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ABSTRACT

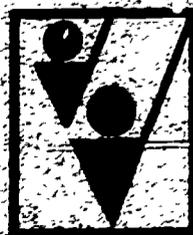
A REPORT ON A HUMAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE DEFINES
"COMMUNITY"; MAKES REFERENCE TO THE RELATIONSHIP OF MINORITY GROUPS
TO THE COMMUNITY; EXAMINES THE COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL UNIT; AND VIEWS
SEVERAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE HIGHLAND PARK PROJECT. TOPICS DISCUSSED ARE: THE COMMUNITY: WHAT
IS IT?; EDUCATION FOR LIFE; THE POSITION OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS
COMMISSION IN THE COMMUNITY; AND COMMUNITY COOPERATION AND
INVOLVEMENT. (NL)

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**Proceedings of the Conference on Human Relations
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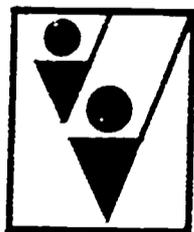


**OFFICE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SERVICES
CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY**

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THE COMMUNITY- WHAT IS IT?

Proceedings of the Conference on Human Relations
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INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SERVICES
CONTINUING EDUCATION SERVICE
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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FOREWORD

These Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference on Human Relations at Michigan State University represent part of a continuing effort to assist Human Relations Commissions in their work. The Office of Human Relations is now beginning its third year as a program of the Institute for Community Development and Services. In addition to sponsoring the annual conference, it carries on a year-around program of consultation and information-dissemination to executive directors, chairmen, and lay members of commissions.

It is only as dedicated citizens, supported by professionally skilled persons, address themselves in a systematic and sophisticated manner to the human relations problems of our communities that we can hope to make progress in this vital area. It is the aim of the Office of Human Relations to assist in developing these systematic and sophisticated approaches.

The editor of these Proceedings, Dr. Albert E. Levak, is the Director of the Office of Human Relations. He brings to his work a rich background of training in the social sciences and extensive experience in both university teaching and community work. He holds an appointment as Professor of Social Science in the University College of Michigan State University in addition to his duties with the Institute for Community Development and Services.

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Reverend Morrison has long been active in civil rights. He was with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on the Selma march. He is an officer of the Greater Lansing Community Organization which is largely devoted to civil rights. The Chicago Theological Seminary of the University of Chicago has awarded Reverend Morrison an honorary doctoral degree. Among other considerations in the awarding of this degree, his involvement in the civil rights issues was a significant one.

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Mr. Trout has been with the Department for the past three years. He came from Indiana University where he developed competence in the field of Urban Sociology. His primary research concern is with the migrant laborer who has settled in Michigan. His studies will make a significant contribution to the understanding of this minority group in the communities where they have settled.

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Mr. Smith is an alumnus of Michigan State University. He has been the Executive Director of the Highland Park Commission for the past year. Education For Life is a cooperative short term school-community pilot effort to mobilize and train students for reassimilation into the Highland Park High School, and to develop techniques for this purpose leading to the development of more effective educational alternatives for these and similar youngsters.

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Mr. Jones holds a Master's degree in Political Science from Western Reserve University. He is a past president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, and has served as a consultant to the United States Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, the Economic Development Administration (U.S. Department of Commerce), the United States Civil Service Commission, the Potomac Institute, and Columbia University. He has made complete or partial Human Relations surveys in such communities as Omaha, Phoenix, Washington, D.C., San Antonio, Atlanta, Bloomington, and Grand Rapids.

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Dr. Anderson has earned B.S. and M.S. degrees from the University of Minnesota and a Ph.D. from Michigan State University. He has served in research, extension, and administrative capacities at the University of Minnesota and Michigan State University for the past 15 years. His published works cover a wide spectrum of subject areas relating to planned strategies for community change with special emphasis on organizational and interorganizational relationships.

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WELCOMING ADDRESS

Reverend Truman Morrison

It's a real pleasure to be asked to extend the formal words of welcome to you as you gather here this morning in East Lansing and now begin the deliberations in the second annual conference on Human Relations sponsored by the Office of Human Relations, Michigan State University.

I'm sure you agree with me that it's a privilege to step aside for a while from one's immediate routines and be able under these auspices, and with a rich program of the sort that has been planned, to have the opportunity to renew one's perspective on the work in which we are individually engaged. I'm sure that we come together this morning on a note of real anticipation as we look over the plans for the conference; that we're also gathering with a new and deepened awareness, however concerned we may have been over the months and years earlier, of the conference topics: with a greater concern than ever, surely, that we do all we can to enhance our understanding of the forces at work in our communities as well as the means whereby each of us as community leaders may play a more creative role in resolving the human relations problems.

The pertinence, the urgency of our concerns has been emphasized by any number of things within recent weeks. The civil disorders that have already occurred even before the difficult summer period and the *Kerner Report* have warned of a divided society and much more civil strife unless the root causes of racism and despair-inducing conditions of the ghetto are attacked through bold programs. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., symbolizes in many ways the situation in which we find ourselves this morning.

Dr. King was the voice of conscience for our nation in a great many ways. We tend to forget the position he took on the Vietnam war or the real militance of Dr. King. Some people speak of him mainly as a symbol of the hope for ultimate tranquility in the land. He was a disturbing presence calling us to deal creatively with the American dilemma of professed justice and freedom but practiced segregation and racism. He was also a symbol in a most eloquent and memorable way of the hope of this society, because he maintained to the very last an unquenchable faith in the moral, intellectual, and spiritual capacities of people of all races, as well as in the self-renewing capacities of democratic institutions.

In Dr. King's death, we see how vulnerable we are in a highly interdependent society to the deeds of the bigot or of those who can employ an individual to do the work of racist destruction. We see how important it is that all agencies of our society—governmental, educational, religious—be busily doing all in their powers to combat the psychology

and institutions of racism that give support to the racist's deeds and that we be busily doing all that we can to nourish and express the forces of creativity, of health, of renewal in our society.

These things rest upon what Dr. King called the pillars of the American nation, pillars solidly grounded in the Judeo-Christian heritage. All men are made in the image of God, all men are created equal, all men are brothers, every man is heir to the legacy of dignity and of worth, every man has rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the State but are God-given.

For understandable reasons, Dr. King's death will be viewed by many Negroes as a symbol of the strategy of repression that white society uses to deal with the racial problem. I personally believe it is too early to assume that our country is going to rely essentially upon a strategy of repression of the Negro in dealing with demands for equal justice. At the same time I recognize that time is running out and that it is not exactly a hope-inspiring sight to see our congressmen in Washington sitting on their hands and continuing with apathetic attitudes to ignore the proposals made for dealing with the underlying causes of racial disorder. And that is the spectacle we witness, in spite of the passage of the open housing bill.

Early in April, Dr. Eric Lincoln, a leading sociologist of Union Seminary in New York City who has taught at Howard University and other places asked, "Does America intend to destroy what frightens her?" He went on to say:

"This is what frightens me. Perhaps it should frighten you. It's the promise of blood implied in the frantic stockpiling of stoner guns, machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, gas masks and immobilizing chemicals by the police departments across the country. It is the vast expenditures for other sophisticated weaponry that appalls me. It is the organization of vigilantes who are about to engage in the slaughter of citizens suggested by our public and private armaments. We are a long way down the road. This is madness. I know it can't happen here but there's a worrisome uneasiness that gnaws at my gut strings and refuses to be quieted. A feeling that it *is* happening. After all, there are precedents in Germany and South Africa."

Dr. Lincoln recognized that crime cannot be tolerated but he asked that we deepen our awareness of this point. "Let's begin," Dr. Lincoln said, "with that fundamental criminal consensus that defiles the whole spectrum of our social institutions with the most feculent racism. It is that pervasive, pernicious, consensual covenant-in-bigotry that qualifies so severely the life chances of anyone that is black

and sets the conditions that make inevitable a predisposition to crime by untold numbers of American youth."

He goes on to point to the poverty, the misery, the futility, the hatred that one finds in the black ghetto. Those who live there, as we know, have few of the satisfactions normally available to other Americans but they experience all of the pressures that demand conformity with the norms and with the expectations of the larger society. This is the crime implicit in every page of the *Kerner Report*. This is the mother of crimes and of criminals. This is a way of saying that apathy and evasion are in many ways the equivalent evils of overt inhumanity and cruelty. It is our sins of omission that are finding us out!

Dr. King compared contemporary America to the prodigal son who wandered into a far country only to find frustration and bewilderment. But eventually the prodigal came to himself and returned home.

"America has strayed into the far country of racism and this excursion has brought only confusion and bewilderment. It has left hearts aching with guilt and minds distorted with irrationality. It has driven wisdom from the throne, brought moral and spiritual famine to this country. It's not too

late to return home but we are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. Time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words. 'Too late, too late.' The moving finger writes and having writ moves on. This may well be our last chance to choose between chaos and community."

You who are gathered here this morning are presently or potentially a part of the answer that our country so desperately needs. Today a vicious circle has to be broken somehow. And this will be done only by a bold and farseeing statesmanship. The Negro sees white indifference to his demands for equal justice and opportunity, and violence increasingly marks his rebellion. The white community has elements within it that react with hostility and an increasing reliance upon repression and organized violence. The only statesmanship that can save the day is the kind that can demonstrate, in the words of the *Kerner Report*, "the wisdom and will to undertake decisive action against the root causes of racial disorder." How else will we break the vicious circle of violence answered by violence that threatens to destroy our society? Part of the answer is in your hands!

THE COMMUNITY: WHAT IT IS

Grafton Trout

I want to give you a general framework in which one might conceive the community and then talk about some of the relationships among various components of the community, with reference to problems that concern you.

Before that, I would like to make one comment about my own observations of Human Relations Directors and personnel in the various communities that I have visited. My purpose in these visits was to learn about the situation of Mexican-Americans their visibility and the degree to which they were being taken into account in the human relations problems of the community. I found that while in every community the human relations people gave considerable attention to the Negro minority, the extent to which they and other city officials were aware of the existence of a Mexican-American minority and its problems differed from one community to another. These variations in concern for Mexican-Americans were independent of the size of the minority population.

I would like to start off by trying to work out with you a definition of the community. In the light of the remarks that Reverend Morrison made and the events that we have seen transpire in the past several years the definitions of community that we find in textbooks seem very quaint to us. They almost seem as if they are describing the primitive community examined by the anthropologist rather than our contemporary American communities.

What do you think a community is: how would you define it if you were in my position? What would you say are the essential elements of a community?

Audience:

Leadership.

Trout:

Well, leadership of what? What makes a human community?

Audience:

People.

Trout:

That's a very good start. These things seem simple in the abstract but as you know from working in a community, things get complicated very fast. There are people. What else?

Audience:

Money, property.

Trout:

There's something missing from this that is quite essential. I think a kind of sine qua non. What about these people and property?

Audience:

Contiguity.

Trout:

What makes people and property into a community? Yes, contiguity, a location. If we had to pick out any one thing, given human beings and property, *it is this locational aspect that makes a community*. This becomes somewhat problematic, as you probably know, and there are definitions of community that do not consider the locational aspect. People may talk about the intellectual community of the United States, or the community of intergroup relations experts, or human relations people, or something of this sort. This is not what we are talking about. We are talking about communities that have a physical identification, a physical location, and this is a very essential point to remember in our discussion. What else about the community?

Audience:

Occupation.

Trout:

Now we are beginning to talk about things which have to do with people—let's call them activities. These activities are related, as you suggested, with reference to occupation, to some kind of sustenance activity, i.e., there has to be some way for people to make a living and function in the community. Their productivity enables the community to survive. The products may be manufactured goods or less tangible things like teaching and other services.

Anything else that you might want to bring up?

Audience:

Interaction.

Trout:

This, of course, takes place with regard to these activities and emerges from the necessity of people to relate to each other in some kind of productive capacity in the community.

What else is involved in a community?

Audience:

Government.

Trout:

This is a separate element. In this case, we can talk about government as the ability of a local community to make some kinds of independent autonomous decisions. In other words, we would only want to talk about government in the local community in terms of that range of decisions it has to make for itself. We are not talking about centralized systems, where, say in France, local officials may be appointed by a higher authority, or about a local government which is not an autonomous government but rather an administration. There is a

certain degree of autonomy of government in a community as we want to conceive of it.

Anything else?

Audience:

Educational systems.

Trout:

In this respect we could talk not only about the educational system but also about the other systems that are involved in socializing the young and adults in shaping them in particular ways within the local community. Socialization is largely a community function and is handled by the churches, the parochial educational systems, and the family as well by the public schools.

Audience:

Homes.

Trout:

You are talking about a special kind of property that involves something else that I am trying to get at. In a sense when you mentioned "homes," instead of "property" or "houses," you introduced the idea of local identity, common concern, and a shared value system. We might call it identification, which is a kind of notion of where one comes from. This is very apparent when we talk to students here. When we ask, "Where do you come from?" what they identify as home or as the local community shifts a great deal, especially in our society.

Audience:

I meant home in connection with family.

Trout:

We can put family under the notion of institutions. Family, church, and school are institutions within the community which have a community base. They have a relationship to a locality and to the people in that locality and they do serve a variety of different functions. Is there anything else that you would want to add to this list of common things that we consider to be central to our conception of the community?

Audience:

In keeping with the locational theme, social as well as spatial proximity.

Trout:

Yes, in a sense there is a notion of social as well as physical distance. We would have to discuss this in terms of values, goals, the type of people in the community and their pattern of interaction.

There is one other thing under interaction that I think is extremely important and this is *communication*. There is interaction in some kind of physical sense in people sharing, for example, transportation or some kind of locational space. But in addition to this traditional face-to-face communication, there is another and perhaps more important kind of interaction through

telephone, radio, television and other instruments of mass media.

Audience:

How about the general tone of the community toward acceptance of either social change or stagnation?

Trout:

Again, we can begin to talk about that under the notion of common values and goals. There is the problem of the degree to which people share certain goals or whether in fact their goals conflict, thereby necessitating some kind of change or adjustment. Working in the community, we often make the mistake of picking out one or two of these goals and emphasizing them to the exclusion of others.

The city planner may be cited as an example. Until people kept him from being quite so narrow, he was almost wholly involved with physical, locational, property-type concerns. He did not spend much time thinking about the impact of urban renewal on institutions within the neighborhoods or about the problems of identification or goals of the residents. Now, of course, as those of you who have worked with the Model Cities Program realize, even people who were primarily concerned with the physical planning of the community have been brought into many of these other areas and are having to think about the community in a much more multi-faceted way.

There are other people, of course, who are involved in government, who see government as so central that they sometimes neglect to see the kinds of informal government that take place outside of the formal structures. I think we find that people tend to see the community primarily from the point of view of their own activities. In the case of people like yourselves, you really have the responsibility of seeing these various aspects in their totality, seeing how they are related, because each of you is one of the few people in the community who really needs to do this.

Audience:

How about the monetary level of the community? The income of the citizens?

Trout:

We can talk about activities, sustenance, and property as an aspect of economic activity.

Audience:

However, the economic basis of the community is somewhat more than such things as sustenance and employment. The economic basis of a community may not be jobs per se.

Trout:

Of course productive employment is a characteristic of the economic structure of the community and the

population itself, but there are a variety of other economic bases in the community which have little to do with material production. For example, East Lansing's major industry is Michigan State University. Most of the commerce and everything else is based on the existence and characteristics of the population employed by the University. In that sense, this is productive employment but not like Oldsmobile in Lansing. Still, it is a resource and ought not to be neglected in thinking about the potential in a community.

Audience:

Tradition and history.

Trout:

This is very much related to identification. It is related to the kinds of people you have, where they live, and what they do. The history of the community and its traditions is important in determining the way people respond to changes in the community. As a city expands, some communities are absorbed into the larger system because they don't have a strong historical tradition or identification as a separate entity. In other cases a community's tradition and history may mean that it remains a separate, distinct community despite its being absorbed into a larger network. It keeps its own government, and probably its rather expensive structure of services as well, to maintain its independence. Its traditional base may be so strong and its history so much a part of its citizens that they identify with it and are unwilling to be annexed and absorbed into something that doesn't have that kind of identification.

If one looks at a city like Warren, or some political units in the Detroit metropolitan area which existed prior to the expansion of that city one will find that because of their traditions these communities are quite different from the rest of the metropolis.

There is one other thing I would like to add here and this is *services*. The community does have to have various services that go beyond the capacities of the individual citizens. Obviously, when there is a garbage strike in New York you can carry your garbage out to lots and burn it yourself for a few weeks perhaps, but New York cannot rely upon its individual citizens to dispose of the waste. There is a whole set of services you're all familiar with which need to be provided by the community at large in some kind of collective way.

If we look again at people, we find another important source of variability among communities. The community in the sense that we normally think about it has people who are fairly normally distributed over the life cycle. But the fact is that with the process of suburbanization, we are witnessing the increasing development of new communities or new locational areas that have

extremely peculiar distributions of people by their stage in the life cycle.

If you look at the typical suburban community which has developed since World War II you find that the highest proportion of people are from ages 30 to 45, even 25 to 45. After World War II, this age group was composed of a large number of returning veterans, their wives and very small children. New suburban developments had a common need to start school systems.

Let us look at a community like Levittown, New York. When Levittown first developed, almost all of the people were between 25 and 40 years of age, with children under two or three years old. There was no immediate need for a school system, but of course, after two or three years, there was a sudden need for a very large kindergarten, and then for a very large first grade and on up. In this sense, the life cycle situation of people within that community had a great many implications for government, for schools, for churches and other institutions. We have to remember that it is not just people who live in a community—it is *people of certain kinds of characteristics*.

Obviously, we have aspects of race, religion, national origin, and other ways that people can be classified in our society in addition to this dimension of *age groups*. It is extremely important to know the kind of community one is working in, or as we will discuss in a few minutes, the kind of sub-communities one is working with in a particular city.

When we think about our present cities and their problems it is fairly obvious that we need more than a quaint old-fashioned view of community. We probably all think of the utopian community as a kind of place where there is common agreement on goals and values, where there is a high degree of identification and interest in the collective community instead of in self and individual family, where people are sufficiently concerned about all the members of the community that they will willingly provide the kinds of services that are needed by each group. We think about a location that is fairly precise and limited where people can say, "This is my home. This is my community."

Our communities are too unstable to conform to this utopian picture. We have witnessed a massive influx of people of a particular population category into our cities. Because of the uneven distribution of welfare in the United States, the only place that starving families in Mississippi can survive is in places like New York, Chicago, Indianapolis, or Detroit. The cities, thereby, have to carry a vastly disproportional amount of the welfare burden in the United States. New York is spending as much on welfare as it is on education because it is shouldering a tremendous amount of the burden of what

has developed in the South and in other parts of the country.

We often think that our cities were populated by migrants mostly in the period of European migration and we think of Chicago and Detroit and their many ethnic communities. We think this is something that happened back prior to World War II, and really mostly before World War I. But we have had just as much migration to our major cities since World War II among the populations that are presently of great concern--Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Southern Appalachian whites and Indians. Los Angeles has almost 40,000 Indians who have come in from reservation areas.

Each city has now collected a new set of newcomers, new migrants. These are people of certain kinds of economic, racial, religious, and life cycle characteristics which change the nature of the community. In addition, there is a turnover of population. Every year about 20 per cent of our population changes residence. We are not talking only of people who are migrating from rural to urban localities. There are of course many who move from one city to another within a particular state, but there is also a great deal of change of residence within the metropolitan area. This mobility of the population has a great deal to do with identification, sense of history, tradition, institutional involvement, membership, and the whole notion of common values.

Mobility means that people may not stay in the local community long enough to develop either a firm sense of the history of the local place or an identification with the community, even if they are homeowners. Many homeowners have almost the same attitude toward the areas in which they live that renters do. They say it is cheaper to buy a home than to rent even if it's only for a year or two or three. It is not necessarily the case that just because people own property in a particular area they are deeply committed to it.

Mobility may depend on occupation. People in a particular industry or line of work may stay in a community for very long periods of time, perhaps changing residence to better houses within the community as their incomes increase. On the other hand, there are those whose companies or occupations demand frequent changes in residence. Some people form a community with General Motors; they move where General Motors tells them to move and their affiliation is primarily with General Motors.

There is, then, a very substantial part of our population that seems to be almost continually on the move. This is a very important change from a society in which communities were made up of people who were relatively long-term residents. This has important implications for schools, churches, and other institutions as well.

There are certain schools in Michigan that have almost a 50 per cent turnover of their students in one year. The same faces just do not come back the next year. This means that the whole process of education is quite different from what it was in a community where the kids started out in the first grade, went all through high school and graduated in the same high school class together. In order to benefit from some of the things that we have gained in technology, we have given up some of the community stability that people talk about.

When people move around, communities may be enriched by the skills and knowledge of new residents. Kalamazoo is remarkable in the extent of cultural facilities available partly because of the nature of the population its industries have attracted from other areas. This enriches the community but *only* if these people participate.

Many industries and businesses have almost forced or at least have very strongly encouraged their executives to participate in local community activities, voluntary associations, etc., even if they are going to be in a community for only two or three years. Part of this, of course, is self-interest--if you have people located in the important control agencies, you can be sure that things in the town will be run more or less in your own interest. But some of it is obviously based on a felt moral need to participate in the local community.

The point is that without some motivation for participation, and without a sufficient amount of identification to get involved, all these things do not really help. Very often one of the problems in the local community is how to get these new people who have skills and experiences involved in a creative way in the problems of the community.

Are there any other comments on the general description of the community? Is there anything that we have left out, anything that in some sense has been overlooked or not sufficiently discussed?

Audience:

I just wonder about the relationship between this locational, geographical type of community and the secondary type of community of ideas and like interests. Is there a connection between problems at the locational level and the secondary community concept, what with TV and other forms of communication and transportation? Are we less concerned with the locational and more concerned with the secondary community? Are we not just as much buddies of Johnny Carson as we are of neighbors?

Trout:

Maybe more so. I think that this is quite true. I wanted to talk about the notion of *horizontal and vertical integration*, which is schematized on one of the handouts (see Figure I).

Figure 1 - Schematic Analysis of Major Locality-Relevant Functions

Major locality-relevant function	Typical community unit	Typical unit of horizontal pattern	Typical superior unit of vertical pattern
Production-distribution-consumption	Company	Chamber of commerce	National corporation
Socialization	Public school	Board of education	State department of education
Social control	Municipal government	City council	State government
Social participation	Church	Council of churches	Denominational body
Mutual support	Voluntary health association	Community welfare council	National health association

Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America* Rand McNally and Company, Chicago, 1963, p. 208.

First of all, location itself is even problematic. That is, we have very artificial boundaries which separate communities. If you look at Lansing and East Lansing, these are two distinct communities. Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of commonality that is not reflected in the fact that these have two separate governments with different locations. The Detroit metropolitan area has over fifty independent governments and civil divisions in it. This means that you have a vast population of people, all of whom have certain common interests—at least in terms of interaction and in terms of services—but who at the same time are separated by artificial political boundaries that have been retained from a previous era.

One of the problems, of course, is trying to catch up at the cultural or governmental level with the functional integration that takes place in these populations. What you mention, of course, is something in addition to this. The local community is kind of irrelevant to many people's interests and activities. Although they may carry out activities in a certain area, these activities are controlled for the most part by places that are far outside their own local community. What is done in a local community tends increasingly to be directed by agencies, by levels of government or control outside the communities. This is another very important local problem that we want to talk about more extensively.

We really think about our problems in terms of the mass media presentation of metropolitan problems found in Detroit, Chicago, and New York. This may not be entirely appropriate for thinking about the same kinds of problems or what seem to be the same kinds of problems in Saginaw, or Flint, or Kalamazoo. The size of a community has implications which have to be studied further.

Audience:

I'm interested in hearing further discussion on history and tradition and on the interaction of communication and services. There is a tremendous problem where people are moving out into the suburbs and taking most

of the big stores with them. A group of poor people remain in the inner core. People have moved away from them, leaving not only a transportation problem but a problem of getting the things they need. Then many of the people who fled to the suburbs because they did not want to live near the poor bring them into the suburbs to work.

Trout:

You've brought up two very important points. One is related to mobility. We find increasingly, even in communities of intermediate size, the kind of polarization you are talking about. People at one time interacted—they had a downtown and jobs around it, and there were people of many kinds working, living and interacting in this area. Now we have a movement to the suburbs wherein we are founding separate communities. These suburban communities no longer contribute financially to the old community, except in cases where there is a city income tax which collects from where they work.

What difference does it make to this larger community if a whole array of people of wide experience and skills live in its suburbs, unless somehow these people get involved in the central city itself? And they are not likely to in many cases.

However, the suburban communities are also losing the ability to govern the larger community. For example, the election of Mayor Hatcher in Gary and to some degree Mayor Stokes in Cleveland indicate that the governmental authorities may no longer be completely controlled by suburban people even though they still have financial power.

The point is that this kind of polarization, or what one would call a breakdown of the traditional community, is increasing.

The second point made about the role of history is a very perceptive one too. People have very often used history as a front for maintaining a separate identity. While an enclave like Hamtramck in Detroit has a kind of ethnic base for its separate government, there are other enclaves which have continuing separate governments not because of tradition but largely because of the economic status of the individuals and the kinds of schools and services they can provide for their offspring and their communities, without having to contribute much to the larger communities.

You have city areas with special histories. For example, last night I was eating in a Mexican restaurant in Detroit in what is called Corktown. When I asked why it was called Corktown, I was told that the name was Irish and that the town used to be Irish. Now it is Mexican. It is useful and important sometimes to recognize the history of the community you are dealing with.

A community as we conceive of it would have all the aspects we have discussed so far. However, I am not saying that we can take any collection of people in a location called Saginaw, Flint, Detroit, or New York and start talking about it as a community in many of these senses. The larger the population, I think, the more likely one is to have a collection of sub-communities which makes all the things we are concerned with vastly more complicated. Even in cities of intermediate size, spin-off communities develop and the original core communities change because certain elements of the population migrate into the suburbs. This does not mean that there is a total breakdown and that there is no relationship between the people of Lansing and East Lansing, the people of Wyoming and Grand Rapids, or those of Grandville and Grand Rapids, but there are changes. These changes affect schools, churches, families—all those aspects that we normally talk about with respect to the community.

I would like to call your attention to Figure II. This first diagram shows the community as a social system. What is of concern to anybody working in the community is the relationships among the kinds of things we have been talking about, particularly relationships among institutions. It is actually better to start reading this diagram from the bottom up. We readily understand the person in a particular category: a parent, consumer, citizen, teacher, a member of an organization or adherent of a particular cause.

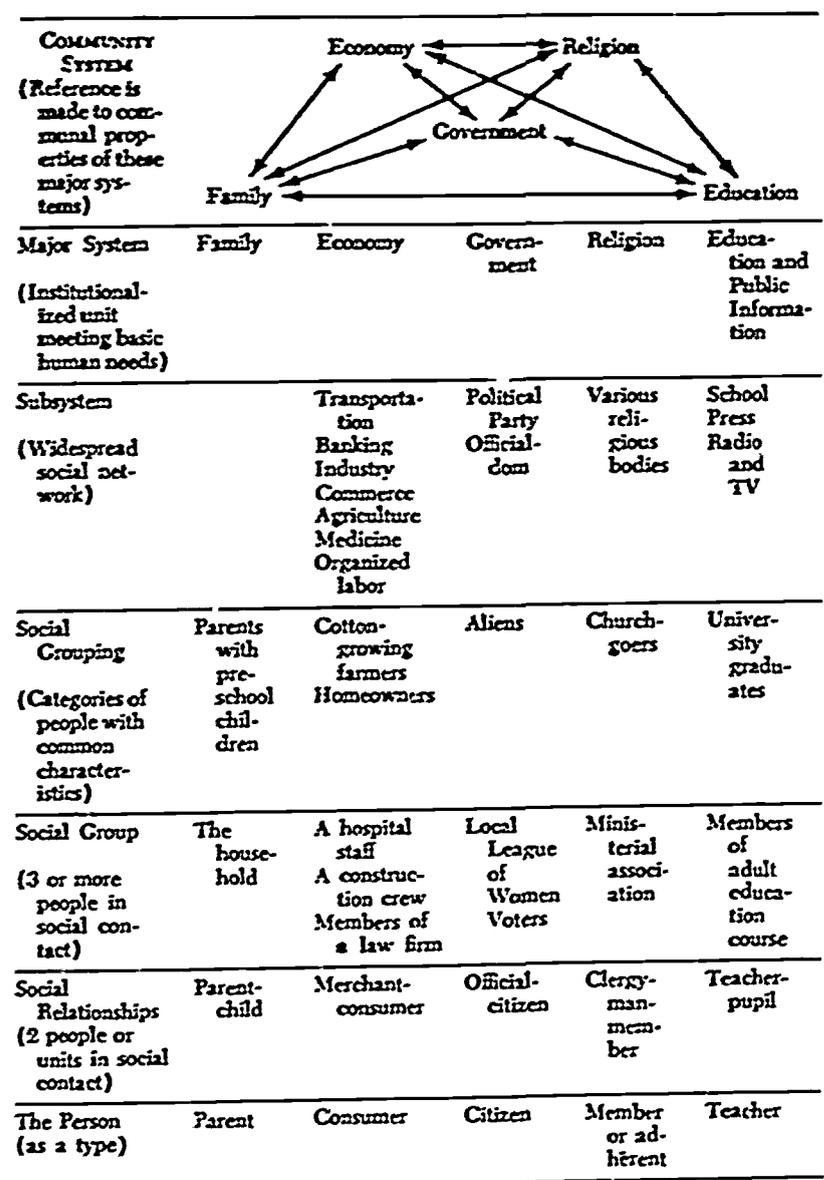
People are then involved with others in role relationships. To be a parent, you have to have a child; to be a consumer, you have to have somebody to buy from; to be a citizen, you have to have some relationship to the people involved in a structure of government; to be a member of a church, you probably have to have a clergyman; to be a pupil, you have to have a teacher or least a machine that you can operate which replaces the teacher.

In addition to these social relationships one finds groupings of individuals like households, voluntary associations like the League of Women Voters, and people involved in particular institutional sectors like education having certain kinds of interests in common and shared values, goals, and concerns.

These social groupings are often the actual groups that one finds people working together in. In addition, we can group people by their involvement in certain occupations or certain kinds of activities. We not only have members of churches, but we have categories of people who are church-goers vs. non-church-goers, people who are homeowners contrasted with people who are renters, and the proportions of these will differ among communities and affect their characteristics.

At the next level we have what could be termed sub-systems, like transportation, political parties, schools and various religious bodies. Very often there is interaction

Figure 2 - The Community As a Social System



Irwin T. Sanders, *THE COMMUNITY—An Introduction to a Social System*, Second Edition, Copyright c 1966, The Ronald Press Company, New York, p. 31.

among these sub-systems. People involved in education, public information, and religion, for example, are interacting in a variety of ways.

One finds then that what we talk about as a community, and this is the most important point in my whole presentation, is not these individual institutions as they are found in the community. It is not people in the individual sense. What is the community is the interrelationships among these components. In other words, what is of interest in the community is not the fact that there are certain churches and certain schools but how the churches and schools are related and interact over certain kinds of issues that go beyond them, that transcend them. Each one of these institutions, each one of these agencies is pursuing its own goals and its own values. The businesses are trying to make money; the schools are trying to educate the kids; the churches are trying to save the souls of their parishioners or members; the government is trying to collect taxes and keep order, among other tasks.

The point is that each one of these institutions, each one of these agencies, has its own goals and it wants to

maximize these. But as part of a community it is necessary that they relate to other institutions in order to provide the kind of environment in which they can succeed in meeting their goals. There are relationships that develop (diagrammed at the top of the schema) among these agencies and institutions which are of concern to the community as a whole. You may have the schools working out arrangements with the churches. For example, in certain communities, church-affiliated schools share facilities with the public educational sector. You may have voluntary associations that are concerned with welfare developing relationships with the formal public welfare agency of the community. Many activities go beyond the goals and values of the individual institution. This is what we talk about as the community, the interrelationships among these in a particular location.¹

What is happening in many cases is that some of these relationships are becoming problematic. For example, the Black Power movement or at least the radical separatist movement is suggesting in effect, "We want our own school boards; we want to duplicate all of the things that we now have to share on an unequal basis with the larger community; we want to have all these things as a separate community." In the past, things were not quite as different from this as people who are very worried about the Black Power movement would suggest. The ghetto was its own community, but it simply did not have the power over commerce, schools, etc., that it is now requesting. In terms of interaction, of communication, of many of these other things, it was in effect a very separate community. Now what many people are saying is, "If we are going to be separate, at least let us have control or power over the institutions that have always been separate."

You find the same kind of concern among other groups. The concern of Black Power people with having their own school boards is not very different from the concern of the citizens of Hamtramck with having their own school board, so that they can thereby educate their children as they see fit. They have done this by maintaining their separate governmental status within the city of Detroit. What is being asked now by many leaders in the ghetto is, "Create an enclave the way you did for Hamtramck and give us our own school board and our own institutions. We might make some agreements with you for services because we obviously do not want our own garbage collection or water system." This is not so unprecedented as many people reacting against it seem to think.

If you look at the left-hand column of Figure 2 you will see that certain things like social control, participation, support, production and consumption are locality-relevant functions which have community units and community bases. A unit which is responsible for the socialization of the child is the public school. Production is carried on by various companies. There are community units like churches that involve social participation. Health and

mutual support is allocated to welfare and health agencies. Within the community, these functions and these units are controlled by horizontal integration. For example, the school system is integrated, coordinated, directed by the elected members of the school board and by the officials who are hired for that purpose. This is integration of the educational system primary schools, secondary school, and maybe vocational schools at the community level.

However, what we have in addition is a linkage, a kind of integration of this school board with other communities and school boards across the country by virtue of things like federal aid programs to schools. We have ties which cut across the communities and link certain kinds of community agencies and people participating in them more closely to organizations outside the community than they are to organizations within it. For example, if we look at the welfare programs, one finds this kind of vertical integration of welfare agencies. One finds that the people involved in OEO activities tend to be oriented more toward the sources of funds and support outside the community for innovation of programs than they are toward this horizontal integration within the community. The whole dispute regarding OEO—community vs. federal control of local programs—is a product of this tendency.

There is a strain between community coordination and outside allegiances and controls. The vertical integration we are speaking of emerges not only from sources of funds and support but also from the affiliations of individuals. For example, the teachers in the local schools may also be members of teachers unions of national character. They are not only integrated into the community through their participation in the various schools but they are also members of units that are beyond the community, that are affecting the community from the outside.

It is very interesting that in situations of urban violence or disorder, one of the first things that is always said is, "These are not local people. These are outside agitators." In this respect there are equivalents of outside agitators in all these institutions. In effect, the outside is coming into the local community and it is increasingly difficult to maintain horizontal community organization and still have the necessary relationships with national or state level organizations. Changes in the resource base of the community, particularly in terms of tax dollars, with the wealthier people moving to the suburbs, and industry and business moving out of the central city, allow the cities fewer resources to carry on the job of horizontal integration. As a result the dependency of local agencies and people on these vertical structures becomes much greater.

If we look for other examples, we find that production, distribution, and consumption are related not only to the companies within the community, but also to the situation of national corporations. For example, a textile corporation may see that labor is much cheaper in the South and simply withdraw from a New England community for which it

may have been almost the sole support. Obviously, this company is vertically integrated. It is not a home-owned, family-owned local company where a family like the Ball family in Muncie, Indiana have been members of the community for several generations with strong identification to this local community and participation in it. These are industries which are vertically integrated, which have plants in a variety of communities and are able to move if there are marginal advantages for them elsewhere. This mobility of people and/or industry means the Chamber of Commerce must try to retain these industries or develop a community environment in terms of tax benefits which will attract new industry.

The modern community is not in any sense a self-contained local entity like the kind we used to think of as the rural community, where most of the resources were available in the area itself. It is integrated into a very complex society. Each of the agencies within the community is linked with state and federal programs in terms of the professional affiliations of its members and participants, its sources of funds, and, in many cases, regulations which are determined at a state or federal level and then affect the local community patterns. This is the whole point of the difference between vertical and horizontal integration.

Let me give one more example, a very interesting one, which involves the church. This is something that we are interested in with reference to Mexican-Americans, most of whom are Catholic. The church has different policies in different communities regarding the parishes in which Mexican-Americans may participate or are encouraged to participate. In certain Michigan communities the rule is that the Mexican-American and Spanish-speaking resident should be a member of the Catholic church in his parish. In certain other communities there is one parish, one church or center that cuts across all the other parishes and takes care of the needs of the Spanish-speaking person. These are quite different policies, which are, to some degree, determined locally. But the church has controls at other levels, and what is affecting the Catholic church in individual communities in Michigan is a product of changes at a much higher level.

One of the problems facing you is how to respond to the changes taking place in society. The local community is now the battlefield on which major issues in our society are being fought. While we argue about the problems of guaranteed annual income or devices for modifying the welfare system at the national level, the kinds of pressures

that have raised these to the level of national policy are having to be fought out on the local level in terms of the nature of welfare services and their local impact. In a sense, the community has suffered the double disadvantage of having increasingly fewer resources to deal with local problems at the same time that the local problems themselves have been heightened by changes in our total society.

In so far as we are able to handle these problems at the state or federal level, the local community may benefit. Or it may simply have many of its institutions and agencies gradually replaced by those having affiliations with sources of support and control at higher levels.

This is rather complex but so is the situation in which you have to work in your local community, and I hope that some of these ideas and the ideas that you may gain from further inspection of these books, or from the remaining sessions of the conference may help you to understand a little more about the kinds of problems and solutions that might be feasible in your own communities.

Editor's note: One thing is important in the latter part of the above discussion. We need to constantly remind ourselves of the nature of the pluralistic society in which we live. It is not one monolithic and monocultural group, and we must learn to live with others' values.

The other factor is our understandable concern about the Negro problem. Recognizing the importance of the Black Movement at this moment, we must also concern ourselves with the Mexican-Americans and the Indians, and the expectations they have in our democratic society. The problem is not one of racial differences alone; it is also a class problem. A large proportion of the various ethnic groups in our society—the Indians, the Mexican-Americans, the Negroes—are on the lower socio-economic level. We should not forget this dimension of social class.

One of the other concerns is that most of the Human Relations Commissions are made up entirely of part-time people. While these people may know something about the community in which they live, they don't have the time or resources to accomplish the ends which they consider desirable for their community. It becomes almost a mandate that in future years, with the increasing social costs of urbanization, industrialization, and technology, we start paying more attention to "people problems." One of the ways of doing this is to incorporate into the field of inter-group relations more professionals who can provide skills and resources for dealing with these problems to the lay individuals already in the field.

¹ Those interested in pursuing these ideas might look into the book from which the diagram was taken, *The Community - An Introduction to a Social System*, by Irwin T. Sanders, or Roland Warren's, *The Community in America*. Both books are fairly readable and will give you greater insights into your own community.

EDUCATION FOR LIFE

Wm. Melvin Smith

We in Highland Park were faced with a very grave situation wherein we found a need to gather together different service organizations to develop a program that would not help either black or white people on a separatist basis, but be directed toward aiding the community as a whole. We were faced, first of all, with the fact that an unusually large number of students were being expelled from or dropping out of Highland Park High School. Within a period of two or three months the dropout and expelled student ratio had expanded to the point of playing havoc in the community. The number of students coming into the Human Relations office asking for help to get back into school was one clear indication of the existence of immediate academic problems. It was found that the Wayne County Legal Services were also involved with these students, who would have to be re-entered through proper channels to satisfy the City of Highland Park.

Very pointedly, these were the students who seemed to have not only an academic problem, but a social problem as well. The Highland Park YMCA, Neighborhood Service Organization, Wayne County Legal Suburban Service, and Highland Park Human Relations Commission joined together to seek control of these two glaring problems. We jointly agreed that there was a need for a community pilot effort to mobilize and train students for reassimilation into Highland Park High School, as well as into the community. It would be of equal importance to develop techniques for this purpose which would lead to the development of more effective educational alternatives for these and similar youngsters. At this point, we realized that the agencies would differ in their ideas about how to solve these particular problems.

The Human Relations Commission in Highland Park was concerned with the duality of the problem. These students were causing trouble in school as well as in the community. The two questions that were uppermost in my mind were: (1) What do we really need to do? and (2) What objective would any kind of project have? One of the objectives would be to assist the suspended high school students academically. A second objective would be to provide services that would assist in reassimilating them into the school system as well as into the community. This would involve a direct education program, counseling, testing, and job placement services. All of these services would be in accordance with the temperament of the residents in the Highland Park area. Thus the groundwork for curriculum planning was laid. The immediate step was a mobilization process for both of our first two objectives.

The mobilization process would necessitate an evaluation of both where we came from as well as where we were going. In order to get to the core of the problem, the Neigh-

borhood Service Organization and the Human Relations Commission sought to trace any history surrounding or leading to the creation of this problem. It was the opinion of the Neighborhood Service Organization that when classes started in September, 1967 it was just seven weeks after the July riots. There was an increase in the number of students reported for behavior. The students were cutting classes, they were roaming the halls, there was an increase in the destruction of school property, and there was an increasing number of assaults between students both within the school building and on the school grounds. Teachers also reported that they were being subjected to ridicule and vulgar language in response to their efforts to restore discipline in their classes. This behavior continued until the end of the year. Because of complaints by teachers, parents, and the school administration, 25 of these students were suspended indefinitely. Approximately 100 or more were placed on probation. Between the beginning of classes in September and the end of February, 1968 the high school population decreased from 2,300 to 2,000.

The students in the rest of the schools around the system who were dropouts or had been expelled in previous semesters began to hang around the school grounds. With an increase in the number of students out of school, there was a concomitant growth in petty crime and delinquency.

The persons and organizations within the school and community became increasingly concerned with this problem. Representatives of the Teachers Federation brought this problem to the attention of the school administration. Suburban Legal Services and the Human Relations Commission became more involved with the number of youngsters appearing for help to obtain employment or to return to school.

This gives you a description of what we were facing in our community. To alleviate tension in our community, we felt that there was a need for some type of program.

The YMCA discovered that a lot of these youths were hanging around in their buildings. These youths were very concerned about being suspended. The Neighborhood Service Organization met with the high school principal to express concern and offer an alternative program. At the same time, private citizens and organizations such as the Human Relations Commission and laymen's groups within the city, the NAACP, the PTA, the block clubs and also a civic organization called the Caucus Club were dissatisfied with the situation.

Some of the related concern was polarized in a school-community committee composed of representatives from the school, the YMCA, the Neighborhood Service Organization, the Human Relations Commission, and the Suburban Legal Services. We got together with the superintendent

of schools, primarily to get some communication and find out if there were any alternatives. It was then agreed to call an emergency meeting of representatives of business and industry, representatives of the schools, and representatives of the agencies, while at the same time, a person acceptable to the school and agencies was hired by the Neighborhood Service Organization to begin gathering factual data about this problem.

Our group met at the Human Relations Commission office and discussed the entire problem. We found out that although a number of businesses and industries were prepared to contribute money to such a project, they expressed dissatisfaction with several points of the program that had been proposed. First of all, they said the project was too limited in its scope. Secondly, they said it did not provide for student and community involvement. Thirdly, it did not clearly define the nature of the problem in its structure. Fourthly, it did not describe specifically the role of personnel involved. Thus, it was recommended that this group meet again at a time when these concerns could be clarified. Business and industrial people were interested in the project and were prepared to contribute funds but the amount would be determined by satisfactory provision for the things I am talking about now.

"Education for Life" was a proposal to clarify these points, to bring the Human Relations Commission together with the community and with other agencies and the school staff. I sat down with some people from Legal Services and we summarized the problem. First, there was a large number of suspended students. Secondly, the problem was not that these students were suspended from school and that they were dropouts, but that the school and the community had not developed a viable alternative to effectively meet their educational needs. Thirdly, we found that the problem was both a school and a community problem and that there were a lot of people who hated to admit this. They said, "It's an educational problem so let the educators take care of it"; the educators said, "It's a community problem"; and while we were both arguing, the school was burning down. Fourthly, the problem was compounded by the fact that such a large number of youngsters were suspended in a very short period of time. Fifthly, the problem was further compounded by an uncertain feeling on the part of both students and instructors resulting from the riots of the summer before.

With this in mind, we began to describe the problem in an attempt to find some rationale for what we were doing. This pilot project would serve as an immediate means to provide some viable educational alternatives to meet the needs of these and similar youngsters. In addition, it would serve as a model for future educational offerings for youths like these. The same problem that we were faced with in Highland Park was being faced in areas such as Livonia and Birmingham. It was not just a black problem or a white problem; it was an educational and community problem.

We created a non-profit organization made up of people who were in the community and outside of it but had something to say about what went on in the community. One was the YMCA, another was the Wayne County Suburban Legal Service. The Ford Motor Company told us that if we were going to get money from them they wanted involvement. We wanted to see youths telling us their problems, recognizing that we were not a bunch of, as students say, old fuddie-duddies. We incorporated and put 25 members on the Board of Directors. This Board of Directors was composed of corporation presidents, civic-minded people, and people who were concerned with the financial aspect of problems in our town. The Human Relations Commission provided two members to the project Board. They suggested that we put five students on the Board of Directors. Right now we are regretting it. But it has been a very profitable learning experience. It involved bringing the students in, sharing ideas and attitudes and then writing them down on paper. This was one of the criteria for being funded \$77,000.

The Human Relations Commission sent out letters to all the kids who had been suspended. The letter indicated that we would like to meet with them at a church within the community. They described what they wanted. They had the same gripes that students have all over. They really described what was necessary—what kind of program they wanted—and they wanted to know what we meant by group and individual counseling.

At this point the "Y" said they would work on recreational programming. The school staff said that they would like to work on planning curriculum with these students—sitting down and not "we" planning curriculum but "we" with "you." The different corporation presidents said they would like to work on employment programs. The Human Relations Commission's goal in the project was to develop human relations programs. We made four standing committees: employment, recreation, facilities, and work programs. On each of these committees three of the five members were adults and two were students. The students came right from the Board of Directors.

The automotive company liked this because they were not dealing with the Human Relations Commission alone, but with the cooperative effort of many agencies. Their big gripe was that usually every individual agency in the community hit them for separate amounts.

We are a department within the city structure and can provide facilities for meetings and serve as a liaison group for any needed services from the city of Highland Park. That means that if a truck is needed to move some equipment I know who to call.

Then we started talking about job descriptions and personnel. We wanted the personnel to be more than just the average type of person. We wanted a project director and we fought over the job description for many, many days before it was finally approved. When you are working

with the Neighborhood Service Organization they want a social worker as a director. When you work with the Board of Education they want someone in counseling and guidance. The "Y" wants a man with a more religious orientation. In other words these are real conflicts in working with organizations. We had to write in a phrase that would incorporate all the demands and this was very difficult. We said the Director of this project would have a master's degree in Social Work, Guidance and Counseling, School Administration, Education, or the equivalent in experience. This made everybody happy.

We said that in addition he should have the following qualifications:

1. A demonstrated sensitivity to the needs of out-of-school youth.
2. Ability to work with a team of professional and paraprofessional people, and members of various disciplines.
3. Understanding of, and ability to mobilize community resources, educational, recreational, social, and rehabilitative for the youth in the program.
4. Ability to work with school personnel, both in an advocate role for individual youngsters, and in an innovative role, i.e. working with the schools to develop future viable educational offerings.

This guy had to be a pretty sharp individual because he had to be academically prepared to handle the problems of "Education for Life." He also had to be politically oriented to handle the problem of different demands from our various agencies.

Then we discussed the teachers. To have this project accepted the teachers had to have credentials of certification as required by the state law of Michigan. We also hired two teacher aids.

We found out that we wanted a counselor aide. There is an unusual thing about the counselor aide that we hired. He was a man on the street who developed his knowledge with no academic training and grew into a paraprofessional. It is wonderful to see this type of situation develop. Here is a role change to see—a man who three weeks ago was a "jitterbug" and now is hired for a particular job that makes him a paraprofessional. There is a lot of growth here, but he had the natural common sense and the ability to relate to these youngsters. When he was screened by the employment committee, two members of which were students, they loved him. He said things, the jargon, that was understood by the students. The counselors were very adept individuals. Most of them had a Master's in Social Work. The counseling end of this project was handled by the Neighborhood Service Organization.

The Neighborhood Service Organization is going to do the project evaluation along with the Human Relations Commission. The Suburban Legal Services is doing legal

activities in anticipation of what might happen or might be needed by these youngsters. This service is provided free. The automotive companies are preparing, through the project that Henry Ford is heading up this summer, jobs for these youngsters. In other words, we are trying to attack their problems from every angle that is possible.

We compared the crime index of last year in Highland Park with this year's. We also wanted to develop an interview schedule that would be geared both to the students in the project and to the parent. I will give you a copy of this so you will see the type of things we are trying to find out from these youngsters.

We went into how we got involved in this project by writing appendices. What were the schedules? What were we trying to do? We started out with a \$6,000 budget which was increased to \$77,000. The automotive companies said that we should have asked for \$175,000.

We then went on to describe what went on in the earlier stages of the game when we were defining the problem. The students gave us some very good information. They had a meeting at the request of the committee on March 7, 1968 at the Human Relations Commission office. A meeting at the new Grace Baptist Church got under way at 7:45 p.m. with Mr. Harrington as moderator. There were approximately 60 expelled students and four parents in attendance. They were white and Negro students. The students started the meeting by explaining that they wanted a training program that would offer them a job while attending school. Mr. Harrington asked the students if they wanted a diploma. All the students agreed that a diploma from high school was necessary to better one's life. Remember, these were expelled and dropout students. The students mentioned a lack of appropriate recreation time. At this point, the students had doubts in their minds about their ever returning to Highland Park High School. They stated that if they got back in school, they would only be put out again. They also stated that they wanted more community involvement in the school system. They stated that there was no PTA in their high school. One student mentioned that the school counselors were not oriented to their problems. He cited as an example that his counselor told him to quit day school and go to night school.

The students elected their representatives. The students insisted that the program give credit toward graduation requirements. For example, if they were second semester seniors when put out of school, they wanted to get their diplomas from Highland Park High School through this program.

As far as the administration was concerned, they felt the principal was not around enough to matter, but they felt they could talk to him. Their problem seemed to be the assistant principal rather than the principal. They stated that the entire discipline policy should be in their hands in this project. At this point, they requested a student-parent-faculty committee. These students came up with some real innovations, things that they had been asking for.

They also talked about what they wanted out of life as far as restrictions were concerned, and how they were stifled because of the attitude of the administration and most teachers. For example, they felt imposed upon when they were required to go from one school building to portable or makeshift classroom facilities in cold weather. They felt they had insufficient time given the size of the school to get from one class area to another. Further, they felt the administration was indifferent to problems and preferred kicking them out of school to counseling them and encouraging them to continue. The whole gist of the matter is that these students really want to learn, but some of them are real losers and need help.

The Human Relations Commission has tried very hard to develop programs such as these to help the community. If you are not aware, this is the first time the New Detroit Committee has given any money outside of Detroit. Their initial grant was for \$60,000. Mainly through the efforts of our chairman and such members as Mrs. Kelley, Mr. Jewel, Mr. White, and one of the members who put a lot of work in this, Reverend McCloud, we were able to develop something that not only spoke for us but spoke for the community.

The New Detroit Committee is very much interested in what type of report will be handed in after this six-month pilot project is phased out. There will be a book written on this whole operation—all the problems, what we learned about these youngsters. We hope that this system will help boards of education all around the state and throughout the country to develop new ideas and drop some old ones. These kids have the same problems in Detroit as they have in Washington. We must come up with some viable alternative to help them.

This project consists of four teachers, two counselors, one counselor aide, two educational aides, and two secretaries. The program's budget is \$77,000. The one thing that is going to handicap us is disappointment. Dr. King emphasized this more than anything in this statement: "Shattered dreams are a hallmark of our mortal life." This is very true of these youngsters.

He made a statement on social change. This is very *apropos* too because we found out that

"Negroes need an international *detente*, because in a period of tensions and crisis their needs are easily forgotten, and a political rigidity grips the nation that sharply inhibits social change.

"The nonviolent approach provides an answer to the long debated question of gradualism versus immediacy. On the one hand it prevents one from falling into the sort of patience which is an excuse for do-nothingism and escapism, ending up in standstillism. On the other hand it saves one from the irresponsible words which estrange without reconciling and the hasty judgment which is blind to the necessities of social progress. It recognizes

the need for moving toward the goal of justice with wise restraint and calm reasonableness. . . . But it also recognizes the immorality of slowing up in the move toward justice and capitulating to the guardians of an unjust status quo. It recognizes that social change cannot come overnight. But it causes one to work as if it were a possibility the next morning."¹

This is the way our commission is working right now. We are working very hard in these areas because we feel there is a possibility tomorrow.

Audience:

I would like to hear what, if anything, was done to change the school system, the school administration.

Smith:

It is hard to say at this point. The school system has contributed many things to "Education for Life." Although these kids are not in the school building, they are in a church that has proper educational facilities. I would say the school board is just waiting to see if the project will succeed. The studies that will come from this six-month project will definitely be made available to the Board of Education and to the New Detroit Committee. Actually, we can go to the New Detroit Committee and say, "These are some areas that need priority as far as Highland Park is concerned. What can you do to help us?" So to answer your question at this point, nothing. We are hoping that many things will come from it.

Audience:

The program is underway right now?

Smith:

Yes, it started April 15.

Audience:

Apparently most of your talk was on the problem you had with the school students and out of that evolved your working to find something to adjust to their needs. In doing all of this, what did you find of the homes, families that these children come from?

Smith:

This is one of the responsibilities of the counselor aides. They go into the family. They go into the homes and talk to the family; they find out if the mother is living and if the father is dead, or whatever. They work very closely with the structure of the home. These students get many things that are unheard of. In other words, they can't say, "I won't be to school tomorrow because I don't have any shoes." We have budget appropriations to buy them shoes. Or, "I can't come to school because I don't have any clothes to wear." There is a budget for emergency measures to give them clothes if it is necessary, or haircuts, or spending money, or anything that students need that are really their own personal problems.

Audience:

What I have reference to is the Head Start Program which is not comparable to what you are talking about. They brought children into the schools for so many weeks in the summer. When that was finished, the children went right back into the same situation with no change in their homes. Don't you have to work both ways? Don't you have to do something with the adult and the home life in order that they will be able to either continue or appreciate the life they are going into, because they are really torn between two things? They may go to that school where you put them for a day, but they go back in that home for a weekend or a summer where they are having the same problems.

Smith:

This program is going right through the summer. You can't change the attitude of an adult as quickly as you can change the attitude of a child. We are working closely with the home.

There is a program in Highland Park called the Home-maker's Service which actually goes into the home and shows the parents how to budget money, how to buy food, how to prepare food, how to maintain a house—things of this nature. I think this is the direction *you* are talking about. All these students are residents of the City of Highland Park. Even though they are not in the high school, they fall within the jurisdiction of the Home-maker's Service, a federally funded project. In situations where a home is in complete shambles, we send a home-maker out who goes into that house and becomes a part of it in terms of trying to get some semblance of order. When this child comes home from school where he sees order, he can see the same order in the home.

Audience:

Do you really get results?

Smith:

Some of the parents resented the fact that somebody was coming into their houses. As anything else, when one parent found out what had been done by the Service they began to accept it. Now it's widely accepted. I don't want you to believe that people in the beginning just opened their doors and said, 'Come on in and give me a hand.' It wasn't that way. It has been going on now for about two - two and a half years, and is accepted. Whenever I am called out to go to a home, and I look at the situation and size it up in terms of not being a very pleasant situation, I immediately contact Homemaker's Service, make them aware of the fact that there is a home over on such and such a street and I think they should send a worker over. They in turn contact the home and make an appointment to come into it. Then the worker goes in and even takes them shopping in terms of how to get the best for their money on their limited budget. Rather than going and buying one steak

for a family of eight, they instruct them on taking that money and buying something that may not be as good as steak but will feed all eight people in the home, and for two days possibly rather than for just the one meal.

Audience:

I would like to go back to the point that this gentleman was trying to make. What is going to be done about changing the teachers' attitudes and actions towards these kids that help to bring this behavior out on their part. It's a long standing thing. . .

Smith:

One of the things the report is going to do is to investigate teacher attitudes and show the public what happens. When this report goes out, it will go out just like the *Kerner Report* or the *New Detroit Committee Report*. Without using these youngsters' names, we will show the whole public how we are trying to develop some type of attitude change.

Audience:

Let's hope that it's not implemented in the same way as the *Kerner Report* has been so far. If I were on the New Detroit Committee without some steps being taken I wouldn't give you a nickel. The program as it stands now, all you are doing is generating a bunch of kids, setting up another program out in the community, and taking care of a problem that starts as a school problem. The school isn't being changed a bit.

White:²

I'm speaking because I'm a little closer to the schools than Mel is so I feel I can say something in this regard. As you would expect, there is a great deal of concern about the attitudes of the teachers in the high school. Obviously their attitudes have caused many of these youngsters to take a very negative attitude towards schools and teachers and the whole system. Once these youngsters have been thrown out of school and are in this program, "Education for Life," the next thing you have to do is try to get to the teachers. Because if this program is going to be meaningful, these youngsters will be coming back to the high school. If you are coming back, you don't come back to the same situation that you left. So therefore, there has to be some change in the high school. As a result of this seminars are being set up in the high school which in time teachers will be required to attend. At the seminars we plan to bring up things the youngsters have seen go wrong. When I, or a parent, say these are wrong to the teacher, the teacher says, 'You don't know because you are not in this class.' But the youngsters have actually sat in these classes. They know what happens when the door is closed. I, as a parent, may not know. We will bring these things to the attention of the teachers. We are assuming that some of them are really ignorant. They don't know when they are really doing wrong, when they are hurting the kid's

feelings or when they are restricting his growth. Some of them don't really know. I think it is only fair to make them aware, make them knowledgeable of the fact that there have been a lot of growth inequities. If we are going to make this school a better school, and open the doors for these kids to come back, there has to be some change. There must be. It cannot exist as it does. Otherwise, the program isn't meaningful.

Audience:

Don't you think though, being realistic, that they are aware all of the time but don't want to face it?

White:

Granted, many of them are aware, but there are a lot of teachers who are not aware of the things they are doing.

They are not even conscious of them at the time they are happening. They may be aware after it happens, but at the time it happens, they aren't even aware they were doing something that is going to have that much impact on this particular youngster. We as teachers, or as former teachers, really don't know how much impact we do have on students, whether it be positive or negative. I don't think you can really measure it.

As a student in my school in New York, as I look back, the people that I hated the most were really people that made the biggest impact on me. I think this is true of teachers throughout the country, throughout the world as a matter of fact.

¹ Lotte Haskins, ed., *"I Have a Dream": The Quotations of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap) 1968, pp. 132-133.

² Damon White, Community Coordinator, Cortland School. Chairman, Police-Community Relations Committee, Highland Park Human Relations Commission.

THE POSITION OF THE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION IN THE COMMUNITY

Kenneth C. Jones, Jr.

In preparing my remarks for today I naturally examined the proceedings of last year's conference. I almost wish I hadn't. I found that it's all been said by Dr. James McKee and my colleagues, Bert Levine and Alex Miller. I will attempt to add to what they said and perhaps to introduce some new ideas, but before I do, let me urge you to reread the 1967 proceedings they're still very valid and persuasively put.¹

I have no envy for those of you who are lay commissioners on the various Human Relations Commissions across the state. I think you have an almost impossible job and I feel that you have totally inadequate tools. Over a decade ago, Robert A. Walker in discussing the planning function in the community, and especially the role of the planning commission said, "Officials do not tend to value highly the advice of an unpaid, part-time board." I doubt very much that this has changed in terms of planning commissions and I am quite sure it still exists as related to Human Relations Commissions. To make matters even worse, Walker pointed out in this same writing that planning commissions do have some authority and are in a position to make decisions which will be backed up by the legal authorities of the community. In most cases you don't even have that.

For these and other reasons I am of the opinion that the Human Relations Commission as it is known today may well be passe (if it ever was a useful instrument). However, in spite of any arguments I may have, the chances are very good that commissions will not only continue as they are, but there more and more of them will be created and they will have a responsibility which must be courageously and intelligently discharged. So, for that reason, the major burden of my remarks will be directed at sharing with you my views on how this can be done.

Let's first take a very brief historical look at this function you represent. In 1919, race riots shook Chicago. Illinois Governor Frank O. Lowden appointed the Chicago Commission on Race Relations to examine the problem and make recommendations. The report of this committee was entitled *The Negro in Chicago*. The major recommendation of this report called for the creation of a permanent local body on race relations. Governor Lowden endorsed this particular recommendation but it wasn't until 1943, when race riots occurred in Detroit and tensions rose in Chicago, that the first official Human Relations Commissions were formed in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Buffalo, and Milwaukee. I don't imagine that many of you were members of those commissions which started 25 years ago, but I'm sure that many of you have had many years of experience since that time in that capac-

ity. You know how much has needed to be done and how little has really been accomplished.

I would be both pleased and proud if I thought that I could bring to you today *the* word and *the* answers to the problems you face in your communities. In the first place, I'm inclined to believe that there are no single answers, that each community presents its own set of problems sufficiently unique to warrant specialized responses. Secondly, even though we have 25 years of experience to draw from, the fund of knowledge in terms of practical experiences has been pretty much confined to the minds of the practitioners, with little or no concern for a permanent record. I regularly refer to the practice of intergroup relations as a "pragmatic art" and I wish it weren't so. However, for what they may be worth, here are some truths (with a small "t") as I see them. I wouldn't presume to ask you to accept everything I say but I am satisfied that you wouldn't have bothered to come here today if you were not prepared to at least consider what you are about to hear.

That which follows is my view of what the Human Relations Commission and its members ought to be, what they ought to know, and finally what they ought to do.

If you can forgive me for using what is meant to be "high-flown" language let me say that I feel a member of a Human Relations Commission should be committed to the development of a society which treasures the richness of diversity and in which the individual is secure, possesses human dignity, enjoys personal liberty and equal opportunity, practices community responsibility. I'm sure that I should add to that a commitment to the democratic process, though I must admit that when I see the results of most referenda on items relating to civil rights my commitment tends to waiver a little bit. You will note that nothing in this commitment is directed exclusively to minority groups nor is there any reference on my part to the plight of the Negro or Mexican-American. It seems to me inappropriate for an official commission to have in its membership those whose reason for being there is to "help the Negro." It's not the function of government to be the spokesman for, or protagonist on behalf of, any single group within the community. This is one reason why I feel that it's unwise for staff members of civil rights agencies and group defense agencies as well as the lay officers of these agencies to be members of the official Human Relations Commission. There ought to be adequate lines of communication and relationship between the Human Relations Commission and these vital community organizations without having overlapping board membership. The Human Relations Commission is not the NAACP any more than it is representative of the White Citizens' Council.

This, however, is not to argue for representation on a Human Relations Commission for "all degrees of thinking" on the question of civil rights. Any member who is appointed to a commission because he represents business or labor or some ethnic group, and is there ostensibly to protect its interests while not having the commitment of which I earlier spoke, has no business on the commission, cannot be effective in any way, should never have been appointed, and ought to immediately resign. By the same token, I submit to you that those whom I might label as "bleeding heart liberals," those who find great emotional or psychic satisfaction from being a friend to the underdog, those who think that all Negroes and other minority group members are just wonderful people and ought to be given everything they want, this kind of non-thinking, neurotically-led individual can do as much or more harm as those who do not have the commitments mentioned earlier.

Let me give you a little example of three kinds of people, only one of whom belongs on a Human Relations Commission. Let's take the same setting and the same characters with three different reactions. Here's a small bakery shop in which there are several customers and two or three clerks. Among the customers is Mr. N, a Negro, and Mrs. A, an Anglo-Saxon. As the customers thin out and the clerk turns to those standing at the counter to see who's next, she automatically turns to Mrs. A. Mrs. A, not being sure, but under the impression that Mr. N had been in the store before she arrived, indicates that she thinks that Mr. N is next. Mr. N immediately demurs and suggests that Mrs. A should go right ahead. Mrs. A politely acknowledges this courtesy and gives the clerk her order. Now that's the way it ought to be. The insensitive person, the white supremacist in the garb of Mrs. A, wouldn't even consider suggesting that a Negro man should precede her even if she knew very well that he had been in the store before she entered. The third alternative and one which I'm afraid would take place too often would see us pick up the action at the point where the clerk asks Mrs. A for her order. Mrs. A indicates that Mr. N is first, Mr. N demurs and urges Mrs. A to go ahead. Mrs. A then insists upon her right to be a gracious white woman and refuses to take her place in front of Mr. N. What does this do for Mr. N? It robs him of the dignity of being a gentleman, it makes him clearly feel that he is being patronized, it negates all sense of equity for anyone witnessing the interchange as well as for those involved in it and, unfortunately, it probably gives Mrs. A adequate satisfactions which eliminate the necessity of her doing anything constructive regarding race relations in her community.

I really didn't mean to use this platform as a launching pad for my invective against the bleeding hearts. Unfortunately it's a common disease. I have no particular desire to bring politics into this discussion and I'm not unaware of the dangers of accepting quotations from the news media which may or may not have been made in quite the context in which they're printed, but I can't help but comment on a

quotation from *Time Magazine* of April 12th in an article describing President Johnson's renunciation of a second term. They quote him as saying, "I want them [his grandchildren] to think of me as the man who saved Asia and Viet Nam and who did something for the Negroes of this country."²

I submit to you, Democrats and Republicans alike, that this has been one of the reasons for this administration's inability to deal adequately with today's urban problems. It's not the Negroes of this country whom President Johnson and you as Human Relations Commissioners should be "doing something for", it's the totality of things - the community, society, and man's relationship to man.

Now let me be quick to say that I'm not suggesting that what is needed is a lack of sensitivity or an indifference to the plight of those against whom discrimination is daily practiced and those for whom opportunity is something to be desired but not achieved. No one knowing the conditions under which the Negro lives or the daily experiences he undergoes could fail to be concerned about the inequities these represent. What I am arguing for is the recognition of the fact that the correction of these inequities is a desirable community goal, not just a Negro goal, and that so long as they exist, the community is imperfect and so is the life of each of us. The problems we are dealing with require a great deal of intellectual exercise. There has to be a lot more thinking going into our work than there is emotion, and those persons who bring to it primarily emotion are only getting in the way of those who want to think through the solutions and put them into practice.

Writing in the *Journal of Intergroup Relations* back in 1960 my colleague George Schermer indicated that among other things a professional staff member in this field should have a fund of knowledge unique to the field, be skilled in the techniques of communication and community organization, and adept at managing a wide variety of human relations situations requiring delicacy, finesse and adroitness at both the interpersonal and political levels. He pointed out that only the first of these is a skill or ability unique to our field. The other two characteristics would be shared by a great many people in many related fields.

It seems to me that if these are skills required of a professional, then at least to some degree they should be possessed by persons who are in the position of policy making and perhaps even program involvement in the field, even though they may be part-time, lay commissioners. Certainly good-will and good intentions are not the only ingredients required for effective leadership in this kind of work. Those involved must know what they're doing. They need to know the problem, they need to know the possible solutions, and they need to know the programmatic alternatives open to them. Some persons appointed to a Human Relations Commission may well come to that commission with all of this knowledge and these skills already obtained through education or experience. However, I assume that

for most this is not the case and that therefore for many of you it has been necessary to become knowledgeable. I also assume that there is no one of you who would feel that you knew all you needed to know in order to better serve in the capacity you are serving. I'm quite sure that I know no one either lay or professional in this whole field who has all the answers.

It seems clear to me that there is an ongoing continuing need for training in the field of "race relations," "community relations," "human relations," or whatever term we want to use. There is a need for professional staff training at the level of the new staff person, and at the level of the experienced person who needs to update or enlarge his knowledge. There also is a need, it seems to me, for commissioners, both new and old, to learn more about these phenomena with which they are dealing. One might argue that in the case of a staffed commission it is the responsibility of the director to see that his commission is so oriented. In too many cases he doesn't have the time to do that job and in some cases he wouldn't even have the ability to do it. This seems to me to be a likely role for the university.

I believe that an effective commission member will have more than average knowledge about racial, ethnic, and religious groups, urban sociology, civil rights law, and community resources. He will know the problems, research, and programs which relate to the specific areas of housing, employment, education, justice, health and welfare, and prejudice and discrimination. The commissioner ought to know something about the laws under which his commission is functioning, have some idea of what to expect of professional staff, understand his own role within the commission as it relates to staff and to the total community, and have considerable insight into group processes and human sensitivities.

Please understand that I am not trying to say to you that you lack all this knowledge and therefore should do something about it. What I'm trying to say is that most of us lack at least some of it and all of us could benefit by improving our skills in these areas. Furthermore, if you bring none of these characteristics to your role as a commissioner and do nothing about obtaining them, then you are wasting an awful lot of your own time as well as that of your colleagues. One last comment on what you need to know. You need to know that you are willing and able to spend whatever time will be necessary in order for you and the commission to be effective within the community. If you *can't* do this then you ought to reassess your value to the Human Relations Commission and the city.

Now we come to the nitty-gritty of the subject: what should a Human Relations Commission do? In discussing this I am not going to attempt to give you detailed programmatic suggestions. First of all, as I have said earlier, these need to be designed for the specific community and

its peculiar problems. Secondly, George Schermer, of whom I spoke earlier, has written a 95-page booklet entitled *Guidelines. A Manual for Bi-Racial Committees* which has been published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I'm sure many of you have already seen it and used it, but for those of you who haven't I recommend it very highly.³

While I'm on the subject of a bibliography and in spite of the fact that it doesn't particularly fit at this point in the paper, let me also recommend to your reading two recent publications. The first of these is the *Report* of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The other is a little less well known and is the January issue of *Fortune Magazine* which is devoted entirely to "The Negro and the City." This *Fortune* article, I understand, is to be reproduced in a paperback volume and will be available any day now if it isn't already on the bookshelves. Last November *Newsweek Magazine* devoted a very large part of its weekly issue to "The Negro in America." This is available in reprint form and I would think it would be a very useful educational tool for a commission to distribute in a selective fashion. It would be very interesting reading for those of you who are commissioners although I doubt you'll learn much more by reading it than you already know.

It seems to me the first thing a Human Relations Commission must do is to have a clear legal understanding of its role. Do you have the responsibility and the authority to provide programs and take action to eliminate discrimination and improve community relations, or do you (as is most often the case) serve only as the conscience of the mayor or city manager with a responsibility for advising him and aiding him in his efforts to correct the inequities which exist and bring about better relationships among the citizens of your city? It seems to me you need to know this because your programming will be different under one set of circumstances from what it will be under the other. Secondly, it seems to me that you should avoid being considered by the administration or by the public as "spokesman for the Negro" or as an official group defense agency. You cannot and should not try to take the place of agencies such as the NAACP, LULAC, the Urban League and others. Naturally you want to work with these agencies and know what they're doing and what their goals are but you will not want to emulate them.

Once you have determined your role and understand your position in the community then it seems to me that the next step is to determine the extent of the problems that exist. To my mind this calls for very careful and thorough research by your staff, university-based social scientists, community relations staff borrowed from another community or the state, or (at risk of sounding self-serving) an outside consultant. You need facts about the traditional problems faced by the residents of the city: housing, education, employment, transportation, recrea-

tion, health and welfare, the administration of justice, public services, public accommodation, economic freedom and community involvement. Research in these areas will provide you with a survey and analysis designed to measure the depth and scope of the human relations problems in your community. Based on these findings you can then intelligently plan programmatic approaches to the elimination of inequities.

I see three levels of concern in the area of community relations. In the recent time span of the last five years there have been many laws and regulations originating at the federal, state, and local levels which require the attention and concern of local government. Therefore, I would think that the first order of business for any Human Relations Commission would be to be sure that the city administration is carrying out all the legal and moral requirements relating to civil rights. Secondly, I would think you would want to look at the problem areas where legislation is lacking but where it would serve as a tool to eliminate some of the discrimination existing. Your commission may or may not be an appropriate lobbying group for the passage of such legislation but this would not preclude your documenting the need for it with the hope that private groups might pick up the campaign for its passage. Thirdly, it seems to me that individually and collectively Human Relations Commissioners should be concerned about those areas of segregation and discrimination which are not appropriately reached by legislation or regulation but which nevertheless prevent your communities from being truly democratic and universally satisfying.

May I share with you some observations based on my recent studies in nine cities and on my earlier experience as a staff director of a city Human Relations Commission? Perhaps you will want to measure your city against these observations.

There are certain aspects of community life which are the responsibility of local government and in which minority group members have traditionally been unable and frequently disallowed to participate. Local government and the citizens of our metropolitan communities have in the past been either oblivious, unconcerned, or purposely disinterested in providing societal comparability for minority group citizens. When we examine municipal public services; equal access to, and service in, various public accommodations; community involvement, with its concomitant assumptions of responsibility and benefit; equal justice and due process of law, the traditional concerns of housing, education and employment; and the need for transportation, recreation, health and welfare, we find that one or more (and sometimes most) of these aspects of community life have been, to one degree or another, denied to the Negro citizen.

Every city has the responsibility as well as the authority for providing public services. In too many cases these routine, housekeeping-type services are not provided on an

equitable basis. It is not uncommon for street in the Negro areas of town to be given low priority for paving, repairing, and regular cleaning. It is a common practice for rubbish and garbage collection to be conducted in such a way that ghetto areas get inadequate service even if it is the same service that the total community gets. As was found specifically in Watts, transportation facilities in most big cities are not adequate for the people who need public transportation most. Parks and recreational facilities may be fairly well distributed throughout the city, but in terms of need, fall short primarily in the areas occupied by minority groups. Incredible as it may seem, in some cities even water and sewer service is provided on an unequal basis with the more desirable neighborhoods where whites live getting better service than the slum areas occupied primarily by Negroes or other minority groups.

Probably the most flagrant discrimination which takes place at the level of municipal services is at the point of public employment. Even those cities which have a reasonable proportion of Negroes employed in government work generally do not have many, if any, in the upper echelons of the administration. In one city I found departments made up of 29, 23, 28 and 33 employees all of whom were white. Another department of 273 employees had only one Negro, and his was a custodial job. In another city the only female Negroes employed in the City Hall were elevator operators.

The Negro community is no longer willing to see its citizens involved in only the lower echelons of city government. They know that there are qualified men and women among them who, if it were not for discrimination because of race, would be providing leadership to the community today. Mayors and city managers have a responsibility as well as an opportunity to appoint truly qualified minority group persons both to lay boards and to administrative positions in city government. It will not do to make figure-head appointments of white-identified Negro leadership. The appointments should be made with a genuine realization of each appointee's ability to do the job and be predicated only on that.

City personnel offices should have all civil service examinations reviewed for inadvertent racial or cultural bias; they should review job specifications and broaden their recruitment efforts. City department heads should consider training programs within their departments which will enable personnel to acquire and increase their skills and become more valuable to the city. Minority group personnel should be urged to participate in such training and some consideration should be given to the possibility of using federal funds for training programs related to public employment.

A corollary of discrimination in public employment is the shoddy treatment which minority group citizens too often receive at the hands of city employees when they come to City Hall to seek information, register a concern, or pay a tax bill.

In most northern cities today, the question of equal access to public accommodations is not a major civil rights issue. However, within most of these cities there are restaurants, bars, hotels, theaters, bowling alleys and swimming pools which are not open to members of minority groups. Generally these are not found in the downtown sections and it is only that minority group person who finds himself needing or wanting these accommodations in a part of the community not of his own "neighborhood" who finds difficulty in getting such accommodations. But while this is not a major issue, it is, nevertheless, a degrading experience and one which city officials should seek to prevent. Too often public accommodations laws are only enforced when a complaint is made and even then little or nothing is done to provide the accommodation denied. On those occasions when the denial comes from a private group or entrepreneur who is leasing public lands to conduct his business (such as a yacht club or golf course) then this denial becomes all the more devastating and illegal. Too little has been done by city authorities to assure that such things do not happen.

One of the major problems facing the cities today, and one of their major failures, has been police-community relations and the closely allied problem of inadequate minority group employment in police and fire departments. While it is the case that in recent years more concern has been manifested and efforts made to improve police-community relations, the depth of the antagonisms by police towards Negroes and Negroes toward police has made these efforts for the most part inadequate and unsuccessful. I have seen strenuous efforts to recruit minority group police fail for a combination of reasons: too often the recruitment program has not been geared to reach the minority groups, the stringent (and perhaps unrealistic) employment qualifications have made it difficult for Negroes to qualify as police recruits, and because of prevailing attitudes among minority groups, the role of a policeman is not a status position as it is for other ethnic group members.

Police departments ought to be making greater use of recognized minority group organizations such as the Urban League, or the city's Human Relations Commission in an effort to recruit qualified Negroes to the police force. Employment entrance requirements ought to be re-examined to be sure that they are realistic in the light of today's needs and are not simply serving to prevent Negroes and other minority group members from becoming police officers. One aid to recruitment would be the public approbation and promotion of minority group police officers, when warranted. Police recruitment of minorities might be enhanced by the chief's personal appearance at meetings of minority group organizations at which time he could seek assistance in recruiting. Even if this were not effective for recruitment, it would be good community relations. This same technique could be used by other city

department heads and on occasions by the mayor or city manager as well.

To develop better police-community relations, city officials must make greater efforts than have been made to date. Police officers (and all other government employees) must be made to realize that prejudice is a luxury they cannot afford. Policemen must be given adequate, professional human relations training so that they can understand the problems now existing and learn how to resolve and avoid them. Some present efforts at police human relations training are so unsophisticated as to be more dangerous than helpful. When such training consists of having Negroes from the community come in to talk to the police, great care should be made that in doing so the Negroes chosen are recognized leaders who can inform the police intelligently and accurately of Negro attitudes and desires. If the police department seeks professional information about race relations then they should turn to psychologists, sociologists, and other social scientists who are race relations experts. Just choosing a Negro from the community may prove to be an inadequate training tool. Michigan cities have perhaps the least excuse for failing to properly train their police departments. You have here at Michigan State University probably the finest school of police administration in the country, and one whose National Institute on Police and Community Relations is most highly regarded.

Police manpower limitations could be alleviated, employment of poverty and minority youths increased, potential police officers identified, and police-community relations improved, through the cooperation of the police and the local community action program in providing jobs within the police department for Neighborhood Youth Corps participants. Perhaps these youths could be used in clerical or maintenance units or they might be used to monitor parking meters and tag overtime parkers.

Housing is, of course, one of the classic problems in terms of race relations in our major northern communities. So many things have been done improperly in the past by the federal government and local governments (as well as by private citizens) that to correct these evils and ills is going to take strenuous effort and considerable ingenuity. Public housing has been built in the wrong places, with the wrong design, and of the wrong size. The result of urban renewal has been less desirable housing for minority group members rather than improved living conditions. The zoning and building inspection programs (or in many cases the lack of programs) of most cities has facilitated residential depreciation in minority group neighborhoods while protecting homes and investments in other parts of the city. City administrators have tended to turn their backs on any neighborhood which became predominantly Negro in its residency. Zoning protection, city public services and other amenities have been withdrawn from, or inadequately provided to, these neighborhoods. It seems obvious that the pendulum must be made to swing in the other direction.

Even in cities and states where fair housing laws exist, Negroes find it difficult to obtain housing on a free and open market and most of the laws do not afford any real assurance that the Negro can buy or rent the home of his choice. The federal executive order relating to fair housing practices has been insignificant in its import, and its impact has hardly been felt. There is some reason to hope the Model Cities Program may be able to correct some of these faults, but unless it is administered differently from the older housing programs, it won't. Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act may prove to be merely "good advice" to persons engaged in real estate unless adequate enforcement procedures are developed within the Department of Housing and Urban Development which is charged with its administration.

Citizen participation in urban renewal and poverty programs has too often been seen by municipal leadership as a threat instead of an opportunity to involve the community in city affairs and extend the interests of the administration to the grass roots level. Intelligently used (but not manipulated) citizen groups can serve as a means for discovering and strengthening future civic leadership as well as undergirding administrative goals.

The inadequate and sometimes improper utilization of manpower, even here in Michigan, serves to minimize the economic life of each community and restrain the social growth of the individual citizens of the city. Michigan has a significant fair employment practices law. Most major corporations in Michigan, by virtue of having even a modest contract with the federal government, are required by Executive Order 11246 to hire minority group members. In spite of these two facts, Negroes continue to suffer from employment discrimination and continue to be overlooked in hiring or in upgrading after they are hired. This problem is further complicated by inadequate training and education on the part of many persons and by the spotty acceptance of the concept of equal employment opportunity. Here in Michigan, the state government has pre-empted all but one of your cities from the field of fair employment practices legislation. However, this should not prevent your com-

mission from retaining a position of concern for the lack of fair employment practices and a role of alerting the state and federal agencies to the need for specific or general reviews or investigations.

City government has a moral responsibility to bring together all elements of the community which can have a bearing on improved manpower utilization. Among other things there is a vital economic challenge to the city to retain its business and industrial complex and the concomitant tax income derived therefrom. Cities should emulate the federal government's executive order and require that all contracts let by the city carry a comparable provision requiring equal employment opportunity. This should be augmented by a systematized compliance review procedure of these contractors (If this is done there ought to be some effort to refrain from duplicating the compliance reviews conducted by the federal government. In other words, reviews should be made of city contractors who are not also federal contractors).

When the legal rights of minorities have been made manifest by their governments and opportunities for employment have become real, there will still remain a void in the realization of full human dignity until people of all classes and ethnic backgrounds can fully and freely interact in the community associations and provide their share of societal leadership. This is not a plea for removing the bans in social clubs though there is merit in this action. This speaks to membership and leadership activity in significant community organizations in which minority group members would be attracted and welcomed if it were not for their racial or ethnic status: chambers of commerce, professional organizations, welfare agencies, community betterment organizations, real estate boards, trade associations, labor unions, service clubs and the like. A truly democratic society will not only offer rights to its minority group members, but will enable them to share in its responsibilities as well. Each city administration should be working toward this goal and every Human Relations Commission should be at the forefront of this effort.

¹*University Resources and the Role of the Human Relations Committee in the Community, Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on Human Relations, June 3, 1967. Copies are available from the Office of Human Relations, Room 27, Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.*

²"The Renunciation," *Time*, 19:15, p. 22.

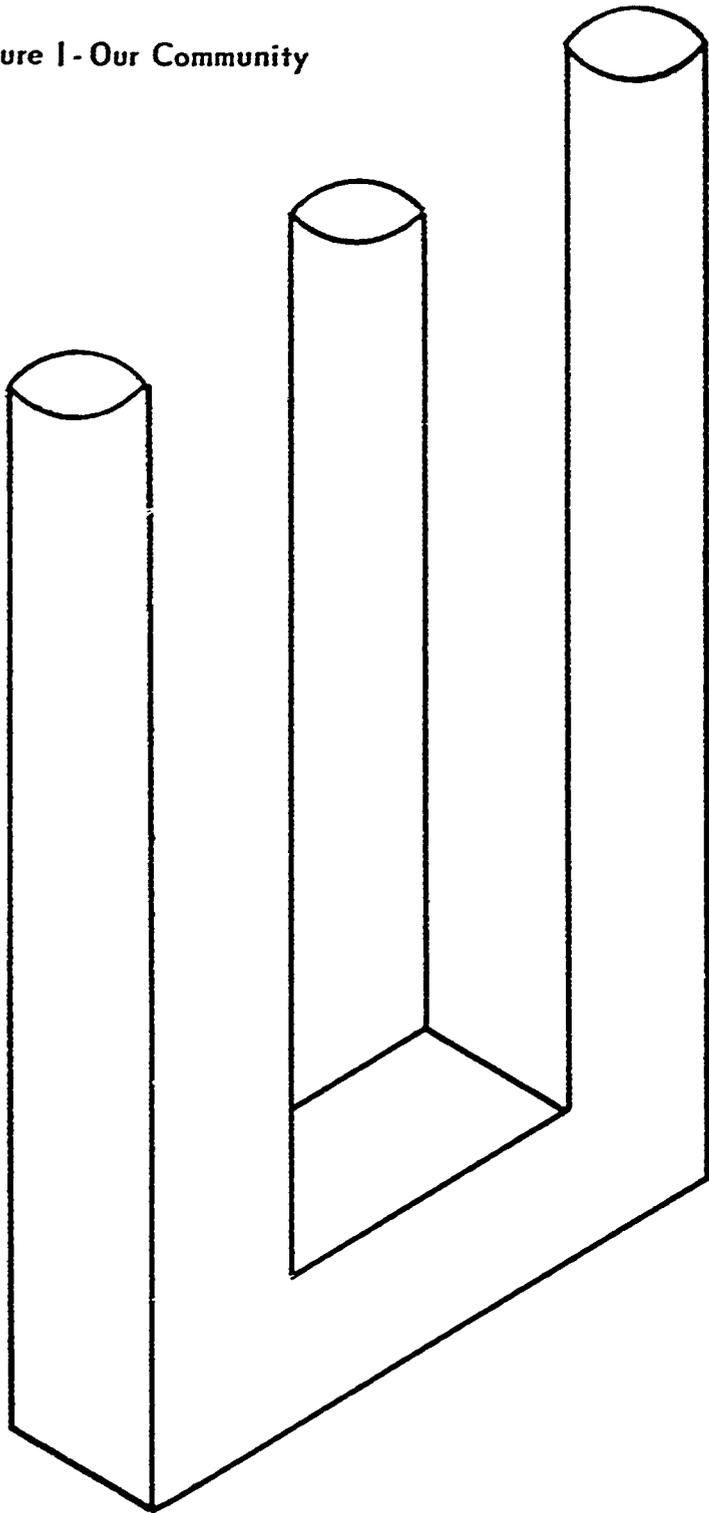
³A copy of this manual was distributed to all participants in the conference (editor).

COMMUNITY COOPERATION AND INVOLVEMENT

Robert C. Anderson

The main question under discussion this morning is the community. What is the community? What is your community? Professor Trout has tried to describe it to you in words. Personally I believe it is easier to draw it.

Figure 1 - Our Community



This is the community as I see it. Don't you agree?

"An optical illusion!" you say.

Is your community an optical illusion?

"It seems to be at times!"

Let's take a closer look at my picture of your community. Look at it from the top, as your mayor and city council do (Cover up the bottom half of Figure 1). As policy making bodies in a community look down on their community, the image or perception they get of the city is clear and distinct. That doesn't say it is the true, the good,

or the right image. It simply means they do hold what seems to be a clear perception of the city they are responsible for. The fact that their image may be different from everyone else's (Cover the top half of Figure 1) does not necessarily mean that it is wrong, or that our image, from the bottom as citizens, is any truer, better, or more correct. We simply see it differently.

The first point I would like to make is that *the community, our community, is what we think it is, what we believe it to be or not to be.* It's nothing more, nothing less than this. If it is good in our eyes, then that is the way we are going to keep it. If it is bad in our eyes, then we are either going to try to alter it or leave it. How we view it is related to our belief system. It has something to do with identity, with loyalty, and with structure.

My objective today is to present and discuss with you ideas and tools designed to give a better understanding of the communities we live in. We know, to begin with, that each community has a history of successful and unsuccessful "community development" efforts. As a result of these efforts, over time the relationships between people and their systems tend to become fragmented and highly crystallized. Positions are taken; sides are drawn as problems arise and are resolved. While conflicting relationships tend to develop among social systems and the people in these systems when attention is turned to community development problems, *the solutions of these problems generally call for significant commitment and cooperation on the part of all units (social systems) and people directly affected by the problem.*

Church fund-raising activities form the classic example of this point. I know because I am a member of a Lutheran church that is currently in the midst of a building program. If you ever want to experiment to understand what community development is all about, become actively involved in a church building program. To begin with, a fund raiser, an outside consultant, comes in. His job is essentially to destroy the normal social structure of the church community for the purpose of inducing members to pledge funds for the building program. In so doing he tends to violate all the norms of behavior within the congregation for a short period of time. He secures pledges of support; then he leaves town. During this period, a small group of the parishioners resign and join another church. Some parishioners who stay refuse to talk to life-long friends. The "scar," or the "development," a new church facility, whichever way you want to view it, is left. A congregation grows, new people come, the old people remember the old bitter fights. New people generally do not know much about the old battles but occasionally they stumble into them when they try to carry out new development projects.

So much for my example of the nature and consequences of involvement in development projects. Let's take a look at some tools that will help in understanding the involvement process.

Mrs. Dickenson, would you give me a little help, please? Would you move the table forward?

"You want me to move the table forward!"

Yes, but be careful not to drop this \$200 projector on the floor.

Can you lift it up? You know this is an expensive carpet on the floor. I don't want you to tear it!—Don't drag it on the carpet; you might tear it! Don't drop my machine now!

"You mean lift the whole table? No, I can't do it."

What do you mean, you can't do it?

"Do you still want me to try? My husband learned long ago not to ask me to do impossible tasks because I mess them up every time."

The question I want to ask you, Mrs. Dickenson, is why did you even get up and try it?

"Because I thought you were going to ask for something else and because I'm really pretty stupid, I guess."

Why do we do the things we do? Do you always do the things people ask you to do?

"No."

Why did you do it this time?

"Because I think I had faith in you and now I don't."

That was an exercise in cooperation. I wanted something done. Mrs. Dickenson wasn't quite sure what I wanted done but she is a good sport and said, "Sure, I'll help you." But she forgot one thing. Any time we get involved or commit ourselves to action there is an investment demanded of us. A cost! And she forgot to ask the question of herself, "What's in it for me and what will the cost be?" What would have happened to her if she had dumped this machine on the floor?

"I could have."

She could have because I asked her to do something she physically couldn't do. She doesn't have that strong a back. I could have asked her husband and he would have rallied to her defense. But I didn't. The point was, I asked her to do a job she didn't have the resources to do. And she tried to do it but found out it was too big a task for her to perform alone. She couldn't gracefully get out of the situation without asserting, "I just can't do it!" and "I'm a fool!" That really isn't the kind of consequence we expect from being helpful, from being cooperative citizens, interested in good human relations in the community.

You are a good sport, Mrs. Dickenson. Fortunately for me you have a good sense of humor and helped me illustrate the point. What it means to become involved, to be cooperative. Thank you.

I would argue that the community, in terms of people, in terms of its social systems, in terms of its structure, is by necessity a cooperative system, not because cooperation is good or bad, but rather for the very simple reason that it is absolutely necessary in order to achieve community goals.

I'm not going to argue the point that cooperation is good, or that we live with people in an apathetic non-cooperative community who really do not know what they want or what is good for them. I don't believe Americans are non-cooperative. They are simply discriminating in their patterns of cooperation, or involvement. An interesting belief in our culture is that it is good to be cooperative. If I asked any of you, "Are you non-cooperative?" what would you say? How many of you would say you were cooperative?

The next question is, "Why are you cooperative and/or not cooperative?" I'm going to try to tell you. I'm going to start by stating a position based on my observation of human behavior.

This is the position: *As a general philosophical principle I will not cooperate with anybody, for any reason, on any task that I can do myself.* I believe that this do-it-myself position characterizes the American people more accurately than democracy, cooperation, or concern for the well being of fellows. When I say this, I'm not making a value judgment. I'm simply saying analytically that if there is any principle that seems to govern the behavior of people it is the principle that they do not cooperate with anybody on any task that they can do themselves.

For me, it is a logical principle because it involves asking the question, "Why should I cooperate?" before making a cooperative commitment. We all deal with and are responsible for very limited resources, the limited resources of our time, our talent, our money, our values. Allowing my name to be placed on this program was an act of cooperation. It had a price that I have to live with: association with the Human Relations Commission. Now Mr. Jones told us earlier that Human Relations Commissions really haven't done much. If that is true, it's questionable whether I want to, or can afford to, be associated with a do-nothing kind of outfit. It costs me to put my name on something that you people are doing. "What is in it for me and what will the cost be?"

We are caught in a dilemma. In one sense, we are charged to form an identity, to produce a product that is uniquely ours as individuals, as organizations, as corporations, something unique that someone else needs. We have to be wanted. You have to need this university, or this university is in trouble. Your city council has to need your Human Relations Commission or your commission is in trouble. And consequently you are in trouble. A test of whether the city needs you or not is to answer the question, "What would happen in your city if the Human Relations Commission was eliminated?" Would anyone miss you? Are you doing anything that is essential? What is your unique contribution to your city and its residents?

On the other hand, we can't remain independent because we haven't the resources to do everything alone. We organize, we cooperate, to achieve tasks that we perceive are worth doing and that we cannot achieve by ourselves. If anyone of us could do one of these tasks individually he

would because then the profits from it would be his, whether they be social recognition, monetary reward, self-satisfaction—you name it—profit based on values of importance to him. If I cooperate with somebody on a task then it is no longer *my* project; it is *our* project. I must share the profits or losses associated with it with somebody else.

We identify a project worth doing, and we make an assessment of what is needed to get the job done. Remember when I asked Mrs. Dickenson to move the table? That was a task that very clearly didn't require a strong mind; it required a strong back. I deliberately employed a strong mind resource to do a strong back job. I should have used a strong back resource. I should have asked Professor Levak to move the table. The principle of involvement relevant at this point is that the only time you seek the involvement of someone else is when he has a resource that, combined with your resource, will accomplish a task that could not be independently achieved. Now let me give you a very exaggerated personal example of this.

A few years ago I decided that I wanted to produce some kids. Given my philosophy of life, I was going to do it myself. And so I tried and I tried. And for all of our modern scientific knowledge, I still cannot produce kids by myself. And if I could induce all of you gentlemen here today to work with me on the project we still could not do the job. You gals don't need to snicker, because you can't do it alone either. Now how do we solve this problem? The facts of the problem are that a combination of male and female resources is necessary to produce children. The two very different kinds of resources in an interaction process, with some sort of cooperative arrangement, can get the job done.

But in this culture what is the cost of getting the job done? What is the cost of legally producing children? In America the producers must marry each other, live with and support each other and their family for life. That is one of the investments required to produce children in our society. My wife isn't here to speak for herself on this story but the point I am trying to make is that any act of involvement has a price tag, a cost, an investment, a responsibility. This cost is reflected in terms of the allocation of our own limited resources, and our identification with the resulting product. So when we set up cooperative arrangements, these are not to be entered into lightly. None of us can afford to be so cooperative as to say, "Sure, count me in," every time we are asked to become involved in a cooperative activity. That may be why there appears to be some public apathy in your community. It may well be that many of our community projects are really not worth the cost of commitment. Maybe the cost, or the losses, are too high! Yes, you see, it is a two-way street. Cooperation may be good and rewarding, or it may be not so good and non-rewarding.

I would argue that you don't really involve yourself in any decision making, development or cooperative act

without committing yourself and your resources to that action. To simply say, "It is a good idea," "I support you and wish you luck," "Let me know how it turns out," is not meaningful interaction. It is not cooperation and does not lead to development. Only when you are willing to invest yourself and your resources are you likely to become a part of community decision making. When you do this you place your life's values on the line. That's what it takes to get into the decision making structures of communities and to become a community decision maker for community development. Your resources—your name, your reputation, and what you stand for—are involved.

Community involvement is a very obvious part of community development. Community involvement by definition calls for community cooperation, but what is "cooperation"?

Cooperation is a very widely used and generally misunderstood concept in most communities of America. It seems appropriate, at this point, for me to state my ideas about community cooperation in a more precise form.

1. Cooperation is not "good" or "bad"; it may be either or both.
2. Community action is organizational in character, whether it be the informal organization of two people or large scale formal organizations of five hundred people. Community action is an organizational activity, and as such some common "principles of organization" govern the action.
3. Community action efforts are inter-organizational and therefore cooperative activities. This is true, not because of choice or because of the "goodness," "appropriateness," or "niceness" of cooperation, but because of a "necessity" for multi-unit involvement and commitment for successful community problem resolution.
4. Cooperation is the ordinary business of life in a human society.
5. Cooperation comes into being when: (1) there are persons or organizations able to communicate with each other, (2) who are willing to contribute their own limited resources to a cooperative action, (3) to accomplish a common purpose.
6. Cooperation occurs only when individual or organizational limitations become significant factors in goal achievement and when the application of the resource energy of two or more persons or organizations will overcome this limitation.

People must be *induced* to cooperate or there can be no cooperation. *The net satisfactions which induce a man to contribute his efforts to an organization result from his perception of positive advantages as against the disadvantages which are entailed.*

Sufficient conditions for involvement in cooperative

community action programs involve at least three elements or postulates.

Postulate 1:

An individual or organization will become involved in, and contribute resources to, cooperative activities that will directly enhance the interest of that specific individual or organization.

Postulate 2:

An individual or organization will become involved in, and contribute resources to, cooperative activities that will directly enhance the interest of a broader community of interests of which that specific individual or organization is a member or part.

When these two conditions are met it is possible to postulate that:

Postulate 3:

An individual or organization will insist on becoming involved in and contributing resources to cooperative activities that are perceived as serving the actual or potential good of the whole community of interest as well as of each individual or organization holding membership in that community.

Given my image of the cooperative process I now want to briefly describe a Model For Community Involvement. To do so I have drawn heavily on the work of a number of sociologists here at Michigan State University which I believe provides a base for understanding community involvement "as it really is!"¹

There are three major parts to the Model:

1. Problem Recognition, Convergence of Interest, and Goal Formation.
 - 1) Identification of a problem.
 - 2) Identification of the individual units and groups directly affected, positively as well as negatively.
 - 3) Development of alternative solutions.
2. Establishing an Initiating Set
 - 1) Justifying the membership of the Initiating Set.
 - 2) Justifying the goals proposed by the Initiating Set.
 - 3) Securing legitimization, support and sponsorship of these goals.
3. Recruitment and Establishment of an Execution Set.
 - 1) Justifying the membership of the Execution Set.
 - 2) Securing organizational as well as individual commitment to a program of action.
 - 3) Planning the detailed course of action to follow.
 - 4) Implementing or carrying out the action program.

Briefly let us follow the path through this Model for Community Involvement (Figure II), and see if it has any relevance to the understanding of community action programs in which you have been participating. I believe it

does account for and explain essential aspects of most community action projects.

Let us assume a community problem has been recognized and alternative courses of action have been contemplated.

Starting at the top of the Model (Figure II), our first task is to identify the specific social units (the *social structures*) that in one way or another are directly affected by the community action to be taken. Make a list of all individuals, groups or organizations that have a socially defined right to become involved in the action. At this point it is not important how or if they will get involved or what position (for or against) they are likely to take; the only test to be met is: *Do they have the socially defined right to be involved in the action.*

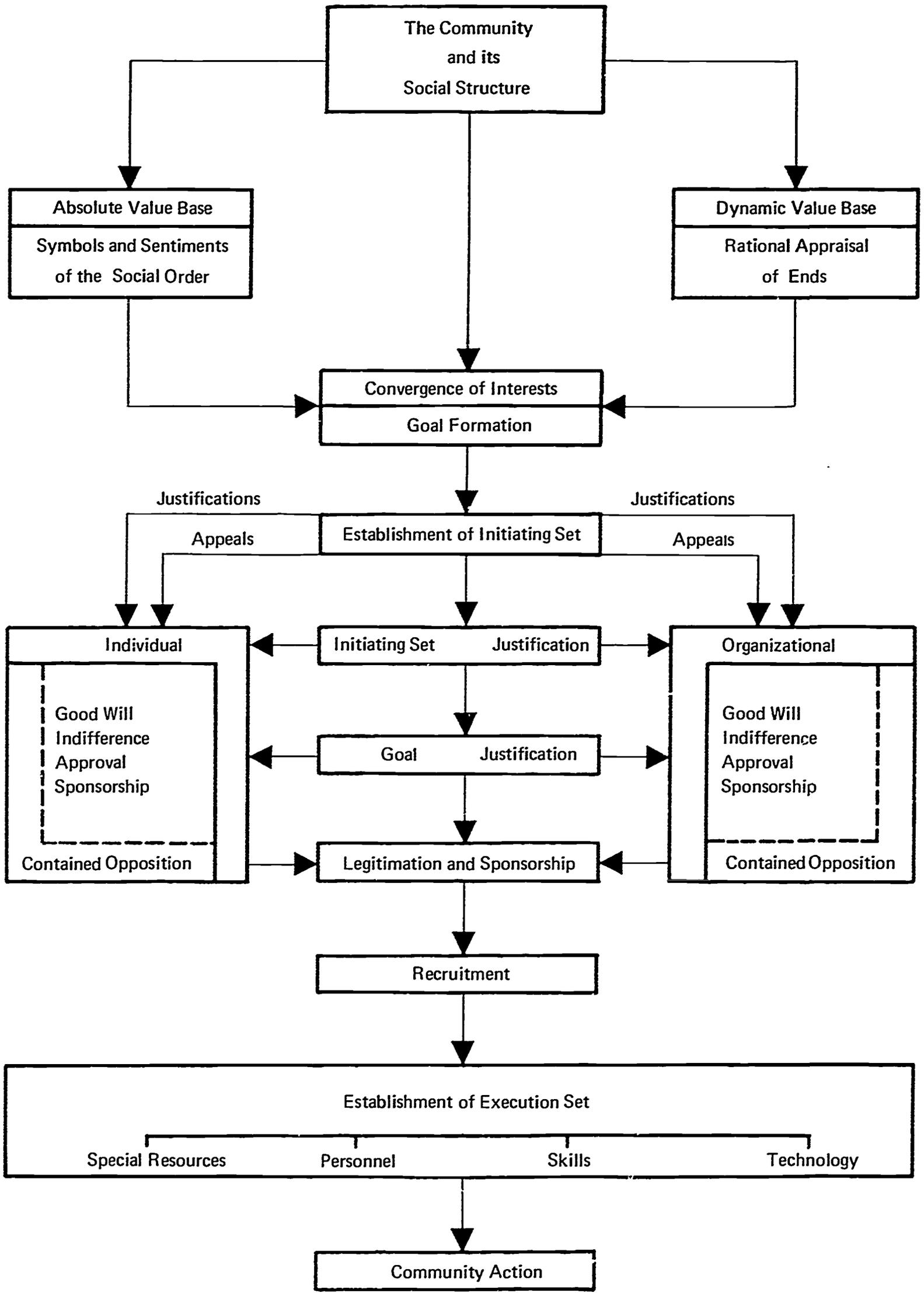
If so they make up the *legitimate order* affected by that particular problem. The legitimate order is defined as including all individuals or groups who see themselves and are seen by others as having the socially defined right to be involved in the action. One test of such membership is whether the unit in question will go into opposition if it is ignored, not consulted, or not involved.

Next we need to consider the basis for securing cooperation of members of the legitimate order for the community action proposed. Support for such action must logically evolve from *value bases* appropriate to the legitimate order of the social structure within which it is being proposed. By this I mean that each organization in the legitimate order will independently test—approve or reject—the proposed action using its own organizational values as involvement criteria.

The *value bases* for cooperative involvement of these units are derived from two sources. The first I call *the absolute value base*, such as "symbols and sentiments"; the second may be referred to as *the dynamic value base*, such as "appraisal and allocative standards."

Symbols and sentiments are considered to be absolute in character. They are the time-tested, traditional, generally unchallengeable foundations of an individual's or an organization's behavior. They are belief systems. For example, when I exhort to you that "I believe in Jesus Christ," all the logical reasoning of scientific evidence in the world is not going to sway me from this belief, from this value. And if you were to launch a program that challenged or threatened my belief in Jesus Christ, I probably would fight you. That is a belief system. There are certain things that we believe in and these are the time-tested continuities of life, our cultural heritage, if you will, that have been passed down from generation to generation, from one organization member to another. Every individual and every organization has a belief system, an absolute value base that's not challengeable. To debate it is nonsense. If, for example, I am bigoted and a racist, you are not going to change my heart, as Professor George Johnson of our faculty would say, with logical reasoning and arguments

Figure II - Model for Community Involvement



that assert that I shouldn't be. You may be able to do it with some other kinds of strategy but not with rational debate or systematic evidence. This value base may govern whether and how I do or do not become involved in cooperative activity.

Dynamic values, or appraisal and allocative standards, on the other hand, are rationally derived, tentative in nature, and subject to periodic evaluation and change. They are best illustrated by our use of new knowledge. As technology develops, we drop old ways of doing things and adopt new ways, employing the new technology. Such value changes are ever present and occur in all facets of life. We see evidence of this in the market place, in the food we eat and the fashions we wear. We see it in modes of travel, in the space and industrial activities; we even see changes in education, in religion and in community affairs such as human relations.

After the assessment of value bases likely to govern the behavior of the social structure to be involved, the next step in the model is the *convergence of interest*. This takes on a special meaning here in that it implies a convergence upon the acceptance of a common group goal. Different individual organizations can accept the same goal for quite different reasons. The important point is to see to it that convergence does take place *regardless of the individual or independent motive backing this social convergence*. When social convergence takes place, then and only then does meaningful goal formation occur. We engage in cooperative efforts for quite different reasons, even contradictory reasons. This is not unusual. I could cite many examples of where we do it everyday.

In many community development efforts, however, the tendency is to deal with the people who have the same values we have, those who have the same resources to contribute that we possess. We hesitate to talk to those who have a different set of values; we find it uncomfortable and difficult to associate with them. We have difficulty understanding their positions. In essence, we tend to talk to ourselves, never really recognizing that there are other views in the world and that if we really want to involve the people of different views whom we must involve to solve most community problems, we have to do so on their terms, not on ours.

In so doing, we will modify our goal a little bit to accommodate their vested interests. To the extent that points of common interest can be enhanced or solved by a community action proposal we can expect to secure a positive commitment of cooperation from the relevant units. If, on the other hand, we push for action and such a move is perceived as detrimental or upsetting to these vested interests, we would predict that organized opposition to the plan would be forthcoming.

The decision to cooperate or not cooperate made by each unit involved is determined by some combination of absolute values and dynamic values. There is not much

room to argue or debate the first. It is generally not advisable to tamper with symbols and sentiments, or belief systems. If your proposal fits, it will generate support. If not, you cannot do much to change the situation. The use of reason or debate, when the proposal is counter to the organization's symbols and sentiments, could well result in the generation of dedicated opposition rather than cooperation. On the other hand, appraisal and allocative standards or dynamic values can be changed with the proper presentation of sound rational and factual information.

When your Human Relations Commission attempts to induce an organization to cooperate in community action programs, the main points to remember are:

1. Select symbols and sentiments *common* to all organizations for use in your appeal for cooperation.
2. Select symbols and sentiments *independently* held that are not in conflict with other organizations' interests.
3. Do not directly alter or attempt to change organizational symbols and sentiments that run counter to the proposed plan of action. Try to avoid them for it's generally better to "go it alone" than to stir up dedicated opposition.
4. Select common appraisal and allocation standards when possible.
5. Aggressively counter conflicting appraisal and allocation standards with hard factual evidence and you will establish a new base for cooperative efforts.

I want to underscore again the point that the decision to become involved, to cooperate, is made by each unit of the legitimate order on its own value terms, not on yours.

After we have accounted for vested interests, then we can move to the next step, the establishment of an *initiating set*. This is a group of individuals or organizations who are held in high enough regard to have the social right to initiate a plan of action. They must also be able to legitimize the plan and secure the obligation of others in the sponsorship of action. The right of an individual or an organization to initiate, to introduce something in a community, has to be earned. It is not granted automatically. Now here is where I think many Human Relations Commissions run into program difficulties. What kinds of activities does your Human Relations Commission have a right to initiate with the council in your city? What activities are strictly not your right to become involved in? Mr. Jones indicated earlier today that you clearly do not have the right as a Commission to initiate an NAACP Negro leadership program. That is legitimately the role of the local NAACP chapter, not the Human Relations Commission. On the other hand, your Human Relations Commission may be the only group that has earned the right to initiate a community-wide human rights employment action program in your city.

The initiating set also has to justify its goal in terms of value bases. As mentioned above, research findings on community action have shown clearly that different individuals and organizations justify group goals for quite different or even opposing reasons. The important test is not *how* each group justifies the goal, but whether or not it *does*, and whether it then decides to join in the sponsorship of the action.

An important function of the initiating set in the involvement process is to conduct negotiations to determine how to alter and re-define the goal so as to involve the maximum proportion of the legitimate order which can justify, legitimize, and, hence, sponsor and support the proposed action.

Moving to the left hand block of the Model we see that individuals will either offer good will, be supportive, indifferent, or opposed to, the proposed action. Likewise, we see on the right hand block of the Model that organizations have the same alternative attitudes. How access to different individuals or organizations in the legitimate order is to be gained i.e., whether by overlapping or multi-membership in different organizations, personal channels, justification based on logical reasoning, or by some other kind of general appeal must be determined and carried out by the initiating set at this stage of the involvement process.

To begin with, they need to account for major organized interests that potentially have something at stake in such a goal effort. These may be classified into at least three groups: approving, indifferent, and opposed. The main point here is to actually identify and specifically account for the kind of involvement that can be expected from the individual and organized interests directly affected by the action proposal.

Early strategy to follow would be the neutralization or containment of potential opposition and the moving of indifferent individuals and organizations into a position of supportive involvement in goal formation and program sponsorship. This can be accomplished by carefully justifying the proposed plan using the independent value bases governing the behavior of each individual or organization. It may be that one of the *best* sources of assistance in goal formation, sponsorship and execution leadership can be obtained from what are initially indifferent individuals and organizations. If the opposition is not contained or neutralized at this point in the process, common sense would say the plan should be brought to a halt and a reappraisal made.

Community action programs are traditionally perceived as being carried out by community leaders, community-minded individuals. Certainly this has been the case in most human relations action programs. I would argue, however, that most human relations tasks that we attempt to achieve at the community level call for commitments of resources far beyond those held by individuals.

One of the lessons that comes out of Professor Trout's presentation this morning is that if we are going to do

anything that has an impact, not only do we have to have personal commitments of individuals, but we also have to secure corporate or organizational commitment, large and small, vertical as well as horizontal. Human relations calls for commitment of the scarce resources of the city, the church, utilities, associations, industrial and business firms, the schools, colleges and universities. In the Lansing area, for example, are the university, Michigan Bell Telephone, the Oldsmobile Corporation, the super market on the corner willing to commit their resources to human relations? Unless we obtain corporate commitment, chances are we are not going to activate a meaningful program. Rather, we will likely engage in a lot of talk, have a lot of dialogue but no action program.

It is individuals who in the end must represent their organization and commit its resources for or against the proposed action. It should not be too difficult to identify the individuals who, as responsible organizational representatives, can justify and sponsor an action program of human relations within their own organization. They must not only be *personally* committed but must be able to justify the program to their representative organization and secure an *organizational commitment* of support.

After the decision is made to carry out or execute the action, it is important to obtain the necessary facilities for carrying it out. This is accomplished through what can be called the *recruitment process*. This is the point at which firm commitments for cooperative action are made. An *execution set* is formed and carries out the details of the action plan.

How does what we have discussed relate to your concerns and responsibilities as members of Human Relations Commissions?

As you attempt to mobilize resources for human relations programs, I would like to suggest that you secure only the resources sufficient to get the job done. I question the advisability of always attempting to maximize involvement. I do so on several grounds.

1. We are always dealing with limited resources of people's time, talent and economic possessions. We must be discriminating in our allocation of these resources.
2. There are many good alternative human relations projects that call for citizen involvement. To expect extensive, continuous commitment of people for all "good causes" is to expect the impossible.
3. For some projects, widespread involvement may in fact prevent rather than facilitate community human relations goal achievement. When the task becomes everybody's responsibility, in all too many cases it becomes nobody's responsibility.
4. There is in fact a social cost associated with involvement. You can go to the social bank and withdraw people's commitment and involvement only for a limited period without making some new deposits.

I have noted in my work on community projects across the state that all too often the people who are consistently involved are what I call the "Professional Meeting Goers": some call them the "Do Gooders." I see the same faces at a wide range of community development planning meetings. They apparently have the time to attend meetings. The performance record of many of these community development planning meetings tends to be less than outstanding. I hope that this discussion today has provided some explanation for this record.

I wish to close by reasserting the basic questions whose answers are necessary if you are to secure cooperative involvement of people and their organizations in human relations programs.

What specific tasks are you attempting to achieve?

What kind of involvement is really necessary to get the job done?

How many and what kind of resources are really needed?

What contribution will each involved person or organization be expected to make, and can they afford to make such a contribution?

What is in it for them?

What is in it for you?

What is in it for your community?

Thank you.

¹The "Model For Community Involvement" and the descriptive sequence of action flow presented in the rest of this paper are taken in large part from Christopher Sower, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman, Community Involvement (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1967) pp. 301-320.

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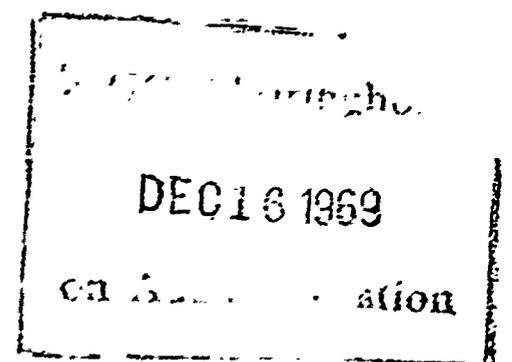
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