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ABSTRACT

Researchers in South Carolina set up a study and a measurement instrument to determine the powerlessness/alienation phenomenon among rural limited-resource people. They established a control group and an experimental group of black and white residents of six small South Carolina communities. With the control group, they conducted a traditional approach to agency utilization and intervention, using group meetings, information dissemination, and encouragement. With the experimental group, researchers tested three experimental models of intervention: situational, cyclical, and interactional. The effectiveness of the treatment was apparently irrelevant. Early socialization experiences did not affect respondents' feelings of alienation and powerlessness, but race did. Instead of feeling powerless or helpless individually, respondents tended to be thwarted in group efforts towards autonomy as local political institutions did not seem to support goal-setting behavior by limited resource groups. Researchers also measured the alienation of both groups before and after the experiment and administered the Srole Anomie Scale to 400 blacks and 400 whites in rural and urban South Carolina for purposes of comparison. They found that six hypothesized alienation dimensions were not substantiated. Recommendations regarding survey methods, participant-observation methods, unobtrusive measures, and the focus of research on interaction are included. (SB)

Research Bulletin No. 13 May, 1979

# FOUNDATIONS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

## A STUDY OF GROUP DYNAMICS AND PROBLEM SOLVING AMONG RURAL POOR PEOPLE: AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

by

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and the

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Finally, we offer our thanks and admiration to the community leaders, teachers, agency directors and personnel, without whose generous assistance and cooperation this study would not have been possible.

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ABSTRACT

Alienation as a characteristic of the rural, limited-resource population was studied via bibliographic research and analysis, traditional questionnaire administration, and experimental research using group dynamics techniques. Alienation was found to be a direct response to a) an unresponsive political structure which does not consider itself responsible to the poor, and b) local, state and federal policies which assume that the limited-resource community is not capable of rational decision-making and responsible management of its affairs. Doubt is cast on the ability of mathematical techniques to sort out the dimensions of human experience, in this case, alienation. Recommendations are offered for further research and research techniques in rural, limited-resource areas.

## INTRODUCTION

### Traditional Conceptions of the Poor

Conditions of low income and poverty, minority status, ghetto living and rural life are often mentioned in association with strong feelings of alienation (Bell, 1957; Meier and Bell, 1959; Mizurchi, 1960; Killian and Grigg, 1962; Sullough, 1967). Srole (1956) demonstrated that the lower income sector of his sample scored higher on his anomia scale, suggesting that the poor are anomic. Investigators have noted that Srole's Scale of anomia appears not to be a measure of normlessness as much as a measure of retreatism and despair. Meier and Bell (1959) wrote, "We are convinced that these questions for the most part measure despair, that is, utter hopelessness and discouragement. We have adopted the term 'anomia' to refer to the Srole Scale but other terms such as 'despair,' 'hopelessness,' 'discouragement,' 'personal disorganization,' 'demoralization' (especially in the sense of disheartenment) and other terms might be used at this point in our understanding of the phenomenon being measured." Erbe (1954) referred to this scale as measuring retreatist alienation, characterized "In detachment and despair, in the feeling that the world promises nothing in the way of comfort or support." Somewhat in this sense the Srole Scale has been used as a measure of fetalism by Bryan and Bertrand (1970). They use the word "fatalism" to avoid confusion and because it seems most accurately to depict the single dimension meaning of the scale (Bryan and Bertrand, 1970:7).

By implication, then, the poor are depicted as retreatist, despairing and fatalistic. Parker and McLean (1976) and Rushing (1972:9-10) discuss the poor in the context of relative, or perceived, deprivation and Moland (1975) discusses correlates of anomia among the rural poor in much the same vein.

Poverty as Attributions

Social scientists tend to discuss poverty and the poor in terms of attributions, either of the poor themselves or the social structure of which poverty is a part. The poor are often seen as more fragile, more susceptible to physical and mental illness, possessing lower aspirations, more likely to become criminals, less motivated to work, less articulate, less capable of sustained work performance, and more easily fragmented than their middle-class counterparts. When the social structure is the focus of attention, it is described in terms of a different set of attributions, namely, opportunity and selective access to privilege, including the means by which the poor are excluded from a structure whose ideology, at least, offers equal opportunity to all. We would suggest that there are three major lines of sociological thoughts or orientations toward poverty.

Attributions of the Poor

Those who advocate the Culture of Poverty position (Lewis, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1966; Gehlbach, 1966; Irelan et al., 1969, Rodman, 1971; Fane, 1973; Fichten, 1974; Miller, 1976) argue that in essence the poor isolate themselves from the mainstream of privilege by their socialization procedures. Others, such as Hess (1970) and Sandis (1970), while not within the culture of poverty theory, take basically the same position. In order to survive in poverty, the family adopts certain strategies, such as loose husband-wife bonds, authoritarianism, limited conceptions of future time, and incapacity for deferred gratification,

which they pass on to their offspring and which mitigate against their offspring's obtaining the wherewithal for middle-class status. The theoretical emphasis is on the characteristics, or attributes, of the poor.

Attributions of the Structure

The proponents of this theoretical stance are predominately Marxist in orientation, represented in modern day sociology by the conflict theorists. The argument from this stance is that the poor are characteristically alienated and defeatist because they have no other options. Efforts to advance themselves and their progeny are met with determined resistance from the community power structure in the form of ordinances, closed town or city council meetings, exclusionist policies, and general failure to convey to the poor information which would assist them to improve their life chances. Gans (1973:105-14) argues that the poor subsidize the affluent and that the wealthy have a vested interest in maintaining poverty. If the poor feel deprived, then, it is because they are deprived; if they feel isolated and discouraged, it is because they are isolated and discouraged. Their feelings are the result of contact with reality, i.e., situationally induced. If one wished to change the feelings of the poor, one would change, not the poor, but the structure which rests on the existence of poverty.

Attributions of the Poor and the Structure

A third outlook from the sociological quarter upon the feelings of powerlessness and alienation exhibited by the poor emanates from Merton's classic statement (Merton, 1937) of anomie as a goals-means discrepancy. Having been socialized to accept the goals of society, namely, material success and the status and prestige attached thereto, the poor are deprived from the means of obtaining these goals and react in various modes: activism, apathy, and deviance. In other words, there is an action/reaction model, with the social structure being the independent variable, the feelings of the poor as the dependent variable. The variations on this theme are extensive. Lander (1954), Cloward (1959), Clinard (1964), and Pearlin (1964) focus on the dynamics of anomie and deviant behavior.

Many have tested the proposition that class position is inversely related to social and political participation, for example, Roberts and Rokeach (1956), Keedy and Vincent (1958), Srole (1959), Bell (1962), Killian and Grigg (1962), Neal and Rettig (1963), Seeman (1963), Simpson and Miller (1963), Coleman (1964), Van-Es and Whittenberger (1970), Photiadis and Schweiker (1971). This model is featured predominantly by writers on rural alienation, and it is the model on which much extensive work is based, i.e., giving the rural poor the means to obtain the opportunities which will raise their status. The assumption which grows out of the theoretical orientation discussed in this section is that the poor are isolated from the mainstream of American privilege because they do not know how to obtain opportunities or do not have access to

training necessary to take advantage of them. Moreover, they do not have the managerial skills necessary to conserve and develop the resources they have; therefore; they develop feelings of isolation, powerlessness, anomia and so forth because they cannot relate to the predominately middle class opportunity structure. The research of Meier and Bell (1959), Moon (1963), Brown et. al. (1964), Brown (1965), Gordon (1965), Warner (1965), C. Lewis (1966), Riddick (1966), Leak (1967), Alleger (1971), Moland (1972), McManus (1973), Morgan (1973), Bertrand (1974), Helmick (1974), and Hauser (1975) is predicated on giving the rural poor the means of participation, or overcoming resistance to acquiring the means, e.g., apathy, despair, hopelessness, resignation, etc.

Poverty as Process

While the three models have provided a fertile ground for research, we would suggest a fourth model as a kind of synthesis of all three, namely, an interactional model. Action-reaction is one kind of interaction, but it is not a complete description of interaction because it lacks any kind of feedback component. The socialization orientation of poverty has a feedback component, but lacks a change component, for if one is socialized into poverty then there can be no escape outside of resocialization. Yet the data indicate otherwise: people regularly do escape and historically have escaped poverty. The conflict model has a change component and a feedback component but lacks an interactional component: the poor are merely victims of an unjust system, they have no input into that injustice or into the changing of that system.

We would suggest that poverty is not an attribute, either of people or of systems, but a process of interaction between them. Foundations for Self Determination is a project built on that model while simultaneously

investigating in a mode prescribed by the other three orientations.

## THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The primary goal of this project was to set up an experimental study in which the powerlessness/alienation phenomenon among rural people could be measured. To accomplish this goal, a measuring instrument was designed. The secondary goal was to set up an experimental group and a control group situation wherein the powerlessness/alienation dynamic and communication strategies could be systematically explored in terms of the growth of rural people toward identifying and seeking out solutions to their own problems: (1) to assume responsibility for their own welfare and (2) to give direction to agencies designated to provide assistance to them once they have defined their own goals and attendant problems.

### General Objectives

1. To construct an instrument for measuring the powerlessness/alienation dimension;
2. To set up an appropriate design for measuring the effectiveness of alternative modeling and intervention procedures;
3. To apply a longitudinal pretest and post test design using experimental and control groups;
4. To submit the instrument to researchers engaged in related study for testing;
5. To submit the findings of the longitudinal testing to judges (experts and researchers who have found existing scales inadequate to measure the powerlessness/alienation deminsion) to critique;
6. To refine, if need be, the instrument based on the results received from items #4 and #5.

### Specific Objectives

Based on the proposition that the condition of powerlessness/alienation runs along a continuum, the specific objectives of this research were as follows:

1. To construct an instrument to measure alienation:

   a. The Srole Anomie Scale and the Moon-McOann modification of the same to be scrutinized to isolate powerlessness/alienation factors therein, if indeed they are present.

   b. Test items innovated by Dean. Leak, Levis, Marsh and Brown, Moland and others to be evaluated in terms of their research findings.

2. To locate communities for the experimental and control groups:

   a. The experimental group to be sub-divided into three sectors in order to measure different dimensions of powerlessness/alienation: cyclical, situational and interactional. (In Orangeburg County or within a radius of 50-75 miles from Orangeburg).

   b. The control group to be located in Orangeburg County to use the communities in which rapport has been established-ed via the transportation and communication project previously researched.

3. To pretest the experimental and control groups.

4. To develop qualified measures or appropriate alternatives to identify the three aforementioned dimensions of powerlessness/alienation (i.e., measuring instrument).

5. To translate the quantitative data into action models for the experimental group:

   a. a cyclical model of intervention
   b. a situational model of intervention
   c. an interactional model of intervention

6. To translate the quantitative data into action models for the control group via the traditional methods of communication, transportation, and the researcher as the "change agent."

7. To measure the effect of appropriate group dynamics techniques for the purpose of developing a change-oriented group in the community:

   a. To use the instrument in a post test to measure the degree of change from a sense of powerlessness/alienation to a sense of decision-making in the experimental group:

      1) through identification of problems;
      2) through group-oriented strategies for resolving problems;
      3) through group endogenous change.

   b. To use the instrument in the post test to measure the degree of change from a sense of powerlessness/alienation in the control group:

1) through the impact of the "change agent" strategies to identify problems;
2) through the impact of the "change agent" strategies to resolve problems;
3) through the "change agent" or exogenous strategies to promote change.

8. To use the pretest and post test data to measure the validity of group dynamics on poverlessness/alienation by comparing the experimental group with the control group.

9. To modify the measuring instrument, if need be, based on the pretest and post test results.

10. To submit the modified measuring instrument to other researchers engaged in related study for testing and to judges for critiquing.

11. To refine the measuring instrument based on the data received from other researchers and the findings of the judges.

12. To propose an extended project to expand the study in South Carolina to span the testing and group dynamics foci to geographical areas or zones: the Piedmont, the Savannah and the Pee Dee Regions.

13. To propose the use of the measuring instrument in projects concerned with rural areas of the South.

Procedure

At the onset of the project, we examined and synthesized a variety of theoretical and empirical literature to develop an instrument designed to measure powerlessness/alienation in a given population. Concurrently, we located two communities of comparable composition and political structure as sites for the experimental and control groups. In the control sub-groups, we conducted the traditional approach to agency utilization: meeting with community groups, informing them of existing services established to meet their needs, and urging them to use these services. In the experimental sub-groups, we attempted to apply three models of directed social changes as follows:

Cyclical Model: alienation as an individual phenomenon transmitted through the socialization process, i.e., cycle of poverty.

Situational Model: role expectations determined by the economic and

political situation of a given group.

Interactional Model: powerlessness/alienation as a social entity created and maintained by the interaction of the individuals and the group with significant or powerful others.

The control group was treated with the standard model of intervention: community problems were identified by the community leaders in conjunction with the experimenters. Solutions to the problems were sought by the experimenters who adopted, temporarily, the role of community action leaders and presented the solutions to the people for their adoption.

The instrument which had been developed at the beginning of the project was refined and applied in the experimental and control treatment communities both before and after the treatment. Additionally, the Srole Anomie Scale was applied to black and white, urban and rural populations for purposes of comparison and critique. Rural black populations other than those in the experimental and control communities were tested with the Srole scale.

## THE CONTROL GROUP

In sociological research, control groups are usually found in small population experiments. In large populated areas this type of design is unique and rare. On a large-scale research venture, it is difficult to achieve experimental and control groups of equal composition (Labovitz, 1976:56).

We resolved this problem by selecting Barnham (population 3,406) and the Quincy area (population estimate 3,076). Pseudonymity is used to preserve the confidentiality of the grassroots persons who participated in this research. The town of Quincy, per se, was used in our prior research, Effects of Communication and Transportation on Utilization of Agency Services by Rural Poor People in South Carolina. Faith, Riceland and Windmill are community clusters that are non-incorporated extensions of Quincy, that is, Barnham and the Quincy area are of approximately the same size and composition, ideal for experimental and control groups.

In executing an experimental design, the experimental group typically receives the stimulus or treatment while the control group does not. In our design, the control subgroups received treatment via a traditional extension method (i.e., video tape presentations and sources of information concerning agency services). Therefore, upon request, specific video tapes of Adult Education, Employment Security, Farmer's Home Administration, Food Stamps, Guides to Good Health, Health Services, High School Equivalency and Vocational Rehabilitation were shown (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF VIEWERS ATTENDING SHOWINGS OF
FILM BY PLACE OF SHOWING
OCTOBER, 1976 - MAY, 1977

| DATE | FILM | PLACE | NUMBER |
|---|---|---|---|
| October 21, 1976 | Adult Education | Riceland Community Center | 14 |
| October 21, 1976 | Health Services | Quincy Center | 32 |
| November 1, 1976 | Food Stamps | Quincy Center | 29 |
| November 14, 1976 | Food Stamps | Riceland Community Center | 21 |
| November 15, 1976 | Food Stamps | Riceland Community Center | 26 |
| November 29, 1976 | Employment Security | Riceland Community Center | 16 |
| December 5, 1976 | Farmer's Home Administration | Quincy Center | 14 |
| December 6, 1976 | High School Equivalency | Riceland Community Center | 11 |
| December 13, 1976 | High School Equivalency | Faith Center | 12 |
| December 15, 1976 | Voactional Rehabilitation | Riceland Community Center | 13 |
| February 2, 1977 | Food Stamps | Faith Center | 17 |
| February 8, 1977 | Food Stamps | Riceland Community Center | 27 |
| March 1, 1977 | Guides to Good Health | Riceland Community Center | 34 |
| March 14, 1977 | Employment Security | Quincy Center | 10 |
| April 5, 1977 | Food Stamps | Faith Center | 9 |
| May 9, 1977 | Health Services | Faith Center | 7 |
| May 30, 1977 | Farmer's Home Administration | Faith Center | 8 |

As evidenced by Table 1, the attendance was low and the requests for showings during the eight-month period of October through May, 1977 were sporadic. This situation is partially attributed to the fact that the town of Quincy, proper, was included in the traditional treatment of the previous project, therefore, many of the residents had viewed the video tapes and the requests

most likely represent the films that were of greatest interest to the populace. However, there are other causal factors to be considered.

First, there is the possibility that people do not wish to be told what is good for them. Second, more information does not stimulate interest in agency usage; that is, there must be some internal factors within the agency to make it desirable for use even though people may need the services. Third, there may be alternative needs that take priority over what has been designated as services for rural limited resource persons.

Our research suggests that each of the three aforementioned factors proves to be an intervening variable.

Riceland

Riceland is a small community located approximately 14 miles northwest of the county seat and 5 miles from Quincy proper, in which it is incorporated. Through contact with a group of women in a social club, we learned that many people in Riceland return there for retirement and that many persons are community-oriented despite what was reported to be undesirable political and economic conditions. Also, from this information we ascertained that ethnographic methodology could best be used to find out the attitudes of the people about political, economic, social and educational conditions; the history and morale of the community; why persons elect to return to the community to retire; and why many persons work outside of the community but retain church and social ties with the home locale.

The ladies identified some elderly persons, some working residents, and leaders whom we should contact. However, they requested that we allow them a period of two weeks to contact these persons to assure them that we were reliable researchers and could be trusted with confidential information. We used this technique in Riceland, Faith, Quincy and Windmill with a total

of 18 Ethnographic Case Studies which enabled us to get a feeling-tone for these communities not accessible via survey and questionnaire techniques. To wit, when an interviewer asks a question, he/she gets an answer that can be quantitatively measured, but when an interviewer uses ethnographic techniques the attitudinal data can be measured for consistency of output amongst the various persons and indepth information that the interviewee wishes to reveal.

In 1954, the Riceland community school was moved. What was left became the Riceland Community Center. The people were concerned about the young people. Knowing the importance of church, school and home, a group of citizens sought to organize a center for the youth.

For reasons not yet known, the school was put up for auction and sold. All other former schools were either returned to the district or given back to the community. In Orangeburg County, only the Riceland School was put up for auction. Inadvertently, this fact stimulated cohesiveness within the community. The people organized themselves into a body, designed a constitution to guide them (see Appendix 1), and bought the property for the sum of $2,500.00.[1] There were some remaining 5 acres of land surrounding the Riceland Community Center that had to be purchased from the school district to give the community a clear title to the land. To acquire the needed $800, shares were sold and several projects were sponsored by the Working Committee such as cake sales, raffles, fish fries, etc.[2]

Through the years, the Riceland Community Center has been the focus of interaction and involvement. Aside from individual social and church groups

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[1] Minutes of the Riceland Community Center Dedication Service, April 13, 1973.

[2] Ibid.

sponsoring regular affairs there, the organization has sponsored community events at such holidays as Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter and the Fourth of July. Recreational activities have been provided for children and adult groups with the emphasis on softball, baseball, volley ball and paddle tennis.

With the possibility of the expansion of community activities under new federal programs, some disunity currently exists. The basis of the disunity lies in the concept of an intrinsic value, "land." Land has proven to be the key to the return of people to the community, to the purchase of heir property, to retain the land for black people, and to retaining community solidarity against the political and economic structure that allegedly uses sophisticated methods to undermine the black landowners. Therefore, there is distrust of opportunities of the area residents to borrow money to expand their programs to include such things as lighted ball fields and a swimming pool. The old guard interpret the word "heir" in the deed to refer to the biological heirs of the original organizers who signed the constitution, not official heirs meaning the trustees and officers at any given point in time. Therefore, there is a hiatus between the young adults who reside in the community and now hold office and the few elderly trustees remaining. Although money is available through the Lower Savannah Regional Council of Governments, an affirmative vote cannot be gotten because the property would have to be leased or deeded to the county to receive funding (see Appendix 2). Moreover, the location is such that the Riceland Community Center is on a main road and close to several white communities whose residents would be attracted to the center if swimming facilities were available, and the Board of Directors would be responsible to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

The Riceland Community Center remains continuously functional with activities throughout the year as previously described. We should suggest that the residents of Riceland retain a core for sustained community action to achieve their goals.

The women in a social club in Riceland had viewed most of the video tapes of agencies shown between April, 1974 - March 1975; however, they did not deem these to represent their need priority. They wished a film created to help families to develop home enrichment programs for summer and leisure time activities which they could afford. Subsequently, with the assistance of a consultant, the project staff, and ideas from the women in the social club, a "Home Enrichment Activities" video tape was produced.

During the months of July and August, 1977, films were shown upon request. The "Home Enrichment Activities" video tape was well received (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF VIEWERS ATTENDING SHOWINGS
OF HOME ENRICHMENT ACTIVITIES DATE AND PLACE
JULY - AUGUST, 1977

| DATE | PLACE | MALES | | FEMALES | | CHILDREN | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| July 7 | Riceland Community Center | 3 | 10.71 | 18 | 64.28 | 7 | 25.00 | 28 | 99.99 |
| July 8 | Riceland Church | 5 | 17.24 | 15 | 51.72 | 9 | 31 | 29 | 99.96 |
| July 12 | Riceland Community Center | 32 | 48.48 | 25 | 37.88 | 9 | 13.6 | 66 | 99.96 |
| July 13 | Quincy Center | 12 | 29.26 | 17 | 41.45 | 12 | 29.26 | 41 | 99.97 |
| July 15 | Riceland Community Center | - | - | 22 | 100 | - | - | 22 | 100.00 |
| July 16 | Riceland Community Center | 7 | 18.81 | 12 | 32.43 | 18 | 48.65 | 37 | 99.89 |
| July 18 | Riceland Community Center | 6 | 24.00 | 9 | 36.00 | 10 | 40.00 | 25 | 100.00 |
| July 19 | Faith Center | 19 | 27.14 | 28 | 40.00 | 23 | 32.86 | 70 | 100.00 |

TABLE 2 -- Continued

| DATE | PLACE | MALES | | FEMALES | | CHILDREN | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| July 27 | Quincy Center | 12 | 19.04 | 38 | 60.31 | 13 | 20.64 | 63 | 99.99 |
| August 1 | Faith Church | 2 | 08.33 | 12 | 50.00 | 10 | 41.67 | 24 | 100.00 |
| August 3 | Windmill Center | 8 | 23.53 | 9 | 26.47 | 17 | 50.00 | 34 | 100.00 |
| August 5 | Riceland Community Center | 5 | 16.66 | 14 | 46.67 | 11 | 36.67 | 30 | 100.00 |
| August 5 | Quincy Center | 7 | 22.58 | 11 | 35.48 | 13 | 41.94 | 31 | 100.00 |
| August 8 | Windmill Center | 8 | 16.67 | 17 | 35.41 | 23 | 47.92 | 48 | 100.00 |
| August 14 | Quincy Church | 3 | 11.53 | 9 | 34.62 | 14 | 53.85 | 26 | 100.00 |
| August 17 | Windmill Center | 4 | 33.33 | 8 | 66.67 | - | - | 12 | 100.00 |
| August 21 | Riceland Church | 13 | 14.13 | 32 | 34.79 | 47 | 51.08 | 92 | 100.00 |
| August 25 | Quincy Church | 6 | 21.42 | 13 | 46.42 | 9 | 32.14 | 28 | 99.98 |
| Total Attendance, Sex, Age Group, Percentages: All Showings | | 152 | 21.52 | 309 | 43.77 | 245 | 34.71 | 706 | 100.00 |

The women in the social club organized families into clusters, encouraged each cluster to select a leader to inform other interested persons, and planned transportation for persons who were in need of such to meet at specific dates and places to view the film and to engage in dialogue as to how they may implement activities in accordance with their individual family needs and interests. The cluster leaders had informal meetings from house to house to enable families to share their experiences in developing leisure time activities in their homes.

Via oral communication at revivals and other church gatherings where people visited other communities (Faith, Quincy and Windmill), persons requested that the film be shown in their communities. As Table 2 indicates 706 or approximately 22 percent of the Quincy area viewed the film. As there are no hard data to indicate the white/black ratio we can only estimate on the basis of a mean of the approximation given by white/black respondents whom we contacted. Approximately 40% of the entire Quincy area is black. Therefore, it may be approximated that 1,300 of the area researched is black and that 54.30% of the black population viewed the "Home Enrichment Activities" video tape. And, if we consider the black adult population, only, 461 or 65.29% viewed the video tape.

We continued showing "Food Stamps" and "Health Services" during the months of July and August, 1977 per request, but the number of viewings and the number in attendance were markedly lower than for "Home Enrichment Activities," as is indicated by Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF VIEWERS ATTENDING SHOWINGS OF FOOD STAMPS FILM BY DATE AND PLACE JULY - AUGUST, 1977

| DATE | PLACE | MALES | | FEMALES | | CHILDREN | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| July 12 | Riceland Community Center | 32 | 48.48 | 25 | 37.88 | 9 | 13.64 | 66 | 100.00 |
| July 15 | Riceland Social Club | - | - | 22 | 100 | - | - | 22 | 100.00 |
| July 19 | Faith Center | 19 | 27.14 | 28 | 40.00 | 23 | 32.86 | 70 | 100.00 |
| Total Attendance, Sex, Age Group, Percentages: All Showings | | 51 | 32.27 | 75 | 47.46 | 32 | 20.25 | 158 | 99.98 |

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF VIEWERS ATTENDING SHOWINGS OF
HEALTH SERVICES FILM BY DATE AND PLACE
JULY - AUGUST, 1977

| DATE | PLACE | MALES | | FEMALES | | CHILDREN | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| August 1 | Faith Center | 2 | 08.33 | 12 | 50.00 | 10 | 41.67 | 24 | 100.00 |
| August 14 | Quincy Church | 3 | 11.53 | 9 | 34.62 | 14 | 53.85 | 26 | 100.00 |
| August 17 | Windmill Center | 4 | 33.33 | 8 | 66.67 | - | - | 12 | 100.00 |
| August 21 | Riceland Church | 13 | 14.13 | 32 | 34.79 | 47 | 51.08 | 92 | 100.00 |
| August 25 | Faith Church | 6 | 21.42 | 13 | 46.42 | 9 | 32.14 | 28 | 99.98 |
| Total Attendance, Sex, Age Group, Percentages: All Showings | | 28 | 15.38 | 74 | 40.66 | 80 | 43.96 | 182 | 100.00 |

We do not discount the fact that many persons had the opportunity to see these films in our prior study, but the total number of viewers for all of the nine video tapes shown in the Quincy area between April, 1974 and March, 1975 is less than the sum total of the number of viewers of "Home Enrichment Activities" (i.e., 315 for all nine films and 706 for the "Home Enrichment Activities").

Although the previous study did not distinguish between adult and children viewers, the adult viewers of the "Home Enrichment Activities," 461, exceed the total number of viewers of all nine video tapes in the previous study, 315.

While we cannot underestimate the probability of basic trust in our researchers developing over the span of years, we consider that our results

indicate that people are more prone to interact and to be involved if they are part and parcel of the decision making process. Also, this research supports the thesis that rural, limited resource persons are capable of and interested in decision making in resolving their problems and determining their destiny.

Faith

The Faith Center, like the Riceland Community Center, evolved from the utilization of an unused school building. Upon the consolidation of the county schools, many one and two room schools became vacant. Contact with identified leaders in the community provided us with information that some residents of the area viewed the Faith School building as a possible center for community activities. Through negotiation with the school superintendent and county council, they were able to lease the school and five acres of land for one dollar per year with the stipulations that they: (1) provide insurance on the structure and (2) pay for debts incurred through the use of the utilities. The first lease was signed in 1972: and, since that time, the black community has used the center for recreation, summer lunch programs and community gatherings. Ethnographic Case Studies of the community-identified leaders reveal that there has been little solidification of the black community concerning the resolution of problems in the educational system. Allegedly, there is an unwritten policy of renting books that have been used three years to black children. The system profits from this practice and places the black child in double jeopardy because at the end of the term, he is fined for damaged books that were in a state of deterioration when he received them; and if a book is lost, he/she has to pay the price of a new one. The few persons who registered complaints to the superintendent were merely informed that the blacks should "count their blessings" since they had improved conditions

aince integration. In addition, these few articulate blacks have complained about disparities in administering punishment for white and black children.

It seems that the blacks complain about the educational situation in church meetings; but, for fear of losing the center, they lack the cohesion needed to act as a representative body. However, at the center, men and women pay dues of $1.00 annually to pay the taxes and the utility bills and to sponsor affairs to promote recreational programs for the children.

Although the Faith Center has no written constitution as does Riceland, there appears to be a democrstic leadership pattern. The meetings are informal, but structured. The President has the usual powers, but the format of government is not rigid. The prime interest of the area residents is recreation; they will not interfere in political matters.

They did submit a petition to the county council, whereby the county was to pay the city of Orangeburg two-thirds of the cost of a recreation budget of $168,000.00 for 1976-77. The city would assess the county residents a fee to use its facilities, or the county resident would pay a yearly fee. The county council denied their request, but made a nebulous commitment to give relief to the sparse recreational facility.

At the close of our project, the results of this promise by the county council were not known. However, this community indicates that it is willing to be assertive about issues that do not have the possiblity of reprisal, but it lacks cohesion in regard to issues that have political and economic overtones.

Quincy

The Quincy township was chosen as a control community because it had participated in the previous project, Effects of Communication and Transportation on Utilization of Agency Services by Rural Poor People in South

Carolina. Our research team re-established rapport with community leaders. The Quincy community had previously proven to be dysfunctional in all aspects of interaction. It posed a situation of diversity and disunity greater than any other control sub-group.

The community, like Faith, had tremendous problems with the public school not only in regard to the book rental system and discipline, but also in regard to dissatisfaction with teachers who were employed in the system but sent their own children to private schools to deter integration.

The community identified leader's ethnographic study revealed that the leader had been active in the fight for integration; and as a result, he was frozen out of business because he could not get supplies for his gasoline station, restaurant and laundromat. His concern was with the problem of drug abuse in the community; however, he had experienced such severe reprisal that he was reluctant to be as outspoken as he had been previously. He reported, however, that at the time of integration, each black child was retained in a grade if the child did not attend summer school to "catch up." Most black parents were unable to pay summer school fees; therefore, their children were retained.

The leaders were interested in the "Home Enrichment Activities" video tape because they thought that it might serve as a focus for developing cohesion. In general, the leadership followed a crisis pattern. This is to say, if a crisis arises several members will act with no one person emerging or taking the foremost role. Conversely, if there is no crisis much disunity prevails; factions oppose one another.

Of all the sub-groups, Quincy seems most alienated on the political, economic, social and educational levels. In essence, Quincy appears pathologic in terms of group solidarity and self-determination.

Windmill

At the beginning of the project, we were unable to establish contact in the Windmill community. However, a native returned upon his retirement and proved to be a catalytic agent. He motivated the people to work together and to develop a school into a community center. Men, women and children worked to clear the land, to maintain the site, to plan community activities and to secure federal funds for summertime lunch and recreational programs.

The community expressed interest in the "Home Enrichment Activities" video tape, "Food Stamps," and "Health Services" (see Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4). Moreover, the charismatic community leader made contact with organizations in the county seat and got support for securing a refrigerator and for establishing a used clothes corner where people who came to the center may purchase clothing at a modicum.

It is difficult to ascertain the future of this group because the leadership is centered around one man and the people's love for "the prodigal son." We do not consider it to be an alienated community: however, we are unable to attribute its assertiveness to the group, but rather, to its leadership.

THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

To expedite the three experimental models of intervention, the experimental group was divided among three communities which, for reasons of confidentiality, will be given pseudonyms. Barnham, with a population of approximately thirty-four hundred is the county seat of Barnham County. Its main economic bases are textile processing and farming. Just outside Barnham are several 15 to 50 family communities which have designations known to area residents, for example, Sugar Creek, Gideon and Orange Swamp. These designations are not formal, nor are they recognized by the post office, but they often have their own churches, clubs and community groups. The two major areas around Barnham are Limehill and Stokely, each with a population of approximately 40 households. The three experimental models were set up in Barnham, Limehill and Stokely. The groups in Limehill and Stokely were black and the Barnham group was white. There was little or no interaction among any of the groups.

Situational Model (Limehill)

This model suggests that if people feel powerless and alienated, it is because powerlessness is a condition of their daily reality; if they are poor, it is because poverty is offered by the social structure as their only option. It is a model which grows directly from conflict theory. The intervention procedure is similar to the Alinsky model, i.e., allowing people the opportunity to come together to voice their dissatisfaction and confront the structure which is the source of those dissatisfactions.

Initial visits were made to Limehill, selected to represent the situational model. Grassroots leadership was identified, and several individuals expressed interest in group meetings to discuss community problems. On September 28,

1976, a group of women met at the home of one of them to discuss the possibility of participating in the project. A description of the program's objectives and purposes was outlined by the researcher to the group. It was explained that the short-range and long-range goals might only be accomplished through the cooperation of the group. Therefore, it would be the group's responsibility to identify "their problems, seek solutions to these problems, and apply the appropriate actions." It was the consensus of the group to become actively involved in community affairs via an experimental group.

The group's main interest was in recreational facilities. Therefore, the first request dealt with securing recreation funds. One of the ladies referred to a recreation site established by the black communities and blacks within the city of Barnham. However, the blacks within the city were governing forces (Barnham Development Club). She noted that there have been members of the Limehill community who have participated in the Club, and that the community recreation site could use additional funds. She wanted to know if funds were available for outdoor recreational facilities at a previously developed site. The group requested that she contact the president of the Barnham Development Club to propose avenues for seeking recreational funds.

At the next meeting, she presented a copy of the handout from the Lower Savannah Regional Council of Governments, with the funding conditions outlined, to the group and reported to the researcher that the Branham County Improvement Association had met to discuss regular business and had received the information without enthusiasm. She stated that the group did not like the terms of the handout (see Appendix 2). She further stated that the members had built the association from its ground stage to the present without having to relinquish the land to the county or any ruling body. Therefore, the group decided that slow expansion of the center was preferable to rapid

expansion if the latter required absorption of group land and decision making into the policy structure of the county. The group reemphasized that the Barnham Improvement Association had been built through bake sales, talent shows, religious programs, etc. The sentiment of the group was understandable.

Several weeks passed before the group met again. At the next meeting, the members of the group came to the consensus that their community was not faced with many problems that the community was willing to alleviate. The ladies attributed this position to the fact that the Limehill community was recently developed and that the dwellers are interested in self-development as opposed to community development.

In the interim, an attitudinal survey was administered within the community. A total of fifty surveys was administered; ninety-eight percent of these articulated recreation as the most pressing community problem; two percent indicated that housing was the most pressing problem. When the results of the survey were presented to the group, the group directed the researcher to the owner of the ball park in the community.

The ball park owner was contacted and given an explanation of the project objectives and a statement of what had been done to date. He expressed interest in development of a recreation center, but referred us to his son, who was co-owner of the ball park. Several trips were made to the son's home before an interview could be obtained. A copy of the outdoor recreation program requirements was given to the family for consideration. The criterion which concerned the family the most was the relinquishing of the land for twenty-five years. This stipulation was viewed with ambivalence because the land is seen as a source of purchasing power. To give up the right to this land for twenty-five years would revoke this power. In addition,

the family expressed skepticism that the Federal Government and political office holders had the best interests of the community at heart by including the land requirements; and, therefore, they chose not to accept county funding.

The situational model did not in this case prove to be a very fruitful mode of intervention in the feelings of the community toward community development. To change the structure of recreational funding would have required legal confrontation which no one in the community had available resources to carry out; moreover, the outcome of such a confrontation was extremely tenuous. Consequently, the members of the group discontinued their meetings, choosing the option they had chosen previously: to raise money within their community and spend it on community development as they saw fit.

The Cyclical Model

The white mill section of Barnham was chosen to represent the cyclical model. This model suggests that if people are poor, or alienated, or hostile, it is because their socialization experiences predispose them to it. By examining their own socialization experiences through a process of introspection, they can change by making choices based on opportunities and options which they may be overlooking, but which may actually be present in the social surroundings.

Several difficulties presented themselves in the formation of a group in this area. Several white women were interviewed who were of limited resource backgrounds, and a striking commonality emerged. None had any near neighbors; the nearest was usually a family member or an in-law. None belonged to a church, club, or an association of any type. In casual conversation, themes of feuds and in-fighting were recurrent. Such conflicts seem to prevent the formation on an interest group which will last long enough to carry out projected aims and objectives. This impression was

corroborated by interviews with persons engaged in service delivery: extension workers, the head of the Department of Social Services in Barnham, and a Health Department outreach worker. They had attempted to form homemakers' clubs, mothers' groups, health education classes, etc. All agreed that natural groups are found readily in the limited-resource black community, but not in the low-income white areas.

Our questionnaire data showed that only 20% of the limited-resource whites we interviewed claimed church affiliation as opposed to 87% of low-income blacks. Resident patterns mitigated against formation of groups, even when neighbors were on speaking terms. When the researcher suggested to the women that it might be pleasant to start a group which might work together to help the community, the reaction was anxious, bordering on agitated, accompanied by explanations of insurmountable obstacles in attending meetings of such a group ("My husband wouldn't let me," "I don't have transportation," "There's no one to look after the children"). Each suggestion made by the researcher was countered with another problem, which we interpret as resistance and anxiety.

The wisest course, therefore, seemed to be to work with an already existing group, if one could be found, even though such a group would be somewhat atypical for the limited-resource white community; and a church group seemed most probable. Church membership in the mill community raised more questions. Pastoring in these churches does not seem to be a full-time occupation, since the pastors themselves are likely to be laborers who have taken Bible courses in the evening. The ministers who had churches with offices and telephone numbers were, with one exception, pastors of middle class churches. It was this exception who finally made a white experimental group possible. He was visited; the nature of the project was explained to him; and he was

asked if the researcher might visit his congregation one Sunday. His response was that while he would be delighted to have the researcher come and worship with them, he would prefer that business be transacted on Family Night, Wednesday evening.

On Wednesday, March 16, 1977, the researcher met with the assembled persons, namely, twelve women and two men (including the pastor), and about fifteen children. Five of the women were in their middle-thirties; two were eighteen to twenty; and the remainder were quite elderly. The one young man was obviously the fiance of one of the young ladies.

A description of the program's objectives and purposes was outlined by the researcher to the group. The researcher added that the project is sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, which was interested in problems which rural people encounter in their daily lives. At this point everyone got very quiet and looked at the floor, their hands, the windows, in fact, everywhere except at the researcher—a reaction which is fairly typical when rural people are encountered by strangers who want to know rather personal facts about them. We had anticipated this reaction from the work of Edgerton et al. (1970) as well as from our own field experience.

The researcher asked them to close their eyes for a moment and to imagine their families there with them, including all their living relatives in the area. She then asked them to widen this imaginary circle to include close friends and neighbors, and finally employers, and fellow employers. They were then asked to imagine these people going about their daily lives, the good times, the hard times, their triumphs and defeats. After three or four minutes, they were asked to open their eyes and look around. Then the researcher said, "Of all the friends, relatives, neighbors, and co-workers you saw in your mind's eye, how many of you saw someone struggling with

alcoholism?" The show of hands was almost unanimous. "Now what are some other problems you saw the people having? Let's make a list." The researcher turned to a chalkboard, and the discussion was enthusiastic and intense. Family conflict, mental illness, day care for working mothers, child abuse, racial discrimination (against whites, "blacks get everything in this town"), unfair treatment of their children in school, and drugs were mentioned. When they had no more items, the researcher suggested that they vote on the list, with the following instructions: "What would you say is the problem which the people you saw in your mind a few minutes ago encounter and deal with the most? Next most?" *The list was rank ordered as follows: alcoholism, family conflict (including divorce), abandonment and child abuse, mental illness, day care, school problems, drugs. Although they agreed that racial problems are numerous, they did not wish to put this on the list.

The researcher asked them to tell her what they did when they themselves were faced with problems such as these. After some discussion, the consensus was that there was very little help for these problems in their community and that they would be very nervous about going to agencies if they existed. It would depend, they said, on whether the agency staffs were "nice and friendly." In the meantime, people with problems try to get advice from friends and help from ministers and doctors.

After the group had discussed their feelings about seeking help with their problems, the reseacher said, "Now, reading over this list again, which problem do you think that we as a group could have the most success in solving?" After some thought and discussion, they decided to attack the problem of unfair

*The point of this technique is to maintain the impersonality which is required for the people to talk about themselves while simultaneously requiring some group accountability.

treatment of their children in the public schools as they saw it.

The essence of the problem was that if a child from a well-off family failed in school, he or she received tutorial service because the family could afford it; but if one of their children failed, he or she was kept back a year. The group organized a committee to talk to the school principals about the problem, and we rehearsed that at the next meeting. The committee carried through but was informed that there were no community resources available for a tutorial project. When the group was visited next, the members had begun to look into the possibility of establishing a day care center based in the white community and staffed at least partially by whites, which would be available to both black and white parents. This, they felt, would be a move to equalize things between whites and blacks. To our knowledge, their endeavors met with no response in the local political structure.

At their next meeting they discussed the lack of support from the school system for their efforts to provide summer enrichment for their children. The researcher informed them of a possibility for summer recreation through the Barnham Youth Service, an agency created to work with pre-delinquents and which has a strong prevention component. The director of the Youth Service said that she would work in conjunction with our project to set up a three-week recreation program, publicize it and encourage her clients to use it, provided the researcher would assist in actually carrying out the program with the children. The researcher agreed to do this provided that the members of the experimental group, who were not clients of the agency, would be invited to participate.

The program was set up for three afternoons a week from 2:00 - 4:00 p.m. Activities included swimming, volley ball, softball, table tennis, horseshoes, films at the public library and a picnic at a nearby state park. The youth were between the ages of 12 and 16. It is interesting to note the attendance composition (see Table 5).

TABLE 5
Attendance At
SUMMER RECREATION PROJECT THROUGH
BARNHAM YOUTH SERVICES AGENCY
AUGUST, 1977

| DATE | ACTIVITY | BLACK | WHITE | MALE | FEMALES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| August 2 | Volleyball | 10 | 6 | 7 | 9 |
| August 5 | Softball | 16 | 8 | 14 | 10 |
| August 8 | Ping Pong | 3 | 8 | 10 | 1 |
| August 12 | Swimming | 3 | 9 | 11 | 1 |
| August 15 | | No One Came | | | |
| August 17 | Swimming | 0 | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| August 19 | Volleyball | 12 | 8 | 20 | 0 |
| August 23 | Films, Picnic & Swimming | 0 | 10 | 10 | 0 |

There were never any white females in the program in spite of the fact that many boys from the experimental group families had sisters. When the researcher probed to find out why the girls were not coming, the white males reported that their sisters did not like sports, but rather liked painting their finger nails, fixing their hair and talking about boys on the telephone. After the second session, the black females dropped out, as did most of the black males. A new recruitment on August 19 brought a new contingent of blacks (males) into the program who immediately dropped out.

The interpretation of these observations presents a problem. Although blacks and females were in a clear majority at the outset, everyone seemed to perceive it as a program for whites, and the blacks responded by dropping out. Where did they get this idea? From the white youth in the program? From the fact that both the agency directors and the researcher were white? The drops in attendance among blacks

and females happened on the days when swimming was planned. In fact, swimming had been planned for the day when no one showed. Yet, swimming was the activity for which the most enthusiasm was expressed at the outset of the program. It may be that a turf decision was going on which was decided in favor of the whites on August 5, and the decisive factor may have been the absence of black staff, or it may be that the swimming created anxieties about body exposure which is a particularly sensitive area at adolescence; and rather than face possible humiliation by members of the opposite sex or race, a tacit agreement was made by everyone as to who should participate in the program. The program ended when school resumed in the fall, and the experimental group phase of the project was completed at that time, raising at least as many questions as it answered.

One of the biggest problems in applying the cyclical model in rural areas is the presence of a powerful negative sanction against "badmouthing" one's parents. In order to gain the required perspective, the cyclical model requires that one reject certain parental values which are dysfunctional in one's current life setting; and that process cannot easily be started in a community where criticism of parents is taboo.

In order to obtain some insight into family structure, a different approach was needed. By using techniques of role playing and offering assertiveness training in the Barnham High School to a group of teen-agers (at non-academic hours), the researchers were able to observe some problematic interactions between parents and teen-agers, at least as presented by the latter. Each participant was offered the option of working on some difficult communication problem he or she was having with one or both parents, siblings, teachers or peers. The others were asked to play out the roles of the difficult other(s) having been given

their lines in advance by the person interested in working out his or her problem. The sessions lasted six weeks; they were held two times weekly. After the individual had practiced assertiveness in the role playing situation, he/she was expected to try out the new knowledge in the home situation. At this point, the researcher was able to make some inferences based on the level of participation in the group and the reports of the members on their success in applying new communication skills in their homes.

Some striking racial differences emerged. In general, the black students were more willing to acquire the skills and to apply them. They seemed less cowed by their parents. The white students tended to regard their parents as intractable mountains of authority and seemed more hesitant to try out anything new in their homes. The reports of the black students were generally more positive; negotiations seemed to be made; their homes and parents seemed much less godlike to them. One report in particular, given by a black student, was typical. She was having trouble getting permission to go to the movies and chose that for her exercise in assertiveness. She reported her father's reaction to her assertive approach as: "he laughed and said, 'Aw go on to the movie child, what's all this human relations stuff you been gettin'?" Several of the white group members flatly refused to try to approach their parents and told the researcher privately that they were simply waiting to graduate from high school so that they could "get on out." Only one black student said this and her parents were dead: she was living with an older sister and a brother-in-law who was an alcoholic. Most of the white students opted to apply their new techniques on their peers and teachers (most of whom they regard as reasonable persons), and several mentioned that the techniques they had learned would make a difference when they started their own families. There did not seem to be a class

differential, i.e., the students who were from working class families did not differ significantly from those who were from middle or upper-middle class families. Differences seemed to be across racial lines.

In general, the cyclical model does not seem to be a particularly useful model of intervention since the problems which were encountered by the members of the experimental group were a) apathy on the part of public officials, and b) a set of public policies which, in their perception, requires them to bear the brunt of integration while protecting their white counterparts, "on the right side of the tracks," as they put it. They did not see themselves as powerless or helpless, internally, but as blocked, frustrated and discriminated against. What they wanted from the researcher in the way of leadership was to "run blockade" for them. None of them expressed a need for assistance in managing their personal affairs, or a helplessness in the fact of their personal problems. Moreover, they impressed the researcher as a rather sturdy lot who were weathering well under conditions of social exclusion and economic hardship. If the cyclical model is applied at all it would seem to be most effective with 15 to 18-year olds in this community, i.e., it seems to be a long-term, high-risk, low-yield endeavor.

The Interactional Model (Stokely)

This model identifies powerlessness and alienation as a problem of interaction between the individual and significant others - the significant others respond to the individual as a powerless individual and the person responds as powerless. The logical extension of the model for purposes of intervention would be to change the perceptions of those who are defined as powerless, by the powerless themselves. In order to do this, the researcher would have to act temporarily as a significant other to those who would initiate the transactions, namely the community grassroots leadership.

In the process of establishing rapport in Barnham County, an ongoing group was discovered in a sub-community of Barnham, the Stokely Recreation Association. This was a group of persons who met two Tuesdays a month to plan recreational activities at the Stokely Recreation Center, a small building which looked as if it had once been a general store. The owner was deceased, but the family allowed it to be leased by the group for a community center, on a five-year basis. At the time the researcher contacted the group, recreational activities of baseball and basketball were in progress as well as a limited summer feeding program for the elderly.

The present Stokely Recreation Association was established in 1971, five years prior to the project, "Foundations for Self-Determination," although the president of the association volunteered that they had used the building for a community center since the early 1900's. On September 7, 1976 at 7:00 p.m., the Stokely Community Center held its bi-weekly meeting. Nine persons came to transact old business and to decide whether to become involved in the research project. The researcher presented the idea of working together toward some goals which they considered important—in this case, improving community recreational facilities. It was emphasized that the goals could only be reached by group cooperation, and that it would be the group's responsibility 1) to identify problems in the community, 2) to seek solutions to these problems, and 3) to apply positive action for their solution.

The main interest of the group was expansion of recreational facilities. Therefore, the first request concerned acquiring recreational funds and facilities. The researcher contacted the Lower Savannah Regional Planner in relation to available Bureau of Outdoor Recreation funds and facilities. From that conference a hand-out was released

(see Appendix 2). The criteria by which to qualify for recreational funds, which were contained in this hand-out, did not meet with the approval of the group.

In the interim, Barnham County was offered a Land Development Grant in the amount of $350,000-450,000 by Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to create "viable communities." Two county meetings were held by Barnham's County Administrator and officials, a requirement of HUD to insure citizen participation in priority setting. As the persons present voted, the priorities were 1) housing, 2) recreation, and 3) drainage. Although recreation appeared second on the list, the county officials would not consider it because recreation was low on HUD's priorities, they reported. Thus, another avenue through which the group could receive funds for recreational activities was blocked.

On April 10, 1977, the Barnham County Administrator forwarded correspondence to the community concerning available recreational funds. The deadline by which to apply for funds was April 15, 1977. The group submitted its application on April 12. Several weeks passed and no reply was received from the county. A month later the association president contacted the County Administrator, and he replied that all available funds had been dispersed.

In the meantime, the association called a meeting to discuss the possibility of writing a proposal to be submitted to "Foundations for Self-Determination" for those things they considered important for their community's recreation activities. Out of this meeting emerged the Stokely Youth Development Project proposal (see Appendix 3), which was presented to the "Foundations for Self-Determination" staff on January 31, 1977.

In order to promote community autonomy, the staff of "Foundations for Self-Determination" proposed that a community leader assume the responsibility of supervising the proposal equipment. Avenues were explored by which the president of the Stokely Community Center could be bonded. These efforts were not successful because no insurance companies contacted wanted to undertake the paperwork for the amount of money and time involved. Intermittently, institutional procedures had to be negotiated to accommodate the Stokely proposal. Finally, on May 13, 1977, a requisition for the desired equipment bearing the signatures of the Stokely Community Center president, the principal researcher, and the research coordinator was approved.

Having received the requested equipment; the group set about to establish a summer recreation project at the center. The program was highly popular, well-attended, and favorably received in the community (see Table 6).

TABLE 6
Attendance At
SUMMER RECREATION PROJECT THROUGH
STOKELY COMMUNITY CENTER
JULY - AUGUST, 1977

| Date | NUMBER OF CHILDREN | EQUIPMENT USED | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Table Tennis | Base-balls | Soccer | Foot-balls | Soft-balls | Basket-balls |
| July 1 | 41 | x | x | x | - | x | - |
| July 2 | 80 | x | x | x | - | - | x |
| July 5 | 30 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 6 | 65 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 7 | 110 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| July 8 | 40 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 9 | 16 | x | - | - | - | - | x |

Table 6 — Continued

| DATE | NUMBER OF CHILDREN | EQUIPMENT USED | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Table Tennis | Base-balls | Soccer | Foot balls | Soft balls | Basket-balls |
| July 10 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| July 11 | 35 | - | x | - | - | - | x |
| July 12 | 25 | - | x | - | - | - | x |
| July 13 | 27 | x | - | x | - | - | x |
| July 14 | 70 | - | - | - | - | x | - |
| July 15 | 85 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 16 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| July 18 | 37 | x | x | x | - | - | x |
| July 19 | 40 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 20 | 49 | x | x | x | x | - | x |
| July 21 | 65 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| July 22 | 72 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| July 23 | 96 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| July 24 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| July 25 | 35 | x | x | x | - | - | x |
| July 26 | 35 | x | x | x | - | x | - |
| July 27 | 40 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| July 28-29 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| July 30 | 57 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 6 | 37 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| August 8 | 68 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 9 | 36 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 11 | 30 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 12-14 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| August 15 | 76 | x | x | x | - | x | x |
| August 16 | 28 | x | x | x | - | - | - |
| August 17 | 30 | x | x | x | - | - | - |

The group then decided to inquire into the possibility of receiving funds to pay local youth who were supervising the program. In this connection,

the group applied to the county. The Barnham coordinator of summer recreation programs refused this request; however, he did offer to bring in VISTA workers, to be paid by federal funds, to supervise the program. This idea was not acceptable to the community leaders. The consensus of the leaders was that they would not permit outsiders to perform duties with pay and community dwellers to perform duties as volunteers when a) community persons were capable of performing these duties; b) funds were available to pay VISTA workers; and c) youth in the white sectors of Barnham were being paid to serve in city and county recreation programs.

The recreation program offered by the Stokely Community Center was highly innovative. For example, a ping-pong tournament was set; schedules were established; and trophies were purchased for the first, second and third place winners by the Stokely Recreation Association members out of personal funds. The summer program was administered competently by the community leaders who seemed to need no assistance from well-meaning community and federal agencies.

Another outcome of the proposal was that the group decided to try to attract a summer feeding program to the community center. However, the stipulation of the program was that the center be leased to the county for the summer. Thus, the autonomy of the community group would be nullified. The group, realizing this possibility, rejected the offer of the program. In addition to the loss of autonomy, the members of the community would not be paid for their services. Since the community leaders were aware that funds had been appropriated for the program, and that salaries were being paid, they felt no hesitation about rejecting the program.

Still another outcome of the proposal was that the group decided to get a speed limit sign placed on the highway (the Stokely Community, including the community center, is located along a curve which cuts the visibility of

drivers). Several accidents had happended in the past, the group reported. This was verified by the researchers, inasmuch as two accidents happened during the course of the project. In one instance, the daughter of the association president was killed as she was standing by a trash container to one side of the road when a car veered out of control. In the second case, the president's house was hit and the bedroom, except for the crib in which the surviving child was sleeping, was demolished by a wheel which came off a passing truck on the opposite side of the road from the house. Photographic evidence of the damage was obtained.

The association circulated a petition for relief from the hazardous situation (see Appendix 4) which was signed by 88 persons. The group requested that the researcher type a letter to be sent from the organization to the South Carolina State Highway Department; this was done. A letter was received from the State Highway Department which stated that after investigation no need for a permanent speed limit sign could be established, according to the ball bank indicator (which measures the steepness of a banked curve). Apparently the steepness of a curve takes precedence over such factors as population density or accident history in a rural area (see Appendix 5).

Nothing was more apparent to the researchers than the absence of bureaucratic procedure anywhere at the community, county, state and federal levels to facilitate decision-making on the part of small, non-moneyed groups. This observation seems to substantiate Sjoberg et al.'s thesis that bureaucracy is a key medium through which the middle class maintains its advantaged position vis-a-vis the lower class (Sjoberg, Brymer, and Farris 1966: 325). Although we observed no personal animosity toward the non-privileged sectors of Barnham County, regulations and guidelines at all levels of government operated to prevent those sectors from making and implementing the kinds of decisions which would improve the quality of their lives.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ALIENATION

Numerous scales have been constructed to measure alienation, the best known being the Srole Anomie Scale (Srole, 1956) with the Moon-McCann modification (Moon, 1963). There is evidence in the literature that the lower one's socio-economic status, the higher his score on anomie/alienation scales is likely to be. Yet, the warp and woof of rural, limited-resource society, namely, public opinion, the extended family, and the church, remain relatively intact. Some researchers such as Rushing (1972) and Moland (1975) have pointed out that certain of the scale items are meaningless or ambiguous to the respondents, and they have made modifications accordingly. While this argument has merit, our review of the literature indicated that there has been insufficient sampling of the rural community, with blacks underrepresented or not sampled at all, to conclude that the scale items are solely responsible to account for observational anomalies to be found in the rural south.

In February, 1976, we administered the Srole Anomie Scale, with the Moon-McCann modification, to 400 blacks and 400 whites in urban and rural areas in South Carolina. The results were compared, with some unexpected findings. Both the urban and the rural white samples showed the predictable increase in percentage of agreement with the items as socio-economic status declined, and the questions showed similar patterns to each other, indicating a high r, with some exceptions (see Appendix 7). This pattern was not observed among the urban and rural black samples. We not only observed wide variation between the

questions themselves, but we also observed two patterns quite distinct from the one generated by the responses of the white sample. One pattern was a line resembling a flattened modal curve, the other a deep-dished curve, high at either end and down in the middle. On closer inspection, these patterns turned out to be related to the urban-rural variable. This finding may raise some questions about Srole's sampling procedure and the unity of his conceptualization.

It seemed to us, as we observed the rural black community, that estrangement from work would not necessarily predict feelings of personal isolation; nor would a high level of cohesion among peers, family, and fellow church-goers indicate that a member of this group feels in control of his destiny; nor would they, collectively, feel in control of their destiny. Therefore, we posited five types of alienation, somewhat along the lines of Seeman's typology (Seeman, 1959), as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Normative: | Absence of norms to govern conduct and make decisions about legitimate versus illegitimate means and ends. |
| Personal: | Detachment from family and peer ties and lack of close or supportive friendships. |
| Community: | Apartness from the goals and organization of the community, lack of experiential belongingness in the community. |
| Occupational/ Economic: | Occupational dissatisfaction and loss of hope of moving up the status ladder. |
| Political: | Cynicism regarding the responsiveness of government to the needs of citizens and discounting of input of the average voter into the political process. |

Each type of alienation was represented by a series of items, either from other scales or constructed by us. A random block sample of the two communities of Barnham and Quincy was taken and the questionnaire administered to a total of 424 persons. A factor analysis was run with loadings as predicted in Table 7:

TABLE 7

PREDICTED FACTOR LOADINGS FOR ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS*

| | Normative | Personal | Community | Occupational/ Economic | Political |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 (dis.) | 11 (dis.) | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| | 17 | 14 | 7 | 4 | 6 (dis.) |
| | 20 | 15 (dis.) | 13 | 5 | 9 |
| *Items | 23 | 18 | 16 | 8 | 12 |
| | 24 | 21 | 25 | 26 | 19 |
| | 28 | 22 | | 32 | |
| | 29 | 27 | | 33 | |
| | 30 | 31 | | | |

*For key to item numbers, see Appendix 8.

A regression analysis for five factors, using a varimax rotation, produced the following loadings (see Table 8):

TABLE 8

ACTUAL FACTOR LOADINGS WITH COEFFICIENTS FOR ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS (PRETEST) SET TO FIVE FACTORS

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 7 (.307) |
| | 16 (.531) | 1 (.684) | 2 (.567) | 32 (.812) | 9 (.605) |
| Items | 17 (.523) | 3 (.483) | 13 (.682) | 33 (.793) | 12 (.739) |
| | 20 (.445) | 4 (.742) | 14 (.443) | - | 19 (.445) |

Table 8 — Continued

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 18 (.397) | | |
| | 23 (.635) | 5 (.668) | 21 (.496) | | 25 (.666) |
| | 24 (.487) | 8 (.505) | 22 (.443) | | 26 (.563) |
| Items | 28 (.609) | | 27 (.366) | | |
| | 29 (.621) | | | | |
| | 30 (.584) | | | | |
| | 31 (.422) | | | | |

Items 6, 10, 11 and 15 had to be discarded because they failed to discriminate, being agreed or disagreed with by a disproportionate number of respondents (over 90%). Factor 1 and the factor which we proposed as "normative alienation/integration" seemed to match. It is interesting to note that the two items which refer to being taken advantage of factored into the normative alienation category, even though item 16 was hypothesized as a part of community alienation and item 31 as a part of personal alienation. Items 3, 4, 5 and 8 factored out as opposed to items 33 and 34, perhaps indicating a split between occupational dissatisfaction and hopelessness about moving up the economic ladder. Items 9, 12 and 19 clustered as expected, with the addition of items 7, 25, and 26, possibly indicating that if there is a type of alienation or integration which is political, it is very relevant to the immediate politics of the community.

The factor which we postulated as "personal alienation/integration" did contain items 14, 18, 21, 22, and 27 as predicted. However, this factor expanded to include items 2 and 13 and deleted item 31, indicating that part of personal integration may be a feeling of belongingness.

The items which we labeled as "community" items (see Table 7) were f tored into a variety of categories and hence disappeared. Setting the co for six factors did not cause the items to reappear (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

ACTUAL FACTOR LOADINGS WITH COEFFICIENTS
FOR ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS (PRETEST)
SET TO SIX FACTORS

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 | Factor 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Items | 16 (.480) | 1 (.680) | 2 (.509) | 32 (.837) | 7 (.379) | 13 (.599) |
| | 17 (.559) | 3 (.459) | 21 (.679) | 33 (.824) | 9 (.596) | 14 (.469) |
| | 20 (.411) | 4 (.748) | 22 (.599) | | 12 (.741) | 18 (.506) |
| | 23 (.642) | 5 (.652) | | | 19 (.425) | 27 (.710) |
| | 24 (.507) | 8 (.536) | | | 25 (.658) | |
| | 28 (.640) | | | | 26 (.493) | |
| | 29 (.611) | | | | | |
| | 30 (.570) | | | | | |
| | 31 (.393) | | | | | |

What happened is that factors 1, 2, 4, and 5 remained essentially u changed while factor 3 split into two factors, i.e., new factors 3 and 5. An analytical interpretation of Table 9 suggests that factor 1 could be labeled as a normative dimension, factor 2 an economic dimension, factor 3 an interpersonal cohesion dimension, factor 4 an occupational dimension, factor 5 a political dimension, and factor 6 a life satisfaction dimension.

We then developed several new items to indicate occupational integration or lack thereof (alienation), items 33, 34 and 35 (see Appendix 8). They factored as follows (see Table 10):

TABLE 10

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR NEW OCCUPATIONAL
ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS AND COEFFICIENTS

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 |
|---|---|---|
| Items | 34 (.527) | 37 (.904) |
| | 35 (.831) | |
| | 36 (.730) | |

The outcome was that factors 34, 35, and 36 were incorporated into the post test as occupational items. The following loadings were tested, using a varimax rotation for six factors (see Tables 11 and 12).

TABLE 11

HYPOTHESIZED FACTOR LOADINGS
FOR POST TEST ANALYSIS
SET TO SIX FACTORS

| Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 | Factor 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | 1 | 2 | 32 | 7 | 13 |
| 17 | 3 | 13 | 33 | 9 | 14 |
| 20 | 4 | 14 | 34 | 12 | 18 |
| 23 | 5 | 21 | 35 | 19 | 27 |
| 24 | 8 | 22 | 36 | 25 | |
| 28 | | 27 | | 26 | |
| 29 | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | |
| 31 | | | | | |

TABLE 12

ACTUAL FACTOR LOADINGS WITH COEFFICIENTS
FOR ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS (POST TEST)
SET TO SIX FACTORS

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 | Factor 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Items | 1 (.707) | 32 (.788) | 16 (.441) | 2 (.496) | 9 (.322) | 22 (.386) |
| | 3 (.502) | 33 (.804) | 19 (.470) | 13 (.746) | 12 (.744) | 26 (.4413) |

Table 12 — Continued

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 | Factor 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Items | 4 (.634)<br>5 (.709)<br>8 (.615) | 34 (.720)<br>35 (.771)<br>37 (.558) | 23 (.680)<br>28 (.485)<br>29 (.510) | 14 (.614)<br>21 (.481) | 25 (.699) | 36 (.734) |

Factor 1 in the post test was identical to factor 2 in the pretest indicating some reliability for the factor we termed "economic integration/alienation." Factor 2 in the post test was, with the exception of item 37, occupational alienation/integration, or factor 4 in the pretest. Three items of the original factor 5 were retained in the post test, and the other items seem to be almost randomly distributed throughout the factors, a rather strange phenomenon. A five-factor analysis does not improve the situation (see Table 13).

TABLE 13

ACTUAL FACTOR LOADINGS WITH COEFFICIENTS
FOR ALIENATION/INTEGRATION ITEMS (POST TEST)
SET TO FIVE FACTORS

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 | Factor 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Items | 1 (.702)<br>3 (.570)<br>4 (.552)<br>5 (.686)<br>8 (.619) | 32 (.791)<br>33 (.802)<br>34 (.707)<br>35 (.780)<br>36 (.534) | 19 (.524)<br>22 (.473)<br>23 (.582)<br>28 (.592)<br>29 (.583)<br>30 (.608) | 2 (.425)<br>13 (.757)<br>14 (.567)<br>16 (.481)<br>21 (.405) | 9 (.534)<br>12 (.693)<br>25 (.687)<br>26 (.313) |

Since three of the factors which emerged on the post test are not recognizably related to factors which emerged on the pretest it is difficult to assess the first factor analysis. Did it, in fact,

measure dimensions of alienation? If not, why did the predicted factors of economic and occupational alienation/integration factor out both times? Does the removal or addition of items change the correlation matrix such that the factors change? If so, then factors could be made and changed at will depending on the distractor items one chose and whether one used the principal axis or a varimax rotation. A facile mind can usually locate some commonality in any disparate set of items; and, therefore, factor analysis may not be a binding test of any hypothesis.[3]

In order to accomplish objectives 10 - 13 (p. 8), we participated in four intensive think-tank sessions with researchers from other schools. The first meeting was convened in Tallahassee, Florida, July 14 - 17, 1977; the second in Madison, Wisconsin, September 3, 1977; the third in Orangeburg, South Carolina, November 17, 1977, and the fourth in Fort Valley, Georgia, January 26 - 27, 1978. During these meetings a comparison of indices was made and the basis for a regional proposal established,[4] which, in its final stages was entitled, "The Isolation of Factors Related to Levels and Patterns of Living in Selected Areas of the Rural South." This proposal provides for the collaboration of researchers to develop and share scales and scale items in the further study of quality of life in the rural, limited-resource community.

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[3]This opinion was corroborated in interviews with Dr. Steve Lytle, of Clemson University, on 11 May, 1978 and with Dr. William Pruitt, of South Carolina State College, on 22 May, 1978.

[4]Minutes, Meeting of Researchers from Selected 1890 Institutions to Develop Regional Project, Tallahassee, Florida, July 14-17, 1977; Minutes, Meeting of Researchers from Selected 1890 Institutions to Develop a Regional Project, Madison, Wisconsin, September 3, 1977; Minutes, Meeting of Researchers from Selected 1890 Institutions to Develop Regional Project, Orangeburg, South Carolina, November 17, 1977; Minutes, Meeting of Researchers from Selected 1890 Institutions to Develop a Regional Project, Fort Valley, Georgia, January 26-27, 1978.

MEASUREMENTS AND PROCESS -- COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

In order to lessen the problem of deference and deliberate misinforming on the part of rural, limited resource black informants (Lenski and Leggett, 1966; Carr 1971) we employed black, paraprofessional interviewers who had grown up in rural areas. Unfortunately, when working with a population which is disproportionately semi-literate, it is impossible to completely minimize the status differential between the interviewer and the respondent since the interviewer must have a good working knowledge in English mechanics in order to fill out the survey forms accurately. Moreover, lessening the status gap does not answer the unspoken question on the part of the informant: "Who are you really?" This question seems crucial in the interaction pattern between respondent and interviewer; and no amount of care in randomness of sampling, construction of questionnaires, and supervision of interviewers can compensate for its remaining unraised and unanswered.

To make matters worse, the kinds of door-opening techniques used by rural sociologists to allay auspicion and give credence to their projects (e.g., posing with local officals for a picture in the paper; prior contact with the sheriff or other law enforcement officials; joining prestigious civic and business circles) are not necessarily applicable in rural southern towns if one wishes to enlist the support of the black community. The researcher is caught on the horns of the methodological dilemma. To do what he must do to obtain credibility in one sector of his population practically guarantees that he will alienate another. For example it seemed to make a significant difference in our refusal rate whether we said we were from the Department of Agriculture or South Carolina State College, although both were true. In white areas,

the words "Department of Agriculture" were likely to evoke softening of expressions, wider opening doors, smiles, and invitations to come in. The words "South Carolina State College" tended to evoke frowns, chins thrust forward, the beginnings of doors closing and a higher refusal rate. In black areas the reverse was true; this pattern seemed constant but particularly pronounced when the race of the interviewer and the race of the respondent were different.

In one small town, one of the homes in the random sample belonged to the mayor who expressed some displeasure that he had not been contacted previously in his official capacity so that he could have screened the collection of our data. In his words, "I can take you around and you will see that everyone in this town will answer these things the same way I do."

The point here is that in a population where there is considerable suspicion of outsiders, suspicion between population sectors, a history of racial conflict and/or exploitation, to expect perceptions of the interviewer as a friendly, harmless collector of innocuous information may be naive. The interviewer may be seen as nosy, as a representative of an unfriendly authority, as a spy, as anything but an innocuous or neutral figure.

In addition to the problem of trust and misrepresentation in rural, limited-resource areas is the problem of shared meanings. Even if, by some as yet unexplored means, we were to overcome the suspicions about the interviewers' motives, we would still encounter a language problem. For example, one of the Srole Scale items speaks of "the lot of the average man." In an informal setting, we asked a number of rural people what "the lot of the average man" meant to them. Many did

not know what "lot" in this context meant. Others wondered, did we mean the average white man or the average black man? One person said that she thought the condition of the average man was improving, but not that of the average woman. It also became evident to us that our informants did not know whether we were speaking of their friends, relatives, and fellow churchgoers, or whether we were speaking of some people on television who seem to compose the "average man in society." In other words, local and regional identifications were used to interpret the question in some cases, but not in others.

Other scale items and methods of scale construction seem equally ambiguous. For instance, in a methodological footnote, Stojanovic (1972) refers to a scale of communication developed by Moon, et al. If a person has a television, a radio and takes a newspaper, he is considered more informed than the person who has only a radio. Information, material channels, and being informed are equated without regard for informal channels of communication and without questioning the reference points of communication, i.e., neighborhood news, community news, city news, state news, regional news, and national news. The assumption is simple: the more material possessions a person has (i.e., the more he approximates middle-class status) the better informed about his world he is. Ranking criteria, alienation items, questions about mental health, etc., can be examined for similarly biased assumptions.

Towards an Interactive Model of Research

Most sociological research is undertaken with the explict aim of gently erasing the projected effect of our presence on our subjects or the effect of our subjects on ourselves. To this end, we develop subtle interview questions which say one thing and "measure" another; we undertake unobtrusive measures wherein we are invisible to our subjects (but

not they to us, which creates a problem of interpretation); and we search for ever more powerful tests of significance and correlation. What seems to these authors to be more productive is that we should focus on the interactio of ourselves and our subjects as the object of social research. While this is not a new concept in social research, the number of studies which ignore behavior as a function of the measurement testifies to its not being taken very seriously.

What we mean by an interactive model of research is that we enter a community and deliberately create a set of conditions to which community members may respond. We report the conditions, observe and report the responses, and then report our responses to their responses. By varying the sets of conditions, we discover behavior patterns which are responsive to our sets of conditions. This method seems preferable to constructing behavior patterns out of accumulations of answers to structured interrogations.

Based on our findings, we offer the following recommendations:

1. That the survey method not be used:

   a. when there is large educational and/or micro-cultural difference between the interviewer and his sample, or a part of his sample;

   b. when there is a history of conflict and/or suspicion between sectors of the same population from which his sample is drawn;

   c. when there is reason to believe that the researcher may be allied, in the mind of the informant, with a suspect group or authority.

2. That participant - observation methods be used in these cases with care and sensitivity as to who the people think the sociologist may actually be representing.

3. That unobtrusive measures be employed to form criteria wherever possible, and that these criteria be carefully examined for class bias.

4. That research be conducted with specific focus on the interaction of the informant and the researchers, in their respective and interacting expectations and definitions of the world and each other.

These recommendations point us in the direction of a different kind of research, one which involves a rather new set of techniques for sociologists, but one which appears more productive than summations of answers to questions, the validity of which are unclear and the assumptions of which are questionable.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The effectiveness of the treatment seems irrelevant as evidenced by a comparison of behavior of people in the Barnham and Stokely communities. Race seems to be a cogent factor. Early socialization experiences do not appear to be a cogent factor. To some degree in Riceland, Limehill and Stokely, the reluctance to relinquish the land through deed or lease was based on the fear of intention and control by outsiders, i.e., whites. Windmill did not experience this problem because there was not that proximity to a white community, nor was there any gem to be coveted. Although the Barnham group expressed antagonism toward the power structure which excluded them from decision-making, they, too, had nothing to lose such as land or a center.

2. Of the six limited-resource groups we worked with, no persons approached us for help with personal problems nor did they evince a sense of powerlessness or helplessness in managing their private affairs. What became apparent was that groups as groups were being thwarted in their efforts toward autonomy and frustrated at every turn. Goal-setting behavior on the part of the limited-resource community does not seem to be supported by local political institutions.

3. The six hypothesized dimensions of alienation, i.e., normative, personal, community, economic, political, and occupational, could not be substantiated by factor analysis, nor could the dimensions which emerged be replicated. Hypotheses about the inverse relationship of SES and social participation as indicated by the Srole Scale, were not upheld. Questions about the validity of questionnaires as measures of alienation in the rural limited- resource community were raised.

APPENDIX 1

Constitution of Riceland Community Center

The Committee on Constitution and Bylaws makes the following recommendations:

ARTICLE I Name

That the name of this organization shall be the Riceland (and surrounding) Community Center.

ARTICLE II Objectives

To promote the welfare of children, youth, adults, school, church and community.

To help raise the standards of home life.

To bring a closer relationship of all community groups.

ARTICLE III Policies

Section 1:

The purpose of this organization shall be educational and shall be developed through conferences, committees and projects.

Section 2:

This organization shall be noncommercial, nonsectarian and nonpartisan.

Section 3:

The deeds of this property shall read that the same property shall never be sold and that it shall pass from one generation to another.

ARTICLE IV Membership and Fees

Section 1:

Any person who is interested in the objectives and policies may become an active member upon the payment of necessary fees.

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Section 2:

That this organization shall have the power to sell shares as a qualification for active membership.

Section 3:

The cost of each share shall be $5.00.

Section 4:

Each member shall have the rights of one vote (regardless of the number of shares held).

Section 5:

Any active member becoming dissatisfied with the objectives and policies or the organization may withdraw therefrom with all fees refunded.

Section 6:

Any one whose membership has been terminated may be reinstated whenever he or she wants to and will abide by objectives and policies and repay necessary fees.

Section 7:

Any member who has purchased more than $50.00 worth of shares will be reimbursed the amount over $50.00 with interest after property is paid for.

ARTICLE V Officers and Their Election

Section 1:

This organization shall elect three trustees.

Section 2:

The term of office for trustees shall be three years.

Section 3:

The trustees shall represent the organization in all financial matters (mortgages, bonds, etc.).

Section 4:

The trustees shall be custodians of all said property.

Appendix 1 (cont.)

Section 5:

This organization shall elect annually a president, vice-president, secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer, chaplain and reporter.

Section 6:

The presiding officer and staff's duties shall be in accordance with strict parliamentary usage.

ARTICLE VI Finance

Section 1:

All monies paid out of the treasury must be authorized by the trustees.

Section 2:

The signatures of the president, secretary and treasurer must appear on all checks.

ARTICLE VII Motto

Section 1:

The motto shall read "Together We Stand, Divided We Fall."

ARTICLE VIII Amendments

Section 1:

The Constitution may be amended by two-thirds majority vote of active membership.

Respectfully submitted,

(Names deleted)

Appendix 1 (cont.)

RESOLUTIONS

At a special called meeting of the members, officers, and trustees of the Riceland Community Center, South Carolina HWY #4, Freedom Township, Orangeburg County, South Carolina, duly held in the building of the Riceland Community Center on the first day of August, 1967, in accordance with its rules, regulations, and bylaws, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolve 1

The President, George H. and Vice-President, G. W., and the Trustees; namely, A. J., V. A. B., and J. K. of the Riceland Community Center on behalf of the organization be and each of them as officers and trustees are authorized to borrow on behalf of the said organization from the Bank of Orangeburg, Orangeburg, South Carolina, a sum of money not to exceed the sum of $1,500.00 over a period not to exceed three years.

Resolve 2

That the above named officers and trustees of the Riceland Community Center are authorized and instructed to pledge and mortgage the real estate and improvements of the organization and to execute such notes and mortgages necessary to secure the amount of this loan from the Bank of Orangeburg, Orangeburg, South Carolina, and that the real estate to be secured is the five acres with improvements as described in that deed from the trustees of Creek School District #4, dated May 26, 1961, and recorded in Deed Book 241 Page 452 in the office of the Clerk of Court of Orangeburg County, South Carolina. The meeting was adjourned in regular form.

Signed: V. A. B., Secretary

I certify that the foregone is a true and correct copy of the minutes of the special meeting of members, officers and trustees of the Riceland Community Center on the first day of August, 1967.

Signed: V. A. B.

(Names deleted)

Appendix 2

Conference with
Lower Savannah Planner for Orangeburg County
June 4, 1976

KEY IDEAS:

1. Funds are available for outdoor recreation facilities.

2. $100,000 is the amount available each year to be distributed among 6 counties.

3. No county has made application for any of the sum of $100,000 which must be allocated by July 1, 1976, or it reverts to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Department of Interior.

4. A county, city or some political subdivision must apply for the funds.

5. Funds are given on a 50/50 basis: 50% from the county and 50% from the Federal government.

6. A group may offer to lease (say for 40 years) or deed the land to the county. To lease the land is better, then the body will not have to purchase the land back at the end of the 40 year period.

STEPS:

1. Select 3 qualified appraisers (whom you will have to pay) to appraise the land.

2. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation will accept the findings of one of the appraisers.

3. Establish a contract with county with a deed arrangement. For example, the Board of Directors will consist of NINE PERSONS (the 3 members of the Trustee Board of the Great Branch Community Center, 1-the President of the Community Center, 1-shareholder of the Community Center, 2 members of County Council, 2 citizens at large).

   a. The nine member Board of Directors will be responsible to County Council for governance of the Recreational Center.

   b. The County will be responsible for supplying and paying qualified staff, upon approval of the Board of Directors, to supervise the activities the Recreational facility.

Appendix 2 (cont.)

4. Request funding for the priorities on your list the first year and expand subsequent years. That is, the land could be appraised at $50,000. You may ask for $20,000 the first year ($10,000 from the County and $10,000 from the Bureau of Recreation).... Design and plan what you expect to be built for $20,000.

5. The County must maintain Federal standards of cleanliness, sanitation and safety on the Recreational facility.

Finally, contact should be made with the Chairman of the Recreation Task Force and the Lower Savannah Regional Planner.

Appendix 3

Stokely Youth
Development Project

Pal Gas
Barnham
Barnham, South Carolina

| Quantity | Name or Description | Total |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | J-28,000 BTU Atlanta Gas Heater with Safety Pilot | $104.21 |
| 3 | Bottles of Gas | 45.00 |

Wolverine Sports
745 State Circle
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

| Quantity | Catalog Number | Name or Description | Price | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 35299-4 | C B 2-Enduro Basketballs | $13.95 | $27.90 |
| 2 | 35394-4 | CR98-Enduro Footballs | 13.95 | 27.90 |
| 4 | 35521-4 | C912-Softballs | 2.75 | 11.00 |
| 4 | 35572-4 | J90 Regulation Baseballs | 1.80 | 7.20 |
| 1 | 30546-4 | 10" Ball Pump | 2.59 | 2.59 |
| 2 | 28398-4 | All-Alluminum Softball bats | 9.50 | 19.00 |

Western Auto Associate Store
Barnham
Barnham, South Carolina

| Quantity | Catalog Number | Name or Description | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Table Tennis | $66.95 |
| 1 | | Soccer Set | 89.95 |
| 3 | 36-3511-7 | Ball Paddles and Nets | 12.79 |

| | |
|---|---|
| SUB TOTAL | $414.49 |
| TAX | 16.58 |
| TOTAL | $431.07 |

Appendix 3 (cont.)

Reasons:

The basketballs, footballs, softballs, baseballs, softball bats will be used for outdoor recreational activities. The ball pump will be used to inflate the basketballs, footballs, softballs, and baseballs.

The tennis table and soccer set will also be used for recreational activities.

We feel that the above equipment is for the betterment of the community and to help foster the physical development of the children.

The gas heater will be used to heat the building for indoor activities.

Respectfully submitted,

(Names deleted)

Appendix 4

COUNTY BARNHAM )
)
STATE SOUTH CAROLINA )
)

WE THE UNDERSIGNED (STOKELY COMMUNITY) do hereby petition the Barnham County Council to act on our behalf, whereas to seek relief from the South Carolina State Highway Department in the form of permanent speed limit and safety signs to be placed in the Stokely Community on Highway #78 east of Barnham, South Carolina. WHEREAS, several tragic accidents have occurred in the past,

We feel that the aforementioned will help alleviate said traffic hazards in the community.

| Name | Address |
| --- | --- |

(Signed by 88 persons)

Appendix 5

SOUTH CAROLINA

STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT

Engineering District No. [redacted]

[redacted]

April 18, 1977

Ms. Suzanette Fleming
Project Director
P. O. Box 1825
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, S. C. 29115

Dear Ms. Fleming:

Reference is made to your visit to this office concerning the curve located on U. S. Route [redacted] approximately 3.0 miles east of [redacted], S. C.

Resident Maintenance Engineer [redacted] has advised me that he has checked this curve with a ball bank indicator and the curve does not need posting with reduced speed signs. He also advised me that Mr. [redacted] has the temporary signs to be used in conjunction with the children at the playground.

If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

District Engineer, District [redacted]

cc:
Res. Maint. Engr. [redacted]

Appendix 6

Foundations for Self-Determination
1890 Research Project
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Srole Anomie Scale Date_____

Agree or Disagree

_____ Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

_____ In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

_____ It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

_____ These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

_____ There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

_____ Things have usually gone against me in life. (Moon-McCann Modification).

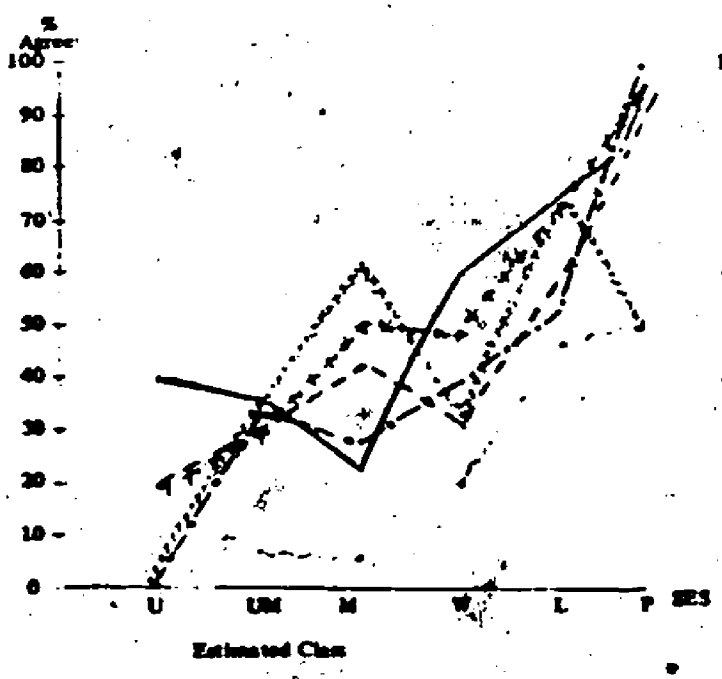
Circle the following information about the person you interviewed. (Estimate if you need to)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race: | Black | White | Other | | | |
| Estimated Age: | 20-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71+ |
| Community: | Urban | Rural | Suburban | Other (Specify)_____ | | |
| Estimated Socio-Economic Status: | Upper | Upper Middle | Middle | Working | | |
| | Lower | Poverty | | | | |
| Sex: | Male | Female | | | | |

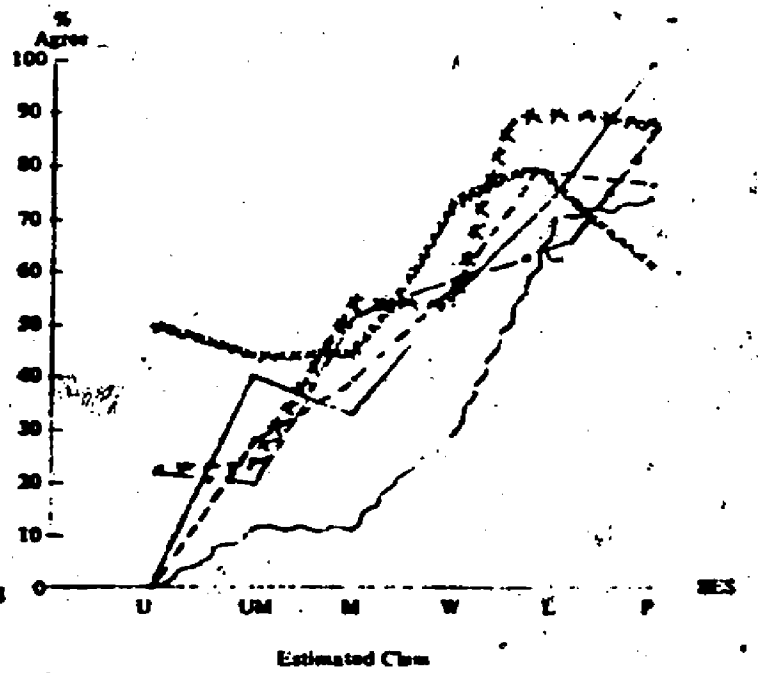
Signature of Interviewer_____

Appendix 7

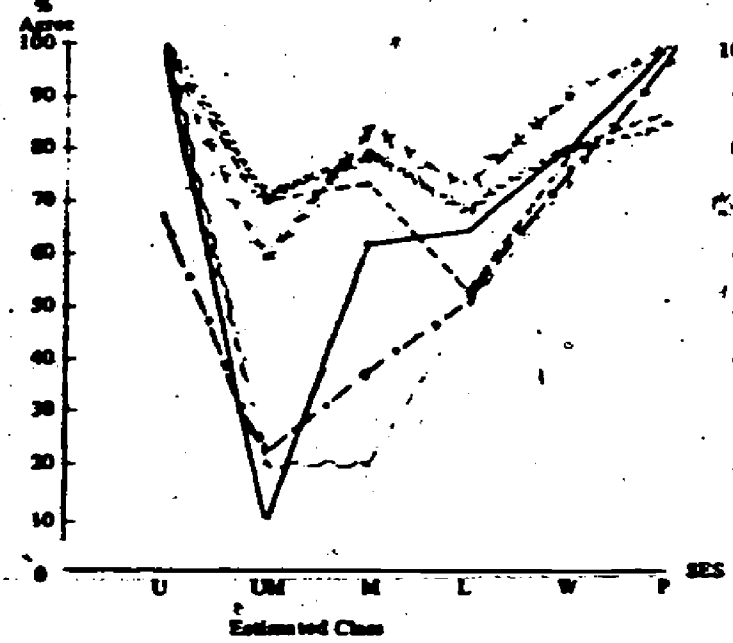
SROLE SCALE RESPONSES



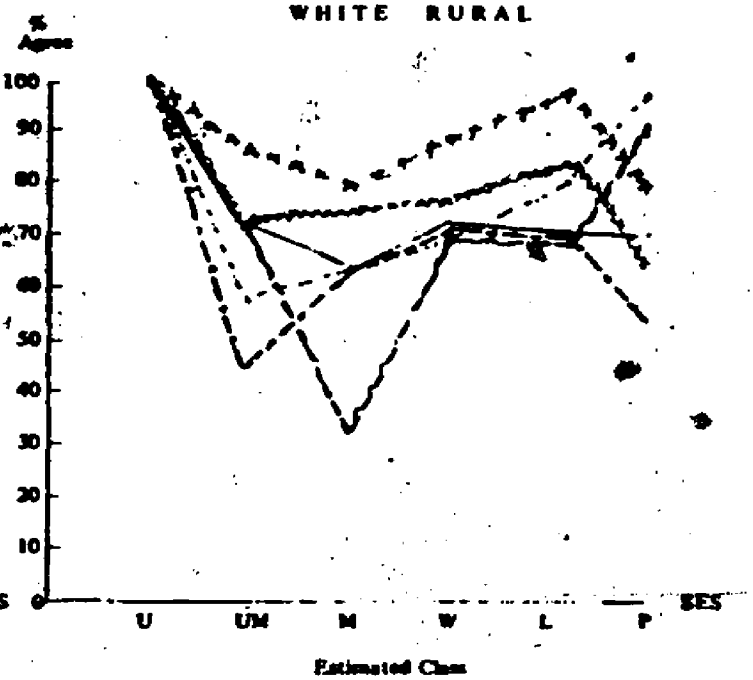

WHITE URBAN




WHITE RURAL




BLACK URBAN




BLACK RURAL

Legend

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Item 1 | ——— | Item 4 | ~~~~ |
| Item 2 | - - - - | Item 5 | |
| Item 3 | — · — | Item 6 | ~~~~ |

Estimated Socio-Economic Status

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| U | Upper | W | Working |
| UM | Upper Middle | L | Lower |
| M | Middle | P | Poverty |

Appendix 8

Items for Factor Analysis

1. Do you think the average citizen like yourself can have an influence on government decisions?

2. How strongly would you agree or disagree with this statement: "People in Barnham work together to get things done."

3. Some people say that almost anyone in our country can improve his standard of living if he is willing to work hard. Do you think this is true for you?

4. Do you think there is anything the average citizen can do to stop or slow inflation?

5. How about lower taxes and higher employment rates? Would you say that the average citizen like yourself can do anything to bring changes in these areas?

6. Would you say that there's little use writing to public officials because they really aren't interested in the problems of the average person?

7. What do you think of this statement, "No one seems to care how this community looks?"

8. Do you think that persons like yourself can improve their economic position?

9. Would you say that this world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it?

10. Do you think that a person is justified in doing almost anything if the reward is high enough?

11. When looking for a job, a person ought to find a position near his parents, even if that means losing a good opportunity elsewhere. Would you agree or disagree with this?

12. Would you say that a few influential people here have the town politics all sewed up?

13. How much would you agree with this statement: " I feel very much that I belong here in this community."

14. Looking over your life experiences so far, how good do you think life has been to you?

15. Considering the personal problems facing you as an individual today, do you think there is much that you can do about them?

Appendix 8 (cont.)

16. Would you say that almost everyone in this town would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance?

17. Would you agree or disagree with this statement: "Ideas of right and wrong change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on?"

18. How would you rate yourself as to how successful or unsuccessful you have been in terms of achieving your own goals or aims in life?

19. Would you say that persons like yourself have less say-so in how the government is run than most other people?

20. Many people report that they don't really know what they are living for. Would you say that this is true for you?

21. Would you say that friends are hard to find or that one can always find friends if he shows himself friendly?

22. Some people have almost no friends or relatives they can turn to in hard times. Would you say that this is true for you?

23. Would you agree or disagree with the statement that nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself?

24. Some people say that with so many religions in the world today, you really don't know which one to believe. What do you think?

25. Would you say that some people in this town "get by with murder" while others take the rap for any little misdeed?

26. Do you think that businesses and industries here pay their help fairly or pay them just enough to get by?

27. Do you think that your family is more close-knit, about the same, or less close-knit than other families around here?

28. Some people say that the only thing you can be sure of today is that nothing is certain. Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

29. Would you agree or disagree that the future looks very dismal?

30. Here is a statement which I would like you to consider: "Good and bad seem so relative, there just aren't any definite rules I can see to live by. What do you think?"

31. Would you agree or disagree with this statement: Sometimes I feel that other people are using me?

32. Is your occupation the one you would choose if you could go back and start over?

33. If not, what is your occupation from the one you do now?

Appendix 8 (cont.)

34. Here are some things which people often dislike about their work. Which of these applies to your work situation? (Check one or more.)

35. If your employer or spouse were to move out of town, or you were transferred would you move out of state for your job?

36. Imagine the ideal job for you, including pay, job conditions, and management people. How far is your present job from this ideal?

37. If you are presently employed, how seriously and often do you think about changing jobs?

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