved are unable to persuade a majority of the American people that it is unnecessary for poverty to persist amidst affluence, that it can be eliminated, that we have the resources for the task, and that it is a moral commitment.

I close with a passage from John W. Gardner:

> The renewal of societies and organizations can go forward only if someone cares. Apathy and lowered motivation are the most widely noted characteristics of a civilization on the downward path. Apathetic men accomplish nothing. Men who believe in nothing change nothing for the better. They renew nothing and heal no one, least of all themselves. Anyone who understands our situation at all knows that we are in little danger of failing through lack of material strength. If we falter, it will be a failure of heart and spirit.[14]

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CHANGING THE CULTURE OF THE DISADVANTAGED STUDENT

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Recently, when driving away from Atlanta, I saw a mile-long settlement of weather-beaten shanties. From the exhausted, completely eroded red clay, no crops, no vegetable gardens, not a single blade of grass grew. The children who straggled around the shanties looked as weak and scrawny as the four or five emaciated pigs who dragged themselves around the barren hillsides. All the children were white. It was a dehumanizing, degrading environment. One felt that the chances of the children were little better than those of the stunted pigs.

I recalled the equally poor Negro families and their children whom I had studied in Mississippi and Louisiana. One can see, if he goes far enough, millions of children living in similar physical and cultural deprivation: the Italian, Polish, or Jewish children on the east side of New York, on the East River side of Brooklyn, and across the Hudson in Union City and Jersey City; the Negro children in the slums around Halsted and Maxwell Streets or a hundred other neighborhoods in Chicago, in Harlem, near Rampart Street in New Orleans, or in Detroit, Cleveland, Birmingham, Memphis, Richmond, Charlotte, and a hundred other towns and cities in the South; or the white children in segregated, white-only slums in Los Angeles, New Orleans, Providence, or Little Rock. Only a Jonathan Swift and another Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to Their Parents or the Country could express the waste and destruction of the lives of children and adolescents in the shanties or fire-trap tenements or rattraps in which these tens of millions of children live.

The Disadvantaged Youngster

What kind of children grow up in these environments? What kind of persons are they likely to be? We know that most of these children are likely to need more food, better housing, and more space in the bed to

to sleep because three or four or five have to sleep in one bed. We know that they do not get the minimal medical, dental, or eye care; that they do not have a place to study at home or parents to provide them with books or the incentive to read.

But what is the learned cultural behavior of such a child likely to be? And what kinds of feelings, hopes, and passions is he likely to have? Growing up in blighted areas, the child of our white and colored slums learns a characteristic pattern of ambitions, of pleasures, and habits.

Not only is his organic life expressed more directly, his basic psychological responses are also less frustrated. He is allowed to fight when he is angry and to laugh when he is triumphant. Frequently, he fights even his brothers and sisters--he does not have to accept the "false peace" between brothers which middle-class parents severely impose. Physical aggression is regarded as normal. Because fighting is common both in his family and in his neighborhood, he learns to take a blow and to give one.

His parents themselves believe that whippings are the normal way of controlling a child (or a wife). Thus he gets his thrashings regularly and learns not to fear them. Because his punishment is chiefly physical, he is spared the constant attacks of prolonged guilt and the fears of losing parental love, which middle-class parents continually seek to arouse and to maintain over long periods in training their children.

The slum child also has his share of fear and worry, however. His family is more often struck by disease and by separation. Their chronic poverty breeds fear of eviction, and of homelessness, and the most constant of all his fears, that of starvation. On the other hand, his family and his gang teach him not to be afraid of a fight, not to be intimidated by the teacher and the police, and not to fear injury or death as keenly as the child of middle-class parents. That is, the child in lower working-class families is less stimulated by his culture to be fearful and guilty.

Slum Child Grows Up Fast

He also grows up faster, in the sense of achieving personal maturity. He is not protected from the crises of life. He sits with the ill and the dying. Even as a six-year-old, he listens to family discussion of unemployment, desertion, and adultery. He "lives fast" in a society where he will become a man or woman at 13 or 14 years of age.

The culture of our slums also differs from that of middle-class groups in its concepts of manliness and womanliness. The slum boy will learn to be more male: coarser, more aggressive physically, more openly sexual than the middle-class boy. The slum girl will learn to be more outspoken, bolder sexually, more "female," more expressive of her impulses and her emotions than the girl trained in middle-class culture. Thus, by the time the child has become an adolescent of 14 or 15, he has learned a deep cultural motivation which differs at many points from that of middle-class adolescents.

There is a wonderful zest and expressiveness among children from low economic levels. In the schools, however, the child from low economic groups is likely to lose his zest and expressiveness after he finishes the kindergarten, unless he has a very "insightful" and skilled teacher.

Furthermore, the child from the low socioeconomic levels is likely to lack confidence in his ability and in his future. His parents usually do not encourage him to compete in school, and consequently he usually lacks the drive for achievement, which is the prime incentive that middle-class parents seek to teach their children.

Within the school, the reading-readiness tests (so-called, but incorrectly termed), the educational aptitude (intelligence) tests, the primers and readers, and the curriculum as a whole soon damage severely the confidence and the basic self-esteem of the child from low socioeconomic groups. Finally, his subordinate place in society and the low place of his parents, friends, and neighbors tend to weaken his self-esteem. This self-depreciation is typical of all low-status groups and is the result of their social subordination in most relationships with dominant groups. It results not only in a poor self-image, but often in self-contempt beneath the mask of hostility and resentment which the pupil shows to the teacher.

These children need, most of all, teachers who will encourage them to try, to hope, to believe in their futures, and to believe in their abilities. They are hungry for encouragement, for some reason to have confidence in themselves against the dead weight of the social and economic pressures which drive them down to self-depreciation and sullen resentment.

Educational Potential of Disadvantaged

For both white and Negro low-status groups, the school is one of the most powerful factors in changing their culture and their way of life. But the schools and our whole educational system are operating at the level of only a third to a half of their potential effectiveness in training these children.

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We know, for instance, that a third of the white children of skilled and semiskilled families in a Midwestern city already are retarded in grade-placement by the time they are nine and ten years old.[1] By the time white children from these lowest occupational groups are in their tenth year, they are about two years behind the children from the top occupational families in reading, and ten points lower in I.Q. ratings. Negro children of the lowest economic group are about seven points lower in I.Q. than the lowest group of white children at age 10.

But both groups have improved markedly in the last generation. Moreover, the difference between the average I.Q. of white low economic groups, and of Negro low economic groups has grown significantly smaller during the last 20 years.

The average I.Q. of white children of unskilled and semiskilled parents in Chicago is 102.3, which is actually above the national average for all children.[2] The average I.Q. of Negro children born in Philadelphia is 97.[3] Klineberg and Lee have shown, moreover, that the I.Q.'s of Negro children born in the South improve steadily with the length of residence in New York or Philadelphia.[4] This trend is statistically significant and continuous. Such an increase, in an overall measure of educational aptitude, indicates the great power of better schools to raise the levels of achievement by Negro pupils.

The home economics teacher must learn to take her students where she finds them. We must abandon deliberately and finally the prim, sheltered, traditional world of the classroom arranged for "nice middle-class children." We must start dealing with the strange, harsh, and sometime frightening realities of the real slum world and the behavior of the student from these disadvantaged families. For them, life is often hard, cruel, and deprived. They cannot be reached by those teachers who want to keep their own hands "germ-free" and their minds neatly ordered in the conventional lesson plans.

Home economics has the advantage of dealing with reality, that is, of dealing with the concrete, daily problems of the student and of his family. The most important areas of their lives are also the most important areas in home economics. They are: nutrition and food habits, clothing, housing, selection of furniture, and the budgeting of income so as to use money most effectively.

Is the Diet Nutritious?

First, in attempting to help these youngsters from the slum learn more effective habits in buying and preparing food, the home economics teacher must first study the actual diet of these children and their families.

She must analyze the present nutritional content of these diets. She should not be led astray by middle-class prejudice in rejecting types of foods which, though not eaten in the home of the home economist, nevertheless are rich in nutritional value.

Second, in the teacher's efforts to help the student learn to supplement and enrich the diet with inexpensive, but nutritious, food, the teacher must constantly keep in mind the limitations of the family income. For instance, it is useless to teach these students to buy orange juice in order to secure adequate amounts of vitamin C. The family food budget usually will not permit buying oranges or frozen orange juice. The teacher, therefore, must suggest other, more available, and cheaper sources of vitamin C.

Similarly, she should not stigmatize certain common or regional types of food simply because they are not eaten in the usual northern middle-class family. Instead, she must encourage her students to use such foods if they are good sources of proteins, vitamins, and other nutrients. To be specific, many of the southern green vegetable dishes are rich in both proteins and vitamins but are regarded by northern middle-class people as marks of "ignorance" or of low status. On the other hand, the teaching in home economics classes of recipes for the preparation of such dishes as egg custard or macaroni in casserole is completely unrealistic for most of these students, because even when they have learned to prepare such dishes, they will not be interested in eating them.

Reduction of Sweets Important

The most useful changes in the food habits of low-income groups which can be effected by the home economics teacher will be:

1. Emphasis upon reduction of sweets, especially with regard to the food-intake of children

2. Emphasis upon the eating of breakfast and of lunch

Most of these families have only one meal each day and that is the evening meal. For breakfast, the child has either a sweet roll or a doughnut which he buys at the school store or, as in a large proportion of such cases, the child goes to school with no breakfast. At lunch he may, if he is lucky, attend a school which has a cafeteria providing a hot meal. Unfortunately, most of our schools in the slum urban areas still do not have cafeterias. Even when the child buys a hot lunch, however, he often spends as much money afterward for sweets and for soft drinks.

We know from studies of food habits, both in the United States and in other countries, that food habits are the most difficult of all human habits to change. The home economics teachers, therefore, must learn to proceed slowly and gradually in her efforts to improve the food habits and food preparation of low-income students. She must also be willing to accept many of the foods already in the diet of these students, but to gradually add to them other types of foods which will provide a nutritionally acceptable diet.

Furthermore, the home economics teacher must not confuse the status value of food and of methods of food preparation with the nutritional value of food. Perhaps above everything else, the teacher must recognize the prime importance of taste in establishing food habits. She must understand that children from early life have become accustomed to the taste of certain foods prepared in a certain way. It is useless to attempt to eliminate such foods from the diet, just as it is useless to try to teach the average American male that meat and potatoes (and I suppose one might add, apple pie) are not the most enjoyable and most health giving foods.

Teacher Effective in Other Areas

Perhaps the most effective work done by the public schools has been that by the home economics teacher in the areas of clothing and house furnishings. These habits, in a country such as ours where the external marks of status are rapidly learned by most youngsters, certainly are the easiest for the school to change. Even in slums of small cities in Mississippi 30 years ago when I visited the shanties, I found that girls who had had a good home economics teacher had put into the home vases and pictures and other inexpensive items which helped raise the standard of culture in the home.

In cultures like that of Puerto Rico, the school girls are neatly dressed in cotton dresses which, in most cases, they or their mothers have made. Almost every family there buys a sewing machine and the girl learns either from her mother or from school how to dress herself neatly and inexpensively, but also in a style which is acceptable to the middle class.

The interiors and furnishings of working-class homes, both whites' and Negroes', in many areas of Chicago and other large cities, are clean, attractive, and sources of pride to these families. This fact I attribute not only to the increased income of such families during and following the second World War, but to the effective instruction of millions of our youngsters by home economics teachers.

An even more basic area of life in which home economics teachers have had great influence across this country is that of infant care and

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child rearing. Along with the prenatal and postnatal clinics in our large cities, the home economics instruction in school has wrought amazing change in the care and training of infants and young children. At present, in high schools there also are a few useful and realistic courses in the preparation for marriage and for family life. One who has visited hundreds of schools in all parts of this country is impressed with the fact that in this area of life, as well as in the area of clothing and house furnishings, the work of the home economics teachers has been the most effective work done in the school with low-income students.

Spending-Saving Plans Need Emphasis

On the other hand, the most difficult area of home economics for these low-income groups, namely that of budgeting their expenditures, has not been successfully taught in most schools. The difficulty is, first of all, that the culturally disadvantaged family is untrained in any kind of systematic use of money, just as it is unfamiliar with regard to most types of regular and systematic training. Second, the income often is uncertain, insecure, erratic. Therefore, one buys as much food as one can when one does have money, and expects to do without at other times. Furthermore, as I have said, too much money is spent on sweets for children because there is no regular routine of three meals a day. Some of these children spend as much as 50 cents a day for sweets and soft drinks.

Much of the family income goes for rent--about 30 per cent for rent and 30 per cent for food. The remainder is spent on the automobile, which in large cities is regarded as a necessity in order to get to work, and on beer and liquor. Although the highest level of the working class usually has industrial insurance on both parents, the lowest level needs to learn to buy insurance against sickness and death.

Finally, although it is difficult even for salaried people to save money in these times, every student in the low-income group should be helped to learn that they can save something. Since these families are certain to be without employment many times during their lives, and since they are extremely vulnerable to illness and other such misfortunes, they should learn, above everything else, that some part of their wages should be saved. There is no protection against misfortune and destitution in a money economy such as ours unless one has some savings upon which he can fall back.

Home economics training, which has been markedly successful in the areas of child rearing, of clothing, and of house furnishings, now needs to attack the most difficult and the most important area of life for the disadvantaged, namely, the learning of how to plan and how to budget their use of money. In a city such as Chicago, where there is a very low rate of unemployment among men even in the unskilled and semiskilled

group, income has been more certain and somewhat higher during the last 15 years than it had previously been for disadvantaged groups. Therefore, in such cities where there is no widespread unemployment, the next type of cultural and economic habit which home economics teachers should emphasize is the realistic and skillful use of money. They should try to teach the elimination of as much waste as possible in the areas of food, clothing, automobiles, and alcohol, so that these families which are least protected in our economic system can learn to hold on to their money and gain some degree of security.

To stimulate new learning in these pupils, we need first a new relationship between the teacher and the student. The teacher will have to initiate this new relationship by trying to understand the student and his strange, stigmatized culture. The teacher must also remember that the processes by which human beings change their behavior (that is, learn) are extremely complex and are usually slow.

The major principles involved in the student's learning what the teacher has to teach may be stated as follows:

1. All school-learning is stimulated or hindered by the teacher's feelings toward the students. Each must trust and have faith in the other.

2. All school-learning is influenced by the cultural attitudes which the teacher has toward the student, and which the student experiences toward the teacher. In rejecting the student's cultural background, the teacher often appears to reject the student himself, as a human being. In return, and as early as the first grade, the student may reject the culture of the school and of the teacher. Both teacher and pupil must learn to respect the ability and position of the other.

3. All school-learning is influenced by the student's attitudes derived from family and friends; that is, by the degree of interest and drive with respect to school work which the student has learned in his family and peer group.

4. All school-learning is influenced by the presence, or absence, of intrinsic motivation in the curriculum itself. Neither the teacher nor the student can create interest in dull, unrealistic texts in reading, social studies, or arithmetic.

With regard to the present curriculum, teachers know that it is impossible to interest the majority of pupils of the lower socioeconomic levels in the present texts. They realize that most of their time has to be given to discipline, because the curriculum has no reality, emotional appeal, or interest for the pupils. It is this over-all structure, consisting of a narrow academic curriculum, of equally narrow and outmoded tests, and of boring unrealistic textbooks, which kills the ability and interest of most of these students.

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The School and Cultural Change

The school cannot be expected to effect rapid changes in academic behavior which has been developing since the individual was a young child. Nor can the school quickly modify the student's behavior and social values which have been learned in the family and other institutions in our urban low-status communities. It is especially difficult to initiate such changes with the adolescent, for his academic habits of speech and of study, as well as the social habits of recreation, gang behavior, and sexual exploration, are already established.

Nevertheless, the school actually does stimulate changes in certain basic types of cultural behavior: in clothing selection, food habits, house furnishing, manners, and even in occupational aspirations. Many a girl from a poor, working family is now a nurse, or a typist, or a receptionist in a medical office, or a clerk in business or government, because the high school raised her level of aspiration, and because the teacher of home economics or of business encouraged her to hope and to try. In most cases, the teacher has said nothing, but the teacher's example, as well as her encouraging and accepting behavior toward the student, has had its effect --sometimes years after the girl has graduated from high school.

Usually the school is the one place where the student from the slums has the chance to know and to want to become like a middle-class person (the teacher). We have found that the powerful influence of the school and its goals often shows its effects upon the student 10 or 15 years after graduation. Often when the teacher thinks that the student has long ago failed and been lost in the world of the slum, he learns that the student has become a nurse, the owner of a small business, or even a teacher! One must not believe that simply because an adolescent receives a failing grade in English or mathematics or a biology course he is certain to be a failure in the real world.

The correlation between high school grades and later income is very low (possibly zero for the working class), just as the correlation between I. Q. and teacher's grades is only .3. Both the intelligence test and high school course grades are poor predictors of later success in the world, especially for boys. In either of the cases mentioned above, the correlation would have to be .85 and preferably .9 to enable us to predict with accuracy in the cases of individual students.

Now that we have studied the sources of our difficulties, perhaps we may take steps to meet them. If I may, I should like to list several steps. If one succeeds in taking one of these steps--even tentatively, the way all of us have to create slowly any new kind of behavior--we shall be leading the way; for much is said about these necessary improvements but little or nothing is done. Following are the steps I should suggest:

A. Study of the school's community

The young teacher just out of college usually knows nothing about the actual values, motives, and feelings of the lower socioeconomic community. Teachers may learn these facts by individual case studies or by informal talks with the pupils in their classes. Or the faculty, as a whole, may cooperate in a study, using census data on the community and questionnaires and interviews with parents and students.

B. In-service training of teachers

All success in improving schools depends upon the willingness of teachers to learn from each other. To improve any aspect of teaching or learning in the school, the administration must provide for serious in-service training of teachers. Groups of teachers should analyze their own classroom experiences, the problems which they have met in their daily work. For any of the problems I have mentioned, there is no effective start toward a solution without the participation of the majority of the most influential teachers in prolonged in-service training programs.

C. Reading

Here is an exciting opportunity for the sensitive, alert and constructive teacher:

1. In learning the real interests and experiences of children and adolescents

2. In selecting stories and reading materials in the social studies and in psychology which will meet these interests

New reading materials of this realistic, exciting kind will not come usually from college and university professors. They will come chiefly from classroom teachers who are in daily contact with children and adolescents. Any alert teacher can find such stories or materials and test their value by use with her classes.

D. The curriculum

What I have said of reading applies to the content of the rest of the curriculum. New materials in the social studies, foreign languages, home economics, and even mathematics, which deal with life realistically as the pupils know it, are greatly needed, but I have seen few texts which have realism and interest for students. Only school staffs who know children and adolescents, their interest and communities, can select

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these new curricular materials. Let us have the eyes to observe our students, the interest to use them in experimental form as a part of classroom work. We have had 30 years of talk about a new realistic curriculum. Where is the new curriculum? We want to develop it and write it--not talk about it.

E. Teaching method

Discussion and participation--this is another field in which much has been said and little done. We need a method by which the students of all groups, and all socioeconomic levels will be drawn into classroom discussions in each subject. At present, the teacher usually fears to allow the low-status students to talk freely; she is afraid of their English, or of the subjects they raise out of real life, or of her own reactions. But the best classes I have seen in the hundreds of schools I have visited have been those in which there was free discussion.

The school is an important part of the vast network of economic and cultural forces which are changing the motivation and the aspiration of the low-status groups. Not only teachers and schools are aiding in this sweeping process, but also the society's new standards of living: new desires for better housing, better food, more adequate medical care, better jobs, and better communities and schools for their children. This mighty process of acculturation and the increasingly available economic and social roles for these groups are developing the motivation, the new goals, and the desire to attain them, which stimulates the use of the abilities by students and by adults.

It is in the air, in the spirit of the time; it leaps across the artifical barriers of residential and school segregation. It moves while the school is asleep or marking time. The process of acculturation which is raising the standard of living and lifting the aspirations of the masses in America cannot be stopped, although it is being impeded. Its working is inevitable. It is only in these terms of acculturation that one can begin to understand the tremendous efforts of the Negro Americans, after nearly 14 generations in America, for full participation in the public, economic, political, and cultural life of the United States.

In this highly complex process of acculturation, which operates over decades and generations, the teachers and the schools have labored hard, though at times blindly. Teachers have made sacrifices, have given their hearts to their work, but often have been discouraged. Looking at the results of their hard, nerve-wracking work in one class period, or one semester, or one year, they sometimes have felt that their lives have been wasted.

But the sacrifices have not been in vain. Time and work are telling. What we, as teachers, must always remember is that man is a

learner. No matter how handicapped he may be, he still possesses the highest of human capacities, the ability to improve himself by learning. Given the opportunity, he can learn his way up.

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[1]Kenneth Eells, Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, and Ralph W. Tyler, under the chairmanship of Allison Davis, Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 112.

[2]Robert D. Hess, An Experimental Culture-Fair Test of Mental Ability. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Committee on Human Development, the University of Chicago (1950), pp. 91-97.

[3]Everett S. Lee, "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration." American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (1951), p. 231.

[4]Otto Klineberg, Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 59. Also E. S. Lee, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

CONSUMPTION CHOICES AND POVERTY

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America is the land of dreams, and the best of all dreams are those we dream in America. They reflect the vastness and the strength of our nation. They also reflect our commitment to the obligation to remedy. A poverty-free land within our time is the current American dream. This is the vision of those who see the Great Society as the "open society," and it is a liberal dream because it deals with change.

But if the view of a poverty-free society is new, concern with poverty and the problems of the poor certainly are not. On the contrary, our history shows that, as Americans, our spokesmen have been more concerned with poverty than the leaders of any other civilized country.

Prior to discussing consumption choices, I would like to try to show how the poverty of the 1960's is different from that of the past, to place our current national effort in an historical and economic context. In doing so, I will eschew dealing with various measurements and statistical problems, hoping that both your discussions later and your workshops will deal with them. I will thus stay at the more general level and paint with a very broad brush.

At least three waves of concern and action with poverty can be identified before the present War on Poverty. Strangely, these correspond, roughly, to three different types of poverty--as investigators of poverty have managed to define it. The first was in the century America came out of the depths and became concerned with what we called "pauperism." As a nation, the first thing that we learned, but not full well, was that many become poor through no fault of their own. Industrial accidents, widowhood, low wages, the flooding of the market with immigrants, alcoholism, and poor housing were viewed as the causes of poverty, and this was viewed as individual poverty. Clearly, individuals could not cope with these problems, but society could.

Thus, in the United States as in the rest of the world, the fight against poverty became part of a movement for social reform. The first decade of this century, indeed the first three decades, brought very significant changes in our legislation, resulting in such laws as maximum hours, minimum wages, abolition of child labor, tenement housing legislation, and compensation for industrial accidents. All of these somewhat alleviated the conditions of the poor.

In the prevailing mood, the problems of the environment were recognized in this legislation but, of special interest to this group, the problems of the lack of preparation of individuals for adjusting to changing environment, and of the complexity of environments, were not recognized.

The second wave of concern and action with poverty directed itself also to the problem of the individual, but now he was viewed as the statistical victim of an industrial society. This notion eventually resulted in much of the social security legislation of the 1930's and most of our present views of social welfare.

Here, please notice, the approach is essentially that of the actuary, of the insurance company. From it we developed old age insurance and unemployment insurance; and now, medical care is increasingly understood as a problem of insurance and our programs are meant to be ways of offsetting predictable breakdowns of normal social structure.

Our total view about social welfare in this country is, roughly, that when either the labor market or the family fails as a source of income, the social welfare system steps in and takes over, and it redistributes workers' income over periods of earning, as well as periods of nonearnings. Essentially the bulk of our social security system does this and only this: it distributes incomes of an individual, over time, allocating some of the earnings of the good years to bad years.

Yet poverty, in spite of the social insurance systems, has not been significantly reduced. This is because, at heart, the social security system was not meant to redistribute incomes among individuals. And say what you will, doing away with poverty--in ultimate analysis--does mean redistributing incomes.

The third wave of antipoverty concern focused on collective poverty. With the New Deal, the problem of poverty became primarily a matter of economics. The Depression riveted unemployment into a synonym for poverty: the poor were thought of as the product of an economy working at less than its full potential, and poverty was considered a drag on the forward march of the economy. But this, too, was bypassed in a way and the nation, through the wars, broadened its production base. It learned much economics, and, while at first it appeared that some persons in the country

were reluctant to learn and move--and while many well-intentioned observers expressed doubts about the new economics--we did learn them. With no small assist from the Cold War, we moved into affluence.

From this new learning came such new postures as the Employment Act of 1946, which clearly says that this country is committed to providing full employment, and a series of discreet fiscal and monetary actions, which culminated in the recent tax cut. We moved into affluence, but poverty was not done away with.

The Coexistence of Poverty and Affluence

Indeed, the meaning of affluence and of its coexistence with poverty is a hard one to grasp. Yet please notice, affluence and poverty are not two different sides of the same coin. The converse of poverty is non-poverty; the converse of affluence is the lack thereof. To understand one we must understand the other.

Traditionally, poverty had been considered the condition of persons whose resources were insufficient, whose minimum needs were unsatisfied. As a country we defined the poor as those individuals living below minimum subsistence need, those living below adequacy, or those living in deprivation.

Having agreed that nobody should live below subsistence, and that nobody should be deprived, we as a nation have still been unable to agree on what "subsistence" means. Nor are the physical scientists of any help in determining the notion of minimal needs. Indeed, even adequate nutrition, often viewed as something physiological or biological, is, as I understand the literature, not scientifically definable or defined. As one student of the subject has noted, the problem of adequate nutrition is rather like that of defining "adequate individual height. We know that a man must have some height, but cannot say whether it should be four feet or seven feet."

Central still is the fact that individuals differ with respect to their ideas of need, their feeling of justice, their values. Individuals' subjective estimates of need will differ according to whether they are themselves poor or not poor, thrifty or lax, interested in things or ideas, conversant with or ignorant of the lives of the poor. Their explicit, and particularly their implicit, notions about the workings of the economy, of the society, of the polity, become crucially important, and they will view levels of poverty and need as unacceptable, depending on whether they are by training economists, sociologists, or engineers; whether they were trained at Harvard or at Chicago; whether "survival of the fittest" sums up their outlook; or whether they perceive themselves as their brother's keeper.

Thus, I would only suggest that to identify minimum needs, and to obtain consensus or agreement about what minimum needs are, is not important. What is important is to realize that the nation's decision to focus

on one level of need as compared to another level of need implies very serious decisions, both as to whom we wish to reach and, more important, what the nature of the problem is.

The poverty of the Affluent Society is different on at least three major counts. First, the country as a whole is no longer poor. Now that is not a great discovery, but let me underline what I mean because I think that, generally speaking and as both our economists and political leaders have always said, "We can rid ourselves of the poor." We must see in which sense the possibility of doing away with poverty is different in the 1960's than it was before. This means, very simply, that prior to this decade--and prior to 1953-- the redistribution of the wealth of those who had more than average levels of income would have brought the whole country to an average at which everybody, by the standards of the period, would have been poor. Redistributing in the same manner after 1953 would guarantee that, by the standards of today, nobody would be poor.

In the past, economists argued that poverty could be done away with by pointing to the economy's potential. Doing away with poverty meant achieving the achievable. Today, doing away with poverty means dealing with what we have on hand.

The second way in which poverty is different today is that it is more talked about even though it is less visible. The civil rights revolution (at least unconsciously spread by the relative impoverishment of the Northern urban Negro), the new visibility of the dropout (and please notice that our performance with dropouts has continually improved in the United States), and the threat of automation-induced unemployment (note this is the threat, not the actual increase in automation-induced unemployment) made for a new awareness which does have some very significant payoffs. For the first time in our history we do not think of poverty as a matter on which one must focus piecemeal. We don't try, any more, to focus on any one problem but rather we try to deal with all of the aspects of the problem of poverty and all the interrelations at one time.

The third way in which the poverty of today is different is that, while it has always been true that certain groups--the old, the very young, the sick, the insane, the families headed by women, the uneducated, the unemployed--had a higher chance of being poor, these groups now have an almost complete monopoly on poverty. Thus, the poverty of the Affluent Society is neither individual poverty nor collective poverty. Rather, it is group poverty. The current poverty is not the result of the level of economic activity. Rather it is the result of the structure of economic activity and of the structure of American society. Poverty is not the result of market failures; rather it is an outgrowth of its effectiveness.

Need to Invest in Human Beings

Probably the most central thing that has come out of the work of the last four or five years is the notion of investment in human beings. What we learned goes back, in a way, to our concern with underdeveloped countries and with the fact that a lot of economists, including myself, went to foreign countries to study the problems of development there.

In studying the causes of lagging rates of economic growth of the newly developing nations, many economists had been perplexed by the fact that the output and the gross of many of these countries could not be explained by added capital investment. Some countries in which a lot of foreign monies and equipment were spent, grew while others didn't. In some cases, countries in which relatively little had been invested in terms of capital investment grew much faster. There seemed to be a puzzle.

The solution appears to lie in the contributions to economic growth of human capital, and in the derived human assets. What we really learned from studying the problems of economic development of underdeveloped areas was that those countries that invested more in education and less in factories grew faster.

So, having learned that the comparative growth patterns of various societies reflected different rates of investment in human beings, we concluded that, in a high-income economy such as ours where the aggregate rate of economic development is high, different rates of investment in human beings determine who is and who is not poor.

Talk of investment in human capital is relatively new. The idea is not. It notes only, very simply, that the richer the quality of the human being, the better his economic future. More education (and here we include consumer education and home economics), better housing, better mental health, and healthier environments are all forms of investment in human beings.

This new approach, concern with investment in human capital, did teach us to inquire a little more deeply as to the mal-allocation in our nation's spending patterns. What we discovered is that primarily because of our reliance on local tax systems, throughout this century we have tended to spend less on health and less on education, et cetera, where more was needed. The poorest states, the poorest counties, the poorest neighborhoods are those in which less is spent precisely on those services most needed by the poor and precisely where there are more poor.

Thus, if unplanned, or imbalanced, or inadequate investment in human beings has created the poverty that is with us today, it would seem to me that deliberate, planned, differentiated, counter-cyclical investments of human assets might eliminate poverty as we know it today.

How Goes the War on Poverty?

With poverty so redefined and with investment in human beings established as central, how do our new perspectives tally with our action? How goes the War on Poverty? Are the proper strategies and tactics being developed? How about the morale of the combatants?

First, it is clear we are still in a transitional period. Debate is needed and welcomed while policy is not fixed. But certain elements of the grand strategy are by now clear and firm and appropriate. The War against Poverty is properly viewed as calling for the development of total systems of action that move simultaneously in many directions. There is no doubt in my mind that poverty will be eliminated by doing more, and doing more precisely in those areas in which we have started.

At the heart of this approach is the notion of prevention. As a country, we have given a lot of lip service to the notion of prevention. What do we do with apples? We keep the doctors away. Prevention is a great thing but, our nation has never operated on a basis of translating its views into preventive policies. I think we do, now, and this is right; not only because preventive policies are economically sound--as they forestall the need and cost of support and relief for the maintenance of the poor--but also because they are morally right.

Still, not all of the strategies are in place; nor is there, on the whole, enough of a match between what we know and what we are trying to do. For those who are not outside our market society, for those with average levels of education, average levels of competence, more needs to be done to reduce the rigidities of our social structure.

At the heart of this lies the fact that the points of entry into our market system are either narrow or entirely closed. This needs to be changed. In our institutions the guidance counselors, employment specialists, and manpower specialists still overemphasize adjusting men to the institutions. Not enough is done to recognize society in terms of the rules, social and administrative, which establish how the society lives, rather than how it produces.

We need to develop instrumentalities to lead to the reconsideration of hiring practices by employers, membership practices by unions, and admissions standards by schools. What needs to be done is to force employers, teachers, and manpower specialists to abandon long-held notions of what is promotable and what is retrainable. What is important, in my judgment, is the possibility of developing ways of bypassing certain stages of vertical mobility. Many potential juvenile delinquents, many potential fathers of poor families, can be saved from poverty if they, in their training and in the search for jobs that goes on for them, are permitted to bypass the automobile mechanic's stage and move to the level

of the radiologist aide, the laboratory assistant, or the semiprofessional in the service professions. With the newspapers filled with want ads for the newer occupations, is it so impossible to imagine that a person formerly employed as an elevator operator could be retrained to be a computer operator? I think not.

Matching Consumption Choices with What Is Done

Let me now talk about the War against Poverty and how it goes in matching what is known about consumption choices with what is done. And let me first note that while we as a nation have discovered that contemporary poverty is group poverty, in dealing with and thinking about and studying consumer problems we still think in terms of individual behavior.

Second, let me note that we characterize the behavior of the "poor" consumer as anomalous because they are viewed as unable to postpone gratification and what has made America rich is that the majority of us do postpone gratification. On the contrary, the fact is that most Americans satisfy their most luxurious demands; not out of savings or out of current income, but out of future income. That is the true meaning of "travel now and pay later."

Third, let me note that we know that all choices, and primarily consumer choices, can be improved only by repetition. Yet we claim that the poor make bad choices, forgetting that they are not able to learn by making many choices.

Let me also note that there is little evidence in the statistical sense, that the poor as a group do make poor choices. Here again, the strategy of investment in human beings--training the low-income family to allocate better its meager resources--is proper but insufficient. Social and structural reorganization is also needed.

We know (and those of you who are not familiar with it should look at Caplovitz' The Poor Pay More;...[1]) that the poor pay more when they borrow money, but we forget that in the depressed areas there is a tremendous dearth of financial institutions. The per capita ratio of federal credit unions, of savings and loan associations, and of school savings programs in poor neighborhoods is less than one third of that in the affluent areas.

I suggest that this group might do something about changing that ratio. You will find that it is hard to follow that good guidance--teaching your students to save--if you haven't a savings institution that will collaborate with you.

We know that the poor pa more for what they buy, but we forget that the discount houses and the department stores are located in affluent areas, not where the poor live.

We know that the poor are often in debt, but we forget that in comparison with the indebtedness of the average American, their debt is almost insignificant. I would almost say that one of the paradoxes of the contemporary scene is that the poor are poor because they are not in debt enough.

Here the grand strategy of the War against Poverty calls for, in addition to consumer education, restructuring of consumer services and consumer institutions. Different rules regulating the chartering of banks, the location of certain stores, and a strong "truth-in-lending" act are as much needed as the re-education of the poor.

Poverty Is a Group Problem

What remains of the work of the individual and, with the individual, the hallmark of the concern of the home economist? I am afraid not very much. Another great paradox of the contemporary poverty is this: individuals as individuals cannot do much to help poverty. It is a group problem. It calls for group resolution.

But I would like to suggest one area where individual effort may help, whether one works with individuals or with groups of those with low incomes: family planning. From the many empirical studies undertaken to assess the bearing of socioeconomic status upon family size, two conclusions have emerged. One, there is a negative, or an inverse, relationship between income and actual fertility. There is a positive relation between income and desired fertility. That is, to a much greater extent than higher income families, low-income families have more babies than they themselves would like to have.

This being the case, it would reduce the proportion of the poor of the next generation if we were to help today's low-income people to have only the number of babies which they wish to have.

If anyone feels that this means tampering with the freedom of the individual, let me remind you that I am only advocating work that would help bring about the number of children which the poor themselves want. It is not for us to make judgments as to the number that the poor should have, or for us to apply to any one group in the society any notion of what the "proper" size of family should be.

There are many gaps between what is known and the grand strategy; one of the areas I want to talk about is social work. There, it seems to me, one of the most basic changes must take place, essentially by abandoning the notion that social workers must wait for the poor to come to

them. On the contrary, the heart of the reconstruction of social work must be the creation of instrumentalities to reach out to the poor.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 has a mandatory requirement: the participation of the poor in community action programs. This, in my judgment, is one of the wisest moves of that legislation. This calls for involving the poor in planning the War against Poverty based on the idea that, by involvement, the needs of the poor will be brought out and acted upon. Involvement of the poor is not easily brought about, nor do I truly believe that we will find out what the poor want by asking them. Yet I still believe that from the requirement of the involvement of the poor comes the true dynamic and the true direction for the War against Poverty.

It is obviously not enough to carefully select a few so-called "indigenous leaders" and to place them on a planning committee. What is really needed is an approach that will lead to new "want creation." Let me go back a little and call your attention to John Galbraith's The Affluent Society.[2] He said that we got where we are by telling people what they needed, not by listening to people as to what their needs were. He talked about want creation through advertising; he said that the reason America is affluent is because of advertising. Do you remember? Everyone was very bothered and we have all been teaching for many years that advertising is a bad thing, an inimical thing.

Yet there is the real truth (Galbraith turned the whole thing upside down): The growth of America came through want creation. And it seems to me, that if this is what happened to give the dynamic to the American economy in the private sector, from this we learn the most crucial meaning of the involvement of the poor; that from this we learn about the requirement for growth in the public sector. Just as, in the private sector, advertising brought demand for color TV and for the "Insolent Chariots" of Detroit, so, in the public sector, want creation for public services will come, through the demonstration to the poor, by the poor, and with the poor, of the benefits of expanded services.

It seems to me that it is here that the contemporary liberal--whose primary goal almost by definition is the "open society without poverty"--has failed the poor. The continual emphasis that all we need to do in order to do away with poverty is to spend more and more money, fails to recognize very much about these imbalances that I have tried to talk about. At the heart of it, of course, are new jobs. New jobs, because we have an expanding population, will have to be brought about; will have to be created by asking why certain products and certain services are not available; by asking why as a nation we did not develop a tradition of quality service; why we have such a small commitment to our native craft while our opulent houses are decorated with the works of the poor of Mexico, India, and Indonesia and not with works of art of our own people.

New jobs can be created by asking why the garbage is collected twice a week on Main Street and twice a month on Shadow Alley. New jobs can be created by doing something about the fact that the air is too dirty to breathe, the water too polluted to drink and the youth center and playground too messy to play in.

Yet I am optimistic. I am optimistic and I feel that if, unlike the typical intellectuals and the typical professionals of the 1930's, we will not only be shocked by social injustice, we equip ourselves to deal with social and political problems as they are and not as the facts of earlier periods claimed they should be, and if we do not mass our troops only behind the Maginot Line of the ameliorative psychological social work and deluded notions of full employment, we can truly achieve an open and just society.

The War against Poverty has just begun. It will be a long one. But we might win it.

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[1] David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More: Consumer Practices of Low-Income Families, Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research Report (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963), 220 pp.

[2] John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958), p. 368.

INTRODUCTION TO PANEL DISCUSSION ON CULTURE OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

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The planners of this program showed remarkable perspicacity. Each session follows logically from the preceding one in a natural progression and leads logically into the next one, as though rehearsed. At the opening session President Paul A. Miller gave us some general guidelines, and this morning both Dr. Allison Davis and Dr. Oscar Ornati fleshed them out on a very concrete and specific basis.

These three speakers have made it very clear that poverty is much more than merely an economic phenomenon. If it were only a matter of income, it would be relatively easy to deal with. In fact, even the conservative economists Dr. Ornati referred to have proposed schemes for simply raising income. But all our speakers so far have emphasized the complex inter-relations among personal, family, economic, political, and societal forces which make for poverty, as will the speakers on this panel.

We are left with the conviction that the work ahead is difficult, long term, unromantic--but possible. Dr. Davis and Dr. Ornati reminded us that our standards constantly rise and we demand more of our institutions than we did in the past. This is right; we should. In my book on Social Problems at Midcentury[1] I pointed out the same thing! The better off we are the more we can afford and the higher our standards become for health, for education, and for welfare. This is as it should be. Dr. Ornati reminded us of the several waves of poverty we have confronted, each more difficult than the one before. We breasted the first two, leaving the hardest to the present. We can win over this one, too.

Dr. Ornati also told us we must invest in people. The new institutions which Dr. Miller called for must be people-investing institutions. But I would like to add that the investment called for is not only investment of money in people, it is also investment of people--of ourselves, our emotions, our drive, and our beliefs--in people. This, as the

sociologist C. H. Cooley noted long ago, is very expensive in human effort. Money is much cheaper than self to invest.

Dr. Davis made this crystal clear. He warned us that the very virtues we pride ourselves on--grooming, cleanliness, perfectionism, the graces, and the amenities--may be handicaps. Are we willing to roll with the punches and come up smiling? I find myself sometimes intimidated by home economists. They are, as Dr. Davis noted, correct, beautifully turned out; they do know so much and how to do so many things. (Did you, for example, ever see any other conference as competently managed as this one?) Dr. Chilman is going to suggest that home economists can become models. But Dr. Davis warns us not to make our standards too far from where the students start.

I would like to comment on Dr. Ornati's sly remark that we decorate our homes with Indonesian or Mexican art forms, products of the poor in other countries. Dr. Davis tells us of the wonderful zest and èlan and verve many poor children have until it is damped out. Why don't we learn to cultivate the talents that so often go with this zest? Why don't we find markets for the dancing and singing and acting, the forms of the performing and other arts demonstrated during this period of creativity? Our desire should be to encourage, not to disparage.

Dr. Davis gave us some very specific instructions for helping children in poverty: They must be helped to learn the ways they will need to attain adequate nutrition, acceptable clothing, the amenities, etc. He tells us we must understand how the world looks to them; more especially, he tells us we must understand how hard it is to change. I am going to try a little exercise in understanding.

Although I pride myself on being a scientist when I am looking for knowledge, I am a great believer also in empathy, in role-taking, in putting oneself in the other person's shoes when it comes to understanding. The technical term is _verstehen._ Whatever it is called, it is as important as good will in the project ahead of us. So I sometimes try to imagine how it would feel if someone came to me to change me, as we feel many in poverty should change. Please share this experience with me.

Someone comes to you and says he wants you to leave Hometown, U.S.A., and go to--let us say Yemen, just to make it hard. You are to be first lady in a large harem. Of course, you will have to change many of your habits: your speech, dress, food, and stance. Naturally, you will have to learn a new language. Your clothes will be different. The cuisine will be nutritious but, well, not what you have been used to. You must carry your body differently: none of this brisk spriteliness; instead, you will ambulate.

I am exaggerating, to be sure. But when we ask people to leave the surroundings in which they were reared and take on habits and patterns that

are strange to them, we are asking very hard things. For years they will feel uncomfortable among strangers: ill-at-ease, self-conscious, and afraid they may do or say the wrong thing. This is what we mean when we say some people live in a culture of poverty; it is not that they "like to live like that," but that "they have become accustomed" to certain ways.

Some people succeed in escaping the culture of poverty. I wish we knew more about the conditions which help this escape and about those which hinder success. The Spanish language makes a very useful distinction. If I say, for example, estoy pobre, I mean I happen to be in the status of being poor. But if I say soy pobre, I mean I am a poor person.

All too often, as we saw in the film "The Captive," people who live long in the status of poverty finally become "poor people." We saw one man becoming a poor person and we saw his children becoming poor people, accustomed, or acculturated, to poverty: comfortable and at ease only in poverty.

The planners of this conference want this session of the program to help us to see the similarities and the differences among the several populations who live in a culture of poverty. Thus this panel is pointed toward the development of an awareness and an appreciation of the cultural problems existing in our poverty groups. Our two speakers are going to show us the differences and commonalities of the culture of poverty in urban and in rural areas. They are going to show us how poverty, urban or rural, creates people who find it difficult to leave their old habits (which lead to continuing poverty), and to undertake the changes required to climb out. Both speakers will emphasize that we are dealing with human beings who are wrestling with terribly difficult survival problems: that it is their culture that is their answer, however inadequate, to these problems; and that we must not lay rude hands on their culture without supplying an adequate substitute for it.

Keep thinking of what you would do if faced with moving to Yemen, how you would react to the changes required, as you listen to these two brilliant papers which are so relevant to our thinking at this point.

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[1] Jessie Bernard, Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance. (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957.)

CHILD-REARING AND FAMILY LIFE PATTERNS OF THE VERY POOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR HOME ECONOMISTS

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We are all concerned here about ways in which we might be effective as professionals in helping the poor of our nation move from the cycle of generation-to-generation poverty to the cycle of generation-to-generation prosperity. In order to help the families of the very poor make such a change, it is important to understand the causes of their poverty. This poverty is rooted in a variety of causative factors. These factors reside both in the environment and in the individual.

The focus of my remarks is on some of the factors residing in the family patterns of the very poor, many of whom are caught in the so-called subculture of poverty. The reason the word subculture is used, instead of culture, is that the very poor generally subscribe to the basic values and goals of our total society, but adapt these values and goals to the circumstances of their own lives--lives that are infiltrated and circumscribed by the many disadvantages that go along with being poor. The child-rearing and family life patterns of the very poor are a part of this subculture which breeds, and is bred, by poverty.

Distinction is made between the very poor and the more stable working class. The very poor means those persons who suffer from chronic unemployment, who come from families in which unemployment or underemployment has been a way of life, who are handicapped by little education, and who have generally been excluded from the mainstream of society. Knowledge about the child-rearing and family life styles of families of this kind is limited. Research to this date has provided stimulating insights, but has also suffered from various weaknesses. Among the weaknesses are these:

1. Studies have generally failed to take into account that there is probably a variety of subcultures existing among the very poor. For instance, very little attention has been paid to probable nationality, religious, regional, and ethnic differences.

2. Insufficient distinction has been made between the very poor and the working-class poor.

3. Studies have frequently failed to apply some of the desirable research methodologies, such as randomness of sampling, sufficiently large samples, consideration of reliability and validity of research instruments, and over-reliance on the objective observation powers of interviewers.

Despite these difficulties it is not realistic to wait until all the research evidence is available before proceeding with experimental programs that make use of the knowledge which is currently at hand. Through these programs, and through further research, more explicit information and more effective programs may emerge.

Further research and programing should not, of course, be concerned only with the subculture of the very poor. Reducing the problems of poverty requires a far wider range of action and study. In the field of understanding human behavior alone, cultural factors account for only a part of such behavior. Other factors relate to the physical constitution of individuals, their life situation and experience, and their intellectual capacity. Individual human behavior is infinitely variable, even though general patterns of behavior can be defined. These general patterns need to be translated into individual terms as attempts are made to help and to understand particular parents and children.

Cultural Patterns Important to Human Behavior

Although cultural patterns are only part of the human behavior story, they are an important part. They go deep in affecting both the conscious and unconscious levels of the personality. They include easily observable aspects familiar to home economists, aspects such as preferences in food, dress, home furnishing, ways in which money is spent, methods in child discipline, and so on. But cultural patterns also affect the whole behavioral style of the individual--his life expectations, goals, ways of thinking and learning, concepts of right and wrong, feelings, and relationships. These patterns have an impact on the infant from the time he is born--or even, one might say, from the time of his conception, if one considers differences in prenatal and childbirth care as they are affected by cultural values. Thus, cultural patterns are not readily changed, not only because they have a deep emotional meaning in their association with home and mother but because they are absorbed in a wide variety of ways into the developing child.

In order to work effectively with persons whose style of life we are attempting to change, we must not only understand their culture but appreciate its depth of influence and meaning. How culture is changed is not

entirely clear, but since it arises in the first place out of a group-adaptive response to the environment, changes in the environment can help to stimulate change.

Such changes as a public housing project are clearly not enough. Changes in individual and family life styles also must occur so the individual and the family can make use of the changed environment. I will return to a discussion of these points later as we think together about the role of the home economist in working with the very poor.

Comparison of Practices of Very Poor and Middle Class

Let us turn, now, to a consideration of what is known about child-rearing and family life patterns of the very poor as they compare to those of the middle class. Details regarding these patterns will be found in the tables contained in my article which originally appeared in the January 1965 issue of Welfare in Review.[1]

A sketch of the outstanding findings, as reported in the article, follow. They are discussed under these major headings: patterns that research reveals to be related to (1) the child's emotional health, (2) educational achievement, (3) social acceptability, and (4) "good moral character."

As these findings are reported, it is important to bear in mind the limitations of research to this date and the fact that reported patterns, while more typical of lower-class than of middle-class groups, are not necessarily typical of the majority of lower-class families. For instance, 30 per cent of lower-class parents and 10 per cent of middle-class ones may be found to have a certain child-rearing pattern. It could be reported that such and such a practice is more typical of lower-class than of middle-class parents, but that could not, of course, mean it was a universal characteristic of the poorer group.

Child's Emotional Health

Considering child-rearing patterns related to emotional health, we find that, comparatively speaking, middle-class parents are more apt than the very poor to use practices that are associated with the positive emotional adjustment of the child. The following patterns are more typical of very poor families:

1. Use of harsh physical punishment rather than a more reasoned verbal style of discipline

2. Judgment of the child's behavior more on the basis of its immediate outcomes as these outcomes affect the parent, rather than on the basis

of fundamental principles of desirable behavior or on a consideration of the causes of the child's actions

3. A tendency towards early, abrupt training for independence rather than a more gradual process

4. Emphasis on concrete elements of behavior at a particular point in time, rather than a more developmental point of view of the child as an individual who gradually grows toward adulthood

5. A fatalistic attitude toward life with a tendency toward magical thinking, rather than a more optimistic and planned approach with confidence in the individual's ability to do something about his own situation

6. An emphasis on "keeping out of trouble," rather than a creative individualistic approach to life with values held for personal fulfillment and individual happiness

7. Alienation from, rather than trust in, authority figures and the predominant social structure

8. An authoritarian, rather than democratic, attitude toward family life and child rearing

9. Although many studies show the importance of the father in a child's life, one-fourth of the children of the very poor are reared in families in which the father is out of the home. (This situation is particularly crucial for Negro children, since one-third of such families lack a father in the home.)

If the above patterns and attitudes are compared to those that research reveals to be consistent with positive emotional adjustment of children, then the higher rates of deviant behavior and mental illness of the very poor can be more readily appreciated. In effect, the child-rearing patterns more characteristic of this group of families are in many ways the opposite of what studies indicate are important for good emotional health.

None of this is meant to imply that the child-rearing patterns of the very poor are the only, or even most important, reasons for the higher rates of emotional and mental disturbance found in such families. Obviously, the deprivation of the poverty environment itself plays a very important role. This environment also helps to create the child-rearing patterns outlined above. In fact, the continuing interaction of the impoverished environment with the family life styles of the very poor might be said to form the hub of the cycle of poverty.

Educational Achievement

As in the case of inappropriate child-rearing patterns for maximum emotional health, so the patterns of very poor parents are prejudicial to the educational success of their children. Many of the practices and attitudes already mentioned apply to this point. Especially relevant to academic success are the following:

1. The greater tendency of the poor to rely on physical, rather than verbal, communication

2. Restrictive attitudes of parents towards participation in a wide range of experiences in the larger world

3. Distrust of authority figures, including those at school

4. A limited concept of time and lack of long-range-goal commitment

5. Concrete rather than abstract ways of thinking

6. Judgment of others based on personal evaluation rather than on the more impersonal qualifications of the individual, for instance: a "good teacher" is apt to be judged as such if the teacher is a pleasant, kind person, although not necessarily a well-educated one

7. A simplistic and magical approach to phenomena rather than a more complex style based on scientific evidence.

The cultural deprivation of the very poor--which has become a household word today, at least in the households of the professionals in service and research occupations--refers, of course, to many of the characteristics of very poor families as given above. The cumulative affect of such child-rearing practices on the child's school preparation is quite obvious.

Social Acceptability

Child-rearing and family life patterns of the very poor also would seem to give children a negative preparation for being socially acceptable and having what might be popularly described as a "good moral character."

Under the heading of social acceptability we have not only the part played by middle-class manners, speech, and dress, but also skill in the subtlety of interpersonal relations, control of aggressive impulses, and a sense of inner self-confidence that helps a child to accept himself and others. The very poor not only lack the money to keep up a middle-class appearance, but their life style is less likely to be conducive to impulse

control, to skill in understanding the behavior of others, to capacity for verbal communication, and to a sense of self-esteem.

Good Moral Character

A sense of worthlessness and failure plays into difficulties in developing a middle-class conscience or, to put it in another way, a "good moral character." Such a character, as frequently defined in research studies consists of an ability to withstand temptations, to behave consistently within middle-class norms, and to be honest, responsible, and law abiding. Ego strength, or a high level of self-confidence, has been found to promote this kind of ability for self-control; so have democratic child-rearing methods and firm, kind, consistent discipline. The autocratic and harshly punitive parent-styles more characteristic of the very poor are less likely to build the kind of individual self-control that is esteemed in our society.

Family life styles more characteristic of the very poor than of the middle class have already been touched upon in the foregoing discussion of child-rearing methods. More specifically, values and attitudes of the very poor toward relations between the parents, themselves, also carry strong negative components for our generally middle-class society. The higher rates of family breakdown of the poor through separation, divorce, and illegitimacy are well known. Again, adverse environmental pressures surely play a vital part in producing these rates. But, again, culture patterns are also operating that threaten marital stability and satisfaction. These include:

1. Generally negative attitudes toward sex, with both men and women tending to see it as a way to exploit each other

2. Sharply differentiated male and female worlds

3. Authoritarian patterns in the man-woman relationship with the husband dominant if he is at home

4. Little verbal communication

5. Poor control of aggressive feelings

Other factors already mentioned, such as lack of goal commitment, fatalism, apathy, and constricted life experiences, also have a part in adversely affecting the relationships between adult man and woman. The fact that so many men come from fatherless homes tends to give them inadequate preparation for marriage and parenthood. Not only do they lack the role-model of an adult male, but they also grow up in a home dominated by a woman who is apt to have very negative attitudes towards the masculine sex. Such fatherless homes also provide hardships for girls. A girl learns to

be a wife and mother not only from her own mother but from interaction with her father. Also, if she comes from a home in which her mother has antagonistic attitudes towards men, she, too, is likely to have attitudes of this kind.

Some of the findings reported above on the male-female adult- roles of the very poor are challenged by the recent book Blue-Collar Marriage by Komarovsky.[2] In this investigation, a small sample of working-class white, protestant, native-born, New England families were studied intensively. Couples with high school education who had skilled or semiskilled jobs were compared to couples with less than high school education and who had unskilled jobs. Particularly in the area of attitudes towards sex Dr. Komarovsky's findings are different from those just reported. Both the male and female unskilled and skilled workers held sex satisfaction as an ideal in their marriage. For the most part, sex was regarded as a positive source of pleasure in the marriage relationship, rather than an area of mutual exploitation and fear. It should be borne in mind that these results were obtained with a particular kind of group and that all of the members had some form of employment; thus they could not be classed as suffering from extremes of poverty.

To sum it up, child-rearing and family life patterns of the very poor present a grim picture indeed when their probable impact is considered on both children and adults. Before too negative a view is taken of these findings, the cautions previously presented should be recalled. Besides this, there are a number of biases in the findings that were obtained, and in their implications. For example, studies have been based, to a large extent, on a middle-class point of view and have asked rather middle-class questions. Studies have not been done, for the most part, focusing on the strengths of the poor.

Also, although the child-rearing and family life methods of the very poor would seem to be poorly adapted to middle-class society, they are probably better adapted to the conditions of poverty than middle-class ones would be. Moreover, precise studies are lacking as to how differently the children of the very poor actually behave in comparison to the children of the middle class, although we do know that their rates of failure and of deviant behavior are higher. These high rates, however, might be partly explained by middle-class prejudices against them. Despite all this, since the middle-class way of life in our society carries with it so many rewards, it seems likely that the very poor would benefit from child-rearing and family life patterns that are more like those of the middle-class and less like the ones that a number now use.

Helping the Poor to Make a Transition

A big question centers around how the very poor can be helped to move from their own subculture into the more dominant one. This point

will be considered particularly in terms of its implications for home economists. The home economist would seem to have a particularly strategic role to play in many areas of work with the low-income family. This work includes research and services directed towards modifying child-rearing and family life patterns.

The subject-matter content of home economics with its specialized areas in food and nutrition, applied arts, clothing and textiles, family living and child development, home management, household equipment, and consumer economics, all provide highly relevant specialized subject-matter areas. Home economics has a long and honorable history in the role it has played for more than half a century in acculturating rural and urban families from a wide range of backgrounds to what might be termed a middle-class style of home and family life.

In a sense, the home economist, representing, as she does, the art and science of homemaking, may act as a kind of substitute mother in direct services to families where parents as well as children have missed some of the strengths that a strong, competent mother is able to give. A large number of fathers and mothers whose lives have been lived in poverty have missed the stability that comes from growing up in a stable, comfortable home. Although the highly professional home economist may quail a bit before the concept of acting as a "mother-substitute," it would seem that this is one function that some home economists can fill exceptionally well as they work directly with disadvantaged families.

It appears that one way in which culture may be changed is through the furnishing of a role-model that represents another way of life. Such a role-model, to be effective, must be highly accepted by the individuals who are served and must provide experiences that are perceived to be personally rewarding.

Culture also would seem to be changed through group action. If new ways of behaving and believing are accepted by some members of a group, other members may also change, especially if the new ways are found to be positively adapted to the situation in which people live. The home economist who serves as a role-model and a leader to a group and helps this group find more effective ways of behavior, may affect not only the subculture of the members, but these changes may also extend to other persons whom the members influence.

In order to work effectively with other people, especially with people who are different from oneself, one needs high qualities of empathy, sensitivity, flexibility, and patience. For example, the feelings, beliefs, attitudes, and values of others cannot be understood or acted upon unless the leader or teacher has a very sensitive eye and ear and can act flexibly in response to what is heard and perceived.

It is a truism that in helping an individual it is important to start where the person is and with the problems that he perceives. The very poor, for example, are probably less interested in basic principles of nutrition than in the question of where the next meal is coming from. Since the very poor tend to live from day to day, suffer from stringent reality problems, and favor concrete learning styles, actual experience in drinking and eating a good meal is apt to have a much sharper impact than a discussion of the possible uses of surplus foods.

Similarly, direct experiences in working in a nursery school with a skilled teacher who shows the way to bring about immediately observable, better behavior of children will have deeper meaning to most low-income parents than a discussion on child growth and development. Moreover, since the very poor have far more than their share of experiences in failure, programs that guarantee quick concrete success tend to promote highly important self-confidence in the individual and strengthen his motivation to learn.

When devising programs with home economics content, it would seem important to recognize that much of the usual home economics subject matter has a strong middle-class bias. Emphasis, for example, on organization; scientific evidence; precision; effective use of time, space, and energy; and sensitivity to asthetics are all important, but middle-class qualities. Many home economists who have been trained in this type of approach to their subject matter will need considerable imagination and flexibility to adapt it to the families of the poor.

In this adaptation it is, of course, important to avoid the implication, tempting as it may be, that the more casual and impulsive approach often used by the disadvantaged is inherently wrong. There are a number of examples of very successful activities carried out with low-income families by home economists which have been based on a flexible and sensitive understanding of the practical problems and value systems of the very poor.

There is a need for further experimentation as to how home economics subject matter can be translated not only into increased information, but also into actual changes in the behavior of disadvantaged families. Such experimentation would ideally incorporate carefully planned evaluation as to actual, measureable outcomes in behavior.

As home economists increasingly find effective ways of turning their professional services into significant work with today's poor, it will be important to incorporate these findings into the training of students who are particularly interested in this field. Many colleges of home economics currently have a curriculum that includes the social sciences as well as home economics. It would seem that further development along these lines would be helpful and that relevant field work experiences for home economics students in such settings as settlement houses, and welfare and public

health agencies might be used more extensively to strengthen the academic content of courses. Conversely, students in the social sciences might well benefit from having courses in home economics.

Interactions Between Professions Vital

Home economics is but one of a group of professions that has an important part to play in helping the very poor move out of poverty. More interaction, cooperation, and understanding between the professions is vital. This kind of teamwork is not easy. Each of us is apt to get so busy in our own particular specialization that we tend to think that general problems are our own special business and not the business, equally, of other specialists. The middle-class culture, with its emphasis on achievement and competition, sometimes threatens to engulf us. But there hardly seems to be a need to compete in reference to whom should study and serve the poor. There is an oversupply of individuals and families who need what the various professions have to give, and an undersupply of professionals to serve them.

These are times of excitement and challenge as our total society commits itself to an expansion of opportunity for all its citizens. Knowledge, professional dedication, and an enduring, patient faith in the capacity of human beings for positive, though gradual, change must be added to the sense of excitement and challenge if the War on Poverty is to be more than a series of skirmishes. Home economists, like other educators and medical, legal, and social science professionals, dedicated as they all are to a better society for all families, do not want the great adventure of the mid-sixties to end in a small surrender simply because the problems tackled are complicated, exhausting, and difficult. Our President has revitalized the American dream. For each of us our opportunity has expanded as we play our small part in working toward fulfillment of this dream.

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[1] Reprints available.

[2] Mirra Komarovsky, <u>Blue-Collar Marriage</u>. (New York: Random House, 1964.)

VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF A CULTURE OF POVERTY: THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN CASE

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In his now famous description of "the other America" Michael Harrington observes that the most important analytic point to emerge from his investigation was... "the fact that poverty in America forms a culture, a way of life and feeling, that makes a whole." He adds, "It is crucial to generalize this idea, for it profoundly affects how one moves to destroy poverty."

The recognition that poverty forms a culture holds in itself more important implications for the development of programs designed to eliminate poverty, in my judgment, than does the fact that there is a certain unity to this particular culture in America. In this paper I should like to explore some of these implications as they relate to the culture of poverty in the Appalachian region, which, because of the number and gravity of its problems stemming from poverty, has been declared a target area for a separate major campaign in the national War on Poverty. My observations in this paper apply primarily to the southern part of Appalachia embracing most of West Virginia and parts of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. I have chosen this area simply because I am more familiar with it, although undoubtedly much of what I have to say applies to parts of northern Appalachia as well.

Culture and Value Orientations

When we speak of a culture in the sense that Harrington has used the term, we mean the total pattern and products of learned behavior shared by a social group. This totality includes tools, techniques, language, forms of social organization, rules of behavior, sentiments, beliefs, and values. All of these elements and their interrelationships must be taken into account if we are to understand the behavior of a group. In this paper, however, I shall restrict my attention to values, which are probably the least understood elements of culture and consequently the most difficult to deal with.

Values refer to the basic criteria which guide the behavior of the members of a group sharing a common culture. The concept of value orientation, which I have used in the title of the paper, adds a further quality which Florence Kluckhohn, in the important study Variations in Value Orientations calls the "directive element."[2] That is, a value orientation refers to the direction in which behavior is guided as well as the influencing criteria. "Viewed broadly," Dr. Kluckhohn states, "a value orientation may be defined as a generalized and organized principle concerning basic human problems which pervasively and profoundly influences man's behavior."[3]

It is because value orientations do exercise such a profound influence on behavior that we must be particularly concerned with them in seeking solutions to the problems of poverty, for effective solutions necessarily imply changing behavioral patterns. With this in mind, certain features of value orientations deserve our attention. One of these is that value orientations, like all other aspects of culture, are learned. They are not innate even though this frequently appears to be the case because the process by which they are learned is generally an unconscious one and difficult to observe. Following from this is the important proposition that value orientations are subject to change. In the not-too-distant past many sociologists held that the deeply entrenched values which guide human behavior were virtually inalterable, a view which found expression in the popular maxim "you can't change the mores." Today we have a clearer conception of the relationship between values and behavior as being one of reciprocal influence, and we have learned that values not only can be changed but that one way of changing them is through bringing about changes in behavior.

Another consideration of fundamental importance is that the influence of value orientations upon behavior is not deterministic but rather one of establishing priorities and of giving weight to certain alternatives of behavior. Specific situational factors always enter into the final decision. If, for example, we find a lost wallet with fifty dollars in it, we may be guided by the principle that honesty is the best policy and return it to its owner. But given an opportunity to avoid reporting a few hundred dollars on our income tax return with little likelihood of detection, the influence of this principle on our final decision may be much less.

A further feature of value orientations is that within a given culture they are organized in a relatively logical pattern. This is not to say that the set of value orientations is logically self-consistent, for this is rarely the case, but rather that individual principles are connected to others within a framework which has a certain rationality. This rationality lies in their representing responses to basic human needs and problems which have proved to be reasonably satisfactory solutions for the particular society. We are often tempted to dismiss as irrational the behavior of a group that is not solving its problems in a way that we feel they should solve them.

Sometimes, from our own point of reference, we provide a rationale which is at least comprehensible to us but which attributes to others traits that we consider undesirable: the people of this or that group act as they do because they are "naturally lazy," "dishonest," "weak-willed," or "degenerate." But when we do this, we close the doors to achieving the kind of understanding of behavior which is necessary if we are to help them solve their problems in a way that is in keeping with our democratic traditions--an understanding of their behavior from their situational standpoint and not merely our own.

The Appalachian Culture of Poverty

The essential unity of the culture of poverty in America which Harrington observed derives, I believe, from the central fact that many of the basic problems which confront low-income people are essentially the same--such problems as securing the elemental necessities of life, of maintaining a system of social relations which offers at least minimal security, of preserving a sense of self-esteem in the face of a disapproving society, and of finding some meaning to their lives and some plausible explanation for their situation. Given such common problems, it is understandable that many of the poor should arrive at the same solutions, especially if we consider the limitations that poverty itself imposes in making alternatives available, and the broader cultural heritage which the poor in America share with each other and the rest of the society.

In recognizing certain uniformities in the American culture of poverty, however, we run the risk of over-generalizing and minimizing differences that hold important implications for understanding the behavior of specific subcultures. In examining the Southern Appalachian culture, therefore, I would like to point out certain differences in their value orientations and related behavior as well as certain similarities with respect to other low-income groups in America.

Let me make clear at the beginning that I shall be dealing in generalizations in full awareness that they do not apply uniformly throughout the region, which is far more varied than is generally realized, and that they refer primarily to the very low-income segment of Appalachian society. This extreme poverty segment, contrary to popular impression, is only a minority of the Appalachian population representing an estimated one-fourth to one-third of the total, although it reaches majority proportions in many areas, especially in rural localities. The values, beliefs, attitudes, and related behavior of this group differ in many respects, not only from those found in the mainstream of American culture, but also from those of the majority of Appalachian people which I have had earlier opportunity to describe.[4]

As a background to an understanding of the value orientations of the Appalachian poor, it will be helpful to describe some of their conditions of

life. Here, again, there is much variety, but a fairly representative picture may be derived from the characteristics of a group of 324 families receiving public assistance which we have recently studied in eastern Kentucky.[5] All of these families were white, as is about 93 per cent of the Southern Appalachian population. Practically all were natives of the region, descendants of the early Anglo-Saxon settlers. Ninety per cent had been born in the close vicinity of their residence at the time of the study.

Typically, they lived in dilapidated frame houses in relative isolation from larger population centers. Over half of their homes were located on unimproved dirt roads that were frequently impassable for cars, and about half of the homemakers reported that they went in to town only once a month or less. The infrequency of their excursions is partly attributable to transportation problems, but it is also partly explained by the fact that three of the seven counties in which the families lived had no town as large as 2500 and none of the seven contained a city of more than 6,000 population.

The average age of the husbands of these families was 42 years while the average age of their wives was 36 years. The average family had four children at home and one child who had already left, but more than a fourth of the families had six or more children still at home. Family incomes averaged between $1200 and $1300 in 1963, but more than a third reported incomes of less than $1,000 while less than 10 per cent exceeded $2,000.

The occupational histories of the men showed a typically spotty pattern of jobs in farming and mining, though some had worked in manufacturing and service industries outside the region. Less than half had held a full-time job for longer than a year during the seven years preceding the study. Obviously their lack of education had figured in their inability to secure steady employment, for only half had gone beyond the sixth grade and only 10 per cent beyond the eighth. Their wives, on the average, had a seventh-grade education, for the most part acquired, like the husbands, in substandard schools.

These families were not only physically but also culturally isolated from the larger society. Although two out of three families had a radio and one out of three a television set, only one in five regularly saw a newspaper. The limited boundaries of their experience-world were, to some degree, indicated by the fact that more than a fifth of the men could not name the governor of Kentucky although practically all knew the name of their local county judge. Even personal channels of communication were restricted by their typical lack of participation in organized social activities. Less than 10 per cent of either household heads or homemakers belonged to any organization other than the church, and the majority attended church less than once a month.

The conditions of isolation and privation evident in these few statistics are chronic ones for this segment of the population, and in all probability represent improvements over the living conditions of their parents and grandparents before them. Their total culture has been molded to these conditions which have been the normal circumstances of life. Thus, it is not too surprising that despite all the hardship and discomfort which they sustain, the great majority of the men and their wives reported that they were relatively happy in their situation.

Viewed from one perspective, the apparent satisfaction of the Appalachian poor bears eloquent witness to the remarkable ability of man to adapt to a harsh environment. But this psychological adjustment is not without its price, for the very mechanisms which make tolerable such conditions often serve as deterrents to the introduction of changes needed to achieve better conditions. Among these mechanisms that both sustain and restrain, I would include the basic value orientations of this culture of poverty.

Value Orientations of the Appalachian Culture of Poverty

A comprehensive description and analysis of the value orientations of low-income mountain people obviously cannot be presented in this short paper nor, for that matter, do the data exist to support a definitive treatment. My observations, therefore, are necessarily selective and my conclusion is to be regarded as tentative and to a considerable extent impressionistic although based, insofar as possible, on empirical studies and first-hand descriptive reports. The particular value orientations I should like to discuss may be categorized under the headings of "familism," man's relation to environment, activity, work, achievement, and social responsibility. Although I shall present these separately, it should be kept in mind that they do not operate independently but rather as elements of a total value pattern, or ethos, the logical nature of which I shall briefly describe later.

Familism

The first value orientation, familism, is fairly widespread among pre-industrial societies throughout the world, but it is not a common feature of the culture of poverty in the United States. Without attempting too rigid a definition of familism, I would say that its basic principle so far as guiding behavior is concerned is that the obligations of an individual to his family and kin hold priority over obligations to other individuals and groups. The familism of Appalachia is a survival of a culture trait that was quite generally accepted when our society was predominantly agrarian. The essence of Appalachian familism has been described by James S. Brown in his study of families in a rural neighborhood of eastern Kentucky which he called Beach Creek.

> Beach Creek people held a person's family responsible for all his actions; his actions reflected glory or shame, as the case might be, on all members of his immediate family and also, to a far greater degree than in the greater society, on his extended family. On the other hand, family members felt a responsibility for their fellow members so that, as several informants said, "if you step on one's toes, you step on everybody's." The recognition of the family-wide importance of an individual... accounts for the rallying of the members of a family group when one of their members had a crisis or needed protection.[6]

In recent years there has been some evidence of a decline in the strength of families in Appalachia as other organizations such as government agencies have taken over functions that previously fell to the family. Nevertheless, it still remains a potent force to be observed in many ways--in the frequent and lengthy weekend trips that migrant children make from Columbus, Detroit, or Chicago to their parental homes; in the obligations that established migrants in northern cities feel to take in kinsfolk who are newcomers until these latter find a job and a place to live; or in the family groups to be seen patiently waiting for hours in the corridors of a hospital to which they have brought a sick member.

The larger society tends to view such displays of family devotion with sympathy and even admiration, for basic family values still persist in the national culture, but other consequences of the more intensive familistic orientation of the mountain people elicit less approval. A family obligation which the mountain man considers of sufficient importance to miss work, for example, may be viewed as a weak excuse for absenteeism by a work-oriented plant manager who has little time for his own family. The failure of mountain people to participate in social organizations, the indispensable units of our bureaucratic society, also stems in part from familism, as Dr. Brown has pointed out.[7] So, too, does the mountaineer's distrust of outsiders follow from the application of a rating system in which family reputation is of fundamental importance. Such expressions of familism may be exasperating to those of us geared to a society in which formal organizations assert a prior claim on our time and energies and in which a man's trustworthiness is established by his credit rating, but the degree of our exasperation is largely a measure of the gap between our culture and theirs.

Man's Relation to Environment

Whereas familism is to some extent a regional variation from the national culture of poverty, the orientation of the Appalachian poor toward their environmental conditions is fairly common among low-income people throughout America. In general they tend to view their environment as

being beyond their ability to control and, indeed, exerting a control of its own to which they are subjugated.

Undoubtedly this orientation is in part a response to what Arnold Toynbee has called, with specific reference to the mountain people of Appalachia, "the depressing effect of a challenge which has been inordinately severe."[8] It is a well-conditioned response, for generations of mountain people have thus far failed to dominate their natural environment which continues to provide a formidable challenge even to modern technology. But it is not just the natural environment to which they are subjugated. It is the entire set of physical, social, and cultural conditions which define their life situation and which, in their eyes, rule their destinies.

The Appalachian version of subjugation to environment differs from the general orientation observed in many other areas in that it is not an expression of defeat and despair. In Appalachia, an attitude of resignation has the support of a fundamentalist religious philosophy whose basic elements were described a generation ago by Elizabeth Hooker in her study Religion in the Highlands:

> According to this philosophy, terrestrial existence is a stupendous drama with the fate of human beings to all eternity dependent on divine predestination and redemption, satanic temptings, and to an uncertain extent for most Highlanders, the will of man. As a period of testing, life is properly full of trouble and suffering which will be compensated for to the saved by everlasting bliss in heaven.[9]

Recent studies have documented the pervasiveness of fundamentalist religion in the Appalachian Region and have also shown, as to be expected, that the degree of fundamentalism is strongly and inversely related to socioeconomic status.[10] The vast majority of low-income mountain people subscribe to fundamentalist religious beliefs and values which generate deeply rooted fears as well as offering hope and security. Yet the fact that attitudes of fatalistic acceptance of life's circumstances weaken as the circumstances themselves improve, indicates that this value orientation, even though buttressed by supernatural sanctions, is subject to modification.

Activity, Work, and Achievement

The value orientations concerned with activity, work, and achievement are so closely related that they might be considered a unified subset within the total value system. The value orientation of activity, as used here, does not refer to whether people are relatively active or passive but rather to the meaning they give to their activities, or, as Florence Kluckhohn

has defined the term, "the nature of man's mode of self-expression in activity."[11]

Dr. Kluckhohn, in the study to which I have previously referred, suggests a classification of three basic activity orientations which she calls Being, Being-in-Becoming, and Doing.[12] Being refers to behavior which is relatively spontaneous self-expression; Being-in-Becoming is activity directed toward developing the self in some preconceived image; while Doing is activity directed toward the realization of objective goals. The latter is the typical orientation of most Americans, who are "doers," more concerned with task accomplishment than self-realization.

But the typical orientation of low-income mountain people is one of Being. Their activities are not generally guided by commitments to long-range objective goals nor to the realization of an idealized self-image. Their behavior tends to be directed by matters of immediate concern to the point of being impulsive rather than ordered by plans with specific goals. While it might be argued that the oft-expressed desire "to live a good Christian life" suggests a Being-in-Becoming orientation, even the decision to "become a Christian" is often expressed in a spontaneous emotional act, with backsliding as a frequent, if not normal, sequel.

Related to this orientation is a view of work as an activity which serves immediate or sustaining needs rather than serving as a means of achieving long-range personal or objective goals. Nor do the mountain poor, with all their vestiges of Puritanism, consider work inherently virtuous. To those in our society who do endow work with intrinsic value and who see in every problem a task to be accomplished, this outlook of the mountain people is often viewed as being both immoral and responsible for their plight. Thus one commonly encounters such observations as those recorded by John F. Day in his book Bloody Ground:

> I have read many treatises holding that the mountain people are not lazy, but boiled down they all say, "Honest, they ain't lazy; they just don't like to work." . . . But, infrequently, I've seen a man making a decent living for his family off fifty acres of hill land, and hundreds of times I've seen the weeds taking the crop, rot taking the house, and rickets taking the kids while the old man spat tobacco juice and looked speculatively over the 100 acres his grandpappy left him.[13]

I would not claim that such observations are invalid, but I would argue that the apparent indolence and unconcern exhibited by the mountain poor are not simply manifestations of laziness. Mountain people can and do work hard when they have adequate reason to do so. But they do not work to satisfy Puritanical urgings, nor are they strongly compelled to work for many of the reasons which middle-class Americans consider not only adequate but imperative.

Notably lacking also in the culture of poverty as it exists in Appalachia, as in most other places, is the "central stress upon personal achievement, especially occupational achievement," which Robin Williams has identified as a major feature of the larger American culture.[14] There is much evidence to indicate that a desire to move up the social ladder through career advancement or other modes of personal achievement is not a strong motivating force for this culture group, even among those who have exerted some effort to improve their situation.

A recent study of mountain migrants employed in industrial jobs in Ohio, for example, found that those workers rarely aspired to advance to higher status jobs which they were qualified to fill.[15] Some workers rejected the idea of promotion because it would mean taking on additional responsibilities, while others simply held that since they were perfectly satisfied with their current job, there was no reason to change.

Many factors are related to this apparent lack of aspiration, some of which are common to most subcultures of poverty in America while others are peculiar to the regional culture. Among the latter is to be included, again, the prevailing religious philosophy of low-income Appalachian people. This was clearly brought out in the responses to the question asked in the regional survey of 1958, "Do you think that God is more pleased when people are satisfied with what they have or when they try to get ahead?" Among the respondents in the lowest socioeconomic category, three out of four answered that God is more pleased when people are satisfied. In marked contrast, three out of four upper status respondents chose the alternative answer, that God was more pleased when people try to get ahead.[16]

There can be no doubt that the lack of a strong desire to achieve poses a serious problem of motivating low-income people in Appalachia, or elsewhere, to improve their social and economic conditions. But because we are predominantly an achieving society, we perhaps tend to attach undue importance to this particular source of motivation and insufficient importance to alternative sources. If we are to seek alternative motivating factors, as I think will have to be the case in many instances, I would emphasize that it is more fruitful to begin by asking why low-income people behave as they do rather than why they don't behave as _we_ do.

Avoidance of Social Responsibility

The final value orientation which I should like to discuss is what I have called, for a lack of a better term, avoidance of social responsibility. By that I mean the tendency of the mountain poor to shun obligations other than those imposed by kinship or the customary dictates of hospitality. Associated with this trait is a lack of identification with the larger community or society of which the individual is, at least nominally, a member.

To a considerable degree, no doubt, this characteristic is tied to the traditional mountain traits of individualism and independence, but it is not synonymous with them. In the mountains, as elsewhere, there are persons who preserve their individuality to a marked degree while accepting roles of responsible social participation and leadership. And, indeed, on close examination, much of what has been called the independence of mountain people rests not so much on a positive devotion to liberty as on an aversion to civic and social obligations.

The avoidance of social responsibility is manifested in many ways--in unwillingness to assume roles of leadership or even membership in social organizations; in a strong antipathy toward tax-supported measures of any kind, even though the objectives of these measures may be strongly endorsed as beneficial by the people themselves; and in the evasion of binding decisions which commit the individual to others. As earlier noted, the distaste for responsibility also serves as a deterrent to occupational advancement.

It is understandable that those who can barely cope with their own individual problems should be less than eager to assume what they consider additional burdens, though I do not believe this trait is so simply explained. In any case, those planning to work with low-income people of the region will have to reckon with this orientation. In particular, I would call to the attention of those who hold that every action program must be planned, directed, and executed by the people it is designed to benefit that too rigid adherence to this principle may destroy a program before it has started.

The six value orientations of the Appalachian culture of poverty which I have briefly described provide neither a comprehensive nor a balanced picture of this culture, for I have intentionally selected those traits which distinguish it from our broader national culture and neglected the many traits shared by both. I would, therefore, remind you that the culture of Appalachia is not so alien as it might appear from this presentation. Yet there is no question that it is more difficult to understand the variant than the common traits, and the acquisition of such an understanding would seem a prerequisite to the framing of social action programs designed to transform the Appalachian culture of poverty within a democratic framework.

Culture Presents Pattern of Logic

Earlier in this paper I have suggested that the key to understanding the culture of poverty is the recognition that it represents a system of social and psychological responses to basic human problems and needs. When we approach a culture from this standpoint, we are frequently able to discern a pattern of logic to these responses that is often not otherwise apparent. This seems to me to be the case with the Appalachian culture,

and while I cannot here attempt to develop fully its logic, there are several features of it which I believe to be of primary importance.

First, it is important to recognize that the environmental situation to which the people of Appalachia have had to adapt is considerably more restrictive than that found in most other populated regions of the nation. The original mountain settlers were of the same genetic stock and cultural heritage of those who settled elsewhere and prospered. But where other settlers were able to exploit successfully their environment by means of the technology at their disposal, the people of Appalachia were unable to do so with essentially the same technology. And while in other parts of the nation the belief that man could dominate his environment was constantly reinforced by experience, in Appalachia this human conceit was repeatedly fractured by a different set of experiences.

In most of America, too, hard work produced fruits of success, thus confirming its ascribed virtue. But in Appalachia, literally back-breaking toil on the small, soil-poor, sloping farms and in the mines brought neither prosperity nor joy. Under these circumstances, for the highlanders to have insisted that man could dominate his environment and that hard work offered a panacea for all his problems would have been considerably more irrational than was the largely unconscious rejection of these beliefs.

A second feature of the sustaining logic of Appalachian culture is its commitment to an image of basic human worthiness. No more than Job have the people of Appalachia been willing to attribute their adversity to essential character flaws. With characteristic stubbornness, they have clung steadfastly to the belief that, though poor they may be, they are "just as good as anybody," even in the face of increasing disapproval by a larger society that tends to associate poverty with immorality.

Paradoxically, perhaps their philosophy of passive resignation serves the end of preserving a favorable self-image by absolving them of responsibility for their life situation.

The man who tries to improve his lot implicitly rejects the notion that he is not responsible. If his strivings are attended by success, of course, he can take pride in his virtues and his self-image is thus enhanced--and this is the dominant view in our national culture. By the same token, the man who tries and fails cannot escape the judgment in his own eyes, if not in the eyes of others, that he is personally responsible for his failure. Thus, his self-image is damaged.

The ratio of failures to successes among those Appalachian poor who have sought to achieve has been high, and many of those who have achieved success have done so outside the region and are no longer available as models. Faced by what are in reality poor odds for achieving success, many have simply avoided the risk of failure by not trying. Unwilling to jeopardize their self-esteem by assuming responsibility for actions

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in their own behalf, they are even less willing to seek or accept responsibility for actions in behalf of others, beyond those obligations imposed by family and kinship ties.

A third and final aspect of the sustaining logic of the Appalachian culture of poverty that I will mention is its strong orientation toward meeting the tremendous needs for security in a situation which, by its very nature, generates anxieties and tensions. This function of the culture is to be seen in the operation of all its institutions, but particularly in the family and religion.

Familism has maintained its strength in Appalachia because the family has offered security where other social systems have not. And fundamentalist religion, despite all the fears that it generates, serves as a cultural source of psychological security. Its simple and concrete theology reduces the confusing, chaotic, and threatening world to elementary terms that are comprehensible to even the most unsophisticated. It offers the solid assurance that however fraught with suffering this world may be, a better life for all eternity awaits those who follow its simple precepts and prescriptions for salvation.

The common view that the sacred and secular value orientations of the Appalachian culture of poverty are but vestiges of an outworn creed is one I do not share. These orientations have persisted, I believe, not simply through the inertia of tradition but because they have proved a useful means of coping with the problems of life as experienced by the people of Appalachia--and they will continue in force until more satisfactory alternatives are provided. This central fact holds important implications for those who seek to supplant the existing culture with another more suited to the requirements of our modern society. It raises important policy and program issues which I shall not attempt to resolve here but merely mention. A fundamental policy question concerns whether it is necessary for a program of action to deal directly with value orientations at all. At least one strategy implicitly holds that changing the environment, and the basic experience-world in which the poor exist, will lead to an automatic adjustment of the value aspects of their culture.

If we do concern ourselves with value orientations, though, as I am inclined to believe we must in any type of program requiring the cooperation of those whose problems we seek to solve, we are faced with the formidable issue of dealing with the cultural barriers erected against change. How, for example, do we provide measures of security while introducing changes that necessarily threaten security? How do we fill the need for maintaining a self-image of worthiness when every attempt to change behavior implies disapproval? How do we develop confidence that man can control his circumstances of life among those who are reluctant to participate in programs through which such confidence might be gained? In short, what measures can be designed which will effectively bridge the gap between a culture of poverty and a culture of affluence?

I do not know the answers to these questions nor do I know of anyone who does, but I am reasonably confident, no doubt reflecting my own value orientations, that answers can be found. Indeed, they must be found if an effective campaign against poverty is to be waged. Imaginative strategies and ingenious tactics will be required, and they are not readily come by. The struggle to achieve results will not be an easy one nor of short duration, for cultures are not developed in a day nor changed overnight. But the task lies before us, and if we should shirk it, we would be false to that part of our own cultural heritage that admonishes us:

> If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of the gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother. Deuteronomy 15:7

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[1]Michael Harrington, The Other America--Poverty in the United States (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 156.

[2]Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Illinois; Elmsford, New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), p. 5.

[3]Ibid., p. 341.

[4]Thomas R. Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism," In The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey. Thomas R. Ford, editor (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962), pp. 9-34.

[5]Cyrus M. Johnson, "Families in Poverty," Unpublished manuscript, Social Research Service, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky.

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[7]Ibid.

[8]Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), Vol. 2, p. 312.

[9]Elizabeth R. Hooker, Religion in the Highlands: Native Churches and Missionary Enterprises in the Southern Appalachian Area (New York: Home Missions Council, 1933), p. 153.

[10]Earl D. C. Brewer, "Religion and the Churches," In the Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey. Thomas R. Ford, editor (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962), pp. 201-218. Thomas R. Ford, "Status, Residence, and Fundamentalist Religious Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians," Social Forces, 39:1 (Oct. 1960), pp. 41-49.

[11]Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, p. 16.

[12]Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[13]John F. Day, Bloody Ground (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1941), p. 27.

[14]Robin Williams, American Society, A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, second edition, revised), p. 417.

[15]Martin Jay Crowe, "The Occupational Adaptation of a Selected Group of Eastern Kentuckians in Southern Ohio." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kentucky (1964).

[16]Thomas R. Ford, The Passing of Provincialism, p. 21.

POVERTY IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF OBSOLESCENCE IN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

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This assignment I face with great uncertainty. The problems confronted are very disquieting, and I am uneasy in appearing before you. I am especially uneasy because of the huge amounts of money our nation is prepared to spend on the problems of poverty and our relative unpreparedness and lack of knowing what road to take. Where will our present actions lead us as a nation? Are we as naive about these problems as we were about the farm problems which began to worry us in the 1930's and upon which we have spent many billions of dollars since--and with the farm problem yet with us? Will history tell the same story about our efforts to alleviate poverty? I am uneasy.

In preparing this paper, I ask myself what is the goal of the United States in its War on Poverty. I assume it is to bring about the converse of low incomes. Thus, we must concern ourselves with what needs doing to move in that direction, and to understand the nature of our problem.

You and I, individually and collectively, are, with few exceptions, the cause of the relatively high incidence of poverty in family living in the United States. By identifying you and me as the cause, I wish to focus at the onset of this discussion where the responsibility for it lies--but also where one hope for solving it is found. If this paradox of responsibilities comes as a shock to us--good! We may, together work ourselves out of the many dilemmas confronting us.

In this discussion, I have been asked to explore the broad educational problems facing society and the community with regard to low-income families. This is one focus. I have also been asked to examine the problems of low-income families as related to education; and thirdly to give a better understanding of agency programs that contribute to the solution of the problems. I cannot do all this even if given more time on the program. I shall try to emphasize the problems of society and of the low-income family with respect to education. I shall attempt to open up some questions

of how we are to "get there from here," and rest my case without dwelling on a better understanding of agency programs, except by inference.

Poverty, as a word, is derived from Old French pourite, thence Latin paupertas, thence pauper meaning poor. Already described at this workshop are the relative nature, characteristics and incidence, of poverty in family living in the United States. At this stage, I hope a clear distinction has been made between the symptoms of family-living poverty and what it is that produces it. They are different.

Some of the symptoms of poverty are low levels of human productivity, relative lack of wealth or wealth-producing-resources, hopelessness, wretchedness, lack of motivation, and discrimination.[1] What produces poverty? Our acts and non-acts, our laws, programs, and policies which pauperize a segment of our population.

Two Kinds and Incidences of Poverty

Poverty is relative, but it also is of two kinds. One kind--the poverty of family living--falls upon the ignorant. But this kind of poverty is the visible consequence and symptom of the second kind of poverty, namely, a conceptual poverty on the part of the larger society. This second kind of poverty falls upon us all. Let me explain.

One must understand that the family-living poverty of the United States is not the same as that of the undeveloped nations of the world, which are in embryonic or pre-takeoff stages of economic growth. These countries make a relatively low level of per capita investment in the schooling of their populations, and human productivity is low. The United States, by contrast, is at the very advanced stages of economic growth characterized by high productivity and mass consumption. The per capita investment in education is relatively high, and the national goal is to provide education to all for a specified period of time.

In the United States, a massive public and private investment is also made in generating new knowledge, technology, and innovation to foster high productivity. Now technology or innovation, however, is inherently a double-edged sword: creating and destroying. It can create new jobs and opportunities in one place and destroy them in another. For example, new technology in the form of capital inputs in farming creates whole new industries. It creates the need for more kinds of machines, and more fertilizer, insecticides, weedicides, seed varieties, etc. It creates new job opportunities in producing and distributing these goods and services. But on the other hand these inputs substitute for human labor and reduce the number of people needed to produce food. The result is reduced occupational opportunities to farm.

These developments change the economic and population structure in rural areas. Moreover, they change the kind and quality of skills needed by people. Because of these latter two consequences, the United States also must adapt its social and political institutions to this changed situation and the changed human needs. It must make such an adaptation if there is to be an equitable redistribution of the gains and losses resulting from rapid and successful economic growth. Alas! However, we do not invest proportionately to produce innovations in our social and political institutions. The consequence is that we all are left impoverished conceptually with regard to the nature of our problems and the strategies for solving them. The lack of institutional adaptations causes great lags in helping to transfer resources (particularly human resources) from locations where the value of labor is low to those where it is higher, from obsolete jobs to new jobs, from lower levels of economic activity to higher levels.

Only lately have we begun freely to recognize that research and education must perform four functions in society, and not just the first two mentioned below. These four functions are:

1. To generate and apply new knowledge

2. To educate youth as the new and replacement labor force, adapted both technically and socially to the emerging environment

3. To forestall the occupational obsolescence of the present labor force

4. To improve the citizen's capacity and performance in adapting his social and political institutions to the changing economic and population structures, so that he can adequately sustain the first three functions

Failure Produces Poverty

Inadequate performance of any one of the above functions will produce poverty. These functions must be carried out concurrently. The production of new technology, which substitutes for labor, changes the economic and population structure.

If innovations in schooling, financing public services, and the governing of people do not match the needs of people under the changed economic and social situation, then inequities and poverty will result. Once the symptoms of poverty are recognized, the action institutions of society should reform and adapt to new needs.

When institutions do not adapt, the economy, over time, acquires a mountain of neglect. This then, of itself, becomes a special problem. Thus, ghettos, Appalachias, and some Indian reservations are highly

visibie symptoms of this neglect. Much too often we view these areas as the "poverty problem," and treat the symptom, definitely too late and with the wrong measures. We must attack the problems of neglect, but more importantly we must correct the cause. If we don't, then we shall squander resources without diminishing the production of human misery.

Two Education Problems

For the sake of a more detailed analysis, first let us examine, independently, the educational problems of society and the community with regard to poverty, and then the problems of education for the individual low-income family, although these two problems are inextricabiy combined.

We stated earlier that the problems stem from inadequate perceptions of the nature of the economy and how well social and political institutional structures accommodate themselves to the shifting needs of people. If schools are not well suited to the needs of youth, then very likely many youth will not use them--which seems to be the case. In the absence of adequate preparation, these youth will limit their economic and social effectiveness.

Midge Decter puts the question before American society, a question which will henceforth never be dropped: "Can the American public school system find the means to teach all American children, and can American society find the means to value all the children so taught for the particular kind of people they turn out to be?"[2] We must dwell on this question as it reaches to the heart of our problems as a nation attempting to adjust our thinking and action to correct past failures. Miss Decter, I think, correctly observes "...of all civic institutions, schools are the most vulnerable to public pressure and yet the most difficult to shape and influence."[3]

In the South, schools perhaps do reflect certain components of the "Southern Tradition" and it is partly by design that certain segments of the population are subjected to a process of pauperization. Goals of society to keep certain people ignorant and poor have to be altered before the social institutions will be adapted to the opposite ends.

In the rural areas of the nation, it will be necessary to alter the rural bias which has caused a great underinvestment in schooling, particularly with regard to quality, as T. W. Schultz has pointed out.[4] This rural bias, he reasons, cannot be overcome unless the intellectual leadership of the universities focuses on the welfare of farm people at least as much as upon the welfare of animals, plants, and soils. There no doubt could be a body of relevant science developed which would aid in dealing with the social welfare problems of rural people.

The land-grant university is particularly vulnerable to criticism for its lack of adequate conceptual horizons in dealing with poverty situations. In these situations, above all others, the traditional perception that the solution is found by improving farm production or home science is greatly limiting achievements of the university programs. Until only recently the extension service was still sending a "good sheep specialist" into rural poverty areas to overcome human misery.

It is noted also in at least two recent cases that the home economics extension system was trying to solve the problem of poverty through traditional concepts of home economics programs modified from use in middle-class farming situations. Specific reference is made to a report of a two-week workshop for extension home economists training for work with low-income groups.[5]

After being instructed in the low socioeconomic status of the people in question, the workshop divided into work groups. And what do you suppose they discussed? You guessed wr , if you think they organized into appropriate groups to discuss questions directly relevant to overcoming the low socioeconomic status of people in poverty! Instead, workers with home management interests discussed home management; nutritionists discussed education in meal management; clothing specialists stated that apparel choices of poor people are emotionally based; and the workers with interior design bents found out that poor people's houses have poor walls and floors.

Let me make one plea. As professional home economists, please do not accept and adopt a Maginot Line of thinking with regard to the causes of poverty and how programs should be conducted to alleviate it.

You represent scarce and precious resources which should be carefully applied and certainly should not be squandered in this vexing task which has a high frustration potential. From examining Figure I, next page, one sees the very low aggregate of expenditures or value of consumption in family living of low-income families.

With incomes at very low levels, by all odds the prime objective (even perhaps excluding all others) is to bring about an increase in the earning capacity of the family. Professional staff used in attempts to "save resources" or "better use them" adds too little an increment of value to make a difference in family welfare. By a vigorous attack upon the food budget one might make savings of 5 per cent, let us say.[6] You might raise family annual income from $2500 to $2,580. This amount would be an undetectable lift from poverty. From Table 1, next page, note that additional income at these low-income levels did not permit families to add proportionately to their expenditures for reading and education, which remained at 1 per cent for all income groups. Those earning $2500 or more spent 4 per cent less of their income than the under-$1500 group for food, but they allocated this saved portion to transportation and clothing. From Table 2, next page, one can see the same results when expenditures are compared on the basis of schooling of the family head.

FIGURE 1.--Expenditures and value of consumption for categories of family living.*

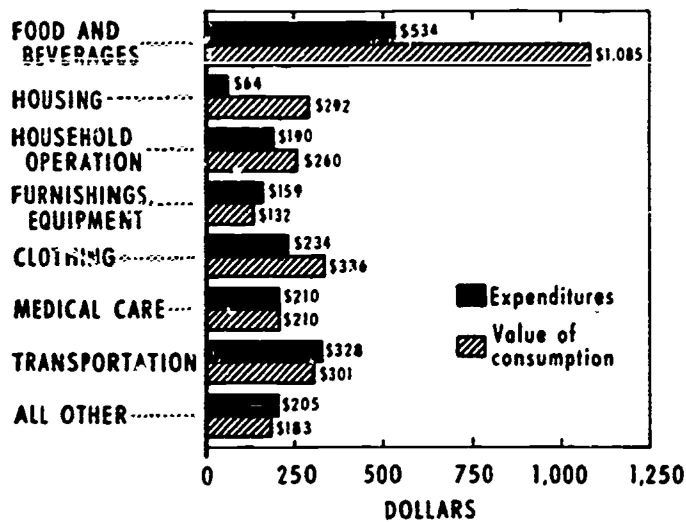

TABLE 1.--Spending patterns, all families and by income level *

Category of expenditure	All families	Disposable family income		
		Under $1,500	$1,500-$2,499	$2,500 and over
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Total family living......	100	100	100	100
Food and beverages.....	28	30	28	26
At home[1]............	23	27	24	21
Away from home[2]......	4	3	4	5
Housing................	3	3	4	3
Household operation....	10	10	10	10
Housefurnishings and equipment...........	8	8	9	8
Clothing...............	12	11	11	14
Personal care..........	3	2	3	3
Medical care...........	11	15	10	8
Transportation.........	17	13	17	20
Purchase of vehicles.	9	5	9	11
Operation of vehicles	8	8	8	9
Other transportation.	([3])	([3])	([3])	([3])
Recreation.............	4	4	4	4
Reading and education..	1	1	1	1
Tobacco................	3	3	3	3
Miscellaneous..........	([3])	([3])	([3])	([3])
	Number	Number	Number	Number
Families.................	346	138	107	101

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

[1] Food bought to be prepared at home, including lunches carried away from home. Includes alcoholic beverages consumed at home.
[2] Meals, snacks, and alcoholic beverages bought and consumed away from home.
[3] 0.5 percent or less.

TABLE 2.-- Spending patterns by education of head *

Category of expenditure	Schooling completed			
	Less than 5 years	5-7 years	8-11 years	12 or more years
	Unstandardized			
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Total family living......	100	100	100	100
Food and beverages.....	30	28	27	24
Housing................	3	3	4	3
Household operation....	10	8	10	11
Housefurnishings and equipment...........	8	9	7	9
Clothing...............	10	13	13	12
Personal care..........	3	3	3	3
Medical care...........	14	9	11	8
Transportation.........	14	18	16	23
Recreation.............	4	4	4	3
Reading and education..	1	1	1	1
Tobacco................	3	3	3	2
Miscellaneous..........	([1])	([1])	1	([1])

NOTE: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

[1] 0.5 percent or less.

*Jean L. Pennoch, "Rural Family Spending and Consumption in a Low-Income Area of Kentucky." Home Economics Report No. 26 (Washington, D. C.: Agricultural Research Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, August 1964), Figure I, page 1; Table 1, page 7; Table 2, page 18.

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To achieve a saving in resources, or to better use resources (of which these families really have so little), a very intensive effort with the individual families would be required. With such scarce professional manpower, one would make no appraisable dent in correcting the poverty problem. One might demonstrate the futility of the traditional home economics program approach by substituting a few women home economists, one for one, for deprived homemakers in poverty circumstances. What could you achieve? You would soon be very discouraged if you tried to escape from this poverty situation through home management, meal planning, making clothes, interior decorating, etc. You would soon apply your energy at an entirely different point of the problem.

Please recognize that these comments are not intended as a suggestion to disregard all professional disciplines. Nor do I imply that it is not productive to commit some home economics resources to very specialized and sensitive programs to remove people from squalor or to carry out practical self-help demonstrations to teach poor people that "knowledge" and "skill" have meaning and value directly associated to their comfort and well-being.

Let us not forget, however, that the main problem of our society is how to mobilize very scarce professional resources to work at tasks that make a difference in the earning capacities of low-income families. We do not train antipoverty specialists. Thus, professional resources from other disciplines may have to be utilized in a manner organic to the prime needs of low-income people. Much help will be of a kind which helps people to be people.

You do, however, have disciplines in home economics that are relevant if applied at the locus of the low-income problem. Family life specialists can innovate schooling systems which would involve the "whole family" in training. The main concentration may be to support the head of household to make adjustments. This may entail his moving vertically or horizontally out of the low-income situation--that is, vertically by upgrading his employment skills or horizontally by moving out to a better labor market.

This requires working with people, the leaders, to create institutions to facilitate such alternatives. To actually achieve this goal may require schools which through training, introduce both youth and adults to a better vision of the alternatives. For example:

1. Interior design specialists can devise the needed adaptations in buildings and stores in the community to double as schooling facilities.

2. Home management specialists can help the community budget its resources in terms of criteria associated with human capital formation.

3. Nutritionists can establish learning experiences for preparing people for work as food handlers, cooks, etc.

The idea is to help do a priority of things which need doing to build a ladder out of the low-income situation. These are but a few illustrations from what must be a multitude of possibilities.

Adequate Concepts Needed

Other problems befall society in attempting to deal with the mountain of neglect. These problems are largely conceptual. Citizens may need education and factual information which alters their goals and values. This education needs to be adult education but not adult education in the traditional sense. Moreover, schooling systems are needed which are not schools in the traditional sense.

Jacob Landers (assistant superintendent of schools in Brooklyn) expresses the idea that education in a democracy may be as important to develop social values as it is academic values. He says that:

> American democracy has, in a sense, accepted the egalitarian notions of the 18th Century with its idea of the infinite perfectability of human beings. The schools have been given the task of translating these ideas into reality. Unfortunately the means allocated by society to schools have not always been compatible with the enormity of the job to be done. In addition, there has been the wide gap between the preachments of the society (which it expects the school to teach) and the practices in which it indulges. The schools alone can neither inculcate values which are given only lip service by the greater society nor compensate at bargain basement prices for generations of callous neglect and systematic oppression.[7]

Just how do you educate the poor? Or the question may be as much: What is education for the poor? Samuel Gordon writes:

> the essence of the matter is--whether the school can repair the damage of deprivation, or can operate effectively in the face of low educational aspiration, or erase the prefix "sub" in a subcultural neighborhood... the school is not a panacea; ...and...is unable to cope with a formidable array of community attitudes and ethnic values... . No school system can by itself overcome the handicaps which children bring to school.[8]

One characteristic of low-income areas in the United States apparently is that they become cultural islands. To break this isolation requires unconventional education of the whole mass on both sides of the boundary. The isolation can exist only because there is a breakdown of normal social

interaction between the nation's people by and large, and those within the developing poverty island. A cultural osmosis begins whereby the better human resources flow out and the poorer flow in. Thus, many teachers are reluctant to remain in the "brutish" culture of the poor and face large doses of frustration.

Perhaps our main problem is that we do not know how to prevent poverty situations, or how to educate youth out of poverty. We are bound to suffer further agony and tension until much more research is focused upon these problems or until we, quite by accident, find solutions to a host of vexing questions which have been asked. Is the graded school system an amenable climate for the environmentally disadvantaged child?[9] Can the inherent inequalities of tests and grades as prerequisites for staying in school and progressing be done away with altogether? Howard Zinn reports that, in Mississippi, 2,000 Negro youngsters ranging in ages 6 to 26 years went to "freedom schools" which were contrary to all educational orthodoxy. The teachers in these schools met no official qualifications. They were selected on general intelligence and enthusiasm and "the kind of social conscience that would drive them to spend a hot summer in Mississippi without pay. They taught not out of textbooks, but out of life." These youth linked their daily strife, hope, and fears to the "deepest of man's intellectual traditions."[10] Freedom, democracy, the rule of law, and the philosophy of nonviolence were hardly academic.

This learning took place in church basements, on streets, or in the fields. The learning was immediately applied to the youngster's needs, whether this was to write a letter (correctly, of course) to the local editor or discuss the constitutional issues of civil rights legislation. "This education was not for grades;" no writing was done for achieving a teacher's approval "but for an immediate use; it was learning surrounded with urgency." Mr. Zinn asks the following questions, which seem to me appropriate considerations for hard-core-poverty situations:

> Can we, somehow, bring teachers and students together, not through the artificial sieve of certification and examination but on the basis of their common attraction to an exciting social goal? Can we solve the old educational problem of teaching children crucial values, while avoiding a blanket imposition of the teacher's ideas? Can this be done by honestly accepting as an educational goal that we want better human beings in the rising generation than we had in the last, and that this requires a forthright declaration that the educational process cherishes equality, justice, compassion and world brotherhood? Is it not possible to create a hunger for those goals through the fiercest argument about whether or not they are worthwhile? And cannot the schools have a running, no-ideas-barred exchange of views about alternative ways to those goals?

> Is there, in the floating, prosperous, nervous American social order of the sixties, a national equivalent to the excitement of the civil rights movement, one strong enough in its pull to create a motivation for learning that even the enticements of monetary success cannot match? Would it be possible to declare boldly that the aim of the schools is to find solutions for poverty, for injustice, for race and national hatred, and to turn all educational efforts into a national striving for those solutions?[10]

More observers are challenging the orthodoxy of present school systems. Paul Goodman can be counted among these. He claims the "orthodox school's alien style, banning of spontaneous interest, extrinsic rewards and punishments..." prevents learning. In fact, he states, "in many underprivileged schools, the IQ steadily falls the longer they stay in school. Many of the backward readers might have had a better chance on the streets."

The concept of coeducation is being seriously questioned as desirable in disadvantaged environments. Male insecurity and his compensatory aggressiveness are particular outgrowths of families where the male role as breadwinner is denied because of prejudice or low education. Daniel Levine argues that "boy's basic insecurity is intensified" by being required to compete with physiologically, more mature girls. Boys attempt to impress girls by "demonstrating contempt for the school and its rules... a co-educational class is the perfect forum before which masculine independence can be proved by renouncing, if not subverting, the institution."

Another consequence of male insecurity is to completely avoid and reject artistic interests, sensitivity to abstractions, and "proficiency in the intellectual activities of the school," which are considered "feminine".[12] One researcher suggests that schools are run too much by women. Dr. Patricia C. Paxton of the New York University School of Education thinks boys from low-income homes fail "to identify learning and school success with male behavior."[13]

There are still more problems which show our lack of adaptation of schooling systems to the needs of our nation. We must leave them now, however, and proceed to discuss some of the problems from the individual's point of view. Some have been exposed implicitly already, of course.

What Education Is Relevant to the Needs of the Poor?

One personal educational need of the poor stands out, and that is the intellectual skill to gain power. The poor person simply needs power to influence the decisions which affect his well-being. The Woodlawn

Organization in Chicago may illustrate some means to this end. Charles E. Silberman comments that "in the last analysis... Negro children will be able to climb out of the slums en masse only if they see their parents doing the same--only if adults of the community are involved in action on their own behalf."[14]

This suggests a delicate consortia involving outside help in a way which protects the poor people's right to decide how help will be used instead of "being administered to like children."

The important consideration is the manner in which programs are used to achieve an increase in the dignity of man. The Norfolk State College Experiment in Training the Hard-Core Unemployed illustrates some of the problems and some useful approaches. With a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Norfolk State College attempted to learn whether those in hard-core poverty areas could be trained and given employable skills. A poignant illustration of one difficulty encountered is told by Lyman B. Brooks.[15] After the project was set up, the state employment service and NSC began a recruitment program. The project was widely publicized in newspapers, radio, television. A very favorable climate was created on the part of the literate public. But the response was small--there was no increase in applicants. The project leaders then trained local ministers to go into the neighborhoods to seek those in need of training. One project director "went into a deprived community to talk with a man who had been referred to him as a natural leader among this group. The project director could not find the leader and no one knew him. Undaunted, he returned--later, less pretentiously dressed, and this time found and talked to the leader. It was the same person with whom he had talked a few days before. This man had denied knowing himself!"[15] Thus, man's dignity causes him to behave unexpectedly when he is perhaps debt-ridden, disillusioned, and fearful.

The experiment did prove that man can learn new occupational skills. One problem to overcome in this experiment was to increase the training allowance from $25 per week to $43 for a family of 2 and to $63 for a family of 12.

The risk of going to school and the feeling that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks" has to be overcome. This feeling of "I am too old to start over again"[16] is one of three most frequently mentioned reasons why poor people do not respond to training programs offered.

We perhaps know the least about these sociopsychological problems. As for the economic aspects of the problem, we are a bit better off research-wise.

Much of the reason why many youth drop out of school can no doubt be attributed to costs of schooling. You are perhaps familiar with the work done by Schultz showing that as a cost of education the "earnings foregone"

while attending school became proportionately higher as youth near high school age.[17] Many students of high ability think college is out of the question for them, and that they are "poor" when annual costs reach $2,000 or higher. One sees this in Schultz's report that, in 1963, 11 per cent of the labor force had four years of college, an investment representing $21,000 at 1956 prices.[18]

Other costs of higher education such as clothing, travel, grooming, books, and supplies are mounting. The mean expenditures for these items per student in 1963-64 were $1,480 for public institutions and $2,240 for private institutions.[19]

There may be some financial hardship involved also for poor people in attending "free" public elementary and secondary schools. Some costs of schooling are not born by the public funds and require cash for such things as school lunch; fees for laboratories, gymnasium, special classes and activities; textbooks, paper, pencils, and art supplies; supplementary paperback books, school-year and summer subscriptions to magazines; field trips, bus transportation to and from school; school pictures, locker rentals, fees for physical education, rentals of uniforms and robes, extra-curricular activities, etc.

These costs have not been calculated--but as Jean M. Flannigan states, "If these costs amount to two dollars per week per pupil, they are highly regressive and are more apt to occur in areas hard-pressed for public funds."[20] It is noted that in a study of the dropout rate in New York, the reason most often given for voluntary withdrawal from school was for employment (31%), and enlistment (31%) which may be considered a form of "accepted employment." But these economic factors are closely associated with sociopsychological factors. It is impossible to specify a particular reason for withdrawal except for girls who must withdraw to marry. Counselors could predict dropouts by their "dislike of school," "poor work," and "wanting income" attitudes.[21]

A careful analysis of the present situation in America reveals multiple sets of paradoxes. Why should our society possess collective achievements and collective failures existing side by side: automation and unemployment; communication satellites and ghettoes; and atomic-powered submarines and Appalachia?

Posing another paradox, why should the political agenda have focused so earnestly upon the problems of poverty when the research and education enterprises of the land-grant university have not? These intellectual centers are supposed to be highly sensitive to the developmental needs of society. This is partly due, perhaps, to the lack of an internal mechanism which carries out an intelligence function to currently estimate the "enemy" capability as well as our own capability for defeating him. Our enemy, in this case, is ignorance of one kind or another which impedes freedom of opportunity and justice.

If there is a concluding generalization which can sum up where we stand as a nation confronted with a conglomerate of problems of education and poverty, it is this:

We are in real need of innovation in our social and political systems--especially with respect to providing a more diversified range of educational opportunities to people. We need to get on a much different planning and conceptual horizon than we are traditionally used to. To get these innovations will require intensified research--not more of the same variety, but putting in place the intellectual inputs essential for social invention. We have mastered this art with regard to new technology. Without it, our forward movement will be slow and expensive, and very often fruitless, but it might be greatly benefited and progress accelerated if our great universities in the land-grant system would pay at least as much attention to the welfare of humans as is now paid to animals and other physical resources.

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[1]See the following for specifying particular conditions and magnitudes of the problem:

a. Dwight Macdonald, "Our Invisible Poor." Number 23 in the Sidney Hillman Reprint Series (New York: Sidney Hillman Foundation).

b. Robert J. Lampman, "One-Fifth of a Nation." Challenge (April 1964), p. 11.

c. "Distressed Areas in a Growing Economy," a statement on national policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development (June 1961).

d. "Poverty in Rural Areas of the United States," Agricultural Economic Report No. 63. Economic Research Service (Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture).

e. "The Poor Among Us--Challenge and Opportunity," Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 362 (New York: Public Affairs Pamphlets).

f. "Poverty Drive: War or Window Dressing?." American Child (New York: National Committee on Employment).

g. "Developing Human Resources for Economic Growth." Joint publication of the Farm Foundation, National Committee on Agricultural Policy, Agricultural Policy Institute, North Carolina State College, and CAED, Iowa State University.

[2]Midge Decter, "The Negro and the New York Schools." Commentary (September 1964), p. 34.

[3]Ibid., p. 27.

[4]T. W. Schultz, "Underinvestment in the Quality of Schooling: The Rural Farm Areas," Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies (1964), Farm Foundation, pp. 12-34.

[5]Betty Jean Brannon, "Training for Work with Low-Income Groups," Extension Service Review (December 1964).

[6]Even 5 per cent may be too extreme a prospect. The amount already spent per person for food falls below the estimated costs of the USDA emergency food plan, at January 1961 prices. See Emma G. Holmes, "Spending Patterns of Low-Income Families." Speech at 42nd Annual Outlook Conference, Washington, D. C. (November 17, 1964).

[7]Letters from Readers, Commentary (February 1965), p. 14.

[8]Ibid., p. 14.

[9]A very telling argument is presented by Vincent C. Dipasquale in his article, "The Relation Between Dropouts and the Graded School," Phi Delta Kappan (November 1964), pp. 129-133. Besides the great cost in human failure the financial waste is enormous. He states:

> From numerous studies, we can estimate that in 1963-64 at least one million children were required to repeat a grade in order to "catch up." The average cost of educating each child for the same year was $455. The failure therefore cost the nation approximately 455 million dollars, or an amount greater by 155 million dollars than the cost of operating Chicago's public schools for the same year.
>
> This sum spent on failure might have financed the following five-point program:
>
> 1. The establishment and support of 50,000 nursery school units.
> 2. The employment of 10,000 additional classroom teachers to help decrease class size.
> 3. The addition of 7,000 teacher aids in order to release teachers for exclusively professional services.
> 4. The addition of 4,000 specialists to increase medical, dental, psychological, and psychiatric services.
> 5. The establishment of free lunch programs for all children.
>
> This program would constitute a major frontal attack on the dropout problem, which begins basically before the child starts school and is

abetted by overcrowded classes, unrealistic graded expectations, and inadequate specialized services. Points 1 and 5 are suggested by the dire need of a large segment of our youth. Their plight stems from poverty and social disorganization in our adult population, from the distressed and blighted regions of Appalachia to the scarred and crime-infested neighborhoods in the inner city.

[10] Howard Zinn, "Education Without Schools in the South," Current (January 1965), pp. 51-53.

[11] Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-Education (New York: Horizon Press, Inc., 1964).

[12] Daniel Levine, "Co-education--A Contributing Factor in Miseducation of the Disadvantaged," Phi Delta Kappan (November 1964), pp. 126-128.

[13] Ibid., p. 133.

[14] Charles E. Silberman, "Should the Poor Organize," Current (December 1964), p. 45.

[15] Lyman B. Brooks, "The Norfolk State College Experiment in Training Hard-Core Unemployed," Phi Delta Kappan (November 1964), pp. 113-114.

[16] W. W. McPherson, "Programs to Alleviate Rural Poverty--What Will Work," Rural America Looks to the Future, API, North Carolina State College, and CAED, Iowa State University, p. 55.

[17] Theodore W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

[18] ______________________, "Investment in Human and Material Progress," Challenge (June 1964), p. 22.

[19] Paul K. Nance, "Costs of Higher Education." Talk at 42nd Annual Outlook Conference, Washington, D. C. (November 18, 1964), p. 6.

[20] Jean M. Flannigan, "Costs of Elementary and Secondary Education." Talk at 42nd Annual Agricultural Outlook Conference, Washington, D. C. (November 18, 1964), p. 6.

[21] Reducing the School Dropout Rate--A Report on the Holding Power Project. The University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Bureau of Guidance, Albany (1963).

REACTION TO PRESENTATION OF WILLIAM G. STUCKY

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First of all, let me congratulate Dr. Stucky on his very excellent paper. I am particularly impressed by the emphasis on treating the cause rather than the result--his focus on where the responsibility for the high incidence of poverty lies rather than on treatment of its symptoms. We have too long been expending our resources in treating symptoms without satisfactory results. We achieve relief rather than cure.

Dr. Stucky also places emphasis on the prime objective: to bring about an increase in the earning capacity of the family when incomes are at very low levels, with implications relating to the development of basic and saleable skills. However, this is not to the exclusion of psychological and sociological implications, for the two are closely associated.

In analyzing Dr. Stucky's paper, two different questions are raised in my mind:

1. What can home economics educators do for the low-income family?

2. What are the implications of working with low-income families for teacher educators?

In the past, one of the primary reasons for placing an undue amount of attention on physical resources at the expense of human welfare has been the imbalance of funds appropriated for work in the latter area. Presently this circumstance has changed and recognition of the importance of the well-being of humans is evidenced by the appropriation of funds to this end.

Today, educational agencies have many opportunities for working with the problems of poverty through such enabling Congressional Acts as the National Defense Education Act, Manpower Development and Training Act, Area Redevelopment Act, and Vocational Education Act of 1963, as well as Public Law 88-452, and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

What Does This Mean for the Home Economist?

We must not lose sight of the fact that the majority of families in this country are middle-class families, and we must continue high quality program offerings to this group as in the past. However, we must recognize that we also have a responsibility to work with the hundreds of thousands of families that are not so fortunate.

A major goal of home economics has long been to prepare youth and adults for responsibilities and activities involved in homemaking and in achieving family well-being. This continues to be a major goal, but new emphases and methods of instruction become necessary as society changes and as we work with different segments of society. The contribution that home economists can make to low-income families is twofold:

1. We can carry on educational programs to promote more satisfying family life.

2. We can inspire self-confidence by providing opportunity for acquiring basic and saleable skills.

Provision for family-life education is made particularly in two sections of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964:

1. Title I--Youth Programs, Part A--Job Corps[1]

2. Title II--Urban and Rural Community Action Programs[2]

The Job Corps is a national voluntary program that will give poor youngsters a chance to help themselves. Young people from the ages of 16 through 21 who are largely unemployable or unable to move ahead because they lack education and job skills are to be placed in Job Corps Centers where they can develop skills and self-confidence. The youngsters will have been carefully screened and must be willing to work hard to improve themselves.

Some Centers will be unused federal government facilities near metropolitan areas. The Centers will provide a new educational approach and a residential environment which, together, offer a total learning experience tailored to develop new habits and attitudes. Young men and women will receive basic education, skill training, and sound work experience.

In Centers for women, young women will be trained in family responsibilities in addition to basic education, vocational training, and work experience. They will be taught how to establish a stable home atmosphere and to rear emotionally and physically healthy children. They will learn about managing money, caring for the home, buying food and clothing, and good health habits.

Community action programs will vary as the need of the people vary in different parts of the nation. The programs must be part of a total effort to help people escape poverty, not to make it more bearable. Here are illustrations of a few activities home economists participate in as a part of a community action program:

1. Establishing programs for the benefit of preschool children

2. Improving the living conditions of the elderly

3. Providing community child-care centers and youth activity centers

4. Improving housing and living facilities and home management skills[2]

Home Economists Have Responsibility for Training for Wage-Earning

Now, let us consider the second contribution that home economists can make to low-income families: inspiring self-confidence by providing opportunity for acquiring basic and salable skills. Home economists need to assume to a greater extent than they have in the past the responsibility for training for wage-earning. In addition, community agencies find it necessary to secure assistance in caring for family members or in providing other services that contribute to more satisfactory family life.

We can train for a number of occupations based on home economics knowledge and skills which also provide a service to families within a community setting or within the home. The professional services section of the Manpower Development and Training Program has identified nine such occupations and has developed suggested resource materials from which to develop a training program that will meet the needs of a particular group of trainees. They are as follows:

A. Community-Focused Occupations Which Use Home Economics Knowledge and Skills

1. Child Day-Care Center Worker
2. Management Aide in Low-Rent Public Housing Projects
3. The Visiting Homemaker
4. Hotel and Motel Housekeeping Aide
5. The Supervised Food Service Worker

B. Home-Focused Occupations Which Use Home Economics Knowledge and Skills

1. Clothing Maintenance Specialist
2. Companion to an Elderly Person
3. Family Dinner Service Specialist
4. The Homemaker's Assistant[3]

Outcomes of training programs such as child day-care center workers may be twofold: workers for day-care centers are provided on the one hand, and centers provide care for children, thus enabling mothers to seek training and employment on the other.

These are only a few of the possible kinds of training programs for gainful employment in home economics.

Dr. Stucky further suggests that schooling systems are needed which are not schools in the traditional sense. We must take the training and education opportunities to those needing them on their home grounds rather than try to transplant these people to a new and strange and forbidding environment. We must not continue to reject the disadvantaged by failing to plan curriculums and provide materials which meet their needs and capacities. We need to learn to help these students develop standards, values, and habits which lead to responsible and mature adulthood.

Working with other agency representatives, such as social workers, is another means of meeting low-income groups on their own grounds. These workers have already established rapport, and a prospective student is much more receptive to the idea of training programs when he is referred by someone he knows and trusts.

This leads, then, to my second question: What are the implications of working with low-income families for teacher education?

First, as indicated by Barbara Kemp in her paper, "The Youth We Haven't Served; A Challenge to Vocational Education,"[4] in-service courses should be provided on human relations which all teachers, counselors, and administrative personnel are required to attend. Such courses should include subject matter on the cultural background of the low-income families in the community: race relations, critical problems of youth, juvenile delinquency, and information about community social service agencies. Such courses might be encouraged as part of the regular teacher training programs, and required as part of the work which is undertaken in the renewal of certification. We need to redirect our teacher education programs to provide the kind of teacher described by Kemp in the same paper. She outlines qualities of teachers of socioeconomically handicapped as follows:

> For teachers of the disadvantaged, proficiency, a keen grasp of subject matter, and a desire to help young people are not sufficient. They must also have empathy with, and understanding of, their students. If they are to do an effective job, they need to have:
>
> Competence in the subject matter and work skills in the field of specialization.

Interest in working with young people who have special problems.

Ability to reinforce the slow learner and to refrain from responding only to those students who respond to them.

Ability to seek and find additional techniques to enable them to communicate with all students.

Skill in presenting goals to the students and in helping them to meet challenges.

Ability to measure students by their individual achievements without lowering standards for the class.

Special training or knowledge for work with the disadvantaged, including an understanding of their way of life.

Ability to work with other school personnel to maximize the effectiveness of their work.

Willingness to use instructional materials geared to the understanding ability of some of their students and patience to work with the slower learner.

Skill in working with students to build up their self-concept, in seeking hidden strengths, abilities, and creativities, and in helping to channel these into a productive direction.

A third implication for teacher education is the ever present need for research on the problems of poverty and experimentation with methods for their solution.[5]

This, of course, immediately suggests the final point--mobilization of scarce professional resources. We do have more funds available than in the past, but how will we provide enough home economists to do the job?

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[1] "The War on Poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964." A compilation of materials relevant to S. 2642 prepared for the select subcommittee on poverty of the committee on labor and public welfare, United States Senate (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 7.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] Listed inside back cover of "Management Aide in Low-Rent Public Housing Projects," and other training guides in the series. U. S. Department

of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. Price 20 cents. The job analyses and job descriptions used in the suggested training programs were prepared for inclusion in the revised edition of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (on press), issued by the U.S. Department of Labor.

[4]Barbara Kemp, "The Youth We Haven't Served: A Challenge to Vocational Education." Booklet prepared by Miss Kemp, consultant to the Division of Vocational and Technical Education in cooperation with a Division Advisory Committee, and distributed to state directors of Vocational Education. (January 1965), p. 12.

[5]Ibid., p. 12.

ERIC

POVERTY AND WELFARE

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I am delighted that the American Home Economics Association has planned this workshop on poverty. The War on Poverty has picked up some new recruits now that it has been popularized by the President of the United States, and there is a consequent availability of new federal dollars. I know, however, that the Association is not a recent recruit in this War, that it enlisted many years ago, and that home economists have been working on the problems of poverty without ceasing at least since the Depression years of the 1930s. They have been involved in drafting standards of assistance for public aid programs, in building various budget standards by which society may measure relative well-being, and they have enlisted in numerous efforts designed to assist poor families to learn better home management practices.

The Problem of Poverty

The problem of poverty has many dimensions: monetary, social, political, geographical, and cultural. Its monetary dimensions may be simply stated. Some 35 million persons in over nine million families have annual incomes below the $3,000 which has been selected as the cutoff point between poverty and nonpoverty. This is about one-fifth of all families in the United States, and about the same proportion of the total population. It will be noted that considerable progress has been made since Franklin Delano Roosevelt referred to the one-third of our nation that was "ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed." As a matter of fact, using the standard of $3,000 in 1963 dollars, the per cent of families in poverty has declined from 32 per cent in 1947 to 20 per cent in 1963.

The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that the "poverty gap" is about 12 billion dollars-- that is, the amount of money it would take to bring the annual income of these nine million families up over the poverty line of $3,000. It would be a relatively simple matter to do this, and the

Council mentions one possible device: the negative income tax. There are others: family allowances, improved standards of public assistance, increasing benefit levels of social insurance, higher minimum wage, rates, etc.

It is imperative, of course, that some combination of these devices be used if we are to eliminate poverty. It would be a mistake, however, to view poverty in fiscal terms alone. Even cursory examination of the profile of the people in poverty reveals some serious social problems that cry out for corrective action. Although not accounting for all of the poverty in the United States, it is a fact that the population groups most vulnerable to poverty are the aged, children, school dropouts, the sick, families headed by women, and the nonwhites. It is obvious, of course, that many of the poor families fall into two or even all of the above named categories.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume, as some do, that all poverty is caused by these and related social problems. Possibly the best way to put the problem in proper perspective is to quote from the January 1965 issue of the Social Security Bulletin. In an article entitled "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Mollie Orshansky says:

> The population groups most vulnerable to the risk of inadequate income have long been identified and of late much publicized, but they make up only a small part of all the Nation's poor.
>
> Families headed by a woman are subject to a risk of poverty three times that of units headed by a man, but they represent only a fourth of all persons in families classed as poor. Indeed, almost three-fourths of the poor families have a man as the head.
>
> Children growing up without a father must get along on less than they need far more often than children living with both parents. In fact, two-thirds of them are in families with inadequate income. But two-thirds of all the children in the families called poor do live in a home with a man at the head.
>
> Many of our aged have inadequate incomes, but almost four-fifths of the poor families have someone under age 65 at the head. Even among persons who live alone, as do so many aged women, nearly half of all individuals classified as poor have not yet reached old age.
>
> Non-white families suffer a poverty risk three times as great as white families, but seven out of ten poor families are white.

And finally, in our work-oriented society, those who cannot or do not work must expect to be poorer than those who do. Yet more than half of all poor families report that the head currently has a job. Moreover, half of these employed family heads, representing almost 30 per cent of all the families called poor, have been holding down a full-time job for a whole year. In fact, of the 7.2 million poor families in 1963, 1 in every 6 (1.3 million) is the family of a white male worker who worked full time throughout the year. Yet this is the kind of family that in our present society has the best chance of escaping poverty.

All told, of the 15 million children under age 18 counted as poor, about five and three-fourths million were in the family of a man or woman who had a full-time job all during 1963.

Social Welfare Programs and Poverty

A large number of public and private programs have important roles in alleviating or preventing poverty. There is not time to discuss -- or even to enumerate them all, but they include OASDI (Old Age, Survivors' and Disability Insurance); unemployment compensation; Workman's compensation; Railroad Retirement and federal employees' retirement; Veterans' benefits and pensions; public assistance; private pension plans and individual annuities; private health and welfare and retirement programs; mental health programs; and such programs as child welfare, vocational rehabilitation, public housing, the farm price supports, and, of course, the newly established programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Some of these programs are already gargantuan, but insufficient to eliminate poverty. The public welfare programs alone spent some 47 billion dollars in 1963 and 1964, and that does not include the 24 billion dollars spent on education. It includes:

$17.0 billion for OASDI
5.6 billion for public assistance
5.7 billion for Veterans' benefits and services
3.3 billion for unemployment compensation
6.0 billion for health and medical programs
2.3 billion for other welfare programs including vocational rehabilitation, child welfare, and mental health.

These dollar amounts seem large in the aggregate. However, it should be noted that individual payments are quite meager. The average

monthly OASDI benefit for a retired worker was only $77.45 in September 1964; and in October 1964, the average weekly benefit in unemployment compensation was $35.92 for total unemployment.

Public Assistance

Public assistance is a classic example of how not to help people out of poverty. This country now maintains over eight million individuals in bone-grinding poverty on its public assistance rolls. Why the country continues to utilize this cruel and punitive device for aiding so many people, I do not understand. We have other generally acknowledged superior and more acceptable methods, but we continue to use public assistance to punish millions of our impoverished citizens. Some people even think we should use the hated and oppressive means test as a basis for providing medical care for the aged, rather than enabling the aged to pay for it through social insurance.

The means test is an appealing device through which it is believed that the public can provide families with income and services: (1) only if they need them, and (2) in accordance with their needs. Unfortunately, the application of the means test requires a searching and continuous investigation of each family in order to ascertain needs and income and resources to meet such needs. Following are some of the negative and destructive effects of the means test:

1. Recipients have to prove need: i.e., their own inadequacy as members of society. They are required to prove this inadequacy over and over again so long as they remain on the assistance rolls.

2. Any income or earnings of members of the family must be deducted from the assistance allowance, thereby discouraging initiative and independence.

3. The public's attitude toward means test programs and the beneficiaries is negative, suspicious, and critical. This leads to periodic probes, alleged scandals, vituperative headlines, night raiders, and further restrictive legislation. This results in episodic, often continuous, harassment of the recipient and his relatives.

4. Assistance payments remain inadequate by any standard, in part a consequence of the public's negative attitude toward the program. Standards of assistance are determined by each state for the four federally aided categories and by the local governments in general assistance. Naturally the standards employed vary widely from state to state, but in addition most states employ a statutory maximum on the payment, regardless of the need, as measured by an acknowledged inadequate standard. Still other states employ other devices for

keeping the payments low--for example, delaying pricing of foods and other items and stating ceilings on rents--by administratively determining that only a percentage of the budgeted need will be met, or by not including some members of the household.

The average AFDC (aid for dependent children) family of four has a total income of about $140 per month, about $1,680 per year, or just 56 per cent of the $3,000 required to place it out of poverty. That was the national average! And it included all other income as well as AFDC! In no state did total income average as much as $2400 per year. In five states it was under $1200, and in one it was only $750. This last is only two dollars per day for a family of four.

Estimates of unmet need in the AFDC case load of over one million families (with over three million children) vary according to the standard of living used as the measure. According to one standard developed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (living costs equal three times the cost of food), the unmet need in this one program amounts to $700 million annually, or about $700 per family.

5. In most states, the means test is extended to a more or less wide circle of relatives of the needy person including parents, children, siblings, grandparents, grandchildren, and others. This not only results in widening the circle of persons harassed, but often penalizes the poor person by deducting from his budget whatever the relative is believed able to contribute and leaving it to the already humiliated poor person to collect this money from the relatives.

6. Finally, this program is needlessly involved, difficult, and costly to administer. The constant search and investigation required to gather and verify all relevant facts is time-consuming, and places the emphasis on the wrong things: gathering facts, rather than on services which might enable the poor person to be more comfortable or even to become self-supporting.

It is my belief that the means test, as administered in public assistance today, creates and aggravates many of the problems it is designed to solve: dependency, frustration, and defeatism.

Improvements in Social Welfare Income Maintenance Programs

Certain recommendations seem to flow naturally from what has been said. I suggest the following changes in these income maintenance programs:

1. Greatly reduced reliance on public assistance (if not its elimination) as a measure utilized by society in meeting needs of impoverished families

2. Greater reliance upon other, more effective and less destructive, methods such as social insurance, family allowances, pensions, and public work

3. Institution of a social insurance program covering loss of income because of illness and the consequent costs of medical care

4. Improvement of the benefit structures of these programs so that the beneficiaries will not have to subsist in poverty

Needs Beyond Money

As was suggested earlier, important as money is to the poor, there are problems of personality, family breakdown, lack of education and work skills, racial discrimination, and personal inadequacy which money will not solve. Here, what is required are direct services designed to:

1. Train a person for a job that needs doing

2. Help him through professional counselling with the immobilizing personal or family problems that hold him back

3. Effect measures to eliminate racial discrimination in the job market, the schools, and other vital social institutions

4. Utilize essential legal services to assist him to avoid or to extricate himself from legal entanglements concerning such matters as installment purchasing, cash loans, landlord-tenant responsibilities, garnishments, and liability suits

5. Tender advice and help with family planning so that the family can be planned as to size and spacing of children to fit the family's income and other social needs

6. Administer such supplementary family aids as foster care, homemaker service, and day care when needed by the family, and

7. Advise and help with household management, purchase and care of food and clothing, and the preparation of food.

It is well known, of course, that qualified personnel to provide these services is in very short supply. Steps must be taken to insure a more adequate supply of skilled manpower, so that these services will be available when needed.

How Home Economists Can Assist

I must not close without indicating some specific ways in which home economists could help alleviate some of these problems:

You could help produce more realistic and useful standards to measure a content of living that is both nutritionally and socially sound and acceptable. I hope that such standards would permit poor families to include in their diets such foods as meat, orange juice, and fresh milk, even though their dietary equivalents can be obtained from cheaper sources. When all America consumes orange juice and fresh milk and enjoys television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books, it is socially unacceptable to deny these items to the poor.

You could insist that state and local public assistance officials price items in the relief budget more frequently, so that these standards will reflect increases in the cost of living. Sometimes this re-pricing is delayed for years.

You could and should take more leadership in telling public aid officials and the public what the consequences will be of continued inadequate diets permitted by substandard relief budgets. I am suggesting here a more active role in education and social action. Above all, do not permit your names and prestige to be used in support of budget cutting, as happened in Illinois two years ago.

Finally, you have a grand opportunity to help organize and conduct programs designed to teach housekeeping through home management, including the purchase, storage, and preparation of food for poor families. Perhaps what is needed is an extension of the home demonstration work to the urban slums.

REACTION TO PRESENTATION OF ALTON A. LINFORD

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As a home economist enlisted in the War against Poverty, I was gratified that Dr. Linford outlined in his introduction the activities of our group during the years. We drafted standards of assistance for public welfare agencies. Later we did this for people in other income classifications, and we sought ways to have our recommendations implemented to help people improve family life and management practices. Looking back,

there were countless hours of frustration and soul-searching, constant re-evaluation, and refinement of our techniques toward reaching realistic standards. We have come a long way, but there is still a journey ahead of us. Maybe the next part of the trip will be less arduous.

Home economists make up a profession which offers many avenues of opportunity. Some choose teaching, others extension work, business or institutional management and dietetics, and a relatively small number are in health and welfare. Regardless of our choice of area of concentration, one element is common to all: we teach. Those in schools at various levels and in extension are directly involved as teachers. Those in the other areas also teach. For example, those in industry through testing, research, and publication of the findings of the technological advances which make for better living, product improvement, and labor-saving devices; those in institutional management through the establishment of high standards of food preparation and service; and those in health and welfare through in-service training and consultation with nurses, social workers, and other professionals to add to knowledge and skill to enrich services to families. Direct service is given to clients as indicated and whenever possible. For us in health and welfare, it has been a long uphill climb, with the top only now coming into view.

Colleagues in other areas of home economics are not becoming active in services to low-income families. We in health and welfare welcome the opportunity to work cooperatively with the entire profession--cooperation which is essential if we are to fulfill our responsibility for the Great Society.

More Than One Minimum Level of Living

In a thought-provoking paper given at the National Conference on Social Welfare in Los Angeles last May, Gertrude Lotwin, Home Economics Consultant for the New Jersey State Division of Public Welfare, stated:

> Public assistance is comprised of those programs which extend to individuals and family units the legal opportunity to receive, when their own resources are inadequate, financial assistance sufficient to enable them to purchase a minimum standard of living compatible with health and decency.... Consider that we have more than 50 definitions for this n[illegible]ious level of living... in some states there is more than one [illegible]mum level of living for health and decency.

Realistic, useful, standard budgets are vital if we are to assess what Dr. Linford calls "a content of living that is... socially sound and acceptable." The remarks of Arnold E. Chase at the 22nd Interstate Conference on Labor Statistics, at Miami Beach, Florida, June 16 to 19,

1964, were summarized in a recent Bureau of Labor Statistics publication titled, "Consumer Expenditures and Income, with Emphasis on Low-Income Families." I quote the final section:

> In most discussions on identification of families living in poverty, the basic need for standards to measure income adequacy for various types and sizes of families living in different locations comes to the fore. The standard budget techniques are ideally suited to meet this need, especially if they were structured as recommended by the BLS Standard Budgets Advisory Committee. Unfortunately, the Bureau has not received funds to implement these recommendations, and no such funds are in sight. The 1959 Budgets for a 4-Person City Worker's Family and for a Retired Couple, besides being out of date, would have to be scaled down from the "modest but adequate" level to a lower standard for this purpose. A sound current basis for measurement of income adequacy can be provided only by developing new standard budgets using data from the 1960-61 Expenditures Survey and other recent data. The Bureau, therefore, cannot assist materially in providing such a measure until this work has been done.1

Every effort should be made to correct the inequities in public assistance, as described by Miss Lotwin. The lack of funds to develop new standard budgets for low-income families by the Bureau of Labor Statistics is of grave and urgent concern to all who work with families. Immediate action should be taken to have these budgets made available.

In the remarks of Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at the annual meeting of the American Home Economics Association in June 1964, in Detroit, Michigan, she said, "Seventeen states now have full-time home economists on their staffs." That leaves 33 states without home economists! When the facts are that one state has an average grant of $9.87 per AFDC (aid for dependent children) child per month, and another $50.10, it is not difficult to understand the need for home economists at the state level. We must urge that the authorities of those states which do not have home economists realize the need to re-examine their standards and take the necessary action to provide, and again I quote Dr. Linford. "a content of living that is... socially sound and acceptable."

Coordination of Private and Public Agencies

The current campaign to combat poverty is now the focus of attention. Dr. Linford has given us the figures of the huge sum of public funds which break down to rather meager individual grants. It is important

that the programs of private as well as public agencies be coordinated in a total effort. A beginning has been made and we applaud Dr. Linford's recommendation that home economists inform themselves of their state and local public assistance programs and speak out against standards which punish the poor with less than enough to live on in decency and in dignity.

Recognizing that the "means test" is only as valid as the ability of the individual worker to be objective and equitable, home economists in social agencies have been working tirelessly over the years toward simplification in policies and methods pertaining to family budgeting. We agree that the means test frequently robs individuals and families of self-respect, but realize that the community has been neither ready nor willing to rid itself of these methods. Many home economists have constantly pressed for a more liberal and equitable measure of need.

It is important to keep in mind that home economists in public and voluntary welfare agencies have always taken a leading role in pointing up the damaging effects of inadequate standards of assistance upon the health and well-being of families. They have pointed out the futility of services to clients who are hungry; to children who do not know what a comfortable night's rest is; to families who live in crowded, dilapidated housing. It is significant to note that social research agencies employ the services of home economists to identify the desperate levels of living being provided by public assistance programs and the resultant deleterious effects upon human life.

The March 5, 1965, issue of "Better Times," publication of the Community Council of Greater New York, reported that New York City Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson, has called for sweeping reform of national welfare legislation. He plans to present his proposals before a meeting of the Legislative Policy Committee of the American Public Welfare Association, of which he is first vice-president.

Among the eight proposals are several which are of more than passing interest to home economists. He calls for a single system of public welfare aid under which states, directly or in cooperation with local governments, would administer all welfare aid programs on the basis of meeting human needs adequately without categorizing people.

Commissioner Dumpson also calls for states to establish comprehensive welfare services, guaranteeing an adequate minimum budget geared to the cost of living in each state, and permitting employed persons to keep at least $50 a month as an incentive to seek and retain employment.

Among other proposals, he also calls for abolition of legal obligations of relatives other than spouses for spouses, and parents for minor children.

Commissioner Dumpson may have stolen some of our thunder, but we still have responsibility for creating some rumblings of our own:

1. Now is the time to arrive at a basic minimum standard for assistance, implemented in accordance with regional variations.

2. The interpretation and correct use of this material is the responsibility of home economists who are cognizant of the needs of those served by an agency.

3. Any work home economists do in the programs set up to help low-income families depends upon the sound data provided by the agency best equipped to give it: the Bureau of Labor Statistics. We must urge the restoration of the funds necessary to bring the City Worker's Family Budget and related standards up to date.

4. Home economists have the opportunity now to repudiate the concept of those who are satisfied that the poor have more money to spend than ever before.

I cannot close without telling about an incident which occurred last fall, just after I received the invitation to participate in this meeting. I I was discussing the invitation with an executive of a social agency and he asked facetiously if I had already prepared my paper. When I looked surprised, he said all I had to do is state how excellent all the reports are, as they have been for the past 30 years! I know that his attitude is due to his many years of frustration because of the continuous lag between recommendations and the actual meeting of the social and financial needs of the low-income group. However, I am sure that we who have also been frustrated do not share his view. We know that these things had to be said again and again.

With the concerted effort being put forth at this time, and the "new recruits" to whom Dr. Linford referred, we plan to scrutinize our methods and be bold and inventive in developing new ones. We will join forces and win more battles in this war.

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[1] "Consumer Expenditures and Income, with Emphasis on Low-Income Families," Survey of Consumer Expenditures, 1960-61, BLS Report No. 238-6, (July 1964), Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor.

SOME CHALLENGES OF CONTEMPORARY HEALTH NEEDS

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All people in any community share needs for protection and furtherance of general health, but in the course of human growth and development there are occasions of special risk and special opportunity which offer challenge to those who want to be helpful. These occasions are crisis periods when prompt service may avert disaster and convert a difficult situation into an opportunity for lasting benefit.

Childbearing is an example of a situation in which appropriate care may prevent untimely death or lifelong disability, and may simultaneously serve to move an entire family forward to new levels of healthier living. In both the home economics and health fields, we are interested in these challenges that present the double potential of solving an immediate problem, and moving forward positively to something wholesome, healthy, and lasting. Holding this positive concept of health, let us consider some special health situations of people living in poverty.

Population Picture

The population of the United States has doubled in the past 50 years, and last October (October 1, 1964) it numbered almost 193 million.[1] All of these 193 million people have general health needs, but some have additional needs, especially the aged and the young. Today, 1 out of 11 persons has passed his 65th birthday.[2] The proportion of this older group to the total population has more than doubled since 1900. An even more striking situation exists among the young--40 per cent of our nation's people are children and youth under 19 years of age, and one-half of net population growth between 1963 and 1964 occurred in the school age group (5 to 19). Thus, the major recent population increases are in the age groups where dependency occurs more frequently than in the groups between 20 and 65 years of age, which are economically the principal productive years.

From the health standpoint, then, you have the needs of an unprecedentedly large population, among which two especially enlarging groups are the aged and the young, each characterized by high health maintenance and medical care needs, even under comfortable living conditions.

Thinking about this in terms of poverty where both young and old constitute even larger proportions of the population, one finds conditions notorious for ill health. Poverty tends to be associated with malnutrition, poor housing, poor sanitary facilities (at home and in the community), and often with the crowding together of people already ill. It thus provides situations in which diseases flourish.[3]

But, ill health itself can cause or intensify poverty. Financial burdens exhaust reserves and consume current earnings. Illness prevents, cramps, or destroys employability, and one can watch the resultant economic catastrophe spread through a family as clearly as one sees the spread of disease itself.

Then too, low income is often a deterrent to utilization of health care. Low-income families are often inadequately immunized against preventable disease. They use other preventive medical services less than do high-income families, and do not get a proportionate amount of treatment hospital service. Even when they get such care, it is often of a complex and extended sort for conditions which may have reached a grievous level before receiving attention.

The National Health Survey reports that persons in families with annual incomes below $2,000 have two and one-quarter times as many bed-disability days, one and two-thirds times as many work-loss days, one and one-quarter times as many hospital days, and one and one-tenth times as many school-loss days as persons in families with incomes of $7,000 or more.[4]

It was also found that, in families with an annual income over $7,000, almost 10 per cent of the children in the age group 5 to 14 years have never been to a dentist, whereas among the same age group in families with income under $2,000, the percentage is about six times as high (59.9 per cent).

Incidentally, among families in the under $2,000 income class, only about one out of three persons has hospital insurance coverage as contrasted with seven out of eight in families with incomes of $7,000 or more.[4]

Clues to Health Status

Certain health situations are acknowledged as meaningful clues to the health status of a population. Among them are: maternal and infant

mortality, the complications of childbirth, the status of tuberculosis control, and the level of immunization. These health situations become additionally informative when seen in relation to socioeconomic status.

For example, American Indians suffer from socioeconomic and health problems to a degree that makes them unique among our citizens.[6] The health status of Indians today is comparable to that found in the general population a generation ago,[6] and if we examine the Indian infant death rate, the post-neonatal death rate of 28 days to 11 months of age, the gastritis and enteritis group death rates, and the tuberculosis death rate, we find that those death rates are three to six times higher than the rates for the general population.[6] Poor health, meager education, low income, and wretched living conditions interact to worsen a vicious cycle.

In our nation, about 97 per cent of babies are born in hospitals, and we have seen striking improvements in the infant death rate in the past 50 years during which the rate has fallen 75 per cent--an estimated 100 per 1,000 live births to 25 per 1,000 live births.[7] The national maternal mortality has made an even sharper reduction, going down from nearly 80 maternal deaths per 10,000 live births to four per 10,000 in 1962.

There is, however, no room for complacency, for ten other nations have a better record of infant survival. One out of 40 of our live-born infants does not live to see his first birthday. The most important feature for us to observe in maternal and infant mortality is the wide variability within our national borders. For instance, the state with the highest maternal mortality has eight times the rate of the state with the lowest, and the state with the highest infant mortality has a rate almost two times (1.86) that of the state with the lowest.[7]

The maternal and child health situation is poor in the rural areas. It always has been, but now the situation is growing serious in the cities. Middle-class families have been moving from the city to the suburbs and great numbers of rural people have come to the city. The urban population is increasingly composed of low-income families with a larger proportion of nonwhite than previously, and the newcomers are often far from their old homes and families and the strengths and helps they may once have known.[7]

Although the highest maternal and infant mortality rates earlier in the century were largely concentrated in rural areas, rates have now increased in the cities. In 1960, nine of the ten largest cities had an infant mortality rate higher than the national average.[7]

If we look at maternal and infant mortality in relation to income, we see that infant mortality varies with the resources of the states; and in the third of states where income is lowest, infant mortality is higher than the national average and over one-third higher than that of the group of

states with high per capita incomes. The differences in maternal mortality are even more marked.[7,8,9]

In "Current Problems of Maternity Care,"[10] a paper by Dr. Arthur Lesser, deputy director of the Children's Bureau, there are reports which illustrate why these differences occur. By reading this paper, one can get a picture of the deficits which exist in the maternity care and the consequent high incidence of prematurity.

Prenatal Care for Pregnant Women

Prenatal care is a necessary part of the overall maternity care of childbearing women. It helps healthy women go safely through a healthy pregnancy, and, for women with health problems, it provides timely opportunity to avert catastrophes to mother or child.

One special concern is prematurity. It occurs more frequently in conjunction with inadequate than adequate maternity care, and is not only a factor in high mortality but it predisposes to brain damage and mental retardation.

The Children's Bureau is helping communities mobilize their resources for maternity care for low-income, high-risk maternity patients. To implement the maternity section of Public Law 88-156, Congress has appropriated monies to go to State health departments, or, with their consent, to local health departments "to help reduce the incidence of mental retardation caused by complications associated with childbearing."[11]

Funds may be used "for the provision of necessary health care to prospective mothers (including after childbirth, health care to mothers and their infants) who have, or are likely to have, conditions associated with childbearing which increase the hazards to the health of the mothers or their infants (including those which may cause physical or mental defects in the infants) and whom the state or local health agency determines will not receive necessary health care because they are from low-income families or for other reasons beyond their control," and may be spent to develop, strengthen, and maintain high quality, complete maternity services. These services can include hospitalization, medical care--especially obstetrics and pediatrics--other appropriate maternity services, laboratory work, nursing, social work, nutrition, and other indicated paramedical services.[11]

Selected communities or neighborhoods are places of recognized igh risk and include some rural areas as well as a number of large cities. It is hoped that Children's Bureau assistance will enable these localities to augment existing services and make better use of the services they already have.[11]

This activity was stimulated by the report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation. It was reasoned that since prematurity is among the numerous conditions associated with mental retardation and is found particularly in women with low incomes, women in poor health, women with past pregnancy wastage, women lacking medical care in general and obstetrical care in particular, and women with various other identifiable social, economic, or physical disadvantages, an approach to the care of high risk maternity patients might help alleviate some types of mental retardation and serve to reduce mortality, prematurity, and childhood handicapping conditions.[11]

These Maternity and Infant Care Projects, as they are called, which are getting under way seem to be promising situations for public health nutritionists, other home economists, and health services personnel to explore new ways of working together on behalf of families in the midst of the stresses and strains of childbearing and child rearing.[11]

Postnatal Care Could Save More Infants

Another set of circumstances offers equally striking challenge to effective collaboration between health services and home economics: that is, what is happening in infant mortality, especially in the big cities. We have mentioned maternal mortality and infant mortality as related to the early days of life, but one should also pay attention to what happens after the baby goes home. Although most women are delivered in hospitals, many go home within a day or so of delivery. The earliness of return may be dictated by hospital crowding, but the homes, responsibilities, and general environment to which individual women go are not always appropriate for such early return. The results in some instances may be illness and death.

What happens to the women is not well known. They are surviving, but it would be worthwhile to explore what the impact of these unfavorable surroundings at such a crucial time may be upon a woman's general health, and especially on her subsequent healthy family life functioning. There is much that public health workers--including the public health nurses, medical social workers, nutritionists, and other home economists--working together can do to make this crucial transition from hospital to home safer for the mothers, their babies, and the rest of their family. But the main point is to cite what is happening to the babies.

There is no room for doubt that many babies are in trouble and their troubles are often associated with poverty. Mortality in the first month of life is distressingly high. There are now substantial numbers of deaths occurring among babies who seemed all right when they left the hospital. I say "seemed all right," for some subsequent deaths may be on the basis of pediatric pathology not recognized--or recognizable--in the course of so brief a hospital stay. But there is also evidence that things

go wrong after the baby gets home. The city of Chicago has studied this sort of situation and find that often these deaths seem to involve "malnutrition." It is known that malnutrition in this age group may be due to a lack of food, or even more frequently may be due to an incapacity to utilize food, which may be caused by damages of infantile diarrhea. In any case, along with the necessary machinery of sanitation, public health, and medical care, there is an area here for thought--and imaginative thoughtfulness--in determining how teamwork of home economists and health and welfare workers can unite to help the hosts of people who have moved from country to city and are trying to cope in strange--and often poor--environments.

These environmental situations require modifications of service patterns we might use elsewhere. For example, we know when and how we ordinarily introduce solids into children's diets, but we also know that diarrheal disease is more likely to kill these babies than is malnutrition, per se. So, we modify our methods and provide good care--always good care--but care that can be administered safely even in an unsafe environment; and, of course, we go to work and do our best to clean up the environment.

Efficiency and Economy in Infant Feeding

The matter of cost and efficiency in infant feeding is another area where home economics help is needed. Social scientists analyzing the plight of families coming into big cities comment that most arrive with hope--hope of finding a better life for themselves and, above all, a better life for their children. Such dreams are forces for good. Without skilled help in a complicated world, people with good dreams can find themselves in a living nightmare. We need to provide help so that good dreams come true.

In pediatrics, we see that many times when families try to do good things for a baby they spend excessive proportions of the family resources on expensive items for the children's care or pleasure. Frequently, the products purchased are neither as good for the children, or as enjoyable, as something simple, fundamental, and relatively inexpensive. There are countless ways in which home economics, public health nursing, and pediatrics can unite to help people find quality when they try to provide good things for child and family life.

As many of you know, the Food and Nutrition and Maternal and Child Health Sections of the American Public Health Association were charged several years ago to review facts and opinions on efficiency and economy in infant feeding.[12] For, although there are many excellent ways to provide adequate nutrients, these ways differ widely in cost, convenience, and safety of preparation; and require consideration of refrigeration, storage

and other aspects of home environment. Your colleague, Marjorie Heseltine, and I served as co-chairmen in this project, and among the conclusions were:

> Counseling on infant feeding requires knowledge of the nutritive requirements of infants and the nutritive value of foods and supplements. It demands also attention to economics, bacteriology, home management, and the significance of food to the total development of the infant. Infant feeding is an aspect of maternal and child health services that profits by the "team approach" although actual counseling of an individual mother is likely to be carried out most effectively by one member of the team. The interplay of the physician's knowledge of infant nutrition, the nurse's familiarity with homes and methods of inculcating good practices of infant care, and the nutritionist's grounding in food values, food economics, and home management can be of inestimable help to families in their day-to-day job of infant feeding.
>
> Physicians, nurses, and nutritionists have joined forces in this report to suggest some of the questions that have to be answered in working out a safe, convenient, and moderate cost plan for feeding infants, especially those in families where time and money are at a premium. This is a challenging area for research.[12]

This whole area of economy and efficiency goes far beyond infant feeding. It relates to family feeding and offers potentials for constructive help from health workers and home economists. There are also related contributions which can be made to safety and self-respect.

Safety

Safety is of paramount importance in health. Accidents are outstanding causes of death and disability and certain accidents occur with special predilection for impoverished homes--those accidents related to poor housing, poor equipment, and unskilled home management. A major cause of fatal and crippling disability is fire--especially from space heater explosions and other poor heating or cooking equipment. These conflagrations and other accidents take their highest toll in poor families, especially families with little children and the enfeebled aged. Home economists may be able to come up with help there, too.

Self-Respect

As for self-respect, in every phase of family health work and family life strengthening, there is need for supports for self-respect--especially

for self-respect in the parents' opinions of themselves as parents and as responsible, respected heads of family. There are numerous valuable studies extant bearing out what we have long sensed: that the greatest loss of all in poverty stricken homes occurs when the home management and family life organization become so confused and disrupted that they are no longer sources of comfort and appropriate pride and self-respect, but matters of humiliation, shame, and self-disgust. Whoever helps any man or woman function well in making and maintaining any elements whatsoever of a satisfying well-run home may open a whole new life of self-respect and improved functioning.

It was my privilege, when serving as chief of the Home Medical Service at Massachusetts Memorial Hospital in Boston, to see the accomplishments of the home economics extension work done in housing projects in South End Boston. Home economists worked with social workers and organized health services in serving families in a blighted section of the city.[13]

The Preschool Population

We have mentioned the mothers and children. Let us not leave without speaking of the special challenge of the preschool population. This group is an increasingly large part of the child population and is always important in terms of health, because they have so much acute illness--only the aged spend as much time ill as do little preschool children. This becomes evident when we see one outbreak after another of acute illness--colds, sore throats, earaches, diarrhea, impetigo, and other communicable conditions--sweep in rapid succession through families, through housing projects, and through tenements. The associated strains of these illnesses pose large and predictable stress on domestic management. The frequency of the illnesses and the problems they create are no surprise to experienced professional workers, but do come as a surprise to the families themselves, and are interpreted by them, or their critics, as another manifestation of their disorganization and lack of competence.

Anything we can do to help children and their families stay well, and to help them cope adequately with whatever illness still occurs, is worthwhile endeavor. Such help has obvious values in cutting down physical ravages of illness, may help maintain and reinforce much needed self-respect in the family, and, quite apart from these patient and family concerns, may cut down on the already staggering burdens on hospital facilities.

Adolescence

Another age group in life where health needs of the poor are of special concern to home economists is adolescence. Here all the natural stresses of physical and psychological growth and development are found in simultaneous existence with childbearing. The splendid research and

practice which home economists have done through the years is needed today to guide us in rendering care worthy of the double demands of children bearing children. Even when adolescents themselves are not in the midst of childbearing, they are, as you have long maintained, in a stage of growth and development where good nutrition and other forms of generous nurture can stand them in good stead within the short time left before they are bearing and rearing children.

I think of the splendid work I have seen where home economists, working as part of coordinated, family-focused community services, started with the concerns of adolescent girls for hair styling and complexion care. They skillfully guided the girls into practices of sound nutrition and general hygiene. Every good deed that helps an adolescent girl function as a competent, wholesome person may be a potent factor later on in enabling her to rise to the demands of marriage, childbearing, and homemaking.

The groups of people coming into the great cities contain many young people who, like many populations in motion, suffer the lack of the extended family. They come from situations where some of the greatest strengths have been in the bonds of a wide kinship. Here in the city, or elsewhere if family strength is not within reach, there is an isolation that is desolation. A childbearing and a child rearing woman, in whatever day and age she exists and in whatever locations she lives, is still going through ancient strains and struggles through which, since time immemorial, the human family have helped each other. Think of a rural scene with a group of people going about their work, sharing in the care of the toddlers running about in their midst, and just talking things over as they work--talking about today's problems or similar ones they have faced up to in the past.

We who have worked in deeply rural areas, in localities where most people were kin, know that such locations are not necessarily utopian, but we also know that life there is strikingly different from the life its members find when they move to a big city, and, there, alone and unknown, live through some of life's great struggles which proceed best when one is not alone.

All professional workers, today more than ever, need to serve through self. In addition to offering the skills and techniques of their profession they need to be able to be a human being to other human beings, especially to those far from home. They need to combine the best of their professional competence with the best qualities of a good relative. From the health standpoint, there is no time period from childbirth to old age when this two-fold function might not help in life-saving ways. An outstanding example is in overcoming the deterrents that keep people from being able to make use of whatever health services exist. For instance: Many women do not get to a maternity clinic early enough in pregnancy for adequate prenatal care; and many children live within potential reach of a clinic, and yet reach school age without immunizations they have been needing since infancy.

There are many reasons for these gaps, but there is evidence that one of the best of all bridges between people and the services they need is an interested and enlightened worker who is also clearly recognized as friend. The home economist brings to the scene the healthful contributions in a manner that has a humanity about it that fortifies a home and reaches the human heart. There is enormous work to be done, and I earnestly hope that wherever home economics and health workers are to be found they can get together, jointly size up their own local problems and strengths, and devise new and vigorous ways of serving people in need.

It is interesting here to note the achievements of the Pine School Project, where, working cooperatively with the public health nurse in the Pine School Project, Mabel Parsons (home management consultant for the Department of Pediatrics at the State University of Iowa) effectively used group meetings to alleviate the loneliness of a group of low-income, socially isolated mothers and help them learn more about meal preparation, food planning and serving, child care, housekeeping, and personal cleanliness.[14]

Unlimited Opportunities Through Teamwork

There are unlimited opportunities for research and service through collaboration of the professions. For over 15 years, local public health nurses, family service workers, and many other professional workers in Philadelphia have used the homemaking consultant service offered by the School District of Philadelphia to help individual low-income mothers with whatever phase of homemaking was needed to improve personal, family, and community living. Esther Hill (director of the Division of Home Economics Education for the School District of Philadelphia), has noted that just as health and welfare workers ask homemaking consultants to visit a family, so do the homemaking consultants call upon health and welfare workers when need for them is apparent.[15]

We have mentioned problems in relation to various age groups because we are all interested in human growth and development and best comprehend life's special challenges by thinking of the special needs of special age periods. When we spoke of the two strikingly important age groups in regard to changes which have occurred in the population composition, and in reference to poverty, we emphasized the young and the old, and we have presented some of the health plights of the young. The plights of the aged, and the aged poor, are also poignant. Once again my perspective is altered by experience in a home medical service. One particular program served all age groups. The two groups that impressed me most as pointing up what medical home care can offer were the preschool period with its acute illnesses and the geriatric years with their need for general health maintenance; the need for a steady, quiet, supportive care of whatever chronic disabilities have accumulated, and a helping hand through the acute episodes that occur from time to time.

One medical student said that what he saw of poverty, old age, and medical needs set a plaintive song running through his head. The song was "This Old House" with its double meaning of an old body wearing out and soon to be left, and an old dwelling perhaps even sooner to be swept away in urban renewal, or to be vacated because one could no longer manage alone.

Day after day we saw patients with diabetes, failing vision, chronic heart disease, or countless other creakings of old and damaged machinery--patients who were managing but whose principal question was whether "the time had come," and they didn't mean death. They were dreading the time when they could no longer manage--no longer cope and maintain their own dignity and their own private "castle," whether that was a flat with an aged relative or a hallroom with a hot plate and a few pinches of tea. Whether they could hang on and savor these simple arrangements was not just a matter of digitalis, insulin, or other medical and nursing care; it was largely a matter of a skillful mastery of the mechanics of domestic existence.

Older people have more than ordinary trouble with confusion and disorientation in strange places. In general, those who can be helped to stay in their own homes maintain clearer orientation and function better than in the lonely confusions of premature placement in nursing homes or other institutions. Whether they can be enabled to stay home is often a matter of whether or not there can be effective partnership between a health team and competent homemaker service--and I pause to pay tribute to some of the best partners health teams have ever met, the dedicated people working in well prepared and well organized homemaker service.

Misery in Motion

Few population groups present more health challenge or more evidence of the pinch of poverty than the families of domestic migrant agricultural workers, these American farmers who move from place to place to raise and harvest the crops. There are about two million such seasonal agricultural workers in the United States, and most entered the activity because of poverty. These workers and their families comprise a population as large as that of any one of 15 states and many of the "families" consist of a mother and her children with no father present. In the group are some 350,000 to 450,000 children under 18, half of whom travel along with the families, while the other half stay elsewhere.[16]

These migrant labor families are among the most deprived people in the nation in standards of living, general welfare, health, and education. Owing to their migrant state and general situation, as many as 20 per cent of the school age children do not attend school at all, and the health picture is equally bleak. Surveys have shown that immunizations are conspicuously lacking to the point where epidemic outbreaks flare up, for instance, outbreaks of diphtheria and of typhoid fever.

ERIC

With all their other disadvantages the migrants have the additional problem of being stateless. In the sense that they move from state to state, they have made the nation their home. But they are seldom in a given community, or even a state, long enough to put down roots, and so are often ineligible for services which communities and states provide for their "own people." The whole migrant group have little connection with the communities they touch, and are shunned partly through community fear that friendly attention may convert a passing person with a problem, into a permanent dependent.

Poverty, hardship, and alienation from essential community structures are reflected in poor health as shown in a high rate of premature birth, death from malnutrition, uncorrected sight and hearing defects, skin diseases, and a low level of immunization. Tuberculosis rates are often so high that they resemble those of the 19th century. There are many serious accidents, most of them involving young people, and while many of these are around the actual farm work, domestic accidents also take their toll.

Services under the states' maternal and child health programs are for the most part available in principle to migrant families, but actually there are impediments to their use. Local health departments are often insufficiently staffed to reach out or respond to the numerous and complex problems of a large, temporary population, and the families themselves rarely know what services might be obtainable. Timidity, language barriers, cultural differences, and distances to clinics are all obstacles and, even if connections are established, inability to stay long in one place disrupts continuity of care.

Among the most inspiring health activities in the nation are some of the Family Health Service Clinics and other projects to improve health conditions and services for domestic migratory farm workers and their families administered through the Public Health Service grants implementing the 1962 migrant health legislation. We learn that by January 1965, 60 migrant health projects had received grant assistance under the 1962 Migrant Health Act.[17] The typical project operates family health service clinics at one or more locations--clinics which provide general medical care, usually during the evening hours, in or near large labor camps.

Public health nursing is among the additional services. The nurses visit the migrant families to learn about their health problems, teach good personal and family health practices, refer patients to the family clinics or to local physicians' offices, and determine the outcome of referrals.

In some instances, these nurses have found natural allies among the public health nutritionists and other home economists. The home agents in a few areas, for example, have worked with migrant families to help them make the best of what they have while they are living in local camps. This

sometimes stimulates grower cooperation, too, in fixing up camps. Not only the agents but also members of local homemakers' clubs have sometimes helped with the planning and conducting of clothing repair projects or food demonstrations for migrant women. These efforts have the further advantage of introducing community and migrant people to each other as persons--not just "those people over there."

One of the Children's Bureau demonstrations on health services to migrants was the Colorado migrant project in which the state health department nutritionist, working with the medical social work consultant to the migrant program, developed plans with the welfare department for distributing commodity foods and then following up with studies and services that led to appropriate utilization of the foods.[18]

I hope that our respective professions can continue to develop new ways of working together to utilize family strengths and that, along with our other shared problem solving, we can help each other find ways to identify and reinforce existing strengths in individuals and in families. Our respective experiences should prove helpful in this line.

The national population was never larger than now, and projections indicate even greater size. The manpower supply is already strained and is evidently becoming more so. There is every good reason for present personnel to explore new and invigorating ways of better utilization of manpower, and one hope lies in development of carefully planned and carefully executed interdisciplinary cooperation. There can be a happy future for progress along these lines in home economics and public health.

In closing, I speak from my heart. My most intense experiences with health problems and poverty has been in doing pediatrics for the children of the poor. I have known them in city and county hospitals, in children's hospitals and clinics, and in stationary and traveling maternal and child health and crippled children's services. With deepest respect for every age group, I still want to emphasize what poverty does to children; and to stress the interrelationships of pediatrics and poverty, the sickness burdens of the poor, and the way illness deepens poverty, as subjects that command pediatric thoughtfulness.

The pediatric concerns with poverty in the United States are with those "identifiable categories of children in which large proportions are growing up in poverty" and those "other categories in which the proportion of children is nevertheless great."[19] These two categories of children present the dual possibilities of tragedy and hope. There is tragedy because unalleviated poverty ravages childhood and sets the stage for worsening situations and the perpetuation of poverty in adult life. But, to paraphrase Shakespeare on the affairs of men: There is a tide in the affairs of children which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and miseries. Hope lies in the

fact that these identifiable groups of children comprise clear-cut, concise targets for constructive intervention; for, although childhood is a time of vulnerability, it is also a time of extreme responsiveness. Sometimes a small amount of the right kind of well-timed help can accomplish more than greater ef .rts applied too late.

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REACTION TO PRESENTATION OF PAULINE G. STITT, MD

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Dr. Stitt's excellent paper was one that posed many challenges to home economists. One of the significant things indicated was the fact that when health problems present themselves to individuals and families they are frequently overwhelming or crises situations, and frequently present what we like to call teachable moments that find individuals in what we call a receptive mood: one on which we should capitalize.

Dr. Stitt also emphasized the fact that public health is concerned with prevention, and prevention does make for improvement of the health of the whole family. The statistics mentioned by Dr. Stitt point out clearly the responsibility for home economists when we recognize that one-half of our population are either under 19 years of age or over 65 years of age. In other words, only one-half of the population is in the working age group, and statistics indicate that a very high percentage of this working age group has poor health and that much of this is associated with poverty.

Home economists could well afford to familiarize themselves with the national health survey referred to by Dr. Stitt. These findings have implications for classes in economics, health, and sociology, all of which may or may not come under the umbrella of home and family living but are of concern to all home economists. The fact that the United States still has considerable room for improvement in lessening the infant and mortality rates likewise has implications for home economists.

Maternal and Infant Care

Dr. Stitt mentioned the special projects concerned with maternal and infant care in ten areas of the country--areas where there is a higher than national average mortality--and this prompts me to refer to the Detroit city project. Detroit is one of the 10 cities referred to, and they now have a nutritionist as a member of the team.

This program has gotten off to a good start very largely because of the dedication and enthusiasm of the project director, Dr. Eva Dodge. Dr. Dodge has told practically every taxi driver in Detroit how expectant mothers can get prenatal care. She talks about the program with practically anybody and everybody who will listen to her. She was discussing her program one day with the Director of the Sanitary Engineering Section of the Health Department, and ended up talking to his staff of 100 engineers and sanitarians who inspect homes in areas where many of the people who are eligible for the project services reside. In fact, they are now developing a little leaflet the engineers can give to women when they are visiting and making their inspections in the area. This kind of enthusiasm is contagious and I think many home economists working with the so-called low-income families can make real contributions by expressing enthusiasm for what they are doing just as Dr. Dodge does.

Dr. Stitt referred to Dr. Lesser's talk, which is in the packet of materials given to each of you. This is good reading, especially for those who are teaching. One might well secure some of the facts and figures relative to their own state and community and see to what extent they apply to the statements made by Dr. Lesser.

Dr. Stitt pointed out the high incidence of infant mortality, and surmised that some of it may be due to the fact that mothers return home too soon. This, too, has implications for home economists because we need to know what kinds of homes they are returning to. Are they homes that need housekeepers and home aides and, if so, have home economists recognized this need and made some contributions toward the community's provision for such services and the training of such personnel? This, too, seems to me to be related to Dr. Linford's remarks that we should interpret to the community not only the need for and advantage of adequate public assistance allowances, but also the need for longer hospitalization. In the long run, it may cost less to pay for extra days of hospitalization than it does to pay for the medical problems created by too early discharge from the hospital.

Dr. Stitt referred to the report of the American Public Health Association on Efficiency and Economy in Infant Feeding. This material, too, lends itself to teaching. Even though it is in the process of being revised or brought up to date, it is still valuable basic information. Dr. Stitt also referred to the large number of early infant deaths, many of which are due to malnutrition (may be caused by diarrhea), the cost of infant food, the problems encountered when families move from rural areas to the city, immaturity of very young mothers--mothers who are extremely inadequate and, in many cases, are unable to get help from their own mothers because of their inadequacy. Home economists have a real opportunity to favorably influence home and family life of these very young mothers once they understand that many of the young people's urge to marry was a means of escape. Unfortunately, the young people have found that they escaped to something they cannot cope with.

Early Marriages

The reference to early marriages reminds me of the White House Conference on Children and Youth, where two high school students became engaged in a very healthy debate. The one from the so-called "academic" type of program said in no uncertain terms that there was no room in her curriculum for home and family life education since she was planning to attend college. The male student engaged in this debate made the point that a society that is urging early dating, and condoning youthful marriages and the establishment of early and large families, surely must have a responsibility to see that its youth is prepared for marriage and understands that there is more to it than petting and passion; that they need to be helped to face such realities as income and money management, family planning, and other serious and important realities of day-to-day experiences including illness.

Dr. Stitt mentioned that there is considerable need for more and better services for preschoolers. This is the group that is frequently

forgotten, health-wise, from the time they have had their routine immunizations until they are ready to be admitted to school. This is a critical period because during this time many of their health habits and attitudes are developed. The child who receives day care, if it is appropriate day care, should receive not just custodial care but care that provides for positive health guidance.

Home economists have some opportunity, too, in working with parents employing baby sitters and with the children who are to be employed as baby sitters.

To move along in the life cycle, Dr. Stitt referred to the adolescents who are comprising a large portion of our new parents. The home economist does have an opportunity to work with young girls when they are in the preconceptional stage, so that they will be better prepared for marriage and parenthood.

Home economists have an opportunity to become involved with migrant families, particularly in working with the staff of day-care centers in the migrant areas, and working with the public health nurses who serve the migrant families.

Not all problems of health are limited to children and youth. As we know, some are concerned with senior citizens. This gives me an opportunity to remind you that, as home economists, you have some so-called guidelines for working in this field; namely, the Proceedings, American Home Economics Association Workshop on Aging, and the Association's recent pamphlet, Aging, A Phase in the Life Cycle. Two of the concerns of senior citizens in which home economists are uniquely qualified to assist are those of income and health.

Summary

Listening to this paper and the discussion following it, as well as the discussion following other papers and that which has occurred in our small groups, I think the number one challenge to all of us in home economics is: Know thyself and thy fellow worker. Before we can help anyone, regardless of income level, we must know our own strengths and limitations, and know which of our fellow workers and associate workers can and should work together.

In other words, we are well aware of the fact that helping families with low incomes is not a task for one person. We might use the cliche that it requires the team approach, and a home economist who is the best team player will be the best informed one. Before she can become enthusiastic and spread her enthusiasm, she must have knowledge of needs and resources and a desire to bring the two together.

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

William H. Koch, Jr.
Director of Community Development
The North Carolina Fund

I am most happy and honored to have the opportunity to meet with participants of the American Home Economics Association's Workshop on Working with Low-Income Families, and to bring a report of the work of the North Carolina Fund. The areas of home economics represented by the people here today, and the concerns home economists have for educating people towards better ways of living, are vital to the success of any efforts to help people raise themselves out of poverty. In North Carolina, we have been pleased to note the sustained interest of home economics people in the state's War against Poverty as evidenced by efforts by the Agricultural Extension Services, the colleges and universities, and other agencies. We have welcomed them to the ranks because the War against Poverty *needs* them.

The North Carolina Fund came into being during the summer of 1963. It began as a nonprofit, charitable corporation, operating with grant funds from the Ford Foundation, the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, and the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. For a five-year program, the expenditure of $14 million was anticipated:

> To study the problems involved in improving the education, economic opportunities, living environment and general welfare of the people of North Carolina
>
> To make and recommend grants for research, pilot, experimental, and other projects toward the solution of such problems
>
> To make available professional staff services to private and public agencies, both state and local, seeking solutions to such problems

> To encourage cooperative state and community action in devising such solutions and to encourage wise use of public and philanthropic funds devoted to any of these purposes.

The Fund was the creation of a man of vision and courage, Governor Terry Sanford, who did what many a public official is reluctant to do. He brought out into public light the unpleasant fact of the existence of poverty in North Carolina. Like an honest umpire, Governor Sanford "called it the way he saw it." What he saw added up to too many citizens of his state living in conditions that could do no good either for the people or for North Carolina. I won't bother you with statistics, but they were startling enough to call for fast action.

Governor Sanford called upon the Ford Foundation, and his message of deep-felt urgency as well as his plan to establish a unique approach to the problems of poverty, fell upon ears willing to hear. Thus the Fund was conceived. Essentially, the Fund has operated as a state-wide foundation, one with both funds to give and technical assistance to lend to communities willing to mount their own experiments in ways of defeating poverty on the local scene.

The organization was intentionally located outside of state government in order that it might be free to encourage innovation and experimentation without the traditional restraints that lodging in government would require.

In the fall of 1963, Governor Sanford announced to the state the desire of the Fund's board of directors to support a limited number of comprehensive, yet experimental, community action projects. The Governor said:

> I have come to believe that charity and relief are not the best answers to human suffering, that the schools are not the answer so long as only a third of our students finish school; that the wealth of America is not the answer of many families who have fifty-some cents a day per person for all expenses; that it is not enough to have here the most powerful nation in the world and then to admit that we are powerless to find ways to give our young people training and job opportunities.
>
> In North Carolina, we want to go into a few communities and say to the leaders of schools, government, welfare, health and charity: "Look let's work together, let's see if together in a few neighborhoods near here we can break the cycle of poverty and give these children a better chance."

Proposals to Break Poverty Cycle Invited

An invitation was publicly extended to officials of government, its health, welfare, and educational agencies; and to leading citizens across the state. All the state's communities--a county being defined as the minimal community-- were invited to submit proposals to the Fund stating what they would do to break the vicious cycle of poverty if money enough were to be made available.

Certain criteria were set forth by the Fund. Proposals were to show evidence of an evaluation of existing programs and services; to reflect community-wide understanding of the problems of poverty; to set forth short and long-range goals; to demonstrate that all major community agencies, public and private, had taken part in the formulation of proposals; and to provide for an effective coordinated plan of carrying out a number of experimental activities. In effect, any program carried out was to have participation by many, rather than a few, of the groups, agencies, and organizations naturally concerned with providing services to the poor. And, it was to be demonstrated that the poor themselves would have a say.

In January of 1964, the betting was on in Durham as to how many proposals would be submitted. It takes courage for a community to admit publicly that all is not right among its people. Communities bent upon projecting a positive image frequently tend to deny that there are, among their citizens, a number of worthy people who are not as well off as others. And even if they do not hesitate to acknowledge the existence of poverty within their borders, many communities are fearful of the change that dealing with the problems of the poor may entail. However, on February 1, the deadline, Governor Sanford's challenge had been answered by 66 out of 100 counties. Some 51 proposals lay piled upon tables in the Fund's office, representing single counties and a number of multiple-county coalitions. North Carolina's community leaders had given evidence of their willingness to tackle a most complex and difficult task.

Of course, the receipt of so many worthy proposals presented the board and staff of the Fund with a knotty problem: how to choose from among so many the few for which funds were actually available. I must say that for both the board and the staff the selection process was an agonizing one. Decision-making required careful reading, analysis, and evaluation of the written proposals. A number of elaborate grading plans were developed, but most of them were finally discarded as they proved themselves to be without real value. Probably the most significant method of evaluation was the conducting of 51 "hearings" in which Fund board and staff members met on-site with community leaders. Finally, after regional balance, extent of poverty and rural-urban distribution had been considered, a final and hard set of criteria were applied. These related to the extent of commitment to doing a job evidenced in the community and the potential of community leadership to carry the job through once taken on.

Thus, in April of 1964, seven communities were named, and in July, another four were selected making 11 projects in all. They covered 20 counties which contain about one-third of the state's population. The Fund staff immediately set about helping the new projects get themselves organized. The communities must establish brand new organizations (the voluntary nonprofit model was adopted in all cases), develop initial budgets for organizational tasks, recruit project directors, and enter into a more thorough and critical process of planning for the actual programs to be carried out.

Plans Contribute to OEO Implementations

Then, in May, word of the soon-to-be-born Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 reached North Carolina. North Carolina had a contribution to make to the formulation of this legislation which would make available unprecedented resources for a national War against Poverty. As the only state-wide organization in existence, and one with just a little experience in promoting the development of community action programs, the Fund found itself host to steady streams of visitors from Washington. We were glad to share the little we had been able to learn with the people who were designing, and who would later operate, the United States Government's massive effort to deal with poverty and its problems.

As soon as the Act was passed, Governor Sanford asked the Fund to take on interim responsibility for the entire state. It was necessary to make wide distribution of information about the Act in order to help the many other communities which could not be supported by the Fund find ways to develop their own proposals to the new office of Economic Opportunity. To this end, the Fund managed to carry out seven regional conferences in which community leadership, state agency personnel, and federal government people were brought together to learn from one another how the new resources might best be put to work across the entire state. The Fund managed to mobilize and deploy its own staff and staff members of several state agencies for a three-month period during which "task forces" visited all communities asking for help.

In the meantime, the Fund urged its own family of 30 counties to participate in the Economic Opportunity program and to do all the things called for in their original proposals to us, and for which Fund money could never have been adequate. I must admit that there were misgivings in some communities and some reluctance to "become entangled with federal government." You will recall that the fall of 1964 was a season of debate over the efficacy of federal programs in this field. However, I am proud to say for North Carolina that all of the Fund communities eventually elected to participate and all set to work as soon as feasible to develop proposals for federal funding. And, indeed, so did many other counties in the state. As of today, I am pleased to report that among the Fund-related projects, two

community action programs have been approved and one is immediately pending, five Neighborhood Youth Corps proposals are close to announcement, a number of demonstration project proposals are in process, and all project communities are busily engaged in developing proposals for various titles of the Act for submission in the very near future. And there will be, of course, a good number of programs mounted by non-Fund communities as well.

State Pioneers Community Activity Programs

Some other things have been going on in North Carolina, paralleling the development of community activities directly under the Economic Opportunity Act. Our State Board of Education's Department of Community Colleges has developed an excellent plan for mounting programs of basic and literacy education across the state. The plan calls for the establishment of a class wherever 10 persons can be brought together. The local community colleges have already trained a large number of teachers, and in a fine example of state-local cooperation, the new community action organizations in Fund communities have recruited upwards of 10,000 students for these classes. The classes are scheduled to go into action within days.

Another "first" for the state has been the North Carolina Volunteers. Last summer, under a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, efforts were made to invite college students from the state to serve in Fund-related communities as volunteer aides of all kinds. Seven hundred responded, but only 100 could be selected. Since at that time the community action programs were only in their beginning stages of organization, the Volunteer Program served valuably as an "eye-opener" and a "door-opener." The eyes of both students and community residents were opened to the problems of people in poverty, and the volunteers' enthusiastic service to community agencies and programs opened the doors of the community for improved efforts in the planning of new programs. This summer, 250 more volunteers will be serving across the state.

Another pioneer venture was last summer's preschool readiness program, carried out in 100 schools through a Ford Foundation-North Carolina Fund grant to the State Department of Public Instruction. The readiness programs were followed through during the school year with experimental work in the same schools applying new techniques to the problems of dealing with cultural retardation in the early grades. The preschool readiness program was a forerunner of Project Head Start, soon to be established by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Another area of pioneering is represented in training activities carried out by the Fund. The shortage of skilled semiprofessional and professional people to man community action programs is critical in North Carolina, as elsewhere. To provide skilled manpower, the Fund developed two programs

The first is the Community Action Technician program, in which an initial 16 "bright young hopefuls,"-- recent college graduates, Peace Corps veterans, and other young people dedicated to service but not yet trained as professionals--were recruited. Four weeks at classwork and three months as interns in the field provided these young people with minimal essentials for assisting in the work of local antipoverty programs. I would guess that most of the actual writing of proposals in the Fund-related projects has been the work of this first class of 16. The Fund is repeating the Community Action Technician program several times this year, with EOA funds.

The second program trains Community Services Consultants. These are management people, schooled and experienced in other fields, but who are now being retrained to provide new skills to apply to community efforts across the state. Their training involves six-weeks of classwork, broken in the middle by two to three months of supervised on-the-job experience in the setting in which they will eventually work.

And, incidentally, we managed to provide training for the very first Volunteers in Service to America. This delightful group of 13 ranging in age from 20 to 81, did its internship in North Carolina communities.

We are also mounting a manpower training program in three of the Fund-related communities to provide on-the-job retraining, counseling and other services, to the unemployed and underemployed poor. We are seeking new methods to provide manpower for other programs; one of our demonstration projects-in-planning is a model day-care center with built-in program for training day-care aides chosen from among people in the community, including people who fall in the poverty category. And we will be experimenting soon with ways of developing indigenous leaders in the poor neighborhoods and communities so that they can participate responsibly and effectively in planning and carrying out programs.

Tasks That Lie Ahead

Now, after this recitation, you may well level at me the accusation of being a North Carolina chauvinist, bearing only success stories. Please let me assure you that we see what has happened in North Carolina so far as only the beginning. All we have succeeded in doing to date is to help the state get ready for the far bigger job ahead. What has yet to be done will be immeasurably harder than merely gearing up. We have contributed to the creation of a mighty monster. We now must gather all the forces we can to domesticate it. Some of the tasks that lie before all of those participating in North Carolina's War against Poverty are as follows:

1. We must perfect project instrumentalities that are capable of mobilizing many resources and applying them to the task of delivering programs and services to people in need with a maximum of impact and effectiveness.

This means we must bring in more and more agencies and services than are now participating effectively. We must continue to break down divisive barriers among the agencies and various fields of service. We must continue to improve communications among state agencies, and between state agencies and their local branches. We must overcome the to-be-expected jealousies and defenses of territory, and replace them with a sense of larger purpose. We must learn how to live and work together in a new form of community-wide effort.

2. We must assure that programs are planned and carried out with increasingly greater representation from various segments of the community.

In our state, this means that constant efforts must be undertaken to break down old barriers and bring about the inclusion of the various Negro and Indian communities in the community planning-and-action process. No program will succeed that does not have broad consensus within the community. We are proud to say that in many North Carolina communities, great strides in this direction are already being made and new ones are taken each day. It is not easy--but we sense that a new dialogue is being introduced in community affairs, one based upon the realization that poverty affects not only the poor, but the entire community. Perhaps common effort around a common problem is the best way ultimately to renew the spirit of the whole community, a spirit that has been lacking so long in the South.

3. We must come to grips with the exceedingly difficult and complex challenge of involving the poor in the community's decision-making.

These are the people who are remote from organized groups and leaders, for whom others speak, but who rarely can speak for themselves. The task is one of motivation, and it is twofold: First, we must motivate the poor to participate in our councils and our programs; and second, we must motivate ourselves to accept their representatives as equal partners. They must come to us as persons, not as supplicants or clients. If they are to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, even with our help, they must do so with dignity of their own. In this regard, each of us has a job to do.

In all candor, I must say that the aim of the North Carolina Fund is not to mount programs nor to establish new structures. The true aim is to encourage and assist in institutional and social change. We seek change in the ways by which the society and its communities serve those who urgently need to become productive, contributing, and belonging citizens.

In a sense, the Fund is a new force upon the scene, and it is only a temporary one. Its function has been to push the rock of community out of its resting place in tradition and inertia, and get it rolling towards community progress. The rock is now rolling, and all an organization like the

Fund can do now is apply a shoulder now and then to keep it rolling in the right direction. But the basic momentum comes from the rock itself. The change that must come about cannot be imposed by any outside force. It must come from within the community itself. Change for progress will come about only when people in the community--its leaders, its citizens, its professionals like yourselves, and its poor--decide to change. The War against Poverty will be won only in communities where poverty's effects are most viciously felt. Success will depend upon people like yourselves who have willing hearts and who will work unselfishly towards the end of a better community for all.

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HOMEMAKING EDUCATION FOR NEEDY FAMILIES IN THE DALLAS COMMUNITY

Jerline Kennedy
Home and Family Life Consultant
Dallas (Texas) Independent School District

The Dallas Independent School District and the Dallas Housing Authority have maintained a cooperative homemaking education program for adults for 23 years, beginning with the school year of 1941-42. Special emphasis has been placed on meeting the needs of families in low-rent public housing communities and surrounding areas. The program's growth has been continuous and its services, to a degree, immeasurable. One thing is certain, it has offered a service that is needed and helpful to families in the Dallas community.

Today, 11 teachers serve 6, 372 families in 10 public housing projects and neighborhood communities. Improved family living has been the goal of the teachers as they have worked with these families. The same purposes which served as a guide at the beginning of this program development serve today. They are:

1. To extend the instructional program of the local public schools to families living in public housing projects and neighboring communities.

2. To assist families in solving problems of home and family life.

3. To help families to adjust to new living conditions in an urban culture

4. To develop a program through which as many families as possible may be reached through the home and family life education program

5. To organize a program through which families may be reached through organized group work, home visitation, and individual counseling

6. To develop leadership among the family members

7. To help adults feel the need of education continuing throughout life

Each year, a contract is executed between the local Housing Authority and the Dallas Independent School District. The Housing Authority reimburses the School District for one-fourth of the salaries of the teachers assigned to the housing centers. For each Community Center, the Housing Authority furnishes space for teaching, kitchen and demonstration facilities, janitorial service, and a small budget for teaching materials. The teachers are trained home economists employed by the local School District, and meet all requirements of the local and State Vocational Education Departments.

Teachers work with family members, including a constantly growing number of the elderly, both individually and in groups. The program includes instruction in the various areas of home and family life education: relationships, child development, feeding the family, clotning the family, home improvement, family health and safety, and community leadership and citizenship (in the home and community).

The teaching program varies from project to project, and from year to year, according to current family needs and interests. Close teacher-housing manager cooperation is maintained in working out family problems based on needs observed by either the teacher or the manager. In order to give practical help in specific problems of the family, each teacher averages approximately 400 home visits in the school year. The families' characteristics vary: Some have little education, some have many children, others have much illness and fathers who are disabled, some are widows and divorcees with young children, and some are the elderly who receive social security or old-age assistance. Their needs are as varied as their circumstances, and the work of the homemaking teacher is based on these needs. One of the greatest needs is for basic knowledge in such areas as nutrition, personal grooming, simple household cleanliness, better management of a limited income, and a more adequate understanding of the physical and emotional needs of children and adults.

Flexibility in program development and home visitation has been a vital factor in the success of the program. Teachers are often asked, Whom do you teach? Where? How? What? Why? One teacher always answers by saying, "Any adult or organized group of adults--any place--what would you like to learn to improve your home and family life? I'll 'bone up' on it." The staff believes that an effective homemaking education program will bring needed information, stimulation, and skills to the homemakers at a time when it is most meaningful.

Let me describe eight of the activities currently being conducted to meet the needs and problems of these economically disadvantaged families.

Cooperative Play Schools. Three play schools for young children are under the direction of the homemaking teacher of adults. The schools are used as a teaching medium for the mothers who assist a paid teacher

and participate in a Mothers Club devoted to the study of child development and other areas of homemaking. As parents observe and work with the children and meet for group discussion, they learn what to expect of small children and how to guide them in home activities.

The Elmer Scott Play School, one of the three schools, serves five-year-old Indian and Latin-American children. This year 32 children are enrolled, with 19 Indian tribes represented in the school. More than 100 preschool children in these 32 families are reached through the children enrolled in play school.

Children go to school from 9:00 until 12:00 o'clock each morning, following the public school schedule. They enjoy many activities that involve them in creative play, music, stories, brush and finger painting, manipulating toys, and fun out-of-doors with swings, climbing equipment, and tricycles. As they play, they learn to speak English, to take turns, to share toys, and to respect the rights of others. The majority of the children enrolled in play school are enrolled in the summer in the public schools' language program in order to further prepare them for entering school. As these children go into first grade, school does not seem strange to them. They are acquainted with English, and they know how to make friends with other children and with their teachers.

Families of play school children have participated in community activities; the Girl Scouts, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Teen-Age Summer Program, LIFT (Literacy Instruction for Texas), Home and Family Life Classes, Parent-Teacher Association, Pre-school Round Up, and community fund raising projects.

Day-Care Nurseries. Two nurseries are provided for children of working mothers. The nurseries are supported in part by small fees paid by mothers, but largely by an endowment left by a former resident of Dallas for the benefit of children of low-income families.

Housekeeping Clinics. Families in housing projects are invited at regular intervals to attend Housekeeping Clinics. Demonstrations and discussions on care and use of equipment and apartments are presented, and a simple handbook, "Good Housekeeping-A Key to Better Living," is given each family for use at home.

Friendship Clubs. Older citizens living in low-rent housing projects actively participate in four Friendship Clubs. Two have been organized 15 years. The clubs offer opportunity for these tenants to participate in a community group: to sing; to play games together; to exchange flowers, seed, and bulbs with others; to visit shut-ins, enjoy covered dish luncheons; and to do for others through various service projects. Some of these are folding thousands of hand washing kits for the Public Health Nurses, stuffing

envelopes for various nonprofit charity organizations, and making clowns and dolls for childrens' hospitals.

Programs include films about safety, health, the world, the sea, Indians, and art, as well as group members sharing their talents writing poetry, playing the piano, and enacting dramas. Annual picnics in public parks and bus trips to the Art Museum, the Museum of Natural History, and the Public Library are occasions to anticipate. Friendship Clubs have taken an active part in the organization of the Council of Senior Citizens in Dallas. Several Council officers have been delegates from these groups.

Use of Donated Foods. Classes in the storage and use of federally donated foods for family meals are held for homemakers, County Welfare Department caseworkers, and Public Health nurses. Complete meals are planned, prepared, and served using low-cost and donated foods. Attention is given to improving basic skills in food preparation, meeting daily food needs of the family, variety in foods used, and attractive and neat food service. Educational field trips are made to the neighborhood markets as a part of teaching consumer buying.

A nursery for young children who accompany their mothers to these classes is provided through volunteer service of the Council of Jewish Women. Language interpreters are furnished by the Department of Public Welfare and the Indian Bureau.

Emphasis on Stay-in-School. Since members of families with limited income, and often little education, have few fond memories of school and sometimes little appreciation of the value of an education, every effort is made to encourage their interest in the schools and Parent-Teacher Association organizations. Parents are urged to cooperate with visiting teachers and other school and community agencies working to keep students in school.

LIFT (Literacy Instruction for Texas). The homemaking teachers of adults interest illiterate adult family members in learning to read and write by participating in this program. A nursery is provided by several religious groups in the community.

Special Homemaking Program. The homemaking teachers in the senior and junior high schools and in elementary schools and the teachers of adults make every effort to coordinate the work done to strengthen family living through a family-centered approach in their teaching. Home visits are made by all teachers.

In two elementary schools, programs of special interest are provided for all girls in the seventh and eighth grades. These schools are located in areas of the city where families are living on relatively low socioeconomic levels, and, for the most part, are limited in educational and cultural experiences. All evidence indicates that youth from culturally and economically handicapped homes experience a difficult time

remaining in school. Many take up full-time roles as homemakers or wage earners, and thus assume adult responsibilities before there has been adequate preparation for these adult roles. Because of the limitations of the family and home environment, the school provides almost the only avenue to cultural and family life adequacy for these youth.

With the recognition of the school's responsibility to these young people, the homemaking program in these schools focuses on two major goals: (1) to make it possible for young girls to develop potentialities for family living through educational experiences; and, (2) to make an effort to hold these girls in school.

The physical facilities of the homemaking department in the two schools are arranged to emphasize family-centered planning and teaching to help girls recognize the interrelatedness of all aspects of home and family living.

The homemaking suite itself encourages the girls to recognize and appreciate the importance of beauty and order in their environment. Learning experiences in the area of food and nutrition emphasize planning meals for the entire family; making good use of surplus commodity foods; planning for purchases and shopping within the family income; and making family mealtime an occasion that is both attractive and pleasant, adding depth in living for family members.

The program is flexible so that planning may vary from group to group; however, some needs seem always to be evident. These are: developing an understanding of self and of being a contributing member of the family, planning for the spending of money, knowing something about the care of small children, developing a positive attitude toward the family, and developing social skills that are important to the development of youth.

The effectiveness of the Home and Family Life Education program for families on limited income in the Dallas community might to some extent be evaluated by such evidences and observations as:

More families are leaving low-rent housing projects and moving into their own homes. With assistance in managing their money, they have saved for their own homes, have refinished furniture, and have gained confidence in their ability to do things on their own.

Families are moving from the housing projects to new communities where they are joining the Parent-Teacher Association organization in the new schools, participating in other community functions, and contributing to the community society.

Casual signs of hope are noted in everyday living activities: homes and children that gradually become a bit cleaner and neater, an

invitation to "visit," family business records being kept, mothers reading to children, and a young mother suddenly discovering that creative sewing is just what she needs to fill long hours at home with small children.

The cooperation and support of many community organizations and agencies along with a dedicated staff of teachers has given the program momentum through the years. Last year, teachers worked with 34 community organizations and agencies in cooperative endeavors focused on improving family living.

The real success of the program is due to the group of mature, dedicated, and enthusiastic teachers. They have warm personalities and common sense; they like people and respect them. The ability to face discouragement with enthusiasm for learning, doing, and teaching, and a sense of humor, are the sustaining attributes for these home economists dedicated to working with families in the Dallas community. Working with families of low income for improved family living provides a real challenge to homemaking teachers.

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HOMEMAKER-TEACHERS ASSIST LOW-INCOME FAMILIES IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

Elizabeth W. Gassette
Supervisor, Homemaker-Teacher Project
Hartford (Connecticut) Family Service Society

One hundred and one families, including 587 children, have been assisted by homemaker-teachers in the past 20 months. This program is the result of a growing concern about multi-problem families in the city of Hartford, Connecticut. In June 1963, this city allocated $35,000 to the Hartford Welfare Department to secure homemaker-teachers and supervisory services from the Family Service Society. The resulting Homemaker-Teacher Project deals with families unable to maintain their homes according to acceptable community standards.

Deficiencies are found in the areas of general housekeeping, health and safety, family relationships, child care and control, meal planning and preparation, debts and money management. Referrals are made by any agency or individual who finds a family in trouble and feels the mother can profit by a teaching homemaker. Only families with children are accepted. Proof of the Project's success has been demonstrated by the allocation of additional money for an increase in the number of families to be served and in staff to teach and supervise.

Supervisory services were first rendered by a social-service worker and later by a home economist who has been with the program 18 months. An assistant supervisor has recently been added to the staff. She is a bilingual woman who was successful as a homemaker-teacher. Of the present 36 families, one-third are Spanish speaking. Though the supervisor learned enough Spanish to communicate, the process was slow and not always satisfactory. Thus the assistant will work primarily with Spanish-speaking homemaker-teachers and their Spanish-speaking families.

After a referral, the program starts with a home visit made by the supervisor. Most often the family is found living in high rent, low quality housing. There are the barest of necessities and a complete lack of niceties. Overcrowded conditions, little sunshine, dampness, and the presence of rodents and their accompanying filth give no background for health and

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well-being. Couple this with physically and emotionally overburdened parents, and the future looks dim.

Often, just this original visit from someone who cares brings hope and expectations of better days to come. The supervisor becomes acquainted with the mother and children, and the father if he is in the home. About one-half of our families have no father in the home. If he is living with his family, he is usually employed as an unskilled worker or is seeking employment. A few fathers are in classes learning to read, write, and count.

The family is encouraged to talk about their living conditions, health, hopes, desires, and, often without realizing it, their fears. From this visit the supervisor is able to judge whether the mother has enough ego strengths to learn, what special qualities a homemaker-teacher must have to work with this family, what goals the mother has, and what goals the supervisor sees as possibilities for this family's achieving. If the mother is willing, a date is set for the supervisor to introduce the homemaker-teacher to the family.

A few families refuse help. Some later change their minds and ask for it. Some have pressure put on them by referring agencies. These families accept, but fearfully; and some accept with hostility. It takes skillful teaching to win their confidence.

Key Personnel in the Program

The supervisor's work is a five-star operation! She encourages the family to accept the program. She schedules the work for the homemaker-teachers. She trains the homemaker-teachers and helps them cope with the family's problems. She consults with the referring agencies and other agencies concerned. She keeps records regarding the family's progress.

The homemaker-teacher is a woman who has been successful herself as a homemaker. She is one who has time to contribute, a need for employment, an inclination to teach, and an understanding and acceptance of people of all ages; one who can operate with empathy and not with an undue amount of sympathy. She is a "gem," and when she is "discovered" she is "nurtured". She does not replace the mother in the home, nor is she a maid. Rather she acts as a helper and demonstrator. She lends a hand and makes work lighter and life brighter. She listens. She gives advice in the areas of homemaking. She acts as a liaison between the family and her supervisor. She refers problems of a social nature. She does not try to be a social caseworker. Her growth in understanding and performance is to be noted. Her attitude changes from "What can anyone do to help this family?" to "I think I can work with this family to help them to want to make changes."

To work successfully with a family, the homemaker-teacher must first realize her own purpose, and, next, establish goals to fulfill it. Her fundamental goals are:

1. To inspire confidence, a feeling of trust in the present and hope for the future, and a feeling of well-being and personal worth. This is a large order, but until it is accomplished, at least in part, it is difficult for the mother to work out goals for herself.

2. To help the mother to consider that everyone has needs, some like and some unlike her own, and thus encourage improved family relationships.

3. To help the mother enjoy her children and to learn to keep them under reasonable control. It seldom occurs to some mothers that children want their parents to help them keep out of trouble.

4. To encourage planning and setting goals that can be reached with satisfaction in a short time. Both mother and teacher need a sense of accomplishment to inspire future long-term plans.

5. To instill a joy in evaluating, taking stock of what has been attained, and projecting what will be the next step.

6. To find opportunities to give praise for even small accomplishments.

7. To help separate the "musts" and the "wants," and to plan so that both are realized.

8. To demonstrate skills in housekeeping; to start where the family is, but not to leave them there. Many families do not own even a broom when the homemaker-teacher arrives. She helps them to plan and to buy, little by little, the necessary equipment for housekeeping and homemaking.

The homemaker-teacher follows steps that lead to good learning. She shows how, works along with shows again, praises when at all possible, allows mother to take o[illegible] the task, and repeats the same procedure, perhaps many times over a period of several visits. When mother, or a child who is being taught a skill, does it by herself without the aid or suggestion from the homemaker-teacher, the lesson has been learned.

The homemaker-teacher works from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., five days a week. She works with five families in a week. She gives each family two one-half days' assistance--a morning of one day, an afternoon of another. This timing makes it possible to help each family get children ready and off to school; make suggestions for daily meal planning; bathe, dress, and feed younger children; help with daily housekeeping tasks; help

mother keep clinic appointments; and take the mother shopping for food, clothing, and equipment. The span of time a teaching-homemaker works in a family depends on the goals set and accomplished. Some families need only two or three months, others need a year, and some are found to need concentrated assistance in areas other than housekeeping and so are referred to other agencies.

Areas of Instruction

The skills taught are in the following areas:

1. Health and Sanitation. Waste and garbage disposal, personal cleanliness, laundering, cleaning bathroom and kitchen facilities and equipment, improved sleeping arrangements, reporting illnesses, and keeping clinic appointments.

2. Money Management. The amount of money the family receives either from an award system or from personal salary may seem adequate for basic needs, if the spending of it is carefully planned. We find our families have little experience in the wise use of money. They buy food so babies won't cry of hunger; they purchase their own cultural foods so they, as adults, will be more comfortable in their surroundings. They pay on bills as collectors arrive at the door, and they usually pay the rent--especially in winter. When we cannot locate the remainder of the income, we discover they have attempted to buy "friendship and love" and are unlucky in return.

   The homemaker-teacher first helps the mother, and father if at all possible, to save receipts of all kinds and to make a list of income and expenditures. At this point a plan for spending is worked out with the mother and frequent evaluations made of its handling. This is probably the most difficult area in which to work. Money is such a personal commodity! There has previously been little or no planning for a future. "Now" has been all that counted, and learning to wait has not been accomplished.

3. Food and Nutrition. We find our families buying food from the corner store where credit is encouraged, higher prices prevail, and delivery at the customer's expense solicited. Delivery service, however, is a convenience item ungrudgingly paid by a mother of five, all under six years of age. When the biweekly check arrives, a sizable chunk goes to the cheerful grocer who may speak the customer's language to boot. To pay off this source of supply and educate for economical buying takes time and planning.

   Most families verbalize the names of nutritious foods--radio and television are the primary source of this information, which is sometimes

misleading. Mother seems to buy these foods spasmodically as "cures" for colds or upset stomach, and for increased energy. She does not seem to consistently buy food for general good health. The planning, buying, storing, preparation, eating, and cleanup are lessons taught by the homemaker-teacher. This takes various lengths of time for performance and final acceptance.

4. Clothing and Home Furnishing. Both clothing and furnishing in the home are scrutinized and evaluated for possible renovation and repair. If new items are indicated, consumer education is taught by actual shopping trips with the mother and older children. In this way, they are taught to select items of quality, suitability, and appearance according to the amount of available money.

Most families need help in more than one of these areas. Many need to be taught skills relating to all four areas. For example, a 21 year old mother of eight children (all single births and all hers) has never had the opportunity to learn on an adult level. She must be taught to buy, prepare, and serve economical and nutritious meals; to secure and care for clothing and furnishings; to keep a clean and reasonably orderly home for health and safety; to budget for her family's needs; and to learn of and use available community resources for health and well-being. This mother, like most others, needs the understanding and counsel of all agencies concerned with her family.

The Homemaker-Teacher Project makes possible a team approach to services for culturally, emotionally, and financially deprived families. It defines the everyday needs of the family to the agencies concerned. It clarifies aims and expectations of the agencies to the families. Its basic belief is that people who are respected, encouraged, and educated can bring about changes in themselves and in their surroundings.

CONSUMER PROBLEMS OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

Esther Peterson
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs

What you are doing here represents, in my thinking, one of the highest forms of responsible citizenry recognizing a problem and so organizing that one's resources and one's particular competence can be used to the fullest to effect constructive change. Your meeting, your deliberations, your program will contribute mightily to the understanding and solution of what President Johnson has termed our greatest enemies--poverty and ignorance.

A really "Great Society" is one in which those who are not affected by a problem are as greatly concerned as those who are affected. It was the Jewish philosopher Maimonides who graded the different kinds of charity. The lowest order, he said, was to give from your own pocket. But the highest order was to help others to help themselves.

You are also to be highly commended because you have had the foresight to make this more than a conference in which ideas are presented and a committee named to work out, in the future, possibilities for action. You have made this a workshop, so that before you leave here you will have formulated concrete action plans. In fact, I am pleased that you have already set regional workshops as one of your goals to help widen the possibilities for interest and action. The results of your efforts are bound to broaden our horizons, intensify our determination, and help eliminate some of the most pitiful and persistent problems plaguing our nation today.

And while we are working toward the improvement of particular problems concerned with low-income families, we are mindful of the work being done to insure an expanding, healthy economy directed toward bringing into economic participation the 38 million persons who live in the poverty bracket.

Low-Income Families Need Consumer Information

Let me assure you that you are devoting your attention to one of the

major consumer problems of the day: how to help low-income families get the most for their money--how to help them help themselves to get along better. Certainly the problem is considered a major one by the federal government. One of the first assignments President Johnson gave to his Committee on Consumer Interests was:

> to develop as promptly as possible effective ways and means of reaching more homes and more families--particularly low-income families--with information to help them get the most for their money.

The problem is a major one because of the proportion of our population who are poor. Some 38 million Americans today lack the opportunities for education, for job training, and the health and social services to maintain a decent level of living. Women are particularly affected. Of the people caught in the webs of poverty:

14 million are women over 16 years of age

11 million are children

2 1/2 million are women who are the heads of poor families

3 1/2 million are women who live alone and have less than $1,500 a year.

Most of these people living in poverty did not achieve poverty. They were born poor. They never had their sights high. Their children do not know anything else but a fight for mere existence. Poverty continues to breed poverty, and with it an acceptance. The job--our job-- is to help these people break the cycle of poverty. Add to them the thousands more whose income may put them technically above the poverty level, but who desperately need assistance in getting the most for their money.

Yesterday, I saw poverty. I visited a camp for migrant agricultural workers. In one "home" I visited, 11 children and both parents were living in one room. There are many other similar situations. During the day, while parents are working in the fields, the children are locked in cars.

The problem is a major one because poverty represents an economic loss of wasted human potential. It means a loss of resources which must be siphoned off to succor the products of poverty--crime, delinquency, ignorance, and disease.

This is a major problem because it is people--our fellow Americans. This is no academic problem. It is need. It is now. I know you feel the importance and urgency of helping these fellow Americans help themselves. The poor cannot afford to make mistakes as consumers. The margin for

financial error is slim--or nonexistent. While we may be inconvenienced by an unwise or a shoddy purchase, to the poor it can mean real physical suffering, or denial, or financial disaster.

I do not consider myself an expert who has the answers. You are the experts. I come before you today to share some of the information and the questions which have come before the Panel on Consumer Education for Persons with Limited Incomes. I come with some of the suggestions which have evolved. I come to report the many requests my office receives from those working with the poor--requests for effective materials, requests for successful ideas on consumer information and education projects in poor neighborhoods. I hope your consultations here will formulate new awareness, new answers, and new actions.

As you probe the problems of the poor, you see that they have several things in common. They have an income of less than $3,000 per family more or less, or $1500 for a person living alone. They often are native born, but often have migrated from a rural area or small town. Some are retired, unemployed, unskilled, or semiskilled. Some are working--sometimes full time sometimes part time-- in industries left outside the area of collective bargaining or legislative standards. They are what could be called the "working poor."

From persistent reports comes the question: To what extent is the paradox true that the poor pay more for almost everything, including credit, food, and household goods? For example, the poor often believe the grocery stores discriminate against them in price and quality. In any case where it is found to be true that the poor pay more, what could be done? Are the reasons justifiable? It is also said that low-income families consume high-cost durable goods, pay higher than average prices for them, and often get shoddy merchandise. To what extent is this true? And again, what can we do about it?

Credit Wisely Used Is Helpful

In his book The Poor Pay More, David Caplovitz of Columbia University reported that markups of 100 to 300 per cent above wholesale are common, and there are few one-price stores. The price quoted on a product depends largely on the merchant's appraisal of the customer as a sales prospect and as a credit risk.[1]

Credit is one of the most vital problems meriting your attention. One phase of the problem is how to help the poor to understand credit and use it wisely. We are not going to stop them from using credit--nor do we want to. Credit wisely used is helpful. But in many cases their money is siphoned off to pay for credit, so that they have no money left for current expenses. This, in turn, keeps them in credit bondage. They may be buying

a TV and paying three or four times its price. But because they are buying on credit and think only about the one or two dollars a week they pay, they do not realize the total cost. They need--and want--help to understand credit rates, credit terms, and the fact that cheaper credit and products may be available if they shop around. How can they be helped to understand even the value of their signature? Those working with the poor say too often they do not understand that when they simply sign their name they may be obligating themselves to a contract.

The other half of the credit problem is how to improve the credit facilities available to them, and how to make credit available to them at lower rates of interest. In the Community Action Program in Washington, D.C., a credit union has been established, for example. The members can put in 25 cents at a time to make up the five dollars needed to be eligible for a loan.

Poor Must Be Protected Against Fraud

How can the poor be better protected against fraud? And how can they be more alert to fraudulent practices? In his study, Caplovitz found that aside from being overcharged, many of the families had actually been defrauded by such practices as "bait-and-switch" advertising; referral selling; misrepresentation of prices; and the substitution of inferior goods. Few had any idea what to do about it. Fewer still had made any formal complaint to a law enforcement agency.[2]

How can the poor be helped to see the connection between some of their present shopping practices and the fact that they frequently are not getting the most for their money? How can they be helped to see that when they buy from the peddler on the spur of the moment, they may later realize they did not need a whole set of expensive pots and pans, for example, or a whole set of blankets and towels? Or that if they had compared prices they could have bought much cheaper? How can we help them understand that high prices do not always mean the best quality? Or that they need to consider intended use before they buy the expensive fancy quality? Sometimes it is hard for me to learn. And how to judge quality? Think of the furniture called "borax," often displayed in stores catering to the poor. How can we help them see the value of buying in economic quantities, or watching for sales, and shopping outside their immediate neighborhood to compare prices? How can we help them to manage not only their shopping, but their housekeeping, and their finances in every way to make their money do the most for them?

How can we reach the poor effectively with consumer information? Often they cannot read contracts. Some cannot read labels. And even if they could, they would sometimes find labels confusing.

The solutions to the problems I have been discussing involve changing some of the habits and the values of the poor themselves, or changing the business practices, or the facilities available to them.

But solving some of the problems may just as well involve a re-evaluation of some of our own traditional concepts and methods of consumer information and education. Are we too often attempting to reach them with the same approach, the same materials we would use for middle-income families? Can these same approaches work most effectively when standards, such as family stability and social values, are different?

Aiming for Their Goals

If we would effectively reach the poor, must we not aim for *their* goals, not our goals? I do think we must keep in mind that professional standards are a long way from theirs. While in the long run we will be helping them develop other values, must we not start with their goals?

Margaret Morris, one of your members who is consumer education director in the Community Action Program in Washington, says she has found it best not to discourage them from having a television, for example, because there is not enough money. Perhaps the best immediate approach is to help them shop more effectively for what they now think they *must* have. Is a cabinet model necessary, or would a portable do? Or would a second-hand model be satisfactory? Let's help them begin where they are. Can we relate to their wants in helping them to obtain their needs?

Another important thing she says she has had impressed upon her is to *listen, listen, listen* to find out what their problems really are. Often, she says, their problems may not be what we think they are.

Giving Immediate Opportunities to Achieve Success

Margaret, and others, have found that the poor are not in the habit of planning far ahead. They try to meet the needs and wants of the moment. So if we are to get their attention and hold their interest in any program to help them help themselves, must we not think of new ways to give them immediate opportunities to achieve some success?

Another challenge for you is to help those who would help the poor, and the public, to see the important part consumer education can play in helping break the poverty cycle. Of course, this alone cannot be the solution. But managing money well so it meets needs is like an increase in income. Making one dollar do the job of two is like having earned two in the first place.

Teen-Agers Need Consumer Education

I think consumer education has not always been given the emphasis it merits as a means of increasing spending power. I believe that if we, as a nation, are to use our resources and productive facilities in a wise and efficient manner, consumer education is an absolute necessity. It is a necessity, too, for the peace of mind and well-being of the millions of young people who will set up homes in the next few years.

I am always somewhat startled when I consider the fact that by 1970 almost half the population of the United States will be under 25 years of age. A generation ago, marriage was postponed until the young man felt he could afford to marry. Today, marriage itself can almost be managed on credit, or the installment plan. We have so many young family units being established:

over 40 per cent of all brides are teen-agers

more women marry at 18 than at any other age

more wives have their first child in their 19th year than in any other

one out of every six teen-age wives has two or more children

I believe that these facts make it imperative that we take a new look at consumer education--not only for today's families, but for future families now in school. Are we giving these young people the training they need to foster quality and avoid financial hardship in making their personal economic decisions? Youngsters now in school are tomorrow's parents. Are they receiving the training now, either in their home or in the schools, to equip them to make wise decisions as homemakers, heads of households, and citizens? I wonder.

I applaud efforts being made in many schools to teach basic economics from the consumer point of view. I also would suggest this be done even in junior high school. After all, unless dropouts can be materially reduced, the junior high level may be the only chance we have to reach some of these youngsters. And can boys be interested in consumer education, and involved as well as girls? It would seem most helpful to emphasize these three major considerations:

1. Consumer rights: The right to know, the right to choose, the right to safety, and the right to be heard.

2. The use of practical problems in familiar situations: The study of consumer economics can be made meaningful to students if they are given the chance to apply their classroom knowledge to familiar situations or to situations they will soon face.

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Could not the cost of credit be made clear to boys if they are assigned a project involving the financing of a new or used car, or a radio, or a television? Perhaps they could visit various kinds of loan companies in their community to ask questions, then examine the answers in class.

Could not both boys and girls be taught the cost of furnishing a home--especially through the use of credit? Their alternatives? How to judge furniture quality?

Could both be helped to understand the importance of financial planning, and contracts, credit, garnishments, and personal bankruptcies?

Could not health problems and such modern facts of economic life as medical insurance be discussed? Existing plans could be applied to various situations which youngsters may find themselves in within a few years.

3. Management and financial problems might be given even more emphasis. Certainly home economics training should go, and does go, beyond the traditional subjects of how to prepare food, select materials, design and make clothing, and household furnishing. A home economist from Sweden who is studying curriculum changes in the schools there has told me about the emphasis they are placing, not just on buying this or that specific product, but, instead, on teaching both boys and girls what she called the "common knowledge of buying." By this is meant the basic decision-making steps to be taken in any buying situation.

   Might we not give more consideration to teaching children some of the aspects of the distribution system in the United States? Local merchants and manufacturers could be asked to help with this.

How to increase the emphasis on consumer education in the schools and in the public eye is a great responsibility, especially to those of you in positions to change curriculums, although you in home economics are perhaps in a better position to help here than any other group.

The conclusions reached by Lydia Strong of Consumers Union, after her limited survey of consumer education programs and resources for consumer education, capsule some of the other problems centering around low-income consumers today. She said:

> It is clear that--small though the total effort is when compared to the need--more consumer education is directed toward low-income families than any one group is aware of; there is little coordination and little exchange of information, and there are great variations in methods, in content, and in overall philosophy.[3]

Certainly the daily calls and letters to my office bear out what she says. We are asked constantly:

> What is available?
>
> Where can I get it?
>
> Where can we get material that an adult with a third or a fifth grade education can understand? The materials we have are directed to a higher educational level.

So I ask you if you will give your utmost attention to evaluation of existing materials to see how they might be adapted, or what could be developed, to fill the gaps for those with lower levels of reading ability and comprehension.

What could you, as a group, do? What can you do in your own institution or job to help coordinate and exchange information? What kind of a clearinghouse would be most helpful to you? How could you contribute to its success? What could my office do to help? What can you do to help develop or bolster the consumer education phases of the community-level antipoverty programs? Certainly there is a need for a united approach at the local level. Can you take an active responsibility to see that consumer education programs are included in these community-level programs to help the poor help themselves?

You will be hearing from Mr. Robert I. Shackford about the Community Action Programs, and I want to add my strong plea for you to devise and develop every means at your command to assist. This is the front line.

There is still another responsibility I hope you will increasingly accept. That is to make known your professional thinking on all attempts to help the poor. For example, are public assistance payments adequate to your knowing eye? Then take the responsibility to help the public understand your thinking so that changes can be considered.

You have a big assignment here this week. I urge you to develop a crash program:

> of research to find new and more positive ways to help the poor help themselves
>
> of an evaluation of publications and all other teaching aids so they are as effective as possible with people who have limited incomes and limited education
>
> of definite action to help fill the information gaps

of intensified consumer education in the schools

I urge you to keep high your personal and organizational commitment to participate in community-level efforts to help the poor break the cycle of poverty. You have the knowledge; you have the service spirit or you would not be here today. I feel you can measure the caliber of people by the size of the challenge they accept. You have accepted a big challenge.

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[1] David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More: Consumer Practices of Low-Income Families, Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research report (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963), p. 220.

[2] Caplovitz, Ibid.

[3] Lydia Strong, "Consumer Education for Low-Income Families: A Limited Survey of Programs and Resources." Mimeograph (Mount Vernon, New York: Consumers Union of U.S.).

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RURAL AMERICA NEEDS HOME ECONOMISTS

John A. Baker
Assistant Secretary
U. S. Department of Agriculture

It is a pleasure to take part in this American Home Economics Association workshop. As you are well aware, home economists have moved into the forefront of public attention in recent months. The President's War on Poverty and other efforts to extend the benefits of abundance to all Americans have brought a renewed awareness and appreciation of home economists and the work you do.

Your knowledge of nutrition and child management, and of budgeting and health services are in great demand. Your techniques of teaching people and then getting them to teach others, and of going into homes to work directly with individuals are being widely emulated as the nation seeks to upgrade the quality of its civilization and to wage a War on Poverty.

Being married to a home economist, I know how you work long days and then conduct meetings at night to help families achieve a better way of life. Through daily activities, home economists in industry, in youth and adult education, and with the press reflect this creed of the professional home economist. Therefore, it is difficult to ask you to become more involved, but I must. Rural America needs your services now as never before.

Rural Communities Do Not Share in America's Prosperity

In recent years, our nation has been climbing steadily to new heights of unprecedented prosperity--the largest peacetime expansion in the history of our country--but our rural areas have not shared in this advance. On the contrary, many rural communities have fallen behind: They have lost people, lost jobs, lost opportunity.

The magnitude of this decline and the inequities it has created are difficult to comprehend, even for those of us who daily work with the problem. For example, everyone knows our cities are plagued with blight

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and with overcrowded, substandard housing. But there are more dilapidated, unhealthful, and unsafe houses in rural America than in all the cities of our nation put together--three times the proportion, in fact.

There are 30,000 rural communities still without the most basic utility, a central water system. This means that in millions of rural homes the simple act of taking a bath becomes a complicated task. In periods of drought, for the low-income family that must haul water a bath may become an economic impossibility; and, without water, there can be no waste disposal system.

In education, urban residents have an average of almost two years more schooling than rural people, and the quality of their education is generally superior. Look at the per pupil expenditure for education in urban versus rural school districts and you realize it could not be otherwise. For rural schools, the cost per pupil was $221 for 1955-56. In urban schools, the expenditure per pupil ranged from $273 to $321.

Rural America also has a disproportionate share of poverty. Nearly half the nation's poor are found in rural areas, where 30 per cent of our people live, and where non-farm residents outnumber those on the farms f[illegible] to one.

In child health, there is a comparable disadvantage for rural youngsters. They have access to and receive a third less medical attention than the urban youngster. The mortality rate for rural children is far higher than for urban children.

As President Johnson has pointed out, these deficiences and deprivations feed one upon the other. The gradual erosion of opportunity, the houses and public facilities that are never built, the outmigration of people, all of this leaves a tax base growing smaller and smaller for the support of education, health, and other public services that are essential to the full development and well-being of people.

Some people might find it difficult to believe what I am describing. After all, what they see as they whip along a superhighway is a wide expanse of lush green fields, restful forests, and grazing cattle. If they turn onto a regular highway that winds through a rural village, what catches their eyes are the magnificent old homes dozing on well-shaded streets and the peaceful, unhurried pace of the people in the downtown section. Perhaps they feel a momentary longing for that peace and tranquility, not realizing that many of the people are not hurrying because they have no place to go. The hurrying travelers do not see the closed-off second story of the fine old homes, unused because the young people have left to seek jobs and opportunity in the city; the water and sewer lines that do not exist; or the library that is not there and was never there. Seldom, if ever, do the travelers truly get off the beaten track, off the ribbons of concrete and

asphalt, onto the rutted dirt roads that carry them back into a land where deprivation and hardship have become a way of life. They enjoy the mountain scenery from the superhighway but they don't follow the creeks and winding roads back to the impoverished homes in the hollows.

This is, of course, only one face of rural America, just as the overcrowded slums are but one aspect of our metropolitan centers. There are many rural communities where the magnificent old homes and quiet downtown streets bespeak a cherished way of life, rather than a lack of opportunity. These are the rural towns and cities surrounded by still-prosperous farm areas--communities where local people diversified their economy to counter swift moving currents of change.

To a person facing the problem of lack of opportunity in rural America for the first time, the immediate reaction is: "Why don't they pack up and leave?"

You, of course, know the answer.

It is one thing for the well-educated, self-reliant young men and women to go to the city in search of wider economic opportunity. Millions have, and many have succeeded. It is altogether another matter for older people, with probably less education and less adaptability, to be placed in a position where they are forced by the naked coercion of want and hunger to move into the city. Too often, the only result is that they add congestion and a lessening of family ties to their previous misery. A survey conducted in rural areas of south central Kentucky shows that one out of every three men who left that region between 1950 and 1960 ended up as a low-paid city laborer. These men are the first to be laid off in a production cutback. Often, when this has happened a second or third time, they return to their former homes disillusioned and dispirited.

I would be the first to urge young men or women to seek their places in the city, if that is what they desire, but I am violently opposed to the idea of standing idly by and letting want and economic privation rob them of all choice in the matter.

What can we do to help people in areas of rural decline correct this imbalance of opportunity:

> We can work with rural groups to help them create new jobs and new economic opportunity, and give them technical help when they request it.
>
> We can support their efforts to obtain education systems and public utilities that are on a par with those in urban areas.
>
> We can help them find ways to attack, and overcome, local causes of poverty.

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We can see to it that federal assistance of all kinds is just as readily available to rural people as it is to urban people.

Rural Renaissance

An impressive start has already been made in this direction. Throughout rural America, local people are seizing the initiative, and, with government help, are carrying forward projects to create new jobs and new economic opportunity.

The roots of this rural renaissance can be traced back to the work of the Cooperative Extension Service. Through county agricultural agents and, later, extension home economists, the Cooperative Extension Service has worked with young and old alike to develop agriculture and improve rural life. This budding renaissance also had its genesis in the cooperatives which brought electricity and telephones to rural homes, and in the soil conservation districts which rural landowners organized to carry forward land and water improvements on a sound, coordinated basis. Scattered rural development activities crystalized into a nationwide movement almost four years ago when local people began organizing Rural Areas Development committees. The U.S. Department of Agriculture encouraged formation of these committees and the field people of our Department and other federal and state agencies organized Technical Action Panels to serve as consultants to the local organization. These committees now number 2700 in which 107,000 persons are involved in committees and subcommittees.

The Congress provided new legislation needed to overcome obstacles that local people encountered in their development efforts. One of the first of such programs passed by Congress was the Area Redevelopment Act. This legislation provided part of the credit local people needed to finance job-creating industries, and to build the water and waste disposal systems required by such plants. With help through ARA, rural people have financed 316 commercial and industrial plants and recreation ventures that have provided them nearly 70,000 direct and indirect jobs. Financing a development plan is a difficult problem for any city, particularly small rural communities which have experienced a long period of economic decline. The ARA helped them offset at least part of this problem.

The Food and Agriculture Acts of 1961 and 1962 provided a number of new or expanded programs. Since 1961, the Department of Agriculture has helped rural communities build or improve water systems serving more than 385,000 rural people. Most of the money was provided by private investors and insured by the Department. A recreation loan program was authorized, and we began providing expanded technical assistance on income-producing recreation projects. Since 1962, the Department has helped more than 26,000 rural landowners establish one or more income-producing recreational enterprises.

We stepped up our response to rural housing needs, including special programs to help senior citizens build or remodel their homes; and special housing programs also have been inaugurated for migratory workers and their families.

We expanded watershed flood prevention projects to provide additional water storage capacity for recreation. municipal, and industrial uses. We began working with farmers on a pilot basis to find other economic uses for land no longer needed for growing crops.

At the request of local sponsors, the Department also launched two unique pilot projects in multi-county development, both on a small scale. One is called Resource Conservation and Development. It calls for acceleration of resource development activities to improve overall economic conditions. The other is Rural Renewal, which could be considered a rural version of urban renewal. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has authorized financial assistance to nine locally sponsored Resource Conservation and Development projects. Under the Rural Renewal program, which got underway in February 1964, the Department has loaned $706,000 to county development authorities in Florida and Arkansas to carry out projects that could not be financed under other programs.

Economic Opportunity Act Intensifies Program

With passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, local people obtained many of the tools they needed to expand economic development activities to encompass improvement of human capabilities as well. There, of course, has been some activity in the human development field all along. The work you have been doing, the training programs, and the health and educational work of Rural Area Development subcommittees all have contributed to a better way of life for individuals. This work will be expanded and intensified by the Economic Opportunity Act. This Act provides programs and funds that will enable local people to get at and improve conditions for the hard-to-reach, low-income group.

Using these tools and the organized RAD approach, local people have been able to complete, or start work on, projects that have created more than 412,000 new jobs. RAD committees have been organized under one name or another in three-fourths of the nation's rural counties.

Home economists are making an important contribution to this movement. Our records indicate at least 2100 home economists are actively involved in local development efforts. You are conducting surveys and training programs. You are helping families solve problems of operating vacation farms and resorts. You are stimulating the development of home industries. You are helping the low-income families to stretch their few dollars for food, or use the donated foods they receive for more nutritious

meals. You are working with families in areas of chronic poverty to develop attitudes that start them on the road to independence. In some cases, you are the leaders of the local RAD effort. For example, when an RAD committee was organized in Mississippi, more than one-fourth of the members were women because the home demonstration agent had been working with home demonstration clubs, explaining the objectives of RAD and the opportunities for women in this movement.

I hope those of you here will become even more actively engaged in local development efforts, if you have not already done so. Secretary Freeman has invited home economists to participate on Technical Action Panels, as well as the local RAD committee.

Late in February, the Secretary took an important step to help other agencies of the federal government reach into rural areas with increased effectiveness. He created the Rural Community Development Service, an agency with no operating programs of its own, but whose job it is to assist other agencies in extending their services to rural people. This new agency will help local people make as effective use of other federal programs as they now do of USDA programs. We have already done quite a bit to help rural people make use of many programs such as Area Redevelopment, Economic Opportunity, Manpower Development and Training, and Small Business. But never before have we done this in such a systematic manner, and never before have we had a directive from the President to perform such a function.

Our objective will be to make all the programs of the federal government fully available in rural areas: to provide not only parity of opportunity in rural America, but also parity of opportunity and parity of availability for every person who lives in a rural area. The Rural Community Development Service and the work of the Extension Service will help rural people realize this objective, but they cannot do the job alone. They will need your help.

I urge you to find out about the various federal services available. Then you will see ways they can help in your own community. For example, you could inform local leaders of the assistance available under the public housing program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, work with them to get a project going, and then work with the families who move into these units to improve their level of living.

Did you know that the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is now required to spend a part of its funds on job training for women? They have set up specifications with the Labor Department for courses in child care, food handling, housekeeping, and other subprofessional jobs. Here is an opportunity for the home economist to form classes, and to work with local people and the Labor Department in obtaining authorization for a course.

In this way, we can help rural people find their rightful place in our country's Great Society.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND THE HOME ECONOMIST

Ellen Winston
Commissioner of Welfare
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The topic assigned to me, a discussion of the contribution home economists can make to public welfare, gets to the very nub of the problem of poverty. This is because a high proportion of the very poorest of poor people are dependent upon public assistance at one time or another, and thus come to the attention of public welfare agencies. Therefore, when the home economist serves a public welfare agency, she is contributing very directly to the welfare of families in the very lowest income groups. I recognize, of course, that the public welfare agency is not the only avenue through which the home economist can reach these people. It is, however, one of the easiest ways and I hope it will be used increasingly as a result of this workshop.

There are basically two ways that the home economist can serve low-income families through her state or local public welfare agency: as a paid staff member, and as a volunteer. To do either, of course, depends not only upon the home economist but also upon the officials of the agency. As much as agencies need home economists, I would be less than honest with you if I gave you the impression that the doors of all these agencies stand open, just waiting for you to enter.

Survey of Welfare Use of Home Economists

The American Public Welfare Association recently made a survey to determine to what extent state and local public welfare agencies now employ home economists on their staffs. The Association worked out a questionnaire and sent it to all state public welfare agencies and to 122 local agencies in cities with a population of over 100,000. Replies were received from 92 per cent of the agencies queried and totaled 156, of which 48 were from state agencies and 108 from city agencies. Only 14 of the state and 16 of the city agencies reported to the American Public Welfare Association that they employed home economists on their staffs. Our own

data would indicate that there are now 17 states employing these specialists. Whichever figure you use, the number is small in relation to the need. However, an additional 29 states and 24 city agencies said that they obtained consultation from home economists employed by other organizations including hospitals and health departments, Agricultural Extension Service, colleges, universities, and local school districts.

This picture is improving, and when welfare agencies do employ home economists they tend to employ several. The New York City agency, for example, employs 43; and the Chicago agency, 18. This would indicate that public welfare agencies' failure to recruit and employ more home economists on their staffs cannot be attributed entirely, or even primarily, to lack of interest.

A more important reason is undoubtedly the difficulty of getting sufficient funds from budgets that are never large enough to stretch over all the urgent needs that confront a public welfare agency. But why does the employment of home economists receive a relatively low priority on the list of an agency's needs, and why is it that more agencies do not draw upon home economists in other agencies for consultant services? Lack of money does not entirely explain why agencies are not using home economists' services more extensively, so we have to conclude that there are other reasons.

One reason may be that home economists, being busy people with many pressing demands on their time, have not knocked on the doors of the public welfare agencies. Another may be that the public welfare agency officials, concerned with a whole gamut of problems and issues, have not knocked on the doors of the home economists.

Teamwork Is Important

Both of these reasons are bound to disappear once agency executives and home economists become more aware of how important it is that they work together. Why is it important that they do so? What are the special contributions the home economist can make toward the elimination of poverty, and why is the public welfare agency the logical agency through which she can make these contributions?

First of all, the home economist can help to alleviate one of the most painful aspects of poverty--lack of adequate incomes to provide the basic essentials of living. Public assistance payments throughout the nation are too low. In some states they are more adequate than in others, but in no state are they truly adequate. On the average, the payment for a needy child is about one dollar a day. Payment for a needy aged or disabled adult is usually a little over two dollars a day. I do not need to tell this audience that at today's prices you cannot maintain a decent and wholesome standard of living on such amounts.

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The obvious answer is to raise the grants and, with so many state legislatures meeting in 1965, we hope to see action along that line. Although the federal government helps to finance these public assistance programs, the states must also pay a share. It is the state, not the federal, government that determines what level of living will be provided for needy people. Therefore, state legislation and appropriations are the key approaches to this basic problem.

As citizens, you can work toward the goal of more adequate payments; and you can help the people of your state, and those who represent them in the legislature, to understand the seriousness of too low payments. You can also do something more that will help right now. You can provide the services that will enable needy people to make what little money they do have go further.

No group is in greater need of consumer education than the people who must live on public assistance grants, or other very low incomes, and no group is more competent to offer them consumer education than the home economists of this nation.

Among those who most need help in planning their expenditures are the more than four million persons (one million families) who are recipients of the AFDC program (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Nationwide, only 16 per cent of these AFDC mothers have finished high school, as compared with 56 per cent of all women. Studies show a close relationship between education and dependency. Of all women who have less than five years of schooling, in the 20 to 55 age group, one in 14 is on AFDC. Of all who completed elementary school but went no further, one in 34 is on AFDC. Of all high school graduates who did not go to college, one in 155 is supported by AFDC. The AFDC mothers who are employed are generally found in occupations where requirements for training and education are low, pay is low, turnover is high, and there is little economic security.

Most of the AFDC families are one-parent families, headed by a woman. In the total population, there are about two and one-fourth million families that have a female head, and they have an average income equal to only slightly over half that of the average income of families with a male head. Because of their marginal incomes, the AFDC program serves a high proportion of them at one time or another, and it is while they are receiving such assistance that it is easiest for you to reach them. For example, many agencies report success from AFDC mothers clubs at which home economists show the mothers how to make good use of donated foods, how to plan better meals, and how to budget their all too few dollars for food and clothing.

Homemaker Programs

Another approach is through homemaker programs. Because the

federal government can now pay 75 per cent of the cost of homemaker programs in public welfare agencies, more and more agencies are establishing this service. Just this past year, 75 new public welfare homemaker programs were started, making a total of 168 such programs. The great value of these programs is that they employ women who have been successful in managing their own homes to go into the homes of deprived families and give them what you might call on-the-job training in money management and good housekeeping practices. While it is not necessary to have a home economist serve each individual family, the home economist is needed to help develop these programs along practical lines. For example, the women who are employed as homemakers frequently come from middle-class backgrounds and need the help of the home economist in learning how to help families get along with minimal, and even makeshift, equipment.

The elderly are another group who particularly need consumer education. About two million of them are dependent on public assistance and about nine million have very limited incomes.

At the opposite end of the age scale are another important group--the teen-agers. Today, over 40 per cent of all brides are teen-agers. Many, if not most of them, are ill prepared for the spending decisions which are so important in creating the home environment that is essential to wholesome family life. I think it no exaggeration to say that consumer education could save many such marriages.

As home economists and public welfare workers come together in more and more communities to discuss these problems, I am sure they will find many ways of using the home economist's skills to help poor and deprived people use their incomes to greater advantage. Employing home economists on welfare agency staffs is not the only answer, although I believe every large agency needs a home economist and I hope they will soon get one or more. But we need not wait for this. Classes can be organized as a part of the school system's adult education program. Home economists in industries can help. Some home service programs of utilities companies are focusing on the needs of low-income families, and these have proved most useful. I know of one cosmetic industry that has developed a very helpful program for teen-agers from low-income families. This industry begins with the obvious appeal to any girl of becoming more attractive, but goes on to many more basic things that give these adolescents greater self-respect and instill habits and attitudes that will help them in their roles as wives and mothers.

I do want to stress, however, the importance of home economists and welfare workers joining together in these efforts, whether they are carried out under welfare agency or other auspices. The reason I stress this is because each profession, social work and home economics, has part, but only part, of the answers poor people need. The emphasis in the training a social worker receives to prepare for that profession is on

working with people whose cultures are often very different from those of middle-class America.

We tend to think of the poor as middle-class people without money, which is not the case with many of the families who are most in need of help. The social worker is especially well prepared in the arts of motivating such people to learn, and in ways of helping them to absorb this knowledge so that it actually changes their living patterns. But the social worker is not versed, as is the home economist, in the subject matter which is vitally important to people with low incomes: how to buy economically, plan efficiently, and keep a home running smoothly and wholesomely on a minimum budget. That is why social worker and home economist, working as a team, can be of far greater help to low-income families than either could be working independently.

More Federal Aid for Programs Using Home Economists

As a result of the 1962 public welfare amendments to the Social Security Act, there is now more federal aid available to help public welfare agencies develop programs which use home economists, either as paid staff or as volunteers, to serve not only families who are currently dependent on public assistance but also families and individuals on marginal incomes who have been dependent or who are in danger of becoming so. Therefore, I think you will find n increasing demand for your services in developing consumer education programs, in helping to get homemaker programs started or expanded, and in devising other ways to use your knowledge for the benefit of the people who so sorely need it.

These amendments also provide federal assistance to encourage public welfare workers to become increasingly active in community organization activities. This includes working through the community action programs set up under the antipoverty program and through health and welfare planning councils to help communities survey the needs of low-income people, assess what is being done to meet those needs, and plan additional activities which will fill gaps in services. In this type of enterprise too, the home economist has an important role to play.

Another provision authorizes federal aid for day care programs, and this, too, concerns the home economist--whether it be helping new day care centers purchase equipment and operate their food service or assisting women who operate family day care homes with the nutritional and other problems that they will undoubtedly face in caring for deprived child-ren.

We also need home economists in the growing number of research and demonstration projects that are now being developed under public welfare auspices. Under one provision of the 1962 amendments, public welfare agencies can establish demonstration projects which offer services

to a selected group of clients and do not have to be available throughout the state, as is the case with the regular ongoing public assistance programs. Moreover, the federal government will pay for 75 per cent of the cost of these projects.

I believe home economists could help public welfare staffs design and carry out some very worthwhile projects. For example, a project might be designed to develop data on the value of consumer education by taking one group of AFDC families in which there are malnourished children, giving them a great deal of help and guidance in planning and buying, and then comparing the health status of these children with those of a comparable control group who received no special help. Home economists could also help to design studies that would give us a much clearer picture than we now have of the spending patterns of the poor, the diets of the poor, and other down-to-earth information that would help public welfare agencies to improve their programs and services.

In addition to public assistance funds available for such studies, there are a number of other grant programs in the Welfare Administration under which grants can be made for research in universities, voluntary agencies, and other nonprofit organizations. Applications for these grants tend to be overweighted in terms of studies of interpersonal relationships and other behavioral science areas. While these are extremely important, we also need some bread-and-butter types of studies to give us a better balanced program of research investment. Who is better qualified to help develop such projects than the practical-minded and well informed home economist?

The areas of service and research which I have touched upon are suggestive, not exhaustive. We need your help in assuring adequate nursing home care for the many recipients of public assistance who are in such homes. We need you in our child welfare programs, and we think you might well have contributions to make in the enrichment of programs for young people to reduce juvenile delinquency.

Moreover, we have reason to believe that you will find public welfare agencies more responsive to your offers of help and more aggressive in seeking you out now than ever before. The 1962 public welfare amendments have given states greater incentives to develop preventive and rehabilitative programs in their public assistance agencies. There is also the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, under which public welfare agencies are responsible for developing work experience and training projects for unemployed parents. Many of those projects have to do with helping people train for restaurant, institutional, and other jobs that would bring them under the supervision of home economists. Another new and tremendously important program is the President's Committee on Consumer Interests. The Welfare Administration is represented on the Committee's Panel on Consumer Education for Persons with Limited Incomes by Miss Gladys White (Home Economist Consultant, Division of Welfare Services) of our

Bureau of Family Services. There are also six other home economists on this panel; thus you have a ready avenue for making a contribution to this important activity, a contribution that will have enhanced value as you work with the public welfare personnel in your communities in studying and meeting the consumer needs of the poor.

These are all good reasons why public welfare agencies should be seeking you out, why you will find that they can provide increasingly effective mechanisms to help you use your skills and talents on behalf of those who need you most. When they do seek you out, we know they will find each and every one of you responsive and willing to do whatever you can to team up with them in serving the people who have thus far been bypassed by our affluent society. When they do not seek you out, we hope you will seek them out--not merely willingly, but insistently. You have so much to offer that no state, no community, and no neighborhood where poor people live should be deprived of the help that you can give.

The War against Poverty is everyone's War and I quite agree with Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson who said at your annual meeting last year, "The all-out War on Poverty needs home economists in the front brigade." I would only add to that a reminder that the front line field office for this War is your public welfare agency. I hope that, if you are not already in touch with your local agency, one of the first things you do when you get back home will be to go there and enlist.

ERIC

THE CONSUMER COUNSELLING PROGRAM OF AFL-CIO COMMUNITY SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Paul Mendenhall
AFL-CIO-CSA Liaison Staff
United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc.

May I first express my appreciation for the opportunity to tell you something about the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities Consumer Counselling Program. I should like to say parenthetically that, although I am a member of the Labor Participation Department of United Community Funds and Councils of America, which is the national association of local united funds and community welfare councils, I am also authorized to speak for the Community Services Department of the AFL-CIO with respect to its various programs.

Before going into details of the consumer program, I believe it would be useful to tell you something about the overall community services program of the AFL-CIO, of which consumer counselling is only one phase. Historically speaking, as I am sure you know, organized labor's basic interest has been to secure decent wages and working conditions for its members through the process of collective bargaining. Since for some time collective bargaining has been generally accepted in this country as a means of achieving labor's economic goals, and since, through this process, the lot of organized workers has been improving constantly, the AFL-CIO has turned its attention to other interests not exclusively concerned with its own basic purposes. One of these interests has taken the form of assuming a leadership role in facing up to and attempting to solve the many problems of the community, working with others in the community to find new ways to meet overall community needs. This purpose can best be expressed in a very simple phrase: What is good for the community is good for labor.

I have already mentioned that consumer counselling is one of a number of AFL-CIO community service programs. Another program, which we call Union Counselling, consists of a series of 8 to 10 two-hour sessions attended by rank and file union members. At these sessions, people from various community health and welfare agencies, both voluntary and public, tell about the services their respective organizations provide.

Examples of such resource persons are those from the fields of family service, public welfare, recreation, health, workmen's and unemployment compensation, etc. At the end of this course, there is a graduation ceremony, usually including a dinner, at which certificates of completion are awarded. Union members who have completed the course are known as union counselors. Their function is to act as referral agents for fellow members seeking help of one type or another.

Other community service programs include working with management in the establishment of joint labor-management campaign committees to plan and operate in-plant drives for local united funds. This usually results in setting up payroll deduction plans to facilitate the collection of pledges to united funds. Also, work is done in cooperation with the American Red Cross in the establishment of nonprofit blood banks and of disaster services to be called on in times of emergencies such as hurricanes, tornados, floods, catastrophic fires, etc. Retirement planning courses and institutes, assistance to strikers, social agency board membership training, fluoridation of water supplies, mass immunization programs, rehabilitation programs, and programs to aid alcoholics are some of our other community services.

To give you an idea of the potential of the AFL-CIO Community Services Department program, I will give you a brief picture of our organizational structure. There are currently 145 staff people, located in 102 cities spread throughout the nation, to whom we refer to generically as "community services staff", or as "labor staff." It is the responsibility of these persons to implement locally the AFL-CIO Community Services Department program. There are also community services staff at the state level in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The former group, that is local staff, are members of the professional staffs of local united funds or community welfare councils but are likewise responsible to their local central labor bodies or councils.

I turn now to our consumer counselling program which is one of my major responsibilities. As I have already said, while organized labor's basic interest is in securing adequate income and proper working conditions, we are also concerned that what is won at the bargaining table will not be lost at the bargain table. In other words, although increased wages may be gained by means of collective bargaining, such gains are much too often negated by unwise purchases or by purchases made without adequate information as to the relative merits of the product or the service involved. A few years ago, in an effort to meet these problems, we launched our consumer counselling program to help union members learn about how they can expend their financial resources more intelligently. I might add that in keeping with our desire to help all persons in the community, this program has been opened in many localities to all interested persons, non-union as well as union.

In setting up the program, we recommend to local staff that they solicit the services of resource persons who are not only knowledgeable but objective and detached in their particular areas of competence. We urge that such persons be those who have no material vested interest in the field they present. For example, we would recommend that someone from a credit union be used in a session on borrowing and the use of credit, rather than a person from the small loan field.

One of our greatest problems in organizing this program locally is securing resource persons who are not only knowledgeable in their respective fields, but who also have the facility of being able to communicate with union members. Here is an area where members of the American Home Economics Association have been of great help, but I believe there is still a great opportunity to make more extended use of home economists as resource people, particularly, extension home economists. We are currently making a survey of activity over the past year in the consumer field in cities where we have staff. To date, 20 cities reported holding consumer information courses. Each of them involved extension home economists, and teachers of home economics.

As to the structure of our consumer counselling program, it is divided into three phases: the consumer information course, consumer conferences or institutes, and consumer clinics.

The Consumer Information Course--How It Works

Consumer information courses generally consist of eight weekly sessions, although this may vary according to the needs and desires of each community. These once-a-week class sessions last from two to three hours and are usually held in the evening. Included are such topics as buying the most for your money; family meal planning and food marketing; credit and installment buying; legal assistance and consumer protection; health care; and insurance, including personal, auto, home, health, etc. While the above subjects are ones we recommend, we urge those organizing the course to include consumer problems that are of topical concern in their own communities, such as, for example, home improvement rackets that periodically sweep the country.

The Consumer Conference or Institute

Many cities have found it effective to hold one or two-day consumer conferences to launch interest in the program before starting the consumer information course, or to satisfy a specific consumer need in the community. In many instances these conferences center on one or two key problems such as consumer credit, wage assignments and garnishments, or consumer protection agencies. These problems are explained more exhaustively than is possible in one evening session in the information course.

The Consumer Clinic

Finally, the establishment of consumer clinics is recommended, clinics to which union members can turn when faced with a particular consumer problem, such as one that requires legal advice or is related to housing or taxes. Many locals, for example, provide free assistance to members in preparing income tax returns. Such services can be set up in a union hall or office one or two evenings a week or on Saturday mornings, and should be staffed with competent, impartial advisers. These advisers must not promote any specific service or brand, or use this service for selfish, personal gain. This phase of the program has particular relevance in efforts to reach low-income families, since research has indicated that direct and personal contact may be the most effective way of communicating with this group.

If you have not been approached by our people in connection with our consumer counselling program, may I suggest that if you are interested, you get in touch with local or state community services staff. Even cities without full-time staff often have active community services committees who may be interested in this program if they have not already conducted it. These committees may be reached through local central labor bodies. Another relatively unexploited source of cooperation with labor groups is with AFL-CIO auxiliaries that are located in scores of cities throughout the country. These two, committees and auxiliaries, can be located through central labor bodies.

These programs, we feel, represent one line of defense against exploitation of labor members in the market place. (I should mention that many local and international unions have conducted similar courses for many years.)

Next, let me briefly recite the AFL-CIO's national interest in consumer problems. The AFL-CIO subscribes wholeheartedly to the "bill of rights" for the consumer as presented by President Kennedy's message to Congress on a "Consumers' Protection and Interest Program." This, as you no doubt know, was the first presidential message to Congress on such a matter in history. We are pleased that President Johnson has given further thrust to this program. The AFL-CIO supports the establishment of a department of the consumer in the federal government; the "truth-in-lending" bill of Senator Douglas; Senator Hart's "truth-in-packaging" bill, closing the loopholes in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act; and control of high drug prices. Obviously, in our view, the foregoing aid all consumers, including those with limited incomes. Conversely, the AFL-CIO opposes all types of so-called "fair-trade" laws, such as "quality stabilization" laws, no matter under what title they masquerade.

To relate our efforts more directly to the topic of this conference, may I say that we feel our consumer information program has an important

part to play in President Johnson's declared War on Poverty. While it is obvious that the problem of poverty is basically one of inadequate income, it is our view that consumer knowledge can play an important assisting role in helping a family make progress in improving its living standards; and in making sure that if and when a family's income rises, these gains will not be taken from it through inexperience or by the forays of high pressure advertising, salesmanship, and installment dealers.

To date, the survey to which I have already alluded disclosed that local community services staff in 14 cities were planning to make special efforts to reach low-income families with consumer information. Most of these efforts will be in cooperation with settlement houses, housing developments, and the local antipoverty organization. Since these attempts are not as yet under way, I am unable to report to you how successful they are as to organization and methodology. However, in lieu of this, and for what it may be worth, I would like to pass on to you some of my own thinking about reaching low-income families with consumer information and assistance. This is based on reading and conversation with persons working in this field.

In my judgment, there are a number of problems that have to be faced up to, and solutions sought for, in working with low-income families. I am sure that you are familiar with most or all of them as a result of your own experiences or from what you have learned thus far at this conference. Let me attempt to list some of the problems.

First, the problem of motivating people to seek consumer information is a knotty one for families at all levels of income, let alone those with meager or marginal incomes. It is my belief that, in many instances, those who attend consumer information courses are not necessarily those most in need of assistance. Many have a higher than average degree of sophistication concerning consumer problems. With low-income families the matter of motivation may be compounded by how feasible it is for them to come to courses or clinics. Many have small children, or work hard all day and wish to relax with TV. With regard to the matter of child care, one consumer project in New York included in its program a provision for baby sitters for mothers who wished to participate.

Second, people often do not know where to go for help. Even if they know, in most instances insofar as low-income families are concerned, the location of these services is in distant and strange neighborhoods. This has the effect of dissuading families from going there for help. Caplovitz, in his study reported in The Poor Pay More,[1] has stressed the need for having consumer assistance services available in areas where limited-income people reside.

Third, there is no assurance that purchasers in general will make decisions in their best interest even if they have, or have access to, knowledge about various products and services. To a considerable extent, their

decisions are influenced by the constant barrage of advertising claims to which they are subjected. The latter often results in choices based on brand names rather than inherent quality. This conditioning, which begins very early in life, is not always easy to undo.

Fourth, one mistake we may be making in working with low-income persons is to presume that they should have the same aspirations, goals, and behavior patterns as those with a middle-class orientation. Here, we must be prepared for what someone has described as "cultural shock" as we discover there are segments of American society that live in a psychological and sociological milieu strikingly different from that to which many of us are accustomed. As an extreme example of this kind of disparity I recall the emphasis that Clifford R. Shaw, the late University of Chicago sociologist and criminologist, used to place on the fact that what is normal for a middle-class culture may be quite out of place in a culture conducive to antisocial behavior, and vice versa. He asserted that in the latter setting, juvenile delinquency is considered by many of its inhabitants as "normal" behavior while not being delinquent was "abnormal."

Fifth, and somewhat related to the preceding statement, is an inclination to assume that low-income people are naturally apathetic and uninterested in improving their lot. Here I paraphrase some comments in "Obstacles to Blue Collar Participation in Adult Education,"[2] by Jack London and Robert Werkert of the University of California at Berkeley. In my judgment, their views, expressed as applying to blue-collar workers, apply equally well to low-income groups. Expressed in edited form, they said:

> The myth of worker "apathy" is one of long standing . . . The view associated with this myth assumes that no amount of effort will succeed in bringing working class adults into adult education proportional to their numbers in the population, and further assumes that the reason for this lack of success is the "natural" disinterest of the blue-collar worker in the important educational experiences of life . . . In the context of educational institutions, the characterization of blue-collar workers as "apathetic" usually implies the moral position that workers should be middle class, should fit themselves into the institutional structure which exists, and should take courses which educators deem to be important to workers to be informed about. The word thus hides what should be called into question, namely, whether it is the worker who should fit himself to the existing institutions or whether the institutions should fit themselves to the life-styles of the blue-collar worker.
>
> As Frank Riessman has argued with regard to children's education, the emphasis on the "cultural deprivation" of

> the working class child has inhibited attention to the positive aspects of working-class life which are worth supporting, and which can be used as stepping stones to the broadening of educational perspectives. The same is true for adults; the methods, techniques, and content of adult education must be surveyed from the perspective of the blue-collar worker to determine which are most congruent with his values and interests. Unfortunately, adult education administrators and teachers are predominantly middle class, and their "trained incapacity" to understand the worker's perspective restricts their ability to organize adult education activities in a manner which will appeal to his interests and outlooks.

On the other hand, one can agree with the above observations but still recognize that low-income families, while not necessarily apathetic, may be resigned or very realistic about how unrealistic are some of the solutions offered them.

The AFL-CIO Community Services Department wishes to keep pace with the current burgeoning interest on behalf of all consumers, and stands ready to cooperate fully with other like-minded groups such as your own. In the latter connection, I should like to include here a comment by Sidney Margolius, who, after reviewing this paper and making many helpful suggestions, said:

> Actually, the only way all of us may be able to develop truly effective programs is to put together our joint expertise and the fragments of help each of the various community agencies are able to provide to families in need of guidance.

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[1] David Caplovitz, The Poor Pay More: Consumer Practices of Low-Income Families, Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research report (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1963), 220 pp.

[2] Jack London and Robert Wenkert, "Obstacles to Blue Collar Participation In Adult Education," Unpublished manuscript (Berkeley: University of California, 1963).

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND THE LOW-INCOME FAMILY

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Through President Johnson's all-out War against Poverty, every conscientious man and woman in the United States is becoming keenly aware of his duty to participate in the effort. In this vein, you of the American Home Economics Association, representing the home economics heartbeat of the nation, are to be commended for your awareness of the services your profession can contribute. Your contribution is in response to the President's own plea:

> Let those of us who are well fed, well clothed, and well housed never forget and never overlook those who live on the outskirts of hope... While we work to maintain peace in the world, let us not forget that here at home we are locked in a battle against poverty, ignorance, disease.../and/ every boy and girl born in this country...has a right to all the education that he or she can take.

Again, in presenting his Education Message to Congress, January 12 (1965) the President said: "Just as ignorance breeds poverty, poverty all too often breeds ignorance in the next generation."

Poverty

A recent report reveals a record high of 601, 000 juvenile delinquency cases in the United States in 1963. This is, indeed, a serious matter. We all know that idleness results in discontent, and discontent often leads to delinquency. The disproportionate number of unemployed youth today may well be tomorrow's delinquents. I believe that all youth should have some suitable education program which will directly assist them in obtaining employment upon leaving school. In numerous instances, vocational education is the answer.

An ancient Jewish philosopher said, "Anticipate charity by preventing poverty. Assist the reduced fellowman, either by a considerable gift, or a sum of money, or by teaching him a trade, or by putting him in the way of business, so that he may earn an honest livelihood, and not be forced to the dreadful alternative of holding out his hand for charity." On February 14 of this year, President Johnson said, "The War against Poverty is, in the last analysis, the struggle for human decency and independence." And that's what we are talking about here today.

Vocational educators have been handed an enormous challenge. On them has been placed the primary responsibility to serve people of all ages in all communities throughout the country who want and need training for occupations to match their interests and abilities.

Our expanding industrial economy cannot afford the waste of human resources we see all around us. For too long, the poverty-stricken people of America--those who have been termed the socioeconomically handicapped--have not had adequate vocational education opportunities. This has been partly because we did not have sufficient resources at any level--local, state or federal--to cope with the special problems involved. It has also been because we have not taken the trouble to learn to know and understand these people.

Low income, discrimination, lack of motivation, and inability to become a part of the majority culture or to enter the world of work have produced children and families and generations of people who cannot benefit from the education which has been offered to them.

Last month in Buffalo, U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Walter F. Carey noted that "If poverty is to be eradicated, more than the temporary palliatives of relief and welfare measures are needed. New concepts of education and new approaches to vocational training are what the order of battle calls for and these can best be supplied by those who know the lacks of education as we practice it today."

Last month in Atlantic City, the Cleveland school superintendent, Paul Briggs, told us that suburban education in recent years could be compared to urban education as a sports car could be compared to a big truck. "The suburban sports car," he said, "has raced along in education since the war, but the truck in the big cities has the horsepower, and we are beginning to mobilize it."

I share Mr. Briggs' optimism and his enthusiasm. There must certainly be concentration now on the urban areas--and on the problems of poverty-stricken people who live there--keeping in mind, of course, that poverty is not a disease of the city dweller alone.

Obviously, vocational education cannot do the job alone. Education as a whole cannot do the job alone. But all educators must be concerned

and must work together to provide programs to carry the individual from childhood to educational maturity. Many other agencies, including all community social services, must be involved at all levels. Industry and labor must surely play major roles--and the more involved they become, the better.

But a huge responsibility now lies with vocational education. If vocational or technical education is the desire of the student, his opportunity to get the best our educational system can provide must be offered to him. To reject him, to offer an alternative of education so general that it leaves him unprepared to enter the world of work, leaves us almost entirely to blame for his disillusionment.

Young people learning nothing, going nowhere, with no salable skills and no road to employment opportunity, constitute a growing potential tragedy in America. In general, they are the children of parents of low income who live in our affluent society but do not share its benefits. But you can't really describe them collectively. Each is an individual, with individual aspirations, capabilities, interests, and problems.

Built-In Limitation

Nevertheless, there is at least one thing which is common to all of them, and one thing which sets them outside the mainstream of American life and American education: the built-in limitation on their opportunities to develop to the fullest their individual potentials. This roadblock is the direct result of the character of the families from which they come, their family income, family education, family occupational background--and in many cases their national origin, their local origin, their race, their color--even their religion.

The concept of equal opportunity is shattered against such obstacles, and the cycle of cultural, educational, and economic deprivation continues.

In spite of our mounting prosperity, the percentage of families which make up this sub-nation of poverty is still declining, only very slowly. There is strong evidence that poverty is being transmitted from one generation to the next in a large proportion of these families. Those born into this maze stand an excellent chance of never finding their way out.

Society itself must break the cycle of providing usable education leading to useful employment and the establishment of a truly enlightened attitude in the field of human relationships. The accepted responsibility to give its young people the opportunity to acquire knowledge and skills--and to put them to use when acquired--is one of the greatest obligations of a democratic society.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 is an attempt to serve this purpose. Federal and state aid such as that provided through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Area Redevelopment Act, the Appalachia Act, and other programs administered by departments and agencies of the federal government all need to be concerted efforts in behalf of those which are seriously affected by low incomes.

Labor, industry, communities, states, and the nation as a whole, all have a vital interest in solving the problems of the socioeconomically handicapped. Well-trained workers, interested in their jobs, employed where good working conditions exist and fair employment and promotion policies are practiced, are a source of individual, local, state, and federal wealth.

The threat of dependence becoming a hereditary way of life has not been brought about by an inherent lack of ability in certain segments of our population. No particular group has a monopoly on the qualities needed for a satisfying and successful working life, as the melting pot tradition of America amply proves. Every ethnic and religious group has participated in the building of this nation. The present explosive and tragic situation has come about chiefly as a result of ignorance and apathy on the part of society as a whole.

There is no magic formula for the solution of this problem, nor is it enough to replace rejection with concern. For the socioeconomically handicapped, the reliable and lasting solution lies in education and training.

For those employed in the vocational programs, the recognition of each individual student's worth and potentiality and the attempt to meet his needs are all important. With imagination, initiative, courage, and the willingness to begin on our part--he <u>will</u> be recognized and his needs <u>will</u> be met.

In the past, vocational education programs have largely served the <u>more</u> prosperous rather than the least prosperous, the <u>more</u> able rather than the least able, the <u>most</u> privileged rather than the <u>least</u> privileged. But it is only fair to report that vocational educators see the voids in their programs and are taking important steps to bring about the changes that are needed.

A few days ago, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, in speaking on the subject of "Poverty--The Only War We Seek," said:

> We must deal with long-term problems. And this is to insure that the children of the present generation of poverty shall not grow up to be the next generation of poverty. . . It has long been recognized, although not always

> by educators, that the school alone does not hold a monopoly on all learning experiences. Many educational possibilities have been long at hand in our communities. But usually they have been least available to the poorest among us.

President Johnson's proposed educational program strongly supports the creation of education centers to bring together as many learning experiences as possible through a cooperative school-community effort, to make them readily available and attractive to all from the preschool on to adult education.

A tool designated to spearhead the attack on poverty is education, and one of the most important specific federal measures is the Vocational Educational Act of 1963.

Basic Fundamentals of Vocational Education Act

The Act is centered upon six fundamental ideas or concepts. They are:

1. The programs of vocational education are to be geared to labor market needs, both immediate and future, on local, state, regional, and national bases.

2. Programs offered under the terms of the Act will prepare students for employment in a great variety and range of jobs. Training will include the entire occupational spectrum, excluding only those jobs which the Commissioner of Education determines to be generally considered professional or which require a baccalaureate or higher degree.

Under the Smith-Hughes and George Barden Acts, as required by law, separate allotments of federal funds are made to the states for vocational education in specific occupational categories. To help overcome or offset this rigidity, under the 1963 Act the State Boards may now request the Commissioner's approval to transfer funds from one category to another, or for use under the new Act, according to need.

Important amendments to the existing Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts broaden the previous definitions of the occupational categories and foster flexibility in the development of new and varied programs more responsive to present and future occupational demands and opportunities. In addition, authorizations for practical nurse education and for training of highly skilled technicians, which were temporary programs under the old Acts, are now made permanent.

3. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 embodies the philosophy that all our citizens must have access to education and training that is of high quality and is realistic in terms of opportunities for gainful employment. This service should be available to all, from the least able and the disadvantaged to those of a high level of technical ability.

Occupational training is to be provided for young people attending high school and, on a full-time basis, for persons who have dropped out or completed high school. Programs will serve those who are at work and need training or retraining to hold their jobs or to advance in employment. Special programs will be tailored to meet the needs of those who struggle with acade. ic or socioeconomic handicaps.

4. The new Act provides for vocational education programs to be conducted in any type of school or educational institution. This provision includes comprehensive high school; specialized vocational-technical high schools, such as are found in many large cities; technical high schools; junior and community colleges; area vocational and technical schools of different types, both secondary and post-secondary; and four-year col`~es and universities, both public and private. Vocational progra , may be conducted in private schools under contract with the State Board or local educational agency.

For the first time, federal funds are authorized for the construction of area vocational-technical school facilities.

5. The Act places special emphasis on periodic evaluation of goals and progress. The states are required to evaluate their programs and vocational services continuously in the light of labor market needs and the needs of all groups in all communities in the state.

In addition to the National Advisory Committee, which will assist the Commissioner of Education in implementing the provisions of the Act, there will be an ad hoc Advisory Council appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The first such group will be selected and will meet in 1966. It will report to the Secretary and the Congress by January 1, 1968. Subsequent evaluations are required at intervals of not more than five years thereafter. The function of this special council will be to assess the progress and objectives of federally supported vocational and technical education programs and to make recommendations for changes and improvements.

6. Research and development, long the tools of successful businesses and industries, are assigned an important place in the future of vocational education.

Ten per cent of the total appropriation for each fiscal year is reserved for the U.S. Commissioner of Education to make grants to colleges,

universities, State Boards, local educational agencies, and other public or nonprofit agencies and institutions. These grants are to pay part of the cost of training and research programs and of experimental, developmental, or pilot programs designed to meet the special vocational education needs of youth, particularly those with academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps. This special grant fund will amount to as much as $22.5 million in 1967 and every year thereafter.

In addition, the Act provides that at least three per cent of each state's allotment of federal funds will be used for services and activities leading to development and improvement of vocational education and guidance programs, instructional materials, teaching and supervisory staffs, and for program evaluation.

The sponsorship of a workshop attended by educators, community, local, state, and federal authorities, such as this one held under the auspices of your organization, is a vital step. Your enthusiasm, study and work, will inevitably result in progress.

Home Economist Recognized by Government

The office of Education's Division of Vocational and Technical Education recognized the importance of the home economist in this effort when it sought and received assistance of a national committee of the AHEA in preparation of eight training guides to be used in the nationwide program of Manpower Development and Training for adult women who may or may not have received high school education. The guides are designed to train women to enter subprofessional occupations in an area of work that is related to homemaking.

All of you here, I am sure, are familiar with these curriculum manuals, entitled "Family Dinner Service Specialist," "Companion to an Elderly Person," "The Homemaker's Assistant," "Clothing Maintenance Specialist," "Management Aide in Low-Rent Public Housing Projects," "Hotel and Motel Housekeeping Aide," "Supervised Food Service Worker," and "The Visiting Homemaker."

Although only a beginning, the guides are proving to be quite worthwhile to the overall effort. It is anticipated that greater results will be seen by the end of this year. Although the major role of home economics training in vocational education has been to assist youth and adults to prepare for the responsibilities and activities of homemaking and achievement of family well-being, new socioeconomic changes affecting women and families require that home economists now assume the responsibility of providing wage-earning training to those who have such a need. Thousands in America do at this moment.

Education--The Home Economist's Contribution

A very fine article by Irene Beavers appears in the February issue of the Journal of Home Economics. Dr. Beavers is program leader for home economics in the Federal Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In it she theorizes that the role of the home economist is in educating the people to want, to appreciate, and to try to achieve the better things of life.

Dealing with the subject thoroughly, she says that "Family goals and values are important factors in the adjustments families need to make," and that "This is an important challenge to those in home economics programs--recognition that low-income families' values may be quite different from middle and upper-income families' values."

"It must be remembered," she writes "that the Extension's role is education." As such, she continues, the Extension's contributions "... are in two broad areas: how to make the best use of available resources and how to help increase available resources." She lists 12 educational programs to help participants make the best use of available resources, and a half dozen ways in which the home economist can help increase available resources.[1]

I recommend her article to help attune a program to low-income families.

To teach someone to earn a living, even though he is an adult who has not benefited from even a high school education, or to retrain a person whose place of employment has been replaced by a machine, to train a person once thought useless, to pursue a useful and meaningful life, cannot, under any heading, be described as a "handout," but it is an investment to help instill initiative and spirit into a human being.

This idea is pointed up most effectively by Bernard Asbell in his book The New Improved American. In his straightforward and hopeful essay on America's problems with machines, poverty, and ignorance, he observes: "... public spending for... make-work projects... even though it may alleviate the immediate pains of poverty, often perpetuates poverty."

He speaks a truth when he says: "Spending for improved education and job training--including the support of families while a breadwinner is being trained--cannot be regarded as a down-the-drain expense but must be seen as a national investment."[2]

High School Sets Example for Home Economists

One wonderful example of enthusiasm in a pilot program made possible by funds from the Vocational Education Act is the expansion of a nursery laboratory at Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia.

This nursery has actually been in operation for the past 10 years, but is now being utilized under the guiding hand of Katherine Conafay, supervisor for home economics in the Arlington Public Schools, to include training for students interested in careers involving children. Enrollment was opened to all students in the school. Double the number expected to enter, enrolled, including five boys.

Careers projected in the program cover everything from parenthood to working in children's hospitals and day care centers, or to specializing in child psychology and guidance. Included in the course is intensified training aimed at qualifying students for immediate employment to aid students who don't plan to attend college, or who want to earn money to help them continue their education.

Previously, preschoolers had spent half-days at Wakefield's nursery laboratory where home economics students observed child development.

Program Working Wonders in Puerto Rico

One of the most rewarding experiences in my life occurred last spring when I was visiting Puerto Rico and saw the zeal with which the people were taking hold of programs led by the home economists in their Vocational Education Program. In large numbers, the Puerto Ricans seem to have gained a new lease on life. The improvement was not only in attitude. In reality, it was physical.

In Puerto Rico, where the ratio of the underprivileged classes is and has been high, the Program is actually performing wonders. The results show an actual rise in the standard of living among the citizens.

By the end of the last school year, when the Program reached its peak in terms of enrollment and services offered, 11,534 adults and out-of-school youth were reached through homemaking classes by 33 homemaking teachers for adults. In addition, 43,386 individuals were served through informal activities which were organized by 609 home economics teachers. This included regular all-day teachers and regular teachers for adults. Compare this to the mere 758 persons who profited from homemaking instruction through part-time and evening classes in 1932-33, and an enrollment of 1,184 five years later.

Based on need of Puerto Rican families, services have been constantly geared to the social and economic changes which affect their living conditions.

During the past few years, Puerto Rico has changed from an underdeveloped island in the Caribbean zone to an industrial-minded country.

Per capita income in 1939 was $120, whereas in 1964 it had reached $740. In the new prosperity, the backbone of the island's main source of family income is in the manufacturing plants.

As prosperity increased, educational programs were designed for the specific purposes of helping raise the standards of living for the people and orienting them toward using their income more effectively. With other public and private agencies and organizations, a homemaking education program for adults was developed in an effort to make better use of available resources and also for extending the program to meet the needs of more people.

A close coordination of services, established with the Puerto Rico Urban Renewal and Housing Corporation and with the Commonwealth Government of Puerto Rico, resulted in the Housing Corporation providing space and facilities. The Home Economics program supplied the technical assistance and teaching personnel.

Great progress was made in the public housing developments. For instance, there are now many full-time home economics adult teachers offering education services in 15 low-cost housing projects.

By request, special classes and other activities were organized in various other projects not served by regular adult teachers. In one way or another, 591 home economics teachers for adolescent groups assist residents of public housing areas. This is because a large percentage of students who enrolled in regular all-day classes live in low-cost housing projects.

Adult education serves other groups besides families living in housing projects. Of 38 regular adult teachers, 21 work full time or devote part of their working time to help families of low-income communities. The remaining 17 teachers work in adult training centers located in elementary or secondary schools serving families from both slum areas and middle-high socioeconomic groups.

In designing a home economics program for adults and out-of-school youth, many problems are taken into consideration. These include: mobility of families from one area to another, many from a slum area to a public housing development; and changes such as more women working outside the home, better shopping facilities, better credit facilities, and better school and education opportunities.

Even though a great deal of progress has taken place, there remain many problems which more directly affect the families from slum areas and groups moving from these areas to housing developments. Among these problems are conflicts in family relationships, insufficient income for some family groups, poor housekeeping practices, and improper housing facilities.

Home Economics Advisory Council Helpful

In dealing with these changes and problems, the home economics program has been receiving help from the State Home Economics Advisory Council. The Council was organized in such a way as to include active members of the community representing government agencies and related private groups which share the purposes of the home economics program. Agencies or groups represented in the Council, with which adult education projects are coordinated, are: Puerto Rico Chapter of American Red Cross, Puerto Rico Urban Renewal and Housing Corporation, Public Health Services, Welfare Nutrition Divisions of the Department of Health, Extension Service, departments of home economics of the University of Puerto Rico and the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico, Employment Service Division of the Department of Labor, Puerto Rico Family Institute, Puerto Rican Federation of Women's Clubs, and Consumer's Education Program. Also represented are homemakers, home economics teachers, and other educators on local, regional, and state supervisory levels.

Some evidence of success in the work accomplished by the home economics program for adults and out-of-school groups in Puerto Rico are:

-- Improved homemaking practices among adults

-- Growing interest of adults and their families toward programs

-- Increase in the total enrollment for the formal classes--from 3,195 in 1955 to 11,534 in 1964

-- Improvement of teaching centers to meet the demands of homemakers

-- Establishment of a cooperative laundry service at some of the adult centers for the use of homemakers when attending classes or visiting the center

-- Support of the program by community organizations and community leaders, and requests for additional services by adults after attending one course or participating in activities as visitors

Future plans to be included in the activities are:

1. Enrichment of the home economics curriculum for all groups to be served according to the new directions for the development of home economics programs

2. Organization of wage earning courses that utilize home economics knowledge and skills in a larger scale based upon the experiences of the pilot projects being developed

3. Expansion of program to offer assistance to special groups such as young married couples, aged working women, handicapped homemakers, and others

4. Extension of services to adult groups by regular all-day teachers through organization of formal classes, through Mothers' Club activities, and use of other informal methods

5. Continued emphasis on the coordination of the home economics program with that of other educational, governmental, and private agencies and civic groups

Mr. L. Garcia Hernandez, director of Vocational Education in Puerto Rico, issued a challenge to those in the home economics profession:

> The challenge faced by the Home Economics Program in Puerto Rico in working with families from the slum areas is great. The future of the Puerto Rican communities depends to a certain extent on the way home economists face their responsibility as teachers in guiding families to help themselves.

Concerted Services

One of the new and developing concepts in public service is the idea of so-called concerted services, concentrated on a community or area social or economic problem. The chief force of a concerted service program lies in the mustering of various federal and state programs so as to treat a problem in the whole rather than in its separate parts.

The first example of organized concerted services has been developed through a cooperative arrangement between the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency. This cooperative arrangement has existed for more than two years. Through it, these four cities are participating: St. Louis, Missouri; New Haven, Connecticut; Miami, Florida; and Pittsburg, California.[3]

This first concerted services program was set up on the basis of staff papers prepared by members of the agencies, many of them home economists, concerning the development of education, economic, and health programs in urban areas. The Administration required the agencies to concern themselves with the eradication of poverty in economically and educationally depressed low-rent public housing developments. There are 390,000 such families in the United States and Puerto Rico.

A second example is now developing in a rural community development program, although this is still in the planning stage. Similar programs will be established in three low-income counties in the United States.

In these cases the major emphasis will be placed on education, training, and full employment. However, all of the other elements of successful community life are to be dealt with as they effect training and full employment.

The main thrust of the plan is to pool the combined services of several agencies of the federal, state, and local governments to render most efficient service to a county community.

The object is to improve the social and economic well-being of the people and to encourage them to utilize their potential talents to the maximum.

By the very nature of the home economics profession, the home economist has a natural entry into these situations and a very significant role to play in these concerted programs.

We in the United States Office of Education feel that the same types of problems which we have seen in Puerto Rico are being faced every day on the mainland. It is where these problems exist that members of this group--the home economists--can make their greatest contributions in the War against Poverty.

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[1]Irene Beavers, "Contributions Home Economics Can Make to Low-Income Families," Journal of Home Economics, 57:2 (February 1965), pp. 108 and 110.

[2]Bernard Asbell, The New Improved American (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1965), p.222.

[3]Booklet entitled "Two-Year Progress Report" may be obtained from Jack Fasteau, Co-chairman, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20201; or Abner D. Silverman, Co-chairman, Management Division, Public Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20413.

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COMMUNITY ACTION

Robert I. Shackford
Regional Director, Community Action Programs
Office of Economic Opportunity, Midwest Region

On August 20, 1964, Congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to mobilize the human and financial resources of the nation to combat poverty in the United States. In the dozen or so presentations of this Act which I have made so far, I have been unable to successfully paraphrase the declaration of this, the greatest act of government since the Emancipation Proclamation. Here is the way it is stated in the Act:

> Findings and Declaration of Purpose
>
> Sec. 2. Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States have progressed to a level surpassing any achieved in world history, and although these benefits are widely shared throughout the Nation, poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of our people. The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society. It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this Act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

This piece of legislation is different in two major respects. First, it identifies poverty, whatever the cause, as the target, and it identifies the elimination of poverty as the objective. Not just unemployment, not just illiteracy, or depressed areas, or automation, or inadequate housing, or prejudice and discrimination, but any and all of these to the extent that they are root causes of poverty, and any other causes of poverty which we discover; all must be eliminated.

Second, unlike most pieces of legislation, it contains very few limitations. The only important limitation, other than the amount of available funds, is our own human limitation which may prevent an all-out attack: narrow sectional interests, lack of understanding of the causes of poverty, petty institutional jealousies, ineptitude, or sheer lack of imagination, insight, and courage.

Let us now examine this great new arsenal of weapons available to us to fight poverty.

Comr nity Action Programs

The part of the Economic Opportunity Act which really gives us our mandate to mobilize all community resources in the War on Poverty is Title II, Urban and Rural Community Action Programs.

The Act defines the term "community action program" as one which:

-- mobilizes and utilizes all available resources, public or private, in the War on Poverty

-- provides services of sufficient scope and size to make a real impact on the causes of poverty through "developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work."

-- is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of areas and members of groups served

-- is conducted by either a public or private nonprofit agency

Here is the broadest kind of mandate. It is now up to us.

I would like now to summarize briefly other major parts of the Act and then return to Community Action Programs to suggest ways in which we can make these programs work.

Job Corps

There are two kinds of residential centers authorized under the Job Corps title of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: conservation centers reminiscent of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, and urban training centers.

I am inclined toward the conservation centers because I, myself, am a proud alumnus of the old CCC. Many of us now in our late forties or older

remember with bitterness the great depression of the '30s. We were without jobs, without hope, without expectations. Many young people fell prey to delinquency or found attractive the siren call of the extremists. That my brother and I escaped such a fate I attribute largely to the Civilian Conservation Corps. There will be differences between the CCC of the '30's and today's rural centers. Today's centers will emphasize rehabilitation, education, development of civic responsibility, self-confidence, and job preparation and placement.

There will be one great similarity. It will give young men now trapped in abysmally poor environments a chance that they would not otherwise have to become productive citizens. The conservation centers each will enroll from 100 to 200 young men to work in our nation's forests and parks. It will not be make-work. It will be work which needs to be done and should be done.

The urban centers will be residential training centers of 1,000 to 2,000 corpsmen. There will be centers for women as well as for men. These centers will offer more intensive and more specialized vocational training. They will be operated by colleges, universities, and other organizations with a demonstrable capability.

All Job Corps programs are voluntary. They are open to young men and women 16 through 21 years of age. Some 40,000 will be enrolled in the first year; 100,000 in the second. The program is aimed at a million young people who have inadequate education and are unable to break through the barriers placed between them and the full life. The average corpsman will spend a year in the Corps and will emerge better equipped to take his place as a productive citizen. [1]

Vista

The clear and obvious success of the Peace Corps has led to the creation of a program sometimes called the Domestic Peace Corps, but identified in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as Volunteers in Service to America. There are 35 million Americans living in poverty. VISTA offers an opportunity never before available to work directly with these poverty-stricken people on a continuous and intensive basis.

Any person 18 years of age or over may apply. There are no absolute educational requirements. The period of service is a year. The volunteer will live with the people to be served. He will receive a living allowance, necessary medical and dental expenses, and, upon completion of service, a severance allowance of $50 for each month served.

Volunteers will work in community action programs, Job Corps centers, migrant worker communities, Indian reservations, hospitals,

schcols, and institutions for the mentally ill or mentally retarded.

Volunteers with background and training in home economics seem to me to be particularly well qualified for service, especially in urban slum area projects.

Volunteers will be trained by VISTA. Training will stress supervised field experience, the nature and causes of poverty, health education, and the like.

Public and private nonprofit service agencies may apply for VISTA volunteers, to aid their program.[2]

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The newest agency of the U.S. Department of Labor, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, has been established to administer a work-training program authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Neighborhood Youth Corps will enroll young men and women 16 to 22 years of age from low-income families in work programs which will provide that small amount of additional income which will allow the young person to remain in school or return to school, or to enhance his employability in some other fashion.

The young people will work part time while maintaining a full school schedule, or, if they have already dropped out of school, will work up to 32 hours per week with major emphasis placed on counseling, occupational motivation, education, training, and work experience.

Pay rates will be based on general entry-level wages for similar jobs in the community.

Two points need to be emphasized: This is basically a rehabilitative program which also provides that added income needed to stay in school; and the work to be done will be useful, meaningful work which would not otherwise get done.[3]

Work-Study Program

Just as the Neighborhood Youth Corps will provide that additional bit of income which will allow students from low-income families to remain in school, the work-study program will allow students to remain in college. Two results can be expected. College education will become available to students from very low-income families who would otherwise not be able to attend, and the program will reduce the heavy debt load low-income students often must carry with them when they acquire their diplomas.

Colleges and universities will provide on-campus jobs such as maintenance worker, food service worker, and aides of various kinds. Public and nonprofit private agencies will provide off-campus jobs such as tutoring, recreation leadership, and work as community aides. Fifteen hours a week is the maximum job time. In the first year, 100,000 students will be involved.

Other Programs

There are other weapons in this arsenal for the War on Poverty. All are interesting; all are useful. I will list them here, and you who want additional information may obtain it from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Project HEAD-START is aimed at preschool children and is designed to overcome the impediments of inadequate physical, social, and cultural environment resulting from intense poverty.

There is an adult basic education program. There are special programs to combat poverty in rural areas; assistance to migrant workers and their families; an employment and investment incentives program; and a work experience program. All have as their purpose a full-scale attack on the root causes of poverty.

Community Action Programs

Let us now return to community action programs and examine them more closely.

Who are the poor? They are those for whom every hour of every day is a bitter fight for sheer survival. They are the ones for whom the American dream is a cruel paradox. It is among the poor that all the measures of social ill-health soar, but as a result of poverty, not as a cause.

I am sure you have heard such remarks as these: "Well, they just don't want to work!" "You'd think they'd try to keep the place clean!" (Now, that is a typical middle-class reaction. Those of us reared in middle-class Puritanism are convinced that cleanliness is indeed next to Godliness, and that dirt is somehow related to immorality. We forget that soap costs money, and when food is scarce soap is an expendable luxury.)

You have heard the poor described as stupid, indolent, lazy, suspicious, cruel. These, if they exist at all, are not the causes of poverty, but the symptoms. These are not prior conditions, they are results.

You may also have heard--if you have read a Chicago author recently deceased, Willard Motley-- another description of the poor:

> In my own experience I have found that among the lowly, the poor, the uneducated, those of minority groups (almost always the lowly and poor) there is a language of beauty, if you wait for it and listen with rabbit-alert ear. I choose to call it the poetry of the poor. . .

Let us then agree on this. There is nothing inherently different about the poor. There are no basic biological differences to be faced. The problems are essentially those of adverse environment. If we can materially alter the environment, we can break the cycle of poverty.

You may wonder why I believe something so obvious needs to be said to this audience and at this time. Too often we have observed sophisticated practitioners in the welfare field approach the problems of motivation of the poor as if they were identical to problems of motivation of the affluent.

The problems are very different. The solution in the case of the poor is to alter the externals. Change the environment and motivation will take care of itself.

As home economists, you are going to find this problem particularly acute. For no amount of guidance, counseling, and training in food management, for example, will help a family whose food budget is way below the subsistence level.

As an exercise in understanding some of the problems of the poor, and viewing at least one ingenious solution, I suggest a visit to any supermarket in a city slum. Watch the kids, the four-, five-, and six-year-olds. Bananas are best. With practice, a child can steal a banana, peel it, eat it, and dispose of the peel in something under five seconds. This is one way to stretch the food budget.

Lecture him not on the virtues of honesty. First, find a way to keep his belly full. Then perhaps the cardinal virtues will take root.

The second point on which we must agree is that the best source of information on the problems of the poor are the poor themselves. Let us listen to the poetry of the poor. In one home I visited, you could compile an almost endless list of needs from a few boards and handful of nails to repair of the front steps, to a washing machine to lighten the burden upon the mother. Both parents needed dentures. But the greatest need was enough money to pay for locker fees, class ring, year books, and cap and gown for their teen-age children in high school.

Giving voice to the poor is an essential for effective community action. If you impose programs from the outside, you will be met with diffidence and dependence, or protest and rejection. Engage the poor at every stage in your community action program and you will begin to get at the root causes. You will begin to generate basic changes, permanent improvements in the nation's areas of poverty.

An effective community action program is one which starts in the community itself. It matters little whether the initial impetus comes from an elected official, a public or private service agency, a civil rights group, or a block club. The important thing is that the entire community get involved.

A community action organization should be set up. Ideally, it will consist of an economic opportunity committee--its size matters little--consisting of representatives of elected officials, public service and welfare agencies, private service agencies, universities, church groups, groups like the Urban League and NAACP, neighborhood groups, and representatives drawn directly from areas served, from the poor themselves. If I were setting up such an organization I would leave the committee open-ended so that new members can be added to improve the representativeness of the committee as needed. The committee should have full authority to survey the nature and extent of poverty, receive proposals, review them, establish priorities, and disburse funds.

No committee can function as a whole. It will reconstitute itself as steering committee or executive committee, and task forces or operating committees. Each subordinate unit of the committee should reflect the same degree of representativeness shown by the committee as a whole.

Operating agencies should have the same commitment to giving voice to the poor. They can do it through hiring nonprofessional staff from areas and groups to be served, or by setting up miniature advisory committees patterned after the full committee.

In general, then, these are the steps to follow:

1. Bring together the appropriate voluntary and government agencies in welfare, health, housing, education, and employment as participants in developing a community action program. Include leaders from the areas in which the program will operate.

2. Form a local community action organization that includes not only government and voluntary organizations, but business, labor, and other key civic organizations, and representatives drawn from the areas actually to be served. At this point, funds can be made available for program development.

3. Assemble all available information on the poverty problem. Identify the extent of poverty in the community and begin to determine major characteristics. List the problems in order of priority.

4. Develop a set of proposals to attack the causes of poverty. Determine what local resources are available to support such programs.

5. Decide on a specific geographical area for the program.

6. Ask for technical help if it is needed to plan your programs. This help can come directly from the Office of Economic Opportunity or from those States which have received technical assistance funds.

7. Contact the state government to determine how its agencies and programs can help and can be integrated into the total local antipoverty effort.

8. Develop projects in order of importance and ability to carry them through.

9. Apply to Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, for the detailed forms to submit your application.

Schools, welfare organizations, service organizations, and others who want to conduct programs under this Act will be expected to work through the local community action agency.

What Kinds of Programs Might Be Developed

Community action programs will vary as the needs of the people vary in different parts of the nation. They must be part of a total effort to help people escape poverty, not to make it more bearable. Here are some illustrations that might be part of a community action program:

1. Providing special and remedial education, with particular emphasis on reading, writing, and mathematics

2. Providing academic counseling and guidance services and school social work services

3. Operating neighborhood service centers as a focal point to reach out and communicate with the poor

4. Providing programs to encourage effective neighborhood self-help organizations

5. Providing legal counsel for the poor

6. Establishing community counselors to aid poverty-stricken families to take advantage of available community services

7. Providing family counseling and guidance services. (Home economists will fit into this kind of structure ideally by helping to improve housing and living facilities and home management skills.)

8. Providing after school study centers; tutoring; and summer, weekend, and after-school classes

9. Establishing programs for the benefit of preschool children

10. Developing and carrying out special education or other programs for migrant or transient families

11. Improving the living conditions of the elderly

12. Arranging for or providing health examinations and health education for school children

13. Providing health, rehabilitation, employment, educational, and related services to young men not qualified for military services

14. Providing community child-care centers and youth activity centers

15. Providing services to enable families from rural areas to meet problems of urban living

16. Providing recreation and physical fitness services and facilities

This list is illustrative, not inclusive. In a way, it is misleading to set up such a list because there are very few kinds of programs that cannot be established, either directly financed through the Economic Opportunity Act or as components of a community program financed through other legislation.

This, then, is community action: To mobilize all of the resources of a community for an all-out attack on poverty, and to involve the poor themselves in planning, developing, and executing programs.

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[1] For additional information, write to Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506.

[2] For additional information, write to VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506

[3] For additional information, write to Neighborhood Youth Corps, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210, or to the nearest U. S. Department of Labor regional office.

[4] For additional information, write to the Office of Education, U.S Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20201.

THE OUTREACH

Francena L. Nolan
Chairman, AHEA Committee on
Resources for Low-Income Families
Dean, School of Home Economics
University of Connecticut

The contributions extension, health and welfare, education, and business can make to define the problems of poverty and delineate gaps which exist have been illustrated at this workshop. Planning to meet these problems and to assuage them must be done together. Each of you, when you leave here, should carry an assignment to a task force which will go back to your area and do for others what has been done for you here. You will be conducting the educational workshops to help the professionals in your area understand the milieu of the poor and the complexity of the social institutions seeking to serve them.

Let's do it together. The strength of the committee which planned this workshop came out of its diversity of background. We have each learned much from our conversations. Your people can learn much, too, if you lead the way.

Let me just remind you of the charge presented in your invitation. This really means it is your responsibility to plan educational workshops for professionals to learn what you have learned. You have had the experience. Only you can appreciate the value of the combination of action and training. This responsibility cannot be shifted to anyone else. You may involve others, but you must not let the decision-making power leave your hands. You had the privilege and now you must assume the responsibility.

Colleges and universities have a special obligation. In them are located the resources of the total university institution. They have the primary training function. They must, therefore, open their doors to share what they have.

Meetings in professional groups, you had the opportunity to discuss your particular role in "Working with Low-Income Families," and, specifically, your responsibility for contributing to the follow-up meetings in your

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areas. In studying your obligations and in relating them to the roles of other agencies and organizations, you found the beginning of the structure of your follow-up meetings. In meetings structured according to regions you decided:

1. What geographic area your follow-up will operate within--individual states or a part of a state, a group of states, or some combination of these areas

2. Which persons are to assume what responsibilities

3. The role definition of each of the participants here

There never will be a better opportunity to delegate and accept responsibility. In this, however, we must remember the primary responsibility and the major resources of each facet of our profession. College and university research form the broad base of knowledge on which the action arms are fed from the total resources of the university. There is much here for the asking. Let's not forget to partake.

Those of you on the action front are facing the immediate situation, gaining experience, and suffering the frustrations. Share them with the knowledge base so that its educational resources can be reorganized and directed in ways which will produce more adequately trained professionals.

Dialogue Necessary Between Schools and Organizations

Conversation is essential! The problems must be known, and the knowledge already available must be used! We have talked together: those in the areas of public health, welfare, business, and extension whose major responsibility is to develop action programs to reach the poor with those in colleges and universities whose major responsibility is training the professional.

We have learned about poverty; we have learned about each other; and from this interaction has come a better concept of the strengths of each, and the problems each is facing. Those of you on the action front have, hopefully, added to your knowledge of the poor and of the agencies in contact with them. Those in colleges and universities and research have gained some insight into the kind of competences professionals need in dealing with the family in this complex age.

We are all enriched by the experience. We here are aware that many professionals have serious gaps in their training. This workshop and all the other in-service training will help alleviate this lack of knowledge.

However, this is the short-term and the short-range good. If we are to have a long-term, the long-range good, it has to come from the curricula in the college and university--curricula modified to insure that students understand and appreciate not just the poor but a wide variety of people and styles of life as well as the organizational structure which makes up our diverse society.

As Mr. Stucky pointed out, institutions tend to be obsolete. They are deterrents to change. One such problem may rest in the faculties who have lived too long in an ivory tower. To prevent impenetrable barriers and obsolete curricula, we need contact between the action front and the training front. We need to spread to others like ourselves the same kind of experience and interaction which we have had here. Through this interaction can come more effective preparation and more adequate action programs.

AHEA'S OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

A. June Bricker
Executive Director
American Home Economics Association

Let me say first how impressed I am with the kinds of people who have gathered here for this meeting, with what you represent in your high levels of education, professional positions, leadership, and abilities to communicate needs and know-how. As Francena Nolan said in her opening "charge," you were invited because you have these qualities, but seeing you before me as a committed group brings into even sharper focus the far-flung effects this workshop can have through your concerted efforts and the power of your cohesive endeavors.

Dr. Ruth Hall, president of the American Home Economics Association, has asked me to express her appreciation for the participation of all in this room, of the planning committee, the people back of the planning committee, and the AHEA staff.

The leadership of AHEA is sitting in front of me. I wonder if you realize how many present are national officers, past national officers, executive board members, chairmen and members of national committees, and how many are present and past state association presidents.

We can't see them, but employers are represented in this group--employers who, in their offices, approved your attendance at this meeting and thus expressed their interest, involvement, and commitment to the topic of this workshop. You who have come, have done so at a sacrifice. You have invested time and energy and money, albeit it is to your advantage to be here. We are appreciative of this.

Our keynote speaker, Dr. Paul Miller, expressed wonderment as to whether the current national commitment to the poor will last longer than a romance, and then went on to say, "If our commitment to the elimination of poverty is to mean anything, it must be accompanied by massive support in dollars, ideas, and energy, with an objective of actual solution. What we have seen thus far is almost negligible in proportion to the problem."

But we are talking about AHEA's leadership, opportunities, and responsibilities. I have been overjoyed at the comments, some overheard as I passed animated groups of participants and some spoken directly to me. Let me repeat a few:

> I'll never be the same.
>
> I've never been to a meeting that cut across so many sections.
>
> I'm exhausted.
>
> I didn't know that organization gave this kind of service.
>
> It was wonderful to have cross-section conferences. AHEA makes the opportunities for working across the board important for home economists.
>
> I've learned of more resources than I ever believed existed.

Those members of AHEA who are the policy-makers and are on the firing line are here, before me. The reason we join together in AHEA is to present all points of view. AHEA leadership must be the type that brings together the varied aspects of our profession and all points of view. What you have each brought and contributed to this workshop has been tried by fire here, and has come forth as the driving force of this meeting.

When you say AHEA will do this, or AHEA will do that, you are saying that you will do this, or you will do that. For AHEA is you, not a building, or a corner at 20th and Q in Washington, D.C. You must recognize that you are the who in AHEA, not the headquarters staff or the persons who are directly involved with headquarters through committees and other arms of the formal structure of AHEA. The secret of the success of this conference is how well we can take home the enthusiasm that is being generated during every session of this workshop. This enthusiasm must not be allowed to die until it has become a concrete something done on the home front.

Do you know how this workshop came into being? Among all the AHEA members who might have felt home economists had a special role in working with low-income families, only one came to my office to talk about our involvement. Her dedication and belief in home economics service in this area was such that she was not rebuffed by the initial lack of interest expressed in this project by the governing bodies. She went on to explore the membership for people on that firing line I mentioned earlier, and that President Johnson later, much later, named the War on Poverty.

The spark of this one home economist spread until, this week, we are afire and meeting here for the national AHEA workshop, Working with Low-Income Families. Once again, one voice from the wilderness demonstrated that if you get enough people involved you'll get commitments, but that it takes time to find the persons who will accept the responsibility and those who will contribute the necessary money, whether through grants or attendance fees.

By now, each of you must have examined the exhibit of literature related to working with low-income families. It is both impressive and depressive. It is impressive because of its scope and its message that much has been done that can be utilized for training people to work with low-income families. It is depressive because it illustrates piecemeal tactics being used to attack the problem of poverty. From this workshop should come the foundation for teamwork tactics that can win the War we are engaged in.

We are approaching the end of this workshop. But AHEA is not going to stop now. The Association and the Foundation, the officers and the executive board, the Association committees and the headquarters staff, all feel the people here are the nucleus group; that the regional group reports you have just heard will be activated, and that leadership of home economics will help low-income families to lift themselves by their bootstraps. Do you feel, around you and within you, the urgency of your commitment?

One of the main reasons I am here in the position I am today is because I believe in the Association and what it can accomplish with its cross section of professions. I believe that to gain your life, you have to lose it in service to others.

To those of us who are here, the success of this workshop seems assured; but it will have been in vain if what it has done to you here is not expedited on the home front.

THE CHALLENGE: NEW CAREERS FOR THE POOR

Frank Riessman
Director of Lincoln Hospital (New York) Mental Health Aide Program
Associate Professor
Department of Psychiatry
Albert Einstein College of Medicine

What I would like to talk to you about is the whole issue of what kinds of developments I think are going to take place with regard to the use of the poor as nonprofessionals; that is, hiring the poor themselves to serve the poor.

I am sure you are well aware that nonprofessionals have served for a long time as homemakers, health aides and nurses aides, auxiliaries in the anthropological studies, research aides, workers with delinquents, etc. The nonprofessional homemaker is an illustration of your interest as it relates to the interests people here in Chicago probably have. Over 30 years ago, the Chicago Area Program piloted the use of nonprofessionals working in the community in a significant effort to reduce juvenile delinquency.

What I am interested in discovering, as I look at this nonprofessional revolution, is what to do about it. In what way does it differ from what has gone on for the last 15 or 20 years in this area? We have had case aides; we have had many different groups that have worked as nonprofessionals; and Margaret Rioch has trained housewives, nonprofessionals, to be psychotherapists.[1] What is new about the present situation? What is significant about it? What are the problems?

The most striking new thing, it seems to me, is the size of the issue--the dimension of the problem. Today you find that, with the Office of Economic Opportunity making a key feature of the use of nonprofessionals in all its programing throughout the United States and particularly through its community action program, there is the possibility that the hiring of the poor to serve the poor will take place on a gigantic scale. Far from what has taken place in the past, there is the possibility that four to six million jobs might be developed in health, education, and welfare: in the public sectors, in the areas where there are tremendous manpower shortages (as you know is true in your own field of home economics),

and where there are strong possibilities of providing employment. For the first time, a significant feature of the use of nonprofessionals is to provide meaningful employment.

This brings us to its second basic feature of the problem. It is not WPA job creation, the make-work kind of things we have seen in the past. On the contrary, I think what is significant about this is that we are now endeavoring to produce not simply jobs, but careers. That is why Arthur Pearl and I call our book New Careers for the Poor.[2]

The idea is that we want to develop not just the beginning jobs of homemaker, parent aide, case aide, etc., but a hierarchy of jobs permitting people to move from phase to phase. We can envision people obtaining education and moving all the way up to professional careers. (Education will become a great issue, which we will discuss a little later on, together with acquiring credit in universities for work done on the job and for education obtained concomitantly with the job experience.) We see people moving up from nonprofessionals, subprofessionals, and semiprofessionals, to full professionals. It is perfectly true, and I am sure you realize it, that most people are not going to move all that way up to become professionals. But the important thing is to have the possibility of doing it. This is a very significant feature of the new interest in nonprofessionals.

A little later, on we will also see that all kinds of new jobs are being envisioned. One of the most important of these is the job of training. Of course, most of the training is going to be directed and developed by professionals, but we envision the development of nonprofessionals as training assistants. I want to stop for a minute and tell you about a program with which I have been involved where this is quite relevant.

Developing Nonprofessional Trainers

We have been working with what we call "mental health aides." These aides, recruited from the community, are low-income people selected because we think they know how to speak to both audiences: to the poor on one side; and to us, the professionals and the agencies, on the other. Most of the aides' training is obtained on the job.

Out of this process, we begin to select people who are particularly good at training others. You will discover that out of each five, one or two have some kind of skill at this type of training. They know how to impart information. They like being teachers. We then plan to pull out these individuals and give them further teaching training. We plan to develop them as training assistants, training coordinators, etc.

Now, if we are going to have this major job development in the United States--four to six million nonprofessionals--there is obviously

going to be a great need for training and for people to do the training. What we are suggesting here is that we begin immediately to think about developing trainers.

Training assistants is one of the new types of jobs in the nonprofessional area. Many of the other jobs I will mention are these which have existed in the past in other nonprofessional areas.

Apart from producing careers and moving in a hierarchy, what are other implications of the new nonprofessional movement?

Rehabilitation

Another dimension, I think, is rehabilitation. This was not emphasized nearly as much in previous concerns with the nonprofessional. For example, HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc.) points out that, in the Mobilization For Youth type of project in New York, many people will not stand still for receiving therapy--or whatever you want to call it in this dimension--but they will accept this kind of help in a training center.[3] In other words, if they are getting training and education for a job, other kinds of help can be woven in. Some of the help is self-evident in the sense that one becomes rehabilitated in knowing one can do something, in learning to do tasks, in learning how to work with people, etc.

But there is a more significant principle involved in this whole rehabilitation concept: the "helper principle." I got the idea of the helper principle from watching something in a very different area, but let me mention it because I think it has a lot of implications for us.

For a long time, I watched Alcholics Anonymous and other similar self-help, therapy-type peer groups. You have, as you probably know, Synanon,[4] a group that works with drug addicts; Gamblers Anonymous; Recovery Incorporated, people who are emotionally disturbed helping each other; and now people who are disabled helping each other. There are 262 peer-group, self-help operations in the United States.

In watching these groups, one of the things we observed that at first perplexed us was that the person receiving the help very often did not seem to be helped very much, at least not immediately. In other words, let's say an alcholic was arrested, or is in jail, and another alcholic from AA comes down to help him, encourage him, and bring him back into the mainstream of life. If you observe this process very often, you are impressed with the fact that the guy receiving the help, the guy who is down and who is in the prison situation, is back there three days later. He doesn't seem to have been helped at all. But you also see that the man who went down to give him the help, is helped immeasurably. It is a very perplexing and fascinating process, and we started to think about ways of using it.

What I think happens goes something like this: It is not that the man who is down and who receives the help doesn't get it, it just doesn't show immediately, and it is not the kind of help you think he is getting. He might be thinking:

> I am in jail. I am in a very low mood. Nobody cares about me. I am an alcholic, and I know the chances aren't so good for my recovery. Somebody cares about me; he pays some attention to me. He comes down and gives me some help.

Often, when that occurs one feels much improved. The sympathy brings one back into the system--at least it does sometimes--but perhaps something much more important happens. Perhaps the alcholic says:

> Gee, that guy that came down to help me is a nice guy. I would like to be like him. Now how do I get to be like him? Well, how do I even help him a little bit? He says I should stop drinking, but that's an awful lot. But the second thing he says is "Come down to one of my meetings with me and help somebody else."

That's the start of the process: "Come to my meetings with me and help somebody else." This is very good for his ego and it is very good for his self-esteem. It also commits him to start persuading somebody else of something, he starts to get committed himself, and he persuades himself in persuading others.

What happens here is that the person receiving the help is getting into the system of becoming a helper. Once he gets into that system, he really helps himself enormously, by helping others. He becomes much more productive.

What has all this to do with nonprofessionals? It has a lot to do with certain kinds of nonprofessionals. Not with all kinds, but with groups such as AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) mothers, delinquents, and people who have been in trouble before coming into the system to help other people.

Another brilliant experiment, reported recently from Howard University, is very much to the point. At the University, 10 delinquent boys and girls who were 18 to 21 years of age and had long records of offenses, were hired. This group was not picked as the cream of the crop--these youngsters were a very, very troubled group.[5]

They were trained for a period of six weeks to function as recreation aides; research aides; and the new, big occupation that is developing in America, that of preschool aides working with small children. When

these youngsters were first brought into the situation, the people in the various social agencies questioned the procedure. "We don't want those tough boys to be preschool aides. What kind of nonsense is this?" they asked.

It appears that the professionals running the program had made a certain commitment they had to live up to. After the youngsters were orienated to each of the jobs, the professionals had said the group could decide which of the jobs each person was to go into. It was the group, then, who decided that those very tough boys, rather than the girls, were to go into the preschool area.

So in went the professionals to the people in the preschool area, asking them, "Would you be willing to let these youngsters try for a very short period of time?" And the people in the preschool area asked in turn, "Well, why do the boys want to do this anyway?"

The answer was, "The boys said they were willing to do this because they were somewhat reluctant to take jobs on the playgrounds where they would see some of their old buddies. They might get into some arguments, and they didn't yet know quite how to solve these arguments...and they were a little bit afraid that they might regress into old ways of solving the arguments, and that wasn't good."

People working in the preschool area agreed to give the boys a very short trial--two weeks. After this trial, the preschool people wouldn't let the youngsters go. Not only wouldn't they let them go, but they constantly called up the main headquarters when the preschool aides--these 18 to 21 year old delinquents--were at headquarters getting their basic training. They said, "Have them come down here. They are needed immediately!"

This is a very striking kind of result. During this period there has been no delinquency record of any kind. Rather, a number of the people have moved on from this entry-type job to a higher level type of nonprofessional job, and have been hired by other programmers to be training assistants and so on. This illustrates the hierarchy concept we talked about.

I am not trying to illustrate the hierarchy concept now but the helper therapy principle. These youngsters, by helping others, by being involved in the system, by feeling important, and by feeling needed (fairly obvious things to most of us) have changed themselves enormously, and have been able to deal with their personal problems far more efficiently than they could have earlier. I don't want to exaggerate by saying they have no problems now, but they are better able to handle them.

We observe the same thing with AFDC mothers and people on welfare who are hired as homemakers and parent aides at Mobilization For

Youth. A number of these people had long histories of family problems and other kinds of difficulties, but putting them into the role of helping others has not only led to their functioning better on the job but to their personality and emotional improvement.[6] This, of course, feeds back into their job efficiency. In other words, it is a back and forth kind of situation.

Implications of Helper Therapy Principle

This principle, which we have really derived from the peer therapists, the AA people, has enormous implications. In our school system, for example, we have observed in the hiring of tutors or homework-helpers (as they are presently being called in Mobilization For Youth) that the youngsters doing the tutoring are very often helped a great deal more than the children receiving the help. We hired low-income youngsters who were going to high school and whose grade average was 75 or better to tutor elementary school youngsters who were doing very poor work and who were failing. Over a period of a year, there was an improvement in the work of the children being helped.

Even more dramatic, some of the tutors who previously had never thought of themselves in this kind of role--began to think of a teaching career and of themselves as going on in this area. They had totally new views about themselves as a result of teaching others. Again, at the level that we well know, this is an obvious principle: You learn a great deal through teaching. This is another dimension of the helper principle.

This same concept could be widely used in the integration area. For example, as we try to produce an integrated school, and bring low-income youngsters from minorities into the mainstream of this school, we constantly hear people asking "What is going to happen until they catch up?" Now I argue that the people who are going to help them catch up, the white middle-class kids who are ahead of them, are going to learn a great deal from playing a teacher role.

Incidentally, and I don't want to stray too far from our nonprofessional point, you can very easily structure and plan the development of the helper role: you can put people slowly, but surely, into a helper role and develop them in this way. When we were organizing tenants' groups, we used to take somebody from one of the previously organized houses and ask him to go along and help organize some other houses. As he got into this very small leadership role--he wasn't doing the main leading yet--and into the position of trying to help other people by doing some small leadership tasks, he got a new image of himself. The next time around, he was able to play more of a leadership role in organizing a house.

Again, this is what I am suggesting as planning the development of the helper role: putting people into the situation and recognizing they will

be helped a great deal by playing the role. I think this is particularly apt for that group of nonprofessionals that we are going to recruit from the problem groups of the poor, the hard-core poor families, the people who have been on welfare assistance for a long time, the delinquents, etc. It is particularly relevant for youth employment because this is going to be a major issue in the employment area.

Paths to the Poor

A fourth new dimension is, I think, that the nonprofessional provides significant paths to the poor. We are now very much concerned with involving the poor. If you recall the phrasing of the Economic Opportunity Act, it says that the term,"community action program" means a program which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the low-income groups.

Consequently, there is a great concern for involving the poor in their own destiny through participation in these areas.

I think that indigenous nonprofessionals drawn from these areas can play a decisive role in bringing the poor into the system, and that this is really, in a sense, a new task. We have always had it on a small scale, but now it tends to be an enormously significant new task. All of these new programs are going to be under tremendous pressure from many sources to involve the people in the area in the planning and policy development which is going on in community action programs. I am suggesting that the front-line people who will go out and achieve this are nonprofessionals of the poor themselves. They will go out and bring in the people of the neighborhood and function as "bridge" people, the two-way communicators we talked about before, who can understand both the people in the neighborhood and the people in the professional agency system and institutional structure within which they are working.

In this same connection, let me also just mention that the poor will serve as models. That is, the nonprofessionals will serve as models to other poor people in the community. If you hire in the education system--where we envision the possibility of a million jobs for teacher aides who will be involved in taking attendance, running movie projectors, helping with homework, etc.--and if you start to bring in the people of the neighborhood, you provide a totally new model to the people in the community.

In Syracuse, I recently observed that one of these nonprofessionals was serving in what was called the "quiet room." Everyone was raving about how effectively she was working with the children who were giving a lot of trouble in the classroom. I asked her what she did.

She told me a lot of things. Most of them really were not entirely good. She would say to Johnny, "You sit down and be quiet," and things

like that--very effective kinds of techniques that we teach all our graduate students to say. But she was remarkably effective because of who she was, not necessarily what she was doing. Don't misunderstand me, I am not saying we shouldn't improve what she was doing. We should. But she was somebody from the neighborhood whom the children knew and whom their parents knew. She could communicate with them. She could talk and tell them about what was going on in the school. She could communicate with the teachers, and she was sympathetic to these youngsters. She was, in a way, like them. She had the kind of know-how that comes from being a part of the same background and culture.

The fact that she was such a person and that she was who she was, rather than what she was doing even with limited techniques, accounted for her effectiveness. The same thing was true, I think, in the use of male aides in the Howard preschool project. It will not always be what these people are going to do, but the fact that there are such males functioning in the school system that will provide new models and new images to the youngsters who are going to school in the system.

I think also, in terms of new paths to the poor, the nonprofessional can bring in a great deal of know-how that we are going to need. For example, home economists have a great deal of information about diet, nutrition, budgeting, housekeeping practices, homemaking, etc. Much of this information will have to be carefully tailored and amended to be useful with low-income populations. Amending this information will require the cooperation of people from the poor who can communicate with us and give us some assistance on how to do it. Here again, I think the nonprofessional homemaker, and other groups that might be developed along the same lines, will be of crucial importance to us as we develop our techniques and approaches. We will, in this way, come to understand the culture of low-income groups.

Culture of Poverty

Now for my favorite two-minute digression which I have to speak wherever I go. I would like to have you re-think, with me, that term "culture of poverty."

I don't mind terms. You know, I use that terrible term, the "culturally deprived child," and that terrible new term, "nonprofessional". Everybody complains about them, and they are right to do so. They are terrible terms. But the "culture of poverty" is not only a terrible term, it is a misleading concept. Why? Because the culture of poverty tells you that low-income people have a culture which is basically built around fatalism, pessimism, apathy, defeat, and alienation.

I suggest that this is a very one-sided picture of the poor, though not completely false, and if you operate with this picture you are going to be

very ineffective in working with the poor. This is a side point I can't help but mention. I think, despite his superb book, Michael Harrington has done a great disservice by reinforcing Oscar Lewis's culture of poverty concept. It selectively organizes all the defeatist and negative notions about the poor into one package, and labels that package the "culture of poverty."

I would much rather talk about different low-income cultures that include many different values and behavior patterns, and to look for the strengths in these cultures. These are the things you are going to need to know in order to work effectively with the poor in their area.

To come back to my point, the nonprofessionals--the indigenous people from the community--are going to come in with these strengths. They will be able to tell you, if you open your ears and encourage them, about the other strengths of the community and not simply about the fatalism, defeatism, orientation toward luck, and the like.

If you have this negative orientation toward poverty, I would argue that you are going to separate, estrange, alienate yourself from low-income groups. They don't respond well to being thought of as negative, pessimistic, and apathetic. They are apathetic under certain conditions because it has been useful to be apathetic under certain conditions. The word apathetic is misleading. It has been useful to be inactive under certain conditions.

Five years ago, people used to tell me that the Negro was so "apathetic." They don't say that any more. The Negro is not so apathetic any more. They tell me today how apathetic the Puerto Rican is, but he is not going to stay that way very long either. They used to tell me how apathetic the youth were, but I'll make a prediction for you: I think they are not going to stay so for very long.

It is much better in analyzing people's inactivity to look at the reasons why it may be useful and functional for them to be inactive for a period of time. There may be nothing for them to do, no opening, no possibility. Under such conditions, it is quite an intelligent response not to hit your head against the wall but to wait until there is an opening--as the Negro movement waited for its opening, and did remarkably well in taking advantage of it. I think this is a much better way of looking at the so-called culture of low-income groups and at the behavior of low-income groups.

Now let me continue to develop my main point. The indigenous nonprofessional can be extremely useful in opening up our eyes to the strengths of the poor and the meaning of all kinds of behaviors that we take for granted and think we know the meaning of, but their behaviors may have deeper roots than we imagine.

In passing, I would suggest we start to question some of this business that the desire--a widely stated desire which I have every reason to believe is true--of low-income youngsters is to have males in the schoolroom. Everyone tells you that the reason for it is that these youngsters haven't had a male figure in the home. I started looking into these neighborhoods, and I noticed that the youngsters were not lacking in masculinity at all.

In adolescent groups, they were very tough and very strong. Walter Miller says this is compensation, that they really feel very weak and inadequate. My response is, "Okay, look at them when they are three years old, when they are two, and when they are one. They are very tough, strong, and independent at those ages, and it is too early for them to compensate."

Let me give you an alternative hypothesis. I would suggest that these youngsters are tough at a very early age because they have learned to be tough, not from males who are not around, but from very tough females who are around. This is an alternative hypothesis, and it can account for why these kids want a more masculine type of school. They are more used to a masculine type of home than they are getting in the school, and it is not necessarily because they lack a father figure.

This whole example is not told to convince you of the specifics of it, but rather to tell you that, by talking to and listening carefully to nonprofessionals from the neighborhood, you are going to get some new insights on the shibboleths built up about the nature of the culture of low-income groups. We are going to start to question the thing which seems so terribly obvious: that these people have been destroyed by poverty, and that they have capitulated to their environment. I think you will find this is not true. Rather, you will find that they are inventive, very creative, struggling--it is perfectly true that struggle takes peculiar forms sometimes--but that they are not simply capitulating to the environment. You can get this information from the indigenous nonprofessional you will be working with, this link you will have with the poor.

Relationship to Professional

Another very important dimension of the new careers, a fundamental key dimension of the new pattern of the use of nonprofessionals, is the relationship to the professionals. Unfortunately there are two kinds of errors that have existed in the formulation of the relationship of the nonprofessional to the professional--and of course there are all kinds of difficulties as we get underway.

The first error is that the nonprofessional should simply be some kind of assistant to the professional, someone to break down the professional's job. The teacher aide who helps with the taking of attendance

and runs the motion picture machine is an example. This is breaking down the professional task and assisting the professional in one area in which there is a lack of manpower. Professionals have been overloaded, and it will be very useful to have these tasks broken down and to have nonprofessionals do them.

This is perfectly valid, and I am not objecting to it. It is going to be a very significant assistance to the professional, but it is only one type of use of nonprofessionals. It is an emphasis on his doing a piecemeal dimension of the professional's job. It is not an emphasis on his doing new kinds of creative tasks such as bringing the poor together to organize in community planning. That is a new kind of task.

In a sense, the tasks I am going to talk about for the nonprofessional are those which the professional either does not do, cannot as easily do, or should not do. I am interested in looking for tasks for nonprofessionals which are specific, and I will tell you what I mean by this in just a minute. But the history of the problem has been that the model of the case side, to cite one instance, simply does a piece of a professional's job.

The second error in this whole issue has been that of noting the deficiencies and inadequacies of professionals and saying, "Look how inadequate they are. They can't reach the poor, they don't like the poor, they don't want to get near the poor, they don't know how to do these things, their skills are limited." What we want to do is to get nonprofessionals to do it. These statements create an invidious comparison, competition, and the throwing of the two against one another. And this is very bad.

What I am going to argue for here is an alliance of the professional and the nonprofessional, an alliance in which different tasks are done by each under professional leadership. Understand that I am not calling for Alcoholics Anonymous--I am interested in AA, but that is not what this is--and I am not talking about neighborhood organization that takes place among citizen groups. I am talking about the use of the poor being employed within the system by public agencies with government funds, and so on. Now the question is, what is this alliance to be?

Let me explain what I mean when I argue that the nonprofessional, by his very nature, can perform certain tasks which it is not wise for the professional to perform.

Tasks for the Nonprofessional

A nonprofessional can spend a great deal of time visiting in the homes of the poor; go to family meetings, weddings, funerals; walk around the neighborhood; shop with persons and give them personal advice; be very directive; and be a companion. You may say professionals

can do all these things. They can, but for a variety of reasons it is not useful.

First it is not economical. Second, it reduces what the professional contributes to the situation, objectivity and distance. We know perfectly well that complete objectivity is not possible, but in our professional roles we work toward objectivity. We well know, too, that this has its strengths and its weaknesses. Objectivity gives one some perspective. One sees things from above and from a distance, and one sees rational dimensions of behavior. One doesn't get completely involved, and there are benefits in this.

If you want to see this in its simplest form, think of the psychoanalyst. Let's take an extreme example:

In his relationship to the patient or client, the psychoanalyst does not involve himself closely or personally in the person's life. To do so would cause all kinds of difficulties. It is true that under certain circumstances he may make short interventions such as Franz Alexander cites when he asks at the end of the hour, in a controlled and planned way, "Would you drive me to the subway?" The idea here is that there is some need for a different kind of relationship that will then be used in the analysis. This is a very controlled type of intervention, and can be used only in limited fashion.

We know something else about the treatment of people: We know they do not profit simply from objectivity and distance. They also want closeness, subjectivity, and concern. My argument, you see, is that the nonprofessional can give this. If he gives it all by himself, without professional direction and without a professional context, this can be very dangerous. For instance, if he doesn't have enough perspective, he can make all kinds of mistakes. Let me illustrate:

At Mobilization For Youth some of our homemakers, who did beautiful work with some of the clients, under certain circumstances were wont to say to a client, "You take my advice about this or I ain't going to help you any more."

That may be good under very rare circumstances, but generally it is not, and the clients would come to the neighborhood service center and say to the professional social workers, "I don't want that person in my home any more." The personal involvement there--in technical terms, the negative counter-transference--was dangerous. What was needed at that point was someone who had professional training, some distance and perspective, and some understanding, to say to the nonprofessional at that point: "You can't do that. It is good for you to be involved. It is good for you to be close and connected to these people, but you can't do that kind of thing. That is going too far. That is foolish."

This is the kind of alliance which I think we have to forge between the professional and the nonprofessional.

I can't give you as good a set of illustrations from home economics because I haven't worked in this field that much. I can, however, give you illustrations of errors made by nonprofessionals that need to be balanced off, and of errors made by professionals which are inherent, in part, in their distance and objectivity. In work with people, we really need a combination of the objective and the subjective. We want to forge a new alliance between the professional and the nonprofessional.

In this new alliance, there is going to be a whole development of new, creative, professional roles. There already has been the trend among professionals, as I am sure you know, for increasing the amount of time to be spent on nondirect-service activities, consultation, training, etc. I am not opposing this trend at all. Surprisingly, I think that many aspects of direct service can be nicely brought in by the nonprofessional. There are certain services the nonprofessional will not be technically competent to perform, but they can be increasingly involved in the service kinds of areas, whether it be as research aide, case aide, homemaker, teacher helper, or whatever.

As professionals are increasingly involved in training roles--in program development and planning, in management, and in all kinds of creative areas--I am suggesting there is going to be not only a nonprofessional revolution but a professional revolution. Allied to it, the professional is going to have to learn a lot more about how to direct, train, and supervise. Particularly, professionals are going to have to learn how to train and supervise nonprofessionals.

There are things to be learned in this area. Our professional schools--home economics schools, social work schools, etc.--are going to have to give a great deal of attention to this because of the new professional roles which will develop.

What Are the Training Issues?

This brings me to the questions of what are the problems and what are the training issues involved with working with nonprofessionals. There are a number of things that we could cover briefly that may be of some use to you. As I have talked to nonprofessionals all over the country where they are being trained and worked with in various capacities, a couple of things come up constantly.

There is a great need for careful definition of their jobs and for careful job specification. What are they supposed to do in their roles? You will find that job definitions in many of these areas are one or two paragraphs long. This is completely inadequate for the nonprofessional.

He really needs a job description--not just for himself but also for the person training him--that is about two pages long. To write this requires that you role-play, or job simulate, for yourself every feature of the job.

What, exactly, is he supposed to do? "Take attendance." That's too broad. What does it mean? It might seem obvious to you, but to him you must really spell out his day. What is he going to do in that classroom from nine to five? (A side note on this: When developing the job description, be sure to do it with the complete involvement of the people working in the area. In other words, involve the teachers themselves in making up what they would like a nonprofessional to do in the situation. Let it be their job description, not one by somebody ten thousand miles away.) The nonprofessional needs very careful descriptions of what his role-function is to be.

Another thing which the nonprofessional needs very much is an orientation about his two-way communication role, and about the fact that he is not in his previous role in the community now but is in the system. This is very difficult for some nonprofessionals to accept. If they can't accept it, I think they should return to their citizen roles. I speak seriously for I have worked with nonprofessionals who, in a sense, want to develop the civil rights movement in a nonprofessional-role capacity instead of doing it in their citizen time. And they have gotten very confused about this.

For example, they think they ought to have Marches on Washington developed in their paid nonprofessional time. This is very complicated. There is confusion in the mind about what one can do within the structure and the system, and what one can do as a citizen. Incidentally, it is not only they who are confused. Often, the people writing the programs are also confused, so the nonprofessionals are further confused.

The nonprofessionals have to understand that they are playing a new kind of role that is not the one they played as citizens. They do have to relate to agencies and professionals. They are not being paid to crush the agency structure or to march down to the welfare department and attack and destroy it. Yes, they have to understand their new kind of role, their new kind of stance, and what they are trying to do in this situation. Unless they do, they cannot function.

Another dimension they are confused about is the amount that they can do. Friends of mine have called this the error of "grandiosity." Sometimes nonprofessionals are being encouraged and being told: "We need you. You have wonderful skills. You have wonderful qualities. We want to bring you in. We want to employ you." Nonprofessionals get into this competition and attack the professionals. They think, "I can do this better than you."

Again, this is partly true. In some ways he can. But if he starts to exaggerate this, starts to think of himself as *the* social worker or *the*

home economist, etc., he is going to try to do things which are going to get him into a great deal of trouble. This is because he is not the professional and he cannot do certain things. This grandiosity leads to a lot of conflict, a lot of misunderstanding, and it has to be discussed and worked with from the very beginning of the training. The nonprofessional has to understand what his role is, what his contribution is, and what his limits are.

Other Dimensions of Training

Now there are some other dimensions of the training which I'll mention very briefly--they are described more fully in a pamphlet you can obtain called "The Indigenous Nonprofessional"[7]--but the dimensions that characterize the training are continuous and almost immediate parts of on-the-job training. I mentioned this earlier. First, put people on the job for at least a half day as quickly as possible, and, when they are on the job, develop them, and supervise them closely. You cannot use the classic supervisory pattern. You have to use a very close supervisory pattern. You cannot simply be concerned with whether they are doing the job with accountability or not. You have to be concerned with their development, their growth on the job, and what their weaknesses and strengths are.

A second dimension of the training is an activity approach, a role-playing approach rather than a lecture approach. And a third is training in groups. Group solidarity, the act of reinforcing each other, is very important in the training process.

A fourth is a down-to-earth teaching style. Make everything very explicit and concrete, and discuss what has been done on the job rather than abstract principles. Abstractions then can be built from the concrete discussion.

A final point we talked about a lot is the development of the individual style of the nonprofessional. Try to find out how he does it and capitalize on this. Try not to impose a style on him. He has the know-how, and his style comes from his experience in the low-income community. We need and can utilize his style very effectively.

Present Dangers, Problems

In closing, let me state the dangers of the moment and the problems of the moment. The nonprofessional revolution has caught the imagination of a lot of people, in government and out of it. The big danger that I sense as I have gone to various places throughout the United States is the attempt to do the whole thing too fast. The use of large sums

of money, which are being given through the community action programs in a city to hire literally thousands of nonprofessionals at once, provides tremendous pressure. We don't have the training capacity to do this immediately. We don't fully know how to use the nonprofessional, and people are rushing to use them simply to get the money.

My friend Arthur Pearl has the best joke about what he calls the "instant programs" being developed around the country. "To make instant programs," he says, "you add money and stir." I think this is what's causing the problem.

We have to watch out for the big dangers, and very carefully, stage-by-stage, step-by-step, plan to phase in the use of and the training of nonprofessionals. If we don't do this, we are going to get into quite a bit of difficulty. We don't have to make a fetish out of paying attention to the training, or make it "precious," but there are certain fundamentals which I briefly described that can be of use in the training situation.

Finally, what we have to do is to involve the professionals very much in a cooperative relationship so that they are not competing and not being annoyed that nonprofessionals are going to take their jobs away. (They're not going to do that by any means.) What will happen is that nonprofessionals are going to free professionals to do the higher level jobs, free them to be fully professional. But professionals have to see this and to understand it.

We have to develop a whole program in which the civil service classifications accept the nonprofessionals so that jobs they can do are built into the system. Otherwise, the jobs won't last, and they won't become careers. We have to make important civil service changes because the traditional tests which are used in civil service are not attuned to low-income learning style and evaluation.

I am sure you know that we should not put so much reliance on written tests. The educational system has to be attuned toward accepting the on-the-job experience of these people--accepting it as we do, for example, at Bard and Antioch. At Bard, where I taught for many years, the student is sent out to get on-the-job experience. At Antioch they go out for six months a year. Many social worker schools do this.

Let's put it the other way around. Why not have the nonprofessional go out on the job? Why not accept this going out as part of his educational performance and build it into the credit system? This, I think, is the way to bring in the nonprofessional, to get him further education. This is the stimulus for him and for us.

The final, concluding challenge to us is to have the civil service system, the education system, and the professionals work together to

make the nonprofessional revolution into a meaningful pattern. This has not been done before.

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[1]Margaret J. Rioch, "NIMH Study in Training Mental Health Counsellors," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 33: (July 1963), pp. 678-689.

[2]Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor: the Nonprofessional in Human Service (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1965), p. 273.

[3]Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness, HARYOU, New York (1964), pp. 380, 607, 608, 609.

[4]National headquarters in Santa Monica, California.

[5]New Careers for Disadvantaged Youth, Conference Proceedings; Center for Youth and Community Studies, Howard University (April 1964).

[6]George Brager, "Some Assumptions and Strategies of the Mobilization of Youth Program," chapter in The Mental Health of the Poor. Edited by Frank Riessman, Jerome Cohen, and Arthur Pearl (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1964).

[7]Robert Reiff and Frank Riessman, The Indigenous Nonprofessional. May be obtained for $1 from Behavioral Publications, Inc., Box 23, Lexington, Massachusetts.

PROGRAM

AHEA Workshop

Working with Low-Income Families

The University of Chicago
Center for Continuing Education

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1965

9:00 Registration

10:00-11:00 Group Leaders-Discussion

12:30-3:30 Educational Trips and Discussion

Panel Moderator: Mary Reeves, Regional Nutrition Consultant, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chicago

Dorothy Brodnicki, Director of Nutrition, Infant Welfare Society of Chicago

Sophie Heend, Home Economist, Chicago Housing Authority

Virginia Jauch, Director, Nutrition Service, Chicago Board of Health

Ethel Ugelow, Consultant, Home Economics Service, Cook County Department of Public Aid

7:00 OPENING SESSION

An Over-all View of Poverty in Contemporary American Society

Presiding: Gwen Lam, First Vice-President, AHEA; Senior Vice-President of Glick and Lorwin, Inc., New York City

Our Charge: This Week and Tomorrow
Francena L. Nolan, Chairman, AHEA Committee on Resources for Low-Income Families; Dean, School of Home Economics, University of Connecticut

Poverty Amidst Affluence: An Overall View of Poverty in Contemporary American Society
Paul A. Miller, President, West Virginia University

Film: The Captive

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1965

8:30 SECOND SESSION

Nature and Scope of the Problem of Poverty

Presiding: Grace Henderson, Dean of the College of Home Economics, Pennsylvania State University

Changing the Culture of the Disadvantaged Student
Allison Davis, Professor of Education, University of Chicago

Consumption Choices and Poverty
Oscar Ornati, Professor of Economics, Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School of Social Research

10:45 Group Discussions

1:30 THIRD SESSION

Culture of Low-Income Families

Presiding: Mary C. Egan, Chief, Nutrition Section, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Introduction to Panel Discussion
Jessie Bernard, Research Scholar Honoris Causa, Pennsylvania State University

Child-Rearing and Family Life Patterns of the Very Poor: Implications for Home Economics
Catherine S. Chilman, Social Science Analyst, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Value-Orientations of a Culture of Poverty--The Southern Appalachian Case
Thomas R. Ford, Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky

4:00 Group Discussions

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1965

8:30 FOURTH SESSION

Specific Areas in Which Problems Arise as the Result of Poverty, Focusing Principally on Health, Welfare, and Education

Presiding: Helen R. LeBaron, Dean of the College of Home Economics, Iowa State University

Poverty is the Consequence of Obsolescence in Social Institutions
William G. Stucky, Education Leader, Center for Agricultural and Economic Development, Iowa State University

Poverty and Welfare
Alton A. Linford, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Some Challenges of Contemporary Health Needs
Pauline G. Stitt, MD, Chief, Child Health Studies Branch, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

10:45 Listening Panel Reports

Gladys Grabe, State Consultant, Home Economics Education, State of Iowa Department of Public Instruction

Nathalie D. Preston, Supervisor of Homemaker Service and Home Economist, Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and Children's Aid Society

Alice H. Smith, Chief, Nutrition Section, Michigan Department of Health

1:30 FIFTH SESSION

Programs of Selected Organizations and Agencies Which Serve Low-Income Families with Special Emphasis on the Specific Contributions of Home Economists

Presiding: Irene H. Wolgamot, Assistant to Director, Consumer and Food Economics Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

The North Carolina Fund
William H. Koch, Jr., Director of Community Development, The North Carolina Fund

Homemaking Education for Needy Families in the Dallas Community
Jerline Kennedy, Home and Family Life Consultant, Dallas (Texas) Independent School District

Homemaker-Teachers Assist Low-Income Families in Hartford, Connecticut
Elizabeth W. Gassette, Supervisor, Homemaker-Teacher Project, Family Service Society, Hartford, Connecticut

4:00 Group Discussions

7:00 SIXTH SESSION

Presiding: Ruth M. Leverton, Assistant Administrator, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Consumer Problems of Low-Income Families
Esther Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs

Film: Operation Bootstrap

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1965

8:30 SEVENTH SESSION

Programs of Selected Organizations and Agencies (Continued from Fifth Session)

Presiding: Ruth Jewson, Executive Officer, National Council of Family Relations, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Rural America Needs Home Economists
John A. Baker, Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Public Welfare and the Home Economist
Ellen Winston, Commissioner of Welfare, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

10:30 SEVENTH SESSION (Continued)

Presiding: Louise A. Young, Professor of Home Management-Family Living, School of Home Economics, University of Wisconsin

The Consumer Counseling Program of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities
Paul Mendenhall, AFL-CIO-CSA Liaison Staff, United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc.

Vocational Education Programs and the Low-Income Family
Walter M. Arnold, Assistant Commissioner, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Our Charge: Each Professional Group
Francena L. Nolan

1:30-2:30 Professional Group Meetings

2:45-3:10 Reports from Professional Groups

3:15-5:00 Regional Group Meetings

7:00 SEVENTH SESSION (Continued)

Presiding: Mary Elizabeth White, Recording Secretary, AHEA; Coordinator of Home Economics, Atlanta (Georgia) Public Schools

Community Action
Robert I. Shackford, Regional Director, Community Action Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity, Midwest Region

Film: Superfluous People

FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1965

8:30 Regional Group Meetings

10:00 EIGHTH SESSION

The Outreach

Presiding: Francena L. Nolan

Reports of Regional Workshop Plans

AHEA's Opportunity and Responsibility
A. June Bricker, Executive Director, AHEA

12:00-2:00 NINTH SESSION

The Challenge for Home Economists

Presiding: Elizabeth W. Crandall, Third Vice-President, AHEA; Chairman of the Department of Home Management, University of Rhode Island

The Challenge: New Careers for the Poor
Frank Riessman, Director of Lincoln Hospital (New York) Mental Health Aide Program; Associate Professor, Department of Psychiatry, Albert Einstein College of Medicine

PROGRESS REPORT
REGIONAL WORKSHOPS AND OTHER FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

Two hundred members of the American Home Economics Association representing 52 state home economics associations participated in the National Workshop. The invitation stated, "A primary objective...is to assist participants in developing regional workshops to further extend the contributions of home economics to low-income families. You, as a participant, would be expected to help in organizing such a workshop in your region."

To facilitate pledges of action each participant was assigned to one of five groups composed of all the persons from designated geographical regions. Each group selected a leader and reporter, and had the assistance of a member of the AHEA planning committee for consultation. The groups met at least twice during the workshop (1) to review the needs of low-income families in their particular regions, (2) to summarize plans to enlist all home economics leaders in their areas in the War against Poverty, and (3) to name a regional coordinator, committee, or contact for the ongoing program.

The states by geographical regions, together with the names of appointees to the positions described are listed following this report.

A variety of recommendations and proposals were formulated by the regional groups. All went on record to implement workshops on Working with Low-Income Families in multi-state, individual state, or intrastate areas. Most groups planned to request the sponsorship of their respective state home economics associations or of colleges, universities, or extension services. Since the workshop more than 50 workshops involving 40 states have been held or are scheduled.

At the AHEA annual meeting program at Atlantic City it was not possible to program the open meeting recommended by regional groups, but most subject-matter sections and the State Presidents' Unit discussed working with low-income families at their sessions and a collection of materials on "poverty" was exhibited. Also, as the groups requested, the AHEA committee on legislation prepared a bulletin giving information on federal laws which authorize programs of assistance for families.

The Association's Journal of Home Economics published pictures and articles in the May and June issues as well as a report by Irene H. Wolgamot, Coordinator on Resources for Low-Income Families (December 1965 issue). In response to inquiries, AHEA headquarters prepared a packet of materials which was distributed to local workshop planning committees and periodically mails materials to those directly concerned with regional follow-up.

During the national workshop, participants became aware not only of the contributions home economists in their specialized areas could make to the War on Poverty, but of the contributions other professionals were making. The regional groups outlined plans to contact and work with community service, educational, mental and physical health, and private and public welfare organizations, agencies, and personnel at the local levels. In many of the area workshops professionals in these related fields were asked to participate to encourage the team approach to raising the levels and standards of living of the one-third of our nation who are the economically disadvantaged.

STATES BY REGIONS AND ACTIVITY ORGANIZATION CONTACTS

Region I

Connecticut
Delaware
Maine
Massachusetts
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Vermont

Region Contact Committee: Jessie Middlemast, Clio Rienwald, Dorothy Woodcock, Dorothea Nicholl, Anne Raleigh McCarthy, Doris Lane
Group Chairman: Gwen J. Bymers
Recorder: Mary Jane Strattner
Consultant: Eleanore Luckey

Region II

Alabama
Arkansas
District of Columbia
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
North Carolina
Puerto Rico
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
West Virginia

Region Chairman: Phyllis Ilett
Group Chairman: Erna Chapman
Recorder: Phyllis Ilett
Consultant: Francena L. Nolan

Region III

Illinois
Indiana
Michigan
Minnesota
Ohio
Wisconsin

State Contacts: Helen Frances (Ill.), Barbara Morley (Ind.), Helen Lohr (Mich.), Lyla Mallough and Edna Olson (Minn.), Eva Wilson and Christine Hillman (Ohio), Julia Dalrymple (Wis.)
Group Chairman: Christine Hillman
Recorder: Mary Holtman
Consultants: Irene Beavers and Irene Wolgamot

Region IV

Iowa
Kansas
Missouri
Nebraska
North Dakota
Oklahoma
South Dakota
Texas

Workshop participants to serve as a committee to organize activities within their individual states.
Group Chairman: Helen Barbour
Recorder: Dorothy Larery
Consultant: Mary Egan

Region V

Alaska
Arizona
California
Colorado
Hawaii
Idaho
Montana
Nevada
New Mexico
Oregon
Utah
Washington
Wyoming

Clearing and Steering Committee: Lucille Pintz, region chairman; Virginia F. Cutler; Marcile N. Wood; Miriam Lowenberg; Winnifred C. Jardine
Group Chairman: Mary Catharine Starr
Recorder: Winnifred C. Jardine
Consultants: Loretta Cowden and Edna Poyner

SCHEDULED STATE AND AREA LOW-INCOME WORKSHOPS

State	Location	Date
Alabama	Birmingham	September 3, 1965
Arizona	Phoenix	September 11, 1965
Arkansas	Little Rock	August 24-25, 1965
	Fayetteville	October 9, 1965
	Magnolia	October 19, 1965
	Pine Bluff	November 10, 1965
	Jonesboro	November 18, 1965
	Russellville	December 4, 1965
California	Sacramento	September 1-2, 1965
	San Francisco	May 6, 1966
Colorado	Boulder	October 23, 1965
	Denver	November 17-19, 1965
Connecticut	Storrs	January 31 and February 1, 1966
Delaware	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	October 15, 1965
District of Columbia	College Park, Maryland	October 28-30, 1965
Georgia	Athens	October 22-23, 1965
Idaho	Moscow	(No date set)
Illinois	Chicago	September 25, 1965
	Springfield	October 9, 1965
	Carbondale	(No date set)
Indiana	Indianapolis	May 21, 1965
	Bloomington	October 16, 1965
	Terre Haute	November 20, 1965
	Muncie	November 20, 1965
	Hammond and Lafayette	January 24, 1966
Iowa	Ames	October 8-9, 1965
Kansas	Manhattan	November 12, 1965
Kentucky	Louisville	February 1966
Louisiana	Alexandria	September 24-25, 1965
Maine	Portland	September 24-25, 1965

Maryland	College Park	October 28-30, 1965
Massachusetts	Farmington	September 23-25, 1965
Michigan	Detroit	(No date set)
Minnesota	State HEA Meeting	(No date set)
Missouri	Columbus St. Louis	July 13-15, 1965 (No date set)
New Hampshire	Portland, Maine	September 24-25, 1965
Nebraska	Lincoln	October 18-19, 1965
New Jersey	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Southern New Jersey) New York City (Northern New Jersey)	October 15, 1965 January 21-22, 1966
New York	Ithaca New York City	October 23, 1965 January 21-22, 1966
North Carolina	Durham	(No date set)
Ohio	Columbus	(No date set)
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia University Park Pittsburgh	October 15, 1965 October 19, 1965 October 29, 1965
South Carolina	Orangeburg	(No date set)
South Dakota		(No date set)
Tennessee	Nashville	November 4-6, 1965
Texas	Dallas	October 18-19, 1965
Utah	Salt Lake City	October 8-9, 1965
Vermont	Portland, Maine	September 24-25, 1965
Virginia	College Park, Maryland Blacksburg	October 28-30, 1965 (No date set)
Washington	Seattle	May 13-14, 1966
West Virginia	Ripley	November 19-20, 1965
Wisconsin		(No date set)
Wyoming	Casper	(No date set)

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Dispose of Wastes, No. 6
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"Cooperative Extension Service Work with Low-Income Families" series. Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., October 1963.

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Using Donated Foods - ESC-547
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