DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 062 772   EM 009 762

AUTHOR   Hickson, Mark, III
TITLE   Organizational and Communication Diagnoses of
                Antipoverty Agencies.
INSTITUTION   Mississippi State Univ., State College.
PUB DATE   19 Apr 72
NOTE   18p.; Paper presented at the International
                Communication Association Annual Convention (Atlanta,
                Georgia, April 19-20, 1972)

EDRS PRICE   MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS   Bureaucracy; Communication Problems; *Field Studies;
                *Intercommunication; Models; *Poverty Programs; Power
                Structure; Research Needs; *State Agencies; *Systems
                Approach

ABSTRACT
        A field study was conducted to determine whether a
general systems model was applicable to an antipoverty agency. The
primary criterion for auditing the effectiveness of such an agency
was "communication adaptation." The uniqueness and universality of
the methodology employed allowed for accurate auditing. Ideal and
empirically-derived communication models were conceptualized from
appropriate theoretical and empirical data. Varied methodological
techniques, including participant observation, interviews, and cont
analyses, were necessary to provide holistic models. The results
indicated that because of formidable political and social restraints,
antipoverty agencies have extreme difficulty in appropriately
adjusting to negative information input. In fact, because the center
under observation could not deal adequately with negative messages,
it was forced to close. Also, the ambiguity of these organizations
operating under the aegis of an established institution creates
institutional schizophrenia. The concept of power is important in
understanding this problem. That concept has been neglected in
communication research. (Author/JK)

ORGANIZATIONAL AND COMMUNICATION DIAGNOSES
OF ANTIPOVERTY AGENCIES

MARK HICKSON, III

Mississippi State University

Delivered at

International Communication Association Convention

Atlanta, Georgia

April 19, 1972

1

ORGANIZATIONAL AND COMMUNICATION DIAGNOSES
OF ANTIPOVERTY AGENCIES

Mark Hickson, III*

Abstract

A field study was conducted to determine whether a general systems model was applicable to an antipoverty agency. The primary criterion for auditing the effectiveness of such an agency was "communication adaptation." The uniqueness and universality of the methodology employed allowed for accurate auditing.

Ideal and empirically-derived communication models were conceptualized from appropriate theoretical and empirical data. Varied methodological techniques were necessary to provide holistic models. Among these techniques were participant observation, interviews, and content analyses.

The results indicated that because of formidable political and social restraints antipoverty agencies have extreme difficulty in appropriately adjusting to "negative information input." Additionally, the ambiguity of these organizations operating under the aegis of an established institution creates "institutional schizophrenia."

Of major importance, this study rediscovered the importance of the concept of power, which has been highly neglected in communications research.

The difficulty in diagnosing the problems of antipoverty agencies has been expressed by many writers.[1] There are several problems in making evaluations which ordinarily are not encountered with other

* Mark Hickson, III (Ph.D., Southern Illinois University) is Assistant Professor of Communications at Mississippi State University.

types of organizations -- either private or governmental.[2] These include lack of identity by the environment, lack of security among personnel, and lack of qualified personnel in some cases.[3]

To attack this problem, a case study was undertaken of the Jackson-Williamson Community Action Agency in Carbondale, Illinois, from November, 1969, to September, 1970. Initial observations indicated that the five major "traditional" approaches for organizational analysis were not applicable to this organization.[4] The structural-functional approach also was elimianted because of its lack of emphasis on the problems occurring between the organization and the community.[5]

A systems analysis was used in which the communication system was analyzed in terms of adaptation. While many writers have emphasized the importance of the organization's adapting for its survival, most have omitted the importance of the communication system as the primary variable for successful adaptation.[6] Ideal-type models were drawn as bases for evaluation to be compared and contrated with empirical models derived from observable data.[7]

The specific behavior observed was the transmission and reception of messages within the agency and between the agency and various segments of its environment.[8] In support of this type of analysis, some writers have indicated that the communication system may be the basis for the entire organization, particularly when the organization is one whose primary function is information processing.[9]

The Jackson-Williamson Community Action Agency (JWCAA) was one of more than three hundred organizations established by the United States

Government under the aegis of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).[10] The established purpose of such Community Action Program (CAP) agencies has been "to stimulate a better focusing of all available local, State, private, and Federal resources upon the goal of enabling low-income persons to attain skills, knowledge, and motivations, and secure opportunities needed for them to become self-sufficient."[11]

To establish an ideal-type model of the necessary communication patterns of a Community Action Agency (CAA), it was found that cooperation with several segments of the environment was necessary. First, there was the necessity for maintaining cooperation with the target population.[12] This is because the agency needs a knowledge of the needs of that population to relate meaningfully to the community. Because of the historical precedent of other organizations similar to the CAP, maintaining proper relationships with the target population was often difficult.[13] Second there was a need for help from the middle class who feared the "war on poverty."[14] Third, there was the necessity for maintaining healthy relationships with local politicians.[15] Fourth, staff and Board relationships needed to be functioning for greatest efficiency.[16] Finally, relations with national officials were important. Barriers to successful organization and communication were found at each point. A complex systems analysis was used to discover the points of malfunctioning.

PROCEDURE

These questions were asked about how the agency adapted to information input from the five sections of the environment mentioned above:

1. How did the adaptation procedurally occur?

2. What were the peculiar types of the adaptive function regarding media and contents as they influenced the system's operations?

3. What was the product of the adaptive function?

The executive branch of the agency was used to test the questions since that branch handled most of the incoming messages.

An ideal-type model was described from theoretical material which illustrated a CAP agency functioning at a minimal level. This model indicated that all incoming messages had to be evaluated for: (1) power of their sources; and (2) type -- either negative or positive. The first step in a procedure for evaluating adaptive mechanisms was to determine the modes of operation prior to the study of adaptation.[17] To do this, several areas were investigated:

1. Job descriptions and roles. This included range of salary, job title, duties of position, and eligibility requirements. Roles were operationally defined as the behavior taken on by the staff member which may or may not have been consistent with his job description.

2. Interrelationships. Formal and informal channels of communication were investigated.

3. Policy and procedure. This included the systematic regulations

for hiring and firing, job attendance, internal conflict resolution, public relations, and planning.

4. Definition and communication. An attempt was made to uncover a functional definition of communication among agency personnel and between agency staff and the community.

5. Information input. This included information from the environment to the agency, its functional definition, and its classifications.[18]

6. Information intake. Other types of information entering the system were classified and defined.

7. Communication process. The manner in which the communication process functioned was described.

To gather the above-mentioned information, the participant-observer technique was used.[19] The researcher functioned as a "volunteer" worker for the executive branch of the agency. He was allowed to attend executive staff meetings, Board Meetigns, and other "super-executive" meetings. He had formal and informal contact with all agency members from the community workers to the executive director. However, he had no vote in the meetings, he had no decision-making power, and he could not "boss" anyone.

He was "low man on the totem pole." His duties include mimeo-graphing material, answering the phones, taking messages from office to office, and moving furniture. In this way, the researcher was an "outsider" to agency members. There was no threat to them because he had no power with which to influence them. At the same time he was

TABLE   I

CONTENT ANALYSIS

CATEGORY	DIVISIONS	ANALYTIC CRITERIA
Type of Information Input	A. Positive	A. That which is supportive of the agency, favoring current operations, toward expansion rather than termination of the agency.
	B. Negative	B. That which is non-supportive of the agency, opposed to current operations, toward termination rather than expansion of the agency.
	C. Unclassifiable	C. That which is neither positive nor negative; that which is ambiguous regarding type.
Source	A. National political	A. The OEO; any agency of the United States Government that has a direct influence on the JWCAA.
	B. Local political	B. State and local politicians, any state or local agency that has an influence over the JWCAA.
	C. Low-income public	C. Non-office holders in the target population that attempt to influence the internal operations of the agency.
	D. Middle class public	D. Non-office holders in the two-country area who try to influence the JWCAA's internal operations, but who cannot be in the target population.
	E. Other (Un-classifiable)	E. Anyone not in A, B, C, or D.

often a "confidant" because "he was in the same position that they were." It was not that he could be "trusted" more than anyone else, but rather no one could be trusted and since he had no "ties" with other members, it was safer. High rates of turnover in permanent staff and volunteers increased his effectiveness as a participant observer.

Upon establishing the general modes of operation, an attempt was made to discover the adaptive mechanism. Stage one was a beginning in that "information pockets" were uncovered; these were individuals who received more information than other members. Three types of information were used: (1) correspondence by mail; (2) correspondence by telephone; and (3) interpersonal communication. All were classified as to the receiver of the message and the sender of the message. Written and interpersonal communications were analyzed also for type: positive or negative.[20]

All of the information gathered was used to construct empirical organizational and communication models of the agency. Additionally data was gathered from three sets of interviews with staff members. The primary purpose of the interviews was to verify information gained from participant observation. The models were then compared and contrasted with the ideal-types.[21]

RESULTS

It was found that the agency did not make "appropriate" adaptations to information input. In most cases agency personnel underreacted

to requests for information from higher-ranking governmental authorities. Apparently the executive staff did not have the ability to correctly evaluate the power of the messages' sources. For example, the Chicago regional OEO office stated time and time again that cetain changes were needed in the agency. They did not occur. The three questions posed at the beginning of the study can be answered thusly:

1. How did the adaptation occur? It occurred quite slowly -- too slowly in fact to have the appropriate impact on the sources of the messages. Three executive personnel played the role of the executive director, and there was no coordination. Changes were usually temporary and incomplete.

2. What were the peculiar types of the adaptive function regarding media and content as they influenced the system operations? Most of the important messages were person-to-person; these were usually verified by written documentation at a later date. Most messages advocated either status quo-expansion or change-limitation. The adaptive mechanism most often did not respond to positive messages in any way. In fact, only negative messages from "high-power" sources were given a response.[22]

3. What was the product of the adaptive function? Essentially the product was maladaptation resulting from poor organization. The ultimate product was the termination of the agency by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

CONCLUSIONS

There were several major problems in the CAP agency's handling of incoming communications. First, there was no systematic manner of analyzing information input. Agency personnel did not comprehend the importance of many of the entering messages, resulting in negligence and incomplete adaptation. Second, philosophical and political differences between agency staff and Board members resulted in contradictory interpretations and contradictory responses to OEO officials. Third, there was a basic difficulty in the interpretation of OEO mandates by agency personnel. Bureaucratic and academic language prohibited agency personnel in making correct interpretations. Fourth, consultants and trainers most often did not help the staff in practical matters. Language barriers and abstractions most often inhibited communication at a concrete level.

Obviously, the changes needed in the Community Action Program are many, but one of the most apparent is the need for better, clearer communication between Washington -- regional offices -- and the local staff. Instructions for program proposals should be written for the local agency and for the poverty group -- not for graduate business administration majors. More and more emphasis is needed in consulting and training on communication problems within the agencies and with the community.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Richard Blumenthal, "The Bureaucracy: Antipoverty and the Community Action Program," in <u>American Political Institutions and Public Policy: Five Contemporary Studies</u>, ed. by Allan P. Sindler (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1969), pp. 129-179; Daniel P. Moynihan, "What is Community Action?" <u>The Public Interest</u>, Fall, 1966, p.3; Martin Rein and Frank Riessman, "A Strategy for Antipoverty Community Action Programs," <u>Social Work</u>, April, 1966, pp. 3-12; and Bertram M. Beck, "Knowledge and Skills in Administration of an Antipoverty Program, <u>Social Work</u>, July, 1966, pp. 102-106.

[2] Mark Hickson, III, "Antipoverty and Inertia: The Community Action Program," (in press). This is because of the program's establishment on a temporary, year-to-year basis as well as the concept of using indigenous workers. The concept of "career development" often adds to the problem of promoting staff members to their highest position of incompetence.

[3] Mark Hickson, III, "A Systems Analysis of the Communication Adaption of a Community Action Agency," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois, 1971. Special appreciation is given Russell W. Jennings, director of the dissertation.

[4] Sherman Krupp, <u>Patterns of Organizational Analysis: A Critical Examination</u> (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1961). The five patterns include: (1) Frederick Taylor's theory of technological efficiency in which the primary goal is that of producing the highest quantity at the least economic and time costs; (2) the Hawthorne human relations studies, which are concerned with the feelings of individuals in the organization; (3) Chester I. Barnard and Herbert Simon's analytic framework where certain criteria are used to evaluate organizational operations. Some of these criteria include: equilibrium, goal fulfilment, decision-making, and interdependence; (4) the small group approach including the works of George C. Homans, Michael Argyle, and Robert Bales, in which the interaction among members is used as the basis for analysis; and (5) the content and behavior approach of James March and Herbert Simon in which such criteria as the selection of goals and values, relations between actions and outcomes, and possible alternatives in various situations are used. For further explanation of the human relations approach see: Elton Mayo, <u>The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization</u> (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1945). For more information

-10-

on the Barnard and Simon approach, see: Krupp, p. 91. The small group approach is explained in Michael Argyle, The Psychology of Interpersonal Behaviour (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967). For an explanation of the Simon and March approach, see: James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958).

[5]David Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XVI (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968). pp. 177-186. The structure-function approach is one method of analyzing social organizations that developed from the biological sciences. Among those using the approach are Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton, and Kinsley Davis. In the social sciences, there has been a tendency to emphasize structure with implications of non-change and non-adaptability. The approach drawn also from the biological sciences to answer this problem is the "open system approach." However, in this study, the term function-structure is used to emphasize the importance of function over structure; also this indicates that the structure is built around the function instead of vice versa.

[6]Adaptation is a significant element in systems analysis of organizations. Probably the most complete work of this type is found in Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966). Others include Paul Watzlawick, Janet Helmick Beavin, and Don D. Jackson, Pragmatics of Human Communication (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1967); Guy Black, The Application of Systems Analysis to Government Operations (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968); and Gordon Hearn, ed., The General Systems Approach: Contributions Toward an Holistic Conception of Social Work (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1969). The importance of communication systems has been discussed in Richard C. Huseman, Cal M. Logue, and Dwight L. Freshley, eds., Readings in Interpersonal and Organizational Communication (Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1969); Edgar H. Schein, Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 106; and Edwin P. Hollander and Ray G. Hunt, eds., Current Perspectives in Social Psychology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 533.

[7]Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, ed., A Dictionary of Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 311-313. This source lists several characteristics of the ideal-type. First, the model is not ideal in the ethical sense, nor is it average in the statistical sense, nor in the sense of a common denominator. Secondly, the model is ideal in a logical sense; it is "an attempt [to make] 'order' reality by isolating, accentuating, and articulating the elements of a recurrent social phenomenon into an internally consistent system of relationships."

-11-

Thirdly, "any given phenomenon permits a multiplicity of ideal types depending on which elements are brought into focus. The two primary functions of such models are: (1) to provide a "limiting case with which concrete phenomena may be contrasted; and (2) to constitute a framework for the development of type generalizations." The ideal-type must be "objectively possible" in that "concrete phenomena approximate more or less the theoretically conceived type." The model must also be "subjectively meaningful" in the sense that the ideal-type is understandable in terms of human motivation; it is, therefore, not inconsistent with what is known of human behavior. See also: E. A. Shils, and H. A. Finch, The Methodology of the Social Sciences (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949); A. R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (London: Hodge, 1947); Max Weber, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," in Sociological Research: I, A Case Approach, ed. by Matilda White Riley (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963), pp. 320-327; and Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, II (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 601-610. The function of the empirally-derived model is to concretize the ideal-type through the creation of the emergent, isomorphic model which is determined by the collection and analysis of data. This model may then be used to test the ideal-type for type generalizations, to "fill in" the ideal-type model, and/or to compare and contrast various aspects of the two models.

[8]These segments were divided into: (1) local politicians; (2) national politicians; (3) low-income target population; (4) the local middle class; and (5) the agency's Board of Directors.

[9]Harold M. Schroder, Michael J. Driver, and Siegfried Streufert, Human Information Processing (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967).

[10]In 1955, several local organizations began as grassroots action agencies. Local citizens gathered together to try to solve their own problems. At that time, race relations was the greatest problem confronting these agencies. John P. Dean and Alex Rose, A Manual of Inter-Group Relations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 7-19, 134, 137. These writers were concerned with the internal stability of such organizations; they claim that conflict was good as long as it was resolved in a short period of time. Several suggestions have been made concerning internal communication: the lines of communication between the majority and minority should be kept open; persons inexperienced with communication need training so as to be effective; and understanding both within and outside the organization should

-12-

be on an individual basis. The last point has been supported by Jurgen Ruesch, "The Observer and the Observed: Human Communication Theory," in Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior, ed. by Roy R. Grinker, Sr. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1957), pp. 36-54.

[11]Ellen Zachariasen, "Summary of Provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as Amended," Legislative Reference Service (Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress, August 8, 1969), p. 11.

[12]Hans B. C. Spiegel, ed., Citizen Participation in Urban Development, I (Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968), pp. 24-30. Target population is operationally defined as the low-income sector of the environment (as established by the family's annual income by the United States Office of Economic Opportunity) in the geographical area in which the agency operates. These guidelines vary with state and with urban/rural populations.

[13]Kenneth B. Clark and Jeanette Hopkins, A Relevant War Against Poverty (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 71-88; and "Minimal Participation," The Reporter, March 24, 1966, p. 18.

[14]George Nicolau, "The War on Poverty," in Dialogue on Poverty, ed. by Paul Jacobs, et al. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 79-80. Nicolau has claimed that it is the strategy of the community action program that has frightened the middle class as much as the function of the program. The strategy is one of "confrontation" which essentially means that "the American businessman, the professional, the middle-class housewife" are all enlisted in the fight against poverty. Nicolau claims, "Ours is not a war to be fought by proxy -- simply by hiring other people to do the so-called dirty work." This technique has not only frightened the middle class because of the unpredictability of social change caused by the organization of the poor but also has frightened the middle class because of their "enlistment" into the process of social action.

[15]Clark and Hoplins, p. 288; and Gene L. Mason, "Stripping Kentucky: The 'Subversive' Poor," Nation, December 30, 1968, pp. 721-724. In many cases the local politicians have been either indifferent to the community action program, or they have opposed the program. In some cases, violence has been used to keep community action programs

-13-

out of certain geographical areas. In other cases, the local politic-
ians have used the community action agencies to place political ap-
pointees. In this way, the agency has been run by the local politicians.
In addition, there have been changing attitudes in these groups about how
social welfare and the problems of the poor should be handled. In, Paul
E. Weinberger, Perspectives on Social Welfare (New York: Macmillan, 1969),
pp. 10-11, the author has claimed that the "theoretical framework" for
social welfare is changing. He stated, "The rediscovery of poverty in
America in the early sixties and the repercussions of the ensuing War on
Poverty have created a milieu in which social action has become a prime
concern of professional social work." The idea that society should main-
tain an eternal, caretaker relationship with the poor has been replaced
with the attitude that the poor can and will care for themselves with
some short-range help from the environment for the purpose of social and
community organization.

[16]Ralph M. Kramer, "Ideology, Status, and Power in Board-Executive
Relationships," in Readings in Community Organization Practice, ed, by
Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Specht (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Pren-
tice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 285-293; and Ralph M. Kramer, "An Analysis
of Policy Issues in Relationships Between Governmental and Voluntary
Welfare Agencies," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of
California, 1964. One of the areas of difficulty in CAA's is with the
Board of Directors. Quite often the professionals in the system have
a different welfare ideology than do the members of the Board. The
relationship between the Board and the professionals is quite important
for the stability of the system. However, there are considerable dif-
ferences: Board members are part-time and are not compensated for
their work; there is an employer-employee relationship between the
Board and the staff; and there is the difference of socio-economic
class.

[17]Obviously, adaptation is a continuous process. The structural
and functional aspects of the system are also continuous. However,
for purposes of analysis, this first step was involved in how the sys-
tem operated prior to any of the messages from the environment enter-
ing the system. These are the messages that entered between April 1,
1970 and September 1, 1970. Table I illustrates the criteria for es-
tablishing information input type.

[18]Katz and Kahn, p. 22. Information includes directives, sugges-
tions, evaluations, queries for self-criticism, and actions on agency
requests. Information input is here defined as data about the agency's
operations which are transmitted by the environment and received by the
agency.

[19]Severyn T. Bruyn, <u>The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation</u> (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., p. 29. Concretizing is "how the investigator personally came to understand the particular meanings he studies." It is the "filling in" of the general skeleton created by the ideal-type model. By using the participant-observer technique, data for concretizing the model were discovered.

[20]The sources are divided according to the statement by the source as to his identity. In the collection of telephone data, this was determined by asking the caller who he was; with written data, this was determined by the signature.

[21]See: William F. Whyte, "Interviewing in Field Research," in <u>Human Organization Research</u>, ed. by R. N. Adams and J. J. Preiss (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960), pp. 360-361. Severyn Bruyn makes seven suggestions for limiting the flaws which were incorporated in this investigation. They include: (1) lengthening the time of participant observation; (2) changing the context of the investigation, i.e., the place where the observations take place; (3) changing the social circumstances for observing; (4) varying the status opportunities of the researcher; (5) having a sensitization to the language of the observees; (6) varying the intimacy of the encounters with agency members; (7) using the interview for consensus, in order to try to establish similarity between observations as viewed by the participant observer and those seen by the members of the agency. For further information on interviewing see: Pascal and Jenkins, pp. 18, 29-30, and 37; Kurt H. Wolff, "The Collection and Organization of Field Materials: A Research Report," in <u>Human Organization Research</u>, ed. by Richard N. Adams and Jack J. Preiss (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960), pp. 240-254. The interviewing method was used in this investigation primarily as a tool substantiating or not substantiating data gathered through the participant-observation method. The same flaws exist for interviewing as those for participant observation. However, Herbert Hyman lists the errors of interviewing in the following categories: (1) asking errors, (2) probing errors, (3) recording errors, and (4) flagrant cheating. He also suggests methods for limiting the amount of errors in each of the categories. These suggestions were incorporated into this study. They included taking enough time in formulating the questions so as to make the questions as "objective" and as specific as possible. The methods used to limit errors in participant observation were also used in the probing aspect of interviewing.

Recording was made immediately after the interview. In addition, a
journal was maintained by the researcher which stated a retrospective
viewpoint of what happened each day at the end of the day. In addition,
records were kept of nonverbal responses during the interview. On the
form of the interview, the researcher kept the following information:
(1) time, (2) place, (3) social circumstance, (4) any unusual lan-
guage forms which may help the interview gain a better rapport with the
member in a later situation, and (5) quotations when appropriate as
well as the general information gathered in reference to questions ask-
ed. The first interview was to gain a holistic view of how the system
operated. The second was to determine who were the authorities accord-
ing to the agency members. The schedule for the second period of in-
terviewing was from July 6 to July 20, 1970. Questions include:
(1) Do you think this agency has changed in the way it operates over
the past three months? (2) If so, how? (3) Why do you think these
changes have come about? (4) Whom do you hold responsible for making
these changes? (5) Who usually makes changes in the agency? (6) How
are you involved in the making of changes? One final period of inter-
viewing was used to determine what changes had been made in reference
to the methods of procedures, plans, etc. as established in the cate-
gory system in Stage One, Step One. The questions for the final sche-
dule (July 21 - August 1, 1970) included: (1) How has the agency
changed in the last six months (in reference to each of the categories)?
(2) Why have these changes occurred? (3) Do you think the changes have
been beneficial or harmful to the operations of the agency? Why? All
interviews were kept flexible so that sometimes the agency member could
provide more information than he intended. For further information on
interviewing, see: Herbert H. Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research
(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 240, 275, and
283; Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships,"
in Anthropology Today, ed. by A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 430-451; Carl R. Rogers, Counseling and
Psychotherapy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), pp. 87-89; Isidor
Chein, Stuart W. Cook, and John Harding, "The Field of Action Research,"
The American Psychologist, III (February, 1948), pp. 43-50; and Buford
H. Junker, Field Work: An Introduction to the Social Sciences (Chicago:
The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[22]Power involves the ability of one person, group, or system to
manipulate the attitudes and/or behavior of another person, group, or
system. In the context of this investigation, the judgment as to
whether a source has power is necessarily made by the system. Accord-
ing to some sources, this is influence. However, in these definitions
the writers are concerned with whether the source actually has enough
physical (or other) force to bring about the manipulation. Here the
concern is only with whether the system operated on the basis of its

own definitions and past experience. Arnold M. Rose, <u>The Power Struc-</u>
<u>ture</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 712; Floyd Hunter,
<u>Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers</u> (Chapel Hill:
University of North Carolina Press, 1953, p. 2; Hans Gerth and C.
Wright MIlls, <u>Character and Social Structure</u> (New York: Harcourt,
Brace, and World, 1964), p. 195; and C. Wright Mills, <u>Power, Politics,</u>
<u>and People</u>, ed. by Irving Louis Horowitz (New York: Oxford University
Press, 1963), p. 23. Highpower sources were those the agency perceived
as having enough influence to terminate the agency. Status quo-expan-
sion was defined as advising the agency to keep its basic managerial
and communication system while expanding its responsibilities. Change-
limitation refers to messages advocating policy change and limitation
of responsibility.