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A random sample of the population in each of five Oregon cities was interviewed in 1964 and 1966, to assess the impact on citizen support for the schools of a series of innovative educational programs for the culturally deprived. In general, a change to more favorable attitudes toward the programs was found among both the citizens at large and the program participants during the 3-year research period. The magnitude of this change was found to vary according to the respondents' information level, community involvement level, degree of alienation toward the governmental process in general, personal interests, socioeconomic class, and race. Educational decision makers concerned with the current "taxpayers' revolt" should be aware of these findings, which suggest that educational improvements for the culturally deprived may often increase rather than erode citizen support for the schools. (JH)

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# EFFECTS OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS FOR THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED ON CITIZEN SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOLS

Cooperative Research Project No. OE-6-10-066

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## Introduction

At least since the launching of Sputnik in 1957 the educational institution in this country has been a focal point of citizen interest. The increased interest in, and emphasis upon, educational excellence in the wake of this historic event has since been given new impetus. This time, however, the reasons are not the international scientific prestige of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The new impetus, of course, has come from those who are increasingly concerned with the plight of the poor and black minorities in this country.

During the past few decades education has continued to grow as an important determinant of one's life chances. With technological developments, especially in the realm of weaponry and space exploration, this nation committed new, and previously unmatched, resources for educational ends. The importance of education in determining one's economic position was further underscored in the early 1960's by the "rediscovery" of poverty in this country. In the aftermath of this "rediscovery," to some extent at least as a consequence of the initiation of the "war on poverty," interest in education and its failures was given an even greater boost. During the course of this research, the issue of the role of the schools in combating poverty, and in providing an avenue for the disadvantaged by which they could escape the hardship and degradation of poverty, has become even more pressing. The continued growth in interest was fostered first by the increasing controversy and conflict growing out of the pressure to end de facto segregation in many northern cities, and secondly as a consequence of the violent outbursts in many of the nation's major cities which have

threatened to catapult the nation into an open race war.

As those groups which have hitherto been denied access to this nation's educational resources continue to press their demands for quality education, citizen interest continues to grow and innovative educational programs proliferate. The major problem lying at the center of the research report that follows is outlined in the five questions which guided our research. These questions were as follows:

1. To what extent have local school systems lagged behind the predispositions of citizens to provide expanded programs for culturally deprived or disadvantaged youth and/or adults?

2. To what extent is citizen support for educational innovations of a compensatory education character greater or less than their support for post-sputnik curricula modernization innovations?

3. Do social, psychological, and political factors that affect citizen support for, indifference about, or opposition to, massive programs of curricula modernization innovations also affect such citizen sentiments toward programs of educational innovations designed to increase the educational and, hence, social and economic opportunities of the culturally disadvantaged?

4. Do citizen reactions to proposed or actual programs of educational innovations designed for the culturally disadvantaged vary by the kind of community in which they live (including the type of political system), by their general tax and fiscal attitudes, by their perceptions of, and feelings about, the race-relatedness and class character of those programs and about race relations and class relations generally?

5. Do educational/poverty programs for culturally disadvantaged youth have adverse, positive, or no effects on the educational values and perspectives of participants or family members of participants and on other citizens who pay for (directly or indirectly) but who do not participate in those programs?

At the outset, it was our conviction that the anticipation of negative reactions from voters had caused many school boards and administrations to be hesitant to propose and develop innovative programs designed to meet the special needs of the disadvantaged in the community. This anticipated reaction, rooted to some extent in the reality of increasing resistance of voters to greater taxation which would doubtless have been necessary for such programs, might well have been at least partly responsible for the delay in implementing demonstrably superior new curricula and institutional reorganizations. A central question, of course, is whether or not this anticipated response may have been warranted. We had hypothesized that the negative response of voters to school budgets may have been a consequence partly of the failure of innovative programs to reach enough of the district's clientele, partly of the perceived irrelevance of many of the new programs (i.e., the new math, team teaching, advanced placement, closed-circuit television, etc.), and partly, perhaps, of relatively high visibility of small groups of highly motivated and exceedingly vocal opponents of property tax increases, of compensatory education for minority groups, of desegregation, etc.[1]

The problem of citizen resistance to innovations and to budgets is compounded if the anticipated disapproval of the citizenry leads

school officials to procrastinate on new programs which would make the schools more relevant to the needs of the increasing numbers of permanently deprived. Such delays might well have the effect of compounding citizen disaffection with the quality of the job done by the schools. An obvious failure to provide an adequate education for those who need it most may, in fact, lead to increasing citizen opposition to more conventional curriculum changes and improvements. Among those most immediately affected, the disadvantaged, one might expect an increasing alienation and distance from the schools to develop. Findings from another study completed near the beginning of this project suggested that the introduction of programs for the culturally deprived conceivably might strengthen or help to firm up, rather than dissipate, existing positive attitudes toward innovative programs in the schools.[2] In addition to reinforcing positive attitudes among one important and traditionally participant sector of the voting public, one might activate thereby interest and support from what is historically one of the least supportive elements with regard to school issues, namely, the disadvantaged. If such were the case, the net effect of the introduction of new programs for the disadvantaged might be to strengthen support for the schools such that the ever-present dislike for increased tax expenditures might be less easily activated by perennial opponents of all such tax increases.

The nature of the problem outlined above is not simply limited to those areas with large numbers of disadvantaged. The impact of voter resistance in low-income communities to support of programs aimed directly at the disadvantaged will have more general implications for those

lying outside of the boundaries of such educational districts. The problem for the public-at-large takes on a growing magnitude when one looks at the class, age, and racial characteristics which have been projected one or two decades into the future for many urban centers. The traditional pattern of voter support for the schools was approval by the minority of relatively affluent, educated citizens and school employees and their friends but with large proportions of the disadvantaged not participating. With current population shifts leading to a growing concentration of non-supportive groups, reliance on such traditional sources of support to provide for the needs of local school districts is potentially disastrous. Unless local citizens in those areas having high proportions of disadvantaged residents become more supportive of local school systems, pressure will continue to mount for a drastic reorganization of local school financing procedures. Such a reorganization could lead to an even greater share of the financial burden falling on federal agencies than most proponents of federal aid might have anticipated. Only by adopting innovative programs which are successful in meeting the needs of the new constituency of many districts can local citizen support be expected. One of the major purposes of this study was then, to guage the extent to which, and the conditions under which, the culturally and economically deprived, as well as the more affluent, feel that such programs offer sufficient benefits to sacrifice their limited resources in basic educational investments.

This analysis of citizen attitudes and reactions to innovative programs for the disadvantaged, the channels -- particularly informal

channels -- of information about such programs, and the impact of such programs on citizen conceptions about, and support for or opposition to, local school systems was undertaken to provide vital information for policy-makers both inside and outside of education. Such information bears directly on the prospects for meeting challenges already facing schools in small cities and metropolitan areas of the United States relative to their role in the social and economic integration of the poor, and the prevention of predictably increased conflict between various class antagonists. While the five purposively selected research communities in one state are by no means a representative sample of all such communities, we believe that research in these communities reveals dynamics of a relatively general nationwide character.

The report on the introduction of educational/poverty programs for the culturally disadvantaged in our research communities shows clearly that school people themselves are frequently resistant or not ready for such innovations. The concerns of such officials are often limited to voter reactions. One of our basic dimensions concerns psychological and symbolic meanings of efforts to innovate in education generally, and particularly in reference to culturally disadvantaged people. For understandable reasons, new programs or new ways of doing things meet frequently with resistances. There is no question that it is more comfortable for many people to perform occupationally in customary ways.

In addition to the usual occupational resistance to change is the desire, particularly among upwardly mobile, professionally-aspiring occupational groups like school administrators, not to appear to have been failing in meeting the needs and expectations of their employers

or patrons. It is important for their own self-esteem that they feel successful in operating the schools, and their continued employment depends on a positive assessment. Given the generally middle-class and white bias in the services that public schools have been providing for decades throughout the United States, proposals for innovative programs for the culturally disadvantaged, the poor, blacks or other minorities may be avoided or resisted because they suggest criticism that educators and the boards to whom they must answer tend to reject as unwarranted and invalid.

But the realities of recent politics of education and of poverty have presented various local school systems with challenges to meet the needs of the poor, the minority child, and the otherwise disadvantaged. Through the combined actions of the federal government and demands made by local civil rights organizations or other groups of socially-conscious citizens, such challenges have been more difficult to ignore. To the extent that educational administrators and teachers can point to increasing difficulties of school money measures at the polls, the cost implications of special educational/poverty programs, and the presumed citizen aversion to further expensive innovations, they are in a position to escape the responsibilities inherent in any major national attack on poverty, delinquency and racial conflict. The United States has a federal system of government and politics. This means that local politics may effectively thwart national legislative, executive or judicial policy with relative ease. Such policy observations have been obvious most recently in the massive local evasions of the efforts to end segregation in the institutions of America.

Resistance at the local level to extensive reorganization of public education to accommodate those groups who have not been recipients of equal educational opportunities has been strengthened by twin myths. The first myth is that for the most part adult citizens, and particularly disadvantaged adult citizens, are really not educable. Adult education programs can perhaps work in teaching people a specific trade or hobby, but to think of lower class adults as open to education violates the folk and academic prejudice that learning abilities diminish with age -- and with the conditions of poverty and slum or ghetto life. The second myth is that the entire motivational structure of economically and educationally poor people can be more or less adequately taken into account by the notions of pursuit of pleasure and an unwillingness to expend their scarce fiscal resources for public programs.

There have been almost no research efforts or findings to substantiate or to refute the proposition disadvantaged adult citizens are uneducable. We regard such a proposition as a myth because it is unsubstantiated and because we think that research will demonstrate that it is unfounded. The research findings brought to bear on the second proposition range from descriptive studies of the life styles of the poor, often done by unsympathetic middle-class researchers, to studies that find substantial positive correlations between voting approval for public expenditures and level of income or wealth of voters. We regard the latter conception and the related research as a myth in the sense that it is, at best, only a partial or incomplete explanation. Furthermore, its implications are misleading and may well be more wrong than right. The rise of the radical right and the national strength of the George

Wallace candidacy as well as the increasing evidence of a so-called voters' revolt against school budgets in such states as Oregon are taken as indications of the validity of the second proposition.

Instead, we believe that an alternative interpretation of the voting patterns of low-income groups provides a more valid conception. Immediacy of consumption and its opposite, trying to save one's funds rather than spending them in the form of taxes, are behavior patterns which might well be defined from the perspectives of the poor or culturally disadvantaged as a form of enlightened self-interest. For the most part, public expenditures, whether municipal or educational, tend to have greater rewards for the already more advantaged. In such cases it would be inaccurate to say that they evidence an unwillingness to expend their scarce fiscal resources for public programs but, rather, that they evidence an unwillingness to expend their scarce fiscal resources for the usual public programs, programs which are not as much in their interest as in the interest of other groups. This is especially true when viewed within the framework of an admittedly regressive tax structure which supports such programs. In a context of the continual development of public programs that are not in their interest, such citizens can be expected to begin to develop a negative orientation towards public authorities. Such an orientation has been variously termed a sense of alienation, a feeling of inefficacy, or a self-image of impotency. Under various conditions one can also expect the development of feelings of resentment, hostility, or even rage against those whom they think are continually short-changing them while succoring others.

Several tests of this model of social-psychological dynamics of politics suggest themselves. One would be whether alienation as reflected, for example, in cynical attitudes towards educational decision-makers would, independent of such factors as socio-economic class or even tax sentiments, generate anti-school budget voting attitudes. Such tests have been made and the results confirm the importance of such alienation as a critical variable in some of the same communities studied in the current project.[3]

A second kind of test would be whether, when unusual policy innovations manifestly in the immediate interests of others are introduced, the traditional advantaged supporters of the schools and of innovative educational programs begin to act like the stereotypes have the disadvantaged acting. A natural experiment of that order has occurred in some Northern cities with the introduction of busing and such educational innovations as local community control over schools designed to end de facto segregation and/or to improve ghetto schools. Lo and behold -- educated (white) citizens suddenly turn into resisters of innovations and guardians of the public purse. What is presumably a most liberal group of school teachers in the nation's largest city refuses to act in the larger public interest at the expense of such immediate personal interests as job security and job assignments. Whereas many skilled workers in Northern factories suddenly find that Wallace represents the voice of the ordinary man, teachers in New York suddenly find that Mayor Lindsay represents an opponent instead of a person whom they can trust.

In such a model the terms "liberal" and "conservative" suddenly

turn topsy-turvy and seem to lose their earlier power to distinguish ideological or policy positions. Our long-term research program allows us to gain some perspective on such apparently mystifying shifts in the political landmarks and buoys. It was earlier discovered that the Radical Right of some seven or eight years ago were attracting their greatest local support in campaigns to block such "liberal" programs as urban renewal or fluoridation from the traditionally Democratic working class.[4] At the same time it was found that the alienation that characterized that "anti-Establishment" working class protest vote did not extend to any change of party identification nor to any rejection of the kinds of national domestic or social welfare programs identified with the liberal position most characteristic of the Democratic Party.[5] It was not surprising that the ultra-conservative Republican presidential candidate in 1964, Barry Goldwater, suffered an overwhelming defeat. It was not surprising to us, but it was surprising to those who had witnessed the strength of the Radical Right in various local communities among working class people apparently protesting against the powers-that-were.

Those powers that were in control of many local governments were frequently Republican and conservative nationally, but adherents of a public improvement program that could be termed "community conservation." It was resentment of, and hostility to, such programs and their imposition upon citizens by professionals and downtown businessmen that had led to working class protest votes in some Northern, as well as Southern, cities by the middle 1960s. It was not a rejection of the policies and programs of the enemies of the Radical Right, the liberal Democrats

and Republicans in Washington that motivated working and lower middle class opposition. By 1968, however, there was a new situation. First, the Eisenhower administration, but then increasingly the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, responded to the edicts of the courts and to the even stronger pressures of civil rights youngsters and oldsters, and the minority of highly educated whites of strong conscience, to engage in the promulgation of new national programs designed to end racial discrimination, and finally, to make a major dent in, if not eradicate, poverty in America. Programs for open housing and education, for the admission of blacks to white neighborhoods and white schools, became more serious as national efforts. Coincidentally, a white supremacist, George Wallace, launched his drive for national political prominence.

The Wallace campaign struck a chord that even he did not seem to realize was so prominent a feature of American life. In the context of increasing working and middle class concern over the student ferment and the demonstrations, not only for civil and economic rights for the disadvantaged and disproportionately black people, but also to end the war in Viet Nam, his campaign took off. The Wallace appeal to many working and middle class people, even in the North, shook the established two-party political order. Wallace suddenly served to unite traditionally fractionated, divided groups on the far right and tapped the current of alienation now affecting larger numbers of white Americans. That alienation had now gone beyond a feeling that city hall and the downtown crowd were ignoring them; it began to center on Washington, D. C. and the educational-intellectual elite -- nationally and locally. The programs and policies of the latter were now at issue -- but not the traditional liberal programs of social and economic assistance to the

elderly, the infirm, and the like. The program of Wallace's American Independent Party made no attack on social security reminiscent of the Goldwater criticism; traditional welfare programs were to be expanded and not curtailed by Wallace should he make it to the White House. The programs and policies under attack and at the root of the feelings of alienation and hostility now directed at the Establishment by newly recruited members of the Right, were those perceived as opposed to their vital interests. These programs included open housing, school integration, and political actions such as demonstrations which seemed to have led to such unwanted and unwarranted programs.

The right side of the political spectrum suddenly seemed to have been transformed from a consistently anti-welfare state position into one that stood simultaneously for states' rights, local control and bigger and better welfare programs. The latter, however, are programs that did not threaten the vital interests of an increasingly large sector of propertied White America that identified civil rights and school integration with lowered educational quality, lowered property values, increased rape if not miscegenation, and increased crime and violence on the streets and in their neighborhoods. Rather than a movement from liberalism, with approval of government welfare and a pro-working man emphasis, to conservatism with a preference for less government intervention in the society and economy and a pro-business emphasis, the surge of the Wallace appeal seems to be based, in some measure, on a maintenance of liberalism but in the context of a selective conservatism which emphasizes governmental non-intervention into white dominance of institutions, the preservation of a traditional white supremacy in the political order, and waging war, particularly on black crime in the streets.

Our thesis is that such alienation is not due simply to the swift change increasingly apparent in our scientific-technological, industrial society -- although there is something to the notion that such swift change disposes people to the fears and insecurities involved in political alienation. Rather, as we see it, an important ingredient of political alienation lies in the formulation and pursuit of policies by decision-makers that are not perceived or conceived as in the primary interests of the people. Tax revolts, such as those that are manifested in many American school systems are, we think, not simply a matter of an increasing economic squeeze on the less affluent. They represent a behavioral response stemming from an alienation produced by what may be an unintentional adherence to the programs and policies that are perceived by many to be in the interest of groups other than those with whom revolt participants identify.

Several years ago on the basis of over a decade of research into the dynamics of American community politics we noted the utility of the conception of a cultural class system for understanding some of the tensions, conflicts, and trends in those politics.[6] In these terms, there has been an increasing crystallization of a cultural class system based on differential kinds and degrees of education more than on differential economic values, which has produced a stratification of people into categories having rather different ideas, conceptions, thoughts, and general orientations toward life and their societies. A counterpart political cultural class system has developed with community conservationists very much towards the top of the structure of power in the making of political decisions in many city halls, in many school

districts, and in the national government itself. Such conservationists are characterized by their inclination to turn over decision-making responsibilities to the professional administrator (e.g., city manager, school superintendent, city engineer, etc.) whose legitimacy in this regard stems from his extensive educational preparation. The result of such a turn-over in decision-making responsibility is that decisions are rendered which have a built-in cultural class bias. Such biases are denied or unrecognized, however, because many, if not all, professional administrators have fallen prey to the misconception that education purges them of such class bias. In effect, such administrators advance the interests and ideology of the upper or upper middle classes in the framework of the application of their professional expertise.

The culturally disadvantaged who do not share the ideology of community conservation as its doctrines have been developed by the culturally advantaged are, if white, among those most receptive to a radical right ideology which finds its greatest enemy to be conservationists at either the community or national level. Even members of the cultural middle class have been attracted to the new far right because of the political distance they feel between themselves and those in the top political control positions.

Once again, to understand the development and restructuring of a political cultural class system, one needs to examine very carefully the policies and programs effectuated by political decision-makers. It is those policies and programs, we believe, that serve as the causes of the changing structure of the political cultural class system, of political movements and counter-movements, and of the shifts in the

groups and organizations that constitute the power-holders and the power-seekers of any political system.

The implications of this general model are very great for policy-makers inside and outside of education. If alienation, as it manifests itself either in a vote for Wallace or a vote against a school budget, is based to some extent upon reactions to policies and to the men who are making them, then it is theoretically possible to reduce such alienation by changing policies. The Wallace third party movement, as did the abortive McCarthy drive for the Democratic Party nomination, represents, we think, an effort to change policies by changing men who made them. Votes against school budgets partly represent an effort to get new men, but in many communities it is not as easy to turn out local educational decision-makers as it is to start a third party nationally -- and that is not easy. Nor is it easy for the average, or even the highly educated citizen, to analyze what kinds of policies are wrong and what kinds of policies are better in school systems. Such votes may then simply reflect revenge and rage in the only way the voter knows how to express it.

It is not impossible that men in power could change policies to lessen such alienation but there are two caveats when one assumes a decision-making system of responsible democratic leadership, that is leadership not characterized by predominating concern with maintaining power. The first is that decision-makers must recognize the differential interest implications of their policies that may be generating waves of opposition. Secondly, they must be able to find policy alternatives that will meet the needs and interests of dissidents without violating their own beliefs in what is right and proper.

While it is difficult to assert flatly that there are never instances of such political conflict making creative and integrative leadership impossible, we do not think that either the racial conflicts of politics nationally, or the current cases of voter frustration with their schools typified by so-called tax revolts, are such instances. Nationally, one can imagine the development of policies of both open housing and school desegregation that do not constitute a return to earlier racism, but that served simultaneously the needs of blacks and of many whites now opposing such policies. The problem in this regard is great, and it is compounded by the development over the past number of years of white attitudes that have become strong, structured, and laden with emotion.

The problem at the local level with innovative educational programs for the culturally disadvantaged is in many ways much simpler. It is simpler because, contrary to images of widespread, ingrained resistance and antipathy to such programs, educational and poverty program decision-makers face a citizenry much disposed to approve many such programs. While there was in 1964, for example, widespread white citizen disapproval of school busing to end de facto school desegregation in one of our research cities, Portland, Oregon, there were equally widespread positive predispositions on the part of white (and black) citizens to support a range of other educational/poverty program innovations of special relevance to the culturally and economically disadvantaged.

In the absence of knowledge of such facts by the relevant authorities, or in the presence of a failure to appreciate the alienating consequences of not meeting such latent or non-vocalized needs of substantial groups of citizens, or given an unwarranted self-satisfaction with existing programs that do not meet the educational and occupational

needs of the disadvantaged, the local authorities are subject to a continued or growing alienation. Should a vocal minority at the local level organize the increasingly widespread disaffected individuals, the situation is ripe for the rise of a radical alternative to present policies in the form of the bludgeon of defeated school money measures, or in the form of a rising radical right group aspiring to turn out and replace the men of top power.

As we have suggested earlier, even those local educational decision-makers who sense a need for innovative programs for the culturally disadvantaged tend to be worried, not only because they lack information about the reactions of citizens, but because they have another concern and fail to appreciate a possibility that we will mention shortly. Their concern is that once instituted, such innovative programs will stimulate negative attitudes and opposition on a broad front; a negativism and opposition which had not been there prior to the innovations. The possibility they do not tend to take into account is that various relevant educational system attitudes may become more supportive among those citizens involved personally or by having a youthful family member participating in the special program for the culturally disadvantaged. Such an omission seems to be due partly to the already mentioned feeling that culturally disadvantaged people do not learn from experience and partly to the feeling, shared even more by educators than poverty program personnel, that most of the innovative programs introduced, being first-time experiments, were not sufficiently refined and developed to expect an immediate impact on the educational perspectives of culturally disadvantaged adult participants.

Still another kind of even more rigorous natural experimental test of our general model of political-social-psychological dynamics is reported in the following pages. In one big city, Portland, Oregon, a number of poverty program projects were initiated between 1964 and 1966, the years of concern to us here. Neighborhood Youth Corps for in-school youth operating through the school district, a youth opportunities center for drop-outs and others to provide job counseling and a referral service, and a neighborhood service center first located in the area of heaviest black concentration were initiated in this period. A program of compensatory education, aimed particularly at, but not exclusively for, black children, was initiated by the city's school district through a so-called Model Schools Program. A limited open enrollment plan provided for a small amount of voluntary and administrative transferring of children beyond their neighborhood schools. Given the presence of a small but politically active and relevant black subcommunity of Portland, these programs afforded us an opportunity to measure from 1964 to 1966 their effects, if any, on various educational/poverty attitudes of the black and white citizens of that city.

In a second county in Oregon, four completely or nearly all-white communities were selected for comparable assessments. A county-wide community college with a major emphasis on vocational education was established during the 1964 to 1966 period primarily for the less affluent, less culturally advantaged citizens. It was open to youth and adults from all four of our research cities. One of the country's earliest poverty programs was established for three of the four communities as a consequence of the area being chosen two years earlier as the rural demonstration-

study area by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. During the crucial 1964-1966 period, educational/poverty programs were established in three school districts while other such programs were operated directly by the poverty program agency. Head-start programs for disadvantaged pre-schoolers were started for the children in all five research communities. These naturally occurring events provided an opportunity to test not only the reactions of the citizens at large to these innovative programs, but also to explore directly the impacts on participants.

The study to be reported herein demonstrates that despite severe internal organization and public relations problems, despite opposition and resistance by vocal minorities both inside the school systems and in the communities, and despite the small-scale and exploratory character of the programs, the effects on participants were overwhelmingly positive. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that citizens at large maintained or increased their support for these kinds of programs during the three year research period. The results were surprising even to the authors since very few even of the educational/poverty decision-makers suspected that these positive outcomes had occurred. The findings shall be presented in detail since this natural experiment afforded an opportunity to explore in some depth the dynamics of citizen reactions to these educational/poverty programs including the differential black-white reactions in the largest city in the study, Portland. We shall leave to the final chapter the matter of drawing some conclusions of relevance for educational/poverty program decision-makers and for interested citizens. We turn next to a more detailed description of the educational/poverty program innovations that constituted the experimental stimuli in this natural experimental study. First, though, we shall sketch our theoretical approach to the study of attitude change as related to policy and

program innovations.

Our concern in the study was the assessment of the impact of innovative programs on the communities in which they were introduced. Specifically, we were interested in changes in two variables: (1) citizen interest and involvement in the community's educational policy-making system, and (2) attitudes on specific questions of educational policy.

Such changes in a community represent a composite of changes in two theoretically relevant subgroups: (1) those who have actually been enrolled in innovative programs, or have had relatives enrolled in them (participant group); (2) the remainder of the community.. The participant group consists primarily of lower income, disadvantaged persons or their family members for whom most of these innovative programs are designed. The scope of such programs has been relatively modest, however, so that this group is small in all of the communities studied. Changes in community attitudes or orientations, if any, will therefore consist mainly of changes in the attitudes or orientations of those who have not been directly involved in the programs. These non-participants will have learned of the innovative programs through the normal communication channels extant in the community.

A general communications kind of model to explain attitude change in either group as a result of new programs is described in the following pages. This study provides an opportunity not only to learn something of immediate, practical importance, but to increase our understanding of why effects occurred or did not through an assessment of the adequacy of this model.

When any new program is instituted in a community, individuals may or may not receive information about its establishment or its features. The receipt of information regarding the new program does not necessarily

imply an attitude change. New information may have little or no effective impact on existing attitudes. Our model suggests that attitude change will be a consequence of the interaction among such variables as information availability, individual exposure to such information, and receptivity to new information. Such changes can take two alternative forms: (1) alteration or change of existing attitudes; or (2) reinforcing and strengthening of existing attitudes. It is assumed that information availability, exposure, and receptivity are necessary conditions for attitude change.

Information availability will vary with the extent to which administrative officials are inclined to share plans for new projects with their clientele, and with the extent of development of channels of communication which facilitate the flow of such information. In this respect, citizens may be dependent for information about educational and poverty program development on such disparate mechanisms as relationships and contacts with individuals working within the school system or the poverty program, information developed more or less adequately in local newspapers, direct communications from school districts or poverty program agencies, or well-developed public relations programs designed by school or poverty officials to keep the citizenry abreast of developments in their systems. While this does not exhaust the possibilities, it is indicative of the breadth and variety of possible information resources that may be available to the citizen.

Information exposure is a function of the extent to which individuals are tied into various communication systems--organizations,

the media, political conversation in primary and secondary groups, and direct involvement in the innovative programs. The channels into which they are integrated may vary in number, character and quality.

According to our general model receptivity to new information about policy innovations is likely to be a function of three main factors.

(a) Previous level of information: When an individual is already well-informed, new information likely will be of little importance in terms of its impact on his attitudes. This is especially true in the case of information that can be characterized simply as supportive or supplementary to previous knowledge, rather than contrary to such knowledge. In the latter case it is possible that new information may take the form of a dramatic revelation which may have important consequences for existing attitudes although this is not a certainty. We know also that such information might be rejected as a consequence of previous biases and therefore have little or no impact. Where previous information level is low, however, it is assumed that new information will have relatively greater impact on one's attitudes.

(b) Personal interests: There are some aspects of an individual's life situation which are consistent or congruent and others which are inconsistent or incongruent, or at least not easily reconciled with the attitudes he holds. For example, it would be consistent, on the surface at least, for an individual with several school-age children to be supportive of quality educational programs. In the case of the retired pensioner who perceives no direct benefits from youth education programs and whose income is taxed proportionately

greater to support such programs, supportive attitudes might well be seen as inconsistent with objective personal interests. Where such so-called objective interests and attitudes coincide, it is likely that the addition of new information will have relatively less impact than in the case where attitudes and interests are in some sense incongruent. In those cases where the individual's attitudes are buttressed by other aspects of his life situation, we would expect that his attitudes would be more difficult to change.[7]

Our reasoning assumes several things. First, we assume that there is greater stability and self-sufficiency with such congruency and more instability and strain with non-congruent situations because of a general tendency to prefer restful consistency rather than tense inconsistencies. Secondly, we assume not only that with inconsistencies tensions arise within individuals, but that for sets of individuals there tend to be rather simple, direct, selfish associations between such social facts as having or not having children in school and such psychological facts as willingness to sacrifice tax moneys for the benefit of children.

The latter is patently untrue for some persons but it is the kind of straw-man model of stinginess or self-interest whose qualification and elaboration can bring a greater understanding of the actual connections between social and psychological facts that we lack now. In our earlier examples of the person with school-age children being supportive of quality education and the pensioner who perceives no direct benefits from youth education programs, we obviously beg the question why should this be? May not some pensioners perceive direct benefits or

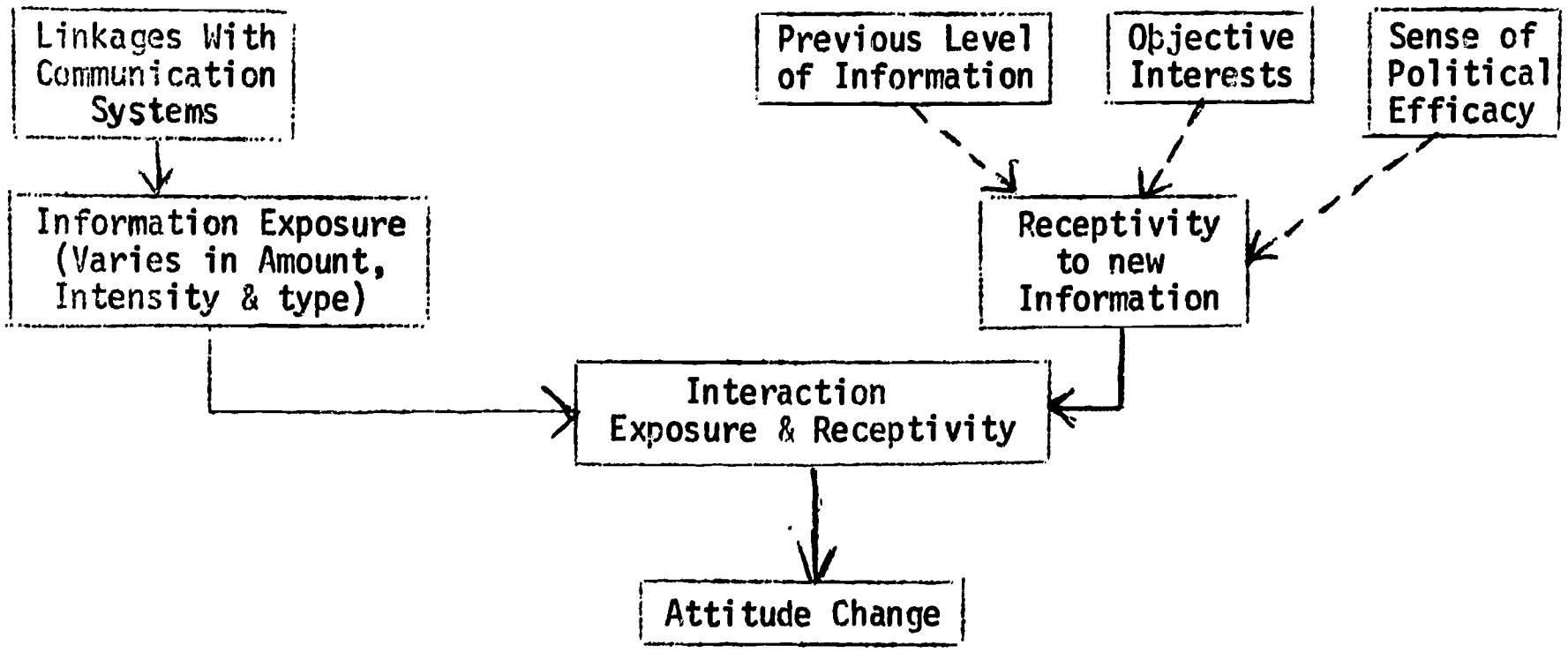
be altruistic? May not people without school-age children support quality education and may not parents of school-age children support non-quality education in favor of discipline or a traditional 3 Rs curriculum? Must "quality" education have the same meaning for professional educator and parent?

These kinds of questions underline the acknowledged simplistic distortions of reality built into the assumptions of the general model regarding receptivity to new information, and to other aspects of the model as well. But they also underline the heuristic value of the model and force attention to the dynamics that need to be considered when empirical studies are made of the effects of information about new programs and when efforts are made to probe mechanisms presumably underlying the occurrence of such effects.

(c) Political cynicism (alienation): Finally, there are members of the community who are cynical and distrustful of the political system. We assume that such individuals will be less likely to be influenced by information about new programs which that system institutes. When not alienated or turned off by their cynicism to the point of ignoring information about new programs we expect that such information will lead to increasingly negative attitudes towards the new programs of the "establishment."

This, then, is a general theory we want to explore in our study: attitude change as a result of new programs is a result of the interaction between the intensity with which information about new programs is brought to the individual and the individual's receptivity to this new information.

Figure I: A MODEL OF ATTITUDE CHANGE AS A RESULT OF INNOVATIONS




In Chapter III of this report, we shall look at those who were directly involved with the relevant innovative programs in the communities. These are the individuals for whom such programs are specifically designed. In terms of our general model, this is a group of people with a relatively frequent and intense exposure to communication about the innovations. It will be interesting to compare the attitudes of this participant group with other subgroups in the community.

Because the number of cases in the participant group is small, we were not able to do more than compare these individuals with a control group. We could not, for instance, break them down to see whether our model explains differences in attitude change of smaller subgroups within the participant group.

In Chapters IVthrough VI we shall look at all of the individuals in the six samples[8] to see how well our model explains differences in attitude change at the individual level.

## Chapter II

## EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND COMMUNITY REACTION[1]

The central concern in the research reported here is the impact of various programs for the disadvantaged on the communities in which they were instituted. In the several sections of this chapter which follow, the various programs instituted or in progress at the time of the research are described in considerable detail. Included in the following pages in addition to a simple description of the programs is information gathered from a number of sources, including news accounts, evaluations by agencies involved, interviews with various and sundry protagonists, dealing with the outcomes of programs and their reception by participants and other segments of the community. Where public controversy over a program emerged, the nature of the controversy and the contestants are discussed at some length since these facts may have important implications for consequent attitudes found in the larger community.

### Part 1: Lane County, Oregon

#### The Research Communities

Four Lane County communities were selected for intensive, comparative study. They represent a wide range both in size and in their economy. The smallest, Junction City, is a valley dirt farming community of some 1,200 persons. Oakridge is next largest in size, and is a foothill community devoted entirely to logging and associated wood processing industries. Springfield is a community of 20,000 also almost entirely devoted to the lumber industry, though further from the trees and more dependent upon plywood manufacture and the mechanical and chemical

industries serving the lumber industry. It has less of the rural flavor of Oakridge, which has only 3,000 citizens, but it is equally a working class town. Eugene, with almost 70,000 is the second largest city in the state, and contains very little industry within its borders. There are some marginal sawmills at its edges, and the workers in these mills reside in Eugene, but the main economic feature of the town is commerce and transportation. Becoming much more important as the city grows rapidly are administrative offices, not just for government and education, but also for national corporations which maintain branches in metropolitan areas. Eugene is the central city for the Lane County SMSA, as well as its county seat. It is also the home of the University of Oregon which has an important impact on almost every phase of community life, although it is not dominant in any area but higher education.

Lane County Youth Project

Of the stimuli operating in Lane County between 1964 and 1966, the potentially most encompassing has been known variously as the Lane County Youth Study Board, the Lane County Youth Project (LCYP) and finally as Lane Human Resources, Inc. The Project's programs operated primarily in South Eugene, Oakridge and Junction City, but a number of the programs and services did include the whole of Eugene and Springfield.

The project was made possible by the federal Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 and was begun by several faculty members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Oregon. The program, which began as a research project, eventually became the primary parent organization for Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs in the area.

Originally funded by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U.S. Department of Health, Welfare and Education), the Project was conceived as a youth development and delinquency prevention program for rural and small-city youth. Pertinent to the funding was the fact that during the previous five year period delinquency referrals in the county had increased at a rate of 14% while the youth population had only increased by 4%. Although the focus remained on youth throughout, the advent of the national poverty program allowed the Project's activities to become more diverse.

Officially the Project had been in existence for two years at the time interviewing took place for the 1964 community survey. During this time, August 1962 to February, 1964, however, the Project was funded solely for research and planning purposes. Although funding for demonstration programs began in February, 1964, the main physical plant was not completed until late summer and the majority of programs did not begin until fall of 1964. Public exposure to the Project in these two years was considerably less than during the following years of the program activity and active recruitment of participants. During the eighteen month planning and research phase, the Project's sixty-four member board, the official policy making organ, provided the main link with the community. The board had come into existence in 1962 after a University professor presented his proposal to a group of citizens interested in the problem of delinquency and its control. Board members represented diverse socio-economic levels and geographic regions within the county. Listed as a private, non-profit corporation, the board was the recipient

of all grant funds. Members met every second or third month at public meetings, announced in the press, but otherwise not overtly publicized. During the planning years any public awareness of the Project most likely came from personal contact with one of the board members.

The Lane County Youth Project was to have the twofold purpose of (a) investigation into the nature and causes of hinterland or rural delinquency, and (b) to provide demonstrations of programs that could help prevent this type of delinquency.

Selected as demonstration areas, or areas to be both studied and provided with programs, were Junction City, Oakridge and the southern portion of Eugene. The three communities were chosen for their accessibility and for demographic and geographic characteristics which qualified them as representatives of rural or "hinterland" America. Also considered was the assumption that youth from a somewhat diverse small city -- South Eugene, a farming community -- Junction City, and a logging region -- Oakridge, would have different conceptions of the "real world" and particularly of the world of work. It should be noted that while the designated small city was South Eugene, it was at times impossible to separate this area from the city as a whole. Particularly with programs involved in work with established community agencies it was difficult to limit "effect" to South Eugeneans. This factor was of less consideration before the Project became part of the War on Poverty. The target population in each community was to be a rather elusive and hard to identify aggregation of alienated or trouble-prone youth. These were to be the troubled youth of the "hinterland;" youth who lived outside of major metropolitan complexes and whose problems, while similar

to those of their urban counterparts, would presumably have a rural cast.

An initial step taken by the Youth Study Board was to administer to the total student body of each high school a lengthy questionnaire designed to uncover student attitudes and background information that may have figured in the formation of these attitudes. The resulting characteristics, as listed sketchily below, satisfied a portion of the research aims and provided much of the basis for ensuing program planning.

A. Parental socio-economic level

1. South Eugene: 50% white collar, 50% blue collar (25% fell into category of major or minor professionals, higher executives etc.; 34% listed as skilled, semi-skilled workers or machine operators). In the city as a whole 77% had completed high school or been to college.

2. Junction City: Less than 25% white collar (3% major or minor professionals or higher executives; 15% farmers). 57% had completed high school or been to college.

3. Oakridge: 17% white collar; approximately 60% employed in skilled or semi-skilled occupations (heavy reliance on lumber and construction industry); 59% had completed the 12th grade or been to college.

B. Attitudes of high school students toward school and academia

1. South Eugene: 80% planned to attend college; 50% enrolled in college prep courses; 34% felt they were not doing well in school; 15% had a modal grade of D or F.

2. Junction City: 67% planned to attend college; 46% enrolled in college prep courses; 20% enrolled in vocational and commercial courses; some general feelings of dissatisfaction with school expressed.

3. Oakridge: 72% planned to attend college; 33% enrolled in college prep courses; 60% enrolled in vocational, general, or commercial courses; general dissatisfaction with school expressed; significant portion of population felt inadequate in academic performance and expressed no interest in academia.

C. Non-academic role of school

1. South Eugene: 50% belonged to one or more in-school clubs, organizations or associations.

2. Junction City: 73% belonged to clubs, organizations etc.; 26% held offices.

3. Oakridge: 56% belonged to in-school organizations; 22% held offices.

All areas: School found to be important in providing means for social development and extra-curricular participation.

D. Residence

1. South Eugene: 91% lived in town or suburbs.

2. Junction City: 32% lived in town or suburbs; 40% on farms; 28% in the country but not on farms.

3. Oakridge: 86% lived in town or immediate environs; 14% on small farms or in the country; higher rate of mobility than in other demonstration areas.

E. Family status

1. South Eugene: In general characterized by stable two and three children families; 80% of homes had natural family intact; 10% divided by divorce or separation; 10% with one parent deceased.

2. Junction City: In general characterized by stable two to five children families; 81% of homes had natural family intact; 13% divided by divorce or separation; 6% with one parent deceased.

3. Oakridge: In general characterized by relatively stable homes of three to four children; 76% of homes had natural family intact; 5% separated by divorce or separation; 16% with one parent deceased.

F. Peer vs. family influence

1. South Eugene: 50-50 split between peer identification and loyalty to family identification.

2. Junction City: Adolescents appeared more integrated into and to be spending more time with family than in other areas -- however, 50-50 split as to whether peer or parental sanctions were most effective.

3. Oakridge: 55% felt peer imposed sanctions were more serious.

The initial research phase of the Project was funded entirely by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency. Eight agencies participated in the funding during later program stages. The first two years of the program were funded in large through the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, the third by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The following agencies also provided grant funds: Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, U.S. Department of Labor; Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U.S. Department of Labor; Federal Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture; Cooperative Extension Service, Oregon State University; Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. While the variety of funding sources did allow for flexibility and diversification, they also created problems with regard to co-ordination and planning, the public image of the Project, and subsequently, with the quality of services provided to the communities. It should be noted, in defense of the project, however, that original planning assumed funding for the $2,000,000 requested but funds actually received were only $300,000.

Organizationally the Lane County Youth Project (as it was called in the period between the 1964 and 1966 interviewing sessions) was divided into five main program divisions whose functions were somewhat overlapping. The five consisted of Educational Programs, Youth Employment Training Programs, Agency Programs, Community Development Programs, and Training Programs. All, with the exception of Training Division, became directly involved with the public. The latter's function involved orientation and training of Project personnel; Training's only public function involved orientation of community volunteers.

Education Division

One of the more widely publicized steps taken by the Project was the establishment by the Education Division of special education classes in each of the demonstration community high schools, and at Junction City Junior High School and Wilson Junior High School in the South Eugene area. Classes at the five schools began in September, 1964. Students for the classes were nominated by teachers and other school district personnel. Although participation in the classes was voluntary, several students and parents later indicated that they were poorly informed as to how the program was to function. Curriculum and class structure varied from school to school but in each area the class was basically designed as an Orientation to the World of Work. Students who participated were poor or under-achievers and appeared to be alienated from the academic and social functions of their respective schools. It was assumed that such students could benefit from a realistic look at the work world and possible future vocations. While classes did include some basic curriculum, the main focus was on presentations concerning labor needs, career planning, skill training and related vocational concerns. For a portion of the students the program included an on-the-job work experience.

Classes in each school were envisioned as operating on a model more democratic than is found in the normal classroom. Students were to play an active part in classroom decision making and were to relate to the instructor on a more equal basis than usual. Classes were left relatively unstructured to allow for individualized instruction, counseling and assistance. Reports from the class teachers in a final summation published by the Project point to some success of student originated

ideas. However, one Project instructor described as "over-permissive" the classroom atmosphere which he thought led to problems of motivation and discipline. In Junction City and Eugene reports of disorderly or disorganized classes frequently reached administrators and some members of the public via school personnel and students.

Research personnel of the Project have indicated that later studies of and interviews with the high school population showed that the special classes seemed to further alienate the disadvantaged. The special groupings further isolated the "work orientation kids" from casual recreational or classroom interaction with the majority of the school system. This new isolation resulted in increased alienation and the loss of whatever identification with the system they exhibited initially.

Ideally, the Project class was to be in close contact with the recreational and community development divisions in each community for assistance with extra-curricular activities and job referrals. The hoped for co-ordination, however, was only achieved in Oakridge where the Project teacher and the community development worker worked together closely. In Junction City the community staff and the class teachers met rarely and seldom knew of proposed activities of the other. A similar situation existed at South Eugene.

Another factor distinguishing the Oakridge educational experience from that of the other two demonstration schools was the differential receptivity and involvement of the schools' faculties. The program was most readily accepted by administrators in Oakridge but other districts were less enthusiastic. The acceptance, or lack of it, was manifested in corresponding degrees by teaching personnel in each of the districts. While project classes and staff were on their own in Junction City and South Eugene, the Project was envisioned as a responsibility of the total

academic community in Oakridge. At South Eugene where the emphasis is placed strongly on grades and academic "excellence" a program for under-achievers did not generate much enthusiasm. These factors might offer partial explanation for the apparent relative success of tne Oakridge classes as opposed to their counterparts in Junction City and Oakridge.

## Participation in Special Education Classes by School

### 1964-1965

| Student Progress | Oakridge Sr. High | Jct. City Sr. High | Jct. City Jr. High | South Eugene | Wilson Jr. High |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entered Program | 17 | 28 | 22* | 20 | 25 |
| Completed Class | 13 | 22 | 18 | Unknown | 15 |
| Dropped Program: Transfered to Reg. Classes | 2 | Unknown | 6 | Unknown | 5 |
| Transfered Schools | 0 | Unknown | 4 | Unknown | 5 |
| Dropped out of School | 2 | Unknown | 0 | Unknown | 0 |
| Entered High School Program Class in Following Yr. | | | 12 | | Unknown |

### 1965-1966

| Student Progress | Oakridge Sr. High | Jct. City Sr. High | Jct. City Jr. High | South Eugene | Wilson Jr. High |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Entered Program | 18 | 27* | 23 | | 24 |
| Carry-overs from 1964 | 11 | 12 | Unknown | | Unknown |
| Completed Class | 14 | 21 | 21 | | 19 |
| Dropped Program: Entered Reg. Classes | 2 | Unknown | 1 | | |
| Transfered Schools | 0 | Unknown | 1 | | 1 |
| Dropped out of School | 2 | Unknown | 0 | | 1 |

*Figure includes both male and female participants. In 1965-1966 Junction City enrolled three females. It was the only area where a program for girls was attempted.

Unknown indicates that statistics were not kept in this area.

Mobilab

An operation of the education division that had contact with only the teaching segment of the communities was known as Mobilab. The lab, apparently well received by the schools, consisted of a panel truck equipped with books, films, visual aids, and two television cameras. The lab's main feature was the remote control cameras used to film classroom situations for playback to teachers who could then study their own tutorial image. The resource materials were then available to the same faculties. Although the lab began its operations in the demonstration schools it later made the facilities available to other schools in the county. The lab's function was primarily to help build communication and empathy between students and teachers by pointing out to the instructors how they might be perceived by the students.

Employment Training Division

Employment training programs were envisioned as those programs that would help prepare rural youngsters for eventual integration into a more urban environment. An Employment Training Center was set up in South Eugene to operate or coordinate employment programs for youth, to serve as an in-take agency, to offer counseling, and to provide a central meeting ground for youth from the three areas. Under the original grant services were limited to eligibles from the three demonstration areas. However, in the last year (for portions of the 1965-1966 year) programs were available to students from various regions of the county including Springfield.

The Employment Training Center itself opened in October, 1964 with a one year skill training grant from the Office of Manpower and Automation Training. Four hundred seventy six youth were on the center's

roster at some period during the first operating year. Although the initial program was not refunded the center continued to operate with smaller programs until February, 1967.

Other programs offered through the center included: skill training (a Manpower Development Training Act function), training allowances for enrollees, remedial training, vocational rehabilitation, on the job training, and Neighborhood Youth Corps placements. An estimated total of 675 persons were serviced by the cutoff date in February, 1967. Individual or group counseling sessions were an integral part of each program. Major efforts were also expended by staff members who attempted to convince employers that they could successfully employ school dropouts in non-technical positions.

The group serviced was again composed of alienated or trouble prone youth. Specifically, the youth were between the ages of 16 and 21, either male or female, unemployed and not in school. Of the males, 77% were school dropouts and/or persons known to the Juvenile Department, District Attorney's office, the police, or public welfare officials. Of the females, 52% were in the above category.

Primary recruitment efforts were directed through the traditional agencies that might have contact with the trouble-prone: the schools, police, welfare, etc. Feature articles and advertisements in the mass media were also used to attract trainees. However, these techniques did not reach as many youth as the informal word spread by enrollees and their friends. The latter method frequently emphasized the weekly training allowance.

Counselors were, for the most part, University of Oregon graduate students in the social sciences whose employment was often part-time and

temporary. Problems of coordination and staff agreement hindered the efficient functioning of various project programs. Such problems seemed to particularly affect the center staff which had to present a consistent program to both trainees and members of the business community.

Agency Programs

The general goal of assisting in the improvement of traditional community service agencies was the aim of the Agency Programs Division. It hoped to see services expanded and more concerted efforts made to reach neglected or socially isolated groups. Toward this end and in cooperation with the Lane County Intermediate Education District, 1500 copies of a Directory of Community Agency Services were printed in August, 1965.

From 1963 onward a monthly Newsletter was published and carried news concerning project plans and activities to board members, local educators, local government officials and to an assortment of civic groups.

Prior to 1964 a small Community Volunteer Office had been operated by the Junior Service League[2] as a low priority project. Youth Project personnel worked with the League and representatives of the Juvenile Department to revitalize the office, organize a steering committee and publish a booklet of "Volunteer Opportunities." In March, 1966, a Volunteer Services Council was organized by the Steering Committee. Two hundred thirty-six potential volunteers were registered at this time. The Council also succeeded in interesting the single Eugene daily newspaper, the Register Guard, in publishing a weekly "Volunteers Needed" column.

The Project's Community Volunteer Coordinator recruited volunteers to serve as "Big Brothers" for students in the special education classes; as instructors for informal training sessions in knitting, mechanics, and hobbies; as tutors for remedial sessions and for persons studying to take the high school equivalency examination; professionals to provide needed medical and dental services at no charge; and speakers to provide information on various occupations. Volunteers were also used within the Project as coders, librarians, secretaries, recreational assistants and as doners of clothing and household supplies.

Another activity of the Volunteer Coordinator was to work with volunteer programs that were already in existence at the Eugene YM-YWCA and at the Juvenile Department. The Case Aid program of the Juvenile Department began officially in August, 1964, and was seen as one method of linking the agency to the natural community correction process and of increasing interest in, and understanding of, the correctional process itself. Youth were to benefit from a tie with the legitimate community and from closer personal contact with an interested and accepting adult. Sixty persons became active as Case Aides. Among them were students, housewives, and blue and white collar workers.

The aide's role depended greatly on the individual volunteer. In general an aide was to spend free time with youth in whatever educational, recreational or guidance capacity suited his talents and the child's needs. Aides spent a minimum of 15 hours per month in training, working with the youth and his family, and in developing additional resources for the youth. An estimated 10,800 volunteer hours were spent in direct service to youth in 1965 and 1966. Although the Youth Project worked

closely with the Case Aide Program it was not responsible for its initiation and the program would have functioned independent of the Project.

In addition to the Y's traditional use of aides in its programs, volunteer services were channeled into work with Y Small Group Programs which were staffed by LCYP professionals. Enrollees were junior high females and junior and senior high males whose behavior patterns at home and in the community were described as anti-social. None of the youngsters had had previous involvement with YM-YWCA activities. The program for boys began in September, 1964 with the initial focus on involving referred "alienated" youth in Y athletic activities. Later, a detached worker format was tried; the youth worker met with the group in several environmental settings (a local garage, favorite snack shop, etc.) in hopes of fostering a sense of group identity outside the Y. Basically group activities included individual counseling, sensitivity development, task orientation training and recreation. Fourteen to sixteen boys participated in the program each year. The position of youth worker was a half-time position throughout the program's duration.

The Y Group Program for girls also began in September, 1964, with a half-time youth worker. Six school drop-outs, all of whom were either pregnant or already mothers of small children formed the initial group. By the end of the year the group included three truants from local junior high schools. Group activities centered around recreation, "broadening experiences" such as field trips and dining out, informal discussions and individual counseling. In early 1965 twelve volunteer workers, all University students, began work with new groups of from four to five girls. By June, 40 girls were engaged in group activities. All

but a few groups dissolved for the summer. During the second year nine groups formed, enrolled a total of 49 girls, and ran from four to twelve months.

Beginning in July, 1965, Agency Programs of LCYP instituted a project known as the Family Service Program. FSP was set up to serve multiple problem families or those families who had been previously referred to at least two community agencies. Thirteen family aides or subprofessionals were employed to help families improve general living conditions by helping them use community services, engage in Project activities and locate employment. Casual dress and an informal approach were to assist the aide in relating to the family; the aides' position was to be that of a knowledgeable neighborhood visitor. Eighty-two families were visited by the Family Service Program. No further funding was received when the original grant expired in June, 1966.

Community Development

The Community Development Division was set up for the purpose of enlisting the support of local residents who might provide the base for program carry-over when the Project itself terminated. The Division's attack was two pronged with the aim of treating delinquency in the total environmental setting of the youth. Community development programs for adults centered around formulation of planning groups, inventorying community needs, and subsequently enlisting the needed support and resources. Youth development programs included leadership development, youth employment services, recreational programs, and special interest programs for youth who were difficult to reach with other programs. Community development functions were also envisioned as those which could

help bridge the generation gap and give alienated youth some contact with the adult world.

Community development programs were begun in each of the three demonstration areas in the fall of 1964, in cooperation with the Oregon State Cooperative Extension Service. Staffing patterns varied with Junction City hosting three workers -- a community service coordinator, a youth worker, and a home and family life coordinator; South Eugene, two workers -- a community services coordinator and one community youth worker; Oakridge, one worker who remained throughout the Project's duration in the dual position of community service worker and youth worker.

In Junction City and Oakridge the services coordinator worked closely with groups promoting kindergartens and the Head Start Program.[3] A main concern in Eugene was the reactivation of the Community Volunteer Office. Junction City with two workers provided by the Extension Service concentrated many of its efforts on home welfare assistance and classes in home skills and management. In Oakridge, however, the worker was able to engage in less traditional projects that met specific and pertinent community needs. The Oakridge staff member became active in the formation and direction of a committee working for the annexation of a small neighboring city. That was an effort to meet a citizen concern with improving the economic base of the community. Similarly, he was instrumental in the realization of a community initiated desire for a bus that could be used for group projects and outings.

The youth worker in each community operated on lines similar to those used by "detached workers" in urban settings. Each worker took a non-institutional approach and strove for informal counseling sessions

with youth in peer settings. Sports, car clubs, weekend outings and parties were typical activities in each community. Local youth councils also went into operation in Eugene and Junction City. Oakridge youth voted not to form such a council. The prime purpose of each of the councils was to bring together youth from all socio-economic levels in the community to promote communication and to work together planning youth activities. The Eugene council disbanded for the second and final time in 1965. Written reports list inability to formulate goals as the reason for disbanding the council. Staff personnel, however, have indicated that additional considerations were the inability of the affluent and the disadvantaged to establish meaningful rapport, and the designation within the council of social position as it existed in the schools. Status or lack of status within the schools affected one's influence on the council. The Junction City Council had a slightly longer life but was plagued by the same problems. The Junction City group, however, was able to form a youth jury which assisted local judges in their dealings with juvenile traffic offenders.

Community Development Division also served as a parent agency for VISTA volunteers who entered the community in December, 1965. Three VISTAs were assigned to the South Eugene demonstration area, one to Junction City and two to other Eugene areas. In addition to other VISTA duties, several of the volunteers worked closely with LCYP's educational and recreational programs for troubled youth.

Public relations efforts, per se, were handled through the office of the Information Specialist in the Community Development Division. Information Bulletins were prepared twice a year for distribution to

board members. The bulletins were optimistic and comprehensive but did not receive wider distribution. Monthly newsletters and occasional leaflets describing specific programs went to a mailing list composed of selected service recipients, persons designated as community leaders, county officials, youth agencies and churches. Relations with the press were generally good. In addition to regular news coverage of grant awards, openings, etc., feature articles sympathetic to the program's goals and problems appeared periodically throughout the demonstration years. Radio stations also cooperated with public service announcements and featured occasional interviews with Project personnel on local discussion programs.

The set of civic leaders and agency officials who did receive the stream of mailings provided us with an opportunity to assess something of the impacts of such communications about the educational/poverty programs on various attitudes of this naturally occurring experimental group.

Program Effectiveness

While part of the picture of the multi-sided youth project is given by a description of its programs it is important to remember that the function of these programs was to help curb the rate of juvenile delinquency. The effectiveness of the Project becomes questionable when one looks at the results of research on programs whose staff included a program analyst. When before and after Project juvenile delinquency rates among participants in the educational programs were compared it was found that in Junction City and South Eugene either no change or a

slight increase occurred. In Oakridge, however, a slight decrease did occur. When the post-program juvenile delinquency of participants in the Y programs were compared with the same pre-program statistics, it was found that among males there was no measurable change while the rate among the girls had increased slightly. The same change pattern, however, existed among a control group of teen-agers with similar characteristics who did not participate in the programs. Similarly, a study done of the case aide program at the Juvenile Department showed that in comparison with a control group composed of delinquents who had not worked with case aides there was again no change either in recidivism or in seriousness of offense.

While the programs were experimental, the final report submitted by the Eugene Community Service Coordinator, Community Development Division, rather bluntly lists some of the problems that beset the Project and undoubtedly affected its effectiveness. Although a number of his views were shared informally by co-staff members, formal statements made by Project staff, verbally or in print, tended to take a less critical look at the Project's image and functions. The Coordinator's duties put him in contact with all the Project's divisions and with the community. Among all, he found a general lack of understanding of total Project functionings. During initial contacts with the community it was found that many segments of the population were not cognizant of the need for programs for disadvantaged or alienated youth. Concurrently it was found that the community seemed to be largely resentful when not ignorant of the Project and federal programs, programs that were implanted in the community rather than having evolved out of the community. Despite

public relations releases in the press and in mail-out leaflets stating that the Project had grown out of the ideas of civic-minded persons in the community, the original impetus had come from research interests at the University of Oregon. Community members knew that the Project was not the outgrowth of a spontaneous grassroots movement and appeared more than a little jaundiced in their view of such University activities.

The Coordinator's report also points out an inability of the various divisions to establish and maintain free flowing channels of communication with one another. Staff members frequently unfamiliar with the operations of the other divisions were often unable to answer community questions concerning programs. A complaint was expressed that only the Information Specialist could contact the press and that other staff members were discouraged from using these potential support-building sources. Other difficulties arose as various staff members found it difficult to accept or use the philosophies and methods employed by other staff members. As there was not an overall master scheme or integrating philosophy for dealing with youth, these differences of opinion and tactics were magnified. In finishing, the report stated, "One additional inconsistency which should be mentioned is that during the course of employment new approaches, new programs, and additional funding came into the community from different federal sources which continually bewildered the community."

These evaluations of the Project, however understandable, are strikingly similar to evaluations of educational/poverty programs in innumerable cities throughout the United States. The difficulties endemic to building any new organization are compounded when the

organization is assigned by society a task of coping with social problems that established institutions and organizations fail to cope with and actually produce. Preventing juvenile delinquency and associated social pathology with its complex and confused causes by a new, poorly financed organization that must obtain the cooperation of existing organizations through persuasion in the absence of power and authority is itself a set of conditions unlikely to lead quickly to either internal efficiency or to external effectiveness. But as we shall see, this bleak picture is brightened considerably when we examine other than delinquency impacts of this educational/poverty project even during this initial two-year period of its problem-ridden existence.

Lane Community College

Post high school education in the Lane County area underwent considerable change with the opening of Lane Community College (LCC) on Eugene and Springfield campuses in July, 1965. Prior to the college's opening the educational options available locally to students not enrolling at a four year university were limited to non-credit night classes, a small Vocational-Technical School run by the public school system, and small privately operated business and beauty schools.

The election which voted the college into existence was held in October, 1964, following a nine month publicity campaign. (The majority of the first Eugene-Springfield-Junction City-Oakridge interviews were completed the month in which the election was held.) Extensive newspaper coverage of the election and a slate of twenty-three candidates running for the seven positions on the Board of Directors were partially responsible for a vote which favored creation of the college by a 5 to 1 margin.

Establishment of a Community College District and election of a board, whose members would decide operating policies and budgets, were the aims of the October 19 election. Editorials supporting the college and restating previously printed arguments in favor of it appeared in the Register Guard newspaper on October 7 and on October 15. On the 16th the paper carried a full page article describing each of the candidates for the board positions, their views on an academic versus a vocational emphasis for the college, and their respective positions on travel allowances for out-of-city students. A shorter but prominently displayed article summarizing the election measures appeared the day preceeding the election. An editorial which appeared the Sunday before the election announced the paper's recommendations for board positions. Of the seven persons subsequently elected to the board only one had not received the paper's endorsement. All were persons who saw the school as capable of filling needs in both the academic and the vocational lines.

A current LCC administrator who was active in the college's formulative period feels that the paper's support was of utmost importance during the planning phases. He also points out that the paper has continued to support the college and has throughout 1965 and 1966 devoted considerable space to the college's plans, progress and operation.

Although college catalogues are not always reliable, the operating formula decided upon for the college is accurately outlined by the goals listed in its catalogue. These are to provide: counseling and guidance in vocational and educational planning; occupational education for preparation for employment in technical and vocational fields; general education for personal growth, enrichment and advancement; adult evening

courses to provide for job information, personal growth, apprentice related instruction and general information; liberal arts and pre-professional lower division collegiate education for transfer to higher institutions offering baccalaureate degrees. (93 quarter hours of credit work are transferable to four-year institutions within the state system of higher education.) To effect these plans, the college took over all existing programs of night classes offered by county high schools, incorporated the Eugene Technical-Vocational School into its operation, and made introductory liberal arts courses available at a cost considerably below that of local universities.

Although the school's initials, LCC, lent themselves well to the name "Last Chance College" as supplied by the more facetious high school circles, the opening of the college did present a new educational alternative to area students and their parents. Entrance requirements are that the intended student be 1) a high school graduate, or 2) 18 years of age or older, or 3) in the eyes of the administration is capable of profiting by attendance. Admittance, then, can result from one session with a counselor. High school dropouts under the age of 18 were generally not accepted. However, some students were accepted on a part-time basis for skill related studies if they are attending a local high school for half days. Several programs for high school completion were available but only when the student reaches the age of 19.

The college operated from two main locations, one in Eugene and one in Springfield. Classes were also held in scattered locations throughout the city, e.g., Farm Equipment Center, Small Engine Repair Shop, the general hospital, etc. A total of 32 locations throughout the

county have been used including sites in Junction City and Oakridge. The additional locations, however, are for special use only and are not considered branch campuses. To offset the disadvantages imposed on students who live at some distance from the Eugene-Springfield area, tuition reductions are granted to students whose homes are within the county but at a distance of more than thirty miles from the campus. The reduction is granted whether the student chooses to commute or to find temporary housing in the metropolitan area.

In the school's first operating year, it listed a full time enrollment of 1,435 based on an overall head count of 6,000 mostly part-time students. Of these, ten percent were recent high school graduates, and ninety percent older students. Of the 1,200 regular day students enrolled spring term of the 1965-1966 year, 56% were from Eugene, 26% from Springfield, 1.7% from Junction City and "some" from Oakridge. Seventy percent of all students lived in the Eugene-Springfield area, while a total of 90% lived within thirty minutes driving distance of the school. Of the full-time students, 67% were enrolled in college transfer courses, 33% in occupational courses. (The term occupational has been used as a matter of school policy in an attempt to avoid the negative connotations which adhere to the terms vocational and technical.)

A feature of the college that adds to its distinctiveness in the county is the strong emphasis placed on guidance and counseling. With a counselor-counselee ratio of one counselor to each 250 students the college has been able to encourage the students to use the counseling service liberally. The net effect is to make counseling readily available to students who were not in their high schools' college preparatory

category and consequently, for the most part, not among those often counseled or advised. Their philosophy of not pushing students out by failing them in their courses, the college insists that there is a productive place in one or another program of the school for every human being, young or old, high or low I.Q.

As a means of fulfilling this goal, in addition to its regular curriculum, LCC administers several programs aimed specifically at the culturally deprived or those from low socio-economic areas. These programs, federally funded, would for the most part have been available through the Eugene Vocational School. However, with its broader scope and facilities, the college has been able to attract a greater volume of such grants into the area. One administrator estimates that only 20% of these grants would have been available without the college. He speculates that 80% of the grants are the direct result of the college and the full-time person hired specifically to track down such funding.

Of the anti-poverty grants, one is a State Grant for Basic Education for the illiterate. LCC began to operate the program in 1965 with an enrollment of 200, all of whom had their tuition paid by the State. Requirements for entrance are that the student be over the age of 21 and score below the 6th grade level of a proficiency test. Classes have no set term, but with an emphasis on reading, science, and math, they can take the student through high school graduation.

The largest amount of federal funds have been received through the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA). Enrollment for the training programs is handled through the Oregon State Employment Service. Enrollees must have a low family income and have to have been unemployed for sixty days. Each of the Manpower programs is set up to meet dual

needs -- that of manpower shortage and the employment needs of a certain population element who, with training, could fill skilled positions. Sample programs have included training for dental assistants (25 students), sales clerks, fry cooks, and electrical and gas engine repair. In a number of cases the college has continued to operate the program after the MDTA contract has expired although the college cannot offer free tuition as did MDTA.

The college is also able to offer some aid to the disadvantaged through a small program operated by public welfare in which mothers who are recipients of Aid to Dependent Children assistance can enroll for vocational rehabilitation counseling and classes with welfare paying the costs.

Eugene Public Schools

In the period between the two interviewing years, the Eugene School District #4 also became involved with federally sponsored programs for children from impoverished backgrounds. Funds and operating guidelines were provided under Public Law 89-10, Title 1. In January, 1966, the 89-10 program went into effect at five elementary schools, each of which is located in a neighborhood considered economically deprived. Designation was made on the basis of the number of persons in the area on the rolls of public welfare or other service agencies. The 89-10 program and a locally sponsored program similar to 89-10 both became known to the public as the "Five Year Program."[4]

The 89-10 program was begun with the idea of allowing students to begin their public school experience at the age of five without raising

the controversial issue of "public kindergartens." Approximately one-third of the area children who would subsequently begin the first grade in district schools were enrolled in the program. Students who advanced quickly were allowed to enter into the Flexible Primary program (see following section).

Initial newspaper accounts of the new program were pictorial studies which implied that programs were only for the culturally deprived. However, it was the school area, not the individual enrollee, to which the term culturally deprived applied. While the 89-10 program did provide "catch-up" assistance to many students, it was in general more broadly conceived as an enrichment program. Any child within the geographic boundaries of the school was eligible to participate. The misconceptions apparently were reduced in the spring when more detailed and accurate accounts appeared in the Register Guard. School administrators feel that parents were well aware of the programs and received them favorably. They cite phone calls received by the District offices inquiring as to whether certain addresses are located in 89-10 areas and changes in school enrollment patterns as being indicative of the favor. At the beginning of the 1966-1967 school year it was found that predicted enrollment figures were off considerably, with enrollment being up in areas with 89-10 programs and down in areas without. But these school administrators, as many others, frequently misjudged the awareness of citizens of school system happenings -- as we think was the case in their estimate of extensive public awareness of the 89-10 program.

Basically, 89-10 programs were to provide an enriched educational environment. More specifically, emphasis was placed on locating individual student deficiencies, providing multi-level instructional material

in special interest areas, developmental reading programs, and improved cooperation between school and home. 89-10 programs were primarily for five year olds, but were not limited to them. Some of the programs were used throughout the elementary grades, but particularly with first grade students. One project designed to improve both reading and motivational levels in all twelve grades involved 900 pupils, 400 on the elementary level and 500 at the secondary level. Reading teachers were made available to all schools to offer individual assistance to students with poor reading skills. Recruitment for the program was carried out individually between counselors and students and their parents. Further publicity was avoided to prevent stigmatization of participants. The extent of general public awareness of this program was probably restricted almost entirely to those relatively few citizens with children in the program, and even among those a number probably knew no more than simply the fact that their child could be in school.

Additionally, an 89-10 teacher was located in South Eugene High School. She was placed in the school to staff a multi-interest room where students could go for individual assistance and counseling. In effect, she replaced the Lane County Youth Project teacher-counselor. It should be underlined that the program there was very small scale and not integrated into the larger workings of that school. Federal 89-10 funds also provided small camping and other outdoor activities for designated groups of potential dropouts at the junior high level.

The program known as Flexible Primary was in its beginning stages at the time of the 1964 interviews. By 1966 it was operating in all elementary schools in the District, but at various stages of development

due to the physical limitations imposed by the older facilities. In the Flexible Primary there are no established boundary lines between first, second and third grades. Six, seven and eight year olds work together at whatever level they are capable of in each curricular area. Advanced five year olds can also be incorporated into the program. Entrance into the traditional elementary program is at the fourth grade level. School officials report that the success of the program has negated initial parental opposition.

In other matters in the Eugene schools, concentrated efforts were made to gain public support for curricular innovations. In both the spring and fall of 1965, public information programs were held to explain the New Math to parents. Between twenty to thirty sections met throughout the District with approximately 1,400 parents attending. Notice of the gatherings was spread through the PTAs and by word of mouth. The District's social-living/social-studies curriculum has been under revision since 1964. Since that time a lay-advisory curriculum committee has been formed in each school area. Committees are autonomous and have been able to act more swiftly than the previous central committee arrangement. The area committees have also been able to better monitor local differences with regard to desired changes.

Two schools, scheduled for opening in September, 1966, were in the planning and construction phases during 1964 and 1965. Both the elementary and the new senior high school are considered quite progressive in design. The new buildings, along with the extensive remodeling to accommodate the Flexible Primary system provided fuel for area residents who continue to criticize the schools for "fancy buildings and facilities." A typical reaction appeared in the Letters to the Editor column of the

Register Guard in November, 1965. A Eugene resident wrote, "I just finished studying the preliminary drawings of the proposed new Irving Elementary School... It is magnificent, expensive and ridiculous." As an indication of the support supplied the schools by the daily newspaper, it can be noted that shortly before the bond issue vote for the same school, the Register Guard carried a rather extensive article emphasizing both the age and inadequacies of the old schools and the fact that two new schools in the area would replace three older schools.

In general, it can be said that the local press apparently tries to present school issues and problems in a favorable light. During the 1964 to 1966 period no instance of unfavorable editorial comment was found in the Eugene Register Guard. In the paper's 1965 very large "progress" edition, March 7, full page spreads were devoted to explanations of the special education facilities operating in the Eugene-Springfield area (Hearing and Speech Clinic, the Pearl Buck School for mentally retarded youth, etc.) and to a quite positive summation of school services and programs under the title of "No Mass Production Here." In addition to daily news coverage the paper also periodically devotes feature articles to specific changes or innovations. In the spring of 1965 a full page article explained the use of intern teachers in the Eugene classrooms and December, 1964, a lengthy article discussed an experimental, Brigham Young University originated, spelling program to be used in both Eugene and Springfield schools.

Springfield School District

While many of the new programs in the Eugene district were aimed

at students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, Springfield's new programs were not specifically directed toward the culturally or economically deprived student. Because of spatial and personnel limitations the provision of special services in this district became more sharply divided between city and rural students. Although classes for the retarded and remedial assistance have been made available to all schools, other programs such as classes for the gifted child, the non-graded elementary, and the non-graded math had not been carried to outlying areas.

School officials in Springfield feel that district programs, particularly the building program, are well received by the public. A reassessment of property taxes between 1964 and 1966 meant a tax reduction for most district residents (some by as much as 16 to 17 mills). Consequently, there was less reason to expect opposition to proposed school budgets which were increasing steadily but would have increased even more if such a property tax reassessment had not occurred.

From February to May of 1966 district officials and the PTA operated a program to improve contact with and feedback from parents. Approximately 500 persons were contacted through a series of informal neighborhood coffee hours with school officials as guest speakers explaining new programs, maintenance costs, etc. In addition, during the 1965-1966 school year various information groups were formed to discuss special items such as the New Math. The largest group listed 260 members and continued to meet one night a week for ten weeks to discuss then current school matters.

In the 1965-1966 school year a federal 89-10 grant enabled a

Springfield Education Clinic to begin operation. In effect, the clinic was an extension of the district's counseling service. The clinic employs one psychologist, six full-time counselors and two part-time counselors who devote their remaining time to work with remedial students. The clinic was designed to help any student, grades 1 through 12, who appeared to be functioning below his capacity due to a psychological problem. Parental consent was necessary before a student was admitted to the clinic. Frequently, family counseling became a part of the treatment. District officials estimate that 30% of those who visited the clinic during its first year are now functioning at a normal capacity.[5] (Not included in the figures are students who may have resolved their conflicts independent of the clinic's assistance.)

A second project of the Springfield district for underachieving students is known as the Dexter Project and operates in conjunction with the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In 1965 the school district purchased a 200 acre tract of land for its forestry-vocational program. During the summer and fall of 1965, youth who came mainly from the Neighborhood Youth Corps began clearing the land and building fire trails. The full scope program began the following spring with eight boys from each of the three area high schools. These boys spent half a day in regular classes and half a day working in the woods under the supervision of a professional forester. District funds operated the program while proceeds from logging, pine cone sales, etc. were used to expand the project and its facilities.

Changes in the programming in the Springfield schools during the two intervening years might be described as less dramatic than those in the Eugene district. In the main, efforts were made to expand programs

already in existence, such as use of new teaching techniques, summer library programs, etc. It might reasonably be assumed that these efforts would attract less public notice than overtly new programs. The lack of emphasis on special programs or services directed specifically to culturally or economically disadvantaged was understandable given the predominantly blue collar and much lower incomes of the Springfield citizenry compared to those of Eugene citizens. A comparable rural-farming-working class character of Junction City and the working class character of Oakridge citizenry accounted for a similar absence of special programs for generally much more disadvantaged student bodies. But the establishment of Lane County Youth Project demonstration areas in Junction City and Oakridge as well as in the southern portion of Eugene makes it possible to treat Springfield for some purposes as a "control group" community for purposes of assessing the impacts on participants and citizens generally of the educational/poverty programs introduced in the other three "experimental group" communities in Lane County.

Upward Bound

In June, 1965 another arm of the Office of Economic Opportunity entered Lane County in the form of funds for Upward Bound and Bridge programs at the University of Oregon. Both programs were designed basically to assist students with poor financial and academic backgrounds to pursue a higher education. Although programs were later planned to include non high school graduates, in the experimental period from 1965 to 1966 only high school graduates were involved. A series of programs, classes, and counseling sessions was designed to help enrollees prepare for university classes and campus living. With a budget of $330,000,

the program enrolled 75 students, 30 of whom were from Lane County. The first year program also included students from the Portland area, but the exact number of Portland participants is not known. In the main, recruitment for the programs was handled through high school counselors and by personal contacts made by a recruitment team. No major attempts were made at the outset to gain widespread citizen recognition of and support for these programs.

Operation Head Start

A Head Start program operated in the Eugene schools in the summers of 1965 and 1966. The object of the eight week program was to offer enrichment and remediation to pre-school children from culturally deprived backgrounds. The Head Start sessions involved individual attention to students, field trips, exposure to art and music, and counseling sessions for pupils and parents. Many of the activities were similar to those of the Five Year Program. Funding stipulations of the Head Start grant, however, made it mandatory that 90% of the children be from low income families. Children from all areas of the city were transported by bus to several locations which were staffed by certified teachers with teaching aides and parents. The Head Start program was set up to involve parents in a manner not deemed feasible with the Five Year Programs operating during the school year.

## Part 2: Portland, Oregon

Portland: The City of Roses

Portland, with 400,000 within its city limits and as many more in the metropolitan area, is the largest city in Oregon and the only

true metropolis in the state. Even though located in the northwest corner, it is the hub of the state's commerce and communications, though not its manufacturing. It contains many of the types of culturally deprived we are used to thinking of, particularly a ghetto containing the city's Negro population. Unlike the smaller communities to be sampled, the culturally deprived are much more visible in Portland, not just to the researcher, but to other Portlanders. While the Negro minority constitutes only 3% of the population, it is concentrated in a ghetto which is hard not to observe, being near the center of town. Also unlike the small communities, the unemployed and the occupationally hopeless cluster in the downtown streets, possibly hoping for casual labor to perform, possibly because they have no home to which they wish to return. In any event they can be seen on the streets and the community cannot escape the fact of their existence.

Also, unlike most of the other communities in our research, issues revolving around questions of race and poverty have been the source of widespread, overt community conflict. This is not to suggest that such issues have not been salient ones in other communities studied, only that they have been more critical in Portland because of the greater order of magnitude and more obvious visibility of its problems. In the following pages, the issues and controversies, and the educational and poverty programs addressed to them are described in detail.

## Report of the Race and Education Committee: Schwab Report

In October, 1964, the results of a year long study made by a group known as the Portland Race and Education Committee were made public. The committee, headed by Circuit Court Judge Herbert Schwab,

undertook the study on the assumption that de facto segregation and unequal educational practices did exist in Portland area schools. The Schwab report, which enumerated close to fifty specific recommendations for aid to culturally deprived youngsters received front page coverage in the Portland Oregonian. Subsequent coverage in feature pages and in the letters to the editor column was considerable. The report did not appear, however, until shortly after the 1964 interviewing of both white and Negro populations had taken place.

The major recommendation made by the report also became its most controversial issue. The committee advised against large scale busing in favor of retaining neighborhood schools with students generally attending those closest to their homes. A corollary recommendation included an open enrollment policy which allowed students, voluntarily and with parental consent, to attend schools outside their own neighborhoods provided that their parents provided transportation. Administrative transfers were also to be allowed with the District providing the transportation.

The Race and Education Committee's rationale for the above recommendations was stated as follows: "School District No. 1 should use every means consistent with its educational objectives not only to prevent racial concentration but to correct it. Under no circumstances, however, must the educational development of the individual be placed in jeopardy simply to achieve physical realignment... Widespread transfers on a quota basis could result in educationally unsound groupings, not simply of race, but more critically of economic and educational readiness groups, and would result in more educational and social difficulties

and intergroup tensions than now exist." The proposal was in effect a refutation of, or alternative to, the plan of large scale busing of students out of ghetto areas as was taking place in some of the nation's cities.

The proposal was attacked vigorously by members of the NAACP and by local religious leaders as a means of perpetuating de facto segregation. Among religious groups speaking against the proposal were the Greater Portland Council of Churches, the Portland Catholic Council on Human Relations, and the Albina Ministerial Association. Rabbi Emanuel Rose of the Temple Beth Israel favored the closing of several predominantly Negro schools with the schools' pupils to be integrated into white schools.

House Bill 1307, the initial state response to the Schwab report (and to the Model School Program), aroused considerable attention in the 1965 legislature and in the press despite its failure to get out of committee in the House of Representatives. The bill was written by Judge Schwab and two Portland School Board members, Jack Beatty and William Wise. It was introduced by House Speaker F. F. Montgomery who stated, "We (in Oregon) don't have any serious problems in the area of civil rights. This is a good time to nip something right in the bud. The whole problem of civil rights is one of education." HB 1307 was designed to provide state reimbursement for any school district setting up programs for disadvantaged children. In effect the bill would have provided funds for implementing a program of compensatory education for the culturally deprived in Portland.

One of the first foes of the bill was the Portland branch of the

NAACP. In a series of letters to the editors of Portland papers and to local legislators, the NAACP condemned the bill stating that, "The NAACP is opposed to the distribution of government money for use by segregated institutions." In a letter to Sargent Shriver the group opposed federal funding for the program on the basis that segregated institutions are segregated institutions whether they be in Oregon or Mississippi. In the view of the NAACP the bill would have done nothing to alleviate de-facto segregation.

In speaking against the proposed compensatory education programs, NAACP officials cited the following figures -- that out of an approximate 100 elementary schools in Portland, five had Negro enrollments of between 70% and 90%. Of an elementary school population of 55,000, 4,250 were Negro and 2,635 of these attended the previously mentioned five schools.

The disavowal of the Race and Education Committee's report by the NAACP was begun before the report was released to the public. On October 7, 1964, the Oregonian wrote of Webb's charge that the committee had failed to attack the problem of integrating the schools and that it favored compensatory education that would mean a return to the concept of separate but equal. At the same time Webb proposed the following alternatives: 1) Pairing schools; 2) Closing Eliot and Boise schools; 3) Redrawing school district lines; and 4) Reassigning children and providing transportation. The Committee and the Oregonian then charged Webb with prejudicing the report. The quarrel between the two received considerable newspaper coverage with the NAACP consistently maintaining that segregated institutions were segregated institutions whether they

be in Oregon or Mississippi, and with the committee charging Webb with failure to recognize that different solutions might be best in different areas of the country. Further controversy entered the situation when a female Negro lawyer and member of the NAACP, Mrs. Mercedes Diez, made a statement to the effect that in denouncing the Committee's report the NAACP could not speak for the Negro community as a whole. News coverage of the debate resulted in a volume of letters to the editors supporting each position.

A contrast to the position taken by the Portland Citizens Committee on Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools was one in support of the house bill mentioned earlier. In the Committee's opinion, the administrative transfer program and the creation of upper division grade schools would work effectively to reduce racial concentration; however, the committee strongly opposed any new construction in the Albina area and called for all new classrooms to be built outside the area. The stance was basically a defense of the Schwab report and emphasized the Race and Education Committee's recommendations of both cultural enrichment and reduction of racial concentration. In addressing itself to the school board the group stated, "We recommend that... in planning new construction... the Board shall emphasize as one of the relevant factors the educational desirability and the long-range necessity of reducing and avoiding the concentration of children with depressed environmental backgrounds or the racial isolation of children."

The main force of opposition to the bill, however, seemed to come (as suggested by the Oregonian on April 3) from the Ways and Means Committee's reluctance to appropriate $750,000 in 1965-1966 and more in 1966-1967. The committee felt state funds unnecessary in view of recently

passed federal legislation providing federal funds for special education for the disadvantaged. Although the initial attempt to solicit state funds for the program failed, funds were later provided to supplement federal funding of the model school arrangement.

As envisioned by members of the Race and Education Committee the program to be set up would be one of enriched educational and community programs for children from pre-school age through high school. Attempts would be made to compensate for the lack of home provided motivation for white and Negro children from low socio-economic backgrounds. All of the schools recommended for programs, however, were in the largely Negro Albina area of the city. Of these schools five had Negro populations of more than 25%. These schools were Boise (96%), Highland (79%), Holladay (56%), Irvington (42%) and Eliot (96%). Schools also designated for assistance included Buckman (3%), Humbolt (88%), Whitman (0%), George (1%), and Woodlawn (22%). One school, Sabin, had a Negro population of 26% but was not nominated for the program.[6]

The Schwab report called for the model schools to be created by January, 1965, and to begin operation the following fall. The program was anticipated as lasting six years. Among the major ideas to be incorporated into the neighborhood school plan were: 1) the reduction of the pupil teacher ratio from the city wide elementary standard of 28 to 1, to 20 to 1; 2) The creation of a model upper division grade school to accommodate seventh and eighth grade pupils taken out of the model schools to provide more room for the lower grades (the district would provide transportation to this new school); and 3) A director of the program would be appointed with the rank of assistant superintendent. The

director would have unrestricted authority in determining curriculum, teaching methods, special programs and other pertinent factors.

Certain criticisms of the school district were inherent in the nature of the report. Among the specific charges made by the report was the charge that the city-wide school curriculum was geared only to serve the twenty-five percent of the city's graduates who went on to receive college degrees. The report also challenged the methods used to place students in the mental retardation category. The committee charged that many Negro students were branded as mentally retarded on the basis of standard intelligence quotient tests which are highly biased. The Committee stated that many students slip into the MR category because of lack of motivation and interest. They cited the figures that Jefferson High School had a Negro enrollment of 28% but that 75% of those in the school classified as mentally retarded were Negro.

Other committee recommendations included: 1) Retention of the neighborhood school concept while building future schools in locations that would avoid concentration of children from depressed backgrounds; 2) Revamping the curriculum to avoid the emphasis on the college preparatory courses;[7] 3) Increased school counseling services, especially in the area of vocational planning or counseling with more counselors provided in schools with the greatest needs; 4) Special attention to areas of physical and cultural well being, including attention to proper diet and adequate clothing and the provision of trips and other outings; 5) More direct involvement of teaching staff with the community; 6) Coordination of the work of agencies servicing the "blighted" area and attempts to improve public understanding of what is being done; 7) Use of textbooks that do more to stress Negro contribution to U.S. history and way of life.

Model School Program

The Portland Model School Program began operation in the fall of 1965 despite the lack of state financing. Nine elementary school programs and five Early Childhood Education Centers began operation in the Albina area with initial funding of $1,250,000 provided under the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The program had been functioning for approximately seven months at the time of reinterviewing (1966) of both white and Negro populations.

The program that evolved was designed to serve pupils age three years through grade eight at an approximate cost of $800 per year per pupil. The figure is approximately $200 more per year per pupil than the amount allotted in the city as a whole. Additional funds have subsequently become available from state sources but were not available in the period between the two interviewing years.

Enrollment figures for the first year were not readily available. However, during the 1966-67 year approximately 5,800 students were involved in the program. One half were white students and one half were black. The participating schools and their percentage of black enrollment included: Boise, 99%; Buckman, 3%; Eliot, 91%; Highland, 92%; Holladay, 60%; Humbolt, 92%; Irvington, 51%; Sabin, 43%; and Woodlawn, 43%.

Many of the activities that developed as a part of the Model School Program incorporated the suggestion made in the Schwab report. A brief summary of the compensatory activities follows.

1) Class sizes were reduced to provide a more workable student-teacher ratio. Open enrollment and administrative transfers facilitated this practice.

2) Teacher's aides, adult volunteers and college tutors were all utilized to help free regular teaching staff for individual academic attention and to supplement the efforts of instructors.

3) An extended school day offered pupils more academic and recreational choices.

4) Reading specialists were hired to assist classroom teachers with group reading and to provide more individual reading assistance. A reading improvement center was operated for remedial help.

5) A tutorial program of highly individualized instruction was developed for students who experienced difficulty in adapting to a normal classroom situation.

6) Radio and television programs were developed for pupil participation and for parent and pupil education.

7) Pre-service and in-service training sessions were held to acquaint teachers and staff with particular methods of curriculum planning and organization, teacher-pupil relationships, and communication with parents. In addition, searching reviews of each teacher's ability to function effectively in these schools were made by the project director and staff.

8) Additional audio-visual and library materials were acquired for each school.

9) Efforts were made to "reclaim" those designated as mentally retarded through intensive attention to basic skills.

10) Early childhood education received the bulk of attention and funding. Emphasis was put on sociability and understanding of basic educational concepts.

The open enrollment policy which allowed reduction of class size had two components. Open enrollment, per se, meant that students in the Model School area could transfer to other schools provided that space at the appropriate grade level was available and that parents were willing to provide transportation to the new location. The second program, that of administrative transfer, was used in cases of youngsters who were recognized by school personnel as possessing potential for social and academic success in the new setting. The latter form was the most

commonly used for effecting transfers as the District provided transportation. The open enrollment policies went into effect in 1965. Initial response to the transfer program was not enthusiastic. On April 20, 1965, ten days before the deadline for making application, the Oregonian reported that only 35 requests for grade school transfers had been received. At that time 400 transfer vacancies were available. Similarly only five Albina area eighth graders had applied for fall transfers to high schools other than Jefferson. Among the forty other district transfer applications were two requests for permission from students from predominantly Negro Eliot grade school to attend Jefferson High. Given the limited number of transfer applications school officials at the time felt that the open enrollment policy would do little to end the trend towards Negro concentration at Jefferson.

During the 1965-1966 school year a total of 548 students attended twenty-nine elementary schools outside of the Albina area. Of these, 189 were voluntary transfers under the open enrollment arrangement. The remaining 359 were administrative transfers. An initial evaluation[8] of the transfer program revealed that in general the program was well received by participating teachers, parents and children. The majority of participating teachers felt the overall effect on both the transfered student and on the classroom to be either neutral or slightly positive. Although both parents and students perceived academic achievement as having improved over the preceeding year, school records revealed grades to have become poorer. Poorer grades did not, of course, mean that these students were not working harder and learning more.

Two special committees were set up to function within the frame-

work of the Model School Program. One committee functioned to develop a curriculum outlining the contribution of the Black Culture to the United States. A second committee worked on improvement of teaching effectiveness in dealing with behavior problems.

Teacher recruitment for the Model School Program was handled through the Portland School District's normal teacher assignment procedures. Each teacher assigned to the program, however, was interviewed by the director and his staff and could be transfered out of the program immediately if found to be unsuitable or ineffective in the program. Premium pay, of as much as $1,000 a year, was a large factor in inducing applicants to apply for positions within the program. As a result the number of teacher requests for transfers into the area increased. Additional counseling personnel were also transfered to provide more counselors for the disadvantaged.

A non-teaching member of the Model School Program in each school was the community agent whose duty it was to act as a liaison between parents and school. His duties centered around interesting and involving parents in the school and in their children's education. The community agent was also responsible for forming adult education classes.

Team teaching at the third grade level was another technique used in the model schools to provide greater individualized instruction. Weekly team evaluations of each child's performance were made and the following week's instruction planned accordingly.

Special summer programs for children with serious academic deficiencies were also incorporated into the Model School Program. It was estimated that one-half of the eligible children in the Albina area

participated in the program. According to the project director Head Start participants entered the first grade performing better than educationally deprived children who did not participate in the program but not as well as children from affluent families.

War on Poverty

The Metropolitan Steering Committee under the Economic Opportunity Act served as Portland's main funding agency for OEO programs. The committee consisted of eleven members plus two ex-officio members, Mayor Terry Schrunk and County Board Chairman Eccles. Schrunk and Eccles, as non-voting members, however, have the authority to decide who was to sit on the committee. The committee was a clearing house for all local programs desiring OEO funding. Approval by the Steering Committee was the first step towards funding.

One of the problems affecting the operation of the committee was pointed out by an Oregonian editorial of April 19, 1965. The editorial was in reaction to an OEO edict that more of the poor were to have a say in tactical matters concerned with the War on Poverty. When the editorial was written each of the committee members was a recognized civic leader; none was considered poor. The editorial, while recognizing that some of the members had come from lower income backgrounds, suggested that a representative of the poor, and specifically of the Albina area, was needed. It was also mentioned, however, that difficulties would arise in finding a person who could spare the time and who could represent the various Albina factions, including those wanting federal assistance and those who thought it would only further de facto segregation.

Several days after the appearance of the editorial the committee announced that Mayfield Webb, as a representative of the Albina Citizens Committee, had been made an ex-officio member of the steering committee.

Although the Portland War on Poverty was not confined to programs for Negroes many of the programs were designed for the Negro population and more specifically for those living within the Albina area. Of the projects approved by the Steering Committee in April, 1965, only one, the Jewish Community Center, was not specifically for work in the Albina area. This program was designed to bring together children who represented various neighborhoods, races and socio-economic backgrounds.

Job Corps

Portland's exposure to the Job Corps came mainly from the press's coverage of the opening of the Job Corps camp on the site of the old Tongue Point Naval Base near Astoria on the Oregon coast. The camp's location was of significance to the Portland area as Portland was considered the major recreational outlet for the center.

Oregon's involvement with the Job Corps' project was first announced in late 1964 when a grant of $8,130,219 was awarded for the development of the center. The Oregonian pointed out the fact that the grant was one of the largest ever received in the state other than funds for dam construction.

The camp, which opened on February 1, 1965, was operated by the University of Oregon and the Philco Corporation which provided the technical assistance needed in skill training (including auto shop work, auto parts service, training for service station attendants and mechanics, small engine maintenance, marine repair, and T.V. and electronic repair

work.)

Several articles with pictorial accompaniments appeared in the Oregonian in the months preceeding the opening. A full page spread on January 29 related that the center would open with 200 unemployed high school dropouts from thirty-two states who ranged in age from 16 to 21. Projected total enrollment was listed as 1250. Course work was to last from six months to two years. Each enrollee was expected to work two hours each day at the school and to attend classes six days each week. It was also announced that not more than 10% of the enrollees would be granted liberty at any one time.

In mid-1965 several announcements were made concerning Oregon State University's proposal to establish a Job Corps center for women in the Portland area. The center would have functioned primarily for home economics training. The tone of each announcement, one in January, one in April, and one in July, was that further announcement of a contract was awaiting only agreement on funding details. Then, in January of 1966 it was announced that the Tongue Point Center would be converted to a center for women. The Oregon State-Portland plan received no further notice. Representative Edith Green, who in general had been a foe of the Job Corps, expressed a negative reaction to the change-over with the opinion that the center was too large to handle girls. At the same time the Oregonian conducted interviews of the male trainees who would be moved and wrote of their general discontent with the idea of a move. Involvement of local youth in the Corps apparently did not receive much mention in the Portland papers.[10]

Neighborhood Youth Corps

If newspaper headlines are any indication, some confusion existed as the Neighborhood Youth Corps function as separate from the more publicized Job Corps. In December of 1964 an Oregonian article announced that 940 Portland high school students were to start work on Job Corps programs in early January. These students, however, were not going to a skill training center; they were to be involved in a school district program to employ students part-time with the assistance of federal funds. All of the area's high schools were to be involved. Two hundred forty-five of the pupils were to be from the largely Negro Jefferson High School. Neighborhood Youth Corps was funded by the Department of Labor, however, as opposed to the Job Corps OEO funding.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was publically supported by Representative Edith Green who, in an Oregonian interview, expressed the opinion that students would receive definite skill training. Mrs. Green also noted that the program is comparable to the work-study program available to needy college students.

A clue as to the program's impact on the community might be gathered from the fact that very few students applied for the program in the initial stage. Most participants were selected by school personnel with need as the main criterion.

Youth Opportunities Center

In February, 1965, a Department of Labor sponsored Youth Opportunities Center was set up in Portland. The main function of the center was to increase the employability of area youth. Thirty-four staff counselors, 13 of whom were graduates of a Department of Labor training

session held at the University of Oregon, were employed to serve a projected total of 64,288 persons.

Although the center did not operate as a Community Action Agency it was set up to work closely with area Community Action programs. Referrals were also made to existing community agencies for assistance in the areas of education and medicine.

The center was visualized as serving as a youth recruiting center, a central community service point, a testing and counseling center and generally, "a place to go when the young find themselves in need of employment." Counseling and aptitude testing comprised a good portion of the day to day activities. From the center a number of students were to be referred to Portland State College for remedial work. All such PSC remedial work was financed by the Manpower Training and Development Act. An additional function of the center was to serve as a clearing house for applications for the Job Corps.

Neighborhood Service Center

In March, 1965, the Oregonian reported a plan by the temporary Albina Citizen's Committee on Poverty to request funds for the establishment of a Neighborhood Service Center. The plan and the subsequent requests were the result of a series of neighborhood meetings held under the auspices of the Community Action Program. In a report to the citizens of the Albina area, the committee stated, "The Neighborhood Service Center will be headquarters for the anti-poverty programs in our area and will contain offices for various agencies to work to alleviate poverty. Briefly put, if you want help, go to the Neighborhood Service Center." The center would function in areas of welfare and social

services, employment, housing, health and education. Services anticipated included job counseling, job training, job leads, family counseling, health services and housing information. The amount requested of OEO was $97,000.

A service center did begin operation in the Albina area in September, 1965. It was moved to its present location in April, 1966, which was about the time of the 1966 interviewing. Four additional centers were opened in the Southeast section of Portland but not until 1967.

## Chapter III

## PROGRAM PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS - LANE COUNTY

Of particular interest in this study is that group toward which the programs are directed. Included in this group for our purposes are both those who participated directly in such programs and the immediate families of participants. The reasons for including both personal participants and family members illustrate the constraints of a natural experimental design such as ours and also a kind of stacking the cards against ourselves resulting from such an operation.

By the constraints of our natural or quasi-experimental design we mean that we had initial time 1 (1964) measurements on 834 adults in the Lane County random samples of whom only tiny numbers could be expected to enter during the next two years a community college program or a poverty program for adults. Even by increasing the initial sample size by two or three or more times (the cost of that was prohibitive) very small increases in the numbers of such time 1 respondents entering naturally into the given educational poverty programs could have been expected. The same logic applies to those respondents with children in most of these relatively small-scale programs, although under other circumstances with more extensive innovative programs being introduced such a constraint might be much less severe. This led to our operation of putting together into experimental groups both personal participants and members of the families of such personally participating people who happened to have been initially interviewed in 1964. This provided sufficiently large (albeit still small) groups for analyzing the effects of interest for whom we had the crucial measurements before the occurrence of the experimental stimuli.

Although we are not certain about the assumption that those most directly involved in something are always more affected than are those one step removed, we are probably diluting the experimental groups by including family members in this manner. This means we have less reason to expect visible effects than if we had purer groups. To the extent we observe differences between the experimental and matched control groups we have done so despite this card-stacking kind of operation and have reason to believe that the impacts we will note, substantial as they seem, actually understate the case for the efficacy of attitude-effects of participation in these educational/poverty programs.

In order to identify those who fell into this participant category, the records of relevant agencies were examined. Where programs were affiliated with the schools, lists of students participating and their addresses were obtained from the district offices and compared with the lists of respondents. In this way we were able to identify a number of parents whose children had actually been enrolled in the work orientation classes in the various school districts. In the case of other Lane County Youth Project programs, the files of the project were systematically compared with our lists of respondents in order to identify respondents who had participated directly or whose immediate family had participated. The same procedure, the comparison of respondent lists with organizational records, was used to identify respondents having participated in the programs of Lane Community College.

Although the adequacy and reliability of records of participants kept by the poverty program people were spotty and varied from program

administrator to program administrator, the even greater difficulties encountered in trying to obtain the necessary objective data on the identities of participants in the Portland educational/poverty programs resulted in our restricting the analysis in this chapter to Lane County. We will have occasion later in this report to note the analysis of effects on participants who were identified by their self-reports as such in the post-experimental 1966 interviews in both Portland and Lane County. In these ways, respondents from the 1964 sample who had been enrolled in special programs or whose family members had been enrolled in the intervening period between 1964 and 1966 were identified.

The participant group thus identified has three constituent components: (1) parents whose children were enrolled in special education, work-oriented classes within the schools run by the Lane County Youth Project; (2) respondents who were involved or had a family member involved in one or another of the programs of Lane Community College; and (3) parents whose children were involved in work orientation or vocational education counseling by the Lane County Youth Project. The programs identified with each of these components were those described in detail in chapter two. We have been referring to this complex of programs as educational/poverty programs in terms of their dual and interrelated manifest purposes. In terms of their institutional sponsors and settings, the second, the Community College group, is most clearly an educational program. The third group, the Counseling Work Program group, was most clearly a poverty program administered by and in the local poverty program agency. The first, the Special Classes group, was more of a composite educational-poverty program, run by the poverty agency but carried out with the cooperation (however active or passive) of and inside of the local public school system.

For each of these experimental groups, a matched control group was drawn from respondents in the general sample. The control groups were matched on community, age, sex, and education. Because of the size of the sample it was impossible to match experimental and control groups on the basis of more than the three variables listed. The size of the sample required to match on additional variables increases rapidly, thereby reducing the possibilities for such a matching operation rather quickly. In this respect we might have begun with other variables. Our choice was dictated by a consideration of variables which might be important in their influence on individual attitudes on the one hand, and by the possibility of breadth of coverage on the other. In this regard, age, sex, and education are all important variables.

There is, however, the question of why such a match was not made on income or occupation. Income is a variable that is central to the concept of socio-economic class and given the class-related character of the innovative educational-poverty programs and the attitudes in which we were interested it would seem that such a variable might well have been used.

Social researchers have investigated the "primary" components or determinants of socio-economic class, namely, income, occupation and education. It has been found that these three variables are highly intercorrelated one with another. Moreover, if as in this case only one such indicator of class can be used it would appear from various studies that the variable of formal educational level attained would be as useful as either of the others. The persuasive reason in

this case given the importance theoretically and practically of the cultural class structure is that our own previous studies as well as those of some (albeit not all) other social researchers suggest that the most direct indicator of such class positions is level of education rather than the more economic variables. By cultural class with such categories as the culturally disadvantaged and advantaged we refer to the stratification of people, that is, classifying them as similar or different, by their social psychological orientations including their general orientations towards life and to aspects and institutions of society, and more specific attitudes and opinions about more concrete programs, policies and particular parts of social life. Cultural class orientations are affected by socio-economic positions but they are not identical and when different seem to be more affected by experiences in the educational than in the economic institutions of society.

Reviewing the data on table 3-1, we find that on the latter three variables the groups are very nearly identical. While they are not identical on other important respects, the aggregate characteristics of experimental and control groups are very similar on those variables likely to have important implications for the types of questions and issues addressed in this study. These characteristics include income, home ownership, socio-economic status, etc. In most respects, an examination of the data suggest experimental populations which closely approximate the distribution of the various traits which is comparable for that of the total populations under examination.

Table 3-1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

| AGE | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65 & OVER | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | 4 | 1 | 6 | -- | -- | 11 |
| Control Group | 4 | 1 | 5 | 1 | -- | 11 |
| Community College | 2 | 6 | 8 | 2 | -- | 18 |
| Control Group | 2 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 18 |
| Special Classes | -- | 16 | 10 | 5 | 2 | 33 |
| Control Group | 10 | 13 | 9 | 1 | -- | 33 |
| Community Leaders | 1 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 21 |
| Control Group | 1 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 21 |

| SEX | Male | Female | N |
|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| Control Group | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| Community College | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| Control Group | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| Special Classes | 15 | 17 | 32 |
| Control Group | 17 | 16 | 33 |
| Community Leaders | 13 | 8 | 21 |
| Control Group | 13 | 8 | 21 |

| EDUCATION | 0-11 | High School Grad Trade or Business School | 1-3 College | College Grad. | Post Grad Work | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | 2 | 6 | 3 | -- | -- | 11 |
| Control Group | 2 | 5 | 4 | -- | -- | 11 |
| Community College | -- | 9 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 18 |
| Control Group | 1 | 9 | 5 | 3 | -- | 18 |
| Special Classes | 16 | 11 | 6 | -- | -- | 33 |
| Control Group | 15 | 12 | 5 | 1 | -- | 33 |
| Community Leaders | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 21 |
| Control Group | 5 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 21 |

Table 3-1 (Continued)

| INCOME | Below $5,000 | $5,000-6,999 | $7,000-9,999 | $10,000 & Over | N/A | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | 1 | 3 | 4 | 3 | - | 11 |
| Control Group | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | - | 11 |
| Community College | 1 | 1 | 10 | 6 | - | 18 |
| Control Group | 3 | 3 | 8 | 4 | - | 18 |
| Special Classes | 8 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 33 |
| Control Group | 2 | 9 | 15 | 5 | 2 | 33 |
| Community Leaders | 3 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 21 |
| Control Group | 3 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 21 |

| NUMBER OF CHILDREN | NONE | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7 or more | N/A | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | - | 8 | 3 | - | - | 11 |
| Control Group | - | 8 | 3 | - | - | 11 |
| Community College | 2 | 10 | 6 | - | - | 18 |
| Control Group | 1 | 15 | 2 | - | - | 18 |
| Special Classes | 2 | 13 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 33 |
| Control Group | 1 | 25 | 7 | - | - | 33 |
| Community Leaders | 1 | 12 | 5 | 3 | - | 21 |
| Control Group | 2 | 14 | 5 | - | - | 21 |

| HOUSING | RENT | OWN OUTRIGHT | BUYING | LIVING WITH RELATIVE | DK NA | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | 1 | 5 | 5 | - | -- | 11 |
| Control Group | 2 | 3 | 6 | - | -- | 11 |
| Community College | 1 | 6 | 11 | - | -- | 18 |
| Control Group | 3 | 5 | 10 | - | -- | 18 |
| Special Classes | 5 | 11 | 16 | - | -- | 33 |
| Control Group | 3 | 9 | 21 | - | -- | 33 |
| Community Leaders | -- | 11 | 9 | - | 1 | 21 |
| Control Group | 3 | 5 | 13 | - | -- | 21 |

Table 3-1 (Continued)

MARITAL STATUS

| | SINGLE | WIDOWED | MARRIED | SEP | DIV. | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | - | - | 11 | - | - | 11 |
| Control Group | - | 1 | 10 | - | - | 11 |
| Community College | - | - | 18 | - | - | 18 |
| Control Group | 1 | 2 | 15 | - | - | 18 |
| Special Classes | - | 4 | 28 | - | 1 | 33 |
| Control Group | 1 | - | 32 | - | - | 33 |
| Community Leaders | - | 1 | 20 | - | - | 21 |
| Control Group | - | 2 | 18 | - | 1 | 21 |

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | N/A | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | - | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 7 | 11 |
| Control Group | - | - | 1 | 0 | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | - | 7 | 11 |
| Community College | - | 4 | 3 | - | - | 4 | 4 | - | - | - | 3 | 18 |
| Control Group | - | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | - | 3 | - | - | - | 4 | 18 |
| Special Classes | - | - | - | 2 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | - | 13 | 33 |
| Control Group | 2 | - | 1 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | - | 13 | 33 |
| Community Leaders | - | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 6 | 21 |
| Control Group | - | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | 4 | 21 |

KEY--Hollingshead's Socio-Economic Scale:

0 = No job, unemployed
1 = Higher executive of large company, proprietors & major professionals
2 = Business managers, proprietors of medium businesses & lessor professionals
3 = Administration personnel, owners of small businesses, & minor professionals
4 = Clerical, sales technician, owner of small business
5 = Skilled manual worker
6 = Machine operator, semi-skilled worker
7 = Unskilled worker
8 = Farmer
9 = Logger
N/A = No Answer
N = Number

The concentration is predominantly middle and lower-middle class, middle-aged, apparently permanent residents of the areas where the surveys were made.

We noted that the design in this case is quasi-experimental. It consists of the before and after comparisons of experimental groups subjected to the stimulus of participation in an innovative program with control groups having had no such experience.

The net changes in attitudes of experimental and control groups were compared for five general educational/poverty program areas. The issue areas were chosen as a result of a factor analysis of the data which yielded five scales corresponding to the issue areas. The resulting attitude scales dealt with educational modernization, progressive education, special programs for poor and vocationally-oriented students, teaching improvement programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged. Respondents were asked to indicate their feelings about a number of educational issues related to the general issue areas specified above. Response alternatives were in the form of a Likert-type scale ranging from strong approval to strong disapproval. The items on which respondents were asked to comment are outlined below.

Educational Modernization:

1. Spending more money on special education.
2. New teaching techniques in the public schools.
3. Providing kindergartens out of school tax money (Oregon schools do not generally provide free public kindergartens).

Progressive Education:

1. The public schools are not teaching fundamentals as well as they used to.
2. Nowadays children get pampered too much in the public schools.

3. There is too much emphasis on cooperation in our public schools and not enough emphasis on competition.
4. Public schools change too many children away from their parents' ideas.

Special Programs for The Poor (Poverty Programs)

1. Employment Training Centers to provide job training for out-of-school youth.
2. Adult literacy training and job retraining.
3. Public nursery schools for culturally deprived children such as Operation Headstart.
4. Intensive service for "hard core" disadvantaged families.

Teaching Improvement and Programs

1. Teachers with different skills teaching together as partners.
2. Paying salaries of teachers to attend summer workshops.

Educational Services for the Disadvantaged

1. Increasing vocational education for adults.
2. Increasing psychological services in the schools for treating juvenile problems.
3. Increasing stress on vocational training for children not going to college.
4. Increasing efforts to prevent school drop-outs.

In the analysis that follows we generally use the terms "liberal" or "positive-liberal" or "conservative" to suggest that the liberal would be in favor while the conservative would oppose educational modernization, progressive education, special programs for the poor (poverty programs), teaching improvement programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged. Although we use the term "progressive" in a kind of John Dewey sense, in a sense of progressive versus traditional or fundamentalist education, we sometimes use the term progressive as the equivalent of liberal or positive. The context makes the usage clear.

By liberal and conservative in this frame we intend to suggest only that the former advocates the kinds of changes or newer policies suggested by these program areas and items while the latter is oriented in the more status quo, hesitancy about or resistance to such change directions. A conservative, traditionalist or fundamentalist on the progressive education scale may well be an advocate of big governmental programs of basic, vocational education. A position in favor of educational services for the disadvantaged suggests that at least public school authorities ought to be specially concerned with the disadvantaged rather than taking a more antiquated survival of the fittest, laissez faire attitude. And those who favor special programs for the poor, that is, educational poverty programs as defined by these particular items, take a less qualified position in support of innovative public programs for the disadvantaged.

The results of the comparisons in attitude changes between experimental or participant groups and the control groups appear in Table 3-2. The figures given in this table are the mean net change in individual scores on the various scales over the two year period. The range of possible scores varies for each scale and is given with the identification of the scale in question. A scale score of zero indicates the most "liberal" position with increase in scores toward the maximum indicating a decrease in "liberalism", or an increase in "conservatism". Any negative change indicates a liberal shift, while a positive change would indicate a move away from a liberal position.

Table 3-2

MEAN CHANGE ON ATTITUDE SCALE SCORES, 1964-1966

| Participant & Control Groups | Educational Modernization (0-6)* | Progressive Education (0-4) | Poverty Programs (0-8) | Teaching Improvement Programs (0-6) | Educational Services for the Disadvantaged (0-6) | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | .363** | -.181 | -.909 | -.727 | -2.909 | 11 |
| Control Group | .363 | .182 | -.454 | -.455 | .000 | 11 |
| Community College | -.722 | .000 | -2.000 | -.722 | -2.833 | 18 |
| Control Group | -.167 | .111 | -.889 | -.500 | .444 | 18 |
| Special Classes | -1.606 | .121 | -1.636 | -.334 | .394 | 33 |
| Control Group | -.091 | -.424 | -.636 | .091 | -.030 | 33 |

*Range of Scale for each additudinal set in parentheses

**Scales are constructed so that lower scores between time 1 and time 2 indicate a shift toward a more "liberal" position. Such a shift is indicated by the minus sign. Positive changes indicate increasing conservatism.

In general, we can see that for both the experimental and control groups, changes over the two-year period are predominantly toward more progressive positions. The experimental groups, however, show a consistently greater degree of change than do the control groups. This is particularly true of the Community College group. While this generally supports the hypothesis that those involved in the innovative programs will be more affected in terms of the development of supportive attitudes toward various facets of the educational system, these changes

may also be partly due to the liberalizing effects of additional education in the case of the Community College group. Since it is well established that liberalism increases with education, the disparity between the two groups in this case may be due in part to this general liberalizing effect. On the other hand, these groups contain many persons who were not given the benefits of the educational program themselves, but who had a member of the immediate family enrolled. Since this is the case more often than not, it can safely be assumed that the key variable is exposure to the experimental stimulus rather than a more liberal perspective induced by further education.

Table 3-3

SCORES AND CHANGE OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS ON ATTITUDE SCALES - TIME 1 AND TIME 2

| EDUCATIONAL MODERNIZATION | N | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 1 | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 2 | $\bar{X}$ Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Leaders | (21) | 3.381 | 3.476 | .095 |
| Control Group 1 | | 3.778 | 3.611 | -.167 |
| Counseling/Work Programs | (11) | 3.182 | 3.546 | .364 |
| Control Group 2 | | 3.455 | 3.819 | .364 |
| Community College | (18) | 3.944 | 3.222 | -.722 |
| Control Group 3 | | 4.429 | 3.905 | -.524 |
| Special Work Orientation Classes | (33) | 5.212 | 3.606 | -1.606 |
| Control Group 4 | | 4.152 | 4.061 | -.091 |
| Lane County Total Sample | | 4.149 | 3.866 | -.283 |

Table 3-3 (Continued)

| PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION | N | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 1 | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 2 | $\bar{X}$ Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Leaders | (21) | 1.333 | 1.333 | .000 |
| Control Group 1 | | 1.778 | 1.889 | .111 |
| Counseling/Work Programs | (11) | 1.364 | 1.546 | .182 |
| Control Group 2 | | 2.091 | 1.909 | -.182 |
| Community College | (18) | 1.611 | 1.611 | .000 |
| Control Group 3 | | 1.762 | 2.095 | .333 |
| Special Work Orientation Classes | (33) | 2.182 | 2.303 | .121 |
| Control Group 4 | | 1.909 | 1.485 | -.424 |
| Lane County Total Sample | | 1.917 | 1.840 | -.077 |
| POVERTY PROGRAMS | | | | |
| Civic Leaders | | 3.238 | 3.571 | .333 |
| Control Group 1 | | 5.278 | 4.389 | -.889 |
| Counseling/Work Programs | | 5.364 | 4.455 | -.909 |
| Control Group 2 | | 5.545 | 4.090 | -1.455 |
| Community College | | 5.333 | 3.333 | -2.000 |
| Control Group 3 | | 5.048 | 4.858 | -.190 |
| Special Work Orientation Classes | | 5.909 | 4.273 | -1.636 |
| Control Group 4 | | 4.939 | 4.303 | -.636 |
| Lane County Total Sample | | 4.971 | 4.615 | -.356 |

Table 3-3 (Continued)

TEACHING IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS

| | N | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 1 | $\bar{X}$ Score Time 2 | $\bar{X}$ Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Leaders | (21) | 2.190 | 2.571 | .381 |
| Control Group 1 | | 3.111 | 2.611 | -.500 |
| Counseling/Work Programs | (11) | 3.000 | 2.273 | -.727 |
| Control Group 2 | | 3.182 | 2.727 | -.455 |
| Community College | (18) | 3.222 | 2.500 | -.722 |
| Control Group 3 | | 3.286 | 3.000 | -.286 |
| Special Work Orientation Classes | (33) | 3.364 | 3.031 | -.333 |
| Control Group 4 | | 3.000 | 3.091 | .091 |
| Lane County Total Sample | | 1.722 | 1.639 | -.083 |

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Leaders | (21) | 5.095 | 2.428 | -2.667 |
| Control Group 1 | | 4.143 | 4.143 | .000 |
| Counseling/Work Programs | (11) | 6.273 | 3.363 | -2.909 |
| Control Group 2 | | 2.818 | 2.818 | .000 |
| Community College | (18) | 5.222 | 2.389 | -2.833 |
| Control Group 3 | | 3.333 | 3.777 | .444 |
| Special Work Orientation Classes | (33) | 3.273 | 3.667 | .394 |
| Control Group 4 | | 3.454 | 3.424 | -.030 |
| Lane County Total Sample | | 3.624 | 3.595 | -.029 |

If we examine the initial attitudes (Table 3-3) of the respondents in the experimental and control groups, we find that in most cases the experimental group exhibited comparable or more conservative attitudes than is true for the control groups. In the interim period, however, the change on the part of the experimental groups is not only greater in a liberal direction, but in most cases it has resulted in a situation where, on many issues, the relative

conservatism of the two groups is reversed. Often the experimental group has become more liberal in their outlook during the intervening time period. In fact, there are cases, primarily in the area of progressive education, where the experimental group has become more liberal while control groups have become more conservative. Change then is in opposite directions for some of the groups suggesting that the unique exposure of the experimental groups to the stimuli of participation in various programs has important implications for their views across a range of educational policy issues. Furthermore, it should be noted that while there is a generally liberal movement by the entire Lane County sample, liberal attitude changes are greater among participant groups almost without exception.

Table 3-4 presents the differences between the experimental and control groups. Here we can see the effects of the experimental stimuli more clearly. Figures in the table show the differences between attitude changes in the experimental groups and attitude changes in the control groups. In almost every category, changes in attitudes of the experimental groups were greater and in a liberal direction. The one deviant case appears in the area of progressive education. Here changes in attitudes on the part of the experimental groups were toward the less progressive end of the scale in two cases while there was no change at all in the case of the third. In the cases of two former groups, Counseling and Special Classes, their control groups shifted in a liberal direction. This is counter to the direction of change in every other case. Since this is so clearly counter to the established pattern of change, we might address outselves momentarily to possible explanations.

Table 3-4

IMPACT OF EXPERIMENTAL STIMULI

(EXPERIMENTAL & CONTROL GROUP DIFFERENCES)

| Program | Educational Modernization | Progressive Education | Poverty Programs | Teaching Improvement Programs | Educ. Services for the Disadvantaged | Average Total Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Counseling Work Programs | .000 | .363 | -.455* | -.272 | -2.909 | -.654 |
| Community College | -.555 | -.111** | -1.111 | -.222 | -3.277 | -1.055 |
| Special Classes | -1.515 | .545*** | -1.000 | -.425*** | .424 | -.194 |

* Minus signs indicate a decreasing score on the part of the experimental group and a more progressive position than the control group.

** No change in experimental group

*** Groups shifted in opposite directions (See Table 3-1)

One possible explanation for this apparent contradiction in what were otherwise uniform patterns, is that this particular scale, progressive education, taps a variety of educational issues that are fundamentally different from the other four scales. Items in this scale deal directly or indirectly with the adequacy of the schools' curricula for the perceived needs of their children. The remaining scales deal primarily with the commitment of more resources to education in very generalized terms, e.g., more money or additional innovative programs. It is plausible that since the two groups which show a negative change are associated with programs intended, in part at least, to overcome

educational deficits of one sort or another, one might realistically expect them to be critical of a system in which such deficits were accrued. In addition, we should ponder for a moment what the nature of these educational deficits are likely to be. Probably the most common areas of inadequate preparation are reading and other "basic skills" without which more sophisticated educational development is impossible. In a very real sense, what these people are lacking is preparation in the three "R's". Not only is it likely that these people recognize fairly clearly the nature of their needs, but it is probable that their educational orientation is one which emphasizes "bread and butter" curricula in the first place. The educational aims of these individuals are likely to be identified with those kinds of skills which provide basic preparation for job requirements at a relatively early stage. It is unlikely that such individuals are likely to be particularly enamoured with typical middle class educational goals such as education in social skills or college prep curricula. That they should become more critical of the system which they perceive as a failure in providing this "bread and butter" education would also seem reasonable, inasmuch as participation in the special programs during the intervening period would tend to highlight the inadequacies of their preparation. Since something was being done to rectify the situation in the form of special programs, such as those with which they are associated, however, it is not particularly surprising that they should be supportive of greater commitments to educational change. This would be especially true if the participants felt

that the programs in which they were included were successful.

Evidence supporting this last hypothesis can be found in examining the relative order of magnitude of change in a liberal direction by the three groups. Exposure to the Community College programs appears to have stimulated greater liberal change than exposure to the other programs. It can be argued that in terms of what the programs had to offer their clientele, and in terms of the successful operation of the programs, the community college was clearly superior. The counseling service was much shorter term, and added a much more ephemeral type of contribution to the long-range interests of the clientele than did the two educational programs. Furthermore, it operated entirely independently of existing educational agencies.

The last point should be stressed at this juncture in terms of its implications for strategies which might lead to poverty program success. Both of the programs which worked through existing institutional structures show a greater impact in most areas than those which attempted to work independently of these structures. If citizen support is indeed a fundamental ingredient for success, then it is important that officials examine closely their rationale for working outside of existing educational institutions. It appears that whatever advantages are to be accrued from such a strategy (and these are clearly abundant) may be more than offset by the advantages of working within the recognized educational system. This differential impact may be a function of the psychological costs to participants of being in a program which in our society labels them as sub-standard or somehow unfit. The

alternative strategy of deploying resources, strategically in school programs might allow for self-improvement without the accompanying stigma or degradation of being officially labeled as one of the "disadvantaged." It may be that if one avoids these added psychological costs to participants he increases the probability of success considerably. This preference is particularly apparent in the great increase in support of educational services, most of which are identified with the schools by those involved in the counseling programs.

There are also other factors which quite probably improve the possibility for success by working through the existing educational system. Most important among these is likely to be the fact that long-term success in American Society is so closely identified with educational success. In this respect, anything done to enhance the potential for educational success is likely to be viewed with admiration by both the advantaged and disadvantaged communities.

On the other side is the consideration that it is precisely because educational administrators and teachers are so resistant to the kinds of drastic innovations required of far-reaching educational/poverty programs that the national and local poverty agencies have been born. Despite increasing difficulties in getting school budgets and bond issues approved by voters, local school officials and school boards rarely seem to take advantage of these kinds of existing predispositions for citizens to support such innovations and, hence, the local educational venture. Thus, they also forfeit the additional potential support they might have received from citizens whose participation in educational/poverty programs

identified as public school programs would have reinforced and even increased their readiness to support educational investments.

The community college in Lane County while not stressing educational/poverty programs did not overlook them completely in the first years of its operation. Again, while not at all as concentrated nor as innovative as they could have been,varied programs for adults were an integral part of the community college's operations. These included programs to help adults get their high school certificates through special vocational education and training programs to special interest programs for adults.

A major consequence seems to have been vital success in its fiscal measures at the polls. While the public school systems in Lane County were undergoing increasingly heavy weather from the electorate, the community college had comparatively smooth sailing. These important real world events were consistent with our interpretation that to the extent an educational institution albeit a new institution embarked on innovative programs aimed not so much at the elite but at the culturally disadvantaged it would reap the benefits accruing from a citizenry disposed towards educational/poverty program innovations.

Of the five attitude sets, those affected most by the experimental stimulus were educational modernization, poverty programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged. In table 3-5, the three participant experimental and three control groups have been merged into two groups. The table shows the changes for each of the two collective groups (experimental and control) and the net differences between the collective groups on each of the various attitude sets.

Table 3-5

IMPACT OF EXPERIMENTAL STIMULUS, MERGED GROUPS

| | Time 1 | Time 2 | $\bar{X}$ Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educational Modernization | | | |
| Experimental Groups | 4.483 | 3.483 | -1.000 |
| Control Groups | 4.108 | 3.972 | -.136 |
| Progressive Education | | | |
| Experimental Groups | 1.872 | 1.969 | .097 |
| Control Groups | 1.899 | 1.738 | -.161 |
| Poverty Programs | | | |
| Experimental Groups | 5.645 | 4.032 | -1.613 |
| Control Groups | 5.078 | 4.426 | -.652 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | | | |
| Experimental Groups | 3.258 | 2.742 | -.516 |
| Control Groups | 3.115 | 3.000 | -.115 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | | | |
| Experimental Groups | 4.530 | 3.012 | -1.518 |
| Control Groups | 3.518 | 3.602 | .084 |

The result of collapsing experimental groups into one large group leads us to stress again a point made earlier. Taking the groups collectively, we see that changes in attitudes during the period between the two surveys were in a liberal direction in every case except one. That one case is, of course, progressive education where respondents became more conservative. This fact, in addition to the fact that the changes in all other cases were greater for the experimental groups than for the control groups, suggest that those who fall into the classification of the disadvantaged do have clearly different perceptions about what types of programs are in

their interests. The emphasis among these individuals on "bread and butter" programs is even more clearly established when we look at the results of the other attitude scales. It is interesting in this regard to note that the two attitude-sets most closely associated with the problems of the poor and most clearly identified with this "bread and butter" educational orientation were the most strongly affected by the new programs. The data might also suggest that the poor are,perhaps, sceptical of the value of programs designed primarily for their benefit until they have participated directly. Our suspicion is born out by an examination of the data of Time 1 which reveals a more conservative position by our experimental groups on poverty programs and educational services for the disadvantaged. By Time two, however, experimental groups have assumed more liberal positions than the control groups. Participation in this case seems clearly to have had an important impact on their support for such programs. This initial scepticism may stem from a general sense of alienation characterized by little faith in the interest or ability of the government to establish programs for their benefit. As we shall see further on, such feelings do appear to have direct consequences for one's attitudes. It may well be, however, that exposure to one of the programs in the form of direct participation had not only an impact on the attitudes of respondents toward specific proposals but may well have reduced such feelings of alienation.

We might also look once again at the question of progressive education. While attitudes toward every type of innovation usually became more positive, support for progressive education showed some decrease. The possibility of a kind of "bread and butter" orientation

explaining such a change has already been mentioned. We are left, however, with the fact that there was no change on the part of Lane Community College participants. Involvement in the community college program had no impact at all on one's support of progressive education. One would expect this to be the case, however, since involvement in the junior college program does not necessarily imply any failure on the part of the schools nor a necessary emphasis on a "bread and butter" type of education. The community college provides a post high school education for anyone who can profit from it. It therefore offers a wide range of post high school educational opportunities not available in the conventional four-year college. Such opportunities include, but are not limited to, vocational preparation, remedial education, and personal development. On the other hand, the community college also offers the conventional program of the first two years of college. It may be then, that the "bread and butter" orientation of the vocational student is neutralized by the more middle class orientation of the potential transfer student.

In addition to those directly involved in the innovative programs, we isolated another group which received exposure to information about such programs over and above what was characteristic for the community-at-large. This group consisted primarily of civic leaders who were placed on a special mailing list and sent extensive information on the various educational/poverty programs under consideration and in effect. The variation in attitudes of the civic leaders over the two-year span show a pattern that is almost diametrically opposite of those in the experimental groups. (Table 3-6).

Table 3-6

ATTITUDE CHANGE OF CIVIC LEADERS, 1964-1966

| Participant & Control Group | Educational Modernization | Progressive Education | Poverty Programs | Teaching Improvement Programs | Educ.Services for the Disadvantaged | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civic Leaders On Mailing List | .095* | .000 | .333 | .381 | -2.667 | 21 |
| Control Group Not On Mailing List | -.167 | .111 | -.889 | -.500 | .000 | 21 |
| Net Differences | .252 | -.111 | 1.222 | .381 | -2.667 | |

*Positive change is in a conservative direction, negative in a progressive direction..

Support for progressive education showed no change over the period in question and there was a negative shift in attitudes in three of the other four areas. In the control group, however, changes were the opposite, that is, toward a more liberal position in three areas. In the other two change was toward a more conservative opinion in one and in a progressive direction, but of lesser magnitude, on the other.

The general negative shift in attitudes in the three program areas suggests that fundamentally different variables were operative in the case of these individuals than was the case for the experimental participant group. It might be that these variables revolved primarily around the issue of money and a concern for the increasing burden being placed on the taxpayer but we have no evidence to support such a claim. This possibility seems to be

reduced when we examine the control group whose pattern of change was almost completely opposite of those on the mailing list. In addition, despite a generally more negative attitude toward most programs, their support of educational services for the disadvantaged increased over the period. It appears that something in the mailings that were sent out may have triggered negative reactions to certain of the programs, but what this might have been is difficult to say. In any case, the attempt to gain support by keeping constituents well informed may have backfired. This suggests that the panacea of information and public relations programs as methods for obtaining citizen support is unlikely to be the immediate solution to most school districts' problems. The seriousness of this result is compounded by the fact that the trend of shifts in all other cases was so overwhelmingly in a liberal direction. In this case, liberal change was not only retarded, the trend was reversed. It can only be assumed at this point that experimental group members evaluated the materials sent from an entirely different perspective than had been anticipated by those who prepared and distributed the information. Given our results, the hazards of attempting to gain public support through an educative program are obvious. It is clear that some mechanism must be developed in the future to speak to the concerns of a wide variety of individuals if such information programs are to be successful.

As a final note, the group to which these mailings were sent were the most visible, noted public figures in their community leaderships.[1] Their control group represented the less manifest, more latent public leaderships. The reactions of the former resembled

those of numerous national figures whose increasing opposition to "costly," "poorly organized and inefficient," "wasteful," and similarly evaluated public poverty program efforts has contributed to what appears to be a major shift away from massive public programs at the national level. The maintenance and even increases in the liberal, pro-poverty program orientations of the less public leaders and of citizens generally and of participants specifically have not had the impact at either local or national levels that the vociferous critics in the public and political leaderships have had. There would appear to be something less than a process of perfect representation in these patterns.

The findings in this first part of the analysis lead to both optimism and pessimism insofar as a war on poverty is concerned. On the one hand, participants in relatively minor programs designed for the disadvantaged improved still further their supportive attitudes towards educational/poverty programs. Although the effects were less, comparably disadvantaged citizens (the control groups) also continued to increase their support for such innovations. And so did the citizens at large. The greatest impacts on attitudes occurred to those participants in the programs most closely related to on-going educational institutions. The portion of the civic leadership specially informed about the poverty program decreased their support for that admittedly ill-organized, exploratory venture. But they, too, strengthened their supportive attitudes towards increases in educational services for the disadvantaged.

If these findings suggest a growing strength in positive attitudes towards educational programs for the disadvantaged although a mixed pattern relative to institutionally distinctive poverty agency programs, why should there be any pessimism? Does not, in fact, the possibility mentioned in the introductory chapter seem less hypothetical and more likely in the light of these findings, namely, the restoration and further development by public school systems of much needed fiscal support by citizens and voters on the basis of the latter's support for the poverty program kind of mission of the schools? The pessimism stems from the fact that important visible portions of public leaderships,as in this case, do concentrate their criticism on institutionally distinctive poverty programs while less public leaders and rank-and-file citizens, including the disadvantaged, seem over time to be increasingly supportive of both educational and poverty programs. More important as a factor in our pessimism is the fact that educators and others in educational decision-making in these communities did not during this period, nor in the three succeeding years to the time of this writing, evidence an urgent concern with the educational/ poverty program needs of the disadvantaged.

Although our findings make it clear that it would have been in their immediate economic and occupational interests to do so, we find that the men of power in the public school systems of these communities with the single exception of the community college did not engage in creative leadership in such directions. We shall return in the final chapter to discuss why this was so,

although some reasons have been offered in the introductory chapter. But one reason, however minor, was the absence of knowledge that there was such increased support for educational/poverty programs on the part either of the general citizenry or the participants in these special programs. We shall continue to provide such knowledge before returning to political future, turning next to the matter of how information itself works as a factor in these processes of attitude change and stability.

# CHAPTER IV

## INFORMATION LEVEL, COMMUNITY TIES AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

### INFORMATION LEVEL AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

In order to evaluate the differences in attitude change among individuals, several variables tapping different dimensions of the citizenry's orientation toward the school system were to be examined. To this point we have only examined the impact of program participation on citizen attitudes. In this chapter we will analyze the effects of varying levels of information on attitudes.

Information indexes were devised using questions from the initial survey. These questions dealt with the respondent's acquaintance with a variety of innovative educational proposals in each community. Because of variations in the indexes tapping the information levels of the communities at the time of the original survey, we have divided the sample here into two sub-populations. In the course of analysis in this chapter, the Portland sample (including both white and black communities) will be treated separately from the four Lane County communities which are treated collectively. The Portland sample is also broken down into black and white communities to determine the effects of race as a control variable. The Lane County communities are taken collectively for two reasons. The first is that programs under consideration

are county-wide in nature and all of the cities have had some opportunity to become familiar with each of them. Secondly, there was simply a problem of numbers in the extreme information categories, the least informed and best informed, so that the numbers in many of the cells were so small that the regional variations in support at these information levels could not be ascertained. Regional differences without such controls are discussed in a later chapter.

The primary objective in the construction of the information indexes was to test the relationship of the individual's information level and his attitudes toward various educational programs and policies, as well as his general interest in educational affairs. According to the model outlined earlier, attitudes are seen, in part at least, as a consequence of the level of information of the individual.

The information which the public received about the programs in question in the initial survey would usually have been released by the particular agencies involved. Under the circumstances, it can reasonably be assumed that those who had heard of the programs had probably been exposed to favorable or neutral information more often than to adverse publicity. Given this kind of information exposure, it would follow, according to our model, that positive attitudes toward the school systems and their programs would be associated with high levels of information. One would expect that those individuals who were well-informed about innovative programs in the community would be more inclined to adopt

a positive-liberal posture toward such programs and the problems which generated them than would the uninformed or the less well informed.

The assumption that positive attitudes will accompany information exposure depends, of course, on the nature of the information to which individuals were exposed. Indeed, those who spearhead the opposition to expansion or alteration of educational programs are often among the best informed members of the community. These individuals, however, as is true of the vanguard of any political effort, usually constitute a relatively small group although they may well have a decisive impact on the later course of community development. In any case, our indicators are relatively crude measures of information exposure and no depth of knowledge is claimed for those falling into the well informed categories. Rather, it is assumed that the vast majority of the community will fall into that category whose knowledge, if indeed they possess any knowledge on the issue, will be more in the nature of an amorphous acquaintance with the program. Such an acquaintance is far more likely to come from information released by the originators of the program (at least initially) and therefore can be expected to be properly supportive and praising. At the outset then, we would expect that the majority of those who are knowledgeable would have been disproportionately exposed to positive appraisals of programs and that such appraisals would likely provide the basis for their own attitudes.

In Tables 4-1 to 4-3, the response categories to each of the single item questions have been divided into positive and negative

while the five scales have been dichotomized. In the tables where "progressive responses" are given, we have reported the percentage of scores falling from the midpoint of the particular scale to the progressive-liberal extreme of the continuum.

The data in Tables 4-1 to 4-3 give strong support for the hypothesis that progressive-liberal attitudes will increase in almost direct relation to the amount of information. At the time of the initial survey in Lane County, for instance, five of the seven attitudes show a direct positive relationship with the initial information level. In each case, an increasing percentage of respondents falls into the positive-liberal category as information level increases.

In Portland, there is the same general response pattern. In five of the seven attitudes, progressivism-liberalism shows a uniform progressive increase as information levels increase. In the two remaining attitude areas, there is only a minor deviation from this general response pattern.

More careful examination of the data patterns over time for each of the two communities reveals a number of other interesting findings. In Lane County, the interest in the school system expressed initially and at the time of the second survey remained relatively stable. There was a slight percentage decrease among some respondents and a slight increase among others while those who fell into the best-informed category showed no change at all, maintaining an extremely high level of interest in the schools over time.

Table 4-1

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2 BY INITIAL INFORMATION LEVEL (LANE COUNTY)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level* (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Interest in school system: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 72.1 | 91.3 | 96.8 | 98.3 | 95.8 |
| Time 2 | 74.4 | 88.6 | 93.2 | 98.3 | 95.8 |
| Difference | 2.3 | -2.7 | -3.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| 2. Expect School Officials to understand and help with complaints: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 51.2 | 68.9 | 79.0 | 79.7 | 91.7 |
| Time 2 | 44.2 | 67.4 | 78.5 | 83.1 | 90.9 |
| Difference | -7.0 | -1.5 | -0.5 | 3.4 | -0.8 |
| 3. Educational Modernization: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 10.3 | 23.7 | 27.5 | 51.7 | 58.3 |
| Time 2 | 19.5 | 31.6 | 38.7 | 60.0 | 70.8 |
| Difference | 9.2 | 7.9 | 11.2 | 8.3 | 12.5 |
| 4. Progressive Education Scale: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 25.3 | 33.6 | 41.4 | 60.0 | 75.0 |
| Time 2 | 19.5 | 38.8 | 45.5 | 58.3 | 83.3 |
| Difference | -5.8 | 5.2 | 4.1 | -1.7 | 8.3 |
| 5. Poverty programs scale: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 33.3 | 30.9 | 29.7 | 41.7 | 50.0 |
| Time 2 | 33.3 | 43.4 | 45.9 | 61.7 | 70.8 |
| Difference | 0.0 | 12.5 | 16.2 | 20.0 | 20.8 |
| 6. Teaching Improvement Programs Scale: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 43.7 | 52.6 | 65.8 | 71.7 | 79.2 |
| Time 2 | 41.4 | 50.0 | 61.7 | 73.3 | 83.3 |
| Difference | -2.3 | -2.6 | -4.1 | 1.6 | 4.1 |

Table 4-1 (continued)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level* (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Educational Services for the Disadvantaged scale: | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 52.9 | 64.5 | 71.2 | 80.0 | 79.2 |
| Time 2 | 48.2 | 68.4 | 75.3 | 73.3 | 83.3 |
| Difference | -4.7 | 3.9 | 4.1 | -6.7 | 4.1 |
| N | (87) | (152) | (222) | (60) | (24) |

*Initial information level was determined by the respondent's acquaintance with four proposed educational programs for the communities in question. A score of zero indicates that the respondent had not heard of any of the programs in question. A score of four indicates an acquaintance with all of the programs.

While interest in the schools remained uniformly high in Lane County, there was a slight decrease in the expectation that school officials would be responsive to citizen complaints. This decrease may have been, in part, a consequence of the growing antagonism between some school boards and a fairly large segment of the community over the boiling tax issue or other problems which were manifest in difficulties encountered in school budget elections there. School administrations in several communities during that period were experiencing great difficulties in obtaining passage of school budgets. The issue revolved, in part, around the increasing expenditures of the school system and the failure of the administration to respond to citizen pressures for austerity, and in part, perhaps, to more fundamental dissatisfaction with educational programs and personnel.

Of the five remaining variables, three showed a general increase in positive-liberal responses by the Lane County community. These three were educational, modernization, poverty programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged.

In the case of educational modernization, the percentage of positive responses was quite low initially, and although there was an increase during the two-year period, the change was hardly dramatic. Initially, the majority of respondents were very conservative in their posture vis-a-vis the whole question of educational modernization. The latter position could hardly be said to have been different at the second point in time. A majority of respondents remained relatively conservative on this particular issue. The tax issue may have been particularly important with regard to this particular variable. More than any other item, educational modernization can be directly associated with increased taxes of local property owners. While other programs may rely on tax expenditures for their support, these are usually funded by the federal government (e.g., poverty programs) and therefore may not be as negative in their immediate implications as general programs of modernization.

The fact remains too that the property tax structure which supports the local school system is highly regressive. A significant proportion of the community is taxed disproportionately in order to sustain such programs. While federal programs may imply increased taxes, these programs may also coincide more directly with the community's perception of its educational needs. In

addition, the nature of the federal tax structure, although far from perfect, is nevertheless considerably less regressive than the local property tax. Add to this the facts that it may be more difficult to make a direct link between such federal education programs and increased taxes and that such federal programs may be perceived as a return on federal tax investments, and it is not surprising that they did not generate such negative reaction.

We might also return to our earlier comment about the types of programs which generated the highest support. It may well be that the question here is not one of higher taxes alone, but of the allocation of the resources to areas which many might well perceive as only of secondary importance. The supposition of unwillingness to be taxed must be called into question when we see the support generated by other types of programs. A detailed analysis of education modernization attitudes as of 1963 in these communities, one year before our Time one here, is illuminating in this regard.[1] It suggests that fiscal and modernization sentiments may overlap but are substantially distinct orientations. The conclusion we come to is that educational/poverty programs were more favored by citizens for the most part regardless of the question of tax costs but not regardless of cost-benefit perspectives. Educational modernization was not perceived by as many citizens at times one or two to be as beneficial in their value structures as poverty programs or educational services for the disadvantaged.[2]

Attitudes linked most directly with the poverty program and the issue of education for the disadvantaged both became more

positive, while the latter was the more stable of the two over the two-year period. On the poverty programs scale, all but the least informed in Lane County showed a disposition to change in a positive-liberal direction between times one and two. On educational services for the disadvantaged, three groups showed a slight increase in the percentage with liberal attitudes, while two showed a slight decrease. While there is a mixed pattern of change in this case, there remains in most cases quite a high level of support for such educational services. In all but one of the cases, in fact, a substantial majority remain in the liberal camp regarding their attitudes on these programs.

Table 4-2

PERCENT OF TOTAL LANE COUNTY SAMPLE EXHIBITING POSITIVE-LIBERAL RESPONSES AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2

| | Percent with Positive-Liberal Attitudes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes | Time 1 | Time 2 | Difference |
| Educational Modernization | 27.7 | 37.4 | 9.7 |
| Progressive Education | 40.2 | 42.6 | 2.4 |
| Poverty Programs | 32.8 | 46.1 | 13.3 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | 59.8 | 57.4 | -2.4 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 67.7 | 69.2 | 1.5 |

Despite the general increase in support for school poverty programs, those who were supportive still were not a majority. At time 2, 46.1% of the respondents supported school poverty programs compared to 32.8% at time one. On the general question

of educational services for the disadvantaged, however, a substantial majority began with a positive position. In the intervening period, support of the entire group was strengthened slightly.

The changes on the progressive education scale and the teaching improvement programs scale were not at all uniform as in the case of some of the other attitude scales. In their attitudes toward progressive education, some respondents became more favorable over the intervening period between the two surveys while others became more critical. There is no theoretically consistent pattern to the changes with both high and low information groups showing positive and negative changes.

The teaching improvement programs scale shows an interesting and unique pattern of change. Each of the three less informed groups show a decrease in support for such programs while both of the well-informed groups show an increasing progressivism. One possible explanation for this pattern may be that the better informed individuals possess a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of the benefits to be derived from the teaching improvement programs. Those who are less informed might interpret such programs as more frills which squander educational resources without compensating positive benefits both as a consequence of their information levels, and as a consequence of the fact that they are probably less likely to be acquainted with the varieties of teaching technique currently employed in the schools. This explanation is all the more plausible if we remember that lower income groups, whom we argued earlier are

likely to possess a unique educational perspective, are also likely to be the least informed. In addition, it is this group which is likely to be hurt most by the regressive tax structure supporting the state's educational programs, and which is likely to perceive the educational returns from this particular type of program as irrelevant or non-existent. Such a combination of factors may well have led to the decrease in support for such innovative programs found among the least informed.

The data on respondents in the Portland area show some interesting differences from the data on Lane County respondents. The most immediate difference is that the pattern of increasing liberalism with increasing information level, while generally characteristic of the Portland sample, is not quite as uniform as for Lane County.

Of the seven attitude variables discussed, four, interest in the school system, educational modernization, progressive education, and educational services for the disadvantaged show the uniform pattern of increasing liberalism with increasing information initially. The remaining variables show a mixed pattern with some departures from expectations, and generally modest differences as a consequence of information levels.

As in the case of Lane County, interest in the schools is generally high for all response categories both initially and at the time of the subsequent survey. Although interest appears to have declined slightly over the two-year period, the general pattern of interest remains the same.

Table 4-3

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2 BY INITIAL INFORMATION LEVEL (PORTLAND)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level* (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Interest in school system: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 86.0 | 92.6 | 94.3 | 97.4 |
| Time 2 | 83.7 | 75.0 | 87.4 | 96.1 |
| Difference | -2.3 | -17.6 | -6.7 | -1.3 |
| 2. Expect school officials to understand and help with complaints: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 60.5 | 61.8 | 56.3 | 68.4 |
| Time 2 | 46.5 | 52.9 | 52.9 | 57.9 |
| Difference | -14.0 | -8.9 | -3.4 | -10.5 |
| 3. Educational Modernization scale: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 48.8 | 55.9 | 58.6 | 63.2 |
| Time 2 | 53.5 | 51.5 | 54.0 | 64.5 |
| Difference | 4.7 | -4.4 | -4.6 | 1.3 |
| 4. Progressive Education scale: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 11.6 | 19.1 | 31.0 | 42.1 |
| Time 2 | 27.9 | 23.5 | 37.9 | 36.8 |
| Difference | 16.3 | 4.4 | 6.9 | -5.3 |
| 5. Poverty programs scale: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 30.2 | 26.5 | 34.5 | 44.7 |
| Time 2 | 62.8 | 69.1 | 72.4 | 75.0 |
| Difference | 32.6 | 42.6 | 37.9 | 31.3 |
| 6. Teaching Improvement programs scale: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 58.1 | 67.6 | 66.7 | 64.5 |
| Time 2 | 53.5 | 63.2 | 63.2 | 73.7 |
| Difference | -4.6 | -4.4 | -3.5 | 9.2 |

Table 4-3 (continued)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level* (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Educational services for the disadvantaged scale: | | | | |
| Time 1 | 72.1 | 73.5 | 80.5 | 85.5 |
| Time 2 | 81.3 | 75.1 | 73.5 | 85.4 |
| Difference | 9.2 | 1.6 | -7.0 | -0.1 |
| N | (43) | (68) | (87) | (76) |

*Information level determined in the same fashion as for Lane County except that only three informational items were used.

Also similar to Lane County is the pattern of responses regarding expectations of school officials regarding the handling of citizen complaints. As in the former case, expectations in Portland show a general decline in terms of expectations that the school administration will react appropriately to citizen complaints. In the case of Portland, however, this general decrease in expectations of responsiveness by school officials is very probably traceable to a situation that was peculiar to the Portland community--although likely to have occurred in other United States cities outside of Lane County.

During the time of the initial survey and immediately following the Portland district was engaged in the preparation of the report on race and education in the Portland schools discussed in Chapter II. The central issue in the investigation was the extent and consequences of de facto segregation in the Portland Public School system. As we noted earlier, the report itself,

and the action by the school administration and city officials, were important sources of controversy in the Portland community during the two years between the first and second surveys. Given the fact that a substantial portion of the black community was not happy either with the report or with the reaction of school and city administrations to the issues aroused by the segregation controversy, it is not surprising that there was a general and relatively large shift in the respondents' expectations of the school officials.

We might expect that the decline is here exaggerated by the large proportion of black respondents.

Table 4-4

PERCENT OF TOTAL PORTLAND SAMPLE AND BLACK AND WHITE SUB-SAMPLES EXHIBITING POSITIVE-LIBERAL RESPONSES AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2

| | Percent of Total Sample with Positive-Liberal Attitudes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes | Time 1 | Time 2 | Difference | (N) |
| Educational Modernization | 57.7 | 56.2 | -1.5 | 274 |
| Progressive Education | 28.1 | 32.5 | 4.4 | |
| Poverty Programs | 35.7 | 70.8 | 35.1 | |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | 65.0 | 64.6 | -0.4 | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 78.8 | 78.5 | 0.3 | |
| Black Sub-sample | | | | |
| Expect school officials to respond | 55.3 | 47.3 | -8.0 | 150 |
| Educational Modernization | 72.0 | 72.7 | 0.7 | |

Table 4-4 (continued)

| | Percent of Total Sample with Positive-Liberal Attitudes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Black Sub-sample (continued) | Time 1 | Time 2 | Difference | (N) |
| Progressive Education | 16.7 | 26.7 | 10.0 | |
| Poverty Programs | 30.7 | 87.3 | 57.3 | |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | 72.7 | 70.0 | -2.7 | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 90.7 | 91.3 | 0.6 | |
| White Sub-sample | | | | |
| Expect school officials to respond | 69.4 | 60.5 | -8.9 | 124 |
| Educational Modernization | 40.3 | 36.3 | -4.0 | |
| Progressive Education | 37.1 | 35.5 | -1.6 | |
| Poverty Programs | 39.5 | 50.8 | 11.3 | |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | 54.8 | 57.3 | 2.5 | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 62.9 | 62.9 | 0.0 | |

When we control for race on this particular variable, (Table 4-4), however, we find that the relatively large decline in expectations of positive response of school officials to complaints is comparable among both black and white respondents. Table 4-5, which gives a more detailed picture, shows similar changes, both in direction and in order of magnitude, at almost all information levels among the two communities. There are only two exceptions to this general pattern. Among white respondents with an initial information score of 1, there is a very slight increase in positive expectations of school officials.

There is, however, a significant difference in the changes among the best informed in the two groups. Here the black community remained exactly the same with 51.4% having positive expectations of school officials at both Time 1 and Time 2. Among the best informed white respondents, however, there was a 19.5% drop in positive expectations. The failure of the black community to become more pessimistic may be a consequence of the fact that their initial level of expectations was low compared to other groups, so that subsequent events might have comparatively less impact. The percentage of the white community with positive expectations in the high information cell is more than 17% higher than the next highest group initially, suggesting that events which would cast a negative light on the responsiveness of school officials to citizen complaints might have a relatively greater impact on this initially optimistic group.

Table 4-5

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2 BY RACE AND INFORMATION LEVELS - PORTLAND

| | Initial Information Level | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes | (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 (high) |
| Interest in school system: | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 95.9 | 97.1 |
| White-Time 1 | 57.1 | 83.9 | 92.1 | 97.6 |
| Black-Time 2 | 65.5 | 83.8 | 91.8 | 88.6 |
| White-Time 2 | 78.6 | 77.4 | 94.7 | 95.1 |
| Black Difference | -34.5 | -16.2 | -4.1 | -8.5 |
| White Difference | 21.5 | -6.4 | 2.6 | -2.5 |

Table 4-5 (continued)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level (low)0 | 1 | 2 | 3 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Expect school officials to understand and help with complaints: | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 65.5 | 59.5 | 49.0 | 51.4 |
| White-Time 1 | 50.0 | 64.5 | 65.7 | 82.9 |
| Black-Time 2 | 51.7 | 40.5 | 46.9 | 51.4 |
| White-Time 2 | 35.7 | 67.7 | 60.5 | 63.4 |
| Black Difference | -13.8 | -19.0 | -2.1 | 0.0 |
| White Difference | -14.3 | 3.2 | -5.2 | -19.5 |
| Educational Modernization: | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 65.5 | 64.9 | 77.6 | 77.1 |
| White-Time 1 | 14.3 | 45.2 | 34.2 | 51.2 |
| Black-Time 2 | 72.4 | 67.6 | 65.3 | 88.6 |
| White-Time 2 | 14.3 | 32.3 | 39.5 | 43.9 |
| Black Difference | 6.9 | 2.7 | -12.3 | 11.5 |
| White Difference | 0.0 | -12.9 | -5.3 | -7.3 |
| Progressive Education: | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 10.3 | 13.5 | 14.3 | 28.6 |
| White-Time 1 | 14.3 | 25.8 | 36.8 | 53.7 |
| Black-Time 2 | 27.6 | 16.2 | 32.7 | 28.6 |
| White-Time 2 | 28.6 | 32.3 | 31.6 | 43.9 |
| Black Difference | 17.3 | 2.7 | 18.4 | 0.0 |
| White Difference | 14.3 | 6.5 | -5.2 | -9.8 |
| Poverty Programs: | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 31.0 | 16.2 | 34.7 | 40.0 |
| White-Time 1 | 28.6 | 38.7 | 34.2 | 48.8 |
| Black-Time 2 | 86.2 | 86.5 | 83.7 | 94.3 |
| White-Time 2 | 14.3 | 48.4 | 57.9 | 58.5 |
| Black Difference | 55.2 | 70.3 | 49.0 | 54.3 |
| White Difference | -14.3 | 9.7 | 13.7 | 9.7 |

Table 4-5 (continued)

| Attitudes | Initial Information Level (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 (high) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teaching Improvement Programs: | | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 69.0 | 78.4 | 69.4 | 74.3 | |
| White-Time 1 | 35.7 | 54.8 | 63.2 | 53.7 | |
| Black-Time 2 | 65.5 | 73.0 | 61.2 | 82.9 | |
| White-Time 2 | 28.6 | 48.4 | 65.8 | 65.9 | |
| Black Difference | -3.5 | -5.4 | -8.2 | 8.6 | |
| White Difference | -7.1 | -6.4 | 2.6 | 12.2 | |
| Educational services for the disadvantaged: | | | | | |
| Black-Time 1 | 86.2 | 89.2 | 91.8 | 94.3 | |
| White-Time 1 | 42.9 | 54.8 | 65.8 | 78.1 | |
| Black-Time 2 | 93.0 | 86.4 | 87.8 | 100.0 | |
| White-Time 2 | 57.1 | 61.4 | 55.3 | 73.2 | |
| Black Difference | 6.8 | -2.8 | -4.0 | 5.7 | |
| White Difference | 14.2 | 6.6 | -10.5 | -4.9 | |
| Black N | 29.0 | 37.0 | 49.0 | 35.0 | (150) |
| White N | 14.0 | 31.0 | 38.0 | 41.0 | (124) |

Since the expected differences between black and white communities did not materialize, we might venture an alternative explanation of the general decline in expectations among both communities in Portland. It is likely that the action taken by the city and school administrations on the basis of the Race and Education Report, rather than satisfying any of the principals in the conflict, further antagonized those who felt strongly about the issue on both sides. In the case of the black community, as we noted in Chapter II, there is evidence of strong sentiment that school administration action was interpreted as unacceptable tokenism. On the other hand,

among whites antagonistic to any form of change in the existing situation, such tokenism might well have been interpreted as capitulation to unreasonable demands. One would also expect a certain very small percentage of the white community (quite likely found among the high information group) to be sympathetic with the cause of the black community and therefore to interpret events from the perspective of the black community. Such an interpretation would then have the same consequences as among the black community, that is, that new programs would be interpreted as tokenism. The net result then is that most of those who did not feel strongly on the issue probably remained the same in their appraisal of the school administration. Among those with strong sentiments on both sides of the issue, however, one might expect more pessimistic appraisals of official responsiveness since they essentially sidestepped the issue to the dissatisfaction of all of the contestants.

On the various attitude scales, there is more variation from a perfect pattern in terms of our hypothesis than was the case with Lane County; however, the data generally correspond to our expectations.

The educational modernization scale shows the same pattern for Portland as for Lane County, but there is a very large difference in the extent of initial support for educational modernization in the two communities. In this area, Portland is far more supportive both initially and at time 2. This differential support initially may again be attributable to factors that are intricately tied to race. The needs for improvement of educational facilities and programs in the black community were more critical than in the white. It is to be expected that they would be more supportive of such programs

since the benefits accruing from modernization might be considerably greater in schools where the needs are more pressing.[3] Analysis of the data in Table 4-5 supports this interpretation. Members of the black community are far more supportive at the time of both surveys than are members of the white community. Furthermore, in three of the four information categories there is an increase in support for educational modernization while support in the white community decreases in all but the group showing the lowest support initially. Among the latter, there was no change. It should be added also that collectively the black community shows a slight increase in support for educational modernization to 72.7% of the community. Among the white respondents, though, support shows a general decrease to 36.3%. Support for educational modernization remained relatively stable in Portland over the intervening period. Most of the decline in support was in the white community. Taken as a whole, however, the Portland community remains more supportive than was the case with Lane County residents.

A reversal of the responses of the two communities is seen again on the progressive education scale. Both in 1964 and 1966 the Portland sample is inclined to be far less supportive of progressive education. Examining the data controlling for race, we see interesting differences emerging between the black and white communities. Although smaller percentages of the black community are inclined to support progressive education both at Times 1 and 2, changes during the period between the two surveys are in opposite directions. In the black community, all but the most informed respondents are less critical at the time of the second survey. In the white community, the best informed show a

lower support for progressive education at Time 2 while the least informed show growing support. Although the magnitude of the differences between the black and white communities is reduced by the second survey, we can only speculate about what led to the changes. It is likely, however, that some of the change is a reflection of the controversy over minority education in the city. In this case at least a portion of the black community may be responding favorably to administration efforts following the Race and Education Report. Conversely, a portion of the white community may be responding unfavorably. In any case, despite a higher percentage change in a positive direction than in Lane County, the Portlanders remain considerably more critical of their schools in this regard. Again our earlier contention regarding the impact of the perspective of the poor is given added support. There the black community, which contains a far larger proportion of disadvantaged, is less supportive of such progressive education programs than the white community.

Initial responses on the poverty programs and educational services for the disadvantaged scales are much the same as those in Lane County. The magnitude of changes during the intervening period is greater, however, in the case of Portland respondents. Once again the vital link of the black community with the critical issues underlying the various attitudes appears to be responsible for the change differentials. In Portland there is considerably more general support for school involvement in poverty programs and a corresponding support of educational services for the disadvantaged. Here the critical difference between the two samples is that the Portland black community

is likely to be far more directly affected by the introduction of programs for the disadvantaged than is the case with white respondents, thereby increasing their sensitivity to underlying issues and their support for programs and involvement. While both Portland communities show generally positive change, there is an immense change in a liberal direction in the black community while change among whites was considerably more modest.

In the case of the one remaining variable, teaching improvement programs, the Portland response pattern was much like that in Lane County. In the black community support declined among all but the best informed, while in the white community only the two best informed groups became more supportive. If our explanation with regard to the Lane County pattern is correct and the difference is due to differential priorities for tax expenditures, then the more conventional response pattern of the Portland community might well be explained by the priorities which the black community assigns to its educational needs. When making a choice, it appears clear that "bread and butter" programs are given more support.

One other interesting difference between the two communities emerges in examining the relationship between attitudes, change, and information levels. In the Lane County sample there is a general pattern of an increasing gap in the percentage of liberal attitudes exhibited by the least informed and the best informed. Table 4-6, which compares the gap in positive-liberal attitudes of the extreme information groups, shows that in five of the seven categories the most informed are not only more liberal in their responses

Table 4-6

Percentage gaps in positive-liberal attitudes between most informed and least informed respondents.

| Attitudes | % gap[a] Time 1 | % gap Time 2 | Difference[b] |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Lane County** | | | |
| Interest in school system: | 23.7 | 21.4 | -2.3 |
| Expect school officials to understand and help with complaints: | 40.5 | 46.7 | 6.2 |
| Educational modernization scale: | 48.0 | 51.3 | 3.3 |
| Progressive education scale: | 49.7 | 63.8 | 14.1 |
| Poverty programs scale: | 16.7 | 37.5 | 20.8 |
| Teaching improvement program scale: | 35.5 | 41.9 | 6.4 |
| Educational services for the disadvantaged scale: | 26.3 | 35.1 | 8.8 |
| **Portland** | | | |
| Interest in school system: | 11.4 | 12.4 | 1.0 |
| Expect school officials to understand and help with complaints: | 7.9 | 11.4 | 3.5 |
| Educational modernization scale: | 14.4 | 11.0 | -3.4 |
| Progressive education scale: | 30.5 | 8.9 | -21.6 |
| Poverty programs scale: | 14.5 | 12.2 | -2.3 |
| Teaching improvement program scale: | 6.4 | 20.2 | 13.8 |
| Educational services for the disadvantaged scale: | 13.4 | 4.1 | -9.3 |

[a]The percentage gaps used here represent the differences in the percent of the least informed respondents (0 on information index) and most informed respondents (4 & 3 respectively on information indexes) who express positive-liberal attitudes. In all cases the highly informed showed higher percentages of such responses.

[b]Difference in % gap between Time 1 and Time 2. A minus score indicates a reduction in the size of the gap.

initially, but they increase in that liberalism at a faster pace than is true of the least informed respondents. The net result is a greater polarization of attitudes among the various groups in Lane County as time passes.

Among the Portland respondents this pattern is almost completely reversed. In four of the seven response categories, the gap in liberal responses is reduced. This reduction again highlights the effects of the differing racial composition of the two groups. Those issues having a greater salience for the disadvantaged community show a general and quite large reduction in the attitudinal differences in Portland. In Lane County, however, the gaps show a substantial widening on the question of poverty programs and a smaller, but still significant widening on educational services for the disadvantaged.

Table 4-7 summarizes the average change in scores on the various scales during the period between the two surveys. One must be cautious in interpreting the table lest some intrinsic meaning be attached to the figures on the magnitude of change. The table is simply another way of getting a picture of the relative magnitude of changes and the direction in which they occur. Here the average change of respondents is considerably greater in a positive direction on the issues concerned directly with the disadvantaged in both communities. In general the table reflects once again a general disposition to change in a positive direction during the period of introduction of programs for the disadvantaged. In addition there appears generally greater change, in terms of average scores, on the part of those who are initially less informed. This suggests that this particular group, while rather con-

Table 4-7

Average changes[a] in scale scores from 1964 to 1966 by initial information level

Lane County

| Attitudes | (low) 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 (high) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educational modernization scale: | .40[b] | .36 | .23 | .17 | .12 |
| Progressive education scale: | -.08 | -.11 | -.12 | .03 | -.33 |
| Poverty programs scale: | .10 | .49 | .28 | .60 | .41 |
| Teaching improvement programs scale: | -.03 | .00 | .16 | .21 | -.05 |
| Educational services for disadvantaged scale: | -.09 | .16 | .08 | -.12 | -.25 |

Portland

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educational modernization scale: | .26 | .31 | .06 | .17 |
| Progressive education scale: | -.53 | -.19 | -.18 | .19 |
| Poverty programs scale: | 1.23 | 1.27 | 1.24 | .85 |
| Teaching improvement programs scale: | -.07 | -.21 | -.08 | .25 |
| Educational services for disadvantaged scale: | .58 | .28 | .32 | .16 |

[a]The mean or average change scores tend to obscure the magnitude of change in that all changes, positive and negative are added algebraically and the average taken. Equal positive and negative changes cancel each other out therefore and the reflected mean change is reduced. One should be cautious therefore in drawing conclusions from this information without consulting the other data. It is presented here only as a matter of peripheral interest.

[b]Positive scores reflect a change in a positive-liberal direction for all scales where such a categorization is appropriate.

servative at first, may be relatively susceptible to attempts to increase support for the school system and its programs.

A general conclusion that can be made at this point suggests that the posited link between information levels and attitudes is important in the elaboration of the process of attitude change. As suggested earlier, the data generally confirm the hypothesized links between information levels, types of attitudes held, and attitudinal stability. The nature of these relationships are affected considerably, however, by matters of race and the nature of the particular issue.

## Community Ties and Attitude Change

In the last chapter, the changes in seven attitudes were measured according to the levels of information of the respondents. Here these same attitudes are analyzed using four indicators of community participation or "tie-in" as control variables. These indicators are: 1) Membership in the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA); 2) Whether and how frequently respondents discussed school matters with friends; 3) The number of organizations to which respondents belong; and 4) Self-reported involvement of respondents in one of the special programs whose effects this study seeks to ascertain. 4

The specific questions addressed in this chapter are: 1) Which, if any, of the controls listed above differentiate best the magnitude of attitude change as a function of participation in various communication networks; 2) The effects of combining information level and community participation level as simultaneous controls over changes in attitudes; and 3) The variation in attitude change among the different communities studied.

Table 4-8

Mean attitude change and coefficients of agreement for total research population

| Attitude | Mean Change[b] | Coefficient of Agreement |
|---|---|---|
| Interest in school system | .17 | .71 |
| Perception of how complaints would be heeded by school officials | .03 | .68 |
| Education modernization scale | .25 | .74 |
| Progressive education scale | -.10 | .76 |
| Poverty programs scale | .62 | .61 |
| Teaching improvement programs scale | .05 | .72 |
| Educational services for the disadvantaged | .13 | .69 |

[a]N = approximately 800. There are slight variations due to differential response rates on particular items.

[b]In this table and throughout this discussion, a positive value will indicate a mean change in the direction of a more progressive, efficacious or liberal attitude.

Before addressing the questions listed above we shall examine the gross changes in all attitudes under consideration. Table 4-8 summarizes the change and the relative stability of various attitudes for the entire pooled five-city sample population.

Examination of the data on attitude change across the entire sample indicates that for most items changes were either miniscule or occurred in a fashion such that changes in positive and negative directions neutralized the overall impact of the stimulus. It should be remembered, however, that this is a gross measure of change over the five cities and, as we shall see later, does not reflect a uniform type of reaction in all of the communities. Both in previous and in

following chapters, we see that the stimulus has different effects on different segments of the community. Here then, the disparate effects have the consequence of often cancelling each other out. When one views the sample as a whole, changes in a positive and negative direction neutralize each other and might give an unwarranted impression of attitudinal stability. Nevertheless it is interesting to look at the overall picture to the extent that it shows that the differential impact of the stimulus may result in large changes in opposite directions but leave a net gain of zero. Positions on certain issues may well become polarized or converge as a consequence of the introduction of the stimulus even though there would at first appear to be relatively little change. In addition to the fact that change is not uniform across cities, there is one attitudinal area in which significant changes did occur in the total sample. This particular area represents an important exception to the general pattern of limited or neutralizing effects inasmuch as the items are more closely related to the stimulus than is the case with most of the others. The area in which the greatest change occurred was that of poverty programs. There was also a moderate change in attitudes toward educational modernization. In both of the cases, the change was in a positive or liberal direction.

That the greatest change was found in poverty program attitudes suggests that the innovations introduced during the interim period between interviews may have had an impact but one which was relatively specific. The innovative programs were especially relevant to the predispositions which are measured by the scales showing a change, and particularly to the one showing the highest net change -- poverty

programs. But the introduction of the programs designed to minister to the needs of the disadvantaged community did not have what could be called a general impact on the community in the sense that they did not seem to have effects on orientations not immediately connected to the program innovations.

While it is clear that respondents became more favorably inclined to innovative programs to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, whether this impact registered more strongly with those persons who identified themselves as participants is uncertain. The mean change of approximately 100 such participants on the scales of educational services for the disadvantaged and educational modernization is .28 and .50 respectively. The corresponding figures for about 700 non-participants is .13 and .22. However, on the scale which measures attitudes toward poverty programs, the mean change of participants is .53 while this figure for the non-participants is a somewhat higher .60.[5] Given this reversal of the pattern, and because we would expect those persons who felt themselves to be involved in programs to exhibit more consistent and considerably greater change than persons not feeling so involved, it is possible that stimuli other than initiation of the programs in question may account for part of the positive change in these three attitudes.

In this case, one might suspect that there has been a general increase in the sensitivity of the nation to the problems of the poor and an increased interest in finding new solutions to the problems of poverty since 1964. This increased sensitivity was likely spurred by a host of national events and the focus of the news media on such issues

as the "war on poverty;" civil disorder, its causes and cures; and the simple contradiction of intense poverty in the midst of the wealthiest nation in human history, which was underscored rather dramatically in news specials and public reports from many sources, governmental and private, during the two year period of this natural experiment.

On the other hand, we must not forget the considerably greater changes exhibited on the part of the black community in Portland on these very items. This might suggest that the increasing support of non-participants is largely a reflection of the black community's changes. Members of the community from which a good many participants are drawn who do not have first hand experience with the programs may be positively impressed by the fact that something appears to be being done for them. Since the vast majority of the community from which participants are drawn fall into this latter group, this might well explain the differences among these groups. It should also be remembered that in Lane County, the differences between objectively defined participant and non-participant were quite impressive (Chapter 3). We would conclude, then, that attitude effects in these cases are partly due to personal or familial participation in an educational/poverty program, partly to the perceived relevance of such programs to members of or those concerned about a disadvantaged group, and partly due to tie-ins with national networks of information about the values of such programs.

## Indicators of Communication Tie-in

It is hypothesized in our model that individuals who are closely tied in to communication networks are more likely to change their attitudes as a consequence of the stimulus of the innovative programs. The theory is based on the notion that these "tied-in" respondents will receive greater exposure to the stimulus than will more "isolated" members of the community. We expected, therefore, that PTA members, organization joiners, program participants and persons who often discuss matters with friends to exhibit the greatest attitude change over the two-year interim.

In examining the association of change in the nine attitudes with the four communication variables outlined previously, meaningful relationships do not develop except in the cases of the three areas mentioned earlier -- educational modernization, poverty programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged. In addition, two of the four controls, organizational membership and self-reported involvement in innovative programs, produce no discernible patterns with a single exception. Support for educational services for the disadvantaged increases more rapidly among those who are not organizational members than among members. As we shall see this pattern fits with the pattern of PTA membership where participation is linked with attitudinal stability. This may be more a consequence again, however, of the magnitude of differences initially which might place some limitations on the potential for positive change. This possibility will be discussed later in the chapter.

In the case of organizational membership, it is possible that lack of attention to the nature of membership detracts from any function this variable might have served in differentiating levels of communication or information exposure. However, earlier research in this area would suggest that this is not the case. We would suggest, therefore, that such memberships have little consequence for the attitudes in question.

What we are left with then, in terms of definite attitude change and the structuring of these attitudes, are the three scales of educational modernization, poverty programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged and the two control variables of PTA membership and discussion of school matters with friends. Table 4-9 illustrates the magnitude and direction of mean change for these variables.

It is obvious in Table 4-9 that our hypothesis concerning the effects of community involvement and communication "tie-in" on attitudinal change is disconfirmed. Instead of high-communication respondents exhibiting the greatest change, these individuals changed least. In all three variables, under both controls, there is a linear relationship in which low-communication respondents exhibit the highest positive change with a subsequent decrease in change as involvement increases. The explanation for this apparent reversal may lie partly in the fact that in most cases there is also a linear relationship between level of communication tie-in and the initial positive-liberal orientation of the respondents. This pattern can be seen in Table 4-10 which is a replica of Table 4-9 except that the figures now represent the percent of liberal responses in 1964 by respondents appearing in

the corresponding cells of Table 4-9. The table shows that in almost every case, there is initially an increasing positive-liberal orientation corresponding to increasing levels of involvement.

Table 4-9

MEAN CHANGE IN ATTITUDES BY TYPE AND LEVEL OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Educational Modernization

| Type of Participation[b] | Level of Involvement[a] Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | .29 | .22 | .21 |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | .36 | .23 | .22 |

Poverty Programs

| Type of Participation | Level of Involvement Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | .67 | .58 | .54 |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | .72 | .68 | .44 |

Educational Services for the Disadvantaged

| Type of Participation | Level of Involvement Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | .16 | .09 | .12 |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | .29 | .15 | .03 |
| Organizational Membership | .54 | .50 | .07 |

a. The three levels of involvement for PTA membership are: 1) Low - nonmember, 2) Medium - former member, [illegible]

Table 4-9 (Continued)

3) High - current member. These levels for discussion of school matters with friends are: 1) Low - no discussion, 2) Medium - occasional discussion, 3) High - regular discussion. For organizational membership: 1) Low - none, 2) Medium - one, 3) high - two or more.

b. N = approximately 810. Variations due to differential response rates on various items.

Table 4-10

"POSITIVE-LIBERAL"IN 1964 BY ATTITUDES AND LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION

Educational Modernization

| Type of Participation | Level of Involvement Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | 43.4[a](338) | 32.1 (255) | 40.9(216) |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | 25.9 (254) | 35.9 (394) | 48.4(164) |

Poverty Programs

| Type of Participation | Level of Involvement Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | 15.7 | 16.5 | 30.1 |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | 11.7 | 18.4 | 27.0 |

Educational Services for the Disadvantaged

| Type of Participation | Level of Involvement Low | Medium | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| PTA Membership | 70.0 | 70.6 | 82.0 |
| Discussed School Matters With Friends | 64.8 | 70.0 | 78.1 |
| Organizational Membership | 84.0 (50) | 82.3 (62) | 69.6(707) |

[a]Percentage falling in the positive-liberal sector of response categories.

It is plausible, then, that the relatively small change in the high communication group is accounted for in part by the fact that those persons were initially more positive and liberal than their low-communication counterparts. While the expectation of further change on their part would not necessarily be unwarranted, one might reasonably expect liberal changes to be of a lower order of magnitude if for no other reason than the fact that possibilities for change in that direction on their part are more limited.

Another explanation of the relatively low change on the part of the high-communication group may lie in the fact that these are individuals whose positions might be expected to be less flexible than for other groups. We might expect this in the sense that initial opinions are likely to be based on more information than is true of other groups, and that the combination of more initial information and support for initial attitudes by clearly identifiable and operative reference groups would make for a more stable attitude structure.

A corollary to this explanation is the proposition suggested earlier that where an individual already has a great deal of information (presumably as a result of high communication), the implication of new information for existing attitudes is likely to be low. The addition of information may have a diminishing effect on attitudes after one reaches a certain point and in fact may act to stabilize rather than to change such attitudes.

The information in Table 4-11 supports the contention that high-communication individuals are characterized by attitudinal stability. In eight of the nine attitude areas, attitudinal stability as measured by coefficients of agreement intra-class correlation coefficients increases as discussion of school matters increases.

Table 4-11

Stability of Attitudes by Frequency of Discussion of School Issues.

| | Frequency of Discussion | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitude | Never | Sometimes | Often |
| Interest in the school system | .68[a] | .68 | .54 |
| Perception of how complaints would be heeded by school officials | .63 | .69 | .70 |
| Education modernization scale | .71 | .72 | .74 |
| Progressive education scale | .68 | .75 | .79 |
| Poverty program scale | .56 | .60 | .63 |
| Teaching Improvement programs scale | .61 | .68 | .80 |
| Educational services for the disadvantaged | .64 | .68 | .72 |

[a]Coefficients of agreement--(intra-class correlation coefficient)

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In this case, communication tie-in seems to foster attitudinal stability rather than change. In the following section, however, we will explore the possibility that communication tie-in may have important consequences for change in combination with variable information levels as defined in the previous chapter).

## Communication Tie-in with Simultaneous Control for Information Level

As part of our explanation concerning the unexpected findings of communication effects on attitude change, we implied that information level and the extent of communication tie-in were alike. While there is certainly some relationship between these two concepts, they are nevertheless sufficiently distinct so that we find respondents who score high on one of the two dimensions and low on the other.

Our purpose in this section is to analyze the possibility that certain combinations of variables result in an interaction effect that increases mean change. There is a possibility,for instance, of particularly great differentiation of mean change resulting from various combinations such as "like poles", i.e., low-low or high-high scores on communication and information levels.

So far, we have seen that attitude change does not appear to be radically altered by the influence of either information level or communication tie-ins. We have also seen that there are certain exceptions to this pattern, e.g., educational modernization, educational services for the disadvantaged, and poverty programs. In all of these instances, rising communication and information levels have been associated with relatively smaller mean change.

Because so few attitudes responded in a clear way to changes in thecontrol variables, we are forced to look at more complicated combinations of control variables in order to elaborate the nature of the relationship between our variables and alteration of attitudes. At this point we hypothesized that when low scores on information and communication level combine, the average net change for all attitudes will be greater than in the case of high communication and high information levels. This hypothesis is an outgrowth of our earlier comment on the stability of attitudes developed on the basis of extensive information and reinforced by identifiable reference groups.

In cases where information level is low and communication tie-in great, we would also expect relatively high average change. In such cases, individuals who are not well-informed would, nevertheless, be exposed to new information which could be expected to have an impact on initial attitudes.

In the converse cases, where information levels are high but community tie-ins low, we would again expect to find relatively stable attitudes. Here attitudes would be relatively well-informed to begin with and the individual respondent might be less likely than others to be exposed to additional information over time. Table 4-12 summarizes the results of this inquiry.

Table 4-12

MEAN CHANGE IN ATTITUDES SCALE SCORES BY INITIAL INFORMATION LEVEL AND COMMUNITY TIE-IN (PARTICIPATION)

PTA Membership

| Area | Low Info/ Low Part. | High Info/ High Part. | Low Info/ High Part. | High Info/ Low Part. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lane County | .22 (118) | .09 (47) | .23 (32) | .05 (24) |
| Portland | .43 (64) | .15 (35) | .38 (19) | .17 (20) |
| Combined Sample | .29 | .12 | .29 | .10 |

Discussion of School Matters With Friends

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lane County | .26 (44) | .19 (28) | .29 (72) | .16 (52) |
| Portland | .41 (17) | .29 (39) | .27 (36) | .06 (33) |
| Combined Sample | .30 | .25 | .28 | .12 |

*Low Information = scores of 0 or 1.
High Information = scores of 3 or 4.

PTA membership is broken down into member vs. non-member and discussion of school matters is broken down into often and never.

The data in Table 4-12 generally support our hypotheses concerning simultaneous controls. In all cases, the low-low groups show a greater average net change on all attitudes than the high-high groups. The low-high group, as predicted, scored nearly as high as, and in some cases higher than, the low-low respondents. Finally, those individuals who were highly informed, but not tied into an identifiable communication network, exhibited the lowest mean change of all.

Aside from the predicted relationships, it is interesting to note that the Portland sample generally showed greater change than did the Lane County sample. This could be partly the result of differences which distinguish urban centers from other areas. More likely, however, is that the difference is primarily a consequence of the fact that about half of the Portland sample is Black. As already noted, and as we will see in the next section, race is a highly relevant factor in predicting change during the 1964-66 period.

## Mean Change According to Community

Up to now, we have been considering only undifferentiated samples or special samples which were selected by variable response categories. At this point, we will look at variations in mean change in each of six communities (Portland Blacks being treated as a separate community). Table 4-13 presents data relevant to this end.

We see from the data that the average net change in attitude scores in each of five white communities differs relatively little. Such a summary figure is quite crude as an indicator of change, however, and can be misleading. While average scores are similar, an examination reveals a number of fairly large variations from one community to the

next on particular issues, especially educational modernization, progressive education, and poverty programs.

Table 4-13

MEAN CHANGE IN ATTITUDE SCORES BY COMMUNITY

| Attitude | Eugene | Springfield | Junction City | Oakridge | Portland Black[a] | Portland White |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education Modernization Scale | .34 | .47 | .00 | .41 | .41 | .10 |
| Progressive Education Scale | -.23 | -.18 | .03 | .18 | -.23 | .02 |
| Poverty Program Scale | .49 | .42 | .39 | .05 | 1.97 | .12 |
| Teaching Improvement Program Scale | .02 | .04 | .11 | .26 | .19 | .19 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | -.14 | .14 | .05 | .16 | .65 | -.13 |
| Average change in "liberal" direction | .10 | .18 | .12 | .23 | .60 | .06 |

[a]A "positive-liberal" shift is denoted by a positive value. Negative values indicate a negative-conservative shift.

The only significant departure from the general pattern on average net change scores is the Portland Black sample. This group responded very strongly on the attitudes most closely linked to the innovative programs,,the poverty programs and educational services for the

disadvantaged scales. Furthermore, their mean change on most attitudes is relatively high compared with the other groups. The only exception to Black positivism is on progressive education, an exception discussed at some length earlier. Overall, the average change in attitude scores is more than twice as high in the Portland black community as in any other. In addition, we can see again, the apparent impact of racial cleavages in the city of Portland on program attitudes. The Portland Communities represent polar opposites with the black community showing the highest mean positive change and the Portland White community, the lowest.

Earlier we saw how a high level of positive-liberal orientations at time 1 may have been related to a relatively small mean change. In order to view the findings presented in Table 4-13 in the context of initial dispositions, Table 4-14--the degree of initial "positivism-liberalism" on each attitude-has been prepared. When we examine the percentage of respondents in each community registering a positive-liberal response initially, the high mean change of Portland Blacks is even more impressive. On the basis of other experience, we might have expected the high Negro mean change to be somewhat less meaningful by their exhibiting an especially low "liberalism" score in 1964. However, the opposite is the case. Not only does this group exhibit the greatest change in a liberal direction; their initial point of departure was from a position of greatest liberalism.[6]

Table 4-14

PERCENT REGISTERING "POSITIVE-LIBERAL"RESPONSES IN 1964 BY CITY

| Number | Eugene (157) | Springfield (148) | Junction City (163) | Oakridge (88) | Portland Black (150) | Portland White (123) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educational Modernization | 29.9 | 26.1 | 25.7 | 34.9 | 72.0 | 40.3 |
| Progressive Education | 40.8 | 42.8 | 33.1 | 50.0 | 16.7 | 27.4 |
| Poverty Programs | 27.2 | 32.6 | 30.4 | 33.7 | 30.7 | 39.5 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | 58.5 | 65.2 | 53.4 | 61.6 | 72.7 | 57.0 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 65.8 | 62.7 | 66.9 | 78.4 | 90.7 | 65.0 |
| Mean Percentage with "positive" responses | 44.4 | 45.9 | 41.9 | 51.7 | 56.6 | 45.8 |

If the findings of this chapter can be summarized, it must be said that the model was supported when simultaneous information-communication controls were employed. However, in other respects, the model was inadequate to explain patterns that emerged. Extraneous factors, not here identified, seemed to be affecting attitude changes. A person's involvement in community organizations or his other communication tie-ins say little or nothing about the content or qualities of the communications in which he is involved. Let us now turn from this kind of directionless structural-process model to a set of dimensions that have personal meaning and significance for citizens. The first is the dimension of alienation.

# CHAPTER V

## ALIENATION, PERSONAL INTERESTS AND SUPPORT FOR INNOVATION

### ALIENATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Having already examined the effects of initial levels of information and involvement in community communication networks, we shall, at this point, address the question of the effects of various indicators of alienation on attitude change. For this purpose, we have tapped four dimensions of individual feelings of optimism and trust in the governmental process each of which may be broadly characterized as indicators of personal alienation. These four indicators are: 1) individual assessment of the impact of governmental operations on one's personal life; 2) the respondent's sense of political efficacy; 3) faith in the government's ability to solve men's problems; and 4) the individual's sense of powerlessness and helplessness. In this case, we are exploring the consequences of personal alienation, or of the opposite feelings of optimism and trust in the governmental process, as they relate to the stability of one's attitudes over time. The question at hand is whether alienation or political cynicism fosters attitudinal rigidity by dulling the potential impact of the types of programs with which we are dealing, or whether, on the other hand, such alienation makes one more receptive to the influence of such innovative programs. The latter possibility would be consistent with earlier observations showing that those who are initially least enthusiastic about proposed innovations show a much greater propensity for change in a favorable direction during the intervening time period. Since we would expect a low level of enthusiasm initially among the alienated, we might also expect a greater potential change.

In Table 5-1, we have included only scores indicating a mean change in excess of $\pm$.100. The only exception to this procedure is in those cases where a low change on one of the two dimensions of alienation is coupled with a larger change on the other. We have assumed that those changes falling between the parameters of .100 and -.100 can be considered more or less random fluctuations and therefore represents stability of attitudes.

The data in Table 5-1 show an interesting pattern of variation in attitude change between subjects with alienated responses as opposed to those who showed a more positive assessment of the ability of government and their own role in controlling the course of events. In all but two cells, the change on the part of both alienated and non-alienated respondents was in the same direction; that is, both groups either became more positive or more negative in their attitudes. In addition, those respondents falling into the alienated category almost invariably showed a greater mean change than was the case for those in the non-alienated category. This was true even in the two cells where the direction of change in attitudes differed. The only exceptions to this pattern were among those who had a negative opinion about the government's problem solving ability. Attitudes toward school poverty programs and educational services for the disadvantaged showed greater stability among this group than among their non-alienated counterparts. It is highly likely that this variation is a function of the nature of this particular indicator. These people have indicated a skepticism about the government's ability to solve men's problems and they are more resistant to attitude changes on those items which are most specifically problem oriented. With the two exceptions just noted then,in terms of stability of attitudes,

non--alienated respondents appear less receptive to influence than are alienated individuals.

Table 5-1

VARIATION IN ATTITUDE CHANGE BY TYPES OF ALIENATION

| | Indicators of Alienation | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Impact of Gov't on Person's Life[a] | | Sense of Political Efficacy[b] | | Gov'tl Problem Solving Ability[c] | | Powerlessness Helplessness[d] | |
| Attitude | Neg. - Pos.[e] | | Neg. - Pos. | | Neg. - Pos. | | Neg. - Pos. | |
| Educational Modernization | .402 | .236 | .333 | .237 | .333 | .241 | .264 | .236 |
| Progressive Education | -.259 | -.069 | -.417 | -.039 | ---- | ---- | -.134 | -.064 |
| Poverty Programs Scale | 1.116 | .551 | .692 | .600 | .575 | .654 | .749 | .447 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | -.107 | .065 | -.117 | .064 | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | .402 | .092 | .383 | .076 | .115 | .153 | .141 | .100 |

Actual indicators on which respondents were asked to reply on scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" read as follows:

[a]A person's life is not affected very much by what the government does or does not do.

[b]There is nothing to be gained by political activity.

[c]Government can really do little about solving the problems of men.

[d]I feel more and more helpless in the face of what's happening in the world today.

[e]Negative = alienated responses, agreement with statement. Positive = non-alienated, disagree responses.

The type of indicator of alienation used as a control had no effect on the direction which changes within the cells showed. As we shall discuss in a moment, however, certain indicators were clearly more powerful in differentiating the order of magnitude of attitude change. Nevertheless, the direction of the changes in each cell on particular attitudes remained consistent, even to the extent of showing a consistent change in the opposite direction.

In those attitude areas where we had seen relatively high change earlier, control for various indicators of alienation did not eliminate such trends. Support of educational modernization, poverty programs, and educational services for the disadvantaged show relatively high positive changes in all cells, while respondents become less favorable toward progressive education and interest deteriorates. Most of the change, however, continues to be in a liberal direction.

Table 5-2 allows us to examine the effects of the control variables more closely. Here only the differences between the alienated and non-alienated respondents are included. Again, to more clearly distinguish the relative effect of each of the control variables, we have included only those differences in excess of .100.

Individuals giving an alienated response on the first control variable appear more inclined than others to alter attitudes over time. On all of the five variables, these individuals show considerably greater change than those with non-alienated responses. Respondents who initially indicate that they feel a person's life is little affected by whatever the government does or does not do are not consistent in their response patterns in that half of their attitudes show a negative change while half show a positive change.

Table 5-2

CHANGE DIFFERENCES BY INDICATORS OF ALIENATION[a]

| Attitude | Impact of Gov't on Person's Life | Sense of Political Efficacy | Gov'tl Problem Solving Ability | Powerlessness Helplessness |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educational Modernization | .166 | -- | -- | -- |
| Progressive Education | -.190* | -.378* | -- | -- |
| Poverty Programs | .565 | -- | -- | .302 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | -.172** | -.181** | -- | -- |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | .310 | .307 | -- | -- |

*Both groups exhibited change in a negative direction on this attitude.

**Alienated response group changed in a negative direction on this attitude while others showed positive change.

[a]Only those differences in excess of .100 reported. In all cases, the alienated response group showed the greatest amount of change.

The magnitude of change is, however, consistently higher no matter what the direction of change. These individuals have shown a decrease in support of progressive education and they exhibit less support of teaching improvement programs. On the other hand, at Time 2, the alienated segment of this control group is distinctly more positive in their attitudes toward educational modernization, toward increasing the school's role in dealing with the problem of poverty through poverty programs, and they show a greater support of educational services for the disadvantaged.

Table 5-3

PERCENT WITH PROGRESSIVE LIBERAL ATTITUDES AND CHANGES BY TYPES OF ALIENATION

| | Indicators of Alienation | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Impact of Gov't on Person's Life | | Sense of Political Efficacy | | Gov'tl Problem Solving Ability | | Powerlessness Helplessness | |
| Attitude | Neg. | Pos. | Neg. | Pos. | Neg. | Pos. | Neg. | Pos. |
| Educational Modernization | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 36.6 | 38.0 | 28.3 | 40.0 | 33.3 | 39.9 | 36.1 | 40.8 |
| Time 2 | 39.4 | 45.0 | 33.3 | 46.4 | 40.2 | 46.0 | 42.0 | 47.3 |
| % Change | 2.8 | 7.0 | 5.0 | 6.4 | 6.9 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 6.5 |
| Progressive Education | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 17.0 | 38.7 | 13.3 | 40.3 | 24.7 | 39.6 | 28.3 | 45.6 |
| Time 2 | 29.4 | 40.3 | 25.8 | 42.0 | 25.9 | 42.8 | 33.2 | 46.4 |
| % Change | 12.4 | 11.6 | 12.5 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 3.2 | 4.9 | 0.8 |
| Poverty Programs | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 23.2 | 35.1 | 25.0 | 34.7 | 24.7 | 35.9 | 30.0 | 38.8 |
| Time 2 | 57.1 | 51.1 | 50.0 | 55.2 | 41.2 | 59.2 | 54.3 | 54.7 |
| % Change | 23.9 | 16.0 | 25.0 | 20.5 | 16.5 | 13.5 | 24.3 | 15.9 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 64.3 | 60.6 | 52.5 | 62.4 | 60.9 | 61.2 | 58.7 | 63.5 |
| Time 2 | 56.3 | 60.9 | 47.6 | 62.4 | 54.5 | 61.9 | 56.4 | 64.4 |
| % Change | -8.0 | 0.3 | -4.9 | 0.0 | -6.4 | 0.7 | -2.3 | 0.9 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | | | | | | | | |
| Time 1 | 69.6 | 72.2 | 60.8 | 73.6 | 65.5 | 73.8 | 72.1 | 71.2 |
| Time 2 | 67.9 | 73.3 | 69.2 | 73.1 | 67.8 | 74.8 | 72.7 | 72.6 |
| % Change | -1.7 | 1.1 | 8.4 | -0.5 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.4 |

The pattern which emerges out of this data is a rather general dissatisfaction with the current state of the educational system and an increasing concern for the problems faced by the poor. Such a pattern of responses, one might argue, is inconsistent for those

who don't believe that governmental activity has much impact on a person's life, but an analysis of responses when controlling for other indicators of alienation suggests that this is not inconsistent. Those who feel that the government can do little about solving men's problems, for instance, show much less inclination to be supportive of poverty programs to help the poor than do those who feel that the government has had little impact. This suggests that the latter may not be so skeptical of the government's capabilities as they are dissatisfied with governmental efforts to date. It appears likely that these respondents may be looking to the government to extend its efforts so that it can, in fact, have a meaningful impact on the individual. In this respect, we found in other portions of our data that they have demonstrated an increasing negativism with regard to school administration and we can see a parallel increase in negativism with regard to teaching improvement programs. On the other hand, they have become considerably more supportive of educational services for the disadvantaged and of educational modernization. One might explain this pattern on the part of some respondents as a failure on their part to see the advantages accruing from such programs. On the other hand, such a response may be a manifestation of the type of "bread and butter" orientation discussed earlier. This may simply be a reflection of how such individuals order their priorities with regard to the overall improvement of public education. It should be remembered that the teaching improvement programs referred to the introduction of team teaching and supporting teachers while they attend summer workshops.

Two other control variables show some differentiation among respondents. Respondents with a sense of powerlessness show increasing support of educational services for the disadvantaged, poverty programs, and educational modernization and a decreasing support of progressive education. Those with a low sense of political efficacy show a decreasing support for progressive education and teaching improvement programs, and growing support of poverty programs and educational services. The former changes may very likely be a consequence of the feeling that schools are unlikely to be responsive to the concerns of the citizenry which is part of the larger sense of the futility of political activism. Both of these areas deal with methods of improving pedagogy which are often opposed by a large section of the public on the basis of expense, low return, and a feeling that they are antithetical to the most basic needs of the children. The proportionately greater concern for the education of the disadvantaged is not inconsistent with this position for at least two reasons. The first is that it is the lower income groups who are likely to exhibit the strongest feelings on these particular issues and their concerns will be reflected in the change differentials. The second reason is that it is precisely this low income group that is likely to be over-represented among the alienated response group. Previous studies have shown a relatively high degree of association between alienation and social class. Alienation increases as income, education, and other indicators of class position decrease. If then, the lower income groups are over-represented among the alienated, we would expect the focus of their concerns and the direction of change to take the course that they do. If

we look at the percentage changes in Table 5-3, we see again the large shift on poverty programs compared with more moderate positive shifts on other attitudes and a uniform negative shift on teaching improvement programs.

Of the control variables introduced, the first, "impact of the government on a person's life", is the most helpful in elaborating the complex nature of the types of attitude change we are addressing. The other control variables, while not showing differences of the magnitude of the first, nevertheless lend support to the idea that those with a relatively higher sense of alienation are the ones most likely to respond to direct attempts to improve local conditions through governmental action.

## Personal Interests and Support for Innovation

Another contingency affecting receptivity to information and attitude change is the objective interests of the individual as they affect his support, or lack of support, for innovative programs. Here we have chosen three variables which we feel are important factors in the individual's formation of attitudes toward the issues being discussed. The variables chosen as indicators of objective interests are: 1) having children in the schools; 2) position regarding increased taxes for the expansion of city services; and 3) home ownership. The effects of race and income will be examined separately in the next chapter.

The choice of our indicators of objective interests was dictated by a need for variables which could reasonably be expected to generate opposing sentiments. In this respect, one would expect those with

children in school to exhibit a different disposition toward educational innovation than is the case for those who are less likely to know about or derive such direct benefits from the school system. This is especially true since the adoption of innovative programs and is almost invariably identified with an increase in educational expenditures and, therefore, increased taxes. Even where increased taxes or expenditures are not necessary, the citizenry often assumes that new programs automatically mean more money.

A similar difference in attitudes might reasonably be expected among those who express a willingness to be taxed in greater amounts so that general city services might be expanded. While education might not be lumped in this general category of municipal services, we felt that those willing to bear increased taxation in one sphere might be more favorably disposed toward educational innovations which may imply increased taxation.

Finally, there are the homeowners or purchasers and those who rent. The major source of revenue for the school systems in Oregon, as in most states, is the residential property tax. The rise in property taxes in Oregon has been a matter of widespread public debate for several years. Many homeowners have expressed growing dissatisfaction with the continuing increase in taxes. There have even been many attempts to place severe limitations on the taxing powers of local government by the adoption of constitutional amendments which would impose property tax limitations. Such limitations would force the state to find alternative sources of revenue such as sales or increased income taxes. Attempts to put severe property tax limitations to a vote have only been avoided by intricate maneuvers

on the part of state authorities and even these have been exhausted.

Despite opposition on almost all state and local governmental fronts, the issue was recently put to the public (in the November, 1968 general election). In this instance the measure was soundly defeated. Even though an almost unprecedented coalition of civic-business-labor-governmental-educator leaders led the successful opposition to that property tax limitation, it did not end strong rank-and-file citizen opposition to higher tax levels. But that defeat suggests that taxes are not the whole issue and, indeed, this would appear to be the case. In the total context, there are a number of factors which have an impact on attitudes. Taxes are a real factor to be contended with, however, when one considers the increasing difficulty that numerous local governmental agencies are having in getting budget approvals from the Oregon voter.

When we combine the growing dissidence of the property owner with the fact that the school budget is by far the biggest expenditure of the municipal authorities, we might well expect that the homeowner would be less well disposed toward the adoption of innovative programs which add further to what he already sees as an oppressive burden. The non-owner, on the other hand, does not feel the impact of rising property taxes directly in the form of a yearly bill. Although he is affected just as the homeowner through increased rental costs, we suspect that the renter is less likely to be sensitive to the issue. While it might be argued that the fact that the homeowner has a larger stake in the general welfare of the community because he is more likely to remain or to think of himself as a permanent resident, it is hardly likely that such a commitment will obviate

a rising disaffection with local taxes. Our suggestion is given credence by the fact that homeowners in our sample are considerably less willing to accept tax increases for general services than are non-owners. Only 47.3% of the owners, as opposed to 58.9% of the non-owners express such a willingness.

From the preceding discussion, we can derive several tentative hypotheses which may serve as useful guidelines in our examination of the data. First, we would expect that those persons having children in the schools would be more positive in their attitudes toward educational reform than those who have no children in the schools. We would further expect this group to be more affected by the introduction of new educational programs inasmuch as they are far more likely to be familiar with the nature of the programs and to reap direct benefits from them. Second, we would expect that a generalized support of increased taxation for the expansion of municipal services would carry over to a specific support of educational improvements. And those supporting such taxation would be expected to show higher positive change over time than those who are unwilling to tax themselves for public improvements. Finally, we would expect that homeowners, since they might be expected to be particularly sensitive to the financial implications of any new program, would be less supportive of such programs than non-owners.

In Table 5-4, we have compared the magnitude of the changes in attitudes among the various groups on the three dependent variables which have consistently shown the greatest amount of change in earlier chapters. These variables are the educational modernization, poverty programs and educational services for the disadvantaged scales.

In nearly all cases, changes in attitudes were in a positive or liberal direction, although there were differences in the magnitude of changes among the various sub-groups.

Table 5-4

ATTITUDE CHANGE AND OBJECTIVE INTERESTS OF RESPONDENTS

| | Children in School | | Accept New Taxes | | Home Ownership | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Educational Modernization | .381 | .212 | .168 | .344 | .203 | .504 |
| Differences | .169 | | .166 | | .301 | |
| Poverty Programs | 1.160 | .462 | .727 | .592 | .556 | .947 |
| Differences | .698 | | .135 | | .391 | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | .227 | .102 | .014 | .061 | .139 | -.053 |
| Differences | .125 | | .041 | | .192 | |

The hypothesis that those with children in the schools would be more affected by the introduction of new programs is borne out by the data in all three attitudinal areas. While both groups show a positive change in attitudes, those with children show a greater net change across the board.

In the case of the second hypothesis, we find a mixed pattern of change. In two of the three cases, those who are initially unwilling to tax themselves to support new services show a greater positive change in attitudes than their opposites. Only in the case of the poverty programs scale is the hypothesis supported.

On the final hypothesis, we again find this pattern of mixed changes. On two of the three attitudes, non-owners show a greater

positive gain, while on the third, educational services for the disadvantaged, the homeowners show a positive gain while non-owners change in a negative direction. Given these disparate findings, one is at first tempted to explain the differentials in terms of intrinsic differences in the attitudes being tapped or in the nature of the scale. An examination of the initial positions of each group and of the proportion of each group who are positive, as opposed to the proportion who are negative, in their initial attitudes suggests, however, that this is not the case. It would appear that the explanation lies in the extent to which the initial position of those respondents who are expected to be supportive differs from the position of those anticipated to be less supportive.

In examining the data in Table 5-5, an interesting pattern emerges. On two of the three dimensions, a larger percentage of those people with children fell into the liberal category than those having no children as predicted. Only in the case of poverty programs did these individuals exhibit a less liberal position initially. In the latter case, it may be that the general nature of the poverty programs could be interpreted to have less direct implications for most of the respondents' children and therefore might have affected their position. With regard to the other two issue areas, those with children were more liberal initially, but less disposed to change in a positive direction and, in fact, moved in a conservative direction on educational services for the disadvantaged. This does not support our original position that parents would not only be differentially affected by the stimulus, given the fact that they would be more directly exposed to it, but their support would increase over time. Relatively advantaged or even average parents while not becoming negative, were not being given such direct benefits to their children by the educational/

poverty programs that might otherwise be increased by their support more than that of non-patrons as the initial but superficial interest hypothesis suggested.

Table 5-5

CHANGING PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES[a] BY CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

| | Children in Schools | | No Children in Schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 |
| Educational Modernization | 47.6 | 50.3 | 35.0 | 41.9 |
| Net change within groups | 2.7 | | 6.9 | |
| Difference between groups. $t_1$ | 12.7 | | | |
| Difference between groups. $t_2$ | 8.4 | | | |
| Poverty Programs | 28.2 | 60.1 | 35.0 | 52.7 |
| Net change within groups | 31.9 | | 17.7 | |
| Difference between groups. $t_1$ | -6.8 | | | |
| Difference between groups. $t_2$ | 7.4 | | | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 76.7 | 75.6 | 70.0 | 71.4 |
| Net change within groups | -1.1 | | 1.4 | |
| Difference between groups. $t_1$ | 6.7 | | | |
| Difference between groups. $t_2$ | 4.2 | | | |

[a]On each of the scales used here the possible range of scores was divided in half. Those falling in the range in the dichotomy at the positive-liberal end of the scales (i.e. supportive of programs for modernization, etc.) were categorized for purposes of analysis as positive-liberal respondents as opposed to those falling into the other side of the dichotomy who were categorized as negative-conservative.

Table 5-6

CHANGING PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES BY ATTITUDES TOWARD TAX INCREASES

| | Accept New Taxes | | Not Accept New Taxes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 |
| Educational Modernization | 46.2 | 50.6 | 31.1 | 36.7 |
| Net change within groups | 4.4 | | 5.6 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | 15.1 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 13.9 | | | |
| Poverty Programs | 39.5 | 63.6 | 29.8 | 50.1 |
| Net change within groups | 24.1 | | 20.3 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | 9.7 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 13.5 | | | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 79.6 | 77.2 | 79.3 | 78.2 |
| Net change within groups | -2.4 | | -1.1 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | .3 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 1.0 | | | |

Although we find generally less change among those who initially support increased taxation (Table 5-6), examination of the proportion of respondents in the positive-liberal category at times one and two shows that such individuals were initially more likely to be positive and liberal in their attitudes and that, while not as many shifted over into this category in the intervening time period, there did remain a relatively large gap at the time of the second survey. In this case, then, the initial positivism was so great that the

possibilities for change vis-a-vis those who did not initially support tax increases was somewhat limited.

When we examine the data on the property owners (Table 5-7), we see a third distinct pattern emerging. In all cases, the non-owners were initially more positive and liberal in their attitudes. Of the three scales, owners and non-owners alike were more liberal on educational services for the disadvantaged. However, the initial gap between the two groups was also greatest on this particular scale with non-owners being more liberal. In the interim period, the change among the non-owners was in a conservative direction while that of owners was in the liberal direction. At time 2, the non-owners showed a slightly greater percentage of liberals, but the gap between the two groups was significantly reduced. On the other scale, however, those who were initially more liberal showed the greatest disposition to change in a liberal direction and the gap between the groups widened in the intervening period.

Among other things, these results indicate that the proverbial conservative homeowner can over time be induced to take a relatively more liberal position especially on educational-poverty programs. While on poverty programs they are substantially less liberal than non-owners, a bare majority does approve. And a large majority of homeowners favor educational services for the disadvantaged. Instead of becoming more conservative, they become more positive, more liberal from time 1 to time 2.

The results of this examination would suggest that our hypotheses were supported in a very general manner but that one would have to alter predictions in order to take into account the magnitude of the differences in attitudes between groups at the outset of the study.

Table 5-7

CHANGING PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH POSITIVE-LIBERAL ATTITUDES BY PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

| | Non-owners | | Owners | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 | % P-L Time 1 | % P-L Time 2 |
| Educational Modernization | 49.6 | 59.3 | 35.7 | 41.0 |
| Net Change within groups | 9.7 | | 5.3 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | 13.9 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 18.3 | | | |
| Poverty Programs | 38.9 | 70.8 | 32.4 | 51.5 |
| Net Change within groups | 31.9 | | 19.1 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | 6.5 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 19.3 | | | |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | 84.1 | 75.2 | 69.4 | 71.5 |
| Net Change within groups | -8.9 | | 2.1 | |
| Difference between groups $t_1$ | 14.7 | | | |
| Difference between groups $t_2$ | 3.7 | | | |

Expectations of change would be limited by increased dependency on the initial disposition of respondents. Those who begin with a relatively liberal outlook may not be affected by the change stimulus to the extent of those who are more conservative at first. And, most importantly, it is apparent that understanding (i.e., prediction) would be maximized to the extent that gross assumptions about presumed interests of large categories be refined with the addition of qualifying dimensions.

In order to further elaborate the nature of the relationship between attitude change and these personal interests as defined, we finally examined the relationship between attitude change and the various combinations of our indicators of such interests. The three indicators generate a total of eight combinations, but only five were used since the others had relatively few cases. Table 5-8 summarizes the results of this partialling procedure.

The information contained in Table 5-8 does not represent a departure from any earlier findings; however, it does uncover some interesting relationships. For instance, no combination of interests eliminates entirely the apparent growing concern for the problems of the poor in the six communities. In eight of the ten cells, respondents show a greater disposition to support a variety of programs for the disadvantaged.

In the two cases where there is a more conservative position at time 2, there is nothing in the nature of the combination of interests which would explain their decline. Except for a willingness to accept new taxes, neither of the two groups have any common features. This suggests then, that the reason for the change may not be attributable to the nature of the programs themselves. Both of the groups showed a change in a more liberal direction with regard to poverty programs, but not educational services for the disadvantaged. It is possible that the discrepancy in this case is due to differences between the two programs. The poverty programs, for instance, are linked with federal government agency operations in the area while the others are linked primarily to the local school systems. While there is nothing which can tap this dimension directly, it is plausible that the differential response to the two programs may be a consequence of

different feelings or philosophies regarding who is best equipped to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, or who should accept such responsibilities.

Table 5-8

ATTITUDE CHANGES BY COMBINED OBJECTIVE INTERESTS

| Combined Interests | Attitude Changes: Interest in Schools | Educational Modernization | Progressive Education |
|---|---|---|---|
| C1, T1, H1[a] | ---- | .271 | ---- |
| C1, T2, H1[b] | -.283 | .444 | ---- |
| C2, T1, H1[c] | ---- | ----- | ---- |
| C2, T1, H2[d] | -.467 | .219 | .438 |
| C2, T2, H1[e] | -.159 | .276 | ---- |

| Combined Interests | Attitude Changes: Poverty Programs | Teaching Improvement Programs | Educational Services for the Disadvantaged |
|---|---|---|---|
| C1, T1, H1 | .792 | .375 | -.250 |
| C1, T2, H1 | 1.286 | .444 | .397 |
| C2, T1, H1 | .708 | .203 | .151 |
| C2, T1, H2 | .313 | .375 | -.594 |
| C2, T2, H1 | .261 | ---- | .167 |

a, (C1) Children in schools, (T1) Accept new taxes, (H1) Home-owner
b, (C1) " " " , (T2) Against new tax, (H1) " "
c, (C2) No children in schools, (T1) Accept new taxes, (H1) " "
d, (C2) " " " " , (T1) " " " , (H2) Non-owner
e, (C2) " " " " , (T2) Against new tax, (H1) Home-owner

The three remaining possible combinations of objective interests were omitted because there were too few cases (less than twenty-five) in each category. Also results which showed changes of less than .100 were omitted since the likelihood that they were simply due to chance fluctuation in responses rather than a definite pattern was too great.

In general, the data in the last table show a relatively pervasive positive, liberal trend. The magnitude of the trend is mitigated to some extent, however, by varying combinations of personal interests which appear to affect the potential impact of innovative programs on the population of the various communities. The fact that there are virtually unlimited possible combinations of personal interests which can have the effect of either complementing one another, and therefore facilitating change or maintaining attitudinal rigidity, or of counteracting each other, and therefore neutralizing their individual effects, makes for an extremely complex picture. In measuirng the impact of so-called objective interests effectively, one must be able to specify the order of priorities which various interests occupy before he can accurately predict what the outcome of various combinations will be. In this case, such a procedure is clearly beyond our scope, so that we must assume that each particular interest exercises equal claims on the respondents. Given this assumption, it appears that the greatest change over time will occur among those for whom the majority of interests appear initially to be incompatible with liberal attitudes.

This may be partly a consequence of the fact that these individuals are initially least likely to be supportive of educational improvement and therefore have the greatest potential for change. On the other hand, such potential or room for change is no guarantee that such change must occur, and the striking case mentioned earlier of most liberal black citizens of Portland changing more in the liberal direction than others from time 1 to time 2 belies the necessity of comparative rates of change to be simply statistical artifacts. And despite the

fact that the initially least supportive will show a greater change over time, they will continue to be considerably less supportive of innovation and change than is the case of those individuals having positive constellations of interests.

# CHAPTER VI

## CLASS, RACE, AND ATTITUDES

We have consistently suggested that many of the differences appearing throughout the analysis might be a consequence of the differing racial composition of the various communities. We will devote this chapter, in part, to an examination of the impact of race and associated sociological and social psychological factors on the attitudes of respondents. The importance of racial considerations inthis context is so obvious that the introduction of this variable requires no justification. Quite the contrary, we would be hard pressed to find a rationale for justifying its exclusion. In addition to race, we will look at the impact of class on respondent attitudes. Social class has always been one of the most productive explanatory variables in behavioral research. Undoubtedly the reason for its utility as a predictive variable lies in the fact that it encompasses within its scope a wide range of other variables having a collective impact on individual behavior under given circumstances. In this respect we know that education, income, varieties of experience, life styles, occupation, etc. are all components of one's class position. It is always necessary then, in a study such as this, to examine the effects of class differences on attitudes, and on stability and change.

In this case we have used a very gross indicator of class position, income, to get at the effects of class on attitudes toward educational innovation. Despite the fact that a single indicator is used, however, income is probably one of the more effective

indices of class position and therefore will serve our purposes adequately.

We have combined our samples into three groups, Lane County,[1] Portland White, and Portland Black. We have also used three income groups: under $5000 annually (low); $5000-10,000 (medium); and over $10,000 (high). The summary of results by partialling on income for each of these three communities are contained in Tables 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3.

Lane County:

Examining the data on Lane County, we see that findings generally confirm what one would expect for the various income levels. Those at the higher income levels are considerably more liberal and positive on their responses initially than is the case with the lower income groups. What is more interesting than initial positions, however, is the variation in the patterns of change among the groups. On four of the five attitude scales, the gap in positive-liberal attitudes between the low income and the two higher income groups increases over time. With regard to progressive education and teaching improvement programs, the low income group grows more conservative while the other two groups become more liberal or remain essentially the same. On the educational modernization and poverty program scales all groups show liberal increases, but the two higher income groups increase in liberalism at a slightly greater rate.

Table 6-1

VARIATION IN ATTITUDE CHANGE BY INCOME-LANE COUNTY

| | Income Levels | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes | Low | Med. | High |
| Interest in School System | (107) | (280) | (132) |
| Time 1 | 77.5 | 93.9 | 98.5 |
| Time 2 | 86.3 | 91.1 | 93.1 |
| Difference | 8.8 | -2.8 | -5.4 |
| School Official Reaction to Citizen Concerns | | | |
| Time 1 | 68.0 | 79.2 | 87.8 |
| Time 2 | 72.0 | 77.6 | 85.4 |
| Difference | 4.0 | -1.6 | -2.4 |
| Educational Modernization | | | |
| Time 1 | 10.3 | 29.6 | 40.9 |
| Time 2 | 17.8 | 40.4 | 51.5 |
| Difference | 7.5 | 10.8 | 10.6 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | .224 | .332 | .295 |
| Progressive Education | | | |
| Time 1 | 22.4 | 42.1 | 52.3 |
| Time 2 | 20.5 | 48.3 | 52.3 |
| Difference | -1.9 | 6.2 | 0.0 |
| $\bar{X}$ change on scale scores | -.047 | .157 | .045 |
| Poverty Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 26.2 | 32.5 | 37.9 |
| Time 2 | 38.4 | 46.8 | 53.0 |
| Difference | 12.2 | 14.3 | 15.1 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | .561 | .271 | .508 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 47.7 | 58.6 | 70.5 |
| Time 2 | 38.4 | 61.1 | 72.0 |
| Difference | -9.3 | 2.5 | 1.5 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | -.084 | .096 | .189 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | | | |
| Time 1 | 58.9 | 69.3 | 75.0 |
| Time 2 | 63.7 | 70.7 | 72.8 |
| Difference | 4.8 | 1.4 | -2.2 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scales Scores | .318 | -.057 | 0.023 |

On the issue of educational services for the disadvantaged, there is a reversal of the general trend on the other scales. In this case, there is an increase in support among the low-income groups, while there is a relative stability among middle-income respondents and a net decrease in support in the high income group. In the face of generally increasing liberalism among the higher income groups on other issues, this reversal of pattern is rather surprising. It may be, however, that such a pattern is a consequence of a combination of factors not operating in other cases. In the first place, support for educational services for the disadvantaged was the highest of all of the various scales initially, and remained the highest during the time of the second survey. It may be that the relative stability of attitudes in this case is simply a consequence of the initially liberal response limiting the possibilities for change during the interim period. In addition, however, a second factor may be operating.

The programs clustered under the "educational services" title are contained primarily within the local school systems. This fact may operate to limit or reduce enthusiasm of those whose position is such that an increase in these programs will have no direct benefits for the education of their own children. The programs in question might even conceivably be interpreted to have negative consequences if funds are diverted from programs for middle and upper class children to programs aimed primarily at lower income groups. Such an interpretation must be taken with a grain of salt because of the relatively minute nature of the changes during the research period. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that support

of higher income groups for poverty programs which are essentially federal and independent of the local school systems is growing at a more rapid rate among higher income groups, suggesting that such an analysis is plausible. It would be interesting to watch events over an extended period of time to be able to interpret more adequately the meaning of the preceding developments. Extended exposure to federal poverty programs (which were quite new at the time of the initial survey) might have the long run effect of diverting support from locally sponsored and funded programs. Because of the limited scope of such programs at this point, and because of their tenuous position with the change in administrations and an increasing likelihood of federal efforts being directed more through state and local institutions, it is difficult to project anything more than a highly speculative hypothesis.

With regard to expectations of school officials and interest in schools, the change pattern was different than in most other cases. Here, the highest income groups showed moderate declines in positive expectations of officials and interest while the poor showed moderate increases. This pattern may well be linked to the pattern on educational services for the disadvantaged. With the increased programs for lower income groups, there may well be a growing interest and support of the school system by the economically deprived. Such changes are interesting, especially in the light of the frequently hypothesized apathy of lower income groups, and strengthen the notion that support will increase if the system responds to their perceived needs.

Table 6-2

VARIATION IN ATTITUDE CHANGE BY INCOME-PORTLAND WHITE

| | Income Levels | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudes: | Low | Med. | High |
| Interest in School System | (27) | (58) | (29) |
| Time 1 | 70.4 | 91.4 | 96.6 |
| Time 2 | 88.9 | 94.8 | 82.8 |
| Difference | 18.5 | 3.4 | -13.8 |
| School Official Reaction to Citizen Concerns | | | |
| Time 1 | 51.9 | 79.3 | 75.9 |
| Time 2 | 44.4 | 65.5 | 75.9 |
| Difference | -7.5 | 13.8 | 0.0 |
| Educational Modernization | | | |
| Time 1 | 40.7 | 41.4 | 41.3 |
| Time 2 | 18.5 | 43.1 | 41.3 |
| Difference | -22.2 | 2.3 | 0.0 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | -.593 | 0.0 | .207 |
| Progressive Education | | | |
| Time 1 | 14.8 | 43.1 | 51.7 |
| Time 2 | 37.1 | 34.5 | 41.4 |
| Difference | 22.3 | -8.6 | -10.3 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | .630 | -.172 | -.034 |
| Poverty Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 51.8 | 32.8 | 31.0 |
| Time 2 | 33.3 | 58.5 | 55.0 |
| Difference | -18.5 | 25.7 | 24.0 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | -(.519) | .724 | .034 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 44.4 | 55.2 | 72.4 |
| Time 2 | 29.6 | 70.7 | 62.0 |
| Difference | -14.8 | 15.5 | -10.4 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | -(.074) | .552 | -.138 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | | | |
| Time 1 | 51.8 | 69.0 | 62.1 |
| Time 2 | 51.8 | 72.5 | 62.0 |
| Difference | 0.0 | 3.5 | -0.1 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change on Scale Scores | -.296 | -.034 | .276 |

Portland White Community:

The data of the Portland White community (Table 6-2) do represent a radical departure from that on the Lane County Community. There are, however, some differences in patterns between the two communities which appear significant, especially in the light of the variance in racial composition between Portland and Lane County.

On four of the five attitude scales, the response patterns among Portland whites differ from those of Lane County respondents. Looking first at educational modernization, the initial responses of all income groups in the Portland white community were essentially the same. While the two upper income groups show little or no change in the intervening time period, the lower income group shows a strong shift in a conservative direction. What has happened, in fact, is that their position at time 2 is roughly approximate to that of the Lane County low income group. The initial differentials between these two low income groups could well be a function of the settings in which they are found. Lane County respondents include a mixture of small metropolitan and rural or quasi-rural inhabitants while Portland is a large urban metropolitan center. Given the conservatism of rural as opposed to urban dwellers on these particular kinds of issues, it is not surprising that the initial differences are as great as they are. What is surprising, though, is the relative convergence of attitudes at the time of the second survey. We think it is likely that the drastic drop in support among Portland's low income whites can be explained in terms of possible interpretations of their self interest.

We have noted on several occasions earlier that the time period between the two surveys saw the emergence of a widespread controversy over the general issue of school system desegregation and the quality of education in Portland ghetto schools. It may well have appeared to numbers of white citizens from the nature and terms of discourse of the controversy, and the types of programs suggested for improving the quality of education in the ghetto, that the vast majority of the city's resources for educational modernization and services for the disadvantaged were to be directed to the needs of the black community through the Model Schools and related programs. In such a case, low income whites might easily have felt slighted or ignored. The shift in attitudes could well be a manifestation of such feelings and perceptions.

On the progressive education scale there is again a departure from the Lane County pattern. While there was a very nearly stable level of support among Lane County respondents, there is a mixed pattern among Portland whites. At the lowest income level there is a large percentage shift in the direction of greater support while among the two higher income groups there are fairly sizable shifts in the opposite direction, toward less support on progressive education. Since they began at opposite positions, the net result is that during the intervening period positions of all three income groups have converged and are roughly equivalent at time 2. In Lane County, however, shifts were minimal in either direction so that differentials remained nearly the same.

Some of the most interesting differences between the two white samples occur on the poverty programs scale. Here 18.5% of the low-income Portland white sample shifted onto the conservative portion

of the scale. Magnifying the differential is the fact that in Lane County 12.2% of the low income respondents shifted to the liberal side of the scale. Not only did a large percentage of persons shift into the conservative category in the Portland white community, but the magnitude of their shift was fairly large with a mean decline of .519. There was a comparable score change in the opposite direction among the Lane County low income group.

Among the middle and high income groups in Portland, the change was higher in terms of percentage shifts in a positive direction than in Lane County. The magnitude of the average change was about twice as high as in Lane County among the middle income group, but not nearly as high as Lane County among high income respondents.

Changes in the distribution of responses to teaching improvement programs show a rather interesting, and somewhat inconsistant pattern between the two groups. In both communities, there is a moderate decrease in the percentage of lower income respondents who support such programs. In each of the middle income groups, there is an increase in the percentage of support for such programs, although the increase in Lane County is comparatively small. The differences between the low and middle income groups in each community might readily be explained in terms of our earlier analysis of the differences in the ways that the two groups perceived their educational needs. The low income groups, who are more likely to think of their educational requirements in terms of what we labeled "bread and butter" education might well be expected to show waning enthusiasm for programs which are more readily identified with typical middle-class educational patterns--that is team teaching and fostering attendance at workshops,

etc. Such a decrease in enthusiasm would seem all the more probable where the lower income groups were exposed to alternative programs which coincided more closely with their own views of their educational needs.

The high income group represents an interesting departure which merits a separate comment. In Lane County, this group showed a slight increase in support just as had the middle income group. In Portland, however, there was a moderate decline in the percentage of supporters of teaching improvement programs. It is difficult to determine the exact reasons for such a decrease in support. It may be a reflection of a more sophisticated outlook with regard to the educational needs of the total community, or it may be a function of experiences with particular programs. The possibilities are virtually unlimited and there is no issue that received widespread public attention which would readily explain this departure from the general pattern.

With regard to educational services for the disadvantaged, the Portland low-income groups shows a tendency toward a change in a more conservative direction while the low-income Lane County group shows a slight increase in support. This general pattern is similar to that with regard to attitudes toward poverty programs and undoubtedly is a reflection of the cleavages across racial lines in the Portland community generated by the focus of attention on the educational needs of the ghetto. The medium and high-income groups in both white communities show a slight decrease or relative stability of support in the two communities.

In retrospect, it is also interesting to note that the general level of support of educational services for the disadvantaged among all income groups in the two white communities remains higher than does the support for poverty programs although the gap is disappearing. As we shall see later, the support in the black community for both types of programs is much more comparable. This difference is very likely due to the probable differences in the ways that the two communities view the increasing involvement of the federal government in the local area. The white community is likely to be more resistant to such involvement than is the black community whose hopes for and experience with direct federal intervention is likely to have been more extensive and more coincidental with their interests.

Portland Black Community

In almost every case, the data on the Portland black community reveal significant and often dramatic departures from the patterns of the two white groups. The very first item, interest in the school system, demonstrates the apparent impact of the difference in the saliency of various issues for the different communities. We see, for instance, among low-income Blacks a considerable decline in the percentage of persons who indicate an interest in the school system by time 2. This is almost surely a consequence of the fact that the first survey was taken at the same time that the race and education report was the center of public attention in Portland. We note too, that on the part of the low-income whites, there is a reversal in the pattern with an increasing interest at the time of the second survey, suggesting that a different emphasis in the schools may have a more direct appeal to their interests.

Table 6-3

VARIATION IN ATTITUDE CHANGE BY INCOME-PORTLAND BLACK

| Attitudes | Income Level Low | Med. | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| Interest in School System | (44) | (65) | (15) |
| Time 1 | 97.7 | 98.5 | 93.3 |
| Time 2 | 75.0 | 89.2 | 93.3 |
| Difference | -22.7 | -9.3 | 0.0 |
| School Official Reaction to Complaints | | | |
| Time 1 | 61.4 | 52.3 | 33.3 |
| Time 2 | 31.8 | 49.2 | 46.7 |
| Difference | -29.6 | -3.1 | 13.4 |
| Educational Modernization | | | |
| Time 1 | 70.5 | 70.8 | 86.7 |
| Time 2 | 65.9 | 70.8 | 93.4 |
| Difference | -4.6 | 0.0 | 6.7 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | .295 | .231 | 1.200 |
| Progressive Education | | | |
| Time 1 | 6.8 | 20.0 | 33.3 |
| Time 2 | 22.7 | 32.4 | 33.3 |
| Difference | 15.9 | 12.4 | 0.0 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | .477 | .154 | -.400 |
| Poverty Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 15.9 | 30.8 | 73.3 |
| Time 2 | 88.7 | 86.2 | 100.0 |
| Difference | 72.8 | 55.4 | 26.7 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | 2.273 | 1.723 | 1.467 |
| Teaching Improvement Programs | | | |
| Time 1 | 75.0 | 70.8 | 80.0 |
| Time 2 | 61.3 | 69.3 | 93.3 |
| Difference | -13.7 | -1.5 | 13.3 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | .341 | .292 | .267 |
| Educational Services for the Disadvantaged | | | |
| Time 1 | 90.9 | 87.7 | 100.0 |
| Time 2 | 86.3 | 92.3 | 100.0 |
| Difference | -4.6 | 4.6 | 6.7 |
| $\bar{X}$ Change in Scale Scores | .477 | .615 | .800 |

As the issue of school desegregation in the ghetto receded from the public eye, low-income whites may have perceived a shift in priorities for educational change with which they were able to identify more closely. On the other side is the possibility that the poor whites of Portland were increasingly interested in the schools precisely because of their intensified concern with race and education in Portland as in many other cities in the nation during this period. This pattern of change in interest continues in the same direction, but with less dramatic differences among the middle-income whites and Negroes. Among high-income Negroes, however, there is no decrease in interest, while among members of the corresponding group in the white community there is also some decrease in interest in school affairs.

When we look at the expectations of the various segments of the black community regarding the school's reaction to citizen complaints or demands, we find again that while there is some variation among income groups within each community, the variation between the communities is even more striking. The initial pattern of expectations in the black community is exactly the reverse of the pattern in the two white communities. Among the Negro group, low-income members of the community initially have the highest expectation of positive response by the school administration to their complaints with a declining level of trust and confidence as income rises. Among the white samples low-income groups are the most skeptical initially. By the time of the second survey, however, the pattern had almost reversed itself within the black community. There has been a very large decline in the expectations of the low

income group, a moderate decline among the middle-income group, and a relatively large increase in positive expectations among the high-income group. By 1966 the biggest difference between white and black income categories was among the high-income people just as it had been in 1964. Rich whites maintained their great trust in school officials while rich blacks had increased their trust but by very little. Almost all other groups, black and white, low and middle income, had become more alienated from the officialdom. No such shifts had occurred in Lane County.

The members of the black community are far more supportive of programs of educational modernization than are either the Portland or Lane County white groups at any time. The initial differences between the various income groups here is relatively insignificant and in terms of mean scale scores all groups change in a liberal direction during the intervening time period.

Of all of the groups interviewed, the Negroes were the least supportive of progressive education at every income level. Although there was some increase on the progressive education scales among the two lower income groups, they were still lower than the remaining groups at the time of the second survey.

It is on the poverty programs scale that we find the most dramatic change of all of the items examined. Low-income blacks were the least liberal in this regard initially, but by time 2, they had emerged as one of the most liberal groups. Changes among all income levels in the black community were quite large, both in terms of percentages moving onto the positive-liberal side of the scale, and in terms of the magnitude of the average change.

While there is some tendency to shift in a negative direction among the low income groups on teaching improvement programs, the average score is more progressive at time 2 than initially. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that those in the extreme conservative positions at the time of the first survey changed in a positive direction along with some of those already in the positive category. Most of the former did not, however, move onto the liberal portion of the continuum. The declining percentage support is accounted for by those who shifted about the center of the continuum moving from a moderately liberal to a moderately conservative position. Such shifts do not, however, entail large shifts in scale scores. In any case, the black community is more liberal in this regard than the other two communities over the entire period of the research, a fact which reflects a general concern for upgrading the quality of ghetto schools in every respect.

The final scale, educational services for the disadvantaged, revealed the largest differences between the Portland black community and the two white communities. Initially, support in the black community was more than ninety percent for such programs. By the time of the second survey, support had remained relatively stable in the black community as it had in the two white communities. If anything, the Portland white community showed a slightly declining support for such educational services while the black community showed a slight disposition to strengthen its already formidable support. The initial and continued support of the black community reflects the educational-political climate in the area during the period of the research in that attention was focused on the

inadequacies of the educational institutions of the ghetto. It is not surprising therefore to find near unanimity in the black community in support of such programs.

What is even more interesting is the difference between the initial support of such educational services and the support shown for federal poverty programs. Among low and medium income groups in the ghetto, initial support for poverty programs was the lowest of any of the three groups. In the interim period, however, support for the poverty programs grew to nearly ninety percent. The growing support in that case probably reflects a growing recognition that the local educational and governmental agencies were either unwilling or unable or both to commit sufficient resources to solve the pressing problems of ghetto educational needs. In this respect it is interesting that there appears to be as much initial suspicion of federal involvement in the black community as in the white. This may be, however, a consequence of a greater caution in dealing with an essentially unknown entity than a manifestation of a fundamentally conservative posture regarding federal involvement in local affairs.

## Race, Class, and Educational Attitudes

The introduction of simultaneous controls for race and income or social class, reveal some interesting differences between the various units. Upper income blacks, for instance, are consistently the most liberal and positive clement examined. Low income blacks, however, show a general tendency to be conservative on most of the issues initially, but show the most dramatic changes with the introduction of the experimental stimlus. The latter change so much, in fact, that they are often more liberal after exposure to

the experimental stimulus than are the most liberal elements in the white community. This last comment, incidentally, addresses the most important facet of this portion of the survey. There is no question about the impact of social class on attitudes both initially and throughout the period covered. There are significant class differences within each of the communities on almost every issue at the time of both surveys. All of the differences, however, are overshadowed by the impact of racial considerations. The magnitude and generality of the changes in the black community is consistently greater than or even directly opposite to that of the white community.

The picture that emerges is one in which there would appear to be a differential evaluation of the programs introduced. This evaluation is dependent upon the racial community of which one is a member. This appears to be especially true in the Portland area where racial issues have a relatively high degree of saliency because of the substantial (although in percentage terms, small) black community. Here the evidence in the survey material, along with the information available on the history of program development in the area, suggests that the perspective and evaluations of respondents are affected in important ways by racial considerations. Most significantly, it appears that the programs introduced in the area may be identified by many with the needs and interests of the black community. If this is in fact the case, it is not surprising to find the pattern of change toward greater support among the members of the black community. Further, such an identification with the black community would be consistent with the frequent

declines in positive-liberal stances among the low-income segments of the Portland white community. Such an interpretation would also be consistent with the moderate liberal increases among the middle and higher income Portland whites to the extent that one would expect them, on the basis of a whole variety of past research, to be more liberal in their outlook than low-income groups, and therefore often supportive of measures that would be of benefit primarily to the black community.

In the final analysis, one can argue that both race and class have important impacts on one's attitudes in this particular sphere. Race, however, appears to have the greatest overall impact although the two variables may have quite different consequences. As one's class position increases in the white community, the influences of race appear to be diminished. In some areas, the same would undoubtedly be true for our Black sample, but the nature of the issues being investigated would tend to mask this tendency. There is, then, a consistent pattern of growing support in the black community, but a mixed pattern of increasing and decreasing support in the white community depending largely on class position.

# CHAPTER VII

## EDUCATIONAL DIRECTIONS AND PRIORITIES: THE CITIZEN VIEWPOINT

In a front page article in mid-December of 1968, the Wall Street Journal spotlighted the "crisis" facing America's school systems.[1] The ominous title, "Strangled Schools: Rebellion by Taxpayers and Rising Costs Force Curtailment of Classes," articulated the dilemma in capsule form. For the first time in recent American educational history, school doors were being closed, not because of strikes by teachers or boycotts by the community, but simply for lack of sufficient funds to run the schools.

Probably the most famous case of a "tax revolt" came in the Youngstown, Ohio school district in which schools were closed for a month because of lack of operating funds. When school was scheduled to re-open after the first of the year, it was only with the proviso that continued operation would be dependent on available funds which were likely to be depleted long before the end of the school year. Despite these conditions, taxpayers in the district had refused to authorize additional funds so that schools could maintain normal schedules.

Although the case of Youngstown is perhaps the most severe to date, it is certainly not unique. The Journal article went on to point out that similar problems are either faced or imminent in a large number of the nation's school districts. In Grand Ledge, Michigan, for instance, a new $1.5 million school plant never opened its doors because there were no staffing funds available. In Champaign, Illinois teachers were paid with vouchers which banks

cashed on the assumption that the local school district would eventually find funds to cover the teachers salaries. In the November general elections, where historically school bond issues pass at a rate of 75%, the rate of passage fell to 45% nationally. In Washington state, voters downed 53 of 89 school tax proposals in the November election.[2]

In this respect, we believe that Oregon reflects the pattern existing already in major portions of the country and developing in most or all of the rest of the nation. Our research communities to some extent also reflect the national pattern in this regard.

Throughout the state of Oregon, the difficulty in passing school budget proposals has increased during the past few years. Because of an archaic tax structure most communities must vote yearly on increased tax assessments to cover rising costs. For a time, this created few problems with budgets usually passing as submitted. Recently, however, growing numbers of districts are having to submit revised proposals to the electorate two, three and even four or more times. This pattern was reflected in some of our research communities. (See Table 7-1). Frequently eliminated in the process of paring the budget are such programs as public kindergartens, enrichment programs of various sorts, and, in the case of Portland, even the interscholastic sports competition program. It should be noted in the case of the latter, however, that the district had no great trouble gathering voluntary donations to maintain the program at the normal level.

Table 7-1

NUMBER OF TIMES SCHOOL BUDGETS SUBMITTED FOR VOTER APPROVAL BY YEAR

| | Year | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School District | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 |
| Portland | 1 | 0* | 2** | 1+ |
| Eugene | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Springfield | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Oakridge | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Junction City | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |

*Not submitted, kept within the allowable tax base.

**Failed twice but not resubmitted the third time. The interscholastic sports program was eliminated to get within the tax base limits.

+New tax base passed, thereby eliminating the necessity of future elections in the near future.

In the rhetoric exchanged by the forces supporting and opposing the school budget proposals, the problem of support is usually couched in economic terms and arguments often revolve around the issue of "frills vs. necessity." What programs are absolutely essential to provide a sound education, and which are simply additions having little or no educational merit, are the kinds of questions being argued.

In one sense, this research program addressed the issue of citizen attitudes with regard to the issue of educational frills vs. educational necessities. One often gets the notion from reading popular accounts of negative voter reaction to school budget programs that anything that means increased costs automatically generates

negative voter reaction. In this respect, then, one might have expected special programs for the disadvantaged, many of which are relatively costly to implement, to arouse a generally negative reaction from the majority of voters and taxpayers. What actually occurred was a kind of differential response pattern which varied with the source of the program and the exposure of the community to the program.

Federal programs were initially viewed with little favor and local programs were accorded relatively strong support. In the intervening period between the two surveys, the local programs continued to be viewed favorably while the federal programs show a marked <u>increase</u> in support. This particular response pattern suggests a considerably greater concern with federal intervention initially. than with the increased costs which such programs might entail. And of course the major finding is that instead of the introduction of costly programs causing a widespread hostility to those programs citizen support for them was maintained and increased.

The extent to which economic considerations can be viewed as distinctly secondary in the case of educational programs for the disadvantaged can be seen in the case of the overwhelming support by Lane County for its new community college. Although it is by far the single most costly educational program in the county in recent years, support has been uniformly high. The need for a vocationally oriented post high school institution and a center for adult programs. has been generally recognized and supported.

Contrary to the experience with programs for the disadvantaged, however, other types of programs which are either directly or indirectly

aimed at improving the educational quality of the schools did not receive the support that the programs discussed above received. In Lane County, attitudes toward such programs remained relatively stable with the only significant increase being registered on attitudes toward "educational modernization." In this case, however, those favoring such programs remained less than forty per cent of the population.

The pattern of support for vocationally oriented programs and other "bread and butter" programs for the disadvantaged, and a relative lack of support for other improvement programs, suggests a cooling of the enthusiasm for educational improvement registered in the immediate aftermath of Sputnik. It might be argued that this leveling of enthusiasm is, in part, a reflection of a natural decline given the passage of a significant period of time and changes in the cold war posture of the nation, and, in part, a consequence of the shifting of the financial burden of such improvements from the federal to local governments.

There is little question that the furious efforts at the improvement of education in this country in the wake of Sputnik were a consequence of the cold war hysteria revolving around the potential technological (translate weapons) superiority of the Soviet Union. In this respect, support for educational improvements almost took on the character of response to an invasion, in which patriotic sentiments were harnessed in the interest of "national security." Time, space program successes, and a lessening of cold war tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the face of the "new threat" from Red China have very probably

combined to reduce the salience of the issue of "educational excellence" for vast numbers of Americans. Rather than focusing interest and committing resources to sophisticated and exotic scientific and other programs, it appears that attention has become focused once again on some of the needs of the community which may have a greater sense of immediacy for many citizens, especially the lower classes.

Economic considerations in explaining the apparent lack of enthusiasm for certain kinds of post-Sputnik educational improvements cannot be discounted either. The increased cost of such programs might not have been readily apparent to many citizens. The commitment of the federal government very probably cushioned the initial impact of such improvements on the budgets of local school districts. This would be especially true in the case of those programs in which the initial costs are picked up by the federal government and are not immediately transferred to the school district, or which have an indirect impact on district costs. For instance, the building of exotic laboratory facilities for schools using available federal grant money is likely to be a mixed blessing. Although the immediate reaction has often been that the district is fortunate, indeed, to have experienced such a windfall, the realities of the situation might be quite different. Even free laboratories require staff, and often such staff members must be better trained than available local personnel. This may mean bringing in higher priced educators to replace existing staff, or increasing the size of the staff to accommodate the new program. Maintenance, and other costs which are not inconsiderable, must eventually be picked up by local districts, and may impose what are perceived as excessive costs

given the relatively low participation which is often characteristic of advanced science and technical programs.

Special training for teachers at federal expense invariably means higher salary demands with increased expertise. Another excellent example is summer workshops for teachers. Add to this such innovations as team teaching, the introduction of sophisticated technical equipment into the classroom, and a generally increasing militance of teaching staff in demanding increased salaries, and it is neither difficult to understand the skyrocketing educational costs, nor the dismay of the average voter who is rather unlikely to have engaged in an in-depth analysis of the nature of such educational change.

All of these considerations then, along with the focus on the internal problems of the nation in the form of the war on poverty, have likely combined to reorder priorities regarding the variety of potential programs available in any community. With regard to the federal anti-poverty educational programs there was an especially high increase in support once the community had been exposed to such programs. This kind of program had a considerably higher impact on participants than on non-participants, but in all of the research communities, the growth in support was seen on all fronts.

While on the one hand there is a general increase in support for poverty programs of all varieties, it should be stressed that the increase in support is rarely decisive. Various income sectors of the community (usually middle and upper) where there is majority support for such programs exhibit majority support at both points in the research. Among low income whites, while there are significant

increases in support for such programs for the disadvantaged, supporters still remain in the minority. With the single exception of the black community, it is only in the case of those who have directly participated, that a decisive impact is registered. And, as we have seen, in the case where there are intervening variables such as racial antagonisms, such programs may generate a negative response from low-income whites. It is also likely that the relatively slight impact among low-income whites is attributable in part to the relative lack of exposure to such programs on the part of many of the Lane County respondents. In this case, the nature of the programs, their extensiveness, and the political controversy surrounding them was not nearly as great as in the Portland Community.

In Portland, the cleavage between the white and black community over a variety of educational issues explains the relatively large differentials between attitudes of black and white citizens. No other factor is so clearly linked to educational attitudes and their shift as is race. The black community shows a generally higher level of sensitivity to the problems of the disadvantaged than the white community initially, and in the intervening period, the two groups shifted in opposite directions in attitudes, very probably because of the controversies over the nature of educational programs, priorities for educational improvement in the community, and the extent to which each group perceived that its own particular needs were being met.

In addition to class and racial factors, attitudes were examined by a variety of indicators of alienation, personal interests, and fiscal attitudes of respondents. It is clear that support for the

whole gamut of educational programs, those specifically for the disadvantaged and those with broader implications for the community, varies with the psychological disposition of the respondent. The alienated are usually less supportive, and they are also less vulnerable to the influence of special programs. On the other variables, however, there emerges no clear cut pattern. Simplistic notions of support or antagonism as a function of such factors as having children in the schools, general fiscal attitudes regarding tax policy, or homeownership patterns are not adequate in themselves to explain differential support, nor do they seem to have a significant bearing on one's general attitudes. Rather, such considerations seem to have only modest impact compared with class, racial and participation variables.

The same is true of such variables as information level and tie-in with the community organizational structure. Although in a few cases some clear patterns emerge between the relationship of information and community tie-in and support, this relationship is confounded by the fact that information level is also related to socio-economic class factors which suggest that the relationship between lack of information and non-support of certain types of programs could be accounted for in large part by race and class interest considerations independent of the other variables involved.

It seems at this point, that one of the most significant features that emerges from a study of this kind is the identification of the range of variables which can be decisive in affecting one's disposition to ultimately support or oppose educational policies and programs. Given the numerous points at which citizen antagonism might be aroused, having to submit budget assessments to a general vote poses a difficult

problem for educational administrations. This difficulty is compounded as the potential for conflict on a number of fronts is increased in complex urban settings in the face of rapid social and political change. In two of our research communities, at least, these kinds of problems are readily apparent.

In the case of Portland a great deal of the educational issues have revolved around the issue of improving the quality of education in the ghetto and the strategies for bringing about such improvement. In addition to the fact that few strategies are likely to generate the support of all of the principles in such a controversy, the problem is compounded by the development of interracial and inter-class antagonisms as we have seen earlier. It is easy in such cases to propose programs designed to provide "something for everyone" and wind up antagonizing the entire community. Even if one resolves such complex issues as these, however, there is always a potential for problems resulting from other sources.

The variety of potential conflicts are even more apparent in the Eugene school district which has had by far the most difficult time in securing support for its schools. In this community there are cleavages that run along University-non-University lines, along liberal-conservative lines, along socio-economic class lines, etc. which make it very nearly impossible to secure consensus, or anything reasonably approximating consensus, on virtually any issue that one could identify. The problem for the school system has been compounded by the fact that it has become a central point of contention for a variety of groups whose interests are so clearly irreconcilable that one often marvels that any proposal is ever

passed, especially since all factions often vote against what might be billed as a compromise measure.

These kinds of problems might be overcome if that vast majority of citizens, who are essentially neutral in their views, were to turn out and vote, but this only happens in the event that a national election coincides with a school election. In any other case, a voter turnout in excess of 30% is considered exceptional, and most of those thirty per cent represent persons whose positions on the issues are fairly cut and dried. Such problems are not nearly so severe in our three smaller research communities where the population is relatively homogeneous and where issues are more likely to be related more directly to relatively simple fiscal considerations.

We would now like to summarily answer the general questions posed in the introductory chapter. While the answers come from our five research communities we think that they represent substantial national phenomena. Local school systems are far behind current dispositions of citizens to provide expanded programs for culturally deprived and disadvantaged youth and adults. Citizens support compensatory education even more extensively than curricula modernization and innovation. Some of the same basic social, psychological and political factors that affect citizen policy sentiments towards the latter affect citizen policy sentiments towards the former. Race is the major factor specific to citizen attitudes towards innovative programs for culturally deprived and disadvantaged youth. Apart from race-related matters, the effects on citizens of bold experiments in the area of educational improvements for the culturally disadvantaged produce a more positive rather than a more

negative citizenry. Partly in anticipation of negative reactions from voters, school decision-makers have done exactly the wrong things to build voter support: they have avoided program innovations to better service the disadvantaged thereby reinforcing, or at least not interfering with, a continued erosion of citizen support for rising school budgets.

Standing back, now, and looking at all of these findings from a political system perspective, we would like to offer the following speculative model. Over the past few years with the baby boom, with the need not only to refurbish an increasingly depreciated plant, equipment, and production process, but to improve the quality of education for a society and economy demanding a much higher level product due to the pace of the current scientific-technological revolution, and with the simultaneous generation of a host of public needs, the traditional proportions of income devoted to private spending versus public financing have been changing.

On top of the needs for higher tax levels because of the convergence of such "normal" processes and phenomena, has come the rising federal budget and taxes due largely to the Viet Nam War. On the other hand, even in the absence of the Viet Nam War, the needs of spending tens of billions of dollars for urban redevelopment, the elimination of slums, the restoration of economic vitality in such regions as Appalachia, the needs of hungrymasses throughout the Third World and other such facts of mid-twentieth century life would have created an equal or perhaps even greater pressure to change the traditional income-taxing formulas.

In this as in any period of change in the scope and kinds of public programs and finances, political leadership has been crucial. It has been crucial in terms of comprehending and pointing the policy directions and in obtaining the necessary consent of the electorates, nationally and locally. As former president Johnson witnessed, an inability to obtain such public consent can force even the national executive and, hence, the legislature to change course. As many local communities are witnessing, voter resistance can build to a point of frustrating innovative political leaderships.

We noted the voter support that the builders and leaders of the Lane Community College obtained during this period of increasing voter resistance to other school budgets. We did not have the occasion to note that a small school district outside of Eugene but not within our five research community sample has had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining voter approval for an area-wide vocational educational facility at the high school level. Part of the resistance might be due, in fact, to the existence of the community college with voters wondering why two superficially similar institutions of the same kind was necessary. But part of the reason for voter rejection of the proposal is, we suspect, due to the kind of voter cynicism about and mistrust of their educational decision-making establishment discussed earlier.

What we are suggesting is a natural but not inevitable vicious circle. To the extent that rising demands by an educational elite for the kinds of modernization seen as necessary, including a larger share of the pie for the teaching profession and the important educational administrators leads to a need for citizens to pay

proportionately more of their own scarce resources, such self-sacrifices through voter support of more costly budgets must be accomplished through a maintenance of it not increase in, trust of those decision-makers on the part of citizens. The educational elite has the necessary task of convincing citizens that what they consider necessary and just is necessary and just. As soon as the process of refurbishing and improving starts, the vicious circle is likely to start in that the process can generate immediately and understandably a sense of mistrust of those ordinarily in control.

Such mistrust is, in fact, always present to a considerable degree. But in the absence of counter-organization of the cynical and alienated, the few friends, fans, fellows and families of the educational decision-makers can expect to carry fiscal measures because the cynical and alienated ordinarily do not vote. What we have been witnessing is the activation of the oppostion of those who do not comprehend the needs for educational modernization and more just educational systems in terms of the disadvantaged and minorities, or who are opposed on ideological grounds, or who take a simple "we want more" in a "who gets what" kind of political perspective. The vocal opponents have been reaching large numbers of citizens who always have been at least somewhat cynical about the decision-making elite and many who are even more cynical as the latter innovates in ways not understood by the average citizen.

The post-Sputnik interest in curriculum improvements, in improving the quality and effectiveness of American education to better compete with the Russians, for example, was a policy direction pointed and understood by the educational elite. It was really the decision-makers and not the average citizen who felt the first concerns.

As with so many matters in our political democracy, the citizens who appear well-educated are really not and they ordinarily rely on their leaders to suggest the appropriate policies. While most receptive to such curriculum modernization, only a small minority of the citizens comprehended the issues. It was their faith in their leaders or their mistrust of them that led to acceptance or resistance to educational innovations in teaching methods and the like.

So too, with innovative educational/poverty programs for the disadvantaged. Here the educational decision-makers at the local community level in our research communities generally were far from being in the policy change vanguard. Their hesitancy was compounded by their assumption that their constituents were not ready for such programs. Their own ideology had innovative programs for the culturally disadvantaged far down the list of priorities for increasingly scarce public tax moneys. It was primarily a thrust from the federal government level, plus the activities of particular small sets of local citizens that brought them into the educational/poverty domain to any extent at all in these years. Thus the vicious circle continues, with little likelihood of breaking it except that of moving to higher levels of government basic educational institutional and program, as well as fiscal decision. Even then, there is little assurrance that the political deadlock between educational policy innovators and a substantially alienated, mistrustful citizenry would not simply be moved up to those higher levels of government.

The importance of educational decision-makers and their responsibility for preventing or breaking vicious circles of increasing

citizen resistance to the local educational enterprise and to its modernization is most clearly seen in the racially divided city of Portland. There the initial demands by black citizens and white civil rights advocates were met first by almost complete passive resistance, and then by grudging and partial or token policy innovations. In the interim, some white citizens for racist reasons, and other white citizens out of simple fiscal self-interest, generated an increasing mistrust of their educational decision-makers and vocal resistance became apparent. Does this failure of the educational system elite mean that the vicious circle is now unbreakable? Are they stopped from further educational/poverty program innovations aimed at removing the educational disabilities built into the school system for the black residents of the black area of Portland?

Our answer is no, the vicious circle can be broken and even reversed. It must come by the educational decision-makers, regaining some of the trust and reducing the hostility of white citizens, much of which they themselves are responsible for. To the extent the educational system in Portland has permitted white children to avoid an education designed to uproot racism, to the extent that the curriculum, teaching practices and teachers, as well as administrators, have been basically racist, the Portland educational decision-makers have been responsible for a major dimension of the problem. To the extent they can remedy those kinds of matters, and those are relatively easily remedied, they can start to break out of the vicious circle. It is more difficult politically to

break out of the vicious circle. It is more difficult politically to break out more quickly on matters of major policy that are visible that require major resource reallocations and increasing expenditures, and that are subject to the scrutiny of organized white racism. But even there things are far from hopeless.

A dedicated, energetic leadership willing to take some risks can take advantage of the fact that white, not to speak of black, citizen predispositions strongly support programs for culturally and economically disadvantaged. If race per se is avoided as a major theme, there is little reason to suspect that such policy innovations which are in the interests of substantial numbers of white citizens could not develop support. Nor is it necessary to assume that white citizen mistrust is fixed permanently at a high level. While the variable of political cynicism is not the most unstable of orientations, it is not generally unchangeable, particularly over time. Whether the educational leadership there or in other communities is willing to take the risks, or is even cognizant of the fact that in a traditionally elite political system they are responsible, whether they want to shed some of their traditional elitism in trying to educate and organize politically, citizens whom they are not used to seeing involved in educational politics except in passive voter or in cooptive PTA roles, and whether they resent such a democratization are the major questions. The risks are really small and the alternatives few. A continuation of the educational leadership patterns of the 1964-1966 and following period suggests that those patterns are even more risky and threaten even the very existence of the public school system as it has been known in the past.

## POSTSCRIPT ON THE QUESTION OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

These then are the realities of the situation. Given a moderate or larger size community that is relatively heterogeneous along a variety of dimensions, the perceived needs, interests, and desires of the community will be extremely variable. Because a relatively minor consideration might be decisive in the determination of a vote, it is clear that the principle of continuous compromise will not work. Even if it would, there is some point at which principle must take precedence over expediency, and in the realm of local politics, we have probably long passed that point. Besides, it is clear that even the integrity of school administrators must be protected if our educational systems are to approach the quality which we profess to desire. But given the present structure of educational and political decision-making it is clear that there are no satisfactory solutions. At a minimum alternative decision-making procedures and drastically revised taxing arrangements are necessary. The growing alienation of the public and the growing antagonism to public agencies in general suggest that attempts to molify the public must be replaced with efforts, to reconstruct many of our traditional institutions if we are to restore the faith of the community. On the one hand, taxing power can be removed from the vagaries of the electoral process and vested in some body which can raise the revenue and distribute funds in an equitable fashion. But in exchange for the development of a sane taxing process, the public must be given the ability to participate in the development of those institutions with which it is most directly involved. Otherwise,

the notion of "equitable" means in a manner deemed necessary and proper by a decision-making elite. Such democratization may mean decentralization processes wherever this makes sense and the establishment of policy-making and administrative boards within the whole range of sub-communities. It may mean institutionalizing mechanisms for redress of grievances which are something more than a system for "cooling out" irate citizens. Whatever it may mean, is still a matter of some conjecture. Suggestions have been offered in other contexts which cover a variety of possibilities. They may or may not work. At least, however, there is the possibility that more rational, more humane, and more equitable arrangements could be worked out if we were willing to commit ourselves to radical experimentation and change. It is clear that to continue with the present system gains only continued and certain deterioration.

## FOOTNOTES

### Chapter I

[1]Cf. Robert E. Agger and Marshall N. Goldstein, Educational Innovations in the Community, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare Cooperative Research Project No. 1759.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Cf. Robert E. Agger et al., The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

[4]Ibid. Chapter 13.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]This is a simple variation on a theme which has long received widespread attention by social psychologists. See Roger Brown, Social Psychology (New York: The Free Press, 1965) Chapter 11.

[8]Portland blacks and whites are treated as separate communities thus giving us six, instead of five, communities.

### Chapter II

[1]Researchers on this project are much indebted to Kenneth Polk, Director of the Lane County Youth Project for his cooperation and assistance in compiling the information contained in this chapter.

[2]The Junior service league is, as its name suggests, an organization of civic-minded service oriented middle class Eugene women.

[3]Public kindergartens had not been established by the voters in any of the research communities in Lane County, although they had been in Portland and in various other Oregon communities.

[4]Although the 89-10 programs funded by the district did not begin until fall, 1966, plans for the additional schools were discussed by school officials and in the press the previous spring. Despite the fact that programs which began in the 1966-1967 school year appeared in any district school with available space and were not contingent upon any socio-economic characteristics the similarities in the two programs had led the public to view them as one and the same.

Chapter II (continued)

[5]Not included in the figures are students who may have resolved their conflicts independent of the clinics assistance.

[6]This program was eventually included in the model school program set up with federal assistance with George and Whitman excluded.

[7]This would include more classes for the normal non-college bound as well as occupation oriented classes for pupils planning to work immediately after graduation. As a supplement to this point open registration would be advised to allow students to enroll in the school offering the classes they needed or wanted. Included in the program would be efforts to influence unions to end the pro-white bias in their apprentice training programs.

[8]Mailed questionnaires and personal interviews were collected from all receiving school teachers and from a random sample of parents and pupils.

[9]In response to the open ended question concerning who one could go to for help, the names of several persons later identified as community agents were listed.

[10]In Eugene, however, the Register-Guard displayed pictures of local enrollees and wrote briefly of their backgrounds and plans. This was the same treatment accorded scholarship recipients.

Chapter III

[1]Noted public figures in the sense that they emerge as notables in the context of a reputational evaluation of leadership.

Chapter IV

[1]Agger and Goldstein, Educational Innovations in the Community, op.cit.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The needs of the schools in Portland's black community are well documented in the Schwab Report referred to earlier. See Committee on Race and Education, Race and Equal Educational Opportunity in Portland's Public Schools, (Multnomah School District No. 1: October, 1964) pp. 81-87.

Chapter IV (continued)

[4]This involvement is opposed to that which we were able to document on the part of the "involved" experimental group by virtue of direct access to project records and files, etc.

[5]It should be noted that attempts were made to explore other hypotheses such as the effects of control variables on attitudes within the six communities. However, this endeavor was abandoned because of small sample numbers and ambiguous results.

[6]The initial liberalism of the black community probably stemmed in large part from the heightened sensitivity to the key issues brought about by the investigation and publication of school problems by the Schwab Committee at this time. It should be added also that the black community could have been expected to be more sensitive to these issues because of their continued exposure to the problems of inferior education over long periods of time.

Chapter VI

[1]The Lane County sample includes the communities of Eugene, Springfield, Junction City, and Oakridge.

Chapter VII

[1]Wall Street Journal, December 18, 1968, pp. 1; 26.

[2]Ibid.